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Vol. XXIV. 1941.

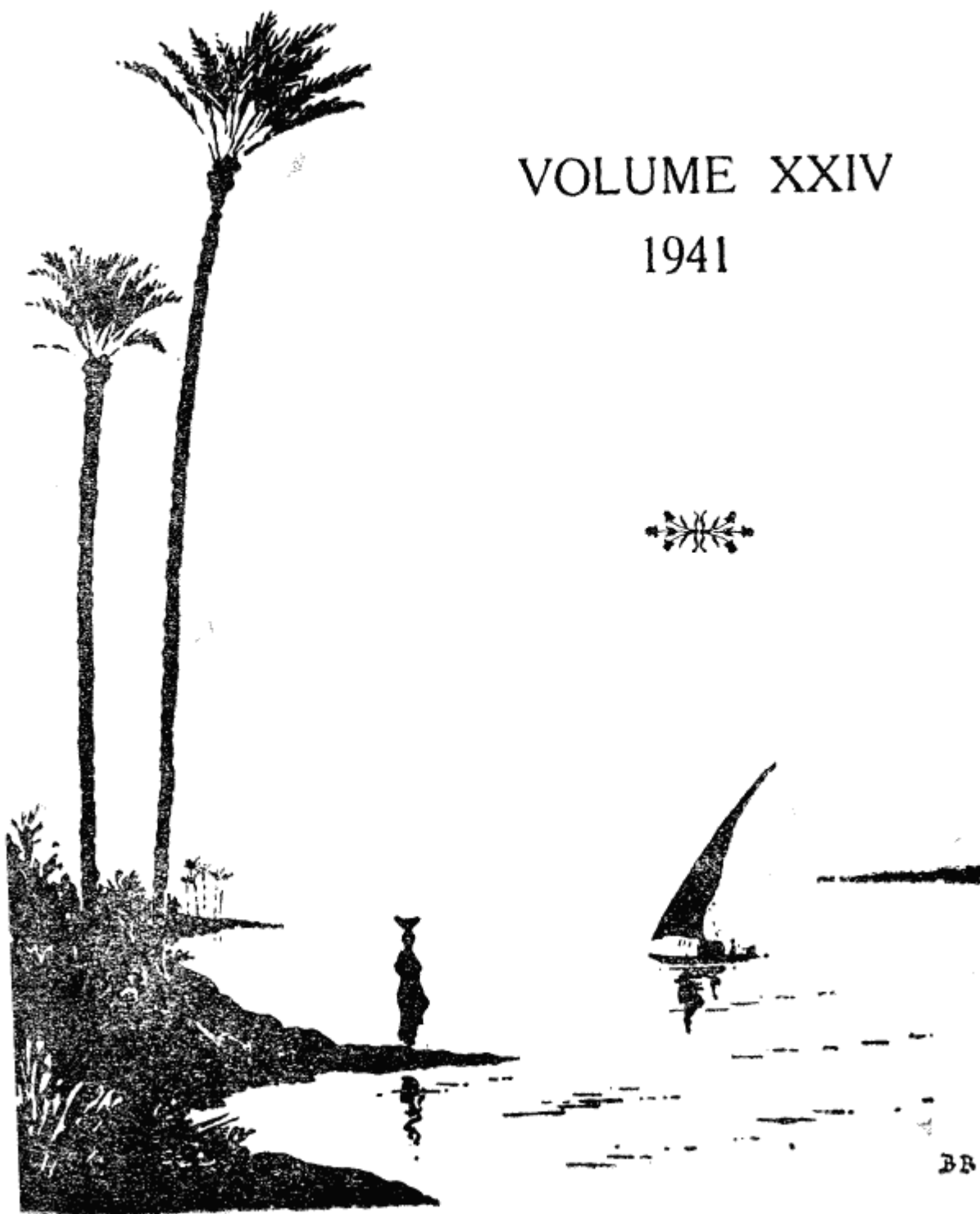
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SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

VOLUME XXIV

1941



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NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Since the Editorial Note was written some five months have elapsed, which is in itself a sign that the printing of SUDAN NOTES and RECORDS interferes with that of more important publications. In view of this and of the need for conserving stocks of paper in Khartoum, space in mail bags, and manpower, it has been decided not to publish Vol. XXV in full. The type for portions of a small Part I has already been set up and it will be issued in due course. Part II must pend an improvement in the war situation. Subscribers may apply for a refund of P.T. 25 to the London Office or to the Hon. Treasurer in Khartoum or leave their credit open until Part II appears.

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

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The attention of those interested in any special subject is particularly called to the very complete index of the first twenty Volumes of *Sudan Notes and Records* compiled by Mr. F. Addison and printed at the end of Vol. XXI (1938) Part II.

Subscriptions and notifications of change of address, should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer, *Finance Department*, Khartoum.

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Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

adopted by the Editors of *Sudan Notes and Records*

{	at beginning of	ذ dh (coll. d)	غ gh
	word omit, hamza (')	ر r	ف f
	elsewhere	ز z	ق q (coll. g)
ب b		س s	ك k
ت t		ش sh	ل l
ث th (coll. t or s)		ص ṣ	م m
ج j or g		ض ḍ	ن n
ح ḥ		ط ṭ	ه h
خ kh		ظ ḏ	و w
د d		ع ʿ	ي y

VOWELS.

fatha	a,	lengthened	ā
kasra	i,	„	ī
ḍamma	u,	„	ū

DIPHTHONGS.

ي—ai (as in aisle).
و—au (as in mauser).

The *ل* of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ط) is omitted.

NOTES.

1. The system is not applied to well-known names, such as Khartoum, Omdurman, etc.

2. The vowel sounds of *e* in “get” and *o* in “hot” with the corresponding long vowels (*a* in “gate” and *o* in “home”), which occur only in the colloquial, are expressed by *e*, *o*, *ē*, *ō*.

e.g. beled, Moḥammed, bēt (or beit), ḥosh.

Ei may be used as an alternative to *ē*.

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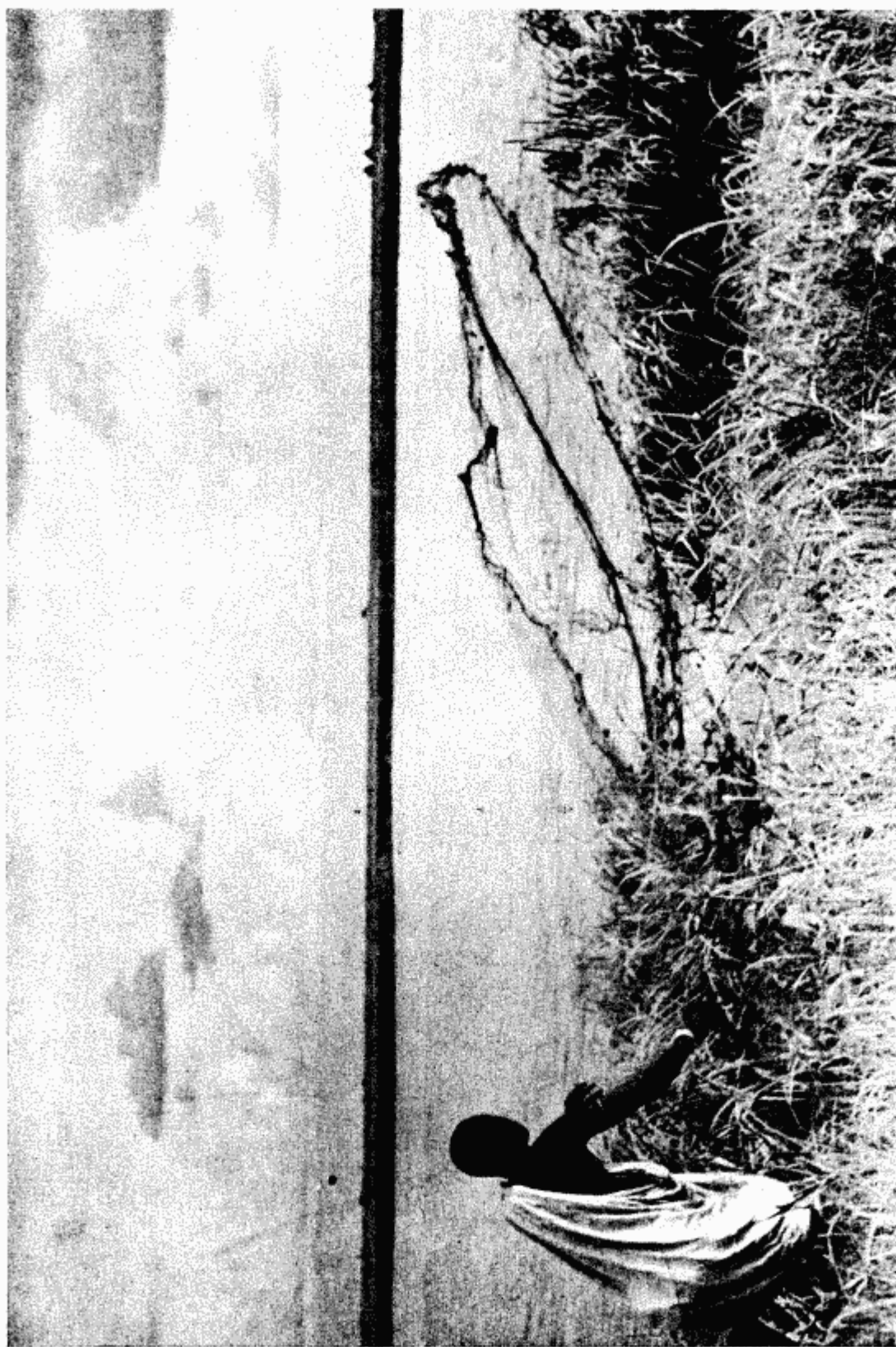
EDITORIAL NOTES.

1. Further apologies are tendered, especially to subscribers in England, for the late appearance of this volume and for our failure to produce it in two parts. The war is perhaps a hackneyed excuse but none the less it has a delaying effect on all non-essential civil activities, amongst which it is to be feared the production of a periodical must be numbered. Contributors, reviewers, printers and proof readers all have pressing claims upon their time and imperceptibly publication day recedes further and further.

2. Volume XXV will probably be issued in instalments as material becomes available. Contributors whose articles require illustration should submit them as early as possible in the year. It is improbable that plates will be included in the first number.

3. Readers of the review of M. Douin's *Histoire du règne du Khedive Ismail* in Part I of Volume XXIII will be interested to know that the third part of M. Douin's Third Volume is nearly ready for the printer. It will contain 1,200 pages and is entirely devoted to a study of the exploration and administration of General Gordon in Equatoria. It is understood that access to the archives of the Abdin Palace and of Colonel Moffitt has thrown an entirely new light on this period.

Volume IV will cover events in Abyssinia, followed by the history of Gordon's first term of office as Governor-General.



SHILLUK FISHERMAN

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

M. E. C. Pumphrey.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

This article and the succeeding article by P. P. Howell were submitted independently and the authors very kindly agreed to re-write them to avoid overlapping. The articles should be read in conjunction and Mr. Howell in particular has assumed a knowledge in his readers of Mr. Pumphrey's notes and explanations.

EDITOR.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXIV.

Part I.

1941

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *CH* is represented by *C*; words like *Fashoda* which are familiar in that form are left unaltered.

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golbañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golbany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

OUTLINE OF SHILLUK HISTORY.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collo*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collo* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with Acholi, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar.

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that *Nyikang*, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of *Okwa*, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." *Okwa* was succeeded by a brother of *Nyikang*, *Duwadh*, and *Nyikang* himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near *Wau* on the *Bahr el Ghazal* called by the Shilluk *Pothe Thuro*. Here he married a daughter of *Dimo*, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then *Nyikang*

and Dimo quarrelled because the latter insisted on Nyikang's child being dissected to recover a valuable bead it had swallowed. Nyikang consequently again migrated. With a following of only six families he sailed down the Bahr el Ghazal¹ and landed some twenty miles west of Tonga at the site of the present village of Acietagwok.

The party advanced eastwards along the left bank to Nyilual where Nyikang made his headquarters. The country west of the site of Malakal was then uninhabited but they found the Anuak near the Sobat Mouth. It was agreed that the Shilluk should confine themselves to the west bank of the Nile and leave the Anuak in possession of the Sobat and the east bank. There was then no sign of the Nuer on the Zeraf Island.

Nyikang made his headquarters at Nyilwal and built his own village at Dedigo.² Since his son Dak made his village nearby at Falo it would appear that several decades passed before the Shilluk attempted to occupy country to the north of the Sobat Mouth. When they did so they were defeated, in a battle fought near the present village of Wau, by a red people, then in possession, whom the Shilluk describe as *Fuñ*³.

Exactly who these *Fuñ* were is uncertain, as also is the correctness of the Shilluk tradition that after much fighting they were expelled from their last stronghold at Demoth⁴ and driven over the river into the Maban country north-east of Melut. It seems more probable, in view of the smallness of Nyikang's party, that they came into contact and fought with an outlying colony of the Fung Kingdom, some of whom withdrew north-eastwards while the remnant fused with the immigrants and came in time to call themselves *Collo* too. At the same time the *Collo* army seems to have been reinforced by the enlistment of drafts of blacks, probably Nuba, who were called, somewhat contemptuously and to distinguish them from the *Collo* and the *Fuñ*

1. On the basis of reckoning 13 years to a reign and allowing about thirty to a generation the date of Nyikang's arrival can be estimated at about 1550. Hofmayr (*Die Shilluk*) however thinks that Ocalo was the first non-legendary king and estimates his date, on the same system of reckoning, at about 1600 - 1630.

2. In the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac.

3. In the course of this battle the Sacred Stool of Nyikang was captured, and the Shilluk say that this stool *Kwom* is still in the *Fuñ* country.

4. A village some 25 miles north of Kodok where traces of earthworks can still be seen.

remnant, *derimo otang*⁵. These blacks in time also became *Collo* and the clan of Nyikang, originally the *Collo* par excellence, became known as *Kwar Reth*⁶ in distinction from the remainder.

Shortly after his defeat at the battle of Wau, Nyikang had disappeared in a whirl-wind and his son Dak succeeded him as *Reth*. Dak was a great warrior and after expelling the *Fuñ* raided the country as far north as the latitude of El Dueim. In this he met little opposition. The main powers then existing were the kingdom of Tegale to the west and that of the Fung to the east, and the Shilluk seemed to have dominated the White Nile until about 1800. The northern boundary of the Shilluk country was, however, fixed by Dak at the site of the village of Tworokit (opposite Jebel Ahmed Agha), the country beyond being considered (as it is to this day described) as "raiding country."⁷

The period from Dak's campaigns to the arrival of the Arab slave trader El Fiki Mohammed Kheir in the reign of *Reth Kwadhker* (approximately 1850) is obscure. There are accounts of fighting with the Anuak; the Dinka appear to have arrived from the south-west in the reign of *Reth Tugo* (about 1750) and the Nuer to have reached Zeraf Island a little later. When the first Mudir of Fashoda⁸ took up his position at Kodok in 1867 *Reth Kwadhker* was reigning and the distribution of neighbouring tribes was approximately as it is to-day.

Sir Samuel Baker describes how he caught this Mudir in the scandalous act of arresting Shilluk for non-payment of taxes (a proceeding not unknown to-day) and also how he interviewed the ex-*Reth Kwadhker* who had by then been deposed by the Mudir in favour of the Turkish puppet Ajang Nyidhok. At this period there was serious civil war between the northern half of the kingdom, supporting the usurper Ajang and the Government, and the southern half, supporting the deposed Kwadhker. Finally after Kwadhker had for many years

5. This may be translated "black battalions."

6. *Kwar* is a collective word meaning "descendants." Thus *Kwar Oman* means the descendants of Oman and *Kwar Reth* means the descendants of the (original) *Reth*, that is Nyikang.

7. "*pothe manyo*."

8. Ali Bey Kurdi,

eluded capture the Mudir lured him into his encampment at Lul and took him to Kodok where he ultimately died a prisoner.

Reth Ajang fell from favour over suspected complicity in the killing of some government troops engaged in an attempt to collect rifles from the tribe, and was hanged at Kodok. Thereafter the Mudir, Yusef Bey, decided to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and local chiefs were accordingly appointed throughout the country. This policy was evidently unsuccessful and in October 1875 Romolo Gessi, who happened to be passing in a steamer, heard from the Mudir that the garrison at Kaka, which consisted then of some 24 soldiers with one cannon, was being besieged by the tribe. He consented to take a relief party there. This party, 140 strong, landed at Kaka and was ambushed and killed almost to a man, Gessi being a spectator from the steamer.

This event caused the recall of Ali Bey Kurdi to Fashoda. He hanged many of the recently appointed chiefs and appointed as *Reth* Kwiekon a son of Kwadhker. Rashid Bey relieved Ali Bey Kurdi in about 1880.

In 1881 the Mahdi moved to Jebel Gadir. Rashid Bey, apparently on his own initiative, took a force variously estimated from 400 to 1400 strong which included *Reth* Kwiekon and marched by an inland route to Jebel Gadir in the hope of capturing the Mahdi. Almost the entire force was killed, including the Mudir and Kwiekon.

Kodok then became one of the marooned garrisons. A certain Jok Akoc⁹ succeeded Kwiekon, but neither he nor the remaining vestiges of Government had much control over the tribe. Yor Akoc (father of the present *Reth* Fafiti and brother of Jok) went to El Obeid to pay respects to the Mahdi and got himself appointed *Reth*. Later, when the garrison left Kodok, Yor installed himself at Fashoda.

However the tribe was not to be left long in peace. During the famine in Omdurman the Emir Abbas Sami came in the S.S. *Safia* with a large body of Ta'aisha to feed off the country. *Reth* Yor did not co-operate in this scheme to the Emir's satisfaction and the following year Zeki Tummal, who had been campaigning in Abyssinia, was

9. Jok was never officially *Reth* and was superseded by his brother Yor almost at once.

ordered to punish this recalcitrance. This he did with some effect. He set up a well-defended encampment at Fadiang (about six miles south of Kodok) and thence made repeated raids on the tribe. The Shilluk fled across the river and the Emir laid waste the whole country, succeeding finally in arresting *Reth* Yor whom he had beheaded at Fadiang.

Kur Nyidhok, a brother of the puppet King Ajang, had joined the forces of Zeki Tummal and when the latter left for Omdurman he took Kur to pay homage to the Khalifa Abdullahi. No sooner had Kur gone than Akol, another of Kwadhker sons, arose as a pretender in the south, and was barely prevented from effecting his entry into Fashoda by the defeat of his supporters at the hands of a force comprising all the sections from Burbok to Both at the battle of Kwom. This attempt was punished by Kur on his return from Omdurman at the battle of Dettim where Akol's supporters were defeated and Akol himself forced to retire to Abujop on the Sobat. Kur was *Reth* at the time of Marchand's arrival at Kodok, but was deposed by the present Government in 1903 and replaced by Akol's brother Fadiet. Fadiet was probably done to death in the traditional manner, by being suffocated by some of his wives, and Fafiti, son of Yor Akoc, was appointed. It is said that in this election the Mamur of Kodok was partial and that he contrived the appointment against the wishes of the tribe. This, if in any way true, has been much exaggerated. There was normal rivalry between Coti, son of Ajang, and Fafiti. Ajang had been a puppet of the Turkish Government and, having never been ceremonially installed in Fashoda, had never really been *Reth*. Coti's claim was therefore poor. Fafiti was supported by Bol Ayuel, Chief of Golbañ, and Coti by Ajang Agwet, Chief of Debalo. The Chiefs of Golbañ and Debalo are *ex officio* primarily responsible for electing the new *Reth* and as these two functionaries differed feeling was naturally high. The southern half of the country were antagonised by Fafiti's appointment and their allegiance to him accordingly remains to this day less sincere.

In 1932, largely owing to famine, Fafiti's prestige sank low and Coti's cousin, Nyaweilo Kur, conspired to kill him. The arrest and exile of Nyaweilo improved Fafiti's position and his prestige has probably grown in the last nine years.

CHAPTER II. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

Kwar (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar Okel* designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note.

THE SETTLEMENT (PODH).

The word *podh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure.

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river.

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan.

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil*

lineage should provide the chief. Expediency, however, requires that the chieftainship shall follow local strength, or in other words local numerical superiority. Thus, with a certain inevitable lag, the lineage which is most numerous within the settlement tends to dispossess the *dyil* lineage of the chieftainship¹⁰ of the settlement. Nevertheless the *dyil* lineage, even when dispossessed of the chieftainship, retains a certain local prestige as owners of the soil and its opinion always carries extra weight in debate. Some settlements have an interesting arrangement whereby the chieftainship goes to two or three lineages in turn (e.g., Odong Fanyikang).

Within the settlement each lineage has its original hamlet (*pan dwong*)¹¹ subservient to which are the subsequently formed hamlets of that lineage within the settlement. The chief of the *pan dwong* (i.e., the lineage head within the settlement) represents his lineage in the politics and administration of the settlement. The hamlets of one lineage are not necessarily grouped together in the settlement.

With a strong settlement chief the lineage loyalties are largely submerged in the *esprit de corps* of the settlement. Conversely when the chief is personally weak or belongs to a lineage which is numerically small the latent lineage loyalty raises its head and the administration of the settlement suffers accordingly.

THE HAMLET AND THE HOMESTEAD.

Unlike the settlement each hamlet (*pac*) is a homogeneous unit in the sense that a hamlet contains only people of the same lineage. Some hamlets are very small, consisting of a single homestead, while others may contain fifty. In any case the hamlet is no more than an enlarged family group. The homesteads are arranged in roughly

10. The *lau* (meaning sheepskin) is the insignia of chieftaincy. The name has been transferred to the strip of cloth which each chief receives, usually from the *Reth*, on his appointment.

11. *Pac* = hamlet. This word assumes the forms:

pan when followed by a qualifying adjective.

pa when followed by a genitive.

Its plural is *myer*.

horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*luak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *geu*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater-familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

CHAPTER III.

THE ELEMENTS OF SHILLUK SOCIETY.

The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reth*, *Ororo*, *Collo* and *Bang Reth*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reth*, and less so the *Ororo*, are usually treated with a certain outward defence by the *Collo*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Collo* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reth* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe¹². The *Bang Reth* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reth*, and the *Ororo*, who are as will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reth*, are numerically negligible.

THE KWAR RETH.

The *Kwar Reth*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country. It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristocracy, physically indistinguishable from its *Collo* neighbours, sometimes providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reth* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, with the exception of the *Reth's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Collo* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reth's* wives are *Collo*.

Within the *Kwar Reth* there are four higher titles. These are *Reth* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reth*), *Nyireth* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reth* (reigning or dead), *Nyāreth* (or *Nyinyireth*) for a son of a *Nyireth* and *Kwar Nyireth* (elided into *Kwanyreth*) for a grandson of a *Nyireth*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reth* has a claim to the title *Kwanyireth*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyireth* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

12. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,¹³ most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*¹⁴ is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"¹⁵ into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief¹⁶ who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

13. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *bareth*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

15. *pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *bareth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area. Queen Abudok¹⁷ is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others¹⁸ where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth* is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"¹⁹ the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE ORORO.

Ororo is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth* which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*." Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyireth* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1650.

18. e.g., Awarajuok.

19. *Tiek mi Reth*.

interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of *Reth* Odak against the Anuak in which the Shilluk were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Reth's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Duwadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Reth* may be appointed, could never become *Reth*. Duwadh, the sole surviving *Nyireth*, in due course became *Reth* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyireths* and made them "as *Collo*." In this way the *Kwar Reth* was restricted to the descendants of Duwadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Ororo*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls."

It is said that the *Reth* has always possessed and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of excising branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Reth* Duwadh on this occasion.²⁰ *Reth* Fadiet tried to degrade the lineage of *Reth* Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldy branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Ororo*.

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Reth* speared a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Reth*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"²¹ which is often used to describe the *Ororo*.

The *Ororo* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed *Reth* and have held for at least seven generations the important chiefship of Tonga. For the purposes of

20. It seems possible that in truth the old *Reths* used this device frequently and that the present *Ororo* are not really all sons of Duwadh but are various lineages at one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Ororo* will ever say which is the particular son of Duwadh from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject evasively, and it is unusual for a Shilluk to be either reticent or vague about his ancestry.

21. *bung kodh yi gen*.

the rules of exogamy the *Ororo* are considered as a *Collo* clan and can intermarry with the *Kwar Reth* as well as with any *Collo* clan other than their own. The *Reth* always has some *Ororo* women among his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

THE COLLO.

The *Collo* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.²² Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.²³ Many claim a mythical origin. Others²⁴ are avowedly accretions, others²⁵ again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

BANG RETH.

It has already been described how the *Reths* used to keep order in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers known as *Bang Reth*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Bang Reth*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Reth's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Bang Reth*, which is of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

22. e.g., *Kwar Abogo*, *Kwar Muol*, *Kwar Nyileng* and *Kwar Ojul*.

23. e.g., *Kwar Jur*, *Kwar Othou* and *Kwar Okel*.

24. e.g., *Kwar Jung* (who were originally Dinka).

25. e.g., *Kwar Oman* (of Ogod).

being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*.

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be.

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them.

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan.

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

THE PROVINCES OF LUAK AND GER AND THE OLD ORDER.

The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively²⁶. The bound-

26. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name *Gol Nyikang* is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by *Nyikang* himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at *Nyilual*. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the *Gol* of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth Dhokoth* the Shilluk did not accept his son *Tugo* and called back the "queen" *Abudok* who had previously ruled after the death of *Buoc* and had resigned to make way for *Dhokoth*. *Tugo* had been living at *Athokong* and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at *Fadiang*, just south of *Kodok*. Later he built and gave its name to *Fashoda*. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of *Abudhok*. *Abudhok* then came to meet him at *Fashoda*, they were reconciled, and *Abudhok* again resigned. At that meeting *Tugo* brought a bull to present to *Abduhok*, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the *Nyigir* boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later *Tugo* settled his retainers in what is now *Golbañ*, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

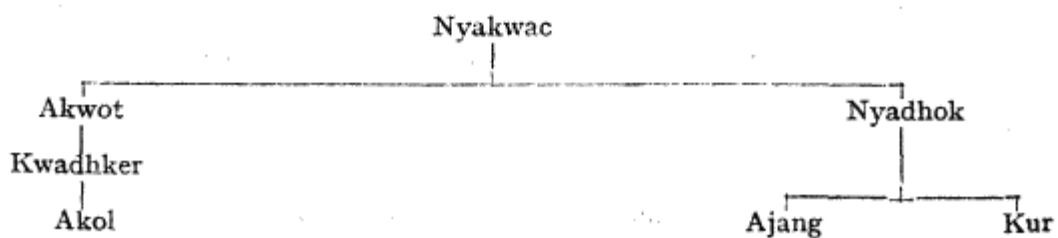
ary between them was a khor called Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. The chief of Debalo Kwom, just to the south of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office the chief of Luak and the chief of the settlement of Golbañ, some five miles north of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office chief of Ger. These two chiefs, with the chiefs of Muomo settlement in the extreme north and Tonga settlement in the south, were the four high chiefs of the Shilluk Kingdom.

This symmetrical arrangement with Fashoda as its focal point may be described as the indigenous system of the Shilluk government. Minor disputes were settled by the settlement chiefs but in major matters government was highly centralised. The high chiefs functioned as the *Reth's* representatives. It seems that they were administrative rather than judicial functionaries and were responsible for sending to Fashoda for the *Reth's* despatch any matter of more than local importance.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The deposition of *Reth* Kwadhker by the Turkish Government in favour of the puppet Ajang Nyidhok and later the attempt by Akol Kwadhker, during the Mahdia, to usurp the Rethship during the absence in Omdurman of *Reth* Kur Nyidhok led to civil wars in which the settlements lying to the north of Both espoused successively the causes of Ajang and Kur (both sons of Nyidhok)²⁷. As a result the settlements from Both northwards to Kwom, which had previously been a part of Luak, refused to continue so and the boundary between the two provinces thereafter was made to the south of the settlement of Both.

27. A simplified branch of the *Kwar Reth* "tree" may help help to clarify these dynastic struggles:



This change was the less drastic because by that time the division into Luak and Ger had already lost most of its practical significance. There was then already existing a tendency away from the old and highly centralised regime to one in which power was exercised locally by chiefs of confederacies, a tendency which began when the Turkish Government attempted, after deposing *Reth* Ajang, to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and through locally appointed chiefs and which has since developed as a concomitant of the inevitable disappearance of the *Reth's* arbitrary powers. The change of the Luak-Ger boundary had the effect of turning the Chief of Debalo Kwom, who had hitherto been "Chief of Luak," into the chief of the southernmost confederacy of Ger (*i.e.* of the present "Fashoda Division"). He continued nevertheless as the titular Chief of Luak by virtue of being Chief of Debalo Kwom. Recently the chieftainship of Fashoda Division was removed from Debalo Kwom and assumed by the Chief of Lul. An interesting question now is whether the Chief of Fashoda Division or the now subordinate chief of Debalo Kwom is titular Chief of Luak. That this is uncertain is an indication of the emptiness of the title for all practical purposes. It may not be until the *Reth* dies that an answer can be given. Probably the ceremonial functions which appertained to the "Chief of Luak" will be performed by whoever is the chief of Debalo Kwom.

THE GROUPING OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES.

As has been said, the growth of territorial units larger than the settlement began with the Turkish experiment following the deposition of *Reth* Ajang. Use was doubtless then made, as has been made since, of the natural tendency of contiguous settlements to agglomerate, by reason of a common cause or of the existence of outstanding personality, into loose and impermanent confederacies, described by the term *luak*.²⁸ These confederacies have ever since been bolstered up to form the administrative units now called Divisions.

28. This word *Luak* has thus three meanings:

- (1) a building for housing cattle.
- (2) The southern province of the kingdom.
- (3) An agglomeration of settlements.

Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship.

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda²⁹.

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places).

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well.

²⁹. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

The *Reth* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are appointed by the *Reth*, usually on the nomination of a council of the Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of £E. 2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry. The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division. There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. Nevertheless the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder member of the family.

The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives.

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work.

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct

and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lan thin*, (minor *lau*),) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single homestead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

Shilluk tribe	..	..	<i>Reth</i> .
Luak and Ger	..	..	Chiefs of <i>Gol Nyikang</i> and <i>Gol Dhiang</i> .
Division (<i>luak</i>)	..	..	Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (<i>podh</i>)	..	..	Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (<i>pac</i>)	..	..	<i>Jal dwong pac</i> .
<i>Gol</i>	..	..	<i>Jal Gol</i> .

CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwar* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle³⁰. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong.

It is not perhaps too fanciful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal.

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute.

30. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no place in society for bachelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually continues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit

her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to

cause family disruption. It is therefore to be avoided if possible, and it is to this end that most of the marriage customs exist.

Freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes. Only when cattle are urgently required does a father sometimes marry off his daughter under age, probably to a Dinka who will usually be willing to pay ten head of cattle since his own dowry payment is much larger. The usual procedure is for the girl first to be asked by her admirer whether she will marry him. If she agrees, she will then tell her *gol* leader of the proposal. This may be the first intimation her family has, and there will be a hasty consideration of prospects. If the husband is acceptable he will be told to bring a sheep (the *dyel dhok*). At once he will don his finery, as also will the best man,³¹ and the pair will proffer the sheep. If it is accepted the wedding dance will follow closely and the cattle will be brought thereafter by the best man as circumstances permit. If they are readily available about eight will be brought soon after the wedding dance and the remaining two will remain over until a final dance (*mogho thick*) has been held in the bride's village. At this dance neither the bride nor the bridegroom dance. The bridegroom sits in a house apart with the best man and the bride remains with her family. It is said that sometimes the bridegroom "calls out" the bride, in which case the best man dances with the bride and the bridegroom with the bridesmaid³². The bride's maid is a girl friend of the bride who acts as go-between in the frequent elopments which occur after the acceptance of the sheep and before the final dance. Such elopments are regarded lightly by the bride's *gol* who are usually pacified by the present of another sheep, but who nevertheless retrieve their daughter if they can.

The best man is the bridegroom's friend who often accompanies him on a journey to spy out the land for a desirable wife and who, as already mentioned, goes with him to proffer the sheep. Once the sheep is accepted the wife's *gol* appoint also their *jal tong* and it is through these intermediaries that all haggling over cattle is conducted.

31. *Jal tong*, meaning literally "man of the spear."

32. *Nya dhey tong*, meaning literally "young woman of the spear,"

A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *jal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thiek* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thiek*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

only in the one case already described does he receive anything ; *i.e.*, when he claims from the bride wealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister. Where such arrears are claimed they are a first charge upon the new cattle payments.³³

ORA.

A man will describe as *Ora* not only all his wife's kinsmen but also, strictly speaking, all kinsmen of the wives of all his own kinsmen. Obviously, if strictly thus interpreted, *ora* would embrace a very large group indeed. But the word has two senses. In its wider sense it does embrace a very large group, though as will be seen later the extent of the group embraced is limited by a not too rigorous interpretation of the word "kinsmen." In this wider sense it has a significance in the various sex taboos such as *dwalo* which will be considered later. For the moment consideration of this wider sense will be postponed to a consideration of the *ora* tie in its narrower sense of the tie which unites a husband to the *gol* of his wife.

Throughout the earlier years of the marriage members of the husband's *gol* have to pay special reverence³⁴ to the *gol* of his wife. The reason for this, as for so many marriage customs, is the recognised necessity of avoiding all possible causes of friction during what may be called the period of tension. This tension is the product of a definite inequilibrium. The husband's *gol* are acutely aware of having paid ten head of cattle as pledge for the as yet uncertain good behaviour of the wife. As the wife produces children she pays off, so to speak, the marriage cattle at the rate of five head of cattle for each daughter and two for each son until, when she has produced two daughters or five sons (or an arithmetically suitable combination of the sexes), the tension is resolved. Thereafter no law suit would follow the breach of the marriage since it would be considered that the husband's *gol* had got their "money's worth." During the period of tension the

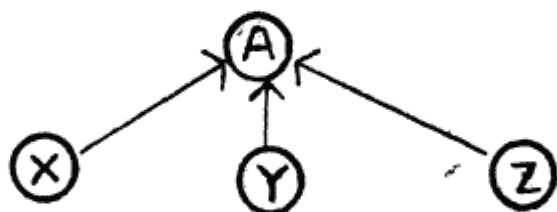
33. An example may clarify this. X has been married by A who has paid 6 head of cattle only. Y is the brother of X. X has, by A, a daughter, Z, who is married by P. The bride wealth paid by P all goes to A, but A must pay 4 head of cattle to Y, because these are due in arrears to Y from the marriage of X. Y is of course the maternal uncle of Z.

34. *Wuor*.

husband will not speak to his *ora* and if he meets them on the road will step hurriedly off the roadway and allow them to pass.

SEX TABOOS.

The *ora* tie in the wider of the two senses above described, is of practical importance only in connexion with certain sex taboos breach of which is visited by *dwallo* sickness. In what follows the word *pac* (or *pa*) must be taken to mean a lineage (*i.e.*, a detachment of a clan within a settlement). The expression *pa ora* thus means a *pac* which is *ora* to the speaker's *pac*. Since the speaker's *pac* will not all have married into one and the same *pac* it follows that it will have several of these. Thus in the diagram:—



If there has been intermarriage between A on the one hand and X, Y and Z on the other, then X, Y and Z are all *ora* to A, A being reciprocally *ora* to X, Y and Z. If men of A have married women from X, Y and Z, no men of X, Y or Z may marry women from A. To have other than "one-way traffic" would hopelessly confuse the issues.

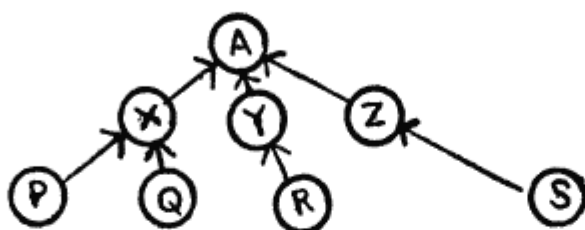
It might be supposed that, since in each *pac* (in the particular enlarged sense of the word defined above) there may average fifty married men, the number of *pacs* which are *ora* would be nearly as numerous. In fact this is not the case because each *pac* develops a tendency to marry women from another particular *pac*³⁵. This tendency is nothing more than a traditional convention with which it is not

35. For example it is the tendency of the youths of Fathworo to marry girls of Adhidiang.

compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwalo*.

*Dwalo*³⁶

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ora* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *pac* A as *myer man ora*,³⁷ that is to say *myer ora* of the *myer ora* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ora* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ora* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ora* of the second degree (*pa man ora*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwalo* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man having relations with a woman to whom he is related; but it seems that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ora* and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *pa man ora* girl. This may require explanation. As already said

36. *Dwalo* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has seduced her in contravention of the taboo makes a prophylactic sacrifice by splitting a gourd, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the gourd in the road-way, "so that the people passing—by may carry away the *dwalo*."

37. *Myer* is the plural of *pac*.

there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above) to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ora*, P. Now if a man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of *pac* X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwalo is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwalo* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol* must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ot*,³⁸ or they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literally "substitute of the house."

awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted.

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments.

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kwor*. *Kwor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is

married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

<i>Kwor yac cie dhano</i>	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
<i>Kwor yac nian a jur</i>	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own <i>gol</i>)	3 head of cattle
<i>Kwor kwobo cie dhano</i>	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
<i>Kwor kwobo nian a jur</i>	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own <i>gol</i>)	1 head of cattle

Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases produce little ill feeling. No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply truthfully ; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendant midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kwor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many paramours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all. Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are not uncommon.

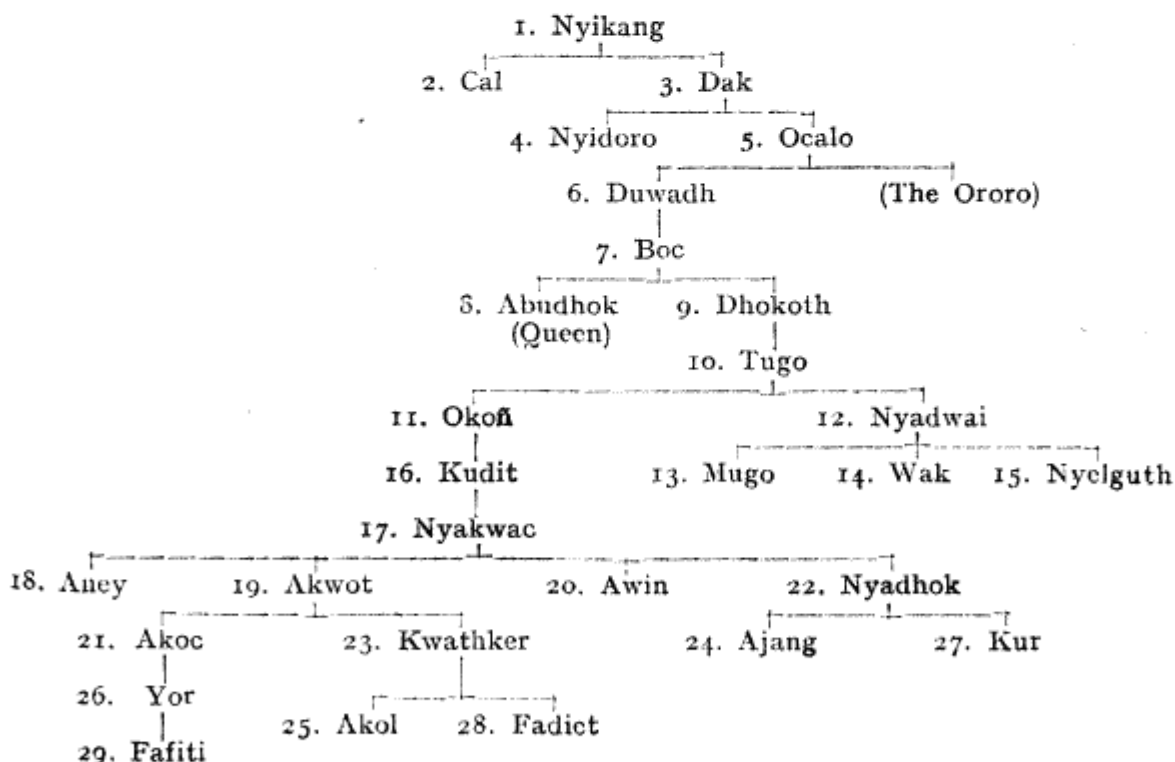
Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a

son. Alternatively, and probably more frequently, they are brought up by the *gol* of their mother and regard their maternal uncle *in loco parentis*. In such case the child, whether male or female, is termed *okeijo* and belongs to the clan of its maternal uncle. Such a child may have relations with the wife of his maternal uncle in the same way as a son may have relations with the wife of his father³⁹. A girl who is *okeijo* will be married from the hand of her maternal uncle who will receive the entire cattle price.

APPENDIX I.

TREE OF THE KWAR RETH.

(N.B.—This is Hofmayr's tree, adopted by Professor Seligman and here reproduced with spelling alterations only.)



39. This fact well confirms the view that it is social expediency and no affair of blood which dictates the *dwalo* taboo.

APPENDIX II.

INSTALLATION OF A NEW RETH.

When a *Reth*¹ dies the Chiefs of Golbañ and Debalo consult as to who among the available *Nyireth* is to become *Reth*. This decided, the king elect is seized and taken to Fashoda where he stays quietly till the late *Reth*'s mourning dance has been held. Then follows the installation ceremony. Details of this have been described by Munroe who witnessed it. The essential element is the ceremonial entry from Debalo to Fashoda. For this there are two rival "armies," *liñ Reth* and *liñ Nyikang*². The latter army brings the images³ of Dak and Nyikang in state from Akurwa to Fashoda and awaits the arrival of the *liñ Reth* at the north side of Khor Arepajur (which lies between Debalo and Fashoda). *Liñ Reth* then accompanies the new *Reth* from Debalo to the Khor, each man carrying a bit of dura stalk as a spear. *Liñ Nyikang*, of which the members carry thongs of twisted grass,⁴ "capture" the *Reth* from his own army. Thereupon the *Reth* walks across the prostrate form of an elderly man (described as *odung*) who lies down in his path in the Khor bed. Thereafter the *Reth* is escorted to Fashoda by two "holy maidens" (*nyawole woa man kwer*) of which one is from the *Ororo* and the other from *Kwar Okel*. These afterwards becoming his wives. The *Reth* then stabs a bull as *geidhi*⁵ for the *odung*, who thereafter has traditionally the right to seize any of the *Reth*'s cattle upon which he can immediately lay hands. The *Reth* is then taken to the four huts on the mound⁶ at Fashoda. The image of Nyikang is placed upon the sacred stool (*kwom*). The *Reth* seizes the foot of the stool and the image of Nyikang is removed from it. The *Reth* then sits upon the stool and becomes thereby invested with his holy office. Three days seclusion on the mound follow, after which he is ceremonially washed in one of the four huts which is used exclusively for

1. *Reths* are said in Shilluk not to die but to "pass" (*podh*).

2. *Liñ Reth* is composed of warriors from *Ger* and *liñ Nyikang* from warriors of *Luak*.

3. These are poles of bamboo crowned with ostrich feathers.

4. *Ocallo*.

5. *Geidhi* is the payment made by a person who has injured another as indication of his readiness to pay the customary compensation in due course.

6. The mound is called *aturwic*.

this purpose. Thereafter his installation is complete and he has become clothed with the spirit of Nyikang which will remain with him until he dies.

Dak married his half-sister, Nyadwai. This precedent was followed by all the old *Reths* who apparently always had one of their sisters among their wives. This sister was known as *okwalo* and used probably to be one of the holy maidens mentioned above. It is said that this practice has now ceased and that the *Reths* no longer take one of their sisters to wife. The last case which can be cited is that of *Reth Nyakwac*⁷ who married his half-sister, Nyago. *Kwanyireth* Bol Acien of Lul (the present Chief of Fashoda Divison) is reputed to be descended from this union.

APPENDIX III.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

The Shilluk system for describing relationship and connexions by marriage is classificatory. The terms used will be given under the following three heads:—

- (1) Relationships with kinsmen.
- (2) Other relationships.
- (3) Connexions consequent upon the marriage tie.

(1) RELATIONSHIP WITH KINSMEN.

(N.B.—*In the terms given below that given first is the word without possessive suffix. That given second is the word with the addition of the first person singular possessive suffix. Thus "Wi Deng" means Deng's father, while "Nyimia" means "my sister."*)

(a) Relations of the same generation :

<i>Uwi</i>	<i>Uwia</i>	Every male kinsmen (theoretically however remote) if of the same generation, (<i>i.e.</i> , classificatory brother).
<i>Nywi</i>	<i>Nyiwia</i>	Same as <i>Uwi</i> , but feminine, (<i>i.e.</i> , classificatory sister).
<i>Umi</i>	<i>Umia</i>	Uterine brother.
<i>Nyimi</i>	<i>Nyimia</i>	Uterine sister.

7. This is kept highly secret.

(b) *Relations in father's generation :*

<i>Wi</i>	<i>Wia</i>	Father, and father's <i>uwi</i> .
<i>Waje</i>	<i>Waja</i>	Father's <i>nyiwi</i> .
<i>Mai</i>	<i>Maia</i>	Mother.

(c) *Relations in grandfather's generation.*

<i>Kwai</i>	<i>Kwaia</i>	Grandfather and any male relative (patrilinial or matrilineal) in the grandfather's generation.
<i>Wang</i>	<i>Wanga</i>	Grandmother and any female relative (patrilinial or matrilineal) in the grandmother's generation.

(d) *Relations in son's generation.*

<i>Wad</i>	<i>Wada</i>	Son.
<i>Nyar</i>	<i>Nyara</i>	Daughter.
<i>Umadhe</i>	<i>Umadha</i>	Son's <i>uwi</i> .
<i>Nyimadhe</i>	<i>Nyimadha</i>	Son's <i>nyiwi</i> .

(e) *Relations in grandson's generation :*

<i>Kwar</i>	<i>Kwara</i>	This word is used for any descendant (of either sex) of grandson's (or any more remote) generation. It is also used for plural of such.
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(2) OTHER RELATIONSHIPS.

(a) *Relations in the same generation :*

<i>Unai</i>	<i>Una</i>	Mother's brother's son or <i>uwi</i> of such.
<i>Nyinai</i>	<i>Nyina</i>	Same as <i>unai</i> , but feminine.
<i>Uma</i>	<i>Uma</i>	Son of mother's sister or <i>uwi</i> of such.
<i>Nyima</i>	<i>Nyima</i>	Same as <i>uma</i> but feminine.

(b) *Relations in the mother's generation :*

<i>Nai</i>	<i>Na</i>	Mother's brother or <i>uwi</i> of such.
<i>Ma</i>	<i>Ma</i>	Mother's sister, or <i>nyiwi</i> of such.

(c) *In higher generations :*

It has been noted above that all blood relatives of grandfather's generation are called *kwai* or *wanga* in accordance with whether they are male or female.

(d) *In son's generation :*

Okai *Oka* Sister's son (son of *nyinai* would also be classed *okai*).

Nyikai *Nyika* Same as *okai*, but feminine.

(e) *In lower generations :*

Kwar *Kwara* The meaning of this term has been given in (1) (e) above.

(3) CONNEXIONS CONSEQUENT UPON THE MARRIAGE TIE.

(a) *Terms used by men :*

Ora. A generic term used :—

- (i) By a husband to describe his wife's immediate family.
- (ii) By a husband to describe the *ora* (in sense (i)) of any of his kinsmen.
- (iii) By a man to describe all blood relations of his wife.
- (iv) By a man to describe the husband of his sister or of any related to such husband by blood.

(N.B.—It will be seen the *ora* is a very wide term. Strictly men class every member of a clan to which any of their clan is married or has ever within memory been married as being *ora*. Nevertheless a man will only call another *ora* or *jal ora* when the person addressed is a member of his wife's immediate family.)

(b) *Terms used by women :*

<i>Yure</i>	<i>Yura</i>	<i>Uwi</i> of husband.
<i>Waje</i>	<i>Waja</i>	<i>Nyiwi</i> of husband.
<i>Kwai</i>	<i>Kwaia</i>	Husband's father or husband's father's <i>uwi</i> .
<i>Wang</i>	<i>Wanga</i>	Husband's mother, or any female relative of husband belonging to husband's mother's generation.
<i>Ora</i>	<i>Ora</i>	Husband's uterine brother.

APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MAHDIA AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Muomo	Thworokit	117	Muomo
	Manam	90	
	Muomo	243	
	Aguoro	99	
	Thor	100	
	Abuor	64	
Delal	Akurwa	94	Delal
	Nun	139	
	Arumboth	88	
	Delal Ajak	138	
	Nyirudo	88	
Atoduoi	Arueth	57	Athoduoi
	Thuro	197	
	Dimoth	66	
	Athoduoi	310	
	Nyilec	144	
Detwok	Fanyikang	50	Abiangyai
	Ogod	101	
	Abiangyai	174	
	Mal	82	
	Burbuk	52	
	Fabiu	162	
	Oticogo	77	
	Detwok	140	
	Alel	97	
	Kwocung	73	
Golbañ	Acago	77	Oticogo
	Ataro	62	
	Golo	377	
	Kodok	550	
	Lemo	143	
	Fadiang	284	
	Golbañ	226	Golbañ
	Nyigir	466	

OLD BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAK.

Fashoda	Wadman	170	Kwom
	Aguoro	112	
	Kwom	191	
	Lul...	259	
	Yofi	173	
	Thuolong	220	
	Biu...	62	
	Fabur	86	
	Bol...	115	
	Nyingar	85	
	Both	65	

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

41

Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
NEW BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAK.			
Ogod	Fathau Fadit Wau Ogod Pac Ogod Butu Ogod Famadh	75 108 243 140 176 128	Ogod
Malakal	Malakal Fathuoro Malakal Acop Puot Malakal Ocolo Malakal Ayowangen Wij Malakal Malakal Thuorobuenyo Obwa Awarajuok Athokong	189 106 61 72 92 71 357 269 129	Malakal Awarajuok
Dettim	Adodo Dur Thuoro Dettim Owaci Obai Abujop Obai Dego Fakang	141 232 196 213 161 101 214	Dettim Fanyidwai Fakang
Fanyidwai	Falo Fathuoro Adhidhiang Fanyidwai Pac Faju Abujop Odwar	216 95 117 107 267 210 63	Fanyidwai
Nyijok	Nyijok Nyanacan Nagdiar	226 73 176	non existent
Fanyikang	Agunjuok Nyyiar Fakwar Akonare Oduojo Nyilual Bur Wilnyang Dyel Wuobo Nyilwak Dor Odong Tugo	43 128 80 67 119 94 114 150 101 78 279 97 100	Fanyikang
Tonga	Diñ Nyijwado Dhok Alal Yom Atigo Nyibodo Ayadhajo Fafuojo	96 124 117 355 145 122 108 105	Nyibang Tonga (Tung)

APPENDIX V.

THE CHARACTER OF THE SHILLUK AND SOME OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.

The most striking Shilluk characteristic is pride of race, from which most other features of their character spring. Their intense conservatism, for example, results from a conviction that everything not Shilluk in origin is inevitably bad. Their much complained of insolence results from their belief that they are every bit as good as the foreigner and just a little better because he has that great initial handicap of not being a Shilluk. It is remarkable that so few Shilluk can understand Arabic considering that no Shilluk village is more than thirty miles from either Tonga, Malakal, Kodok or Kaka, where Arabic is spoken and that from early times their contact with the north has been incessant if not always of the happiest. The *Reth's* chief policeman, an intelligent man who acts as his agent in Malakal and is constantly in attendance at the office, can speak no Arabic.

Nor is the cause simply lack of intelligence and adaptability. When a Shilluk leaves the tribe and becomes, for example, a Medical Assistant in Malakal or Tonga he dresses in western fashion because otherwise he would be laughed at. Likewise in such circumstances his children will wear seamed garments like the children of the townspeople. But as soon as he goes back to his village, whether on leave or retirement, he at once resumes the traditional tribal dress. Those who have had an opportunity to compare their intelligence with that of the Dinka, Nuer and northern Sudanese say that they are slightly more intelligent than the Nuer or the Dinka and about equal in ability to the Northerner. Certainly the Shilluk who know the English language speak it well, and it cannot be said that they are bad linguists in face of such examples as that of a notorious *Kwanyireth* of medical connexion who speaks English, Arabic, Dinka, Nuer and Anuak with great fluency and gets along adequately in Murle. Pure conservatism and the fact that all local merchants speak Shilluk accounts for the almost non-existent progress made by the Arabic language in a century of contact.

Disobedience, insubordination and insolence are according to many the chief Shilluk vices. The first two, although no doubt very

tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," i.e., Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.¹

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Juok* (you have been brought by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about childbirth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci men*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal. Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed. The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

In matters of money they are often surprisingly honest. Money loans are usually repaid punctiliously and without prompting. On one occasion there was great difficulty in paying out correctly a sum of about £E. 80 to workers for the Egyptian Irrigation Department owing to the names having been written down in Arabic by a writer unfamiliar with Shilluk names. After the main part had been eventually distributed through the District Commissioner's office there remained some £E. 10 unpaid. Many Shilluk refused to accept from the Irrigation Department sums written against their names declaring that it was more than they had earned. This sounds unlikely but it happened nevertheless.

THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT.

By P. P. Howell.

The Shilluk word *Kwar* may be roughly translated as "clan" and refers to a group of persons who trace descent unilaterally and patrilineally to a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special and mutual observances and are exogamous. Literally the word *Kwar* means "descendants of" and often has no wider reference than the descendants of a relatively recent ancestor. The exact meaning may vary according to the context. The Shilluk tribe is divided into a number of traditionally recognised clans, the members of which consider themselves bound by ties of kinship, however remote, and although their feeling of corporate unity is much modified by the dissolution of territorial ties, they are still very vaguely clan conscious. In the distant past, in particular during the migration period, the clan was not associated with any particular tract of country, but the members moved from one place to another as a body and the intense feeling of mutual dependence was kept alive by proximity. Today the clan is widely scattered and there is no periodic reunion and the clan never meets or acts as an entity. Thus tradition alone remains and with it the observance of exogamy which does more to maintain those traditions than any other factor.

As among many primitive peoples, the process of lineal segmentation and migration within the clan has long been a phenomenon of Shilluk society. The original clans—if it be possible to speak of clans as such—are now represented by a number of off-shoots resident in widely separated parts of the country. These off-shoots will hereafter be referred to as "lineages." It is natural that the members of one lineage are more closely bound to each other for they are not only more closely akin, but also in daily communication with each other. Nevertheless, the links which bind together the lineages of one whole clan are not yet wholly severed and after many generations of disintegration, the members still trace descent to a common ancestor.

The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

Every Shilluk is, thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*. They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Lau Dwong* of office. Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

this is not always true in practice, for the *Dyil* authority is frequently usurped by a later but more numerous element, sometimes by a lineage of the *Kwar Reth*. Even when this has occurred, the *Dyil* retain some of their rights and their especial relation to the land is not forgotten. They appear to have prior right to speak at a meeting of the local court; "let the *Dyil* speak" is a common saying at a legal discussion. However, newcomers who have taken over the position of authority seek to establish a ritual and traditional background for the power and prestige they have acquired and it is a tendency among the Shilluk for these newcomers to claim and assume the title of *Dyil* even if they are not. For example, in the settlement of *Yom Dhok-Alal* which is described in more detail below, the *Kwar Nyimol* have assumed the *Lau Dwong* though they have no traditional right to it, and they claim rather unconvincingly that they are the *Dyil*. Actually there are many lineages who have been in occupation of the settlement for a much longer period. *Kwar Oring* is said to be the oldest and is now represented by a single old man who is blind and near the end of his life. He lives with his married daughter at *Adod*, the smallest and most insignificant of hamlets. Even *Kwar Oring* is not descended from the original and autochthonous element, for there were older lineages who have died out or migrated in a body to other parts of the country. This will be the fate of *Kwar Oring* after the death of the sole representative. Although recognised as the oldest resident lineage in *Yom Dhok Alal*, there is no evidence that they ever held both the title of *Dyil* and authority over the other lineages.

The dominant lineage which gains undisputed authority through long association with the territory, or acquires the position through numerical superiority, is thus collectively the nucleus of the settlement round which other lineages group themselves. The *Jago*, their chosen leader, is the most important, though not necessarily the eldest, representative of that lineage and he is also the chief of the settlement. He is indeed in the nature of a common bond between the inhabitants, for through him social and political equilibrium is maintained. It follows that the occupants of a settlement are bound together, not only by proximity and common interests, but by an attitude of obedience to the

chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members.

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*), each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyole Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place of their founder.

A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring. *Pa Kwar Ajang* may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*. After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the number of *Nyole Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang* may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions, probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.¹ *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding's* descendants. Others have no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find. Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pan Thin* means the little hamlet and *Panowak* refers to a hamlet situated near the bush. In the settlement of *Yom Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them. Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Pacoda* = *Facoda* (*Fashoda*).

For this purpose *Podh Yom Dhok-Alal* has been chosen and in particular *Kwar Nyimol* which is the dominant clan lineage within it. *Yom* is very vaguely differentiated from *Dhok-Alal*, but the distinction is not a real one and the two are considered as one settlement. It seems that the *Kwar Nyimol* originally settled in the latter area and gradually spread to *Yom*. It is possible that in the past the two territories were entirely unconnected, but that the members of *Kwar Nyimol* increased rapidly, dominated the other lineages living there and extended their sphere of influence in such a way as to incorporate *Yom*. If this is so it provides an excellent illustration of the way in which the structure and boundaries of a settlement may change with the development and movements of the occupants.

In the map of the settlement it will be seen that there are twenty, five hamlets, not including the off shoots who have no separate names—of which sixteen are occupied by members of *Kwar Nyimol*, four by *Kwar Dong*, one by *Kwar Muol*, one by *Kwar Oring* (almost extinct), one by *Kwar Turo*, and one by *Kwar Godh*. It is clear that *Kwar Nyimol* are the most important and hold their position by numerical superiority if by nothing else. *Kwar Dong* are the next largest in numbers of hamlets, while the others have but one hamlet each. It might be supposed that since *Kwar Nyimol* is numerically by far the largest lineage, it is also the oldest in the settlement. There is, however, conclusive evidence that most of the other lineages occupied the area long before the arrival of *Pyem* who founded *Debalo*, the original hamlet of *Kwar Nyimol*. Most of the other lineages have priority of claim to the title *Dyil*. Disease, war, fission and migration have caused a decrease in their numbers over a long period.

Kwar Nyimol are *Ororo*,² but since there does not seem to be any exception in their case, the example illustrates both the pattern of segmentation with a settlement of the various lineages of a clan and the growth of a *Wedh* lineage which has outnumbered the *Dyil* and assumed the *Lau Dwong*. The exactitude of the genealogical list shown on page 67 cannot be vouched for. It is as the *Kwar Nyimol*

2. The special status of the *Ororo* is explained by Mr. Pumphrey (page 12).

recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Reth*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhek*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Ameilek*³ who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gitker* remains one home-stead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gitker* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son fo

3. *Jago Ameilek* is now dead.

o Ajing (Kwinturo)

o Pan Thin

o Pa Ajinyal

o Akwalbar → o Panowak

o Pa Lual(?) → o Anyaso

o (Pa Kwar Diok)

o Pa kwol

o Akwonare (Kwar Dong)

o Pa God (Kwar Goda)

o Débwer (Kwar Dong)

o Adod (Kwar Oring)

o Acop

o Adod (Kwar Muol)

o Pa Kwar Dong (Kwar Dong)

o Debal

o (Akala) → o Pa Rem

(Kwar Dong) → o Pa man, Collo

o Pa Ding

o Ogwak → o Pa Gitker (2)

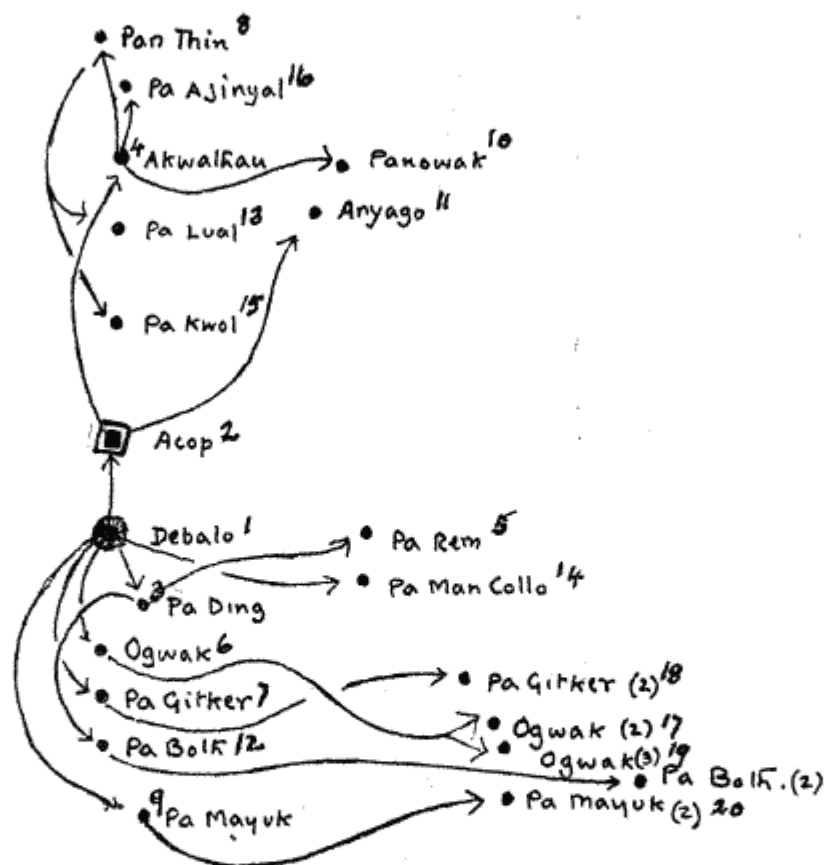
o Pa Gitker → o Ogwak (2)

o Pa Bolk → o Ogwak (3)

o Pa Bolk (2)

o Pa Mayuk → o Pa Mayuk (2)

There not specified :
Kwar Nyimol.



Amayku's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprang *Pa Rem* and *Pa Both* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or collateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder⁴. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, gave legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organized.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Man Collo* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adultung*. The daughter of *Kukwei* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Lual*. The daughter of *Gither* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Gither*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adultung's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.

THE AGE-SET SYSTEM.

The age-grade⁵ organization is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition⁶. This would not be surprising, for the organization of a group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lakustrine Bantu kingdoms or certain other Bantu tribes, it is more developed than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of

5. See distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in *The Nuer: Age-sets*—Sudan Notes and Records Vol. xix pp. 233-234. Doctor Evans-Pritchard also refers to "Age-set" system rather than "Age-grade" system and since this is a more accurate description his terminology is followed below.

6. Hofmayer (Wilhelm Hofmayer "*Die Shilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben Ein Niloten-stammes.*" 1925) does not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and warfare he mentions the existence of such an organization.

"Every man is a soldier and literally always under arms. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *Bany* (principle singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *Bany* against their powerful enemies. The *Bany* has only advisory powers and is chosen by the chiefs of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many names."

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The *Jago*⁷ and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representatives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*.

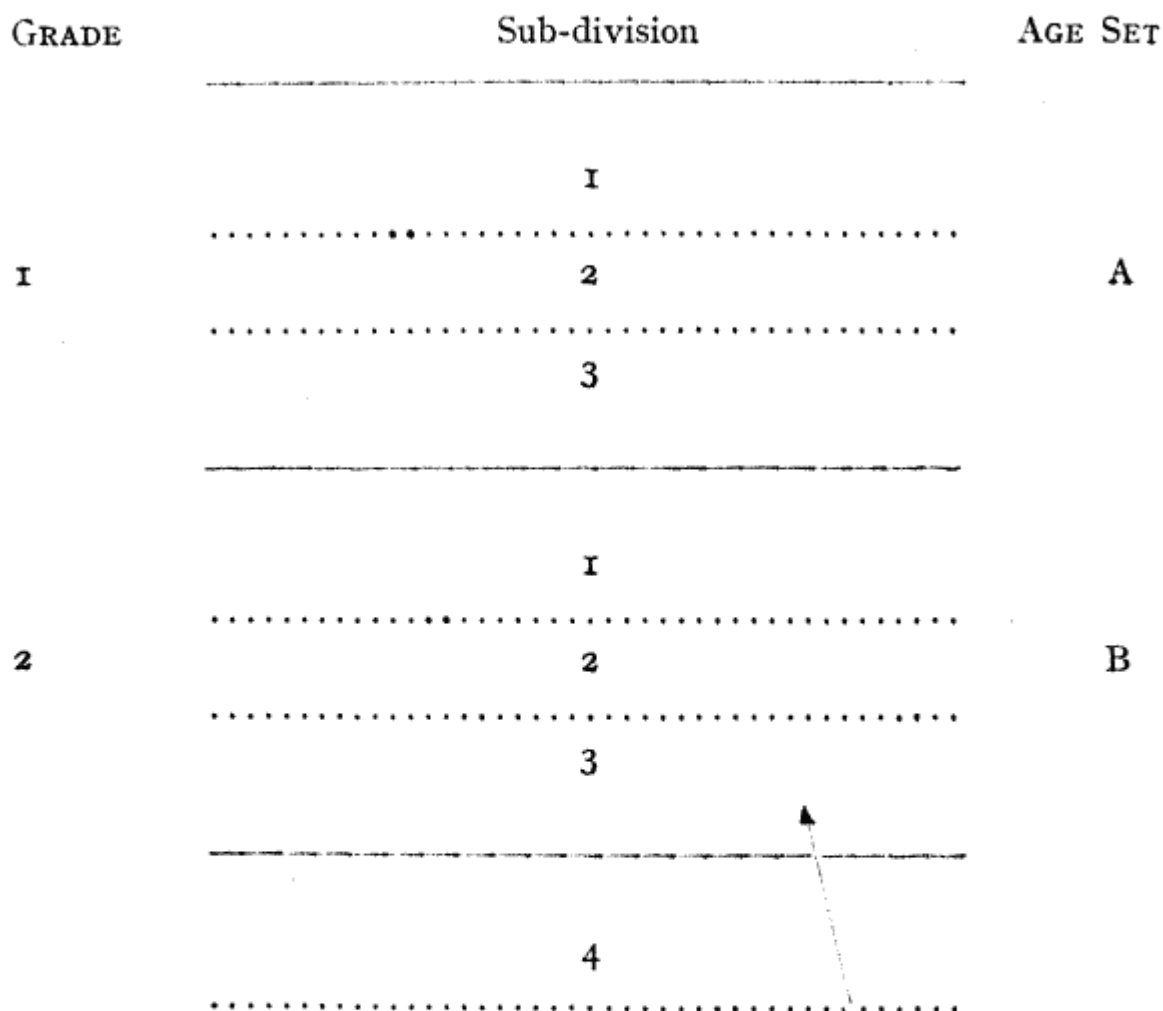
The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of puberty, is automatically grouped with his coevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

7. Chief.

The figure below shows the two age-sets occupying the two active military grades through which each must pass in turn.

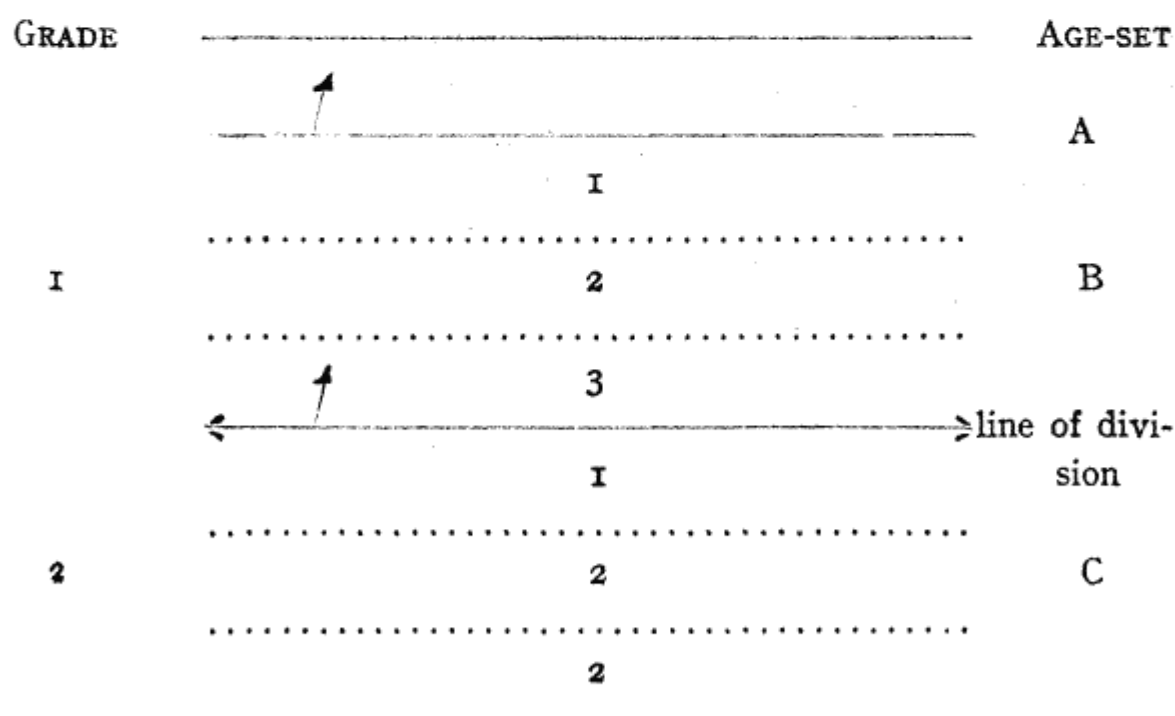


Each age-set has three or more subdivisions — 1, 2, 3 etc., which are made up of those who are approximately of the same age and who have herded cattle together as boys. The members of age-set A are married men and probably the fathers of families. The age-set is static and new sub-divisions do not reach that grade until a new and formal division between the two age-sets is made. Age-set B, however, is continually increasing in number as new sub-divisions are formed. The number of individuals in each sub-division will vary and the rapidity with which new sub-divisions are formed is not constant. After an indefinite period age-set B will be too large for practical purposes and very much larger than A. Moreover, the older sub-divisions of A will

be getting too old for active military service. Many may already be dead. The organisation has thus reached an unbalanced and unwieldy stage and a new division must be made.

It is not clear on whom the decision rests but it is usually the warriors of the younger age-set who initiate the suggestion that a reshuffling takes place. They are anxious to take over the duties and prerogatives of their elders. Some informants state that any man of outstanding personality of the lower age-set could suggest himself as a new war-leader or '*Bañ*' and on his initiative, as representative of the younger age-set which is anxious for promotion, a division would be made.

The *Ngol* or "Cutting" ceremony then takes place and the subdivisions are reorganized into two age-sets, while the members of age-set A pass out into retirement. Age-set B is in fact divided into two, so that they are approximately equal in numbers.



In this figure the division has been made between sub-divisions 3 and 4 of age-set B. Sub-divisions remain undivided internally and the individual Shilluk remains a member of the sub-division he originally

joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction. It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, participates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringement is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this procession enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs.

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name, usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set.

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticeably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears.

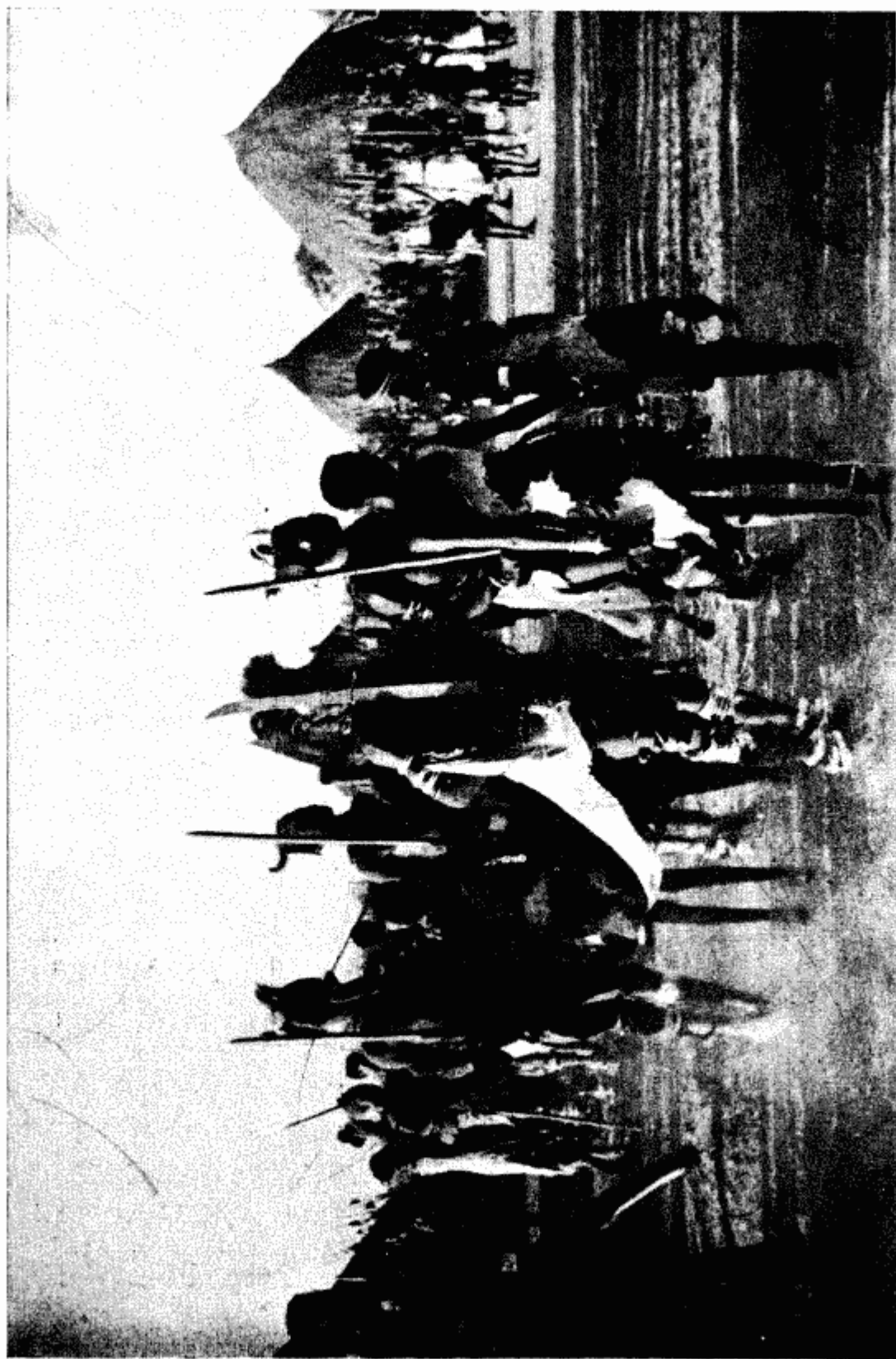
Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

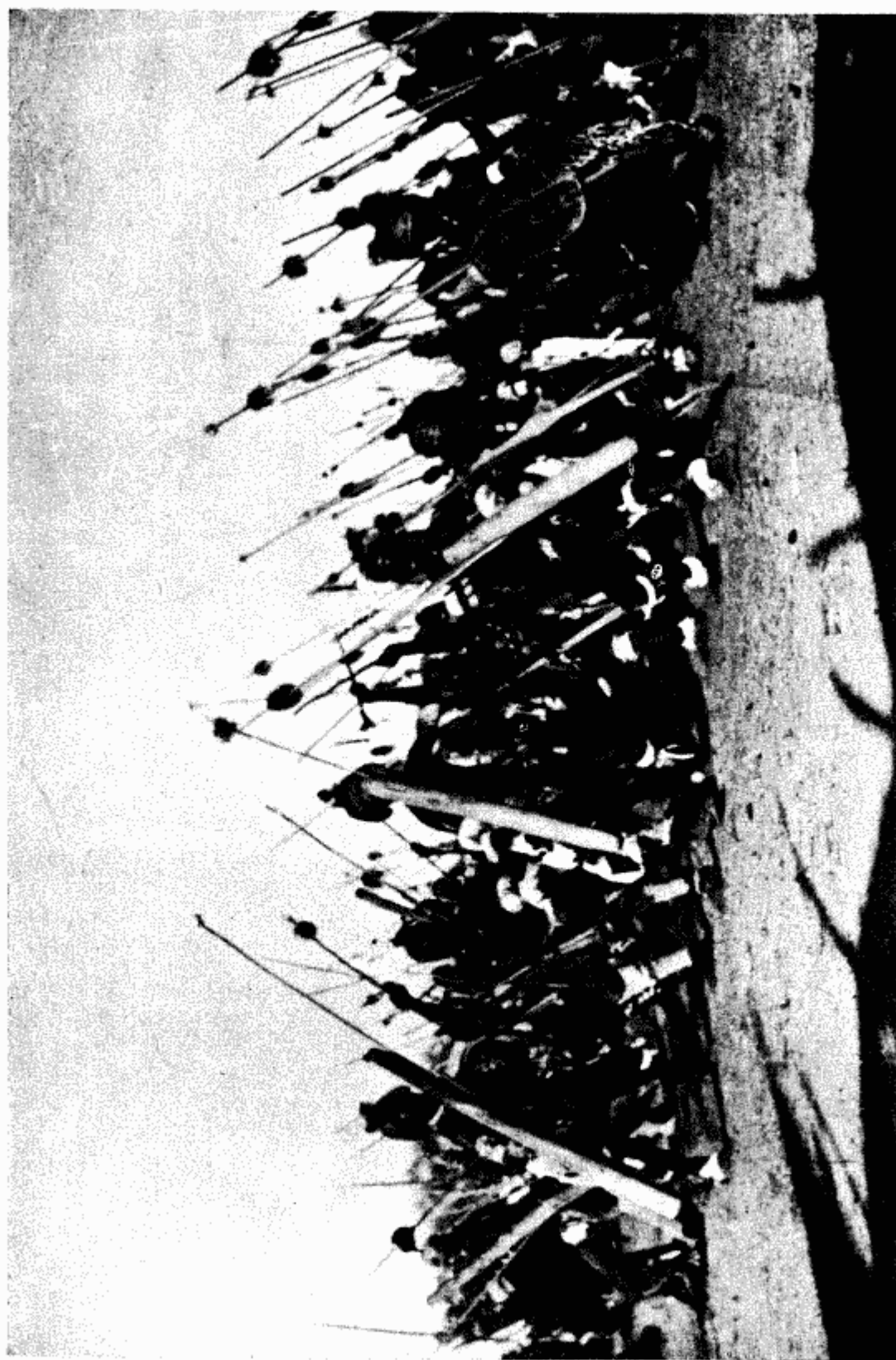
On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round their legs.

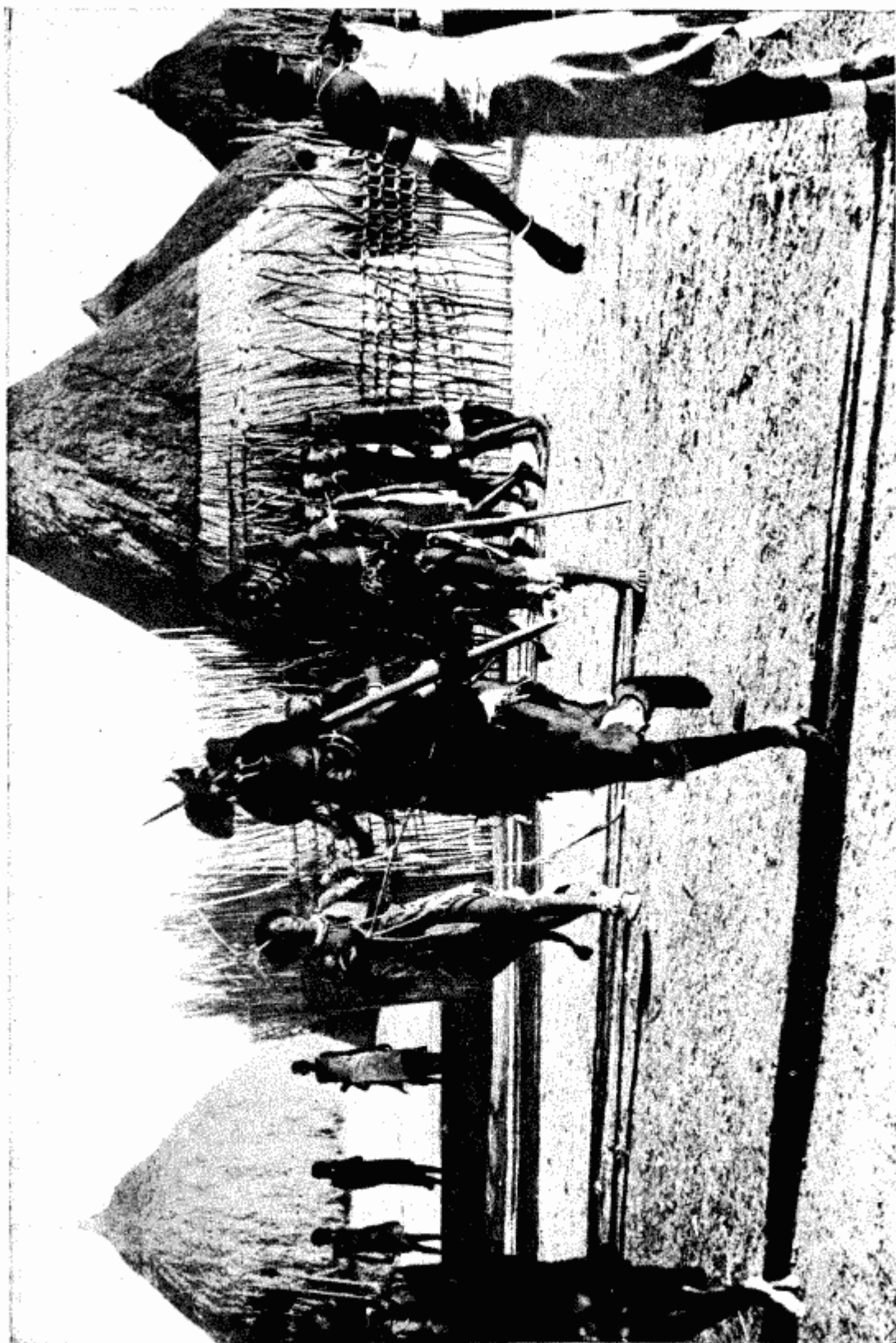
When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,



THE DANCE IN PROGRESS.



WARRIORS SALUTE THE CHIEF.



THE BULL CHARGE.

they advance in formation towards the *Jago's* hut, quicker and quicker until in a wild rush they fling themselves as one body before the chief. When all the warriors have saluted the *Jago*, they retire for further rearrangement of their dress and this time they put away their spears. Armed with sticks and small shields only, they form a circle, two abreast round the drum. The girls now appear on the dancing-ground, and in two's or three's wander round the circle of waiting men, choosing their partners by a point of the hand or a discreet nod of the head. The choice of a partner is entirely the prerogative of the girl and the man has no say in the matter. He cannot refuse. It is a point of honour to the initiate that he should be chosen by some girl, for to dance with a girl is part of the ceremony and if ignored he would be the subject of many sarcastic witticisms afterwards.

Warriors and their partners then arrange themselves in groups of eight or ten, the men two abreast facing the girls who always dance backwards. In the actual dance, these groups advance anti-clockwise, hopping on both legs in time to rhythm. The head is held erect, the men with their arms flexed, holding in one hand a dancing stick, while the girls dance with their hands at their sides. There is no variation of this formation, other than an occasional raising of the hands above the head by the group as a whole.

While the dance is proceeding, the audience is entertained further by various individuals who greatly to their own enjoyment imitate animals or individuals of neighbouring tribes. The Shilluk are born mimers and every conceivable trick is devised. Thus at one *Cong*, the on-lookers were amused to see the arrival of a wild and unruly bull accompanied by two exasperated herdsman who eventually succeeded in lassoing it, after it had charged and scattered the crowd. In another corner a hyena was craftily dragging away an old mat representing the corpse of a goat. Current events are also acted and although the side-shows have no connection with the *Cong Bul* itself, they are very popular with the guests and those who are clever at miming enjoy great prestige.

The *Cong Bul* lasts for about two hours. Shortly before sunset the drum ceases to beat in rhythm and the exhausted dancers hastily

leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented with a bull (*Wath Owono*) as well.⁸ This bull is treated with great care and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets. At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Wath Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

" I have a grey bull, a great bull,
I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
A bell for the bull that lives in
My fathers byre."

to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

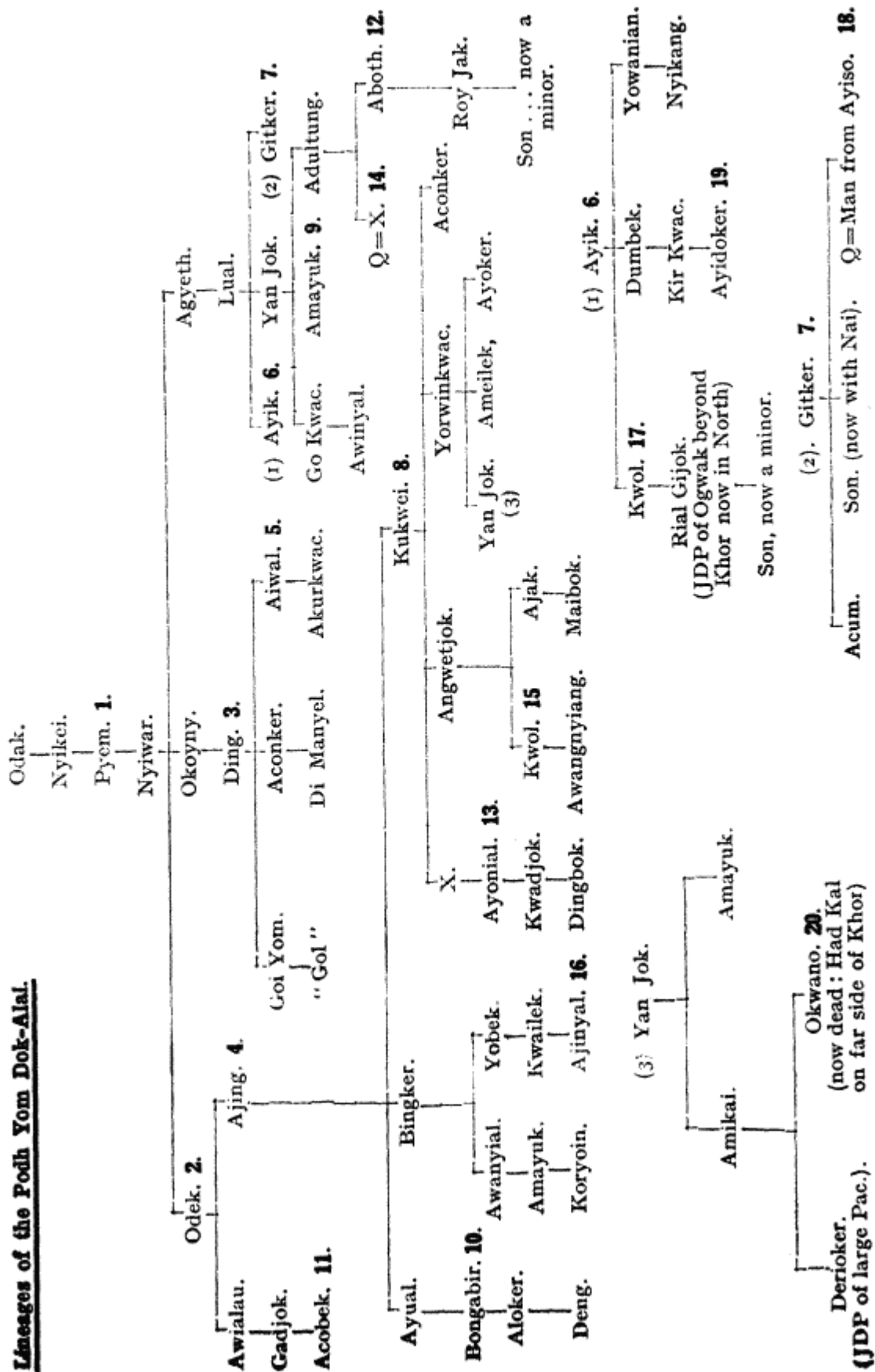
The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and everyone is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age-mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage.

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split off from the main branch of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.⁹ Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

9. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Luak*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

Lineages of the Podh Yom Dok-Alal.

FOLK STORIES OF THE SUDAN.

III.

Further Anuak Stories from E. E. Evans Pritchard together with some
Moru Stories contributed by T. H. B. Mynors.

Introductory Note to Moru Stories.

These tales were collected at various times from different persons and in different areas of the Moru country north west of Juba. They were taken down in the vernacular and here appear in shortened form. In the original, of course, every detail is narrated at some length and often refrains or snatches of song are almost chanted by the narrator as they recur.

It is interesting to compare these with what Mr. Beaton has said of the Bari folk tales and how these tales — told in a wholly Moru form and embodied in a story drawn from customs peculiar to Moru life—also are full of interest, otherwise Brer Rabbit. Kiden (or Kideng) is not a rabbit, but of Bari type, and Könyi occurs in both tribes. One of my informants came from an area bordering on the Rajeru and his story may have been imported. The Moru stories often concern Muiambago—the old Hyaena, who is always a figure of fun. The Moru are great hunters and take a great interest in wild life, and these folk tales merge into tales of legendary beasts which are believed actually to inhabit the forests now, such as the cow as large as a hippopotamus to be seen on misty evenings by the river, which eats men, or the snakes that are the familiars of the rainmakers.

T.H.B.M.

Told by Uyo and Ukelo.

XXII.

The Dog and the Jackal.

One day Dog met Jackal and asked him, "Why is it that I always hear you crying?" In fact Dog cried because when he stole food Man beat him; but he wanted Jackal to go to Man's home and be

killed, so he said that Man beat him because when he and Man were eating together he did not take hold of the gourd from which they eat.¹ Dog particularly mentioned that the gourd contained porridge with plenty of butter in it to appeal to Jackal's greed. Jackal said that he would like to hold the gourd, so Dog invited him to accompany him to Man's village. Jackal was very pleased with himself at the thought of the butter he was going to eat. Outside the village Dog said to him "Wait here a while and I will go to the village and bring food." Instead Dog went and told Man that Jackal was waiting outside the village and Man gathered together his neighbours and they made a circle round Jackal and seized him and he only escaped after a severe beating. After that he decided not to go near Man again and up till now if Jackal comes near a village Man will kill him if he can.

XXIII.

The Cunning of the Hyaena.

There was a very old woman who lived alone with a little boy. Hyaena used to come to her homestead and steal her things and she was bewildered at their loss and knew not what to do. She asked the boy who kept on stealing her things and he told her that it was Hyaena and suggested to her that they should make an image of a boy in beeswax and place it by the side of a gourdful of beans at the entrance to the hut and wait for Hyaena to come. Hyaena came and saw the gourdful of beans and the boy at its side and he said, "Give me some of those beans for I am hungry." The wax image said nothing, so Hyaena helped himself again and again and, meeting with no protest, he seized the gourd and passed the remainder of the beans into his mouth, breaking the gourd with his teeth. But he was insatiable and seeing some beans in the hands of the wax image, which had been put there to make it more lifelike, he asked for them also. He asked, "Why are you angry that you do not speak to me?" Receiving no answer he took the beans and ate them and then smacked the

(1) It is the Anuak custom for a young man to hold the gourd with one hand while he dips his spoon into the gourd with the other hand. He thus keeps the gourd steady so that his elders can eat without having to hold the gourd also.

face of the image with one of his paws which stuck fast. He asked, "Why do you seize my paw like that?" Again receiving no reply he said, "All right, I will show you that I have another paw," and struck the image with his other paw which stuck fast like the first. Hyaena said, "All right, you seize my arms but I will show you that I have legs also" and proceeded to kick at the image. Both his legs stuck fast in the wax. However, he was not finished yet and said, "I will show you that I have teeth" and bit at the image in which his teeth, like his paws and feet, stuck fast. Seeing him firmly imprisoned the woman and her little son came out of the hut and the one carried a pestle and the other carried a spear. Seeing these weapons Hyaena said, "So you wish to kill me?" They said, "Yes." Hyaena said, "Well if you really want to kill me let me tell you something. If you strike me on the head or spear me I shall not die, but if you bring hot water and pour it over me I shall die at once. The woman asked, "Is that so?" and Hyaena replied "Yes, that is so." Then the woman placed water in a pot and heated it over a fire and poured it over Hyaena and the wax melted and he ran away.

XXIV.

Why the Hyaena limps (a version of No. XVIII).

One upon a time Hyaena and Warana² walked together to the hole in which Warana lived. When Hyaena saw it he asked, "Do you live here?" and Warana replied, "Yes, this is where I live." Then Hyaena asked him, "What will you do when it rains and there is thunder and lightning?" Warana said he did not know. Then Hyaena departed but Anyaro, Wild Cat, had heard their conversation and came to warn Warana of Hyaena's intentions for he was sure that Hyaena intended to eat Warana. He told him that when it rained he must climb a tree and sleep there,³ but before he climbed the tree he must make a fire just inside his hole and place beside it a piece of wood to represent himself. He must rest it on a neck-rest and

(2) Warana—the Monitor Lizard.—EDITOR.

(3) cf. The rabbit's advice to the Warana in Mrs. Oyler's Shilluk story on p. 218 of Vol. II.

place a skin over it, so that Hyaena might be deceived. Hyaena came by night and crouched on one side of the fire. When he saw that Warana was sleeping at the other side he made a spring and buried his teeth in the block of wood covered by a tiang's skin.

Now Warana called to him from the tree and said, "Look out or your teeth will break in that wood." Hyaena's teeth were wedged in the wood and he could not get them out. Hyaena asked Warana how he got up the tree for he thought to follow him there and kill him. Warana did not reply to this question but told Hyaena that if he wished to get his teeth out of the wood he must bend forward and place his head on the ground. As he did so Warana leapt from the tree and shot right up Hyaena's anus. Now Hyaena was in a sore plight for Warana was scratching his bowel most dreadfully. Warana said to him, "If you want me to come out you must go to the lake and enter the water." Hyaena trotted off to the lake and entered it till the water rose to his flanks. Warana said that this was not enough and that he must enter the water till it covered his head. Hyaena did so and Warana came out of his anus. But Hyaena was very vexed because he had hurt his teeth, his anus was torn, and he was thoroughly wet.

Then he met Elephant at the edge of the lake and he asked him as a favour to drink up all the water in the lake so that it might be dry. Elephant did so and as the water was almost finished Wild Cat came. Now Elephant, when he went to the edge of the lake to drink the water, had taken off his sandals and left them on dry ground. Cat therefore said to Hyaena that it was no good to expect to make a meal off Warana, but that it was better to eat Elephant's sandals first and then to eat Warana as a final titbit. So Hyaena ate one of Elephant's sandals and was about to start on the second when Cat told Elephant that Hyaena was eating his sandals. Elephant was so angry that he immediately vomited the water, thus restoring the lake to its normal height⁴. He then ran after Hyaena and struck him a blow on his hind quarters and lamed him. That is why Hyaena limps on his hind legs to-day.

(4) cf. The Shilluk story of the windfish—S.N. & R., Vol. II p. 223.

XXV.

Yenghum and the Animals.

There was a man called Yenghum⁵ who was as thin as ~~thin~~ could be. He sat all day on the platform couch of his byre and would not accompany the other people of his village (all the different animals) when they went out to hunt, though, when they returned home with meat, he was the first to partake of it. When anyone asked him to run and fetch a spoon he would run and fetch two spoons and when the man asked him why he had brought two spoons he would reply, "In order that you may eat with one in each hand." Likewise, when anyone asked him to go and fetch a bottle-gourd of milk he would bring two gourds, and when asked why he had brought two gourds he would reply, "In order that you may drink first from the one and then from the other." He would not work but would only eat.

One day Yenghum caught Lion and bound him and placed him on the platform-couch of his byre while he ate his food, so that Lion should not share it. He then bound Elephant likewise and all the other animals thought that if he could bind two such strong people and prevent them from eating, they would sooner or later all be prisoners. So they left the village in a body and went out into the bush leaving Yenghum in possession. After a while they discovered that they had left their big ox-bell behind them. They said that someone must run back quickly and get it, but everyone refused to do so. However, eventually they prevailed upon Ostrich to run back for he was fleet-footed. Ostrich ran back to the village and fastened the bell round his neck and began to run back to join the other animals who were waiting for him. But Yenghum had hidden inside the bell and he choked and killed Ostrich. The animals waited a long time for Ostrich but, as he did not return, they decided that someone must go and find out what had happened to him. First they asked Hyaena

(5) This word means the hair of the nostrils.

to run and see where Ostrich was but he refused, saying that he limped and could not run well. So they asked Lion but he also refused. Elephant also refused, and likewise the other beasts. So finally Hyaena said that he would go and he ran back towards the village and came across Ostrich dead on the path. He returned to the beasts to tell them that Ostrich had been killed by Yenghum and they all fled, each going his own way, and ever afterwards each animal had his separate dwelling and they no longer lived together in a single village as they had done in the past.

Told by the Moru.

XXVI.

Ngöri and the Jackal.

Ngöri and the Jackal went to gather herbs but had to take shelter from the rain in the house of Hyaena. Hyaena gave them meat which Jackal ate so that when they left and Hyaena asked for it, she could not give it back. So Jackal had to become the wife of Hyaena and bore him thirty children.

One day the Jackal's mother went to visit her child. And Jackal told her to hide herself and not to speak to Hyaena as he was bad. So Jackal dug a big pit and put fire in it and when Hyaena returned home that day he fell into the pit and died.

XXVII.

Kito the (Hare) and Muiambago (Hyaena).

One day Muiambago went to hunt and he found some wild honey, and Hare followed after him and also saw where the honey was. So Hare went and called Squirrel and the two of them went and started eating the honey but Muaimbago came back and caught them.

He threw them into a sack and took them home and was going to kill them but Hare said "Don't kill us for if you kill us first we shall not cook. And don't pour water on us but pour milk, and

then we shall cook nicely." So Muiambago poured milk on them and put them on the fire in a pot to cook while he went out for a walk.

But they drank up the milk and got out of the pot and then they took Muiambago's mother and cut her up and put her into the pot over the fire, and ran away. So when Muiambago returned home he found his meat cooked and thinking it was Hare and Squirrel he ate his own mother up completely. And when Hare and Squirrel who were watching, saw this, they roared with laughter.

XXVIII.

Hare and Hyaena.⁶

One day Hyaena found Hare eating his roots and said "Why are you eating my roots, you bad creature?" and he tried to seize him but Hare escaped and ran away and hid in a hole. Then Hyaena asked the Hornbill to go and get him a digging stick but Hornbill refused. So Hyaena told him to watch the hole and went off to fetch a digging stick himself.

Now Hare immediately began to eat his roots in the hole and Hornbill asked him "Hare what are you eating? Please give me some." "Alright" said Hare "but open your eyes wide when I give them to you." So Hornbill opened his eyes wide and Hare poured chillies into them and came out of the hole and ran away.

Soon after Hyaena returned with his digging stick and found Hornbill quite blind and asked him what was the matter, but all Hornbill could say was "Atishooo." So Hyaena began to dig out the hole and before long Hare arrived and asked what he was doing. Hyaena said "A Hare has gone in here and I am digging him out." Hare said "Let me help you" and took the digging stick and began to dig. Then he told Hyaena to start digging and to open his legs very wide to dig properly, and when Hyaena did so, Hare hit him very hard between the legs with the digging stick and he died, and Hare ran away.

(6) cf. No. XX Told by the Fur.

XXIX.**The Hare and the Elephant.**

(NOTE.— *It is customary to collect certain kinds of flying termites for their oil and this is done by digging a hole at the foot of the ant-hill and lighting grass over the hole when the termites are swarming, so that they fall into it.*)

One day it rained and as Elephant and Hare were talking Hare said "Tonight I shall go and collect ants." And the Elephant said "When you have cleared your ant-hill how are you going to dig the hole for the ants?" "I shall knock it out with my foot" said Hare.

Night came and they went to look for the ants. Elephant again asked how Hare was going to dig his hole and Hare made the same reply. Then the ants started to swarm, and Elephant dug himself a hole on his own ant-hill with his foot, and Hare stamped on the ground but without any result. The Elephant's hole was soon full of ants and then Hare ran to Elephant to ask him to come and dig his hole for him, and Elephant went off leaving his hole with its ants. Now Hare had no ants at all as they had all gone and there had been no hole to catch them in.

Then Hare began to beat Elephant's ear secretly like a drum and then called to Elephant in wonder saying "O Elephant, the drums are beating and the women are crying in our village! What can have happened?" So they began to run to the village, but after they had gone a little way, Hare managed to turn back and collected all Elephant's ants in a basket and ran home.

After a little while Hare went back to collect the remainder of the ants but Elephant had returned too. And Elephant said "O Hare you have deceived me, for I ran to look for a funeral while you stole my ants" and Elephant seized Hare and wanted to kill him. But Hare said "O Elephant, don't kill me on the ground for the earth will make me all dirty, but hit me on a rock where you can collect my fat clean." So when they came near the rock Hare said "Don't hold my arm to tight for it is full of milk" so Elephant eased him. But

when Elephant came to dash him on the rock, Hare slipped away from him and ran off singing a song :

“ O Elephant, son of a mighty father,
Born up in the sky
Now have you utterly failed to kill me.”

Now it happened one day later that the Elephant caught the Hare unawares and seized him and said “ Now I am going to kill you this time.” “ Alright ” said Hare “ but that day you took me first I heard your stomach rumbling terribly and I have some medicine for stomach ache which I want to give you before I die ” So Elephant agreed and Hare told him to open his mouth so that he could get inside to apply the medicine.

So Hare took a knife secretly and got inside the proceeded to cut up Elephant's heart and all his inside so that the blood nearly came out of his stomach. Then he called to Elephant to open his mouth and he came out, and then Elephant fell down with a crash and died.

XXX.

Ndilu and Kenyi.

One day three girls were gathering herbs and one of them, named Kuba, found a grub on the ground, and she put it into her basket and took it home. Then Kuba put the grub in a pot and covered it up and when after three days she went to look at it she found it had grown as big as a mouse. And when after five days she went to look at it, it had grown as big as a goat, so she put it into a big pot. And again after ten days this girl went and looked at the pot and she found that the grub had grown as big as a warthog and had broken the pot and begun to go about by itself. By night it used to eat chickens and after a little while it had grown as big as a buffalo and then it grew as big as an elephant and after a year and a half it had grown as big as verily from here to the Nile.

Now this grub began to eat all the people of the place where it had grown up and after a little while it began to eat all the people in the whole country.

But there was a woman called Kiden who went and hid herself in a cave, and she was pregnant. After a while she bore this child and she called him Kenyi. And after about a year he had grown into a young man, and one day he asked his mother "Mother, are we the only people in the world?" She said "Hush, my son, there is a creature called Ndilu and if he hears us talking, he will certainly come and eat us up. He has eaten all the people and is looking for more but I have hidden myself."

Then Kenyi said "Mother, can I not kill that Ndilu?" And although she opposed him he went off and forged a spear and sword for himself. Then he built a platform right halfway up to the sky and put his mother on a higher platform by drawing her up with a rope, and himself sat on the lower platform. Then he called that Ndilu saying "Ndilu, here I am." And Ndilu came back and as he passed close by the platform, Kenyi cut his neck clean in half, as he opened his mouth to seize Kenyi—and he fell down dead. Then Kenyi jumped down and slit up the stomach of Ndilu and out came all the people who had been eaten and all the animals and all the birds, and all went off to their homes. But Kenyi's father and a few people lived with Kenyi.

Now it happened after a while that Kenyi wanted to marry a wife. But when he reached the village all the people said: "You are our brother, for when Ndilu ate us it was you who helped. You cannot marry one of us." So Kenyi passed on to another village but they said the same thing there, so Kenyi became angry and set out and went away from his country and nobody knows where he went to.

XXXI.

Hare and his relative Ngöli.

One day Hare went to visit his relative Ngöli, who invited him to spend the night in his house. But Hare insisted in sleeping in the boys' hut and in the dead of night he got up and put all the eggs on the fire so that they burst. In the morning when he came to say goodbye Ngöli told the boys to give Hare an egg as a parting present but Hare asked if he might not fetch it himself. He brought one egg

which Ngöli marked with ashes and then offered Hare another one. Hare ran off and hastily licked off the ashes and brought back the same egg. This he did several times and at last left. After he had gone a little way, he hastily changed his path and just at that moment the boys came and told Ngöli that all the eggs were burst and burnt. They ran after him but never found him for he had taken the path of the wild beasts.

After a little while Hare met some hartebeeste and put the egg he was carrying down in the path, chanting:—

Toco ku eleya? Ria ku eleya?

Smash it—why not? Break it—why not?

But the hartebeeste passed by without touching it.

Then came a roan antelope and then a waterbuck and a buffalo but though he chanted his chant, none of them touched the egg. Finally along came a poor old lame buffalo and struck the egg with his lame leg and smashed it whereupon Hare became very angry and demanded the price of the egg. The poor buffalo had nothing to give so at last Hare cut off his tail and said that alone would suffice.

So Hare went on his way and after a while he met a poor old woman sitting on the ground with a very bad sore on her leg and she was keeping the flies away with a piece of dura stalk. Hare sat down and drew out the buffalo's tail from his bag and gave it to the old woman to keep the flies away with and she gave him some food to eat and then Hare lay down to sleep. Presently he got up and said: "Now I must be going on my way so give me the buffalo tail." But the old woman was so pleased with it that she prayed Hare to let her keep it. At last he agreed but said that she must get him some water from the river to drink. She said she was too ill but he said "Now I have given you my tail to use; can you not do anything for me?" So she went off and as soon as she had gone Hare took a few hairs from the tail and burned them in the fire so that there was a great smell, but the tail he put back in his bag. Then when the old woman came back he said to her "Shame on you! Can you not even use the fine tail I gave you without letting it fall in the fire?" And he was very angry with the old woman and she prayed him to let her

be and at last he said he would let her be if she gave him her axe. And so he went on his way.

After a little while Hare found a woodpecker trying to get honey out of a tree and Hare said to him "O woodpecker, why not borrow my axe?" So the woodpecker borrowed the axe and began to hew at the tree and while he was doing so Hare took a piece of wood and threw it into the river, which was nearby, just as woodpecker was handing the axe back to him. "Now" said Hare "you have let my axe fall into the river and what shall I do to you for that?" Then woodpecker was angry and said "Your axe is not in the river at all but you have put it into your bag." But Hare was angry also and said that it was indeed the axe that was in the river. Then woodpecker said he had nothing to give Hare for the axe so Hare said "Now you shall stay up the tree for ever and ever, as you have lost my axe."

So woodpecker stayed up the tree for ever and ever and Hare went off very pleased for he had always been jealous of him. And Hare sang songs and called to all the girls in the villages and said: "See now, all you said that woodpecker was a finer fellow than I and that I had long ears. But see now what I have done to him and now he has to stay up the tree all his life. And I am the clever one who broke all the eggs of Ngöli and took the tail of the buffalo and got the axe instead of the buffalo tail and when the woodpecker dropped my axe in the river I have now made him stop up the tree for ever and ever for you to see."

One day thereafter Hare wanted to marry a wife so he went to woodpecker and said "Now I want to marry a wife and if you like staying up the tree all your life, alright: but if you want to come down from the tree, you must see that I get my wife." So Hare went on till he came to the village of the big chief and asked for his daughter and the chief was afraid because of what Hare had done to woodpecker. And the chief gave his daughter to Hare for only eleven iron bars as dowry and Hare took her away to his home and had many children by her. And all the children had long ears like Hare and they filled all the forest.

XXXII.**The Bat and Kiden and the Snake.**

Kiden went to draw water for her husband, whom she did not like, and found a snake wearing some lovely beads. The Snake said he would give them to her if she would let him come to her house, and when he came she cooked him food but when she tried to go into the hut she became afraid at the enormous coils of the Snake all around and ran out of the house. As she ran she met the Duiker who asked her why she was running in such a hurry and she said the Snake was after her, so the Duiker told her to go into his house and prepare some food for him. But when the Duiker heard the Snake coming he recognised him and told Kiden to go away quickly.

She went on and met the Hartebeeste, the Buffalo and the Elephant, who all boasted of their strength but became afraid when they heard the Snake coming. Finally she met the Bat who put Kiden inside his house, then dug a pit close by with a fire in it and put a skin over the top. When the Snake sat on the skin he fell into the pit and Bat hit him with his axe and he died.

XXXIII.**Kide and Kenyi and the (Red Hussar) Monkey.**

Okole made a cultivation and when the grain was grown sent his daughter Kide to keep off the monkeys. On the fourth day she met the monkeys who carried her off and put a monkey skin on her. She then went about with them and one day they visited Kenyi's cultivation and Kide was posted in a tree as one of the sentries, but when Kenyi came and all the others ran away, she did not know how to jump out of the tree quickly like a monkey and he caught her. She said she was not really a monkey so he took her home and gave her some food.

When she went to bathe, she took off her monkey's skin and began to dance, and Kito (the Hare) who had hidden himself close by saw her. He told Kenyi and they went down together to watch her. So then Kenyi gave her some beer to drink which made her drunk so that Kenyi cut off her monkey's skin without her knowing.

Kenyi's other two wives, Mandruku and Kope, hated her but Kenyi drove them away and made Kide his wife. But when she went to draw water she found a crocodile and hit him with a stick so that the crocodile seized her and ate her and nobody knew what had become of her.

XXXIV.

Kide and the Snake.

Kide went to draw water and met a man who carried it home for her. But as she went into the hut with fire (to prepare food) a Snake dropped down from the roof so she ran away. She met the Elephant, who could not help her, but the Bat hid her in his house and killed the Snake with an axe. Then the Bat married Kide and they had a child called Ariawa but Kide's mother came to look for her so they began to return home. On the way the girl fell into a river, from which she was taken by Muiambago (the Hyaena). He took her home and brought her up till she was big and then called all the other Hyaenas to come to eat her. When they put her up on a stand (*pōri*) she called to the Eagle and the Vulture to come and succour her and they came and took her away back to her mother, Kide.

XXXV.

The Story of Muiambago.

Muiambago married a wife named Koba, and one day her sister Ngöli came to visit her. Koba warned her to be very polite to Muiambago or else he would eat her, so she hid at first when he returned with the cattle and then pleased him by saying that his teeth were white as milk, not red as Koba had tauntingly asserted. She also let Muiambago bite her hand and suck the blood without objecting which so pleased him that he gave her good food and some nice ankle-rings (*beje*).

But on Koba's advice Ngöli set out for home a day earlier than she told Muiambago she would, and Koba gave her some flour and honey to put in the road and warned her not to delay at a big "*miri*" tree to gather fresh leaves to wear. She did all this and Muiambago

was so delayed by stopping to eat the flour and honey (he ran after as soon as he heard she was gone) that she reached in safety a big river. She prayed to the river, which held back its water so that she could cross dry-footed, on condition that she did not touch any of its fish, and she reached home safely, but Muiambago could not swim and had to return.

Now Koba had another sister called Bangole, a quarrelsome girl who became jealous of Ngöli's fine ornaments and set out to see Koba herself. Koba warned her in just the same way but she was very rude to Muiambago, asked outright for presents, said his teeth were red as blood and objected strongly when he wanted to suck her blood. So he became angry and gave her some bad food and a few worn-out ankle-rings. And when she started home again, she ate all her flour herself and then climbed the "*miri*" tree, where Muiambago soon caught her up and made a fire under the tree into which she fell and was killed. He cut her body up and took it home and gave it to Koba to cook without telling her what it was.

Koba put the meat on the fire to cook but it cried out that it was her sister Bangole so she took it off, but Muiambago kept on asking for it and finally threatened to kill her if she did not cook it.

She was very sad about her sister and whilst he was out she dug a big pit in front of the house and covered it over so that he fell into it on his return and she threw hot water and fire on him till he died. Then she questioned all their children and those who preferred their father to her, she threw into the pit.

Meanwhile Muiambago's brother saw the fire and came to ask about it but she said it was a bonfire and when the children cried out that it was their father she explained that they were asking for food and beads which he gave them and went away, whilst she took the rest of the children and returned to her country.

XXXVI.

Okole and his sisters Koba and Ngöli.

Okole started playing a dance on his harp and his sisters and a crowd of people began to dance. And as they danced the dust

mounted steadily up around Okole, though he kept on telling his sisters not to mind about him, until he finally disappeared underground altogether.

Some time later a cattle-owner began to notice that a bull was always attacked by something in the water, and finally he stole unperceived one day and seized the thing in the water which was at first like a man but changed to an elephant, a lion and a snake without the cattle-owner letting him go, so finally it changed into Okole.

Thereafter Okole went to the man's house and asked about his sisters but they had all been married, so he called all the birds to test their songs and finally chose as his favourite the bird "*cigori*" to whom he gave milk because he sang a song calling the sisters to return to Okole. So the "*cigori*" flew away and sang his song to the sisters and they returned home to Okole.

XXXVII.

How Kenyi's mother killed his wives.

Kenyi went away to his cattle pen, and at night his mother told his wife Koba not to shut her door in case Kenyi returned. But in the middle of the night she crept into Koba's hut, cut her up with a sharp knife, killing her, and ate her unborn child. She then called Kenyi and told him his wife had died of some illness, so he buried his wife.

But the same thing happened again so he began to suspect his mother and took his two remaining wives and put them up on a high stand. His mother set out after him, asking the birds where he had gone, and finally reached the place where the stand was but could not climb up it. Kenyi found her there and, while she was away for a little, dug a pit and covered it with a mat on which he invited his mother to sit: she fell into the pit and Kenyi buried her with stones and then returned home with his surviving wives.

A SHAMAN CULT IN THE NUBA MOUNTAINS.

By S. F. Nadel.

1.

The religious life of the northern tribes in the Nuba Mountains is dominated by a belief in spirit possession which crystallises in a special mediumistic cult, best described as shamanism. Like the classical shamanism in North America and Siberia, the spirit possession cult in the Nuba Mountains centres round certain individuals capable of forcing themselves into a state of trance and mental dissociation which is interpreted as a visitation of the spirit. The same physiological phenomena accompany this mental state—convulsions, yells, uncontrollable motor reactions suggestive of severe nervous disorders. Again as in typical shamanism, dreams and visions play an important part as symptoms announcing the vocation of the future shaman. Unlike the American and Asiatic possession priest, however, the Nuba shaman does not utilise as fully the stimulants of music and dance in order to produce his ecstatic state but relies more on his power of concentration and autosuggestion.

The shaman of the Nuba Mountains is known by different names in different tribes: the Nyimang call him *Kuni*, the Dilling people and their tribal relations (in Wali, Ghulfan, Kāduru and other hills) *Kujur*, the Tima *Kamal*, the Miri *Tamsala*, and the Koalib *bayel* or *bel*.¹ The different local cults differ in more than name only. Though resting on essentially identical beliefs and practices and implying identical psychological predispositions, the possession cult varies

1. The term *Kujur* has come to be applied to all different possession priests and even, rather misleadingly, to every other kind of tribal priest found in the Nuba Mountains. It seems that this extension of the original meaning originated in Dilling, where the Roman Catholic missionaries first recorded the vernacular term for the local brand of priesthood, and spread from there, with its wider and indiscriminate meaning, to Arabs and Sudanese. It found its way into the official vocabulary, and is now being used even by the Nuba peoples themselves when talking to strangers unfamiliar with their language. It cannot be stressed sufficiently that the use of *Kujur* in this general sense is meaningless: it may mean any of the following types of priest—shaman, medicineman or woman, grainpriest, rainmaker, or any other minor magic expert.

characteristically with the social structure of the societies in which it appears. In the following we shall discuss the Koalib variant of Nuba shamanism. I need not emphasise specially that this description and the conclusions to which it will lead are not—or at least, might not be—equally applicable to the other Nuba cults of spirit possession.

2.

The terms *bayel* or *bel* are applied both to the spirit and its human vessel. Rather surprisingly, these words also mean God. The linguistic situation is by no means clear. There is another word for God, *tiri*, or *tiri glera na* (God of the Sky); but just as often the people would speak of *bayel* or *bel glera na*. Some informants were of the opinion that this ambiguity was of more recent date and due to a negligent use of language. According to them, *bel* is not merely a variant of *bayel*, as which it appears to-day, but referred, in its original meaning, to God, while *bayel* referred to spirit and spirit-possessed individuals. However, there is nothing to show that this theory is more than an attempt at a retrospective rationalisation. However this be, the linguistic identification of God and spirit has no deeper significance. There is no specific link between the God of the Koalib and their spirits or spirit-priests beyond the general and vague connection that must exist between a creator and omnipotent ruler and a particular aspect of his universe. God created spirits as he created man, and enabled man, through the shaman, to gain the mastery of the spirit world. But the spirits are not thought of specially as intermediaries between God and man, nor the shaman as a consecrated priest of God.

The *bayel* cult is without mythology. It is altogether weakly supported by explanatory and descriptive statements, which are vague and often contradictory. The *bayel* spirits are not conceived of as possessing any semblance of humans. They are invisible and, even in dreams and visions, never appear in human shape. Shamans, however, can smell spirits, their own as well as others; when in trance or just about to fall in trance, the shaman will often start sniffing and turn his face in the direction from which he expects his spirit to appear,

or towards the house of some shaman neighbour of his where he senses the presence of the spirit—a discovery with little mystery about it, as one can hear the yelling of the spirit-possessed man from far. On the other hand, spirits are credited with certain definitely human attributes: thus every *bayel* priest will keep a gourd of beer ready in his house from which the spirit is supposed to drink; in the ring of stones and boulders usually surrounding the grass shelter under which shamans like to sit a gap is left as a path for the spirit; finally, the *bayel* spirits are individualised, they have names, and are, rather incongruously, possessed of six, being thought of as men.

Bayel spirits which are as yet without human vessels are believed to live in caves and crags and to roam aimlessly at night over the hills, where they can be seen as a mysterious flickering light. It is not very clear where the incarnated *bayel* spirits dwell in between trances. They are said to stay, unseen, in the hut where the shaman keeps his ritual paraphernalia; but they are also believed to wander about freely, and to accompany their masters on journeys.

The *bayel* spirits are in a category by themselves. They are sharply distinguished both from the spirits of the dead (*kwil*, meaning also shade, shadow and soul) and from the spirits of another kind called *kojyor*—evil genii which live in big trees and appear by night, in the wind. Whoever meets them falls ill. The Koalib medicine-women possess magic to defeat their power, and can also see these spirits in dreams and visions: they are of human shape, both men and women, they have long, standing-up hair and a white skin “as if smeared all over with ashes.”

To return to the *bayel* spirits.. The same spirits may appear, generation after generation, in the same families. Yet the *bayel* priesthood is not strictly hereditary. Hereditary *bayel* spirits may cease to be incarnated in a family and new spirits may appear in families which have not hitherto produced a *bayel*. It is not always easy to decide whether a certain spirit is hereditary or not, for the spirits occasionally skip a generation or two and the Koalib people can rarely trace their genealogies back more than two or three generations.

My informants stated as a general rule that the *bayel* spirit appears exclusively in men. I found this to be incorrect, although it is true that female incarnations of these male spirits are very rare. The *bayel* spirit is believed to select its human vessel quite consciously, as it were, taking into consideration the character and abilities of its future incarnation. Thus the spirit would always chose a middle-aged individual, between 30-40 years of age. It is immaterial whether or not the future shaman is married. Nor does physical fitness play any part. What counts is cleverness and a sweet temper : the future shaman must be of friendly disposition, not given to quarrelling, and eager to help his fellow men. This belief in the moral discrimination of spirits clearly reflects the desire for some spiritual safeguard that the considerable powers embodied in spirit possession should not be devoted to evil and anti-social acts (see below, p, 106). I may add that the *bayel* priests whom I have met, at least those who had a great reputation, were all men of remarkable intelligence, though I am not equally certain of their "sweet temper."

Individuals have no means of inducing spirits to select them as their incarnations. One can neither "study for a *bayel*" nor bribe wayward spirits. It is possible, on the other hand, to rid oneself of an unwelcome spirit. Normally, the appearance of a *bayel*, new or hereditary, is greatly welcomed. But not all are beneficial and friendly ; there are also bad and dangerous spirits, which are known to cause shamans to fall ill and die young. It is at the re-appearance of these spirits of evil reputation that their chosen vessel will attempt to renounce his vocation. He does this by smearing pig's fat over his body, whereupon the *bayel* spirit, which abhors pigs, will leave, never to return.

Nor are *bayel* spirits equally powerful. The power of a spirit reveals itself both in impressiveness of the physical symptoms of spirit possession and in the visionary and magic gifts which the *bayel* imparts to its vessel. Trances, specially, are known to vary greatly in impressiveness and violence. This belief in individual differences among *bayel* spirits is evidently based on the empirical knowledge of psychological differences among the individuals who become *bayel*

priests and whose behaviour in trance is taken to mirror the nature of their spirits. Hereditary spirits are generally believed to be *ipso facto* stronger than spirits appearing for the first time in human beings—a rule which, significantly, admits of many exceptions. This automatic growth in strength from one generation to the other is the only change which the faculties of *bayel* spirits undergo. Again, one cannot train oneself for a fuller mastery of the spirit world. The nature and power of the spirit remains unaltered during the lifetime of its vessel. Almost from the moment when the spirit first reveals itself the *bayel* priest knows what to expect. "Small" and "great" shamans alike are aware of their place in the rigid order of magic faculties, which is, like the whole *bayel* vocation, a matter of fate or, as we should say, of (unchangeable) psychological disposition.

3.

After the death of a shaman his released spirit will as a rule wait 7-15 years before it seeks another incarnation. Dreams and visions herald the re-appearance (or first appearance) of the spirit. These dreams and visions need not follow a fixed pattern; again, individual differences are given ample scope for self-expression. Dreams about animals seem to be fairly characteristic, and among the dream-animals snakes seem to be the most common species. But the only real rules that can be formulated are that these prophetic dreams and visions must contain a strong element of the mysterious and uncanny, and that they should occur more than once. A first unusual experience of this kind is always disregarded and never really appreciated until its full import is realised in the light of subsequent happenings. After the second or third occurrence the future shaman will consult the old men of his family, or may himself know enough about the habits of *bayel* spirits to suspect their agency. But spirits, even hereditary spirits, do not reveal themselves in an identical fashion. The full identity of the *bayel* spirit will, in fact, not be established until at a later stage, when the spirit will already speak through the mouth of his medium.

We realise the wholly subjective nature of this visionary evidence. It is clearly impossible to say to what extent individuals did in reality

experience these telling dreams or visions, or only interpreted in his prophetic sense, in good faith some vaguely remembered dream, or even made up the whole story. Yet the last possibility seems unlikely. For dreams and visions will have to give way finally to the objective evidence of a first trance and "attack" of spirit possession; it may be assumed that this final climax can only follow upon a gradually growing nervous tension such as only real—or believed to be real—visionary experiences could produce.

The first trance, which confirms the vocation of the shaman, follows almost immediately after the second or third vision. After this first spirit-possession dreams cease to have any importance; they are no longer taken notice of or even remembered.

I will quote two examples of these dreams and visions of future shamans. The first, a fairly typical case, concerns a certain Ziber, the shaman of one of the most powerful hereditary spirits known in Koalib. The spirit reappeared in Ziber fifteen years after the death of Ziber's father, who had been its previous incarnation.

One evening, when Ziber entered his sleeping hut, he was bitten in his right leg by a snake. He cried out and his family rushed to his help, but they could discover neither snake nor wound. The same night, when he was asleep, he felt something clutching his throat; he thought he was going to die. Again he cried out and the people of the house came to see what had happened, and again their search proved fruitless. At the time no one thought that these queer happenings had anything to do with the *bayel*. Next morning, however, Ziber had his first attack of spirit possession.

The second example is interesting because of its unusual theme. It refers to another "great" *bayel* priest, Kidi by name, who had inherited his father's spirit after an interval of sixteen years.

One night he had gone to bed in the elaborate mud-caked hairdress fancied by the younger men and women in Koalib. Waking up in the morning, he found his hairdress completely undone. This happened for five nights in succession. He suspected that it was the work of the *bayel* spirit, but was not quite certain. A few days later he had a dream in which he saw his body completely covered with coloured spots, reminding him at once of the coloured silken robes which *bayel* priests wear. Now he knew he had been right, and on the following morning promptly fell in trance.

4.

Unlike these preliminary manifestations of the spirit in dreams and visions the first spirit possession and the whole subsequent procedure follow a stereotyped pattern. The future shaman is caught

by a violent "fit" during which he yells and trembles like a man insane and finally runs off the bush, oblivious to everything. He may wander about the bush for a whole day and night. When he returns, he starts digging a shallow hole in the ground near his house with his hands—"like a dog;" he climbs into it and stays there, still in the grasp of the attack, without taking any food, for 3 to 5 days. Now his attack subsides a little; it is no longer continuous but alternates with periods of normal behaviour. The shaman leaves his hole and goes to the hut of a brother or father-brother, where he will stay for five days. During this time he may eat and drink, but must not leave the hut save by night. A certain female relation of his will keep him company day and night, hand him food and water, and help him to wash and dress. In the meantime his family will prepare beer and collect a number of goats for the forthcoming ceremony of consecration; the people from the village build a new hut for the future shaman, and a number of men who will later serve as his ritual assistants (*kortan*) carve, out of a tree trunk, the sacred three-legged stool, called *togreny* on which the *bayel* priest must sit when he is visited by the spirit. On the fifth day the ceremony of consecration takes place. It is sufficiently interesting to be described in greater detail.

All relatives of the new shaman and all the people from his village take part. Some other, fully initiated, *bayel* priest is also invited, to act as mentor to the novice and to direct the ceremonial. It begins with the spearing of a goat in front of the hut where the *bayel* novice is sitting in the company of his shaman guests and some old men and women. The novice, leaving the hut, steps with his right foot across the animal; remaining in this position, his arms held by the other *bayel* priest, he swings forward and backward, resting first on one foot, then on the other four times; the fifth time he steps finally across the body. Another goat is brought along. It is led in a circle round the novice, dragged forward and backward between his legs, and then lifted up, its muzzle rubbing against the face and body of the new shaman, each move being repeated five times. A man in the ring of onlookers cries out. "God give that you should never be in need. You shall not have to look for things (which you need) outside, but

you shall find them in your house. There shall be grain, and goats (*i.e.*, wealth), and children, and everything." The shaman guest grasps a spear, lifts it and thrusts it in different directions, five times. He, too, speaks a short prayer: "*Bayel* (here meaning God), give us things, give us grain, give us simsim, give us children, give us all health." He hands the spear to one of the ritual assistants, who kills the goat with one well-aimed thrust, piercing its throat. A woman begins to sing. The shaman guest takes the twig of a certain shrub (commonly used in Koalib sacrifices), dips it into the blood flowing from the wound and touches the novice lightly on both temples, chest and right leg; afterwards the twig is stuck outside into the roof of the new hut. The body of the goat is placed in front of the threshold, and the new *bayel* priest, facing the door, steps half across the animal, again swinging to and fro five times, the last time stumbling into the hut. The other *bayel* priest, some of the ritual assistants, and men and women relatives of the novice follow. Before the novice sits down on his new stool its legs are sprinkled with the blood of the goat. In the centre of the hut is a forked wooden post with a small gourd-bowl tied to its top; a little beer is poured into the gourd as a first offering to the spirit.

Outside the people prepare the killed animals. The first goat is roasted over the fire to be eaten later by the old men. A strip of skin, cut from the leg of the second goat, is made into the magic bracelet called *lortede*, which comes into most Koalib ceremonies; it is tied to the right wrist of the new *bayel* priest. The entrails of the second goat are roasted and eaten by his companions in the hut; he himself only tastes a little — his first food that day. The rest of the meat is divided between the guests. The men drink beer, the women and girls sing and dance, till, at dusk, the gathering breaks up. The visiting shaman and possibly other distinguished guests receive a parting gift of goats.

Intermittently, all through the ceremony, the new *bayel* priest has his "attacks," which are said to be brought on by the singing of the women. He yells, groans, trembles, and "talks in tongues." It is as a rule now, through the mouth of its newly consecrated vessel,

that the spirit reveals its identity, its predilections and idiosyncrasies, which the shaman will have to observe carefully, and issues the first orders. The yells and groans, even the language used by the shaman (for certain *bayel* spirits talk in Arabic or the language of Kaduru instead of Koalib) all have significance for the older, experienced, men. After the ceremony the manifestations of the spirit subside slowly, growing both less regular and less violent.

5.

For a whole month after the ceremony the new shaman must⁷ abstain from sexual intercourse. The explanation for this sexual taboo is most interesting: it is said that if the shaman had sexual intercourse during this period, that is, before the visitations of the spirit have slackened noticeably, the spirit would seize him and never let him go again, so that he would remain "possessed" for life. The idea is not, then, that sexual intercourse interferes with and weakens the association of man and spirit, but rather the opposite, that it strengthens it beyond human endurance. This view reveals a deep insight into the psychological similarity of the two experiences—the ecstasis of the sexual act and the mental dissociation of spirit possession. Both represent essentially a temporary ceasing of consciousness and surrender of individual identity. [↓]

For another year the new shaman is forbidden to move far from his house or to visit neighbours save those belonging to his own clan; nor is he allowed to leave his house, even if it is only to relieve nature, unless he is accompanied by one of his ritual assistants. These restrictions come to an end after the performance of a second, final, ceremony of consecration called *Kpodon*, which is essentially a copy and (roughly—as it must take place in the dry season) an anniversary of the first. During this year the new priest and his family must contrive to procure the various—partly expensive—paraphernalia of the fully fledged shaman: a coloured silk robe, a red fez or turban, a large porcelain bead (*ligyure*) worn round the neck, rings and bracelets, and leopard and hyaena skins for his house.

The paraphernalia of the *bayel* priest are not laid down rigidly but vary with the wishes of his spirit, revealed in trance. The same applies to other likes and dislikes of the spirit. One shaman novice, for example, refused to eat beans and simsim during the five days preceding the first consecration ceremony; every time he was offered beans or simsim he fell into a violent fit which only subsided when his food, evidently repulsive to the spirit, was removed. Another new shaman refused to shake hands with me because his spirit disliked the "Ingles"; actually he was not quite certain, but he was anxious not to offend a possible (or likely?) susceptibility of his spirit. A few days after our first encounter he came to my house and offered to shake hands: his spirit had appeared to him in a dream and had told him that, on the contrary, it was rather fond of the "Ingles." The whole conduct of the shaman is decided by similar spirit pronouncements, which even lay down the fees which he may charge his clients.

Certain avoidances are valid for all *bayel* priests, throughout their lives: they may not eat pork, nor any meat that comes from animals sacrificed at burials or funerary ceremonies. They are forbidden to eat in the presence of people belonging to another clan; they may drink beer with them, but not from the same gourd.

When a *bayel* priest dies, he is buried in the common burial ground but, unlike ordinary human beings, he must be buried at dusk, and his body must be carried very slowly and low above the ground. As in ordinary funerals a long series of sacrifices of successively increasing scale follows the burial in intervals of five and ten days, and one, two and three months, the only difference being the larger number of animals killed at the funerary rites of shamans. The house of the dead shaman is abandoned. With the exception of the large porcelain bead, which will be kept by a brother of the deceased shaman, all his personal possessions, his robes and turban, his spears, sticks and ornaments, his stool and bed, are taken from the house and hid in the rocks, never to be used again.

┐ The spontaneous, uncontrolled "possessions," the strength and frequency which proclaim the power of the newly incarnated spirit, are not expected to continue after his first year is over. On the

contrary, the force of the spirit should be so well canalised by then that it manifests itself only on demand, when the shaman is consulted by his clients, or during certain tribal ceremonies the general excitement of which might bring on a trance.

The trance comes upon the shaman while he is sitting quietly either in his hut, during a "consultation," or under the grass shelter outside. In the latter case he will get up as soon as the trance has passed the preliminary stage and retire to his hut, where he will sit down on his Pythian tripod for the rest of the seance. These "trances" or "fits" present an essentially similar picture. They begin with some uncontrolled automatic movement of the body—a slow rhythmical wagging of the head, trembling knees, or feet nervously tapping the ground. Then follow belching, retching, and groans from the depths of the chest. The shaman lifts his arms, clinching his hands behind his neck and bending his head far back, all muscles strained. Extreme tension of the muscles—a craned neck, cramped position of the limbs—seems an essential feature of every trance. In the meantime the shaman will have been joined by one or the other of his assistants, who will always be at his beck and call. The transition from the preliminary stage of the trance to its prophetic phase is well marked; for at this juncture the shaman will rub his hands with a sprig of wild mint or wash face, hands and feet with water. This is the signal for the spirit to enter fully the body of its medium. The fit grows more violent at first. The shaman sits with his eyes closed; his face is twitching nervously. Then groans and yells change into articulate language. The shaman speaks, of course, with the voice of the spirit, that is, in an unnatural shrill falsetto which, to our ear, sounds petulant rather than awe-inspiring. As soon as the shaman begins to talk his assistants tie a turban round his head, place a leather whip or forked wooded staff into his hands (whichever emblem the spirit fancies), and then sit down to listen to, and to interpret, the spirit message.

The *bayel* priest talks with endless repetitions, addressing no one in particular and seemingly oblivious of what goes on around him. As a rule he articulates clearly and intelligibly, though the meaning of his utterances may not always be clear, which would start long arguments

among the audience. After 15-20 minutes his voice grows more and more indistinct and speech gives way again to belching and retching. The shaman, quite exhausted and covered with sweat, stretches his legs and arms. His whip or staff drops on the floor. The assistants remove his turban. The shaman opens his eyes, wipes the sweat from his face and looks round with the vague glazed stare of someone who has just emerged from unconsciousness. This is, in fact, the fiction maintained in all seances, for the *bayel* priest is supposed to be completely unaware of what happens to him while he is in trance. Visitors and assistants get up and make their farewells with the customary gesture of salute to a *bayel*, bowing low and pressing their hands against their knees.

Let me conclude this description with the quotation of the speech of a *bayel* priest in trance. It is typical of all these spirit interviews, though occasion and theme naturally vary. The seance in question took place upon the demand of a certain Kuti, who consulted the *bayel* about the barrenness of his youngest daughter. The various details about Kuti's family mentioned in the speech had been explained to the shaman at a previous meeting. Picture the scene: it is 8.30 a.m.; the *bayel* priest sits at the back of the hut on his three-legged stool; beside him are his three assistants and his elder brother; the "clients," crowded together, are sitting all round the wall—Kuti himself, his two wives, his daughter (whose fate is now being decided) and her husband. The *bayel's* speech ran thus.²

"The woman who called on me yesterday, she has a father (*i.e.*, Kuti). Thus she told me. Is the father here? ("Yes, yes" from the chorus). Pay attention to what the *bayel* (*i.e.*, the spirit) says, father of the woman. Do you hear what I say, father of the woman? or don't you hear? If you listen to my word the woman will recover, if you do not listen, she will die like the other one (another daughter of Kuti, who died the previous year). All this is being said by the *bayel* (spirit), not by myself—this is not my business at all. Father of the woman you have a brother. You had a boy and a girl (both dead). When the boy died and you were performing the burial rites you killed one big he-goat, but you did not send your brother enough meat. Then when the girl died and you performed the burial rites, you again killed a big he-goat, but you send your brother nothing (of the meat). Your brother is very angry (here strong protestations from Kuti). Your father (dead) is also very angry with you because of this. Your grandfather (dead), too, is angry because of this. These two caused the barrenness of your daughter. Now you must perform another sacrifice. Take a big he-goat and make another sacrifice together with your brother. Then these two will no longer be angry. This will help the woman to bear a child. If this does not help (note the loop-hole!), the *bayel* will learn of it and tell you again what to do. This, at least will help."

(2) The frequent repetitions of single sentences are omitted in this quotation.

Here the trance, which had lasted twenty minutes, came to an end, and a heated discussion ensued. Every one talked at once. Kuti protested again that the *bayel* priest had misrepresented the case, and that there was no ill-feeling between his brother and himself. The assistants pointed out to him that the oracle had nothing to do with the shaman personally, but that it was entirely a spirit affair (implying, evidently, that it would be difficult to argue with a spirit). Besides, though Kuti might conceivably reject the charge with regard to his brother, he could hardly gainsay the *bayel's* (very clever one might say) contention that Kuti's dead father and grand-father, too, must be pacified. Kuti was eventually convinced, and said he would send word at once to his brother to arrange about the sacrifice which the *bayel* had advised. The shaman had meanwhile recovered and was looking round sleepily. Kuti put twenty piastres on the ground in front of the shaman—his usual fee. The latter picked up the money and, obviously showing off before me, asked innocently: "Has the *bayel* spoken? Is this the money for the *bayel*?"

The atmosphere during the spirit seance is never that of hushed expectation or frightened silence. The assistants, specially, affect an unconcerned attitude as becomes men so familiar with spirits and spirit manifestations. They chat with one another while waiting for the *bayel* priest to utter his prophecies and, when putting questions to him, they do it in a normal, unrestrained manner. From time to time they throw in a few words of address, honorifics like "Great *Bayel*," "Elephant," "Lion." Certain rules of etiquette impress upon the visitor the sacred nature of his surroundings: you must discard shoes and turban when entering the presence of the *bayel* priest, and you must greet him in the way described above (whether he is in trance or not), with a salute not accorded to anyone else. But the attitude of the audience expresses eager attention, an almost business-like interest and intellectual enjoyment rather than the diffuse emotional excitement which one might associate with spirit seances. Even lively arguments between the "spirit" and its clients are not rare, as was shown in our description.

Once, during such a seance, I watched young girls and boys peering from outside into the hut of the *bayel*; they were laughing at the groans

and antics of the shaman—some, it is true, in an embarrassed fashion, as if to laugh away their fears. The old men dismissed this undignified behaviour with a shrug: these boys and girls were “too young to understand.”

6.

I have spoken of the “fiction” which is maintained in the behaviour of shamans. How far, one might ask, does the trance of the shaman represent “fiction” and how far can it be regarded as a genuine psychological experience? It lies in the nature of these phenomena that there can be no general and absolutely conclusive answer to this question. I have witnessed seven seances in all: two were quite obviously “all-fiction”; two started as such, the shaman producing consciously the conventional symptoms of spirit possession, but turned gradually into genuine trances; three were genuine from beginning to end. We may add that the native audience never distinguishes, and indeed would never think of the possibility of distinguishing, between genuine and non-genuine trance. But we must realise that even in the completely genuine trance the elements of “fiction” are never absent. The knowledge that “spirits” behave in a certain way, that their prophecies run along certain lines—all these expectations of the audience as well as of the shaman himself guide and condition, subconsciously, the reactions of the *bayel* priest. Undoubtedly, every shaman must have produced some genuine trances, at least during the early phases of his career. This is shown most clearly in the case of a “failed” shaman who had had the necessary dreams and visions but could never achieve the first, decisive, “attack.” He was about sixty, and had been so eager to become a *bayel* that for years he kept the food taboos and occasional fasts of fully initiated shamans—all in vain. In fact, he had to see a young nephew of his becoming a *bayel* priest while he himself never passed the preliminary stages.

In the language of the psychiatrist, the “trance” of the shaman represents an attack of hysteria culminating in a state of mental dissociation, when the normal consciousness of the possession-priest appears submerged in that other consciousness which is interpreted as

being of the spirit. External stimuli plays a certain part—immoderate smoking (which is typical of all shamans), beer-drinking and, during the first trances and certain tribal ceremonies, music and dance (only watched by the shaman). Produced consciously at first, the conventional motor symptoms of spirit possession—automatic movements of the body, cramped position of limbs and neck—seem to help also. But the main stimulus is undoubtedly auto-suggestion. I have often noticed how shamans attempting to force a trance will raise their voice, shout and work themselves into a frenzy over quite unimportant things, until the self-induced hysteria carries them away. How far this submergence of normal consciousness is maintained throughout the seance, and how far the mental dissociation is complete also during the calmer, "prophetic," phase, is difficult to say. My impression is that it is, at its best, only partial and rather unstable. But here again the conventions of spirit possession aid the psychological response: for in talking continuously, in ignoring questions and interruptions, and in repeating again and again the same phrases, the shaman achieves an almost automatic working of his mind and shuts out all conscious contacts with his surroundings, which might, as it were, pull him down to earth again.

The question arises whether the pathological mentality which is utilised (and stabilised) in the *bayel* cult reflects a mental make-up widespread in the group that evolved this institution, or represents rather the exceptional, abnormal case, which is offered a legitimate, socially sanctioned, outlet in the possession cult. If the former were true, we should expect to find that this "racial" psychology is borne out by a large incidence of mental disorders; if the latter, that all cases of mental disorder are absorbed in the *bayel* institution.

Now we must state first of all that the neurotic mentality of the *bayel* priest is visible only in the context of his ritual activities; outside it, the shaman is a normal individual, living a normal mental and physical life. Nor does the abnormal behaviour which qualifies the shaman for his office represent an incipient stage of mental disorder. None of the genealogies of *bayel* priests shows any evidence of an abnormal ancestry. The people distinguish sharply between the

"abnormality" of possession priests and mental disorders proper (called *ɲiri*). It does happen that the symptoms of certain mental diseases which closely resemble the attack, hallucinations, and the temporary loss of consciousness typical of the initial phases of *bayel* priesthood (e.g., epilepsy or paranoia) are mistaken for the latter by the family of the patient. In this case the individual in question is taken to a *bayel* priest, who will be able to diagnose the nature of the mental affliction. I have recorded three such cases: one case of epilepsy, one of classical paranoia, and one of idiocy. In all three cases the diagnosis of the *bayel* was *ɲiri*—lunacy.

It is interesting to note that lunacy, too, may be attributed to spirit possession—but possession by those other, evil, spirits, the *kojyor*, of which we have heard before. Another cause of mental disorder, specially epilepsy, is diagnosed as *lorom*, which is the name given to the dropsical swelling of cattle suffering from *trypanosomiasis*. in the case of epileptis the swelling is believed to start inside the body and to grow into the head.

The incidence of mental disorders, finally, in all forms, appears to be small. I found only four cases (including the three mentioned above) in the villages of Delasui, Dere and Umbre, in a population of perhaps 2,000.

The conclusion then, is this. The institution of the *bayel* cult is designed neither to canalise a wide-spread psychological characteristic nor to absorb isolated cases of mental abnormality, in whatever form they might appear. It represents a specific institution, utilising, and calling for, specific mental predispositions.

7.

The Koalib shaman commands the whole gamut of magic faculties: he can make the crops grow and the rain fall; he cures illness and barrenness, he interprets frightening dreams and tells you how to ward off the evil things which they announce; he can divine the outcome of a dangerous journey; he detects crimes, punishes unknown criminals, and administers oaths and ordeals. Certain of these forms of magic have only a superficial connection with the shamanistic concept

and represent most probably more recent additions, *i.e.*, magic faculties which *bayel* priests have assumed, or been credited with, in the course of time. Such are his rain and grain magic, and partly also his treatment of illness. The first two forms of magic he dispenses without trance even. Thus he advises a certain sacrifice to procure rain; he mixes some tobacco with ashes and orders you to sprinkle it over your fields, which will secure a rich harvest; or he "treats" illness in the narrow, mechanical, sense of the word by extracting certain alien elements—small stones, pieces of wood, beetles—from the body. There is nothing in these three forms of supernatural intervention, including the magic surgery (which must be practised in trance), that is essential *bayel* belief. Nor is the *bayel* priest the only one possessed of these magic powers. Indeed, they are wielded as efficiently, and even more so, by other tribal priests—special experts of these forms of magic: the medicine-woman (*kwima*), the grain priest (*kandal*) and the rainmaker (*zeleny*).³

The *bayel* priest comes into his own when his magic help includes spirit possession and, through it, the divination of some obscure cause of illness or misfortune which the other, technical, forms of magic could not remove. It is not a question of weaker and stronger magic, but rather of magic conceptions of fundamentally different nature: for the "technical" magic of grain, rain or healing experts is concerned with the unpredictable accidents and vicissitudes of nature and deals with them as phenomena in their own right; the divination of the *bayel* priest probes for the hidden causes behind them, which are invariably spiritual causes—guilt, sin, or human ill-will. This dual system of magic reveals a fundamental dichotomy in the whole conception of the Koalib universe: the dichotomy between a universe of fortuitous mechanical actions and one dominated by spiritual forces and the interplay of cause and effect. Rain and the fertility of the land belong wholly with the former category; dreams (in which the souls of the living or the spirits of the dead appear to warn you of some future event) and, surprisingly, sterility of the women, into the latter; illness and death belong equally to both.

3. There exists a certain connection between the *bayel* cult and the offices of medicine-woman and rainmaker, which it would lead too far, however, to examine here.

In the concrete case, the *bayel* priest who is treating illness will often start with the simpler "mechanical" treatment and employ divination only when the former has proved unsuccessful. This trial-and-error method is typical of the diagnosis and predictions of most *bayel* priests. In their divination, too, to whatever kind of incident it may be applied, they will often produce a certain explanation first and suggest an appropriate remedy, and when this course failed resort to another explanation and "cure." My description of a spirit seance has shown that *bayel* priests may even be cautious enough to anticipate the possibility of failure and to insert some such proviso in their prophecy. Even final failure has a legitimate place in this trial-and-error scheme: it signifies that the cause of illness or misfortune, though correctly divined, proved too strong for the *bayel* spirit.

The people take this ever present factor of chance for granted. It does not detract from the faith of clients in their spiritual advisers, although repeated failure may induce them to give their custom to another shaman. In this, however, they would be guided by the reputation of the man they consulted. His record of past successes, the well-known power of his spirit, may make all thoughts of turning elsewhere for help appear hopeless. The only thing to do is to resign oneself to what is, no doubt, God's will. We may add that in looking for a *bayel* priest whom to consult people consider, above all, his reputation. Kinship factors play no part: one does not go to a certain shaman merely because he belongs to one's clan. Family connections are excluded altogether, as the *bayel* magic is supposed to be ineffective in the case of close relations of the *bayel* priest. People would however, usually begin with a local shaman and consult a stranger only if or when the magic of the former appears unequal to the task.

8.

If the belief in the visionary gifts of the *bayel* priests thus remains, in the last resort, unaffected by the question of empirical vindication, the very nature of their pronouncements also precludes the test of empirical evidence. One of the most common explanations of illness, barrenness or unnatural death is the anger of a dead ancestor or relative

for having been slighted at a funeral or some other kinship rite. It is a safe enough "diagnosis": one can always argue that the goats or bulls killed at these rituals were too few or too small, or that some ancestor had been neglected when the sacrificial animals were dedicated to the spirits of the dead. A specific sacrifice will placate the angered ancestral spirit and remove, with the cause, the illness itself; if it had already demanded a victim, the "cure" will at least prevent the curse from spreading to other members of his family.

Another cause of illness, death, or misfortune (*e.g.* a cattle disease) as divined by the *bayel* may be the desire for revenge of a man whom one had wronged and who enlisted the help of another shaman to gain his end⁴. Here the healing magic of the *bayel* shades over into that other *bayel* magic which we listed under the heading detection and punishment of crime." *Bayel* priests are thus found in opposing camps: one, acting as diviner and healer, fights for the life of the man who sought his aid, the other, charged with the detection and punishment of crime, exercises deadly magic against the person who wronged his client. Both attack and defence are mostly vested in a persuasive anonymity. The *bayels* reveal neither the identity of the hypothetical accuser to his victim, nor that of the hypothetical culprit to the "prosecuting" party. Take the latter first. A man who lost an animal and has reason to believe that it had been stolen will take its halter-rope, or sand from its spoor, or a little of its dung to the *bayel* priest and ask him to perform his magic against unknown thieves over these exhibits. The magic will cause the thief to fall ill and will frighten him into returning the stolen animal, or else—an equally acceptable solution—kill him. One pays one goat for these ministrations. Similarly a man who suspects his wife of adultery may invoke the *bayel* magic against the unknown paramour. Having received the promise of the spirit, through the mouth of the shaman, that the culprit, whoever and wherever he be, will be brought to justice, the accuser of "a person or persons unknown" will rest content.

4. The wronged person may also resort to some other form of evil magic which is independent of the help of the *bayel*; we shall presently encounter an instance of this kind. But this "black magic" does not occur in Koalib proper, though it is found in other groups (*e.g.*, Heiban and Lera) to which the *bayel* cult has spread.

The victim of this hypothetical avenging magic is as easily impressed by the pronouncements of his *bayel* priest. There can be hardly anyone who has not something on his conscience, who has not, at one time or another, stolen a goat, committed adultery, or given cause for revenge. Besides this deadly magic attacks whole families, and who can answer for his relations? There may still be time to confess and make good the wrong one has committed by returning the stolen goods or offering some conciliatory gift (to man or spirit), apart from paying the usual fee to the shaman-counsel. But if it is too late for that, if the (hypothetical) evildoer has already fallen victim to the avenging magic, his family will have to make a large offering to their *bayel* priest to make him lift the curse. The shaman will sprinkle them with water and ask his spirit to plead on their behalf—as spirit with spirit—with the other, “prosecuting,” *bayel*.

The concrete happenings round which the shamans build their explanations and prophecies are thus always probable. They may even be true. In these small communities certain concrete information about his fellow citizens may reach the *bayel* priest as a matter of course; or he may have procured such basic information in preliminary enquiries (as was shown in my example of a spirit seance). But the causal nexus which the visions of *bayel* priests reveal between a certain act and misfortune, illness or death carries conviction, not merely because this act is probable or true, but because it is invested with moral significance and because the causal nexus is a moral nexus—between wrong and retribution. His persuasiveness is that of an awakened sense of guilt, which may have been present, subconsciously, all the time. The belief in the magic of the *bayel* is itself nothing but this consciousness of guilt, with all the fears and self-accusations born of it, projected on to some external agency.

This aspect of the *bayel* belief is revealed most clearly in the final magic on our list of *bayel* activities—oaths and ordeals. Persons who are suspected of a crime but cannot be proved guilty for want of witnesses or evidence will be taken to the *bayel* priest to swear their innocence on his bead or sacred stool. Adulterers (of both sexes) who had been convicted and punished would be made to swear that they

would henceforth respect the sacredness of marriage. Perjury is believed to cause illness or death.⁶

9.

Stripped of its mystic terminology, the description of the *bayel* cult reads almost like a chapter of a textbook on psycho-analysis. The effects at which it aims—pathogenetic or therapeutic—reflect familiar psychological principles: it instils the obsession of the destructive force of guilt, and it induces the spiritual relief (the "Katharsis" of the psychologist) that flows from forcing into the open (conscious or unconscious) guilt and offering the possibility of atonement. Much has been said and written about the hypnotic effects of primitive magic beliefs. Paired with the consciousness of guilt, magic beliefs represent indeed a potent psychological force capable of physiological effects. To wit, the following case history, which I recorded in 1939 in Heiban during the visit of a Koalib *bayel* priest.

The *bayel* priest had been called in to examine the case of a young man, one of two brothers, who had fallen ill of a mysterious disease which none of the local medicine men seemed able to cure. The brother of the patient first consulted the shaman in the latter's house. The shaman fell in trance and announced that he would have to see the patient in his (the patient's) own house. There the next day the *bayel* priest, again in trance dug up a small piece of cloth from the floor, which, he said, had been buried there to cause the death of the young man. To the consternation of all present the shaman accused the father of the two brothers. The brothers refused to believe it. I discovered later that the patient and his father had for a long time been on very bad terms and that their enmity was common knowledge in the village; the father, specially, had often been heard to abuse and curse his son. The brothers themselves admitted this, though they would not believe their father capable of this ghastly act. The *bayel* priest, however, would permit no argument: his spirit, it appeared, made no mistakes. He promised to cure the patient for twenty piastres down (his usual fee for a seance) and ten goats when the cure had taken effect. The brother, half convinced said he would gladly pay ten goats if it meant giving his brother back his health, but also wanted to see the guilty person punished—whoever it was. The *bayel* priest warned him. "If I make this magic, many people in your clan may die!" The brother remained firm, and the *bayel* priest agreed. He said: "The patient will recover and needs me no longer. I shall return home. But in one month you will see whether or not I was right when I accused your father." After one month the patient had completely recovered, and the father as well as another woman of the clan had died.

5. A special and evidently more recent form of ordeal, practised in Delami, is connected with a copper pot which some "Great Shaman" in the past had brought from El Obeid. The pot is filled with the fat of a sheep killed at the *utini*, the great annual ceremony of the tribe, and the fat is smeared over the face of the accused. The Kordofan Province Monthly Diary for October, 1939 mentions another, apparently quite new, method of divination which was practised by a Koalib *Kujur*, namely, the detection of thieves from "traces of the stolen property" found in their hands. I have no first-hand knowledge of this case, which sounds to me rather like a form of divination common in Dilling and (I believe) Kaduru. Nor am I quite certain if *Kujur* really means *bayel* priest. But the appearance of new, and possibly imported, forms of *bayel* magic must always be reckoned with. The emphasis on individual differences in the *bayel* cult and the fiction that the shaman receives all his instructions from the spirit easily cover such new departures

The *bayel* magic emerges from our description as a crude but purposeful instrument of justice—an institution canalising magic beliefs in the interests of a society in which crimes are punished and suffering is but a consequence of evil deeds. This picture is incomplete. In reality, the *bayel* cult destroys even the illusion of such a well ordered universe. For the deadly magic of *bayel* priests can be invoked against innocent people as well, without even the pretext of moral justification, merely to serve a personal grudge, hatred or jealousy. I must confess that I have been unable (perhaps not unnaturally) to record concrete instances of this sinister version of *bayel* magic. But there can be no doubt of its existence. Everyone, *bayel* priests included, talks openly about it. Moreover the detailed rules of procedure, which even lay down the price for different categories of victims, sound authentic. Your ill-wisher approaches the shaman and requests that illness or death should fall on so-and-so; there is no need to give reasons or make excuses—it is simply a business deal. The client may produce a piece of cloth cut from the dress of his prospective victim or a little sand dug from his tracks as a concrete substratum for the magic to work on. The shaman falls in trance and describes what is going to happen. The payment is one goat if the victim is a stranger and up to ten goats if he (or she) belongs to the same clan as the person who placed this ominous order. The explanation for this fine distinction is that the latter operation is more delicate: we have already noticed the unpleasant tendency of the *bayel* magic to spread from the original (or intended) victim to other members of his family or clan. In the other camp, the *bayel* priest called upon to explain illness or death can add a final, irrefutable, item to his list of magic causes, which does not require the imaginary evidence of some hypothetical provocation.

Bayel magic thus closely approaches to the heedless, irrational, and anti-social evil force associated, in other societies, with witchcraft or "black magic." Indeed it is significant that the Koalib have no other, more specific, conception of witchcraft; the magic of the *bayel* is, potentially, their witchcraft. The only safeguard against this abuse (if abuse it is) of the power of *bayel* spirits lies in the vague assurance mentioned earlier on that the *bayel* spirits will insist on "good men"

for their vessels. And, of course, in the knowledge that one can always retain another *bayel* "for the defence."

10.

The fees of *bayel* priests vary considerably, with the reputation of the shaman as well as with the severity of the case with which he is dealing. A "Great Shaman" will charge from twenty piastres or one goat, the fee for a seance, to 4-5 bulls, which is the price of the counter-magic to ward off the course of another *bayel*. A *bayel* priest of reputation is, economically, a man of consequence. His economic and social position is further enhanced by certain services and tributes assumed by the community in which he lives. There is the duty of communal farm labour on his land during the second consecration ceremony (the *kpodon*), and, every year, on the day of the *utini*, the great annual ceremony of the Koalib. Hunters belonging to the clan of a "Great Shaman," moreover, must present him with the skin and right foreleg of every leopard, and the right foreleg of every antelope, they kill.

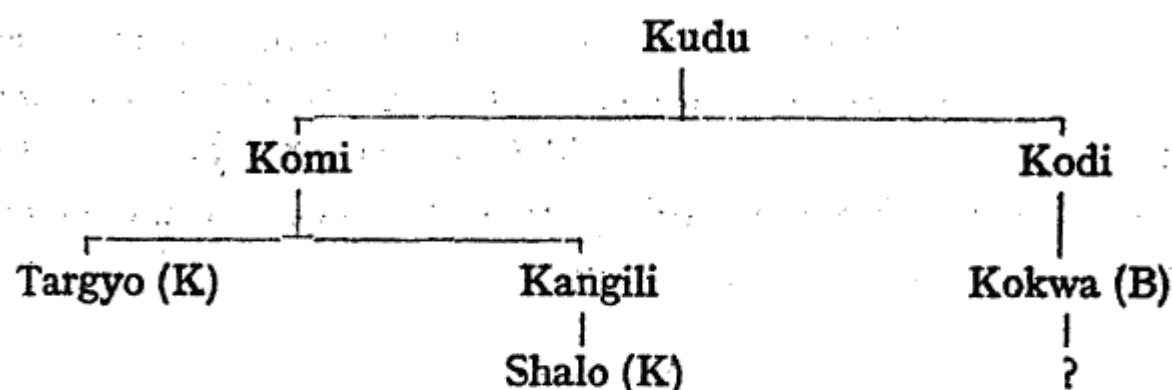
Yet though he may claim such services and tributes as are often typical of the prerogatives of political rulers in primitive societies, the "Great Shaman" is not—at least no longer—vested with political authority. Side by side with his religious office we find the well defined political office of the village chief (*kweleny* or, in modern official nomenclature, *mek*). Koalib society offers an interesting instance of the co-operation between secular and religious leadership; some such co-operation is indeed essential in a society in which the two forms of leadership meet in a common sphere—the judicial or pseudo-judicial functions vested in the *bayel* office.*

Chieftainship in Koalib appears to go back only three or four generations. It is hereditary, and extends over a local community, never over the whole tribe. As in many Nuba groups, it originated in the institution of the *kweleny kweti tay*, lit. the "Chief of the Path"†.

6. The present account is not concerned with another type of Koalib chieftainship which exists only in Dere, and is connected, not with the *bayel* cult, but with the office of the tribal rainmaker.

7. The Arabs call an identical institution by the identical name—*sud el dereb*.

In the other two communities, Karnak and Kudring, chieftainship is a more recent creation; the groups having split off from Delami and become politically independent only a generation or two ago. In both groups chieftainship and priestship appear divided already in the first generation of the newly created village chiefs. This is the genealogy of the chiefs of Karnak⁹



After the death of the *bayel* priest Kokwa no new incarnation of his spirit has yet appeared. In the meantime the chief makes shift with another, not related, *bayel* priest until his own family will produce their own shaman.

The division, in the legal sphere, between the offices of chief and priest follows that between tangible and intangible offences and rational and irrational sanctions. The authority of the chief goes so far as empirical methods can go. He has the power to apprehend a thief, murderer, or adulterer, to convict and punish him, and to force him (so far as it is possible) to make amends for his crime. Beyond this is the sphere of the *bayel*. The *bayel* priest takes charge of the cases in which, in the absence of concrete evidence, one must resort to oaths and ordeals; of accusations brought against a person or persons unknown; and of moral delicts which involve no concrete tort but only a spiritual guilt (the infringement of a food taboo, the violation of exogamy, etc.).

The offices of *bayel* priest and chief are, in a sense, complementary. But we must remember that the *bayel* priest who is associated with

9. Recently part of the population of Karnak, including the chief's family, emigrated to a new site, Kodber.

chieftainship is only one of the local shamans. The fact that he is not chosen from them, as it were, in open competition, on the grounds of his professional reputation alone, shows that the kinship ties which link him with the ruling chief are as important as the technical help which he can give. For common descent means common association with the hereditary spirit. The shaman brother imparts to the Koalib chief that link with the supernatural which seems alone capable of establishing the full and unquestioned authority of secular rule. The interdependence in this sense of secular and religious office is shown convincingly in the genealogy of the chief of Karnak which I have quoted above : for the *bayel* of Kokwa was a "new" *bayel*, whose appearance coincided with the first appearance of chieftainship itself.

11.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the *bayel* cult is the abundance of *bayel* priests. Every little hamlet, every compound almost, has its *bayel* priest or priests. In four small hamlets round Delami, with a total population of 150-200, I counted six shamans. The statements of informants as well as the evidence of many "new" *bayels* one encounters today prove beyond doubt that the number of *bayel* priests has increased considerably in recent times and is still increasing¹⁰. The people associate this growth of spirit possession with the advent of British rule—some rather vaguely, others in elaborate rationalisations. The old man said he did not know why the *bayel* spirits should be more numerous today than in the past; but as they undoubtedly increased in numbers since the coming of the Government, the latter must have something to do with it. Another informant suggested that the scarcity of clothes in pre-Government times explained the smaller number of *bayel* priests; for the spirits would always insist on their priests being dressed fully, and in sumptuous clothes, which were now so much more easy to procure. A third informant, voicing the opinion of the majority, produced this ingenious ex-

10. The *bayel* cult is also spreading geographically. *Bayel* priests from Koalib country are paying regular visits to neighbouring tribes of Heiban and Lera, where they are always certain to find a large clientele. The scattered Koalib colonies in these areas also have their own *bayel* priests, who are consulted by immigrants and natives alike.

planation: in pre-Government times there was so much raiding and killing that only the strong and pluckiest spirits ventured out of their caves into the world of man, to seek incarnation in human beings. To-day, public security has, among other things, made life easier and safer for *bayel* spirits; even weaklings among them think nothing now of adopting a human body.

Popular opinion is on the right track. There is indeed sense in this correlation of the advent of the Government with the growth of *bayel* cult. The far reaching cultural readjustments entailed in the political changes produce precisely the mental conditions under which *bayel* belief and *bayel* magic would thrive. In two ways: first, like all radical cultural changes, the changes which affect the tribal life of the Koalib, breaking down the security of traditional beliefs and modes of life, creating new desires and new frustrations, foster that unstable and neurotic mentality which finds an outlet in the shaman cult. And secondly, the cultural changes caused an increase in offences—real or imaginary—which demand, in increasing measure, the ministrations of *bayel* priests. With the greater mobility of individuals and tribal sections frictions and offences (*e.g.* property or matrimonial offences), too, must spread—offences, moreover, which, committed by strangers, are the more difficult to trace than the offences of this kind committed in the past, in small communities with few outside contacts.

Even more important is the fact that under modern conditions new types of "crimes" have arisen. Marriage rules, for example, are no longer strictly observed; I found two recent endogamous marriages in this, traditionally, strictly exogamous society. Men and women will nowadays come into friendly contact or live side by side with individuals and families which they would hardly ever have met in the past—a contact fraught with danger; for among your new friends and neighbours there may be people with whom you must not eat or drink, or from whom you may not accept even such seemingly innocuous gifts as oil to rub on the body, because of some long forgotten blood feud. The growing economic independence of the younger generation, finally, must weaken the authority of their elders, the men, that is, who are the guardians of tribal custom and the depositories of

that inherited knowledge which alone steers you safely through the pitfalls of tribal or family taboos and avoidances.

These violations of traditional rules of conduct are not tangible crimes and offences: they involve no "tort," save the risk of some supernatural sanction; and the only accusers would be the victims themselves. Nor are these violations of custom always recognised as such at the time. But they become guilt in retrospect. They are the unwitting sins with which *bayel* priests are called upon to deal. Shut away in the unconscious, they may any day be lifted into consciousness by the accidents of death, disease or ill fortune, and demand to be spirited away by *bayel* magic.

In the modern Native Courts we have introduced a new, more efficient, machinery of jurisdiction. But we cannot hope to evolve an absolutely efficient method of crime detection as well. To the people, there will always be room, illegitimately if not legitimately, for *bayel* divinations and ordeals. And though courts of law can punish crime and enforce compensation for torts and injuries, they cannot absolve from sin. Today, the office of the *bayel* priest is more indispensable to Koalib society than ever. It will remain indispensable while the dislocation of custom proceeds and the gulf between actual and inherited forms of life still widens; until, possibly, some day this gulf will widen so that the traditional forms of life will have ceased to count even as an uneasy memory.

THE SUDANESE IN MEXICO.

By R. Kirk.

I.

A recent article by Thomas¹ in the *Uganda Journal* entitled "Notes on the Sudanese Corps in Mexico (1863-67) and on Fort Mazungu" has attracted the writer's attention to the fact that records referring to the Sudanese troops who were sent by Said Pasha to assist the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico are scanty, and in most cases not readily accessible. The old French military treatises on the Mexican War make little or no mention of an Egyptian or Sudanese battalion in their enumeration of the successive detachments of the expeditionary force. The matter has received more attention in medical literature since, in contradistinction to the French troops who died of yellow fever in large numbers on arrival in Mexico, the Sudanese were apparently resistant to the ravages of this disease. Attention was first directed to this interesting occurrence by Dutroulau² who attributed the escape of the Sudanese to the racial resistance of negroes. The late Surgeon General H. R. Carter³ in his classical work on yellow fever, subscribed also to this view, but Hewer⁴ has suggested that the resistance of the Sudanese was more probably due to immunity acquired as the result of a previous attack of yellow fever. A certain amount of information about the history of the Sudanese detachment has been collected by de Vogel⁵ from certain earlier works by Niox⁶, de Tucé⁷ and du Barail⁸. The most complete historical

1. Thomas, H. B. *Uganda Journal*, 1940. Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 28, Kampala.

2. Dutroulau, A. F. *Traite des maladies des Européens dans les pays chauds (regions tropicales)* Paris 1868.

3. Carter, H. R. *Yellow fever: an epidemiological and historical study of its place of origin.* Baltimore, 1931.

4. Hewer, T. F. *Lancet* 1934.

5. De Vogel, W. T. *Bulletin de l'Office International d'Hygiene Publique* 1935, Vol. 27, No. 7 p. 1324.

6. Niox, G. *L'Expedition du Mexique (1861-1869) Recite politique et Militaire.* Paris.

7. De Tucé, Adrien. *Cinq ans au Mexique, 1862-67.* Paris.

8. Du Barail, le General. *Mes Souvenirs,* Paris, 1895.

account is that given by Prince Omar Toussoun,⁹ but as his article is written in Arabic, and was published privately in Egypt, it is not readily accessible to the ordinary reader. Thomas' article is concerned principally with relics in Equatoria and Uganda of some of the veterans who returned from Mexico.

Other records are either inaccessible or mere fragments, old despatches buried in government archives, old forgotten letters belonging to private individuals, a few stray references in contemporary and later histories, an inscription "*Bismillahi er Rahman er Rahim*" cut by a Sudanese Soldier on the doorstep of the church at Gomez Palacio, and perhaps a few crumbling relics in the old cemeteries of Vera Cruz. The issue of the American illustrated paper *Life* of June 2nd 1941 contains a photograph of Colonel Francisco Javier Llanas, now aged 97, who fought in the Mexican army against the French at Puebla. As the engagements in which the Sudanese troops fought mostly took place in the country between Puebla and Vera Cruz, it is possible that Colonel Llanas fought against them and remembers them¹⁰. There cannot be many others still alive who may perhaps remember those "old, unhappy, far-off" events and battles of nearly eighty years ago.

The history of this campaign is not without some topical interest at the present time when the Sudanese have once again shown "the mettle of their pastures"—this time in less distant battlefields. To the author the incident has additional interest in view of its connection with the history of yellow fever. The present account was originally prepared in an abbreviated form in which the latter aspect of the incident was specially emphasized, when it was discovered that Mr. Hogg had translated a large part of Prince Omar Toussoun's brochure, and additional data had been collected by Mr. Newbold, who is interested

9. Toussoun, H.R.H. Prince Omar.

بطولة الاورطة السودانية المصرية في المكسيك

M.S. translation by Mr. Peter Hogg. Original published privately in Egypt, 1933.

10. A letter has been written by the Civil Secretary in September, 1941 to the British Consul-general in Mexico City to request that Colonel Llanas be asked whether he has any reminiscences of the Sudanese and to discover whether any relics of them are still visible in Vera Cruz.—EDITOR.

in the episode not only as a distinguished historian of the Sudanese but also because his mother, a Scotswoman, and daughter of Colonel David Fergusson of the American army, was born in Mexico in 1861, and lived there till about 1897. As a girl, she shared a governess with Augustin Iturbide,¹¹ grandson of the Emperor Iturbide (1783-1824). Her husband, William Newbold, was also in Mexico as a man of about 35 during and after the period of the French War. He knew the Emperor Maximilian well, and brought some of his effects after his death, including one of the Emperor's saddles, which Mr. Newbold now has in Khartoum, and still rides upon. This additional material which was generously placed at the author's disposal by Mr. Newbold and Mr. Hogg, has enabled a more complete and informative account of the episode to be written.

II.

From the downfall of the Iberian Empires in the New World until the second election of Porfirio Diaz to the presidency in 1884, the history of Mexico is a bitter and passionate story of almost continuous dissention and warfare, in which Maximilian's empire is merely an episode. From 1858 to 1861, the country was torn by civil war between two rival governments, one, clerical and conservative, led by an able and ambitious soldier, named Miguel Miramon, the other progressive and anti-clerical, ranged under Benito¹² Juarez, an Indian remarkable for the clearness of his views and the decision of his will, but regarded with vehement disapprobation all over the Catholic world for his vigorous and comprehensive measures to curtail the authority and wealth of the church. Both parties resorted to arms, both parties borrowed money from Europe, and each was lavish in promises of repayment when once the fortunes of war had decided in its favour.

11. Don Augustin Iturbide was nominated by Maximilian to be his successor. Under the republican government he served in the Mexican Army, but was discharged and imprisoned in 1890, for abusing President Diaz.

12. It is said that Benito Mussolini was given his first name after this man.—Ed

Juarez had the recognition and support of the United States. A Swiss banker in Paris named Jekker had lent Miramon's government \$750,000, in return for which Miramon gave him 6 per cent bonds of the nominal value of \$15,000,000, ingeniously disguised as a conversion scheme. It was not Miramon, however, but Juarez who won the war (1861). Jekker's creditors were mostly French, but he still held most of the bonds, and by corrupt means induced Dubois de Saligny, the French chargé d'affaires in Mexico to support his claims. The Duc de Morny, half brother to Napoleon III, also undertook to support Jekker's cause in return for 30 per cent of the profits.

It was not difficult to arouse the interest of Napoleon III in a Mexican enterprise. While in captivity at Ham Napoleon had dreamed of a central America civilised and opened up to modern enterprise by a transoceanic canal. The clerical refugees in Paris, among them Labastida, Archbishop of Mexico, easily influenced the Empress Eugenie, herself a Spaniard, to interest her husband in the cause of centralised Monarchy and the Church. The overthrow of the sacrilegious Indians, and the establishment in Mexico of a Catholic empire under French tutelage appeared to be objects attractive in themselves, and likely to lead to financial profit. Mexico indeed was a distant country whose climate and geography were little understood, but it was known to be large, and it was reputed to be fabulously wealthy. Moreover the moment seemed propitious for such an adventure, since the United States was distracted by the Civil War between the North and South. The internal state of Mexico, together with the frequent outrages of both parties on foreigners, afforded strong reasons for foreign intervention. Miramon's government had violated the British legation; the Spanish Minister, the papal legate, and the representatives of Guatemala and Ecuador were expelled from the country for undue interference on behalf of the reactionaries; the payments of the British loan were suspended by Juarez's Congress of 1861, and various outrages had been committed on the persons and property of Europeans for which no redress could be obtained.

A convention between Great Britain, France and Spain for joint interference in Mexico, with the limited object of debt collecting, was

signed in London on 31st October 1861. On 14th December Vera Cruz was occupied by Spanish troops under General Prim. The French fleet and troops arrived soon afterwards, with instructions to seize and hold the Gulf ports and collect customs dues for the three powers until a settlement was effected. Great Britain sent ships and landed only 700 marines. In view of the unhealthiness of Vera Cruz, the Convention of Soledad was concluded with the Mexican government, permitting the foreign troops to advance to Orizaba, and incidentally recognising the independence of Mexico. Disagreement then arose between the three European governments as to the scope and objects of the expedition. As the French harboured leaders of the Mexican reactionaries, pressed the Jekker claims, and showed a disposition to interfere in Mexican domestic politics, Great Britain and Spain withdrew their forces in March 1862.

More troops were sent from France to Mexico. Their advance was checked by Zaragoza and Porfirio Diaz in the battle of Cinco de Mayo on 5th May 1862; and in September 1862, 30,000 more French troops arrived under General Forey. Wintering at Orizaba, they recommenced their advance on 17th February 1863, besieged and reduced Puebla, and entered Mexico City on 7th June. The enterprise had now become an undisguised war of conquest, its object being to overthrow the Juarez government and establish in Mexico a Catholic empire under the tutelage of France. Maximilian, the brother of Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, was persuaded to become the French nominee for the puppet throne of Mexico. To the person of Maximilian there could be little objection; tall, handsome, benevolent, with an honourable record of liberality as an administrator of the Milanese, he was the type of ruler whom any people desirous of mild and honourable government might well have been content to accept.¹³ But the Mexicans did not want him, and the enterprise of forcing a sovereign on the Mexican population proved more costly in troops and money than the French had anticipated.

13. Maximilian was then 31. It was he who created the naval port of Trieste. He had been Viceroy of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom and in the year he was appointed, 1857 married Princess Charlotte, daughter of Leopold I, King of the Belgians—EDITOR.

III.

On the low lying, fever-ridden, coastal regions of Mexico the French losses from disease were particularly high. From November 1861 until June 1863 approximately 37,000 men were sent from France to Mexico. During these 20 months 1,410 men died from disease, while only 330—47 officers and 283 other ranks—died on the battlefield or as the result of wounds inflicted by the enemy. The principal diseases were yellow fever and dysentery, and the European and Algerian garrisons in Vera Cruz were sometimes decimated by disease to such an extent that the local cemetery, which was grimly nicknamed "the garden of acclimatisation," was often unable to deal with the number of corpses requiring to be buried. In these circumstances Napoleon III asked Said Pasha,¹⁴ Wali of Egypt, to place at his disposal a regiment of Sudanese troops, in the hope that they might withstand the climate better than the French soldiers. Sudanese troops had previously been used with great success by Mohamed Ali in Morea and by Ibrahim Pasha in Arabia.

Said Pasha acceded to this request, but sent only one Battalion, from the regiment of the 19th Foot, consisting of 453 officers and men, commanded by Bimbashi Gabralla Mohd. Effendi, with Yuzbashi Mohd. El Mas Effendi as his second in command. The French transport *la Seine* was despatched from Toulon on 23rd December 1862, arriving at Alexandria on 1st January 1863. The battalion was secretly embarked at Alexandria on the night between January 7th and 8th, and arrived in Vera Cruz on 23rd. February 1863, after a voyage of 47 days. According to Niox, the Battalion was composed of a Commanding officer, one captain, one lieutenant, 8 sergeants, 15 corporals, 359 soldiers, 39 recruits and 22 "children" of from 10-15 years of age. The recruits, who had been impressed by the Alexandria police on the evening of departure, were almost naked, but the soldiers, who had been recruited mostly from Kordofan and Darfur, were well clothed, and equipped with excellent arms.

14. Said Pasha was the favourite son of Mohamed Ali Pasha and had succeeded his uncle Abbas I in 1854. He was much under French influence. He died in Jan. 1863 and was succeeded by his nephew Ismail Pasha, the first of the Khedives of Egypt.—Ed.

On the voyage out to Mexico 7 men died, either of typhoid fever or of chest complaints. A further 15 died shortly after arrival at Vera Cruz, and according to Niox "l'on craignit un instant qu'ils ne fussent pas à l'abri des influences pernicieuses des terres chaudes." The question has been raised whether these men died of yellow fever. According to Bouffier¹⁵ yellow fever was absent from Vera Cruz in the months of January, February, March and April, 1863. At first sight it would seem probable, therefore, that they died from other complaints. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the 39 recruits impressed in Alexandria were Sudanese at all, or likely to be immune to yellow fever.

In May, 1863, according to du Barail, yellow fever made its customary appearance in Vera Cruz "avec une intensité et une précocité extraordinaires," and continued till December of the same year. During this period the French Commanding Officer, Colonel Labrousse, died, as did his successor, Colonel Jeaningros. Eleven other officers and half the garrison also succumbed to yellow fever, but "heureusement les Egyptiens résistèrent au climat et purent seconder les compagnies créoles des Antilles également à l'abri du fleau." The other point of interest is that among the victims of yellow fever was the Commanding Officer of the Sudanese troops, Bimbashi Gabralla Mohd. This officer is the only member of the battalion whose death is attributed in the records to yellow fever and Vogel suggests, that he may have been an Egyptian rather than a Sudanese. He left an estate of 5,667 French francs, which sum, together with a benefice of 5,000 francs was sent to the Egyptian Government for transmission to his heirs; and Mohd. El Mas, after being promoted to the rank of Bimbashi, succeeded to the Command of the Battalion.

IV.

The Sudanese did not entirely escape the baleful effects of the Mexican climate, although they supported it better than the French, better, indeed, than even the Mexicans themselves. By the end of

15. Bouffier, C. *Archives de Médecine Navale* 1865. Vol. 3, p. 299.

1863 there had been 47 deaths in the battalion since its departure from Egypt, and during this period there were never less than 43 sick in each company. This was partly due to lack of suitable arrangements having been made for them after disembarkation at Vera Cruz, since no one had attempted to become acquainted with the language, tastes, or habits of the Sudanese soldiers. Feeding arrangements were insufficient, and the food supplied was inadequate for the arduous duties which had to be undertaken. The half starved and almost naked recruits who had been impressed in Alexandria on the evening of departure must have reached Vera Cruz in a very debilitated and depressed condition, and probably accounted for a large proportion of the deaths.

Measures were soon taken to remedy these matters. Shortly after arrival at Vera Cruz the battalion was reorganised on the French pattern. It was divided into four companies, and orders were published detailing all aspects of their duties. The cadre of officers was brought up to strength by promotions from the battalion. Copies of these orders and promotions were despatched to Egypt for the Khedive's approval, which was duly given and passed to the Egyptian War Ministry on March 16th, 1864, the promotions being ante-dated as from 11th March, 1863.

While the equipment and arms of the Sudanese were excellent, they were unfortunate in one respect; their rifles were of a different pattern from the French. As this entailed difficulty about ammunition the French Commander issued them with rifles of the standard pattern and put their own rifles in store until the end of the campaign. Some trouble was experienced at first owing to the fact that no one appears to have been conversant with any language understood by the Sudanese soldiers. This made it difficult to instruct them in the use of the new rifles. Later, however, the French found interpreters among some of their Algerian troops, and through these the wants of the Sudanese became known to their French Commanders. All records pay tribute to the rapidity with which the Sudanese became disciplined and acclimatized once it was possible to understand their requirements, treat their minor ailments, and discover their special aptitudes. It soon became evident that they were excellent marksmen, energetic

and brave under fire, and capable of the greatest services in places where the French troops "*fondaient en quelques jours.*" They were found to be particularly successful when sent out against the bands of guerillas who continually harassed the hinterland of Vera Cruz by launching cavalry attacks on caravans carrying provisions and ammunition, or descending on lightly guarded defensive posts.

During the siege of Puebla, the second most important city in Mexico, which was captured with its garrison of 26 generals, 900 officers and 12,000 other ranks on 17th May, 1863, the Sudanese were given the task of protecting the lines of communication between this city and the coast, which the Mexicans attempted continually to cut. After the fall of Puebla some of the prisoners of war were employed on railway works. The guerilla bands interfered so much with this work that a company and a half of the Sudanese were detailed for their protection. Under this surveillance the work was pushed ahead rapidly.

Some of the Sudanese battalion accompanied the Commander-in-Chief, Marshal Bazaine, when he entered Mexico City on 7th June, 1863, taking part in a number of engagements both before and after the fall of the capital. On 21st June, 1863, when the Commander-in-Chief attended the celebration of Mass with representatives of all the Military and Civil authorities, it was given to the Sudanese to form the guard of honour, and after the ceremony they paraded in the largest public square in the city.

The Sudanese had now proved their worth. Their exploits attracted the attention of the Commander-in-Chief, who instructed that a special force of picked troops should be enrolled from their number, its members to be granted an allowance of 65 cents. (P.T. 2½) per day, and distinguished by wearing a yellow brassard on the arm. This order had a tremendous effect on the spirits of officers and men alike, since it indicated that they had won the respect and approbation of their French leaders.

By the end of 1863 the Sudanese had taken part in eight engagements, and everywhere they had acquitted themselves with distinction. The Governor of Vera Cruz, in a despatch to the Commander-in-Chief

describing a battle which took place on 2nd October, 1863 wrote:—
“this engagement has crowned the Sudanese, who bore the brunt of it, with the guerdon of the highest glory; they paid no heed to the fire poured upon them by the enemy who outnumbered them by 9 to one, but routed them in confusion.”

The most signal service rendered by the Sudanese troops during this campaign was, however, their occupation of Vera Cruz, and protection of the lines of communication between this city and the advanced units in the interior. Vera Cruz was the port of disembarkation of the expeditionary force, and the port of entry of all military supplies. Hence it was of vital importance that communications should be maintained between this base and the other units of the army. This task was carried out by the Sudanese without interruption from their disembarkation at Vera Cruz in February 1863 until the departure of the French army in 1867.

The presence of Sudanese troops in Vera Cruz is incidentally related in the record of a journey to Mexico by a lady of Maximilian's Court, the Countess Paula Kollonitz,¹⁶ who remarks “these black sons of Africa withstand admirably the pestilential climate of the Mexican Coast.” On 14th November, 1864 this lady undertook a journey from Vera Cruz to Meddelin on which she was escorted by a detachment from the Sudanese battalion, in case of attack by the guerillas who were very troublesome in the vicinity of Vera Cruz. She describes the men of her escort as tall and slender, well built, clad in white uniforms and turbans, armed with long guns and carrying a dagger in their belts. “Quant a moi” adds the Countess, “je me sentais auprès d’eux presque moins à mon aise que sans escorte.”

General du Barail describes the Sudanese battalion as a very fine force, admirably disciplined, and states with some exaggeration that not one of the soldiers ever fell ill. He records how he used to watch them during the heat of the day lying asleep in the bright sunshine “comme des lézards,” and was astonished to learn that they awakened without even the slightest semblance of a migraine. In

16. Cited by de Vogel, *op. cit.*

the General's opinion any Frenchman committing such an imprudence would have been lucky to awaken alive.

On 22nd April, 1864, the O.C. Vera Cruz wrote to the Commander-in-Chief: "The Egyptian Sudanese are carrying on in a manner which proves their valour, fighting against greatly superior numbers; they continue to maintain the high level of courage which they have shown previously."

A despatch from the Commander-in-Chief to the French Ministry of War, dated 12th July, 1864, describing a battle which had just taken place records that: "These Egyptian Sudanese, whose spirit does not permit them to allow any prisoner to live, shone in the battle. Never in my life have I seen such perfect steadiness and ardour as they showed in this battle. Their eyes alone spoke their feelings; their bravery was amazing, incredible; they were not men, but lions"

This battle did not result in breaking the enemy's concentration. Although outnumbered by six to one, the Sudanese attacked again on the 14th July, but were driven off. The report of this engagement says: "The Egyptian Sudanese fought finely in an engagement lasting an hour, and all the old soldiers have nothing but praise and amazement for their spirit." Several were mentioned in the despatch, and one Ombashi Abdulla Hussein Basha, was awarded a Military Medal for his conspicuous courage and ferocity, and the number of casualties he inflicted on the enemy. He was observed during the action to bayonet a Mexican and then lift him up at arms length with the bayonet still sticking into him.

In October 1864 two despatches from Mexico reached the Egyptian War Ministry, one from Segour, the French Officer Commanding the Egyptian battalion, and the other from Mohd. El Mas, giving an account of the battles in which the Sudanese had been engaged, casualty lists, and other particulars. The despatches were passed to the Khedive Ismail, who was very gratified to learn of the martial prowess, valour and skill which had distinguished this battalion. He took immediate steps for the provision of pensions to the widows and families of the fallen officers and men. In a letter to Mohd. El Mas, expressing his appreciation of the battalion's achievements, and

approving certain promotions, the Khedive wrote :—" I hope in Almighty God that on the completion of your duty when you return we shall show in proper fashion our appreciation of your praiseworthy services ; those who take the path of loyalty and zeal will enjoy the fulfilment of this wish."

V.

On 21st, 23rd and 24th January, 1865 three fierce battles took place in which the Sudanese were engaged. A despatch from the General Officer Commanding, describing these battles, says ; " It is hard to find words to express the surpassing courage and valour of this battalion, its steadiness under fire, or its cheerful acceptance of hardship, or its ardour in engaging the enemy with fire, or its endurance on the march. Every man of them in these three battles did his duty well ; and their Commanding Officer observes that every one of them deserves praise and thanks. Apart from that the Commanding Officer drew attention to three rankers who had been grievously wounded. I however consider it my duty to mention the following persons also :—Mulazim Farah El Zein in these engagements showed great prowess as is his wont, in leading the rearguard, and has imprinted on the (writer's) memory a picture of courage and zeal not recollected in all his former campaigns. Mulazim Awal Mohd. Suliman received six bullet wounds, yet remained on his feet in spite of this. This is the officer who was awarded a Medal on 20th December and I now ask that he be promoted Yuzbashi."

With Gallic eloquence the same officer writes of the Sudanese in a later despatch :—" How watchful their Company ! What heroes their men, their hearts aflame with the love of duty ! Not once has a single soldier been caught asleep on sentry duty, or found absent from his post. Of their own accord, they treble their guard by night without orders, to be safe from all surprise."

On 12th August, 1865, Mulazim Salih Hegazi was sent in charge of 20 men to reinforce one of the fortified posts. On the way they were attacked by 200 Mexicians. Undeterred by their numerical inferiority, the Sudanese engaged the enemy with such concentrated fire that they

were temporarily thrown into confusion, and the Sudanese seized the opportunity to retire into a cave. The enemy quickly recovered and began to attack from all sides ; but from their point of vantage in the cave the 20 Sudanese were able to hold the enemy at bay until reinforcements arrived and rescued them.

In October 1865 a Company of Sudanese was sent to punish a gang of the enemy, three times their number, who had derailed a train and butchered the passengers, including some women. The Sudanese attacked, and the enemy was routed with heavy losses. As a result of this action Mulazim II Abdel Rahman Musa, Onbashi Mohd. Suleiman, and Nafar Ali Suleiman were mentioned in despatches and received the Military Medal.

As the guerilla tactics of the Mexicans were still troublesome, it was decided to equip a mounted force of 50 horsemen from the Sudanese battalion to carry out scouting duties, principally in connection with the protection of the railway. Those who were chosen for this service proved skilful horsemen, and acquitted themselves well in this new capacity. They were given higher rates of pay, provided by the citizens of Vera Cruz as a reward for their contribution to the protection of the city.

Under the direction of one of their own officers the artillerymen of the Sudanese battalion were accorded the honour of firing the salute of 101 rounds which welcomed the Empress Charlotte on her arrival at Vera Cruz in December, 1865. The garrison, which comprised both Sudanese and other troops, was formed into two lines extending from the station to the Palace. The Sudanese battalion provided at the Palace a guard of honour of fifty men, and when the Empress returned to the station the Sudanese cavalry rode before her to clear the street. The Empress commended the Sudanese to her husband Maximilian for their magnificent turn out no less than for their military prowess, of which she had heard nothing but praise. Maximilian signified his pleasure by granting to every man a daily allowance of 33½ cents. (1¼ P.T.). In July, 1866 when the Empress again passed through Vera Cruz on her way to Europe, the only troops in the City at the time to do her honour were the Sudanese.

By the end of 1865 the Sudanese had taken part in 37 engagements ; but major military operations came to an end at the close of that year, although a further eleven actions were fought in 1866. The enemy was daily receiving fresh reinforcements in the shape of new guerilla parties from the interior. The guerilla warfare was intensified. Security in the hinterland was now indeed maintained only by the offensive action which the French could take against the guerilla bands from their outposts, and in this phase of the war also the Sudanese played a prominent part. It is related that a force of 200 Mexicans one evening attacked a post occupied by 26 Sudanese soldiers. The attack was a surprise but in spite of their inferior numbers, the Sudanese continued fighting all night until 5.30 a.m., when the enemy retired leaving many casualties. But the enemy's strength and boldness increased daily, as fresh reinforcements arrived, and it soon became clear that Vera Cruz itself might have to be defended before reinforcements could be sent from France.

VI.

The Khedive Ismail Pasha, who had followed with interest all the reports from Mexico, wished to send out a second battalion of Sudanese troops to relieve the first one. On 27th February, 1865 orders were sent to Jaafer Pasha,¹⁷ Governor-General of the Sudan, to select from the Sudanese infantry a full battalion of young men of good bodily stature and fine appearance, which was to be assembled in Suakin with the least possible delay. Jaafer Pasha was instructed to inform the Khedive of the date on which this force would be ready in Suakin so that ships could be arranged for their transport to Egypt. On 12th April, 1865 the Khedive wrote to the officer Commanding the Sudanese battalion in Mexico, " Please tell your men that I hope they will ever continue to follow the path of fame until they return to their homes and gain the acclamations of their brethren. Please inform

17. This must have been Ja'afar Pasha Sadiq who succeeded the bloodthirsty Musa Pasha Hamid in July, 1865, and was succeeded in his turn by Ja'afar Pasha Mazhar in 1866, being removed by the Khedive after a rising in Kassala (See S. N. & R. Vol. XXIII Part I p. 52)—EDITOR.

them also that we shall make arrangements to send troops to relieve them; and, if God wills, this relief will be despatched shortly. On the arrival of this relief you and your men are to return, as your stay out there has been prolonged." With this letter was sent also an award of the Mejidia Medal, 4th Class, to Major Marshal, a French officer seconded for duty with the Sudanese battalion; but, unknown to Ismail Pasha, this officer had been killed in action on 2nd March, 1865.

By 10th June, 1865 no news had yet been received from the Sudan about the readiness of the second battalion, so Ismail Pasha ordered the steamer *Ibrahimia* to proceed to Suakin. The Captain was given instructions to embark the Sudanese battalion or any part of it whether few or many, who had already assembled in Suakin, and to bring them to Egypt without delay. The Khedive wrote also to the authorities in Suakin,¹⁸ to the Governor of Taka Province,¹⁹ to Sherif Pasha, and to the Minister of War sending orders to expedite the equipment and despatch of the battalion.

When the *Ibrahimia* reached Suakin there was no news of the arrival of any of the troops. Owing to the outbreak of an epidemic in Suakin, the Captain decided to return empty rather than wait indefinitely in this port. Ismail Pasha now sent instructions that the battalion was to be formed from troops in Dongola and Berber, and brought to Egypt by the Nile route with the least possible delay, only to be informed that transport to Suakin had already been started, but owing to the epidemic at this port the troops had been detained at various places in Taka province, but could be collected in Suakin by 8th August. Arrangements were made with the Azizia Steamship Company for their transport to Egypt, and the French authorities were informed.

In spite of all these orders and arrangements, the second battalion never sailed for Mexico. Nor did the assistance from Europe, which Maximilian so urgently needed, ever materialise.

18. Presumably 'Ahmed Mumtaz, the first Egyptian Governor of Suakin after Ismail Pasha leased the port from Turkey. EDITOR.

19. This man must have been Ibrahim Bey, an Albanian, who is said to have committed suicide.—EDITOR.

VII.

The American Civil War ended in the spring of 1865, and the failure of the Mexican War was evident by the autumn of the same year. A strong popular feeling in the United States was manifested in favour of asserting the Monroe doctrine against Maximilian's government. The Government of Washington, having vanquished the South in the Civil War, peremptorily ordered the French out of Mexico, and refused to acknowledge the sovereign who had been imposed on the Mexican people. There were threatening movements of U.S. troops towards the Rio Grande, and early in 1866 Napoleon III announced his intention of withdrawing his forces.

Maximilian, deserted by the French, now turned for support to the Mexican clerical party ; meditated abdication, but was dissuaded by his wife Charlotte, who went to Europe to intercede for him with Napoleon. Finding the latter obdurate she went on to Rome to appeal to the Pope ; but without success, and while in Rome she became permanently insane.

Maximilian now took command of the army at Queretaro. Here, with the Mexican reactionary leaders Miramon and Mejia, he was besieged by the Juarists under Escobedo, and the garrison, when about to make a last attempt to break out, was betrayed by Colonel Lopez to the besiegers (15th May, 1867). Maximilian was tried by Court-martial, together with Miramon and Mejia, and refusing (or neglecting)²⁰ to avail himself of various opportunities of escape, was convicted on charges which may be summarised as rebellion, murder, and brigandage, and shot on June 19th, 1867, despite many protests from European Governments and prominent individuals, including Garibaldi and Victor Hugo. After considerable difficulty with the republican government, his body was brought to Europe.

VIII.

The Sudanese, now hardened veterans, left Mexico with the French army in February 1867, and returned to Egypt via France. During their four years in Mexico they had taken part in 48 engagements,

²⁰ 20. Maximilian betrayed an astonishing indecision in his last weeks of life.—EDITOR.

acquitted themselves everywhere with distinction, and won the highest praise of the French Military authorities. In April, 1867 they arrived in Paris, where they were feted and received a liberal distribution of decorations, some of them being awarded the ribbon of the Legion of Honour. The Marshal Commanding the Imperial guard brought them personally to the notice of the Emperor Napoleon, who inspected them on parade on 2nd May, accompanied by Shahim Pasha, the Egyptian Minister of War. The Emperor shook hands with the battalion Commander, Bimbashi Mohd. El Mas, decorated many of the officers and men, and distributed rewards to those who had been wounded.

In May of the same year they left France and returned to Egypt, 313 strong out of the original 453. Three further stragglers returned later, one having been detained in hospital in Paris, the other two being released prisoners of war from Mexico. On 28th May, 1867 they paraded before the Khedive Ismail in the courtyard of his palace, Ras el Tin, Alexandria. The same evening Latif Pasha gave a banquet to the officers of the battalion, with Sherif Pasha as president. The French Consul General and his staff, the Admiral of the French fleet, many high Egyptian officials, and all the French officers stationed in, or passing through Alexandria were invited, and the hall was decorated with French and Egyptian flags. The following day Ismail Pasha issued a list of promotions, among which Mohd. El Mas was raised to the rank of Miralai.

Some further information about the Sudanese who returned from Mexico is given by Sir Samuel Baker,²¹ who was allotted a force of 1,445 troops and two batteries for his expedition to suppress the slave trade in Equatoria. The infantry consisted of two regiments, a black or "Sudani" regiment, which included many officers and men who had served with Marshal Bazaine in Mexico, and an Egyptian regiment. Some of the former became members of Baker's bodyguard—the "Forty Thieves,"—and apparently they still retained their immunity to tropical fevers. On reaching the stretch of the Nile between what is now Malakal and Gondoroko, on February 24th, 1870, the expedition

21. Baker, S. W. *Ismailia*. 2nd Ed. LONDON, 1879.

was attacked by swarms of mosquitoes. On March 2nd the troops were reported in good health. From March 19th to April 7th, as they continued to cut their way through the sudd, 9 soldiers, 2 sailors, and a boy died of fever, and 150 men were on the sick list. It is interesting to note that the sick and those who died were Egyptians. Baker records that the Egyptians became despondent and broken-hearted, while the Sudanese, who were served with a glass of grog in the evenings, remained well, and in excellent spirits.

This Sudanese regiment remained to garrison the Acholi district after Baker's departure from the Sudan in 1873. Thomas records that Colonel Chaille-Long, passing through Fatiko in 1874, was greatly impressed by the cleanliness and order of the camp, and the discipline and soldierly bearing of the troops, many of whom on parade wore their decorations for the Mexican campaign, while the Commander of the post, Major Abdulla, displayed his ribbon of the Legion of Honour. Long was also hospitably entertained by Major Baba Tuka at Foweira, where he greatly enjoyed listening to his host's reminiscences of the Mexican campaign and of his short Parisian life. Murgan Aga, another veteran of the Mexican war, was appointed by Emin Pasha to be Commandant of Amadi where he was killed in a sortie shortly before the post was evacuated in March 1885.²² Others served in Darfur, Kordofan, Kassala and Eritrea, and two officers of the Mexican battalion were killed in a night attack during General Gordon's defence of Khartoum.

22. Junker, W. *Reisen in Afrika* Vienna, 1889.

NOTES ON THE HEALTH OF THE SUDAN PRIOR TO THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

By J. F. E. Bloss,

Sudan Medical Service.

*' Not at the mouth of his clean lipped guns shall ye learn his name again
But letter by letter, from Kaf to Kaf, at the mouths of his chosen men
He has gone back to his own city, not seeking presents or bribes.
But openly asking the English for money to buy you Hakims and scribes.'*

' KITCHENER'S SCHOOL,' KIPLING.

The founding of the Kitchener School of Medicine, and the growth of the Medical Service has brought about a dramatic, but gradual improvement in the health of the whole country. Living under modern conditions the native is guarded against the ravages of epidemics, and early treatment prevents, or, diminishes the complications that are often worse than the disease itself. It is not often realised how fatal were these diseases, or their complications before the Occupation. Many early writers and travellers in this country have recorded notes about the medical conditions that existed. The purpose of this article is to summarise this material, and to give some sort of a picture of those days from a medical standpoint. Most of these writers had had little or no medical education, and 'tropical medicine' as we now understand it was not known. Even so, these records give us a very good idea of conditions in those days.

James Bruce¹ (1765 - 1777) who visited Abyssinia, the Sudan and Egypt gives some interesting and accurate accounts. Many of his descriptions would not disgrace a modern text book, for example this is his description of guinea worm infections, which he noted only affected those who drank stagnant water from holes or wells.

" The plague appears indiscriminately in every part of the body, but oftenest in the legs and arms. I never saw it in the face or head, but far from affecting the fleshy parts of the body only, it generally comes out where the bone has least flesh upon it. Upon looking at the worm on its first appearance, a small black head is extremely visible, with a hooked beak of whitish colour. Its body is seemingly of a white silky texture

1. Bruce, 2nd edit. Vol. II p. 231 *et seq.*

very like a small tendon, bared and perfectly cleaned. After its appearance, the natives of these countries who are used to it, seize it gently by the head and wrap it round a thin piece of silk, or a birds feather. Every day or several times a day they try to wind it up on the quill as far as it comes readily, and upon the smallest resistance they give over for fear of breaking it. I have seen four feet or something more of this extraordinary animal winded out with invincible patience in the course of three weeks."

He says 'For my own part I am content to write what I faithfully and carefully observed, leaving everybody afterwards to follow their own way at their peril.' He was often branded as a liar after his book was published and said to have a most fertile imagination. But as far as his medical observations go, they were truthful, accurate, and far ahead of any other observations on tropical medicine at that period. He mixes up the different forms of malaria and filariasis but that is understandable for it was not until the present century that they could differentiate with any accuracy. One of his more amusing stories of the Shangalla tribe of Abyssinia is this².

"They all go naked, have several wives and are very prolific. They bring forth children with the utmost ease, and never rest nor confine themselves after delivery, but washing themselves and the child with cold water they wrap it up in the bark of a tree, and hang it upon a branch that the large ants and serpents may not devour it. After a few days when it has gathered strength the mother carries it upon her back and gives it her breast, which she throws over her shoulder, this part being in some, of such length to reach almost to the knees."

By the time Bruce reached Sennar he had acquired the reputation of being a wonderful doctor and was much in demand. Sheikh Adlan called him in on several occasions to see his wives. He himself was very fond of Bruce's supply of ipecachuana which acted with most dramatic results on the sheikh and his wives. On his second visit to the ladies they all stripped off their clothes and demanded to be examined³.

"This exceeding confidence on their part, they thought merited some consideration on mine, and it was not without great astonishment that I heard the queen desire to see me in like dishabille the whole court of female attendants flocked to the spectacle I have been in more than one battle, but surely would have joyfully taken my chance again in any of them to have been freed from that examination."

2. Bruce, *idem*. Vol. IV. p. 36.

3. *idem* Vol. VII. p. 362.

At Sennar he mentions the following diseases.⁴ Firstly a dysentery or bloody flux, which was associated with intermittent fevers. It was particularly fatal during the rainy season and was almost certainly a form of malignant tertian malaria. He also says that there were several 'schirrous livers and epilepsies' which he ascribed to the native habit of using oils and greases on their bodies. He mentions that venereal disease was common, and almost certainly the schirrous livers were due to either syphilis or to the excessive drinking which was also prevalent. Smallpox was well known and respected. The disease appeared periodically and was thought to be brought by the Suakinese and other traders. The Shillukhs, Nubas and Arabs all knew of and practised a form of inoculation called *tishteree el jederee*.⁵ This was done by the women of the tribe who tied a piece of rag round the arm of an infected person, and then sat down and haggled over the price of this infected 'charm.' Having bought it it would be taken home and tied round the arm of the person to be inoculated. When the person developed the disease he was supposed to get no more pustules than had been paid for in the bargain.

Bruce's advice to travellers was not so out of date as its hundred and fifty years would make it appear.⁶

1. Avoid all spirits and fermented liquors like poison, even the bark is better taken in water than in wine.

2. Regarding food he advises the traveller to take plenty of spices and seasoning even in quantities enough to blister the palate. The natives do so and it strengthens the stomach. Chickens he says, are bad, eggs worse, and greens most unwholesome. Fruits should be eaten sparingly, especially if over ripe and rice is probably the best stable source of diet. This is hardly correct according to modern ideas.

3. Do not over-exercise yourself, for exercise is neither so necessary nor so salutary as in Europe. An evening walk in the cool breeze will provide all that is necessary after a days work

Bruce's keen power of observation, and his attention to detail, in what he saw, and what he wrote have given us a reliable account of

4. idem Vol. VI. p. 381.

5. The women, both the blacks and Arabs, those that live in the plains, like the Shillukh or inhabitants of El Aice, those of Nuba and Guba, those that live in the mountains, all the various species of slaves that come from Dyre and Tegla have known a species of inoculation which they call . . . p. 383.

6. idem Vol. II. p. 260.

these diseases. If he had had some medical education, it is more than probable that he would take his place among the founders of tropical medicine with such men as Lavaran and Manson.

The next traveller, in chronological order, was W. G. Browne⁷ who travelled from Egypt by the Darb el Arba'in road to Fasher in 1793. In the accounts of his travels he devotes a special chapter to medical remarks on conditions in the Sudan and Egypt. Trachoma (*psorophthalmia*) he notes to be particularly common in Egypt, and in the northern Sudan. The cause he puts down to dust and irritant fats, and notes that the higher the social standing the less the incidence of the disease. Plague, the disease which always ravaged the Turkish empire, was epidemic in Egypt, and had been there since 1348 (the year the plague ravaged Europe). Many travellers mention plague as a disease, but there is no definite evidence that the plague carried by the rat flea ever existed in this country. It existed in Egypt, but the plague mentioned by such travellers as Baker was probably not this disease. Smallpox is of course mentioned as the main epidemic disease, and native methods of inoculation are recorded. Scurvy was existant in Darfur, especially in years of poor crops. Syphilis is of course mentioned, and of this disease he says : . . . , the disease which attacks the principles of generation, and destroys in its source, one among the few solaces with which human life is sparingly diversified . . . does not appear in Egypt with all the terrors that mark its course in other countries.' At this period the tertiary forms of the disease, aneurysm, tabes, and general paralysis of the insane, were only too common sequelae in Europe, but in the tropics, as nowadays, they were rare in comparison with the frequency of the disease. Leprosy was one of the commoner diseases in Egypt and in Darfur. Among the other diseases he mentions as being met with were tape worms, enlarged spleens (possibly due to bilharzia as well as malaria), liver diseases and jaundice, herniae, hydroceles, haemorrhoids, and fistulae. Herniae were treated with locally made trusses, and haemorrhoids and fistulae were treated with cautery. Childbirth was particularly

7. W. G. Brown, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria*, 1806. Ch. XXI, p. 360.

easy. Sunstroke was uncommon, and also rabies was almost unknown. Aphrodisiacs such as natrun, infusions of tamarhinde, and hashish were in great demand as medicines.

Burckhardt,⁸ some fourteen years later mentions diseases met with in Berber and Shendi. The people of Berber, he says, were on the whole a healthy race probably due to the situation of the town on the edge of the desert. When the Nile was in flood a fever, called *wirdee* (*ward* is a generic Arabic name for fever) occasionally became epidemic. It did not occur every year, but when it did there was a high mortality rate among those afflicted. This was almost certainly malaria. Plague was unknown, and he says he had never heard of a case of plague south of the Assuan cataract. Every eight or ten years, smallpox, brought in by the Suakin traders became epidemic. A serious epidemic broke out in 1812, which coupled with a famine was said to have carried off over two thirds of the population. Burckhardt himself knew that over fifty members of one family died from smallpox in that year. Mild cases were few and far between, and those that contracted the disease were as a result heavily pocked. The mortality rate in children was said to be less than in adults. A method of inoculation called *dak el jederee* was known, but not practised extensively. The fluid from a pustule of an infected person was rubbed into an incision wound made in the leg of the person to be inoculated. Venereal diseases and ophthalmia were common, but not so much as in Egypt. He saw one case of guinea worm at Berber, probably an imported case, and says that although the more usual places for the worm to appear were the arms and legs, he saw one case in which the worm came out in the breast.

Shendi was very similar to Berber. There was a large slave market at Shendi. Although the slaves endured great hardships, they were not so strong as their masters. A large proportion of slaves died long before they ever reached a market, and many travellers mention the rapidity with which some disease overtook the slaves after their capture. At Shendi a particularly fatal inflammatory fever carried

8. Burckhardt. *Travels in Asia*, 1819, pp. 229 and 337.

off large numbers of slaves. This might have been cerebro-spinal meningitis. A slave who had had smallpox would sell at a higher rate than one who had not. If a female slave became pregnant, her master would leave no stone unturned to procure an abortion. This was done with various drugs, given orally, by beating the woman on the abdomen, or by putting the extract of the dead sea fruit on a piece of cotton inside the vagina. Slaves that snored, or ground their teeth at night fetched a poor price, and if a slave had a disease, which did not become cured within the time prescribed by the vendor, it could be returned.

Between the time of Burckhardt, and the travellers of the latter part of the nineteenth century there are but few references. Parkyns,⁹ a naval surgeon, visited Suakin about 1840. Here he saw several patients, and records the story of a German doctor who came to Suakin as he thought he might find practice more lucrative than at home. He was soon disillusioned however for one of his first patients was an Arab who had been wounded in a fight. In spite of the ministrations of the doctor the patient died, whereat the relatives held him an accessory to the death, and taking him outside the walls of the town cut him up into small pieces.

In his numerous books on the Sudan, Baker has not very many references to diseases, or to the native reaction to them. He, like all travellers soon became renowned as a doctor, and his medicine chest must have had enormous stocks for he frequently mentions using it on the natives. Smallpox, in one case, he mentions as a bad epidemic saying 'the natives were dying like flies.' In 1866 on his return from Gondokoro to Khartoum he describes the fear of the traders at Gondokoro for the 'plague' which had broken out at Khartoum, and which was said to be carried on the boats. Over 15,000 people were reported to have died in Khartoum, and many boats crews had been depleted by deaths on their way from Khartoum. There had also been deaths in Gondokoro. From Baker's description¹⁰ it is very difficult to give

9. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, 1843.

10. Baker, *Albert Nyanza, Basin of the Nile*, Vol. II. pp. 285 *et seq.*

an accurate diagnosis of what this 'plague' was. It certainly was not the plague of Europe. His servant died of the disease on the way up, he had a rapid onset of fever, delirium, nose bleeding, and later a rash all over his body. Probably the disease was typhus.

Schweinfurth (1871)¹¹ mentions little of medical interest, though he does say that leprosy existed in the southern provinces. Leprosy is common nowadays, especially among the Azande, and one would have expected more references to it than there are.

These are the main references to medical conditions prior to the Mahdia. From them it is possible to get some sort of a picture of a country, on the whole healthy except for serious epidemics. The worst of these was probably smallpox which decimated the villages it attacked. Malaria, dysentery, and other common tropical diseases existed. At various times they became serious and had a high mortality rate. The treatment of these diseases varied in different parts of the country. As regards smallpox the variations of inoculation are of especial interest. It must have been practised in Africa long before it was known in England. Smallpox, and other infectious diseases were treated by isolation. On the outbreak of an epidemic the inhabitants of the district usually fled, a wise precaution for the individual, but a sure way of spreading the disease to other localities. Those isolated were put in charge of an old woman, well past the menopause and lived on a frugal diet. Those suffering with venereal diseases were also isolated for forty days, living a life of penance, and well nigh starved.

The Turkish and Egyptian troops in the Sudan doubtless had their own medical organisations, and one or two missionaries brought out European medicines. But at this period even European medicine was vastly different to what we know to-day. These soldiers and missionaries were the first to spread outside knowledge of medicine among the people. The more dramatic the effect of their drugs, the more it would be in demand, regardless whether it cured the disease or not.

11. Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*.

By the time of the Mahdia the Egyptian authorities had definite medical organisations at Khartoum and at the port of Suakin. Junker (1878) and James (1881) both mention that they had difficulty in getting a boat to Suakin, on account of the quarantine regulations. These regulations were strictly enforced, especially during the pilgrimage season. Cholera was the main epidemic that was feared, and this was brought by the pilgrims from India.

The British expedition of 1884 brought with it very adequate medical staff. Even so the climate at Suakin in the summer of that year was so bad that the majority of the troops spent a period in hospital. The Khartoum relief expedition left Egypt in November of that year and these troops were retained in the port as Wolsey hoped to return via Suakin. In one of his dispatches he says 'Send 2,000 white umbrellas, I shall want them going to Suakin.'

Following the fall of Khartoum in January, 1885 yet another expeditionary force was sent to Suakin in March of that year. This like that of the previous year had a fully equipped medical unit. The old Egyptian hospital at the port was turned into a base hospital, and dressing stations and other hospitals were organised on the mainland and on the islands in the harbour. Medical comforts included ice, beef tea, arrowroot, and champagne. The Guards Hospital, London sent out three nurses who must rank with Florence Nightingale as pioneers in the history of army nursing. There were also four hospital ships in the harbour. But even with all these medical facilities and many additional comforts the troops, British and Indian alike found the climate once more unbearable. More men died, or were invalided home on account of sickness than of wounds received in the campaign. Dysentery, typhoid, heatstroke and sunstroke were the more common of the diseases. During the summer, troops were again left as a garrison, and with the coming of the hot damp Red Sea summer the sick rate went up by leaps and bounds. By the middle of May 14% had been invalided home, and in July the sick rate was said to be as high as 16%. The problem of the health of the troops caused questions in the House, and letters appeared in the press. In the *Lancet* at that time it was pointed out that not one officer at Suakin escaped a stay in hospital.

It is difficult to understand why there should be all this sickness in a climate that is very little if at all different from that of to-day. Poor barracks, inappropriate clothing and food, and possibly the fact that that generation drank more than we do to-day are the reasons that are first thought about. From pictures of the campaign the uniform was cumbersome and more suited for winter wear than for the Sudan.

Suakin was the only town in the Sudan that did not capitulate to the Dervishes. British, Egyptian, and Indian forces garrisoned the port right up to the time of the battle of Omdurman. It was besieged at various times but all attacks were successfully held off. In 1889 famine and disease ravaged the eastern Sudan, and in this year the forces of Osman Digna suffered more losses than in any of the previous campaigns. A relief fund was started at Suakin and many of those who besieged the town benefited from it. At the end of the year Osman Digna again started to collect together the remnants of his army and a further attack on him was planned. But cholera broke out and the gates of the town were closed to friend and foe alike. This is probably the last time that cholera was epidemic in the Sudan. In all probability it had been brought in by some of the Indian troops, amongst whom there must have been some carriers. The Suakin Standing Orders for the years 1891-2 give detailed instructions regarding the health organisation and sanitary services. Sanitary inspectors and sub-inspectors were appointed, cleaning and lighting rates were levied. A special police post was put at the Shata wells to prevent fouling of the water as an anti-cholera precaution. All latrines were bucket latrines. The police were inspected weekly for venereal disease, and each Thursday there was an inspection of prostitutes. A severe influenza epidemic, lasting three weeks broke out in July, 1892 and the military and civilian doctors joined forces in dealing with it. The port was divided into four quarters and one medical officer was in charge of each.

Suakin was more fortunate than the rest of the Sudan. It was under British rule and therefore had the benefits of a civilised

medical service to cope with its problems. Contrast conditions there, with a few British troops, poor water supply, few if any crops, and an uncertain supply of food as the enemy were at the gate, with conditions at Khartoum and Omdurman.

Before the fall of Khartoum¹² there was a large hospital there run by the Egyptian army. There were several doctors in the town, most of them being Egyptians. Chemists shops were run by Greek merchants, and the Austrian missions had their own dispensaries. These missions did valuable work, and when the siege of Khartoum became serious all their drugs and resources were taken over by the army with whom they co-operated. Even during the siege stocks of medicines were being smuggled into Khartoum from Suakin by camel. The best known of the doctors in the town was Nessib Salim an Egyptian. He did many operations. Stone in the bladder, madura, wounds and abscesses were the main cases. Chloroform was used as an anaesthetic though it was viewed with a certain amount of fear at first. Gordon used to visit the hospital daily, and was keenly interested in the medical work. It is said that his visits frequently bestowed *barakas* on the sick, both morally as well as materially. Syphilis, trachoma, bilharzia, and dysentery especially among children were the more common diseases. Measles was a much feared epidemic, and had a high mortality among the children. It is reported that over ten per cent. of children died from it, and that many of those who recovered were left with the unfortunate sequelae such as a squint, or blindness. Smallpox was another much feared epidemic. Inoculation was known and practised long prior to the Mahdia. Pus from the pustule of an infected person being rubbed into a scarified wound of another. The pus of a highly infected person was preferred to that of a person lightly afflicted, as it was said that the disease caught from a heavily infected person had spent itself, and therefore would not be so severe to those

12. Bimbashi Hassan Effendi Zeki. The information about Khartoum, prior to its fall, and that of Omdurman during the Mahdia was obtained at an interview with Bimbashi Hassan Eff. Zeki who was a medical officer in Khartoum during the siege of the town. He was later captured by the Dervishes and taken to Omdurman where he was medical advisor to the Mahdi, and attended him during his last illness.

it attacked next. The mortality among those inoculated was only about two or three per cent., which considering the total mortality was very small.

After the fall of Khartoum conditions became very bad. In Omdurman the whole army of the Mahdi, with its large retinue of followers was encamped. Each household had several slaves who were responsible for the cultivations. The area around could scarcely provide sufficient suitable land for the cultivations for so large a following. All the medical facilities at Khartoum had long since been destroyed or used. The town of Omdurman was fertile soil for any epidemic, and the possibility of famine was a constant shadow over the town. In 1885 and 1889 famine and epidemics ravaged the population. During the 1885 epidemic the Mahdi himself died. The cause of his death has never been definitely decided. Hassan Effendi Zeki who attended him says it was cerebro-spinal meningitis. Slatin and Ohrwalder ascribe his death to typhus. This was mentioned previously as probably the 'plague' of Baker's time, and either disease is likely. Typhus is possibly the more likely of the two, but the evidence of his medical attendant must not be discredited.

In those times famine conditions were not uncommon. It is, under modern conditions difficult to imagine the hardship and difficulties of a famine. Probably prior to the occupation a serious famine broke out on the average once every eight or ten years. Famines were always complicated by epidemics, and non-epidemic diseases would also increase. The population, weakened and underfed would naturally be more susceptible to disease in any form. Food of any and every kind was eaten. Dogs, cats, rats, leather, and in the end gum became the main article of food. Grain stores used to be buried underground in the desert to prevent thefts. It not infrequently happened that the owner of a store would die, and that no one would know where the store was. But the location of these underground stores was not very difficult as large trails of ants could be seen going to and fro the store. These ant trails were always explored with the hope of finding a store. Of course all ant trails did not lead to grain stores, but in a famine all ant trails were fully explored with high hopes.

Of the native methods of treatment¹³ at that time the following points are interesting. Surgical procedures were carried out by a man called the *basir* (lit. a skilled person). *Hakims* were the wise men who compounded the mysterious mixtures that were prescribed for non-surgical cases. In addition there was a sort of barber surgeon who, armed with a circumcision clamp and a bleeding horn, did a good trade visiting and soliciting custom from door to door. It used to be the custom to be 'bled' every six weeks or so, which is rather reminiscent of England a hundred years ago. Wounds were treated by the *basir* who having washed them, put ground coffee, gunpowder, or butter in them and bound them up. Fractures were splinted with palm leaves, but these were put on so tightly that in many cases gangrene supervened. When a limb had to be amputated for surgical reasons, it was stretched through a hole in the wall of a house and severed with a blow of a sword. The stump was then plunged into hot oil to stop the bleeding. For headaches melted tallow was poured down the nostrils, and for infantile diarrhoea the teeth of the child were extracted, and the tooth sockets fired with cautery.

From these notes it is seen that except in those few places where European medicines were used, there was little or no protection for the population against disease, especially against epidemics. These epidemics where they started easily gained a foothold and wiped out large numbers of the population. The whole country during the nineteenth century was fertile soil for any epidemic. There was no provision against famine, there was no effort at instituting any form of sanitation. The comparison between those days and these is too marked to need emphasis, and the explanation too obvious. The only form of medicine that was known was 'curative' medicine. In some ways the native medicines were remarkably efficient, and many of the methods used are comparable to those we use to-day. Our methods are more scientific, but the principles behind them are very similar. Preventative medicine was in those days unknown, and

13. *Wellcome Lab. Reports 3rd edition*. Dr. Hassan Eff. Zeki "The Healing art as practised by the Dervishes in the Sudan during the rule of the Mahdi and the Khalifa."

apart from Suakin and Khartoum, when they were in British hands, there was none. It is only too easy to realise what would happen if the present sanitary services, town planning, and other preventative measures were allowed to lapse. A native population in a tropical country is always liable to the ravages of epidemics. The health of the population too depends on such things as nutrition and food supplies. The improvement of native dietaries, and the encouragement of better types of food and crops, as well as ensuring that a sufficient quantity is available, are all important parts of preventative medicine. Curative medicine is now within easy reach of all in this country, and has produced miraculous results in certain epidemics.

It is not claimed that the material in these notes is original. They are intended to provide a comparison between the old and the new. There is also one further point worthy of consideration. The geology of a country may change, either as a result of encroachment of deserts, or of soil erosion, necessitating changes in native life and habits. This might also mean changes in the endemic diseases, and insect pests. From these notes which only cover about a hundred and fifty years it is not possible to draw any conclusions on this point. But further studies of this subject might provide some interesting material about any such changes. If there is one thing that remains obvious it is that the health of the people depends not on the activities of one department of Government, but on them all.

Most of the material in this article was the subject of an address to the Sudan branch of the British Medical Association in Khartoum, in 1936.

TRAVELS IN THE SUDAN IN THE SIXTIES.

[TRANSLATIONS FROM PETERMANN'S MITTHEILUNGEN].

(A) Letters from Th. V. Heuglin to Dr. Petermann (July, 1862 to January, 1863).

INTRODUCTORY.

(I have received a series of confidential letters from Herr v. Heuglin, who, as we know, reached Khartoum with his companions, Dr. Steudner and H. Schubert, in July, 1862; the following extracts are taken from these letters, which continue until January 13, 1863. They are based on personal observations made on an expedition to Arashkol as well as on information given by various noted travellers and intelligent persons, whom Herr v. Heuglin met in Khartoum, as, for example, the Dutch traveller, Herr v. Pruyssenaer, the Poncet brothers, the English engineer Baker, the Austrian merchant Kleincznick, who has penetrated deep into the land of the Nyamnyam, the Egyptian Ambassador, Abd el Wohab, who has returned from Darfur, Malem Daud of Kordofan, and several ivory merchants, who have been prospecting in the districts at the source of the Nile.

Gotha, 14 March, 1863.

A. Petermann.)

I. EXPEDITION FROM KHARTOUM TO THE DJEBEL ARASHKOL.

On October 20 we returned to Khartoum, safe and sound, from the Djebel Arashkol,¹ and have every reason to be satisfied with the results of our journey, although we were not able to carry out all we had planned.

The main object of this little tour on the western bank of the Bahr el Abiad, in which Herr v. Pruyssenaer, Dr. Steudner and myself joined forces, was the restoration of our health. This we achieved in a most satisfactory manner, but we were also able to do something in the way of Geography and Natural History. At first we wanted to go north from Soba or thereabouts by the Oasis Wad Husuneh to the temples of Awateb and Safra,² but Steudner thought that he would be able

1. See Dr. Kotschky's description of this group of mountains, situated in latitude 14° N., six hours' journey to the west of the White Nile, in *Geogr. Mitth. Erg.-Heft*, No. 7, pp. 7 and foll. A.P. (Lat. 14° 11' Long. 32° 07'—ED.)

2. For "Oasis" read "Hafir" ?—ED. The temples are those of Nagaa and Massawerat.—ED.

to find more scope for his special work on the White Nile, and I might make use of the opportunity to rectify a map that I had made some time before of the *Sherq el Aqabah* in east Kordofan.....

(Here are omitted some sentences describing their efforts at map making.)

Our journey only extended to Arashkol, where we stayed five days, and on our return journey to Khartoum we inspected the marshy country round Tur'a.

(Here is omitted a paragraph on the fauna of the region.)

In your *Geogr. Mittheilungen* you gave Th. Kotschy's journey to Kordofan, and I make bold to add to this work and to your map a few remarks and corrections, which I made on our short expedition to Arashkol.

When one sets out from Khartoum via the White Nile to Omderman, one sees directly facing one in the northwest the somewhat bare red sandstone hills of the Djebel Tauri, rising scarcely 150 to 200 ft. above the steppe $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles away (from Omderman), which in the north are connected with the mountains near Kereri; on their south side is the caravan route passing through Djebra (formerly incorrectly called "Gebra" by me) to Dongola.

From Omderman onwards the road to east Kordofan passes from southwest to south, through a somewhat barren plain, which is formed of nearly horizontal, pebbly, sandstone banks, and is very little raised above the high water mark of the Nile. The plain is furrowed by numerous "Khors" (*i.e.*, rain-water beds), flowing from the west into the White River, and the surrounding country is distinguished by richer foliage. Here and there are to be found large tracts covered with heaped-up soil and cleared of shrubs for the purpose of sowing it with durrah; other clearings, which appear to be almost without vegetation, show alluvial deposits of soil rich in marl and natron.

(Here are omitted lists of place names and distances.)

2. LEVEL OF THE NILE, METEOROLOGICAL MATTERS, ETC., ETC.
is omitted, as having a purely technical interest.

3. CONDITIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN AND ON THE WHITE NILE.

The trading ships which visited the Bahr el Abiad in the winter of 1861-1862 were mostly back in Khartoum by July. A very considerable amount of ivory was obtained, but the method of acquiring this commodity—the price of which, by the way, has become so much lower than in Khartoum one can buy 1 cwt. of good quality ivory for 1500 to 1800 piastres (20 = 1 Maria Theresien Thaler)—has assumed quite a calamitous form. The trading ships used generally to buy single elephant tusks in exchange for glass beads, iron implements, copper bangles, Indian corn, etc., both on the river itself and on short journeys into the country; brandy, too, was imported in very large quantities as an article for barter. Single well established companies, which, like the boats, always have a large "military" escort, tried themselves—but with little success—to hunt down the much pursued creatures. But gradually the natives along the White River were so much inundated with glass beads, etc., that the value of these fell considerably, and they are now utterly despised in the close vicinity of the river. Then, however, a cheaper expedient to gain ivory was discovered. On account of frequent disputes with the natives, which are very often sanguinary, the number of the escort had to be raised considerably, and they are now used for expeditions against some of the smaller tribes. A caravan of such plunderers, often over 100 men strong, will surprise a village, cut down those who attempt defence, and then transport both the humans and cattle they have taken to the next tribe, where they exchange them for elephant tusks, which fetch such a high price that often 60 oxen are given for 50 to 60 lbs. of ivory. The large number of prisoners they make cannot be taken into Khartoum, for there the government and consuls are trying to put a stop to the "ivory" trade, but the traders have their ways and means; they dispose of their booty, before the slaver on its return journey has reached Turkish territory, to the Arabians of the Sennaar (or, better, Senār) Peninsula, who are encamped in great numbers on the Djebel Dinka, etc., for this very purpose; the latter take their wares by land to the Blue Nile and thence to Qedaref and Sawakin or throught the Bogos, etc., to Massawa.

I have been assured that in the last two years a considerable number of trading ships have set off from hence to the White Nile, and that, though they had on board only provisions for the crew, many fire-arms and much ammunition, but nothing in the nature of articles for exchange, yet they brought back much ivory, without any elephants having been killed. It has gradually transpired that most of the Europeans trading here and on the White Nile, were engaged in these transactions. The beginning was made by a Frenchman, De Malzac, who, when I was Austrian Consul here, was under Austrian protection, but whom I ended by dismissing. But he seems again to have found favour in the eyes of my successor, for Malzac died here as an Austrian subject. During the years 1857 to 1859 this fellow kept several hundred Berbers to hunt down slaves and oxen, giving them no payment except slaves; he pillaged and laid waste a large area round his habitation, shooting down anyone who resisted him and committing all kinds of atrocities. One of the stories told of him is that he bound one of his Berber servants, whom he found with one of his favourite slave-women, to a tree, adorned with negros' skulls, and then, in cold blood, made a revolver target of him.

But the kind of *Ghasua* I have described is carried on on the largest scale by a Berber, called Muhammed Khër,³ Sheikh of Hellet-Kaka, who succeeded in mustering a large number of men and arming them properly. He was originally a subject of the Government here, and, although his present country is not really tributary to them, he offers them a yearly toll of cattle, in order to be recognized as a Sheikh. His offer has been accepted.

Malzac disposed of most of his black goods to Muhammed Khër, and, after his death, bonds for the receipt of slaves were found, against which Muhammed Khër was to deliver horses to his colleague. At first these papers were lost, but they came to light again and were officially handed over by the Austrian Consul to the purchaser of Malzac's business.(!) Luckily a French Consul had arrived here as a result of the rumours which had reached Cairo of the doings of these

3. El Fiki Mohammed Kheir, see p. 3 of this volume.—EDITOR.

fine fellows, and he confiscated those documents immediately, and had them deposited in the safe keeping of the French officials. As you may imagine, no action was taken after Malzac's death against his gangs of robbers and murderers, and these gallow's birds can go back to Khartoum without any difficulty, if nothing is done on the part of the French or by the local government. I give you an absolute right to publish in my name what I have told you, and I am even willing to collect further details on the Bahr el Abiad of the things that went on there. Mr. Baker, too, seems to have made a direct report to his government of these happenings.

By the way, I must tell you that at the end of July Muhammed Khēr, through his brother, handed over to the Government here a sort of criminal rare in this country, a counterfeiter, who was making Maria-Theresien Thaler of tin. You see how civilization is spreading further and further into Central Africa! No one would have expected to find a gang of false coiners among the Shilluk negroes.

In the battles which the slave-robbers have waged of latter years with the natives, they say that on an average 300 to 400 Berbers (sailors, domestic servants and soldiers) have fallen yearly, but in spite of that, it seems to be a profitable business. There is of course a great dearth of men available for fresh expeditions, and they receive tremendously high pay, for they have shares in the slave-trader's business.

I really cannot understand why the Government here and the Consuls-general in Cairo did not long ago take action, directly and indirectly, to put an end to this crying evil. In my time, I myself have summarily taken away slaves, who had been really purchased, not stolen, and the Government here actually supported my action; yet the slave-ships now sell their black goods between Sobat and Wad Shelai, and when they reach Khartoum, there is no trace of anything contraband. I have heard that several much frequented caravan routes have now been made between Senār and the White Nile, solely for the purpose of smuggling the slaves through, for there is no longer any authority between the Bahr el Asreq and the Red Sea, and any objections which may be made as to their export in Sawakin or Massawa are soon overcome by baksheesh, which are often a recommendation

even in Europe. Musa Pasha,⁴ the new Governor-General of east Sudan, has been given strict injunctions to suppress this traffic, and he will probably restrict it, though, with the best will in the world, he will not be able to prevent it entirely. The English slave law, which condemns buyer and seller alike, should be applied here.

On his journey from this place to the estuary of the Ghazal, Petherick came across a ship, laden with slaves, owned by the Maltese, Andrea de Bono, (Latif Efendi) who is an English subject, and he had a nephew of De Bono's, who was in command of the ship, arrested, and sent to Cairo; this caused much bad feeling here in Khartoum, where Petherick certainly has no friends. I am convinced that De Bono has nothing at all to do with the slave-trade and the raids, but they say that his nephew has got together here a great many witnesses and much evidence to the effect that Petherick himself used to sell slaves and that his crews are still carrying on the business on the White Nile, so that Petherick sent his captain, a native, here in July under arrest. Strangely enough the Europeans and Syrians who have been pointed out to me as taking part in the accusation are one and all compromised in the same matter, particularly a certain Khalil Shami, a man under British protection and acting as Vice-Consul in Petherick's absence. I cannot say how far Petherick was guilty in this matter, but I do know that he was formerly a merchant at Kordofan, where the Government used generally to pay their soldiers and officials entirely with slaves, so that they were able to satisfy their creditors, both European and native, in no other way but with this black coinage, and the Europeans were thus compelled either to take the slaves in payment or entirely to forego their claims. Petherick too, I expect, had no other alternative but to take negroes instead of cash, and no sensible man would blame him because now, as English Consul, he acted on his very distinct instructions with regard to the slave-trade.

The Governor-General's plan for the suppression of slave theft on the White Nile is, as he told me, the following: he will send one or several shiploads of soldiers under the command of trustworthy

4. Musa Hamdi Pasha—EDITOR.

officers to Hellet-Kaka, round about which they are to cruise. Every trading vessel embarking here is to be compelled to report to the local authorities before leaving Khartoum, and to have a special list made of the crew, etc., a copy of which will be given to the Ship's master for the guard ship at Hellet-Kaka ; the latter will have orders to compare the state of the ship's crew with the register both on the outward and homeward journey, to take over all slaves found on board, and to report here any irregularities. Acting on these reports, the authorities in Khartoum would then proceed against the merchants or captains responsible in the matter. If a ship does not comply with these government regulations, force will be resorted to. No guard ships are to be sent beyond Kaka, because the Governor-General does not consider he has any rights beyond the limits of his territory. What goes on over the border cannot, of course, be controlled in this manner, but all these measures taken by the Government show how seriously they intend to deal with matters on the White Nile ; but in all this, however, they rather contradict themselves, for up to the present there has been no talk of taking any action against the slave trade in the country itself, and the Vice-Regent is known to have several black regiments.

Musa Pasha reached Khartoum on August 2nd. He is an extremely energetic man, well disposed to Europeans, a good ruler, and one of those who most thoroughly understand the Sudan and conditions there. Some time ago he made great expeditions into these regions, and, at the time when he was Governor of Kordofan, amongst other places, travelled through the Bahr el Ghazal country by way of Djebel Shabūn, Djebel Fungur and Djebel Qondjara ; moreover, I believe that this Ghazal was the Bahr el Arab of the maps and not the real Ghazal river. I was not able to map out the route of this journey before he left for Abu Haraz since I was very unwell at the time and incapable of doing any work, but since then I have written to the Pasha, asking him to send an account of his route direct to you with as many details as possible. In October Musa Pasha had collected all Governors of provinces here, and summoned all the great Arab Sheikhs to a general assembly. He intends to introduce great reforms in the organization of government, especially of finance and

of the army, and the Governor-General has already imposed a good many new taxes. Formerly only peasants and Arabians were taxed directly here in the Sudan, and the taxes were collected by their own Sheikh, on whom no proper check could be kept and who pocketed as much of the takings as he pleased. This system is now being changed by the appointment of paid tax-collectors, and a revision of the assessments themselves has been set on foot; everyone liable to be taxed receives a form showing how he is rated, and this is also used as a receipt. Now merchants and manufacturers, all officials, servants, sailors, etc., are to be taxed, and must pay 12% of their salaries or wages. The army has been increased to 6000 infantry and 2000 cavalry.

The Governor-General hopes, by peaceful means, to bring back into the country some Sheikhs who have fled beyond the borders, in particular the great Sheikh, Abu Djin, who went with 15,000 men from Senār to Dungur (West Abyssinia). Sultan Nasr of Tegeleh also has expressed his willingness to submit to the Government, and is, I believe, already on his way to Khartoum with his sons. A few soldiers with an officer have set out from Shad⁵ in south Kordofan, rather to the south east of Djebel Bedji, to receive and escort him. Even Abd el Wohāb Effendi, the Egyptian envoy, who was detained for so long in Darfur, thinks that he owes his unexpected release solely to the news that Musa Pasha, so famed for his wars in Kordofan, had been sent to Khartoum as Governor-General. I am firmly convinced that Said Pasha could not have made a better choice when he saw that it was necessary to establish a central authority again in the Sudan.

In December envoys were here from the Sultan of the Shilluk to notify their submission and to overthrow the slave-dealer, Muhammed Khēr, in Hellet-Kaka. They returned to Denāb (? *Ed.*) well satisfied with their mission. A Berber, Wad Ibrahim, was set up as Mamur over the Shilluk; up to the present he has been a merchant and slave-dealer, and will be able to continue his business. When Muhammed Khēr heard this, he sent his brother to the Governor-

5. Shad. Its situation is discussed in Vol. XXII Part I p. 60. It is sited at Lat. 10°N. Long. 28° E. approx. in a map of Africa drawn up in 1877 by order of the Khedive Ismail and published in 1935 by the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt. V. Heuglin must be at fault here as in any case Mek Nasir lost his throne in 1859. (v. Vol. XVIII Pt. I p. 22.)—EDITOR.

General, who ordered the recognition of Muhammed Khēr as Sheikh of the Dinka. Thus the Dinka on this side of the Bahr el Abiad have become liable to taxation. Muhammed Khēr will certainly first have to overcome his future territory on his own account ; I expect that he will establish himself on the Sobat and carry on his raids and slave-trade as he has always done, and for such purposes a settlement on the Sobat or Djebel Njemati (? *Zeraf Jebels* ?—*Ed.*) is even more propitious.

On November 24th Musa Pasha began his campaign against Wad Nimr. The troops preceded him to Abu Haraz, Musa Pasha following by boat, and I accompanied him at his pressing invitation, but at Buri I turned back again, as I was not at all well. Towards the end of December he wrote to me that he had left Wad Medineh and gone to the Dender (Deberki) through Sennaar and Karkodj. I do not know what is his real plan of campaign. His original object was to reduce to submission the disloyal Abu Djin, the Arab, who had fled to Abyssinian territory, and now I have heard from a most reliable source that Abu Djin himself has submitted. Musa Pasha intended to leave Deberki on January 12 and to journey through Dongur to Qalabat.

4. HAPPENINGS IN ABYSSINIA.

In the second week of September we had here a Sheikh of Sabterat, whose village, as well as the upper Barka, has just been attacked and plundered by Abyssinian mountaineers led by one Abu Meradj from Walkait. The attacked tribesmen are said to have lost many men and cattle, and, when the Sheikh left for Khartoum, the Abyssinians had not yet returned to their mountains. They had demanded that the whole of Beni Amer, Barka, Dabaina, etc., should pay their taxes to Abyssinia. It seems that King Theodore wants to make a serious attack on east-Sudan, but he ought to be sent straight back home. I wrote to you from Qedaref that a Turkish Effendi had been sent to the Negus Theodore in June, 1862 to make complaint in the name of the Egyptian Government against Mek Nimr's incursions into Turkish territory. This Efendi came back towards the end of October. The purport of the Negus' answer was that he is not violating Turkish territorial rights, and that he demanded the unconditional restitution

of the Sudan and Nubia, both of which provinces belonged to Abyssinia. The man seems to have some idea of "natural boundaries!" This same envoy brought bad news of the position of Europeans in Abyssinia; they seem to be virtually confined to their stations under close surveillance, or, according to other reports, to be imprisoned in an *amba*.

On January 12th of this year a young Dutchman, Baron d'Ableing, came here from Abyssinia. He had been in Massawa at the same time as the Duke of Coburg, and went thence to Abyssinia with the English Consul, Cameron. He, also, had the greatest difficulty in getting out of the country. He is as little edified by the way he was treated by the people there as he is impressed by the charms of the Ethiopian Kingdom. Like us, he was delayed and subjected to vexations everywhere. He found the King at Matscha (? *Ed.*) The news of the arrest of the Europeans⁶ is not confirmed, but their lot is scarcely an enviable one. This traveller met Monsieur Lejean at Wochni.

5. REMARKS ON KORDOFAN AND DARFUR

(This section was written in answer to a letter of Petermann's, asking for geographical information about Kordofan. It consists largely of routes to Kordofan, but the following paragraphs may be of general interest.)

In October Abd el Wohab arrived here from Darfur. He had been sent there two and a half years ago as Envoy by Said Pasha to offer presents, consisting of a state coach, silk pavilions, chandeliers, materials, etc., to the Sultan, who kept him for 22 months in Fāsher, and now has permitted him to leave for Cairo with presents in return. He brought with him 100 cwt. of ivory, 400 male and female slaves, some prettily embroidered garments, riding equipment, etc. As many of the male slaves as were fit were enrolled here for military service, but they are almost all affected with *filaria*.

Abd el Wohab Efendi is an old acquaintance of mine, so he visited me on the very day of his arrival and gave me much interesting information about his route and his stay in Darfur. He considers that a journey there is easily made and not too costly (we reckoned that a journey from here to Fāsher and back, including presents, would certainly not cost more than 500 thaler), but he thinks that it would be

6. See Vol. XXII p. 6.—EDITOR.

useless to expect much scientific gain, since the traveller is under constant supervision, and would scarcely have any opportunity of making his own observations on the country.

Moreover, the power of the Darfur State must be quite broken. According to Abd el Wohab, the Sultan's army, which is anything but regular, consists of about 3,000 cavalry, including from 600 to 1000 cuirassiers, and 70,000 infantry, which is badly armed and has no guns, so that the army was not even capable of repulsing the attack of Sheikh Omar el Masri,⁷ about which I wrote to you from Cairo. This Omar was the leader of some turbulent tribesmen from Fayum and the oases, and was expelled from Egypt by Said Pasha (I think in 1855); he made his way to Darfur, put to flight two divisions of Sultan Hussein's army, which were opposing him and on which he had inflicted considerable defeats, and established himself in Qurān (south of Fāsher), where he lives by robbery and plunder. Up to the present no one has been able to put a stop to his doings. Some Arab tribes to the north and east of Darfur are also far from submissive, although Sultan Hussein is no longer molested by them in his own kingdom; means of communication are being kept up, although they are not absolutely dependable.

6. NOTES ON SOBAT AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

At the beginning of September the Dinka make an incursion from the east bank of the Bahr el Abiad and the plains round about the Sobat into Turkish territory on the Senār peninsula; a large village of the Abu Rof Arabs was burnt down, its small garrison of a few soldiers and one non-commissioned officer killed, and the rest of the inhabitants taken prisoner. Without any doubt, Musa Pasha will be forced to take energetic measures against the Dinka on the Sobat (*Here are omitted a few sentences giving geographical details of the River Sobat.*)

Up to the present time no one has penetrated for more than 150 miles up the Sobat. Traders have ceased to visit the Sobat, since a fully manned boat was attacked and taken by the Shilluk.

7. See Vol. XXII Pt. I p. 177.—EDITOR.

(The rest of this section consists of details useful only for planning routes or map making. The following short paragraph is the only one of general interest :—)

A descendent of the last Fundj chiefs assures me that fairly pure Fundj is spoken on the Djebel Ulu. This language much resembles that of the Dinka and differs from that of the Hamedj, who inhabit the Djebel Qul, Rora, etc.

7. REMARKS ON THE UPPER WHITE NILE.

(The first two paragraphs are omitted as being of purely geographical interest.)

The most interesting news from the Upper White Nile is certainly the opening up of direct communication with the Nyamyam to the west of the first waterfall.

The Apostolic Mission sent three boats up the White Nile on December 30th, 1862, in order to bring back their members with all the mission property from Santa Croce. As far as I can ascertain, the former Pro-Vicar, Dr. Kirchner, is to return to his station. I am firmly convinced that no one but this man, who is as energetic as he is charming and well educated and highly respected by everyone here, is capable of carrying on the work of the Mission, which no longer has a school here. At present, besides four or five laymen there is only one priest here, a Dominican, P. Fabian Pfeifer, whose exertions are certainly most praiseworthy, but who has no knowledge of the native language; moreover, he, like his predecessors, waged constant war with the Austrian Vice-Consulate, which only exists for the sake of the Mission, and might have spared the missionaries many annoyances.

8. FACTS ABOUT THE BAHR EL GHAZAL AND THE NYAMYAM.

Superficial and, for the most part, quite fantastic sounding tales about the Nyamyam or Namanyam race have come down to us from the time of Denham and the first Nile expeditions; according to the tales of Arab traders, the Nyamyam were said to be half dog and half man, and to eat human flesh. At last, in the year 1861-62, the ivory merchants, who, from Khartoum, make a yearly visit to the Bahr el Abiad and its tributaries, and are often forced to take long journeys

into the interior, owing to a great shortage of tusks in the vicinity of the river—were successful in penetrating to the Nyamyam; this they did, moreover, from two different directions, from the north east up the Bahr el Ghazal, and from the east through the country of the Bari. Although the information I have collected about this people is vague and incomplete, I thought that I should not hesitate to submit to you what material I could find.

1. Johann Kleincznick of Carniola, formerly a worker in the catholic mission here and now an elephant hunter, left Khartoum on a commercial expedition in November 1861 with two sailing ships. Favourable winds soon brought him to the mouth of the Bahr el Ghazal, which he entered, and after nine more days he landed on the so called Mashra of the Rek, the vast marsh which is thought to be the source of the Bahr el Ghazal. Kleincznick reckons that the Mashra lies $W.25^{\circ}S.$ from the mouth of the Ghazal. He describes the banks of the Gazelle river as being very flat and marshy, with large tracts covered with *ambadj* and palms; the river meanders in countless bends through the bamboo forests, forming here and there (only periodically?) lagoon-like sheets of water. Its shores are visited only in the dry season by the Djenke (Dinka) tribes and their numerous flocks. It would probably take about three or four hours to cross the Rek marsh from north to south, and about two hours in the opposite direction. The banks are like those of the Gazelle River, that is to say that during the rainy season it is scarcely possible to reach them from the direction of the lake, on account of the swamps and thick rushes. The south side is rather higher and more sandy than the others. No brook or Khor empties into the Mashra itself, but nearly one day's journey downstream from the marsh, the navigable Bahr Djur flows from the south west into the Ghazal, which receives one or two more fairly large tributaries, rising in the Mandra hills.

In January, 1862, Kleincznick set off with an armed escort from the south bank of the Rek in a south westerly direction. For seven days he marched for at least six hours daily in the direction of $W.25^{\circ}S.$ through a somewhat undulating plain, inhabited by the Dinka, where there are numerous patches of forest and thicket, many springs and

some rain-water pools, till he came to the river Djur, whose flat banks are not marshy. The river was still very broad and was, on an average, three to four feet deep. At this point the Djur, which flows more or less from south to north, receives a tributary, the Bahr Bongo, flowing from the west. On the ninth day's journey (from the Mashra) it is necessary to cross another tributary of the Djur, the Bahr Kozanga,⁸ so called after the tribe living to the west of it. Among wooded hills, through the territory of the Qullah and Andogo tribes, one follows the course of the Kozanga for $2\frac{1}{2}$ days' journey, (the 10th, 11th and 12th days' march) several times crossing the river, which is very rapid, its bed being at different levels; after passing for half a day through wide tracts of cultivated land and again for a day and a half through forest, one reaches the Qolo tribe. Here is established the trading station of the Khartoum merchant, Zibēr, and, half a day's march further towards the south west, the Zeribah of Biselli, and, one day's journey in the same direction, Kleincznick's Zeribah, on the caravan route from the Nyamyam to Höferat el Nāhas. According to Kleincznick, Petherick's Zeribah lies some days' journey to the north east of his own. To travel from the latter to Höferat el Nāhas the Darfur traders, who lately have entered into direct communication with the Khartoum merchants on the Bahr el Ghazal, take four weeks. They bring with them several asses laden with copper, which they exchange for slaves with the Nyamyam.

From the Mashra of Rek to the Djur the soil consists of black earth, but, from the Djur onwards, it becomes more sandy and has a large admixture of iron, and the land seems to rise slowly but steadily and to become more hilly, though no real mountains are to be found. Rather to the south of Kleincznick's Zeribah is the northern boundary of the Nyamyam.

2. Khurschud-Agha, who has a settlement with 80 soldiers at Gondokoro, travelled thence for seven days in a westerly and rather southerly direction through an unhabited plain, (on the third or fourth

8. This seems to be identical with the Bahr Onao of Poncet's map.—A.P.

day one comes across a Khor, in the bed of which water can always be found by digging) and then for six days of six hours' march daily through the populous country of the Nyambara or Yambara, where there are lovely forests and much water, and where the land is, in parts, quite hilly. Here Bari and Mondu are spoken. Half way through Yambara is a small mountain, round which it takes four hours to walk. From the western boundary of the land of the Nyambara, he travelled for four days through the country of the Mondu (still in a south westerly direction), mostly through plains, rich in vegetation, water and honey. Here is Khurschud-Agha's Zeribah on the farther side of a wide river with rocky bottom and banks, which never runs dry and where crocodiles and hippopotami are to be found. They say that this river flows into the Bahr el Ghazal, and it probably is the Djur or Yei. From Mondu one has yet another three days' travelling to reach the Nyamyam, who are called in their own tongue Makaraka, and whose territory, extends still further south.⁹

The different reports are fairly unanimous in saying that the whole territory of the Nyamyam consists of many small kingdoms and is inhabited by a race which is not of the pure negro type, and also by slaves. From the Djur onwards, in the south and west, the negro type becomes less frequent among the ruling caste, which, in their most extreme type, resemble the Baqara: they are of middle height and strongly built, long-haired and bearded, and their skin varies from black to reddish brown, while the women are sometimes light brown. The men wear their hair divided into three parts and plaited. Circumcision is said to be the general practice with males of the dominant race. The southern part of the country appears to be rather higher, though it has no real mountains, and the nights there are appreciably colder. The clothing of the well-to-do consists of a piece of bark about five or six feet long and nearly as wide; when the bark has been stripped off a fine tree trunk of a suitable kind, it is carefully taken off in a piece of the trunk and then put into water

9. This route from Gondokoro to Mondu is perhaps the same as that of Morlang or Poney.—A.P.

and milled with ferruginous clay, until the garment has the appearance and softness of a cotton frock. The Nyamyam women of the north wear no *rahad*, but fresh bunches of leaves fastened to their girdles, while the men have leather thongs, one or two inches wide, which they pass between their legs and fasten to their belts at back and front.

Their language is similar to that of the Qolo and differs from that of the Bari and Djenke.

The land is ruled by several petty chieftains, who unite for war against a common foe and gather their vassals and slaves round them. One and a half days' journey to the south of Kleincznick's zeribah there lives a very powerful King, called Mofio,¹⁰ and to reach him one passes through the territory of two negro tribes, the Sheri¹¹ and Bambiri, who are his vassals. Three days' journey beyond Mofio, whose village lies probably on the river Bongo, there lives in the south a King, Qimo or Gimio, and yet another three days' journey to the south, two other kings, Makiza and Bakwa. Two and a half days' journey to the south of King Makiza, the Nyamyam King, Baria, rules over a hilly country, riddled with deep rain-courses and brooks. The Diqa (Mofio), Basa and Qorombo were pointed out to me as tribes of the free Nyamyam who are called Zande.

On leaving Baria and travelling for half a day in a westerly direction one comes to a wide river, flowing from the south, which turns north west and either empties into a great lake or flows past it. This river, which separates the western from the eastern Nyamyam, has a stony bed and somewhat rocky banks, and in it are to be found crocodiles and hippopotami as well as another beast resembling a crocodile, which, they say, will seize men, oxen, sheep etc., with its long tail and drag them into the water. A Dragoman from the Nyamyam country and several elephant hunters, who had penetrated as far as this great "Bahr el Namanyam," going west from the Mofio country, and with whom I had some conversation in Khartoum, (though unfortunately

10. Indicated on Poncet's map under the name of Moufiou in latitude 8° and between longitude 22° and 23° E. of Paris —A.P.

11. Poncet calls them Chera.—A.P.

this was of a somewhat casual nature) tell me that the water denoted as river is really an immense inland lake with good, sweet water. Where they saw it, as they crossed over in a ferry-boat of bamboo, it is very narrow, but no one was able to measure its length ; towards the north west it becomes much wider, and, according to the natives, it is not possible in that part to see from one side to the other. In the south east it receives many streams, flowing from east to west. Beyond the lake, they say that there are some hundred more Nyamyam chiefs.

The eastern Nyamyam are kept in touch with their neighbours on the other side of the river by means of ferries, and vegetable poison is imported by the western to the eastern Nyamyam. If a king receives strangers, embarks on a campaign or has to pronounce judgment in some difficult case, a dose of this poison is given to a black hen ; if this results in the death of the animal, it is considered as a bad omen for the enterprise, and, in the same circumstances, no further evidence is needed against an accused man whose guilt cannot be proved.

The Nyamyam do not breed cattle, but they keep small dogs, which are fattened and eaten, and hens are often to be found, though, on the other hand, there are no cats. The rest of the Nyamyams' food consists of cereals and anything they can manage to kill ; they do not even despise rats, snakes and white ants. The rivers abound in fish, which they catch with harpoons or by means of a poisonous root, which is thrown into water where a dam has been made, and which stupifies the fish. Big game is usually hunted by the inhabitants of several villages banded together, who will, by means of noise and fire, drive the animals into deep pits, which they enter by pallisades and hedges of thorns, through which the animals cannot escape.

Many peculiar animal species are said to inhabit the forests, in particular an ape as large as a man, called in Nyamyam Mbām or Ombām, which builds thickly covered nests in high trees and attacks humans. These apes are hunted and eaten by the Nyamyam. There are also found rats larger than the domestic cat with very long tails, (probably *Rhyzaena*) which chiefly inhabit bamboo forests and are

said even to gnaw through ivory. The Nyamyam use these, or some similar animal, for hunting.¹² (*Here is omitted a short list of trees and plants to be found in the Nyamyam country*).

Throughout the region the soil is rich in iron, and the Nyamyam make of it fine knives, spears, swords and many-edged javelins, also pretty little chains, bracelets and such articles. Their arrows are made of cane and are very short; the points are set with many barbs and are extremely prettily worked, but they are said to be always poisoned. The short bow has, instead of the string, a narrow strip of ratan bark. their shields are three or four feet high, nicely woven of little sticks of ratan and bordered with hide, and they have in the middle a black cross. The Nyamyam are very skilful at carving vessels and similar objects of wood. One can see at the first glance from all their handicrafts that this race is much more advanced than their neighbours to the east and north, and the shape of their javelins, swords, shields, etc., is very reminiscent of the objects made in the regions near the Tsad.

So far Europeans have been well received and hope to acquire considerable stores of ivory, in exchange for which they give stuffs, copper bracelets and rather small glass beads.

The Nyamyam are passionate lovers of music and dancing. I have sent you a picture of a very pretty little kind of mandoline. They also have a large musical instrument, made of banana leaves, and a kind of harmonica, which consists of long pieces of wood to which are fastened transversely sticks of ratan of different lengths; at the end of these sticks are hung earthen vessels, which are struck in turn with a little wooden hammer.¹³

12. The apes are probably chimpanzees, the rats cane rats, the "similar animals used for hunting" Zande dogs—EDITOR.

13. Probably the transverse pieces are struck and not the earthen vessels, which merely amplify the sounds. This kind of musical instrument is found in different forms in almost all places inhabited by negroes, in the whole of S. Africa, Brazil, etc., but also among the Indians of Equador, Honduras, Guatemala, and the Malayans of the Indian Archipelago, Indo-China and other places. Nearly everywhere the instrument is called *marimba*. Illustrations of it are to be found in Livingstone's "*Missionary Travels in South Africa*," in v. Tempsky's "*Reise durch Mexico, Guetemala und Salvador*" and in Yule's "*Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava*" in Harper's *New Monthly Magazine*, October, 1859.—A.P.

Their weapons include iron projectiles resembling boomerangs which are also used sometimes by the Djur, Keredj¹⁴ and Fertit, and Denham gives a drawing of something very similar. They have also a dagger and sword with handles made partly of wood encircled with narrow iron hoops and partly of iron-wire, which the Nyamyam make very neatly. Their large sword is only sharp on the inner side of the crescent-shaped blade and on the broad addition on the outer edge towards the point; the rest of the surface is blunt and often serrated. A smaller crescent-shaped sword is two-edged. The small, many barbed arrows are thickly covered with vegetable poison.

(*Illustrated in the original with diagrams*—EDITOR.)

9. ROUTE FROM DARFUR THROUGH HÖFRAT EL NĀHAS TO THE NYAMYAM COUNTRY.

I was given the following very interesting itinerary by a Sheikh Nur Wad el Habir of Darfur, who is a much travelled and intelligent man, who can thoroughly be relied on; the general direction of the journey is due north and south, and it is reckoned by taking a seven hours' march with donkeys as a day's journey.

My informant set out for the Nyamyam from Kōbeh.

Barely three days due south of Kōbeh lies the town of Menawashi, which is inhabited by Bornuans. On the road to it one comes across several villages, springs and Kheran (plural of Khor). Rather to the west of the town of Menawashi there is a single mountain, with a mosque, where a much respected priest lives, who is, at the same time, Sheikh el Belled of Menawashi; to the east of the town is a wadi, which flows south into the Bahr Rizequat, (probably to the south east) where there are many springs and date palms. Quite far in the west (still as from Menawashi) higher mountain ranges can be seen.

¹⁴. The race called by Kleincznick *Kretsch*, who are said to live on the road to Hoferat el Nahas above the junction of the Djur and Ghazal, or on a tributary of the latter flowing due west, is called Kerej. They belong, like the Qolo and Andôqo, to the Fertit race and may certainly be identified with Vayssiére's *Koréh*.—TH. V. HEUGLIN.

After two and a half days' march from Menawashi in the same direction (south) one reaches Qeidumbah, formerly the residence of the Mamalukes (*Ghus*), and a town of considerable size, which is divided into two parts by a rain-course running north and south (from Menawashi). The western part of the town contains a fairly large market and a mosque, and the eastern is the residence of the descendents of the Mamalukes. This region abounds in doleb palms.

After a good day's march south one reaches Dāba-Shēibo, the residence of Wad el Wazir Hāmi. Dāba Shēibo consists of three large villages, and the Khor is a fair distance to the west of it.

Half a day's march south from Dāba Shēibo is the large village of Kweqāri, which is one day's journey from Qirbāiāt.

Continuing from this point in a southerly direction, one passes through an uninhabited arid steppe, and, after $2\frac{1}{2}$ days' march, one reaches a valley with springs and many large trees, and then, in $1\frac{1}{2}$ days, the river Om-beleja, which comes from Borgu (Wadai) and flows into the Djur. On the other side of the river, entirely surrounded by *Khala* (*i.e.*, uninhabited land), is the large village of Hōferat el Nāhas (*i.e.*, copper mines), the residence of a Magdum (Governor) and inhabited by Dongolawis, Djālin, Baqara of the Hananieh (*Habbania?* *Ed.*) Dasha (*Dagu?* *Ed.*) and Felada. Hōferat el Nāhas lies in absolutely flat country, made up entirely of green, half disintegrated copper ores, which are broken up in ravines, etc., washed, and piled up with charcoal in a hollow. Two or three sheepskins are used by the workmen as bellows. As the pile subsides, a poisonous green flame appears; the proceeds of one smelting amount to between 12 and 15 rotls of beautiful red copper.

One hour's journey to the south of Hōferat is a brook, flowing east, and, after marching for half a day south of this through an uninhabited plain, one comes to the great lake and marsh of el Tibneh, which lies to the west of the road.

Half a day's journey to the south of this is a rain course, flowing east, where there is a great deal of swamp, and to the east of the road a small, isolated mountain.

From this point onwards many swamps have to be passed. The first, one day's journey from the above-mentioned Khor, is called el Buta; it takes a day to go through this, while in the rainy season the way is quite impracticable. Then follows (still going southward) a very thickly wooded rain-course, and half a day's journey further on yet another with running water and rocky banks and bed. On this side of the river (north) is the boundary of Darfur and Kudwāqeh, while the opposite bank belongs to the Keredj tribe. All the Kherān I have mentioned run more or less east and west.

I should think that from Hoferat el Nahad to Kudwāqeh is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ days' march, and from Kudwāqeh three days' journey through uninhabited country to the residence of Matr, the Sultan of the Keredj. Then four days' journey to Beit Qoqon-Qonqo at the foot of a mountain. Qoqon-Qonqo is also a Sultan of the Keredj. Near his residence is a village, which is also close to a mountain, and belongs to his freed slave, "Robo-Qosho."

Travelling for half a day from Beit Qoqon-Qonqo, one reaches Udjanqa, whose Sultan is called "Andjelō." All these places and the paths from one to the other have numerous rain-courses, all flowing east.

From Udjanqa it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ days' march to Keirafeh. Each day one passes three or four Kherān. Half a day's journey north west of Keirafeh are the Maweira hills.

Half a day south of Keirafeh lies Kerāf el Qolauī (probably called so by Qolo) on the Khōr Shehār, which rises in the many neighbouring hills, and the roaring of whose waters can be heard from afar.

From Kerāf el Qolauī, again crossing many rain-courses flowing east, one reaches the land of the Nyamanyam and Sultan Mofiō.

To the west of this route, four days' journey from Ujanqa and the same distance from Mofiō is the Nyamanyam district, Dar Bendjeh, whose inhabitants are very warlike. Through Bendjeh flows a great river, on whose banks grow sugar-canes and calamus (ratan).

The rivers of Hōferat el Nāhas and Kudwāqeh probably unite and flow into the Ghazal as Bahr el Homr or Bahr el Arab.

Travelling south for nine days from Mofiō's residence by many zigzag paths one reaches the Bahr Bambo, a great sluggish expanse of water, which is surrounded by wide marsh-lands; they say that there is a khor or river flowing south-east from it, which, west of Yei (Nyambara), has a deep rocky bed, and flows into the White Nile $2\frac{1}{2}$ days' journey south of the falls above Gondokoro (!?) On the way from Mofiō to the Bambo one only comes across swamps with bamboo and wild bananas, but no mimosa of any kind.

10. ITINERARY FROM THE BAHR EL ABIAD TO THE DJUR.

I should like to make the following remarks on the itinerary of the Syrian, Ibrahim Bas: ¹⁵ the latter had his base at Malwal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ days' journey to the south of Qaba Shembil on the Bahr el Abiad. My informant took the great Khor at the western end of his route for the Bahr el Ghazal, though it was probably the river Djur, the Djau the river of Mandra or Mandar. Between Ramshān and Anishān is much forest, and between Aniscan and the Twong Steppe there are also high bamboos, *doh*¹⁶ and wild durrah. By the Namm river there are many wild date palms, which, however, do not bear good fruit. There is always water to be found in this river as well as the Tuong.

The Djur are of small stature and do not speak the same language as the Ral, Lau and Rahel. They have not much cattle, but they produce good iron and cultivate the land. They sow sesame, beans, durrah, *doh* and gherkins. One of their favourite dishes is sesame with native carbonate of soda, which they obtain by roasting certain fruits. In Lau and among the Jur iron ore is washed out of the rain-courses. The samples which I saw were sparry iron ore.

15. The eastern part of this route, as far as Djemit or Djamit, corresponds with that shown on Poncet's map in latitude $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.—A.P.

16. *Dukhn* ? — EDITOR.

(B). Journey from Bahr el Gazal to the Country of the Djur,
December, 1860 and January, 1861.

By Marquis Oratio Antinori.¹

*NOTE—For identification of the birds, animals, and flowers mentioned
in this article see note at the end—EDITOR.*

The Mushra or the harbour of Ali Amuri is the most navigable basin of the large number found on the River Gazal, and indeed is the furthest point at which the boats, which for the last few years have been passing from the White River into the Bahr el Gazal in search of ivory, can and usually do land. It is five or at most six feet deep,

1. The report published here is taken from a letter to Professor Ritter Negri, Divisional Chief of the Consular Service at the Foreign Office at Turin, and was sent to us by the latter at the request of the traveller, accompanied by a sketch map on which is shown the journey to and fro between the Mushra Ali Amuri on the upper Bahr el Gazal and Nguri in the country of the Djur. As the traveller remarks, he had jotted down his route in his diary as he went along with compass and watch in his hand, as few of his predecessors, such as Petherick, Vayssière, the Poncet brothers and others who passed through these regions, will have done, but on his map there is neither scale nor sections; he omitted the latter purposely, "In order not to be entirely out of accord with the work done by others." In fact, his drawing is so little in agreement with those of the Poncets and Petherick that any attempt at comparison must meet with the greatest difficulties, which are still further increased by the fact that Marquis Antinori, when making his map, was not yet acquainted with the survey of the Bahr el Gazal by Lejean (v. Geogr. Mitth. 1862, p's 218—222), and thus had no well-defined starting point. Of the Poncets' map which he studied together with Section 6 of Peterman and Hassenstein's map of Central Africa, he writes to Professor Negri: "If I had not been a witness of the good intentions of these two brave Italians and of the great difficulties they must have encountered in following up the course of the Bahr el Gazal and in the description of the low-lying, marshy tracts between it and the White River, and if I had not visited these regions myself, I must confess that it would have been impossible for me to gain much help from the simple methods of their map, so much did the hydrographic part drawn by them seem to me to deviate from the laws of nature and reality. But who, indeed, would be capable of showing accurately the topography and hydrography of a country which has no hills, or none but very low ones at some distance from each other,—a country made swampy by countless rivers meandering hither and thither through woods and high grass? During the heavy tropical rains these rivers overflow their banks, and in the dry season—i.e., from November to May—they go down again, leaving here and there pools of more or less deep water, which are connected by hidden and variable channels. Thus it is that the natives usually will give a different account of the name and direction of a river from that which we learn from others, either because it changes its name as it passes from the land of one tribe to that of another, or because the natives not able to follow up the course of the river, have no clear idea of it, or, perhaps, because they are suspicious of the strange new-comer and would purposely deceive him. One can rely just as little on the statements of the Berber elephant hunters, the only people who can give real information. They are ignorant, rough men, who know of no other paths than those which they take year by year to their masters' settlements or to the *Mura* (fences for cattle) and villages of the poor savages, which they plunder and burn down with violence in order to steal the oxen and children and to dishonour their women."

and is wide enough to contain six or seven dahabiehs drawn up close to each other. To reach it one passes through a narrow channel which is entirely blocked up by the branches of the Ambatsch,² a tree-like, leguminous plant with yellow blossoms and a stem measuring three to five inches in circumference and twelve to fifteen feet high; its wood is light and white like the pith of the elder, and its leaves are small but so thick that the country in a S.S. Easterly direction cannot be seen. There is easy landing on the northwestern and northern sides, although the marshy ground, intersected by many runnels flowing into the river, prevents one from walking without getting up to one's knees in water and mud. To the north can be seen in the distance stretches of forest with thorny trees, and in this place are found among several other plants the lovely *Euphorbia Kolqual* with its branches growing in candelabra fashion; the *Cissus quadrangularis*, which entwines and coils itself round the neighbouring plants in countless ways; a large shrub of the *Capparidaceae* with fruits as large as a pear; the *Nymphaea Amplæ*, whose large leaves, spread out like a green carpet over the water, are so quickly overrun by the pretty little *Rallus abyssinicus* and the lovely *Parra africana*.

After I had walked for hours through these waterlogged meadows and followed a young *Balaeniceps rex* without succeeding in reaching it, I found myself hemmed in by the angle made by two rivers so that I could go no further. One of them, doubtless that flowing

But now that there is such brisk intercourse of European merchants and travellers in the Bahr el Gazal territory, we can look forward with certainty to having soon reliable starting points for mapping out the country through which Marquis Antinori travelled, and we hope then to make use of his route. It begins in the North at the Mushra Ali Amuri, the highest basin of the Bahr el Gazal, lying S.W. of the so-called Isle of Tura, rather to the North of the 8° of latitude and just below the 27° of longitude; it was the furthest point of Lejean's survey, and is probably identical with Petherick's Kyt. From here it goes fairly straight South with a slight divergence westwards, and ends at Nguri, a Djur village on the so-called Isle of Momul, which, according to Antinori, is bounded to the South and West by the Djur River, here called the Tatai or Amulmul, and to the East by its tributary, the Momul. According to Antinori's computation, Nguri lies at least 2° of latitude away from Ali Amuri, that is to say, near the 6° of latitude. A.P.

The "Isle of Tura" is Tor Island, at Meshra. Antinori's jumping-off place may therefore have been the new "Ocean Quays" loading point opened this summer to replace Felix Sorel's cut now nearly filled up.—EDITOR.

2. *Academone mirabilis*, (Kotschy) first brought to Europe by M. Hansal. A.P.

from the west, was the Djur, and the other, flowing N.W. was the Gniodok.

This river is to be found on Poncet's map, although there name and source are lacking, and I believe it to be that shown on this map as the last—*i.e.*, the third of those rising in the N.W. and flowing into the Djur. The first or most southerly of these rivers, which is also nameless on Poncet's map, is the Liiro, and the second or middle one is the Wao or Agakrial of the Arabs. These names are in perfect agreement with a note written in my scrap book by the late Vayssière, who writes :—"To the north of the Amulmul is the Liiro, beyond it the Agak-Rial, and yet further North the Gniodok."

While on my way back to the harbour of Ali Amuri I must observe that on December 22, 1860, after I had crossed these rivers in a boat belonging to M. Vayssière and mounted a mule sent me by this friend, after one and a half hours difficult progress, I made my way out of this swamp, with five of his men armed with rifles and with a negro as bearer; in spite of the guide I fell twice into the swamp with my mule, not without serious danger. As long as the path is narrow, with its sides overgrown with grass, and is covered by water from one to two feet deep, there is no need for anxiety, but when it widens and seems better, and you miss the right track, you and your beast both sink up to the neck into mud and water. During our passage we met a great many antelopes of various species, among which I recognized the *antelope Bubalis* and the *antelope Euchore*; we also saw buffaloes feeding in the long grass and, finally, an extraordinarily large *antelope Equina*, which scampered off as soon as it caught sight of us in the distance. Then, going in a westerly direction we left many villages in the distance on our left, and, after two hours' walking, reached Afuk, the first village of the Djenghe on this road. When the young men and women of the tribe saw us make a halt, they brought on their heads a quantity of great, dry pieces of wood, durrah and milk, which I exchanged for Borjuk, a kind of Venetian glass bead.

From Afuk to Lau is only an eight hours' journey, which we made in the morning partly on horseback and partly on foot; we passed through some cultivated land, and by the wayside I killed the lovely

Geopelia humeralis, which came in great numbers to eat the fruit of the Egyptian sycamore. There are huts in groups here and there to right and left of the road, and, although they are not hedged in, it is not wise to enter them, for these natives are very suspicious; they are accustomed to being constantly robbed by the Arabs, so they are very cautious and confuse Europeans with their implacable enemies, the Turks.

When I reached Lau after dusk, I saw M. Vayssière encamped with his men under a great sycamore; he came up to me and received me with the greatest friendliness. It gave me much pleasure to see his hunting equipment and his elephant rifles, and I was glad to hear that a large rifle of 30z. calibre and 8 ft. long which I had sold him the year before in Khartoum, had several times won the prize of 300 marks (100 Austrian Maria-Theresa Thalers) for bringing down nine elephants within a few months. "There is great rivalry among my huntsmen for this rifle," remarked my friend Vayssière pleasantly, "in spite of its inconvenient length, for its bullets generally pierce the elephant through from side to side." After five days stay in Lau, where we had to find natives for bearers, we got to Tek and from thence to Rek, where we took up our abode under a *Remba* (a square hut, open on one side, which is only adapted as a protection from the sun). Not far from us and quite near to the place stood a kind of conically shaped *tukl*, pasted with mud and ashes right to the base, over the corpse of the Sheikh Egghiandi, whom his parents and the Elders of the Djenghe Tribe had allowed to die of hunger on that spot, in order, as they said, to save him from the shame of death. Is it possible to imagine anything more barbarous and cruel than this custom? The country round Rek is beautiful and is bordered by woods from north to south; the land rises slightly to the west, while, to the east, it falls away into a gentle slope, which ends in morass and discloses a wide, treeless horizon. A great many cattle are driven to pasture on these meadows, while, where they are under water, there are countless swarms of web-footed birds and waders. I hunted there every day and often came home with a very good bag of *Harpiprion hagedash*, *Scopus umbretta*, *Tantalus Ibis*, *Plectropterus gambensis*, *Dendrocygna viduata*, the *D. arcuata* etc. On dry, wooded ground, I

often came across the small Cape antelope, a little grey hare in form like the *Lepus Aethiopicus*, and, near the villages, the majestic *Bale-
arica pavonina ceciliae*. The woods are composed mostly of acacia, mimosa, and here and there, great tamarinds, Egyptian sycamores and a few *Ficus elastica*.

After a ten days' stay in this place, where I was able to add various specimens to my ornithological collection, my friend Vayssière, who had been gathering together the ivory he had collected when hunting, and, in addition, bought some from the natives, asked me to follow him on one of his mules. I had not had a moment's sleep the whole night through, my limbs were trembling and icy cold and I had terrible internal pains, but, saying nothing about it, I mounted the beast and we set out in the direction of Helawincol. I do not know what I came across on this journey, for, as the result of a very sharp attack of fever, I lost consciousness for many hours. When I again came to my senses, I found myself in the shade of a great tamarind with my friend Vayssière beside me feeling my pulse, and a servant giving me quinine dissolved in water from time to time. I was bathed in perspiration, and, like one awaking from a long dream, I gave a questioning glance at my friend as if to ask him how and when I had come to this place. Guessing my thoughts, he answered, "Antinori, we have been watching by you for twenty-four hours, and only for the last one or two hours could I feel really sure of saving you. You went into convulsions, gnashed your teeth and could not speak; your eyes were fixed and vacant and your body as icy cold as a corpse for nearly three hours: I covered you up with all the rugs I had, rubbed your whole body with rum, turned your feet to the fire, and forcibly poured a few drops of laudanum into your mouth. By these measures we revived you and hope you will soon be quite well again." After these words, which I still remember perfectly, I was scarcely able to express my thanks by an inclination of the head, so much was I dazed and exhausted by my illness. But the quinine very soon brought about some improvement, so that after two days I was in a fit state to continue the journey.

Helawincol is rather more than half way between Kyt and Nguri, but, because on the second stage one has greater difficulties to overcome,

one needs the same time for it. In these days the thermometer only stood at 27° or 28° Réaumur, and the air seemed so temperate that, in spite of my weakness, I felt no discomfort; on the contrary, the journey was extraordinarily beneficial and pleasant to me. The hunters and natives assured us that beyond Djerowil, which we reached in the evening, we should come across a large number of game, especially zebras and giraffes, but the fact is that we found only the footprints of these animals and the newly made tracks of several elephants. Two miles beyond Djerowil, as we were going past a *Mura*, herdsmen of the Djenghe who were driving oxen to Dors asked to be allowed to join us; we gave our consent and they seemed very pleased. From this point the forests become more abundant and take on themselves a character which one may seek for in vain in more temperate zones. The terter, a tree which resembles the *Sterculia platanifolia*, two different kinds of giant fig-trees, a great *Bignonia* with amaranth blossoms and gherkin-like fruits which hang down from very long tendrils, and the *Euphorbia Kolqual*, rising like great chandeliers, form the upper stratum of the forest; in their shadow grow: the sweetscented ebony-tree of the White River, the *Nux Vomica innoaia*, the *Cassia Tora*, the *Cassia pendula*, the *Cassia absus* with its lovely yellow pendant blossoms, and the fragrant *Carissa edulis* whose small berries, tasting like those of the juniper, are eaten by the natives with great relish. These regions were enlivened by the songs of hundreds of forest-birds, interrupted by a sort of barking of the *Cynocephalus* and the monosyllabic, defiant note, ke—ke—ke—ke, which is repeated by the *Cercopithecus*. The aspect of the forest here had in it something which was at once majestic, eerie and distressing. Elephant tracks, a foot or more deep, in close proximity to each other, cut up the road. There were trees with mangled trunks cast down in all directions, branches scarcely hanging to the main trunk, roots torn in pieces and cast into the air, impenetrable thickets of Nabak and Kitter, species of *Rhamni* and *Ziziphus* cut through from one side to the other and trodden down like hay under the mighty feet of the elephants who had brought about all this devastation.

When, at sunset, we came to the bank of a great expanse of still water, we rested in a deserted *Mura*. The huts of the herdsmen were

all built on four very high posts in order to protect them at night time from unexpected attacks of wild beasts, since experience had taught them that the nightly fires were often of no use in keeping these off. While our men were making the necessary preparations for spending the night here, I tried, armed with a gun, to make an expedition to the pool, but I was deterred by the difficulty of the path, which was hemmed in by thorns and spoiled by the tracks of all kinds of animals; among these one could distinguish the deep-trodden footprints of a great lion. The Khor (river-bed) Momul flows into this standing water and then goes on to join the River of the Djur. On the next morning we entered upon the territory of this very tribe, leaving behind us the Djenghe, whose territory extends from the River Gazal up to this point. After we had gone rather more than a third of the way, we rested by the banks of a sandy tarn, into which the natives plunged in order to gain from its waters strength and refreshment after the hardships they had undergone. We bought an ox from the Djenghe herdsmen for 8 Beret (white grapes of enamel the size of a pigeon's egg) and two copper bracelets. Since we could not hold the ox with a rope, he was killed by our men with firearms. He was immediately skinned and dismembered, and divided among the natives and Berbers, who after nearly two days' fasting, lived riotously the whole of that day. Our departure was postponed until the next day, January 13, 1861, and on that day we came to Nguri at one o'clock in the afternoon. Sheikh Elwal had put on for our reception a shirt, reaching to his waist, of some gaily flowered European material, which may originally have belonged to the furniture of some ship. This mark of honour was enhanced in a lively manner by his spitting once in our face and three times in the palms of our hands, an unmistakeable sign of complete trust.

One cannot reach Nguri from Kyt under $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 days, which comes to 49 or 50 hours' journeying. Thus the distance between these two points, making every possible deduction, comes to at least 122 nautical miles (60 miles = 1°).

The land of the Djur is perhaps the best of all the districts in the Bahr el Gazal. Lying between the 7° and 6° of latitude and somewhere between the 26° and 27° of longitude, abounding in oil-palms and

surrounded by small and great rivers, it offers its inhabitants the greatest possible natural advantages with its rather high ground, which is productive and rich in iron-ore; hence comes the prosperity of the people, their industry, and, I believe, their good disposition. The chief occupation of the Djur is the working of the iron, which they get without difficulty from the surface, and smelt it with great skill in order to turn it into weapons and tools. They keep no cattle but a few goats, with whose milk the small children are fed. They cultivate durrah, beans, sesame, *Arachis hypogaea*, the mealy bulb of a *Dioscorea*, and in May they get butter from the nuts of the *Bassia Parkii*. Well-formed, tall and robust, men and women alike go naked. The young men hunt antilopes, which they pursue until they can take them, and the women look after all household matters.³

INVESTIGATIONS ON THE NIAM-NIAM, THE TAILED PEOPLE.⁴

I myself could not push on as far as the Niam-Niam⁵ or Makarakak, and I owe what I have learnt about this people to their neighbours, the Djur, Dor and Bari and to some Arab agents of the Khartoum

3. From Nguri to Kyt, that is to say back by Muschra Ali Amuri, Marquis Antinori took a rather more easterly route, which only strikes that of the outward journey at Rek and Tek. On his sketch-map he makes the following descriptive notes on his return journey.

From Nguri onwards they travelled in a north-easterly direction over alluvial soil, where the very restricted area of cultivation round the villages left extensive pasturage for the numerous herds of cattle. Here they came across about thirty giraffes which were feeding on the young shoots of the acacia. Turning north, the travellers came to thickets of dwarf acacia like the Bajuda Desert. The region is well supplied with goats and cattle, and it is also the home of great numbers of African wildboar (*Phacochoerus*). In the neighbourhood of El Wash which, according to the map, lies rather to the S.E. of Djerowil, they found sown round the villages durrah, sesame and *Arachis hypogaea*, and soon after they reached a thickly populated region well stocked with goats, where there were woods of sycamore, acacia, mimosa, cassia, tamarind and some *Ficus elastica*. The village of Magiontoi (rather to the N.E. of Helawincol) is the outpost of an immense number of villages which one comes across on the way to Rek; for two or three hours the way lies only through villages. To the north of these villages the whole region is covered with great forests, interspersed with boggy meadowland, and the *muras* lie on slightly raised ground. On this road the travellers came across from 8 to 10,000 cattle of the Djengé and El Wash, which were being driven to another pasture. At Kiun near Konqual they were overtaken by a terrible thunderstorm which lasted for four hours. It is a three hours' journey from Konqual to the Mushra Ali Amuri, if, in the dry season, one goes on foot right up to the Bahr el Gazal, which, at that time, has fallen so low that it takes more than an hour to reach it. A.P.

4. Lecture of Marquis Antinori before the Egyptian Institute on December 27, 1861. We have to thank Mr. Gonzenbach of Smyrna for a report of the proceedings, and we give here the translation with emendations and additions which Marquis Antinori communicated to us by letter. A.P.

5. Like Beltrame and other Italians Marquis Antinori writes Gnem-Gnem. Kaufmann also writes Nyem-nyem. A.P.

ivory-merchants. From my enquiries I learn that the race falls into three families or divisions, the Belanda Niam-Niam, the Banda Niam-Niam, who are both blackskinned, and the white or bronze Niam-Niam with long hair and great beards.

The first of these are of middle height, have regular features, woolly hair, a rather sharp facial angle and thick, but not unduly protruding, lips. They lead peaceful lives, though the race is not lacking in war-like courage, for the region in which they live is fairly hilly and rich in forests with herds of elephants, and the hunting of these great beasts is the chief occupation of these savages. The ivory falls exclusively to the share of the chiefs, who are set over these tribes with the title of Sultan. The young, strong men who are forced to take part in the elephant hunts gain no advantage from them beyond the flesh of the dead animals. These men are always armed with three lances and a longish, octagonal shield, made of plaited rushes, painted black and hung with ornaments. A belt of hippopotamus skin, wrought with copper, girds their thighs, and on it hangs a small knife in a leather sheath, like a very pretty gourd-bottle. Both men and women wear loin-cloths made of rags or of leaves in the form of a tail, which they renew every morning. The men of the tribe work the copper and iron which is to be found in their country, and they also make objects of wood and ivory. Among the various instruments and utensils manufactured by them one of the most remarkable is a kind of guitar, a neat little instrument with five strings, on the neck of which is carved in wood a female head. In their territory are found in great abundance the splendid Deleb palm, the *Ficus elastica*, the sycamore, the *babanus* (which we must not confuse with the American ebony), the *Sterculia* with its planelike leaves, several kinds of Cassia, acacias and bamboos or bamboo-canes, which measure as much as 4 centimetres or 2 inches in diameter.

The Banda Niam-Niam, who form the second family, inhabit a region bare of all vegetation and more mountainous than that of the first group. According to the account of a Berber elephant hunter, who had to travel through that district with thirty men a year ago, this race is in such wretched circumstances that he had difficulty in

finding anything to eat during the six days of his journey through their land. The durrah, which the natives cultivate in very small quantities, is of an inferior quality and, on account of its bitterness, cannot be used for bread; even the black men only make of it merissa, a fermented drink resembling beer. There are to be found very few animals and birds and no fish at all, so the unfortunate savages are forced to live on snakes, mice, locusts, beetles, ants and so on, and if the presence of a vulture chances to betray a carcass in the vicinity, they try to kill the bird, so that they may eat it as well as the carcass. They hunt the apes which come from the south, and devour the flesh of these anthropoids with great eagerness. Probably the reputation for cannibalism which this unfortunate people enjoys originates with some traveller who chanced to see them boiling or roasting apes. It is certainly a fact that the Banda Niam-Niam have been thought to be cannibals, and this accusation found some support from the fact that their faces, their strongly projecting crania and large jaws, give them a look of stupid ferocity and even make them resemble apes. In the individuals of this race which I had an opportunity of seeing among the Djur and the ivory merchants, I myself witnessed their ferocious appetite, which even drove them to swallow live mice and the apes shot by me, which they would roast over an open fire. They ate the charred skin, the hair, the entrails and refuse indiscriminately, but all the same I should not like to maintain that the Banda Niam Niam are cannibals. The women especially are accused of eating up in anger the small children who are entrusted to them. Such traditional rumours have a more or less true foundation, and, although they may sometimes have arisen from mere prejudice, it is all the same better to investigate them than simply to deny them, and in this case it is not absolutely impossible that savages, so meagrely provided for by nature, may be driven by hunger or bestial impulses to eat humans also.

I must add that, owing to a strange natural anomaly, it is not difficult to find among them individuals whose coccyx is less curved in front or more raised behind, so that this lower end of the spine, covered with muscles and skin, forms a kind of rudimentary tail. Myself, I have only once seen such a creature; this was in the winter of

1851 in Constantinople at a slave-dealer's, in the presence of other persons, who, like me, substantiated this peculiarity. But, whether it be simply an anomaly or a strange freak of nature, the presence in some individuals of this kind of tail (and one might ask why it only appears in this tribe and in no other) is so well known to the Turks and Arabs that, in the chief slave markets, rich men and speculators take care to buy such people. The Italian Physician, Dr. Diamante, Sanitary Inspector in the service of the Viceroy at Cairo, assured me that some years ago he had seen in the Military Hospital in this town a young negro of the Niam-Niam tribe with a rudimentary tail formation, and the learned Englishman, Clarke, Director of the railway between Smyrna and Aidin, published some months ago a pamphlet in English in order to prove the existence of tailed men, where he assures us that he had seen one such in the market at Damascus. I cannot deny what I myself and other reliable men have observed, but, while I admit the fact, I would remark emphatically that I take it to be nothing more than a racial anomaly.

The white Niam-Niam with long hair and beards live nearest to the Equator and Fertit. Although they belong geographically to the Niam-Niam, it looks as if they had no common origin with the first two families, and serious ethnological research will probably in the future establish this question beyond doubt. The white Niam-Niam are tall and bronze-coloured, and have regular features and very long hair and beards of a reddish colour. They are partially clothed in cotton stuffs, which they receive in exchange from the Fellata or the Arabian merchants for their ivory and copper. All maintain that they are the most intelligent, industrious and also the strongest of the Niam-Niam. They are ruled by a Sultan whom they choose themselves and whose death becomes the occasion of a veritable hecatomb, for his family and nearest relations are killed and buried with him. When the Sultan leaves his Zeriba, he is always accompanied by an escort of a hundred men, armed with lances and shields. He has power over life and death, and declares war or peace. Every year at harvest time, in November and December, hordes of this race make incursions into the villages of Fertit and plunder everything. Anyone who offered

resistance would be killed or maimed without mercy. So the unfortunate inhabitants of Fertit fly at the approach of the enemy, who advance to the sound of the Nuggara⁶ and trumpets, and drive their women and children before them.

NOTES ON NOMENCLATURE OF MAMMALS AND BIRDS.

TEXT	PRESENT NAME	ENGLISH NAME
<i>Rallus abyssinicus</i>	Probably <i>Limnocorax flavirostra</i>	African Black Crake
<i>Parra africana</i>	<i>Actophilus africanus</i>	African Jacana
<i>Balaeniceps rex</i>	<i>B. rex</i>	Shoebill Stork
<i>Antilope bubalis</i>	<i>Bubalis lelwel</i>	Hartebeeste
<i>Antilope euchore</i>	?	?
<i>Antilope equina</i>	<i>Hippotragus equinus</i>	Roan Antilope
<i>Geopelia humeralis</i>	Probably <i>Vinago waalia</i>	Bruce's Green Pigeon
<i>Harpiprion hagedash</i>	<i>Hagedashia hagedash</i>	Hagedash Ibis
<i>Scopus umbretta</i>	<i>Scopus umbretta</i>	Hammerhead Stork
<i>Tantalus ibis</i>	<i>Ibis ibis</i>	Wood Ibis
<i>Plectropterus gambensis</i>	<i>Plectropterus Gambensis</i>	Spur-Wing Goose
<i>Dendrocygna viduata</i>	<i>Dendrocygna viduata</i>	White-faced Whistling Teal
<i>Dendrocygna arcuata</i>	Probably <i>D. fulva</i>	Fulvous Whistling Teal
<i>Small Cape Antilope</i>	? possibly <i>Ourebia montana</i>	Oribi
<i>Lepus aethiopicus</i>	<i>Lepus aethiopicus</i>	
<i>Cynocephalus</i>	<i>Papio cynocephalus</i>	Baboon
<i>Cercopithecus</i>	<i>Cercopithecus griseus</i>	Grivet Monkey

6. Nuggara is a kind of drum made from a tree-trunk, covered with a skin which is stretched tight by means of cords or thongs. A.P.

NOTES ON NOMENCLATURE OF FLORA.

1. *Aedemone* is the old generic name for the present *Herminiera* and the plant referred to must be *H. elaphroxylon* G. & P.

2. *Euphorbia* Kolqual is probably *E. calycina* N.E. Br. which is fairly common in the Bahr el Ghazal region and has a candelabra habit.

3. *Cissus quadrangularis* is more correctly *C. quadrangulus* Linn.

4. The *Capparis* is, I think, undoubtedly *Crataeva adansonii* DC. which is quite common on the higher lands of the toiches.

5. *Nymphaea ampla* is a misnomer being an American sp. This is most likely to be *Nymphaea Lotus* Linn, the common white water lily of the White Nile and its tributaries, or its rarer relative *N. nubica* Lehm.

6. *Tamarinds* = *Tamarindus indica* Linn : the Ardeib Tree.

7. *Ficus Elastica* probably = *Ficus platyphylla*. *Ficus sycamorus* is the Gemeiza.

8. Terter—(*Sterculia cinerea* A Rich) (the more modern name is *Sterculia setigera* Del.).

9. The sweet-scented Ebony tree = *Dalbergia melanoxylon*.

10. The great bignonia would be *Parkia filicoidea*.

11. *Nux Vomica innoaia* probably = *Strychos* sp.

12. *Cassia pendula* now called *Cassia bicapsularis* L.

13. The description does not suit *C. absus* Linn. which has small rather inconspicuous red, sometimes yellow flowers. It is likely that *C. absus* occurs there but I think Antinori is describing something more attractive than *C. absus* Linn.

14. "Species of *Rhamni* and *Ziziphus*."

Nabak is *Zizyphus* sp.

Kittir is *Acacia mellifera*.

15. *Dioscorea* = Yam.

16. *Bassia Parkii* = *Butyrospermum parkii* = Lulu or Shea Nut Tree.

17. Oil Palms.

It is very doubtful if this is the real oil palm, but if we can accept the statement it is remarkable evidence of retreat of a species in a short time.

He probably referred to the Deleib Palm *Borassus flabellifer*. Oil Palm = *Elaeis guineensis*.

YOUTH ORGANISATION AMONG THE FUR.

By A. C. Beaton.

Many negro tribes in Africa have a system of Age-Grades, into which the members of the community, particularly the males, are divided. These correspond roughly to our own English terms of children, youths and elders; the division is strictly by age and the grade defines for the youth concerned his position in society. A number of tribes also have a highly developed Age-Class system, whereby at intervals of about four years or so, all the youths and girls of approximately the same age are subjected to an initiation ceremony, after which they are considered as adult members of the tribe, so much so that for girls among the Bari tribe the consummation of their marriage has to await this initiation. Such classes are usually known by distinctive and fanciful names *e.g.* the Despisers of Death, and their members are as it were a sworn band of brothers pledged to help one another throughout life.

The Age-Class system is not found among the Fur, but they have a development of their age-grade organisation that approximates to it. Fur age-grades for males are,

Kwo iti fuka small red child

Kwo al bora böi child that is drinking milk

Kwo iti boran small child of milk

(Such terms describe from birth to about the age of two years, which among the Fur is the average weaning age.)

Taga pl. Tagana a child who can walk and is over two years of age to about six years,

- Kwe apa* a big child of six years and upwards but short of puberty. The term includes the *muhagir* who is a circumcised or uncircumcised boy attending a Fiki's school, a period of education lasting three years or so, but starting according to whim of the youth or the decision of his parents at almost any age. A *Sob* is a circumcised or uncircumcised boy who is not attending a Fiki's school at the recognised age but is staying at home.
- Juriduno pl. Jureña* youths who have been circumcised and are of the age of puberty, but have not married.
- Sanda pl. Sandana* married man.
- Bugul pl. Bugula* divorced or widower.
- Duo Apa pl. Kwa Apana* a Big Man or an elder, one of some standing with the first flecks of white showing in his beard. It is difficult to fix the age of any of these groups, as a man may be quite old before he marries, while another may be a young widower. A man enters the *Kwa Apana* grade however at about the age of thirty-five. If circumcision is fixed as taking place on an average at the age of fourteen, the *Jureña* grade will contain all the adult youths from the age of about fifteen to thirty-five, the most vigorous section of the community.
- Duo Bain pl. Kwa Baiña* are very old men in their dotage, say about the age of sixty.

GIRLS AND WOMEN ARE SIMILARLY GRADED

- Kweniu iti fuka etc.* with *Kweniu* -- girl instead of *kwe*—as for boys.
- Kweniu taga* as with boys, two to six years.
- Kweniu apa* big girl, six to ten years.
- Antiwei pl. Antiweiña* a girl from about the age of ten but not yet of the age of puberty or a girl of marriageable age but not yet married. Again it is impossible to fix ages, but the *Antiweiña* will be all the desirable maidens of the village up to about twenty-one years.
- Dwönia pl. Yañ* Wife.
- Iya or Ama* Mother.
- Iya toi* Elderly matron.
- Ab* Crone.

First of all it would be as well to dispose of the activities of the child. Until they are old enough to herd the goats or help in the fetching of wood and water (and this is at a very early age by English standards) the children engage in play. As with all children they tend to imitate their elders in their games. This they will play at being married, at being grown-ups and at being kings and queens. In this childish play one child will take to himself the title of Sultan, Wazir, Malik or Shartai and will order his small followers about like a veritable chief. It is also the practice of young boys to fashion mud horses and to set upon them mud dolls dressed in rags and given the names of native notables from the Sultan downwards. With this mud horse the boy will run about at top speed and as he passes the other children will say "Here comes Sultan Fulan." Hobby-horses are made of corn straw and played with in a similar manner.

At times of circumcision and on the occasion of the marriage of a rich man's son, these childish customs are copied by the older youths; they agree among themselves that one of their number shall be called the Sultan, another his Wazir, a third a Melik, a fourth a Shartai and so on. For that day they will follow the lead of the Sultan in the runnings to and fro that are a feature of the rejoicings attendant on a circumcision. If the leader says, "Let us race to the Wadi," off they go in a kind of follow-your-leader string; if he suggests that they sit under a certain tree, they will go there in a body to talk; if he proposes that a shelter be built, they will build one. Any one of their number may become the Sultan and his period of office, so to speak, lasts for the day only. No rights and no duties are attached to the position. All these activities are engaged in in a spirit of play and should not degenerate into debauch or lead to the flouting of the authority of the elders.

In every fief there is also an organisation for warlike purpose under the command of the *Ornay* who is an older man elected by the elders to lead the warriors in the event of war. Naturally the youths all come under his command at such a time and he leads them out in obedience to orders received from his Chief. In addition to leader-

ship in war, he has functions to fulfil in times of comparative peace. If the village cattle have been raided by thieves, he will at once organise a counter-attack with the object either of tracking and recovering the lost cattle or of raiding the raiders and driving off others in place of those the village has lost. With the coming of the government the duties of the *Ornay* have fallen somewhat into abeyance, although the office is still said to exist in places where the Fur border on other tribes. In ordinary life however the youths are banded together into an organisation that affords them some outlet for their superfluous energy. In pre-government days the *Jureña* had a leader called the *Jureñay Töbu*. *Töbu* literally means a head as a part of the body and its extension to mean a figurative head is paralleled in the Fur title *Darray Töbu*, the head of the Mess, who is an elderly man among the group of males eating in common of food provided by their wives or mothers. This official is of some importance in the village, as the headman refers to him for the implementation of orders received from the Chief.

But to return to the youths and the girls, the females also have a leader called the *Dogalay köniñ töbu*—the head of the female children, though the male organisation is of greater importance. The leader of the youths is elected by common consent by the young men of a village or a group of hamlets or even of an estate if it is small enough, without reference to the social status of the youth elected. The type of youth chosen should be one of good behaviour (*juredunyo tule*), popular (*iyesi kwela*), patient (*kilma wese*), not obstreperous (*der aeroba*), nor a bully (*giti a fiba*), nor an overdrinker nor one of notoriously evil morals; tact and wisdom are also requisites. This appointment depends on the approval of the headman or Dimlig or Chief, whoever happens to be nearest, and without his approval the organisation could not come into being. This proviso is a guard against the promotion of subversive parties or uncontrollable gangs.

The purpose of the arrangement is purely social. The youths under their leader will sit together and talk as in a club; they will attend parties and go to dances in a body; they take the lead in organising dances; they may hunt in a body; and will certainly drink

together at the river after the hunt is over. They have a partial but not obligatory system of mutual aid. If one of their number were fined, his immediate friends would make some personal contribution towards the fine; on the occasion of the marriage of one of their number, they would all help their fellow with such gifts as they could afford to provide, *e.g.* a roll of cloth (value 4 piastres) or perhaps a sum of money. Marriage is no disqualification, as the younger married men at any rate will still acknowledge the leadership of the *Jureŋaŋ Töbu*. At times of cultivation and house-building mutual aid is also afforded.

It is suggested that the function of the leader is to watch over the behaviour of the youths, but considering the Fur morals in general and the village fights that at times take place, these duties seem not to be taken very seriously. However it is said that if after two or three warnings from the leader, a certain youth fails to mend his ways, he is in danger of being excluded from the activities of his fellows. Similar misbehaviour on the part of the leader would end in his deposition, although even if put in prison, a popular youth would be re-elected on his return, unless condemned by the Chief as unsuitable. Fornication with unmarried girls, widows or divorcees is not frowned upon, but theft, disobedience to the Chief, and adultery with married women would lead to removal. If the youths failed to help the village head at cultivation time, he would be inclined to refuse them permission to dance, a serious penalty, especially if he owned the village drums, as without these the *Kosok* (the most popular dance) cannot be performed.

In his absence for any reason from the village, the lead is taken by the deputy of the *Jureŋaŋ Töbu*, who resumes it on his return. Office is held for an unlimited period and is terminated by deposition or agreement.

It was at harvest time that the activities of the youths sprang into greatest prominence. The unmarried youths and girls, under their respective leaders, would resort to the now dry river bed, where they would spend the day talking (*öru kawi*), playing and wrestling

in friendly rivalry (*buda*) until late in the evening, when they would separate to sleep by sexes under different trees. At intervals during the day they would collect five heads of grain from every cultivation without the owners' demurring, as well as ground-nuts and other crops. Part of the grain they would roast and eat and that, with fish if available, would be their sole food with water as their only drink. The ceremony started on no particular day, but lasted a week, at the end of which the pile of grain would be taken to the village. The motto for the week was, "*Lo taan subuz kain na gis Alla ki aafe rana*—We are celebrating the harvest festival because God has delivered us (*i.e.* from famine) with peace." The hoard of grain was then divided into three heaps, one for the very old men, one for the youths and a large heap for the girls and the old women. It was the duty of the leaders of the youths and girls, each to take over the portion assigned to their group. The grain was then turned into beer. Meantime the youths would have contributed a bundle of cotton threads each for the purchase of a ram. When the beer was ready, the ram would be killed and divided as follows,

For the old men	.. The head (<i>töbu</i>)
	the neck (<i>kwiina</i>)
	the four trotters (<i>nyal rogonya</i>)
	a share of the four legs and ribs (<i>saal ki kiilin</i>)

For the girls and old women	.. the top half of the back (<i>sriin raal</i>)
	the lower half of the back (<i>libin</i>)
	the entrails (<i>kurtanya</i>)
	a share of the four legs and ribs (<i>saa ki killin</i>)

For the youths .. the heart (*kilma*)
 the liver (*nunya*)
 the kidneys (*nunday kwe*)
 the lungs (*kumur*)
 a share of the four legs and ribs (*saal
 ki killin*)

For the butcher .. the spleen (*daama*)
 the gizzard (*borgoya*)
 the breast bones (*saama*)

When all was ready, a feast would be held and a *Kosok* dance performed until late in the evening.

Owing however to the habits of the young Fur, who with the increase of public security migrate east in search of work, and the latter-day tendency of young married men to leave the club and keep more at home these customs have apparently been obsolete for many years.

ESCAPE IN THE GRASS.

By Capt. Greenwood (H.L.I.).

The following is reprinted from THE MESSENGER. It is not possible at present to contact the author but we have made bold to assume his permission.

The incident to which it refers is recorded briefly in an Intelligence Report dated February, 1909. Sheikh Musa Madibbo later sent a message to say that he "had not come to fight the Government but to drive the Dinkas from the Bahr el Arab." He had fallen foul of the Sultan of Darfur at this time and was later compelled to take refuge in Sudan territory.—EDITOR.

I always did like the Dinkas. Happy, idle, contented people, with few wants and no cares, singing to their cattle in the sun.

Stark naked and free by the river banks and singing to their cattle in the sun.

All they wanted was to be left alone.

Just like everybody else.

Until trouble came, and then they clamoured for assistance. Just like everybody else. "Not till the fire is dying in the grate..." and all that.

And so they were left to look after themselves, chiefly because there weren't enough people to go round and we couldn't cover all the ground.

That was twenty-five years ago.

Nobody had ever been to see what happened to the north of the Post, between the Post and the River, which ran in a wrongly dotted line on a "provisional" map.

We vaguely knew that great plains stretched for miles in all directions and that there the Dinkas roamed about over the new-burnt pastures when the rains were over, driving their great flocks and herds northwards across the Lol up to the Bahr el Arab River. They gave

no trouble to speak of and paid a "token" cattle tax yearly to the Government which had never found time to go up and count their cattle.

All very easy and everybody was quite happy.

Then the Arabs started coming down from beyond the River to the north, and panic spread and grew with every raid over the plains, and the Dinkas fled before the Arab horsemen thundering over the hard burnt soil and took refuge on the fringe of the forest to the south.

Poor, gentle, timid Dinkas, they just ran and ran till where the plains met the forest. The Arabs used to ride down like lightning from their country beyond the River, spearing anyone they met on their road who offered resistance, and recrossing the river with a mob of raided cattle driven before them and lithe naked Dinka girls strapped on to their great saddles behind them.

So it went on. Something had to be done.

So I was sent up to the Bahr el Arab, across the River Lol north of the Post. I and Shawish Kapsur, Almaz, Selim and Yambios—to meet Musa Madibo, the Sheikh of the Arabs. He lived in unadministered country and beyond reach of the law.

Slatin arranged the meeting on the river. So I went up to the River and the shadow that was over the plains lifted and the Dinkas came forth again out of the protecting forest and drove their great bellowing herds back to pasture over the plains; singing to them by the rivers and lying in the sun.

We stood and looked at the River. There was no sign of anybody on the banks. I said, "He ought to be here by now. We've had much further to go than he has."

Kapsur said: "You never can depend on Arabs."

I said: "But the Pasha himself wrote to him and fixed the date."

"You can't depend on Arabs."

I said, "Well, we can't waste all day looking at the river waiting."

"It's always waste of time to make a date with Arabs."

That was Shawish Kapsur. He was a black heathen from somewhere or other—I forget where. Some of our police came from the other side of Africa—kidnapped as children by Fellata pilgrims up Sokotu way and set free by us (with luck) in the Bahr el Ghazal.

Shawish Kapsur was very brave. He once charged a charging elephant, shouting and waving his straw hat, and turned it. I watched him as I lay (exhausted) in the mud. All very long ago. But for Kapsur and his fantastic charge, I suppose I should still be under the mud, down Meshra way.

So we turned back from the River and started to cross the two miles of high grass that bordered it.

It was very high grass. Once you left the track you could see nothing. The grass was high over your head.

A roan antelope showed up somewhere—it must have been standing on a mound in the grass. I shot it. Not for its head—I was through with all that. I wanted food for my police and porters. There was no grain to be had in the Dinka country that year—it wasn't worth sowing any crops with the Arabs coming down like that, grazing their horses in the standing corn and pillaging the grain stores.

We went to cut up the dead roan, but couldn't find it. The grass was very thick. The roan had dropped stone dead—I shot dead true in those days.

For all that, we couldn't find it.

The sun had got very hot and we went back to camp.

Rhin came along in the evening—he'd been out to look for his wife and family out with the cattle on the plains somewhere.

He brought some milk but couldn't get any grain.

He said there was no news of any Arabs.

Next day we found the roan. It had dropped stone dead, just where we'd been looking for it. Afterwards I remembered that.

Then we went up to the River again—there was nothing else to do and one might as well wait there and watch the water running.

I gave my mule to Selim to hold and wandered up the bank. Almaz and Yambios were fishing. Shawish Kapsur came along with me.

I was wondering how long I ought to stay waiting for a man who might never come, who lived beyond reach of the law, whom nobody had ever seen, except perhaps Slatin in the old Mahdi days. And then there was a thunder of galloping hoofs and I was in the middle of a crowd of Arab horsemen who'd suddenly appeared from nowhere.

I said: "Peace be upon you." I thought this was Sheikh Musa arriving with the usual Arab bluster and fantasia.

But there was no reply "And upon you the peace" and nobody dismounted to greet the Governor's representative on the river. All the Arabs carried the long dervish spear and a few of them had old Remington rifles. Then I noticed the leaf-shaped spear heads and some of them were red.

Again I said, "*El Salaam aleikum*" and still there was no response.

I said, "I have come as arranged by the Pasha to make peace on the border. Where is Sheikh Musa?"

Pax Britanica and all that.

How fantastic!

What should Arabs want with the peace when the finest sport in the world was to be had at the expense of the unbelieving dogs of Dinkas? Infidel and uncircumcised Dinkas, flaunting their shame before the pious Moslems. The ride through the night—the fording of the boundary river—the mad gallop over the plains—the chase of the slim, shrieking Dinka and the long spear piercing his shining naked back....

The slender naked black girls lifted from the cattle posts and strapped, struggling, to the great saddles.

The mob of cattle driven bellowing to the north.... The boasting of great deeds done that day, in the safety of the camp fires fifty miles away....

There it was. They looked on it all from a slightly different angle.

It was to them as one who might propose a *modus vivendi* between pig and the Kadir Cup people, or the fox and Craven Lodge.

I might have thought of that before.

Everybody was shouting at once and crowding round me and the horses all steaming and fretting.

Kapsur had got separated, and I never saw him.

Then somebody said, "You've got no business to be on our river—you're our prisoner and you're coming along with us."

I went on talking and nobody listened.

The Arabs grew impatient. They were in a hurry. They were on a raid and had been killing. The long grass surrounding us was no place for coffee-housing, for it would soon be full of Dinka spearmen gathered like kites out of the blue. The Dinkas are terrified out in the open, but they are brave in the long grass, moving naked and swiftly, like snakes. So the Arabs were in a hurry to get on. Delay in the grass meant death. I went on talking and talking and the Arabs went on shouting and shouting, becoming more and more excited and truculent. I wondered if they would just spear me and gallop away and if so whether I might as well not kill some of them first. And whether they might not bolt if I emptied my magazine into them.

On the whole I thought that wouldn't do.

Finally, with a lot of brandishing of red-tipped spear I was bundled and shoved along, all among the horses.

I wondered what had happened to Kapsur—he was not far wrong in saying you can't depend on Arabs.

The cavalcade moved on—I was somewhere in the middle. We were on the edge of the long grass. For some reason it was quite open between that and the river.

Everybody got spread out all over the place and two Arabs rode close to me. We went along like that.

It was terribly hot and black dust got beaten up by the horses' feet where the grass had been burnt.

The cavalcade made a huge cloud of dust. I was very angry.

Then I thought of the dead roan. After all, I was much smaller than the roan. So I made a rush and dived into the long grass and curled up and lay still.

The Arabs rode up and down, up and down looking for me. I saw their bearded faces. I saw and heard their long spears prodding the ground for me. I remembered that the fox enjoyed being hunted, but all the same I was very frightened.

A horse trod on my ankle, but it didn't hurt. I was thinking of the beaten fox lying in the hedgerow. I don't know how long this went on. I was very frightened but, after all, if I couldn't find the roan....?

Suddenly the Arabs all rode off, still shouting and cursing. I lay still for a long time. Perhaps they might come back again. I was parched with the thirst of fear and choked with black dust, and it was terribly hot.

I stood up and saw no sign of Arabs and crept slowly away, guessing my direction by the sun.

Something else was moving through the grass. I could hear it.

When I moved, it moved, and when I stopped, it stopped. Apparently somebody or something was stalking me.

But I had to go on and always it came on, too. I don't know how long this went on. If only I could see it and shoot it! But I could see nothing but high grass.

I went on. There was nothing else to do. The noise came closer and closer and we both kept stopping and listening.

Our paths were clearly converging and we finally both stopped a yard apart.

I saw the grass move at last and put up my rifle, and a voice, said "Don't shoot!"

It was Shawish Kapsur. He'd been captured, too, and like me had dived into the long grass.

He was very brave, but he thought *something* had been stalking him and he was frightened.

Thousands of acres of high grass and the paths of two fugitives must converge to the same point in it.

So together we returned to camp and drank a lot of water. Then we went and looked for Almaz, Selim and Yambios, but couldn't find them.

Rhin went to see if his wife and children were all right, but they'd gone.

Everybody had gone.

Once more panic was upon the plains and all the people were pouring south again, back to the Lol and the forest where the Arabs dared not come. The experiment had failed: The mission was a frost.

There was nothing to be done except go back to the Post and write a report.

We marched all through the night. The night was full of lowing cattle all on the move.

You could feel something wrong with the night.

I dare say something or other happens when the whole night is crowded with thousands of people all driven onwards by fear.

During the night Almaz and Yambios turned up. They'd been stripped and disarmed and had a bad time. Selim got back next day. I was glad they were all right.

Panic had travelled ahead of us and the country of Malwal and Gok was deserted. We recrossed the Lol River where a precipice falls into it from the south and there we made a camp and a zeriba, for here the forest met the plain and so there was wood.

Old Sultan Chakchak and Akot and Yatong were there, his son and daughter. They'd heard all about the raid—it had been a very bad one and one of old Chakchak's sons was said to be dead.

Next day rumours came that the Arabs were coming right down to the Lol, and the Dinkas kept pouring down from all directions. Angyou of Fett, Wulerim Jok from Ototo, Dow Niol, Abdel Rahman of Kurok, all claiming protection and all their people crowded up on the Lol banks where there wasn't grazing for all that mob of cattle.

Old Chakchak sent Akot and some of the less timid Dinkas away north to look for his missing son and get news.

Rhin, my Dinka interpreter, went, too, to try and find his wife and children.

So Yatong interpreted for me.

She was very intelligent. I liked Yatong. Old Chakchak was drunk most of the time, but Yatong knew everything, and so it didn't matter. She was a wonderful girl. A day or so later some Sudanese soldiers arrived and we made a Post.

Yatong said the precipice place was called Nyamllell, so we called the Post Nyamllell.

That was all twenty-five years ago, and I'd forgotten all about the silly, timid, helpless Dinkas and the disgusting Arabs and the long grass and tall slender Yatong. They'd all faded away into the haze of pre-war limbo long ago.

But the other day I happened to meet Rogers in the Club and asked him where he'd come from.

He said, "Place called Nyamllell, if you've ever heard of it."

Oh, God!

THE STORY OF TAJOJ.

By F. L. Harwood.

(SUDAN RAILWAYS).

About the year 1820, during the reign of El Saltana El Zarga, there was born at Jebel Gulsa among the Hamran, a branch of the Beni Amer tribe, a girl called Tajoj.

Jebel Gulsa is a hill on the right bank of the River Gash to the south of Kassala.

The Hamran are a nomadic people, moving from place to place in the area around Abu Qamal with their camels, goats and sheep and living in tents made of dom palm matting. They are a race of handsome men and beautiful women, but Tajoj was of an especial beauty that lives for us in her story.

At that time, there was recurrent warfare among the various tribes in that part of the Sudan and the particular enemies of the Hamran were the Hadendoa, another Hamitic tribe.

The Hamran resisted the attacks of their enemies with a success, chiefly due to the skill and bravery of one young man called Mohallag.¹ He was Tajoj's cousin and was violently in love with her. He composed songs extolling her beauty and sang these so that the beauty of Tajoj became known far and wide.

The Arabs regard such fame rather as notoriety, and count it as an infringement of a girl's modesty and good name, so that Tajoj's parents were highly displeased and when Mohallag came to ask for Tajoj's hand in marriage, they refused him. She had other suitors, among them one Oakad² of the Hadendoa.

Mohallag was heart-broken at this refusal and pined and became so sick that it was thought he might die.

The elders of the tribe were much concerned at this and feared that they might lose their leader in battle. They, therefore, approached the girl's parents and urged them to overlook Mohallag's fault and to

1. Mohallag = Money in Beidawi—*Ed.*

2. Okad (a Beni Amer name)—*Ed.*

permit him to have Tajoj for wife. At length, they reluctantly agreed and the marriage took place.

When Oakad heard of the marriage, he came down and challenged Mohallag to mortal combat and in the ensuing duel Oakad was slain.

Mohallag did not enjoy his lovely bride for long. Perhaps she had been in love with Oakad, perhaps merely she did not care for her cousin. The story tells that shortly after the marriage, Mohallag asked her to strip herself naked and walk before him in her unveiled beauty. Such a thing appears shameful to the strictly conventional Arab and so Tajoj refused. He importuned her again and again, so at length she said that she would if afterwards he would promise her, on his oath, to do her one favour. This he promised.

She stripped herself and then told him that the favour was to be an immediate divorce.

He could not break his oath so they were separated. The end previously feared soon came upon Mohallag. His heart was broken and he pined away and soon died.

Bereft of their leader, the Hamran were helpless before their enemies. Inspired by thoughts of revenge for the death of Oakad, the Hadendoa attacked them, many of the Hamran were killed and among the booty carried off was Tajoj.

Now the Hadendoa began to fight among themselves to decide who should possess her. Duels and battles had soon caused the death of several of the young notables of the tribe, and it was plain that it might be seriously depleted of the best of the young fighting men if some drastic action was not taken.

The elders, therefore, held a meeting to decide what could be done and after some discussion one old man asked to see the cause of all the trouble.

Tajoj was brought in and led before the old man. He took her by the arm and, before the onlookers could interfere, drew his sword and slew her.

He had come to the conclusion, he said, that this was the only way to put an end to the bloodshed that she was causing.

So she died. She is buried somewhere between Jebel Abu Qamal and Kassala among a grove of palm trees and her grave has often been visited by Sudanese who are much stirred by this story of her great beauty and its tragic end. Her story is very widely known and there are various versions; the above, however, appears to be the most widely accepted.

The songs which Mohallag made to Tajoj were many. The following are translations of parts of some of those that he made in his despair after he had lost her :—

“ Though I am a brave man, yet am I most unfortunate.

I have brought myself misery by my own fault, and through
lightheartedness and joy I have come to have no rest nor peace.”

“ O Tajoj your teeth are like silver.

O Tajoj has gone leaving misery increasing upon me.”

“ Still your song, Oh happy bird singing in the tree,

I am suffering and unhappy. My love has left me and I can
have no comfort without her.”

DRIFTING SAND.

The following note on methods of coping with sand movement is based upon two papers read before the Sudan Section of the Permanent Way Institution at Atbara.

EDITOR.

The railway line from Atbara to Port Sudan runs for 56 kilometres between Hadika and Togni Stations through an area of moving sand dunes and drift sand.

Between kilo 416 and kilo 418 the line intersects at right angles a series of dunes running north and south for approximately 20 miles. The six dunes closest to the line approach it under the influence of the south winds between May and September and recede again under the influence of the north winds during the winter. In some years the north and south winds more or less balance each other and the dunes then move slightly to and fro over the same place. In other years the south wind has been observed to be the stronger and then the movement towards the railway line is more than the movement away from the line when the north wind blows. There are three more dunes close to the line 30 kilos further on and another grew up in 1936 round some newly formed tufts of grass. Any small obstruction may form the nucleus of a dune and buildings and quarters at two stations (Ogrein and Siyeteb) caused so great an accumulation that channels had to be dug to the doors and windows.

Throughout this stretch (kilo 400 to 443) there is also the danger from drifting sand. During even very light wind parts of the track are liable to be covered, especially round points and crossings and at bridge openings, so that the speed of trains has to be restricted and working parties are kept continuously employed clearing the track and piloting trains through dangerous sections.

Experiments were therefore started in 1935 to reduce the inconvenience and expense by utilizing the effect of the wind to carry away accumulations of sand. Three different methods were adopted:

1. Control of scour by spaced obstructions,
2. Wind screens.
3. Oiled surfaces.

1. CONTROL OF SCOUR BY SPACED OBSTRUCTIONS.

Empty drums were placed on top of the dunes to accentuate the wind scour during the short period of the north wind in order to counteract the deposits made by the winds from the south. This was satisfactory up to a point. The sand was scoured away round the barrels and on the windward side of them so that they tilted over towards the wind. They were then moved back 5 feet and the hollows to windward filled by shovelling. (See plate I background.)

2. WIND SCREENS.

It was conjectured that the erection of sand screens of the type shown in Sketch No. 1 would cause the wind, passing under the horizontal boards at increased velocity, to prevent the deposition of sand on the track or against walls (see Plates 1 and 2). During August and September, 1935 the accumulations of sand at stations and in dunes near the line were removed for filling work further down the line, and screens erected at right angles to the wind opposite the buildings at Ogrein. (Plate 2.) The experiment was a complete success and during the 4 years that these screens have been in operation no sand has accumulated.

Six similar screens were erected between the track and sand dunes at kilos 416 and 418 after the sand had been cleared by ballast trains. The theory was that the screens would diminish the dunes when the north wind was blowing and prevent deposit of sand on the track when the south wind was blowing. The trial was successful when the north wind blew, but with the south wind the result was not satisfactory. It was found by trial and error that on an average a screen with 6 feet clearance from ground level to the underside of the boarding allows of a deposition of sand roughly 25 feet from the screen. If these screens are erected at a distance of 15 feet from the centre line of the track and at right angles to the direction of the wind, one can be certain of an area 10 feet each side of the track being kept free of sand.

Difficulties have occurred where the wind does not blow at right angles to the screen and the question of siting screens in echelon to meet this difficulty is under investigation.

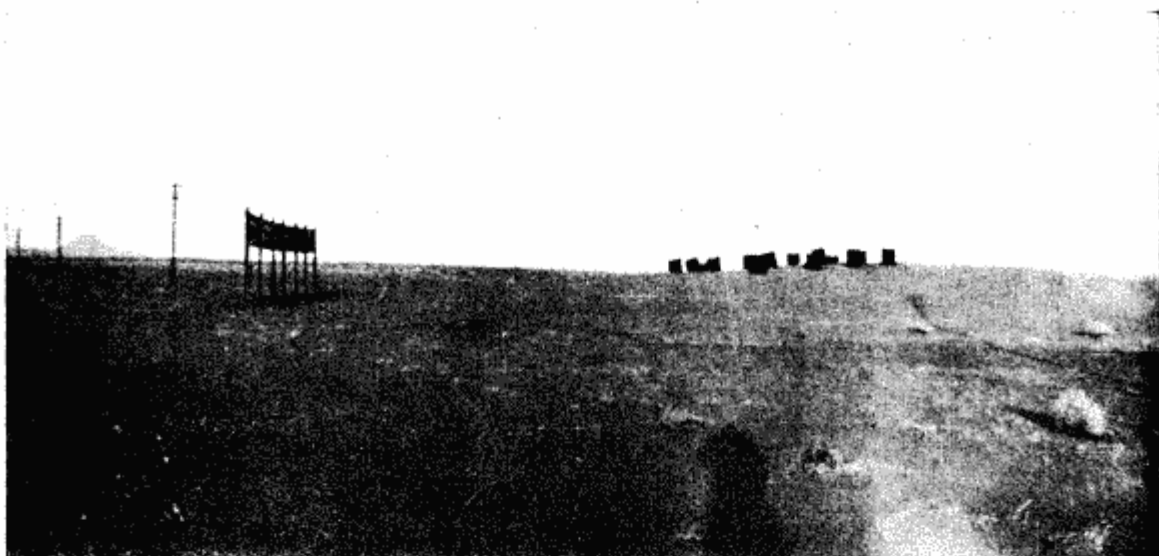


PLATE I



PLATE II



PLATE III

Sketches Nos. 2 and 3 show other types of screens tried out for eroding dunes and stopping drift into bridge openings respectively. The first was found to be effective only in a very high wind, and the second proved rather less successful than the close boarded type described above.

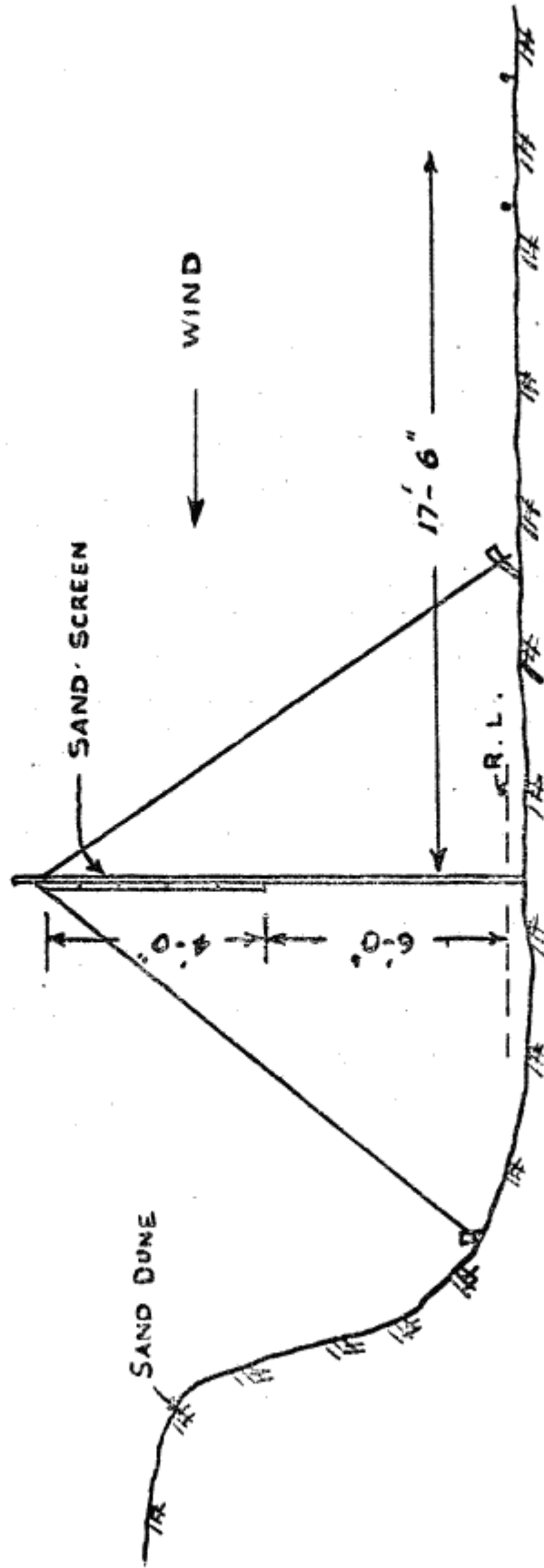
3. OILED SURFACES.

Experiments were made to stop the accumulation of drift sand by oiling the areas between dune and track and round bridges but this was found to be effective only when the area oiled was so large as to render maintenance disproportionately difficult. It was however noticed that scour occurred in the sand round the places oiled and the knowledge was applied to the treatment of dunes. Other experiments had shown that if the back of a dune was completely oiled it became anchored and no further sand accumulated against it in two years observation. A dune partially oiled split in two pieces—the oiled part remaining anchored and the rest moving on.

Oil was now applied in strips to the backs of dunes, with the anticipated result that the spaces between became eroded to a depth of 4 feet (Plate 3). These hollows tended however to fill up when the wind blew at right angles to the oiled strips, and an experiment with circular patches was found to produce similar results.

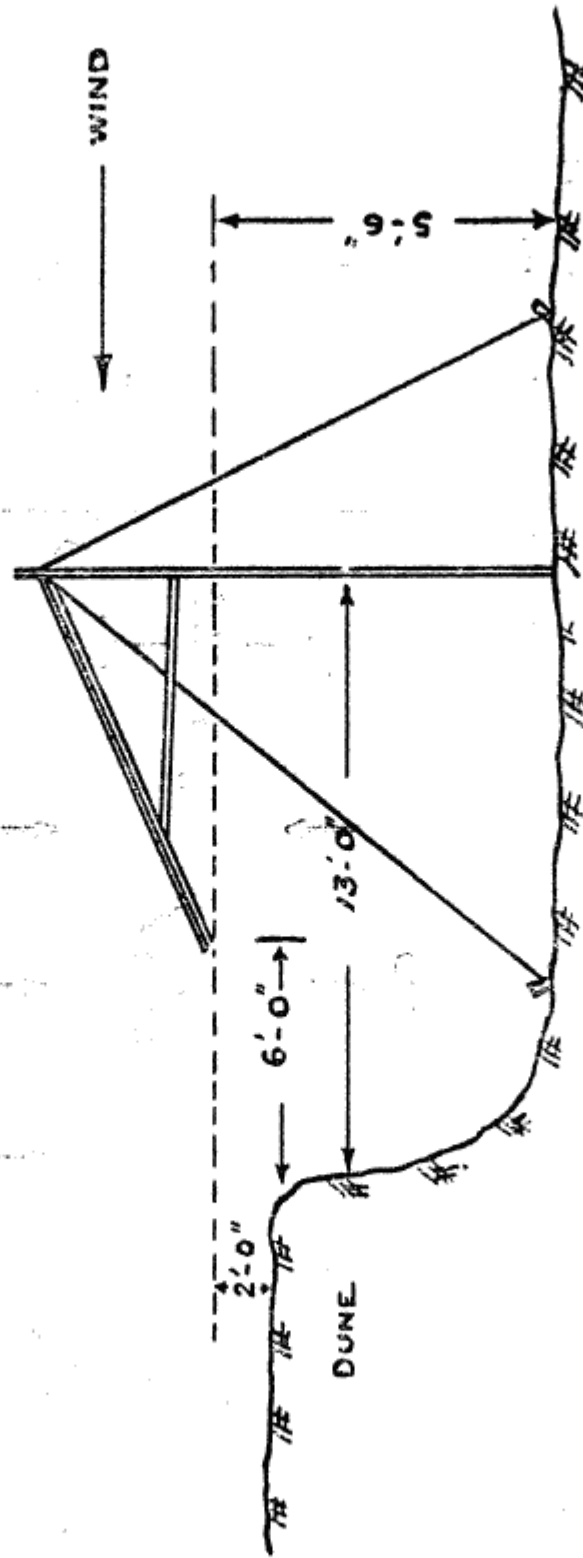
These experiments should be of value to other than Railway Engineers. The oil used is sludge from the bottom of large tanks and is applied by pouring by hand from an ordinary spouted can.

SKETCH Nº 1.



SECTIONAL ELEVATION.

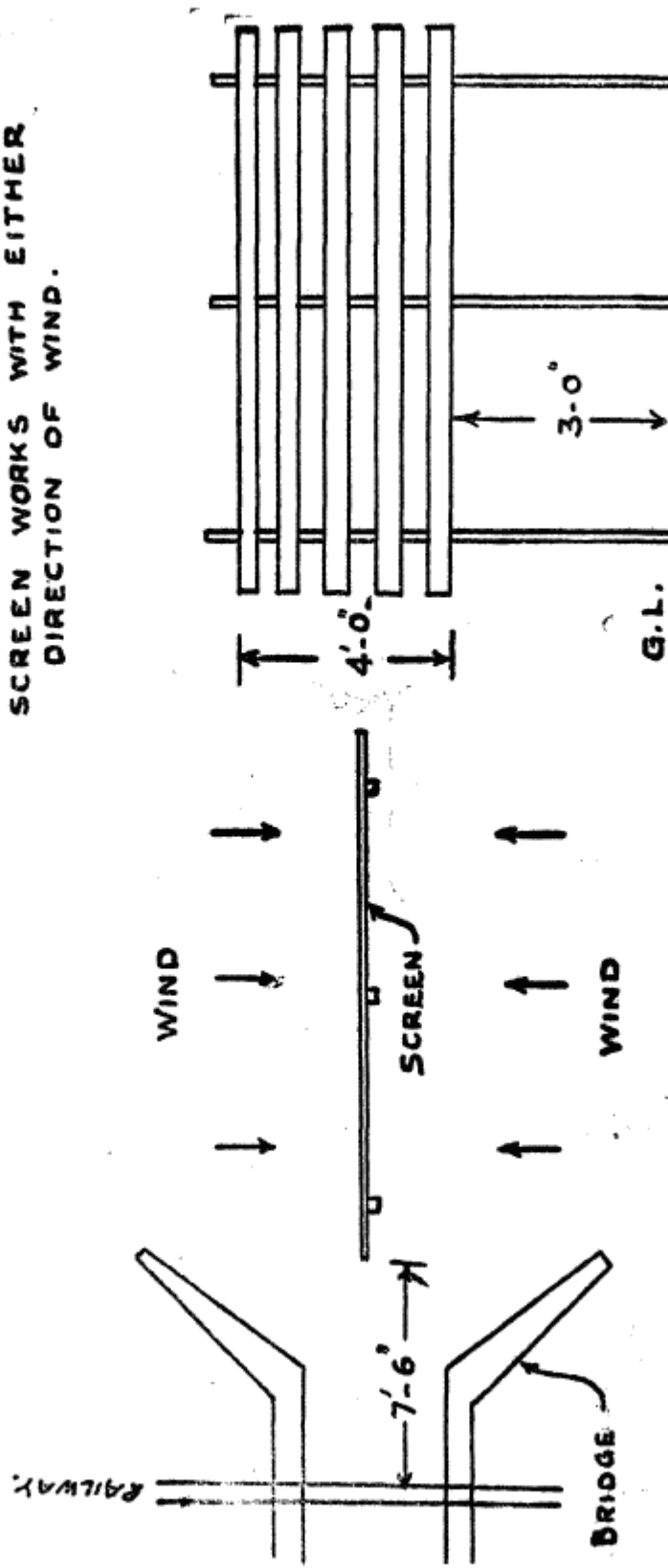
SKETCH N° 2.



SECTIONAL ELEVATION.

SKETCH No 3.

NOTE.
SCREEN WORKS WITH EITHER
DIRECTION OF WIND.



PLAN

ELEVATION OF SCREEN.

MORU PROVERBS AND GAMES.

By T. H. B. Mynors.

Arab proverbs are so common and well known as to be, one might say, proverbial. Those of other races or tribes I have not seen often mentioned. The Moru tribe of Equatoria Province have many proverbs though they do not make very frequent use of them. Here are a few:—

1. "Though the sun is high, the baboon has not yet met his friend."

When a man sits silent in the midst of company it is said that he is looking for one of his own kidney to consort with.

2. "Though the lizard is white, he too is full of oil."

Appearances are not everything.

3. "Can the duiker give birth to the oribi?"

4. "Days pass like the guineafowls' feathers."

Day follows night like the black and white pattern on the feathers.

5. "The lizard died in the neighbour's simsim."

"The centipede died in the neighbour's bonfire."

Different versions of the fate of him who interferes in what does not concern him.

GAMES.

The Moru are great singers as any one who has spent even a short while in their country will know. They also have some singing games which are popular, and played with much spirit.

The first two are played by two "sides," one having to ask a question and the other to give the right answer. It is a type of game not unknown nearer home and the fun depends on remembering the right sequence of words quickly enough—woe betide anyone who gives

the wrong name or hesitates tongue-tied, to be overwhelmed by the laughter of his comrades.

QUESTION.	ANSWER.
A'di ru doro maro ni ya ?	Kumu au
Kumu a'di ?	Kumu Ngeri
Ngeri a'di ?	Ngeri Koko
Koko a'di ?	Koko Lire
Lire a'di ?	Lire Kide
Kide a'di ?	Kide Langba
Langba a'di ?	Langba Kutu
Kutu a'di ? (fortissimo)	Kutu teme le cowa Dango udute nyorli

Translation.

Who has taken my bowl ?	Kumu has.
Who's Kumu ?	Kumu son of Ngeri.
Who's Ngeri ?	Ngeri son of Koko.
Who's Koko ?	etc., etc.

(ending up fortissimo) . . .

Kutu's a sheep in the forest

The bulls are fast asleep.

2.

Endrengwa nyeri kuki engeni ma pasi (Chorus)

(Dec) Kukina aduna engwiya ?	(Cant) Kukina aduna miri dri
Mirina a'diri ya ?	Lörina otoni.
Lörina a'diri ya ?	Löri de 'de 'bi 'biro.

Translation.

O sister, come to take a thorn from my foot.

Where did the thorn come from ? The thorn is from the miri tree

Whose is the miri tree ? The tree of the dance.

Whose is the dance ? The dance of the bat.

EDITOR'S NOTE :

These are both reminiscent of the old Scots rhyme beginning :

Fahts in there ? Gold and Money.

Fahr's my share o't ? The moosie ran awa' wi'it.

The penalty for getting the wrong words, or laughing, or showing your teeth was "nine nips, nine nobs, nine double douncornes, and 'a guid blow on the back o' the head."

Dr. JOHN BALL.

A PERSONAL MEMOIR.

By D. Newbold.

Dr. John Ball who died in Port Said in his seventieth year on July 11th, 1941 was the greatest living authority on the Libyan Desert. In the following notices some appraisal of his work as a geologist is given by Mr. Andrew, and of his work as an archaeologist by Mr. Arkell.

He was Director of Desert Surveys for many years, and it is mainly due to him that the vast deserts of Egypt, almost unknown 50 years ago, are now comparatively well mapped. Ball's first journey in the Libyan Desert was to Baharia in 1897, his last big journeys were when in 1924 with Prince Kemal el Din he rediscovered Rohlfs' Cairn of Regenfeld far out to the S.W. of Dakhla Oasis, in 1925, again with Prince Kemal el Din, when he was the first Englishman to visit the rumoured oasis of Merga (or Nakheila) in the North-Western Deserts of the Sudan and in 1926 when he found and named the Gilf Kebir. There have been many explorers and would-be explorers in the Libyan Desert, but few have had the tenacity to stay on the job for nearly 30 years, and none outside the small band of his colleagues (Beadnell, Murray, Clayton etc.) have approached his own high standard of Desert topographical survey.

John Ball was very small in height, slightly old fashioned in appearance, shy and retiring in manner, and in recent years rather deaf, the last man one would take to be an explorer, but it was to him, as a sort of Desert Nestor, that all of us turned, who from time to time attempted to penetrate the giant dunes of the great Sand Sea or discover the legendary oasis of Zerzura. His generous help in this direction to young amateurs began, of necessity, in the Senussi Campaign in 1916, when the Light Car Patrols, manned largely by Australians with narrow-tyred T model Fords, were sent out into unmapped areas west and northwest of Baharia and Farafra and were given some survey instruction and instruments (including the father of all sun-compasses) by Ball.

Later on he figures as counsellor and reference-authority in almost every book on the Libyan Desert, *e.g.*, *Lost Oasis* (Hassanein Bey) *Three Deserts* (Jarvis) *Libyan Sands* (Bagnold) *Paradise of Fools* (Michael Mason). It was to him that, on return from long journeys by camel or car, either to Kufra or Uweinat or Merga, we handed over our grubby and amateur survey notes with undisguised relief, and it was he who spent laborious hours extracting the wheat from the chaff, and computing co-ordinates and heights from our theodolite, compass, and aneroid readings. Examples of his patient work are seen in the appendix (pp. 271-99) to Hassanein Bey's *Lost Oasis* and in appendix II (pp. 141-8) to *Sudan Notes and Records* Vol. XI 1928, *An Exploration in the South Libyan Desert*, and in the hundreds of letters written to desert travellers and intending travellers. (I still have a score of letters about Zerzura, Merga etc., in that close neat hand, some of 5 or 6 MS pages, full of sense and sound advice). He had an uncanny habit when some amateur's theodolite or aneroid observations showed an obviously absurd result, of spotting at once where the error in observation or computation lay.

In my camel journey in 1927 with Bill Shaw from El Obeid to Merga Oasis and on via Burg el Tuyur to Selima and Halfa, and in the Bagnold Expedition from Cairo to Uweinat in 1930, when I acted as navigator, I was conscious continually of Ball's ubiquitous 'ghost' over the whole desert. At one momentary halt about 150 miles North-East of Uweinat, which we reached in October 1930, my dead reckoning by the sun compass showed that we must be very near a dotted line on the map which marked the route of 'Ball and Moore 1918.' We had barely started when we felt the slight drag on our tyres that showed we were in the invisible ruts, long filled up and smoothed over by the wind, of a previous car-traveller.

This was always a curious sensation in an empty desert, but most uncanny in this instance when the ruts were 12 years old. It was in the following month that we reached Halfa, having covered 2006 miles from the Cairo Pyramids via the Sand Sea and Uweinat and Selima; and it was in a Greek beershop in Halfa that the Zerzura club was founded on November 5th, 1930, a club which has neither rules

nor subscriptions, but which was confined to Libyan Desert explorers. When the first Zerzura dinner was held on August 29, 1931, and ten or twelve of us gathered in a room at the Cafe Royal, with a large map of the Libyan Desert on the wall, and the green oasis of Zerzura painted on the sand coloured menu cards, it was John Ball who was, by natural right, made President, and sat at the head of the table. Unemotional though he was, he was obviously delighted. At the dinner of July 16, 1932, his band had grown to fifteen of more, but Harding King, Colonel de Lancey Forth, and Sir Robert Clayton East were all dead within the year. Now John Ball has joined them.

The Sudan's debt to John Ball, though less than Egypt's, is great. His discovery of Merga Oasis has already been mentioned. His monumental work on the Geography and Geology of South-Eastern Egypt contains the only scientific detailed description of that remote mountain and littoral area between the political and the administrative Egypto-Sudan frontiers.

In this area, visited as a rule only by the District Commissioner of the Bega, lie the little port of HALAIB, the ancient and medieval site of AIDHAB and the mountain mass of ERBA, on whose slopes John Ball waited shivering, he told me, for many days until the winter mist unrolled and gave him and his theodolite a glimpse of the sun and the neighbouring mountains.

Returning to the west, we owe to him the masterly survey of the water contours of the deserts of Egypt and the N.W. Sudan, in *Problems of the Libyan Desert* (Geographical Journal Vol. LXX, 1927, pp. 21-38, 108-128, and 209-224). In this he described the construction of a map showing not only the actual surface contours but the probable contours of the underground watersheet deduced from scattered control-points e.g., Merga, Terfawi and Shebb and so predicted the static water levels of Selima and Lagia Oases in the Sudan as 270 and 390 metres respectively above sea-level. These oases were over 150 miles from Ball's nearest datum points but when their altitudes were measured on expeditions in 1927, 1930 and 1932 they were found to agree remarkably well with his shrewd calculations.

Some will always remember John Ball as a geologist, others as a surveyor ; few are aware that he started life as an engineer. After winning an open scholarship at the Royal School of Mines he was apprenticed to the Phoenix Foundry Company and was engaged in construction of Battersea Bridge, Liverpool Overhead Railway etc., and in mining work in the Isle of Man, Germany and Spain. In 1897 he joined the Survey of Egypt. In 1901 he was engineer in charge of the underpinning of the Temples of Philae. Later he conducted surveys in Somaliland and Arabia and surveyed the Cairo-Baghdad air-route with the R.A.F.

But in spite of all his technical versatility he was, I think, primarily a surveyor and it is as the most tenacious traveller and ablest mapper of the Libyan Desert that he will be mainly remembered, and also as a great little man whose brilliant abilities were masked by a modest and unobtrusive manner, but whose kindness, sympathy, and patience shone out in his contacts with all who showed an interest in his own varied subjects. I like to think of him still carrying his theodolite and aneroid through St. Peter's Gate to find and chart at last the Oasis of Zerzura.

DR. JOHN BALL.

AN APPRECIATION, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHY.

By G. Andrew.

The death of Dr. John Ball, Technical Counsellor of the Survey Department to the Egyptian Government, on July 11th 1941, removes an outstanding personality among the scientists of North Africa.

A notice appeared in the Egyptian Gazette of Saturday, July 12th, giving the details of his early career. He served his apprenticeship as a mechanical engineer, studied in the Royal School of Mines and continued later in Europe, coming under Grubenmann in Zurich for his geology. Throughout his career he obtained the highest marks of distinction.

Dr. Ball came to Egypt as Geologist in 1897, and contributed several important publications as a member of the Geological Survey before he took charge of the newly formed Desert Survey, later known as the Topographical Survey. He received the O.B.E. for his reconnaissance work in Somaliland and South Arabia in 1918, and in 1926 was awarded the Victoria Gold Medal by the Royal Geographical Society for his contributions to geographical science.

The geological work which came from Ball's pen is evidence of his catholic ability and care of detail. It is evident to those whose privilege it has been to cross ground studied and described by him that he had a rare ability for clearly expressing observation and knowledge and also as clearly the limits of observed fact, deduction from that fact, and unconfirmed inference. His mapping in the more difficult country of the Eastern Desert is an example of care and a degree of precision rarely attained when carried out with such speed and as a part of the topographical survey. The maps accompanying Hume's account of *The Oilfields Region of Egypt* (1916), the memoir on *The Geography and Geology of South-Eastern Egypt* (1912) and the *Description of the First or Aswan Cataract of the Nile* (1907), although covering complex areas of igneous and metamorphic rocks, show with complete accuracy

the general outline of the geology, and revision is likely only to add detail and minor subdivision, and not to modify boundaries already drawn. The two memoirs quoted above (1907 and 1912) were the first to contain detailed description of rocks of the region, and long remained the only petrographical work of note dealing with the geology of Egypt.

Every publication contains one or more noteworthy contributions to knowledge of the region in which he worked, and conclusions which are unlikely to be seriously modified by later research, so carefully are they built on observed fact.

Ball's later topographical work, like that of most surveyors, remains hidden in Survey archives and incorporated in maps. His field books and field sheets are as impressive and instructive as his published work.

The latest work published (1939) covers an immense field of observation, deduction, and stimulating conjecture. Under the modest title of *Contributions to the Geography of Egypt* a most exhaustive account of the development of the surface of the Egyptian region is considered in almost all its aspects, beginning with a clear summary of the geological foundations on which these events carved their history.

On a surface carved out of crystalline and pre-Carboniferous rocks a peculiar type of sandstone, formerly known as the "Nubian" sandstone, is found lying for the most part horizontally, and in different parts of the region containing evidence that it is not a single formation, but a type of sediment attaining considerable thickness, and recurring in geological time over parts of the Carboniferous and lower Mesozoic. This type of sandstone gave way in certain districts to "normal" fossiliferous marine sediments. It finally disappears upwards in the geological succession near the middle or upper part of the Cretaceous, and is succeeded by mainly calcareous deposits of the Cretaceous and Eocene.

The remainder of the geology of Egypt is closely linked with the development of the present land surface, since from the Cretaceous onwards the sea encroached to a less extent with each succeeding change. Thus the final stages of the Eocene are represented by fluvio-marine sediments north of the Fayum, and these pass up conformably into Oligocene sediments of the same type, characterised however by a

distinctive vertebrate fauna. Elsewhere the rocks attributed to the Oligocene consist of unfossiliferous gravels and sandstones, passing upwards into marine Miocene of littoral character, and restricted to the area north and north-west of the Fayum, north of the Moqattam—Jebel Ataqa line, and northern Sinai, with an extension down the Gulf of Suez on both coasts, and a less well-established, but probable extension into the Gulf of Aqaba and the Red Sea coasts.

Succeeding the Miocene we know of well authenticated marine Pliocene in the Nile Valley south of Cairo, indicating a slight extension into a pre-existent valley or estuary, and estuarine deposits in the northern Libyan desert. Less well authenticated deposits occur in the coastal districts bounding the Gulf of Suez—Red Sea area which are identified as Plio-Pleistocene—a vagueness which is partly due to difficulties in defining levels by invertebrates at this stage, and partly no doubt due to inadequate study of the deposits and their fossil contents.

The land-surface undergoing denudation during this long period still remains to be studied, and the Sudan lies in that area, whose history is to be deciphered only by detailed work correlated with events which have left their trace along the margin of the region. A beginning has been made with the study of the latest events, which took place since man became established in the region. The general account of such vestiges of prehistory as have been worked out is both a valuable summary of work done, and a stimulus to future work, showing as it does the lines along which attack is most urgently needed. It is clear that, however valuable are the hints which are to be obtained from the Kenya—Uganda and Central Africa generally, no student of either geology or prehistory can neglect the mass of knowledge collected in the north, and that hypotheses framed to fit observations in the Sudan must in the main be in accord with observed fact accumulated from the main area of deposition in the north. Dr. Ball has presented to the student a vivid summary of this accumulation of knowledge.

This last work is probably the most important of his publications bearing on Sudan geology and prehistory. His other contributions have a less direct bearing on Sudan geology, apart from the study of the Semna Cataract; the studies which were carried out in the

south, particularly the south-eastern desert of Egypt (1912) and the two memoirs on Aswan and south of the cataract (1902, 1907) contain observations and generalisations which are of value to workers in the northern and central Sudan. His work in general is of value locally, on account of the homogeneity of the area south of the Eocene boundary in Egypt and Sinai, to the latitude of Malakal, and west of the Abyssinian lava plateau.

The personality behind this tale of work well done was most stimulating. His help was always forthcoming to any who sought his aid, whether this aid was sought in support of or against a view he held. He gave critical advice with the same dispassionate interest in truth in all circumstances, and his kindly nature softened adverse comment, which he never withheld through mistaken kindness when he believed it to be useful to the enquirer.

The fruit of his labours bear fertile seed, and his name will not fade in the minds of geologists who work in the region so ably illuminated by his labours.

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REVIEWS.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GEOGRAPHY OF EGYPT.

By JOHN BALL.

O.B.E., D.Sc., Ph.D., A.R.S.M., M.Inst.C.E., F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

CAIRO. GOVERNMENT PRESS 1939. PRICE P.T. 50.

pp.xv and 308. 9 plates and 42 illustrations in the text.

This book is a series of studies on various subjects connected with the geography of Egypt. The first chapter gives a brief general view of Egypt, and eight following chapters deal successively with the geographical changes that have taken place during past geological ages, the river terraces of the Nile Valley and the evidence they furnish as to past changes in the relative levels of land and sea in the Egyptian region, the high level (Early Sebilian) silts of the Nile Valley in Upper Egypt, and the evidence for the former existence of a great lake in the Sudd region of the Sudan, the solid matter transported by the Nile in solution and suspension respectively, the alluvial land of Egypt, the physical history of the Fayum and its lake, and the Birket Qarun fishery.

It is the last to appear from the pen of a great geologist, who knew Egypt intimately and whose recent death we mourn. An appreciation of his life's work by one better able to write it appears elsewhere in this number. The chief interest of the present reviewer is archaeology ; but as well as geologists and geographers, people interested in agriculture in the Nile Valley or in the natural history of fish, and also chemists, will find much of value to them in this book.

In chapter 2, of which the theme is that geology provides the key to the geography of the past, after an intelligible introduction to the geology of this part of the world, (and geologists nearly always seem

incapable of providing the layman with an intelligible introduction), we learn (among much else) how all of present Egypt became very gradually submerged beneath the sea, that sea spreading a thousand miles west across the Libyan Desert and a thousand miles south across the Sudan, thus forming the Nubian sandstone over a period which must be reckoned in millions of years. Hills of this sandstone, which are all that the wind and the weather have left of what was once a uniform covering perhaps 500 ft. deep, are familiar features of the Sudan today. The growth of this sandstone was very gradual, for sandstones are only formed by deposition in shallow water ; and behind this gradually advancing sandy shore, limestone was formed, where the sea became deep. Hence the limestone of lower Egypt and the western desert.

In a subsequent geological period (late Eocene) the land rose out of the sea again, and on this land surface fossilized wood and the bones of ancestral forms of elephant, as well as flint gravels, still remain in Egypt and the Sudan as traces of a time when the Nile Valley probably came into existence, and when it is probable that the movements which initiated the Red Sea depression first occurred. This period is attributed to the Oligocene and was characterised by local volcanic activity.

In the next period (the Miocene) the sea entered the Red Sea depression, and the traces of the existence of the Nile, and of rivers from the new-born Red Sea mountains which were carving out the channels that now form the principal wadis of the eastern desert, are unmistakeable.

It is only in Ball's treatment of the next two ages that the archaeologist feels bound to reiterate Dr. L. S. B. Leakey's criticism of the work of Dr. Sandford and Dr. W. J. Arkell on the Pliocene and Pleistocene between Wadi Halfa and the Delta. It was during these ages that man first made his appearance, and the archaeologist is interested in tracing the development of the various stone cultures, which are all that has survived of early man and his works, and so are all the evidence one has for working out the gradual development of the various branches of the human race, their wanderings over the face of

the earth, and their influence on each other. To achieve this, the work of investigators in different parts of the globe must be correlated, and it is impossible to do so unless they all speak the same language. When they use the word Pleistocene they must all mean the same thing; and they must therefore define what criteria have been used in deciding on the division between Pliocene and Pleistocene. Drs. Sandford and Arkell do not do so, and Dr. Ball, who accepts much of their pioneer work, similarly offers no definition of Pleistocene. One must be given; and that proposed by Haug, applied by Hopwood, and followed by Dr. Leakey in his study of '*Stone Age Africa*,' viz. that the Pleistocene begins with the appearance for the first time of true elephants, true cattle and true horses, has much in its favour. (Fossils being thus the essential evidence by which strata can be dated, anyone who reads these lines and comes across the smallest fossil bone or tooth in the soil excavated from a newly dug well or in the bank of a khor in the Sudan, is adjured to save it and send it in to the Government Geologist with a note showing the exact locality and depth at which it was found.)

Dr. Ball places the final formation of the Red Sea and the Red Sea hills as we know them today in the Pliocene, while Dr. Leakey places the final shaping of the Rift Valley in East Africa in the Pleistocene. While Dr. Ball estimates the duration of the Pleistocene at half a million years, I think that Dr. Leakey would give it a million, with seven hundred thousand preceding the final shaping of the Rift Valley.

Dr. Ball follows Sandford and Arkell in assuming that there is no trace of pre-Chellean man in the Nile Valley, but having recently had the good fortune to accompany Dr. Leakey to the Oldoway Gorge in Tanganyika, where one can see in the 300 ft. side of the gorge, that once formed successive edges of an extended Lake Victoria, the crudest pre-Chellean pebble tools gradually evolving through Chellean to elaborate Acheulean, all before the final formation of the Rift Valley, I am inclined to agree with Dr. Leakey in thinking that so far the cruder pre-Chellean tools have been overlooked in Egypt, and will be found in the Nile Valley too.

Chapter 3 describes the various terraces that have been studied along the Nile Valley north of Wadi Halfa, and have been proved by their stratigraphical relationships and the stone implements found in association with them to have been remarkably constant throughout. In this chapter will be found the evidence for believing that since before man appeared on the earth the level of the Nile has gradually been falling, falling by steps, of which the terraces are the traces that survive today to tell the tale. Fascinating problems such as why the Nile fell in this manner, whether the sea level remained constant or not, and whether the land rose and fell, are discussed with a masterly simplicity; and in the course of the discussion the problem of possible land bridges between Europe and Africa, is tackled, Dr. Ball deciding in favour of a connexion between Tunis and Italy.

Having this year been shown in East Africa the evidence for comparatively recent terrific volcanic upheavals and lakes vaster than those of the present day, one of which, Lake Victoria, only became connected with the Nile Valley during the Pleistocene period apparently about 300,000 years ago, I found most interest of all in Chapter 4, in which Dr. Ball gives his reasons for thinking that in early Sebilian times, *i.e.* by his reckoning about 20,000 B.C., (but possibly earlier), a huge lake stretched from the Shabluka ridge north of Khartoum to Shambe on the southern edge of the Sudd. In early Sebilian times, that is probably some considerable time after its formation, this lake according to Dr. Ball's theory broke over the Shabluka barrier, and poured down the valley of the Nile, whose headwaters till then had been the Atbara river. This would explain the silt dating from that period of which traces can still be found, in some places choking the lateral valleys between Wadi Halfa and Kom Ombo.

Dr. Ball shows that from the proved rate of erosion of the hard rock of the Semna barrier since the Middle Kingdom river levels were inscribed on the rock there, it is not unreasonable to believe that the Nile has eaten down into the hard rock and carved out the present Shabluka gorge in the last 20,000 years.

When I left East Africa Dr. Leakey said to me that when the waters of Lake Victoria poured down into the Nile Valley they must

have left some obvious traces. All the way back to Khartoum from Jubá I studied the surface of the country with Dr. Ball's Lake Sudd in mind. Even crossing the Gezira plain in the vicinity of Jebel Moya the extreme flatness of the plain looks convincingly alluvial. If Mr. Grabham is right in thinking the Gezira plain is of aeolian formation, surely there would be some noticeable drift up against the ancient granite hills of J. Moya; but there is none that the eye can detect. In fact after my visit to East Africa it seems to me that Dr. Ball's theory may well be right in principle, though of course the height and extent of the original lake can only be determined by investigation on the ground, and I should not be surprised if that lake at one time extended to some little way above the 400 metre contour. I will not presume to comment on the two chapters on the Solid Matter transported in Solution and in Suspension by the Nile, which appear to be well worth the attention of chemists and other experts.

Chapter 7 on the Alluvial Land of Egypt deals with such interesting topics as the thickness of the alluvial soil in Egypt, and the nature of certain areas of that soil that are uncultivated because they lie at such low levels that they are difficult to drain properly, and are strongly impregnated with soluble salts, particularly with sodium chloride. Two different kinds of infertile black soil are distinguished.

One kind has a black alkali skin, which apparently has something to do with sodium carbonate. The reviewer is not a chemist, but is interested in this possible reason for blackening of the soil, and at the same time in the function of sodium carbonate as a solvent of organic matter. The archaeologist must know whether the Gezira cotton soil is alluvial or not. Could a soil chemist not tackle the problem, and tell us whether sodium carbonate or some other agent is not responsible both for the black colour of the Gezira cotton soil and the absence of organic remains in it?

The rate of increase of Nile mud is also studied, and the conclusion is reached that it has been deposited at an average rate of 9 c.m. per century for a period of about 10,000 years.

Chapter 8 is a long one on the Fayum, particularly interesting in view of the recent geological and archaeological studies of that area by

Miss Caton Thompson and Miss Gardner, and those by the Geological Survey of Egypt. This review has however already taken up much space, and the reader must be left to himself to discover all that Dr. Ball has to tell him about the origin of the Fayum depression and other oases of the Libyan Desert from the hollowing out action of the wind, the accuracy of Herodotus' description of the lake, the extent to which it has shrunk since his day, and the different irrigation problems it has presented throughout the ages. The chapter ends with a discussion of the lake at the present day, rainfall, irrigation, drainage, fluctuations in levels, temperature of lake water, and its salinity. There is much in this and the succeeding chapter on the fading prospects of the Fayum fishery that will be of interest to readers in East Africa who are interested in the fate of the rapidly drying up lakes of Nakuru, El-menteita, and Naivasha, which many of us have admired recently on leave. Some of us too were puzzled greatly by the tens of thousands of dead fish floating in the Nile through which our steamer ploughed southwards for more than a day in July. Several explanations were offered, and the most likely—because that agreed on by people who knew that area best—was that it was of seasonal occurrence and something to do with heavy rain at the beginning of the rains, most of the fish if not all dying in the shallow water of the lagoons. The present book provides confirmation of these local wiseacres; on p. 244 Nabulsi, a Syrian, then Governor of the Fayum, is quoted as recording that 'In the winter of 1245-1246 a great storm broke over the lake, producing such a chilling of its waters as to cause a great destruction of fish, whose bodies became piled up round the shore. Amongst them were gigantic fishes of the perch tribe, resembling the large marine species, which drifted on to the shores and formed a sort of embankment round the lake.' No doubt the fish in the Bahr el Jebel this year, which included some huge Nile perch, were killed by a sudden fall in the temperature of the water produced by the rain from a very heavy storm.

In short this is a book worth double the price, which is recommended to everyone interested in the Sudan or Egypt.

A.J.A.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN DINKA

(BOR DIALECT)

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, 1940.

In 1905 a small band of C.M.S. Missionaries landed at Malwal, a few miles south of the present post of Bor, in order to start work amongst the Dinkas. Amongst these missionaries was the Rev. A. Shaw who was to become Archdeacon of the Southern Sudan and to have his life's work crowned and his retirement marked by the publication of his revised version of the New Testament in the Bor Dialect of Dinka.

The difficulties of learning Dinka in the early days were very great. The Dinkas were highly suspicious of the intruders and jealous of their own language, tending to speak a simplified and inaccurate form when talking with the Europeans. Luckily the young missionary, (who was in later days to become affectionately known to many as "the Arch" and round whom a saga of stories concerning adventures in the wild was to grow) was a man of determination with an acute language-sense. His pioneer work paved the way for the writing down and study of other Southern Sudan languages, for the Rejaf language Conference and for the visits of Dr. Tucker of the School of Oriental Studies which have meant so much to development in the main language areas. He made many contributions to the Rejaf Conference which experience has shown to be sound, and was the inspiration of many missionaries when they first arrived in the country, urging on them the importance of language study and above all of never being content with anything less than the purest and most classical form of any dialect. The danger of the growth of a station patois or "spoilt language," *guel* as the Dinka call it, is not always sufficiently realised by those engaged in language study nor the need appreciated for constant checking with those who by common consent are acknowledged masters of the language under investigation.

In his own work he followed out with meticulous care all the principles he enunciated. This revised version is based on many previous tentative versions of separate Gospels tested and examined

in a variety of situations. His choice of helpers was very careful and he was not content merely to take the ideas of some boy who had lived all his life on the station and therefore might have become divorced from tribal life and language. One of his helpers, for instance, was within the inner council of elders. He maintained and rightly, that there is as much difference in use of language between knowledgeable and ignorant people in tribal Africa as there is in Europe and that it is the language of the knowledgeable that should be sought. With this end in view he invited criticism and suggestions from all manner of Dinkas. The resulting version is remarkable for its purity of language and its moving and beautiful prose. The Dinka pastoral scene, which in so many subtle ways parallels that of Palestine, has been exploited to the full in imagery and analogy to give the true meaning of the Gospel. Yet this has not led to loose translation but rather to a more exact rendering of the Greek original.

In 1939 as a result of his researches in the Sudan, Dr. Tucker issued a series of spelling rules for a reformed Dinka orthography. The Archdeacon had already completed his revision but at great sacrifice and cost to himself he agreed to revise the whole of the New Testament in the light of these spelling rules. This entailed a word by word scrutiny of the whole book, and was done partly in Africa and partly in England in close collaboration with Dr. Tucker. In order that the work in England might be of the most accurate, he took home with him one of his helpers, Gordon Apec Ayom, so that the work might be checked at every stage with an educated Dinka.

Another important concession that makes this version memorable arises from the fact that among the distinguishing characteristics of the Bor dialect of Dinka, shared with few other dialects, is the absence or modification of many final consonants. In some words under certain conditions (governed by such factors as tense, person, number, etc.) the final c, k, t, though present in another dialect, is not heard in Bor. In some other words the final p, t, th, is modified into the corresponding fricative form of these sounds. Both the unheard consonants, inserted for sake of non-Bor readers, and the modified forms, for sake of Bor readers, are printed in italics. This concession, although making the

book slightly more difficult for Bor readers, has made it intelligible and useful over a very wide area.

The book contains a most valuable index of Proper Names and borrowed words. This was added for several reasons. A request for it was received from several Dinka Christians for study purposes; African custom suggests the demand for adoption of a new name at Baptism and since the choice is generally from Bible names, it was felt desirable to have an agreed spelling to which reference would be simple; it was hoped that it might provide a standard useful in any Nilotic group of languages. The general plan has been to transliterate old testament proper names from Hebrew and those found only in the New Testament from Greek. A few have been transliterated from English but have not been changed as they fit well into Dinka and have established themselves by many years of use. Ordinary words borrowed from English or Arabic have been written in forms that the Dinka themselves have adopted. Names of things hitherto unknown to Dinka have been generally transliterated from the Greek *e.g.*, *margariti* (pearl), *kurotholithu* (chrysolite).

Great care has been taken to make the format, the paper used and the type-face the best obtainable. The paper is thin but opaque and the size of page, foolscap octavo, both attractive and handy. The type is a pica with exceptional clarity and the new letters required by the orthography of excellent design, only obtained after much trial and error. The Archdeacon was rightly of the opinion that everything possible should be done not only to make the book attractive and easy to read but also that the type should be of a design to obviate, as far as possible, eye-strain. Both the translation, which will remain the basis of development and reference for much future Dinka language work, and the whole format of the book will set a standard not only in Dinka but in other language areas that will take many years to surpass.

G.E.J.S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EDITORIAL SECRETARY,
SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.
KHARTOUM.

SIR,

Your readers may be interested to read the enclosed copy of a letter which my father sent to General Gordon a few days before the fall of Khartoum.

It is clear from the three letters which the Mahdi sent to General Gordon that he was anxious to get into touch with him and give him a safe conduct back to his own people. Gordon however refused his offer ; I regret to say that I have been unable to trace a copy of his reply.

The enclosed copy was taken from the second volume of the printed edition of the Mahdi's circulars which was made from Gordon's stone printing press after its capture. This edition was prepared by a special board of scribes during the reign of the Khalifa from the original MSS. of El Imam El Mahdi.

The correspondence with General Gordon is mentioned in Shukair's History of the Sudan, Vol. III pp. 289 and 290.

Yours etc.,
ABDEL RAHMAN EL MAHDI.
KHARTOUM,
13th November, 1941.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Copies of these letters were formerly in the Secretariat Library but, like so many other valuable papers, have disappeared.

This letter is said to have been smuggled into Khartoum by a man disguised as a woman since a previous messenger had been shot before he reached the walls.

THE MAHDI'S LETTER.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الوالي الكريم والصلاة على سيدنا محمد وآله مع التسليم وبعد فن العبد المفتقر الى الله محمد المهدي بن عبد الله الى غردون باشا وقاه الله كل شر لا شا فان اردا الله سعادتك وقبلت نصحننا ودخلت في اماننا وضماننا فهو المطلوب وان اردت ان تجتمع على الانقليز فنوصلك اليهم فالى متى تكذيبنا وقد رأيت ما رأيت وقد اخبرنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بهلاك من في الخرطوم قريباً الا من آمن وسلم ينجيه الله ولذلك أحببت لك الا تهلك مع الهالكين لانا قد سمعنا مراراً فيك الخير ولكن على قدر ما كاتبناك للهداية والسعادة ما اجبتنا بكلام يؤدي الى خيرك كما نسمعه من الواردين والمترددن والآن ما ايسنا من خيرك وسعادتك ولما سمعنا من الفضل فيك سنكتب لك آية واحدة من كتاب الله عن ان ييسر الله هدايتك بها اذ جعلنا باب الرحمة والدلالة الى الله ولذلك طال ما كاتبناك لترجع الى وطنك ونحوز فضالتك الكبرى ولئلا تياس من الفضل الكبير اقول لك قال الله تعالى « ولا تقتلوا انفسكم ان الله كان بكم رحيماً » والسلام ٢٥ ربيع أول سنة ١٣٠٢ وقد بلغني في جوابك الذي ارسلته اليانا انك قلت ان الانقليز يريدون ان يقدوك وحدك منا بعشرين الف جنيه ونحن نعلم ان الناس يتقولون من البطل كلاماً كثيراً ليس فينا وذلك لصدود من اراد الله شقاوته ولا يعلم نفيه الا من اجتمع بنا وانت ان قبلت نصحننا فيها ونعمت والا ان اردت ان تجتمع على الانقليز فبدون خمسة فضة نرسلك اليهم والسلام ٦

TRANSLATION.

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate.

Praise be to God the kind guardian.

May God's blessings and peace be upon our Lord Mohammed and his household. Greetings.

From : The Servant dependent upon God, Mohammed el-Mahdi Ibn Abdallahi.

To : Gordon Pasha, may God protect him from every evil He did not will.

If God wills your happiness and you accept our advice and enter into our security and guarantee—that is what we wish. If, however, you would rather rejoin the English we will send you to them.

Having seen what you have seen, how long are you going to disbelieve us? We have been told by God's Apostle, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, of the imminent destruction of all those in Khartoum, save those who believe and surrender : them God will save. We do not wish you to perish with those doomed to perish because we have frequently heard good of you. Yet often as we have written to you about your regeneration and felicity, you have not returned to us an answer that will lead to your good, as we hear from those who come to us from your place. However, we have not yet despaired of your regeneration and felicity, and because of the virtue we hear is in you we will write you a single text from God's book in the hope that by it God will facilitate your regeneration since he has made us the doorway to his mercy and guidance. For this reason we have repeatedly written to you urging you to return to your own country where your virtue will achieve the highest honour. In order that you should not abandon hope of God's mercy I say to you that God has said " Kill not thyself for God is merciful to thee." Peace be upon you. 25th Rabi' Awwal, 1302. (January 12th 1885).

It was reported to me in the reply you sent us that you had said that the English wished to ransom you alone from us for £20,000. We know that people say many bad things about us which are not in us, in order that those shall be misled whom God has condemned to perdition. The falsehood of these allegations can only be known to those who meet us. As for you, if you accept our advice you will be thereby blessed; but if you wish to rejoin the English we will send you to them without claiming a farthing. Peace be upon you.

YUNES BEDES.

Extract from a letter from W. E. Jennings Bramley, reference his article in Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XXIII, Part I.

I only heard last week of Yunes's death, though it may have happened some time ago. He was not romantic, his qualities were strong, and some good and I liked him. On one occasion we were 9 days without water, that is, we should have got to water in 5 days and only got there in 9. We had 4 days on a glass a day, approximately a pint. On the ninth evening Yunes remarked—for we did not know we should find water the next day—"I paid £E. 15 for my wife and I would like to know what the good of her is now." He had on his back, an enormous scar. Its history was that being really bad with fever, and feeling very low, he called in the doctor. The doctor decreed application of the hot iron to his back, but his friends and relations who heated the iron, heated it so effectually that when pressed into his back the wooden handle unfixed from the rod, which stuck in his back. "That," said Yunes, "brought me round splendidly." One day when I was walking with him in Kurdassa a lady came up with her son—upon which Yunes spat in its eye. I was indignant—but he assured me that the mother had asked for it—for Yunes being one who had killed his man (you have recorded it), the action on his part, I was informed, was likely to bring the child untold fortune. He was a curious mixture, he was never rude, he was always truculent.

W.E.J.B.

SPURWING GOOSE.

THE EDITOR,
SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS,
KHARTOUM.

WAU,
20th July, 1941.

DEAR SIR,

There is the following entry in the Wau Game Book which has been kept carefully for many years :—

" June 16th, 1918, Hawarden, 1 Spurwing Goose, weight 22 lbs."

The entry is quite clear. Bannerman writes on the weights of Spurwing geese " An old gander will weigh as much as 13½ lb. and 12 lbs. is a fair average."

After weighing a few birds shot lately a 13 lb. gander does not seem at all exceptional. But I have never seen one approaching the size of the enormous bird shot by Viscount Hawarden. It would be interesting to know whether anyone has more recent experience of such outsize birds.

J. Hartley.

MUSEUMS IN KHARTOUM.

KHARTOUM MUSEUM (ETHNOLOGICAL).

On river front between Gordon College and River Hospital.

Entrance P.T. 2 (Season ticket, entitling bearer to admission to the Khalifa's House P.T. 10).

Hours of Admission :—

9 a.m. to 1 p.m. every day except Mondays.

3 p.m. to 6 p.m. Saturdays and Sundays.

Hours of opening on public holidays by special announcement.

ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM.

One room in the west wing of Gordon College (upper storey).

Entrance free : but closed for the duration of the war.

NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM (BIRDS).

(*As for Antiquities Museum.*)

KHALIFA'S HOUSE, OMDURMAN (HISTORICAL—OLD GOVERNMENT AND MAHDIA).

Entrance P.T. 2 (season tickets P.T. 10).

Free to troops in uniform.

Attendant lives on premises, and admission can normally be obtained at any time.

The Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology (Mr. A. J. Arkell) whose office is at the Khartoum Museum (Phone 2809) welcomes enquiries about any of the above museums (except Natural History). Enquiries about the Natural History Museum should be addressed to The Curator, Natural History Museum (Mr. H. W. Bedford), Agricultural Research Institute, Wad Medani, or to his representative in Khartoum, The Entomologist, Khartoum North.

There are also small museums at Merowe and Suakin, those at Wadi Halfa and Port Sudan having been closed for the duration of the war.

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS.

M. E. C. PUMPHREY: Sudan Political Service, was Assistant District Commissioner Shilluk from September, 1934 till January, 1938.

P. P. HOWELL: Late Senior Scholar in Anthropology, Trinity College Cambridge, and now a member of the Sudan Political Service, spent some time in the Shilluk country in 1937 on anthropological fieldwork in implementation of a grant from the Rouse Ball Research Fund.

DR. S. F. NADEL, Ph.D., is a Research Fellow of the International Institute of African Languages and Culture and has been working as an anthropologist in Kordofan since 1938. His book on the Nuba will appear shortly.

DR. R. KIRK, M.D., B.Sc., F.R.F., P.S.G., D.P.H., is Head of the Bacteriological Section of the Sudan Medical Service.

J. F. E. BLOSS, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.T.M., & H. has been a member of the Sudan Medical Service since 1933.
