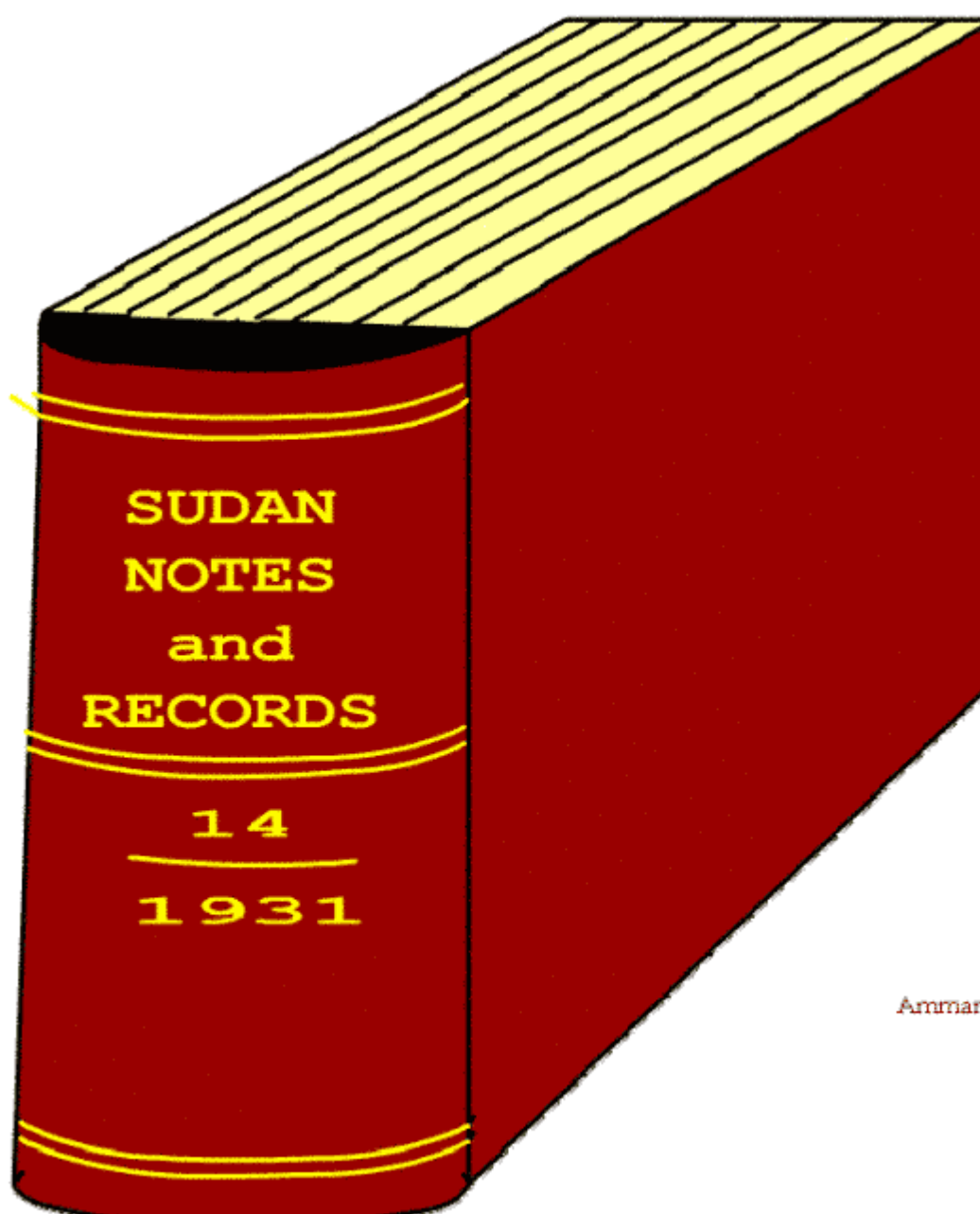




Ammar Yasir

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

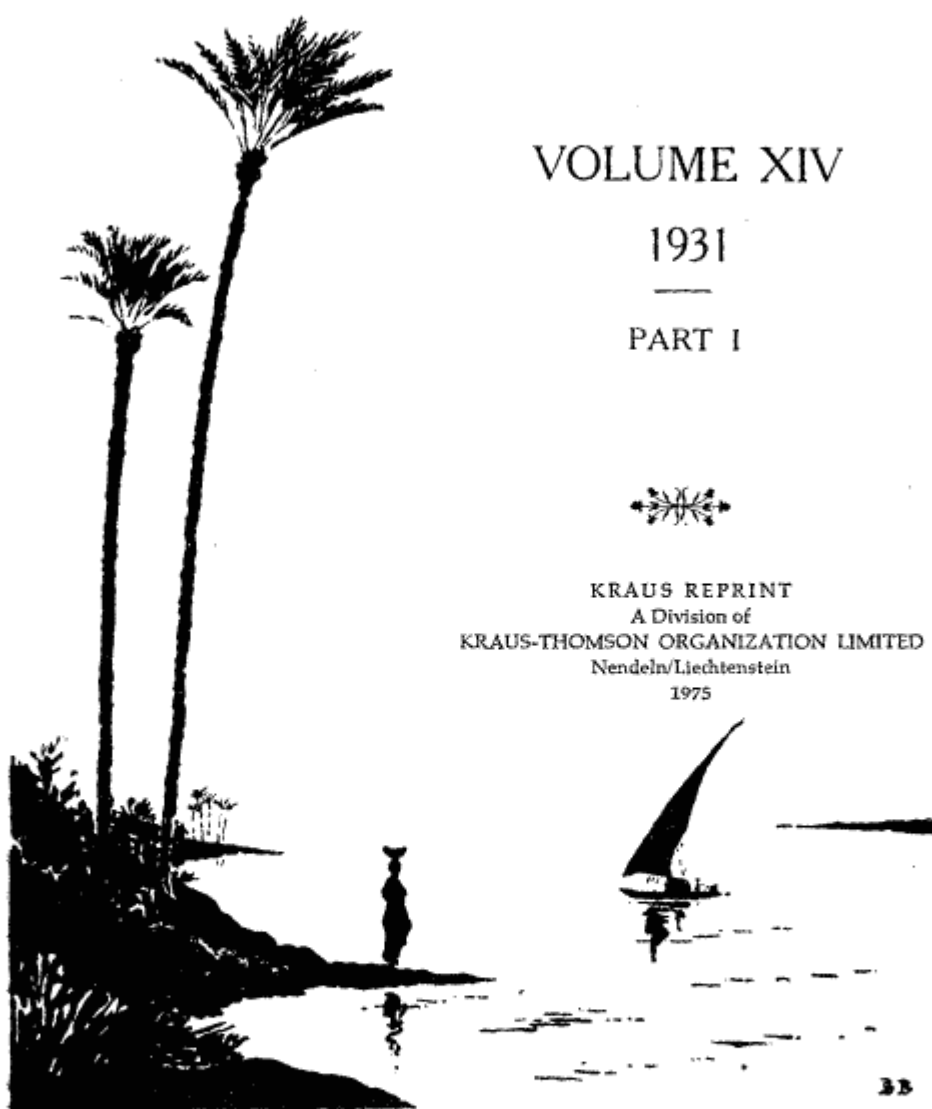
VOLUME XIV

1931

PART I



KRAUS REPRINT
A Division of
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1975



McCORQUODALE & Co. LTD.

**SUDAN NOTES
AND RECORDS**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part I

ARTICLES:

Uronarti Professor G. A. Reisner

The Mberidi, etc., of the Bahr El Gazal, with Map E. E. Evans-Pritchard

The Tribal Confusion around Wau, with Map. Dr. A. N. Tucker

Fung Origins. L. F. Nalder, C. M. G., C. B. E

Tales from the Fung Province L. F. Nalder, C. M. G., C. B. E

NOTES

Excavations at Kawa, with Plates. Professor F. Ll. Griffith

Nubian Origins K. D. D. Henderson

Reviews:

Correspondence

Corrigenda

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part II

ARTICLES:

Mani, a Zande Secret Society, E. E. Evans-Pritchard

The Language of the Nuba Mountains. P. A. and D. N. MacDiarmid

The Pearl Shell Farm at Dongonab. Dr. Cyril Crossland

Note on the Dago Tribe. E. H. Macintosh

The Ruins of Zankor, with plates. A. E. D. Penn

The Monasir Country, with plates. N. Mcl. Innes

NOTES

Witchcraft applied to Animals. Dr. A. N. Tucker

Nuba Houses, with plate. G. W. T.

Antiquities found near Gordon's Tree, with plate. F. Addison

Transliteration of the Arabic alphabet

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

ا	{ at beginning of word omit, ham- za elsewhere }	ذ	dh (coll. d)	غ	gh
		ر	r	ف	f
		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	ض	ḍ	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	ه	h
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	و	w
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y

Vowels.				Diphthongs.	
fatha	a,	lengthened	ā	اَـ	ai (as in aisle) coll. ē
kasra	i,	—	ī	اِـ	au (as in mauser) coll. ū
damma	u,	—	ū	The ا of the article always remains <i>l</i> .	
				Silent <i>t</i> (ة) to be omitted.	

Notes.

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

Patron : GEN. SIR L. O. F. STACK, K. B. E., G. M. G.

General Committee.

Chairman : J. W. CROWFOOT*.

Vice-Chairman : W. STERRY, C. B. E*.

Members.

DR W. BEAM.	S. HILLELSON.
COL. F. F. CARROLL, D. S. O.	H. H. KING.
DR A. J. CHALMERS.	H. A. MACMICHAEL, D. S. O.
E. N. CORBYN.	COL. H. D. PEARSON, D. S. O.
G. W. GRABHAM.	C. A. WILLIS.

Secretary and Treasurer : R. WEDD*.

* Editorial Committee.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XIV

Part I

1931

URONARTI.

By Professor G. A. Reisner.

THE Harvard-Boston Expedition, under the immediate direction of Lt. Comm. N. F. Wheeler, began the excavation of the ancient Egyptian fort on Uronarti (Arabic, 'Geziret-el-Melek') on November 15, 1928. The first season ended on January 15, 1929. The second season lasted from February 5 to March 20, 1930. The total working time was 102 days, and the preparatory work, travelling, quarantine at Halfa, making camp, etc., required some days more.

The fortress on Uronarti has long been known and plans of the remains showing on the surface have been made by Prof. Borchardt (*Aegyptische Festungen*, pl. 12, 13) and R. Douglas Wells (see J. E. A. III, p. 180). A granite stela found on the island by Steindorff, Borchardt and Schaefer in 1899 records that the fort Khesef-Yuwnuw was built by Sesostri III in his sixteenth year. The name occurs in a hieratic papyrus found by Mr. J. E. Quibell at the Ramesseum and published by Dr. Alan Gardiner in J.E.A. III, pp. 184-192. The papyrus gives a list of eight forts along the second cataract, and Khesef-Yuwnuw follows after Semna.

The remains of the stone temple in the fort were planned by J. W. Crowfoot (see E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, Vol. I, p. 491). On a rock at the southern end of the island an inscription dated in the 8th year of Amenophis I was recorded by Prof. Steindorff and bears the name of his viceroy Thuwre.

Our expedition excavated the fortress including the rock-cut stairway leading down to the water, the stone temple, and the outlying parts of the fort. The ground southwards was examined, resulting in the discovery of a few graves and a large unfortified palace or dwelling house of the New Kingdom.

The island is about 1100 × 800 meters and rises in two high hills with a saddle between. The northern hill has a roughly triangular form running out in a low ridge towards the north. The inner fort crowns this hill and has a triangular form adapted to the form of the ground. From the apex of the triangular fort a wall ran out along the ridge to the north from the ramparts of which the ridge could be defended so that no enemy could gain footing on the ridge and attack the fort on level ground. It also protected the long rock-cut stairway which led down from the north gateway to the water level of the low Nile. The inner fort had two gateways,—the larger and better defended on the south, and the smaller at the apex. The main entrance on the south was guarded by high flanking walls with towers, and closed by two massive wooden double doors. Between the two doors obstructing walls were built, but as an afterthought. The water-gate in the north was smaller but was also closed by two heavy wooden double doors. Outside, a covered corridor of crude-brick led east to the head of the water-stair. When the stone temple was built in the New Kingdom, these exterior walls were modified and a doorway opened to give access to the temple. The water-stair was similar to those at Semna East and Semna West, partly cut in the rock and partly built of stone with a roof of stone slabs. It descended to a point below the present low water level of the Nile.

From the S.E. corner a heavy wall was built out to protect the low ground and the ascent from the east to the saddle south of the fort. From the end of this, a lesser wall had been built later to enclose a considerable area around the southern end of the inner fort. This area contained a number of buildings, and is here designated as the "outer fort." It was entered by a gateway on the south opposite the southern entrance of the inner fort.

The construction of the fort walls was similar to that of the forts previously excavated. The foundations were of granite rubble varying in depth to even out the inequalities of the ground. On this, massive walls of crude-brick were built with beams of wood laid at frequent intervals in the masonry both parallel and vertical to the face. The brickwork showed one of the usual types of Egyptian bonding (alternate header and stretcher courses in the facing, with headers in the thickness

of the walls). The wall was built with nearly square buttresses on the outside, and no doubt the rampart on the top of the wall followed and covered the buttresses. As far as could be discovered the only means of access to the ramparts was up a stairway constructed in the corridor of the large S.W. building (temple(?), see below) which must have passed over the street separating the temple(?) from the south wall. Later a stair was constructed in South Wall Street.

The plan of the inner fort shows the usual wall street separating the constructions inside the fort from the massive walls,—called 'South Wall St.', 'South East Wall St.', 'East Wall St.', and 'West Wall St.'. The complex was subdivided into two by a long north-south street, 'Middle St.'. Each of these two divisions was further subdivided by an east-west street,—'Cross Street West' and 'Cross Street East.' On examining these four islands, it is obvious that they were built around four buildings, lettered A-D. These four buildings have much thicker walls (110-140 cms. wide) and larger rooms than the other constructions, and were the first buildings in the fort,—and determined the position of the streets. The other walls were built against those of these buildings but were clearly of the same period of construction (except for the obviously intrusive walls).

Building A was in the S.W. angle of the Inner Fort. It consists of a nucleus of the temple type with a hall of columns and three cells. Adjoining this on the south are four smaller cells, while on the west a long corridor led to a stairway rising along the northern and eastern sides to an upper storey or to the roof, and probably also to the rampart of the fort wall. West of the corridor but part of the same construction were two large magazines, in front of which on the south was another hall of columns. Near this on the eastern side of Middle Street is another large building (B) including rooms Nos. 63-81, but this has been so cut to pieces by reconstruction and repairs that its original plan is uncertain. A little north of the structure B, on the western side of Middle Street, is the smallest of the four buildings with thick walls, including rooms 97 to 104 (building C). This seems to be a residence rather than an office or a shop.

The fourth building, the one covering the greatest area, occupies the northern end of the eastern block of apartments and has been called

"The Commandant's House" (building D). The nucleus consists of a hall of columns (room 157) on which open three long narrow rooms, 158, 159, 160. From the S.W. corner of court 157, a doorway gives access to four large rooms, 155, 156, 144 and 154. From 154 a back door opens into Cross Street East which ran along the south side of the "Commandant's House," from Middle St. to East Wall St. Returning to court 157, another doorway opening northwards led to room 162 and so to the series of connected rooms, Nos. 161 to 169, which appear to have had no other entrance.

The spaces between the four more important buildings were occupied by a series of 26 apartments with thinner walls (45-60 cm.). These were built after the thick walls but are of the same period, and were originally three-room apartments with slight variations caused by the triangular form of the fort; but later several adjoining apartments were thrown together (apartments 3 and 4, 9 and 10) and various alterations were introduced which increased the number of rooms. The rooms were numbered in order of excavation.

The excavation of the fort was a simple matter. The original floors of Dyn. XII, which had been cleared of rubbish at the end of Dyn. XII, were well preserved. Above this to a depth of 15-25 cm., lay the debris of occupation of Dyn. XIII. Over this were the intrusive walls of Dyn. XVIII with very little rubbish. The roofs and the upper parts of the walls had decayed utterly, filling the space above the debris of Dyn. XVIII with decayed mud, broken crude-brick and drift sand. In the southern part, and especially in building A, a considerable amount of debris had been removed by peasants digging for *marog* (*sebakh*). I reconstruct the history of the fort as follows:

- (1) Built by Sesostri III in his 16th year, and occupied by a garrison. Periodically cleaned.
- (2) Cleaned for the last time about the end of Dyn. XII and continued to be garrisoned during Dyn. XIII but for no very long periods.
- (3) The outer fort, which is by construction later than the inner fort, contains material that is homogeneous with that found in the inner fort (Dyn. XIII). It was therefore in

occupation during Dyn. XIII. I would place its construction about the time of the renovation of the inner fort at the end of Dyn. XII. It was perhaps occupied by a miscellaneous civil population which had gathered on the island, but could not be admitted to the inner fort.

- (4) Abandoned as a military fortress before the end of Dyn. XIII.
- (5) Early in Dyn. XVIII, the viceroy Thuwre visited the fort and constructed the temple of crude-brick on the site afterwards occupied by the N.K. stone temple. The chief purpose of the temple was the establishment of Sesostri III as a god of Ethiopia, undertaken for *political* reasons. At that time the religious endowments of Sesostri III were re-established and the temple priests occupied the fort temporarily.
- (6) When Thothmes I, Thothmes III, and Amenophis II constructed and reconstructed the stone temples at Semna East and West, the crude-brick temple at Uronarti was lined with stone and perhaps also reconstructed. I would ascribe to this period the great house at the southern end of the island.

No objects datable to Dyn. XII were found except the ten memorial objects of plastered wood inscribed with dates of the reign of Amenemhat III. These were found in the floor debris of building A in the southwestern quarter of the inner fort, which I tentatively identify as a temple of the Middle Kingdom.

The objects found on the island are of no great importance except for a large collection of mud or clay sealings. A collection of fragments of papyrus appears to consist of letters, but these are so fragmentary that no opinion as to their value can be formed until the fragments are set together, if that be at all possible. In addition to these, the finds were not numerous, or of more than ordinary interest. The list includes three fragments of small statuettes, fragments of two private offering stelæ, a dozen or more mud figures of human beings and animals, mostly incomplete or fragmentary, a bivalve shell with the name of Sesostri, three scarabs or other seals, flint flakes, copper blades and fragments (all of forms found in other forts), and pottery as found at Semna.

A thorough search of the island uncovered four graves close together. One of these, No. 3, was intact, and contained the skeleton of a small adult female with necklace, and armlets and anklets of blue beads. There was also an uninscribed amethyst scarab and a copper needle. Grave No. 4 contained a skeleton with a curious malformation of the skull, apparently pathological in character.

The most important group of objects was that of the mud or clay sealings, nearly 5,000 in number. These were necessarily fragmentary for the most part, as they had been torn or broken from the places in which they had been attached. These clay sealings give us not only a very large collection (518) of seal designs, but also a new insight into the manner in which seals were used.

The material of the sealings varies from ordinary Nile mud to a fine black clay obtained by washing out the coarser particles from the Nile mud. The fine black clay is still hard and durable, similar to dried modelling clay in consistency. The coarser material is usually also fairly hard, especially where fine straw or threads have been mixed with the mud. Only a few are in a soft or crumbling state.

The upper surface of the sealing has been stamped with one or more impressions, usually of the same seal. The underside (reverse) of the sealing bears an impression of the object to which the clay or mud has been applied. A proportion of the sealings are quite intact, although a majority are either broken or fragmentary. Even in the case of perfect sealings it is not always easy to determine the form or character of the object sealed. The following list gives the different forms, and such explanation as I am able to find for them :—

- (1) *The Letter Seal* is unmistakable, being of fine black clay and bearing the imprint of papyrus on the reverse side. The letter or document has been folded into a flat packet about 3-8 cm. in width, and of indeterminable length (probably 12-25 cm.). A flat cake of clay has been laid on the upper side and the packet tied around the middle with a string which passed over the clay. Half of the cake of clay has been folded back over the string and the stamp applied to the upper surface of the clay.

- (2) *The Funnel Seal*, of ordinary grey Nile mud, has a flat base, finely striated like wood graining. From the centre of the flat base rises a hole with flaring top. Around the lower part of the hole, inside, is the print of a string passing two or more times around the hole. It appears as if the neck of a sack of cloth had been drawn through a hole in a wooden plate and tied close to the plate. The mud was applied to the top of the plate around the tied neck of the sack, worked into a roughly rectangular form or circular form, and impressed two or more times with a stamp. These funnel-shaped sealings are of two sizes: one very large (diam. about 8 cm.) and the other, very small (diam. about 3 cm.). The large size generally bears the stamp of the "storehouse of the fortress of Kheseḫ-Yuwnuw (Uronarti)" or of the "treasury" of that fortress. The large funnels with the seals of the fortress must have been used locally, I suggest for sealing bags of grain and other provisions kept as rations for the soldiers and officials. The smaller funnels appear to have been applied at a distance and to have come to Uronarti on smaller sacks containing various commodities sent to correspondents in the fort.
- (3) *The Double Funnel Seal*, of the same material as the funnel seal, appears to have been applied to the neck of sacks similar to those of the funnel seal but without the plate. The examples are only three or four in number, and bear the large official stamp of the store-house or treasury of Uronarti.
- (4) *The Packet Seal*, of ordinary mud, is generally of circular form and bears the print of tied strings on the under side. The seals, as a rule private seals (in one case a large seal of Sesostriḫ III), were applied to the top surface. Some of the packet seals bear the print of cloth on the under side.
- (5) *The Box Seal or Door Seal*, of ordinary mud, appears in several different forms, but chiefly in a slot-form, and a corner-form. In the slot-form, the mud appears to have been pressed

between three wooden surfaces, the exact nature of which it is difficult to reconstruct, but indicates perhaps the lock of a door or box. Some of these sealings bear the official fortress stamps of Uronarti, and others bear private stamps. The corner-seals seem to have been applied to three wooden surfaces forming a corner which is almost certainly some kind of a lock. Neither the slot-seal nor the corner-seal have any string mark.

- (6) *The Key-hole Sealing*, of ordinary mud, is a lump of mud which appears to have been pressed into a hole like a key-hole and smeared slightly over the wooden surface surrounding the hole. The upper surface is stamped with a private seal.
- (7) *The Sample-Sealing*, of ordinary mud, consists of a circular or oval pat of mud or a cone, on the upper surface of which a single impression has been stamped. The sides of the lump show finger-prints, and the sealing has not been attached to any object. Seal No. 20 is one of the three official letter seals of the fortress of Semna West. It seems to me probable that it was sent from the fort at Semna West to that at Uronarti as a sample of the seal for comparison with impressions on official despatches from the one fort to the other. The occasion may have been a change in the seal of Semna West (we have the impressions of three different seals of that fort), a change of the person of the commandant at Uronarti, or some dispute as to the authenticity of the sealing on the despatch. I take it that the other sample seals are of the same character sent by some person at a distance to his correspondent at Uronarti, to permit the control of the sealings on packages and letters.
- (8) *Sample Sealings with Incised Designs*, of the material and form of the sample sealing described above, bear, with one exception (design scratched on mud), an impression of an impression. The seal designs cut in relief, and thus giving incised impressions, are extremely rare, and unknown to me in this period. Four impressions are imperfect and

seem to be impressions made from other impressions of the usual incised seal. The presence of sample seals mentioned above suggests that the incised sample seals are impressions of impressions on packet sealings taken by the recipient as evidence of the sealing in case of dispute as to the contents of the packet.

In addition to the forms of sealings described above, a few odd forms such as basket and jar sealings occur, along with a few which have been used for sealing objects which are quite indeterminable.

The sealings are usually covered with the impressions of the same seal; but two cases occur in which the sealing bore two private seals. The large official stamps of the store-house and the treasury of Uronarti show a large number of examples in which the office stamp has been over-stamped with the private seal of the official using the official stamp. It seems to have been a general custom, but whether universal or not could not be determined owing to the fragmentary condition of most of the sealings. A number of the overprints (on 50 fragments) were illegible, but 43 different stamps could be identified on 301 sealings or fragments of sealings. The total number of fragments of the official seals No. 5 a, b, was 1546, representing not more than 300 to 500 sealings.

Turning from the classification of the sealings to the seal designs, the first obvious division is between the official seals and the private seals, which are represented by a nearly equal number of sealings for each division (about 2500). The official seals were those of the king of Egypt and of the administrative offices in Thebes and in the Nubian forts. The finest of these are the official letter seals of three kings,—seals Nos. iv, x, and xxx (referred to hereafter as group 2). The seal was in each case a long rectangular stamp, not in my opinion a cylinder, and was beautifully engraved with fine lines giving the Horus-name of the king. No. iv bears the name of the Horus Kha-bauw, that is King Sekhemra-khuwtauwy (Sebekhotep II ?) whom I regard as the first king of Dynasty XIII. In each of his first four years a record was left at Semna West of the height of the Nile at that place. Four examples of the impression of the seal of this king were found,—the four are from *two different* seals. One was found in the deposit of official seals in building A (temple ?), and the

other three in or near the "Commandant's House" at the north end of the fort. The second royal seal bore the Horus-name Deduwy-kheperuw. This name is the same as the Horus-name read by M. Daressy on the cenotaph of Osiris found by Amelineau at Abydos, but it is otherwise unknown. Fragments of ten impressions were found. One large fragment (28-II-319) was found in room 20 at the south end of the fort and the other nine (29-I-314) at the north end in the "Commandant's House." The latter were in the same deposit that contained three sealings of Sekhemra-khuwtauwy, and I have no doubt that the Horus Deduwy-kheperuw, whoever he may be, was also a king of Dyn. XIII living just after Sekhemra-khuwtauwy. Another fragment (seal No. xxx) bore a third Horus-name Mery-tauwy (?) followed by the words "beloved of Anubis" but I am unable to identify the king.

Another group of official seals (group 3) left impressions which were about 3 cm. wide by 3-4 cm. high. The greater part of these had a continuous spiral scroll all around inside the outer border line with an inscription in three horizontal lines within the scroll. These gave the name of Sesostri III. Seal No. 501 which reads "The great seal of the granary of the Good God, Lord of the two lands, Senwesret (in cartouche)" does not define the name of the king, and all the sealings were found in deposits of Dyn. XIII. It is obvious that these seals, which all appear to have borne the name of Sesostri III, were not the royal seals of the king. I suggest that they were the official seals of the temple endowments founded by Sesostri III, and prove the actual existence of these endowments as mentioned by Thothmes III when he renewed them in Dyn. XVIII. Seal No. xxxi reads "The great [seal of the gran]ary of the Good God, Lord of the two lands, [Kha] ka [uwra] (in cartouche)." The archaeological evidence is conclusive that they are not of the New Kingdom.

Group 4 contains mud sealings stamped with official seals of the store-houses and the treasuries of the various forts, and, in particular, of the fort Kheseft-Yuwnuw (Uronarti). These usually have scrolls inside the plain border, and are either plain rectangles or rectangles with either the upper or lower line curved outwards. Thus they are of the same type as the seals of group 3 just described. The original number of the sealings represented by the 2,411 pieces now available is indeterminable. Even

the largest fragments are only half-sealings, and many are quite small. I imagine that the total may have come from about 500 sealings, but many others may have entirely disappeared.

The sealings of seals *va* and *vb*, were made in Uronarti itself, and the 503 over stamped sealings assume a special importance. The officials in charge of receipts and payments at the storehouse and the treasury, when they had sealed or resealed the doors or receptacles, applied each one his private seal to the official sealing as an additional safeguard to protect himself against an abuse of the office-seal by some subordinate. Other official sealings were over stamped, and over stamping seems to have been a general custom in the Nubian forts. Of the 503 over stamps of seals No. *va* and *b*, 441 were legible and represented the seals of 47 officials.

It is obvious that seals No. *va* and *vb* were office-seals of the fortress administration and were kept and used in Uronarti itself. The conclusion follows that the officials who over stamped the official sealings were also at the time actually in the fort at Uronarti, and in the case of the more frequent sealings the official was resident for a period in the fort. An examination of the unofficial sealings showed that a few of the private seals, used to over stamp the official seals, occur also on private sealings. At least seven of the 47 seals used as over stamps occur on other sealings at Uronarti. None of these were letter sealings. It is possible of course that these private sealings were on packages sent to Uronarti at another time, but the probability seems to be that they present a use of the private seal for personal purposes while the official was in the fort.

The mud impressions of seals No. *va* and *vb* were widely distributed throughout the fort, but the great majority (all except about forty) were found in two large deposits. The smaller of the two (226 examples) was in the street (rooms 3-4) outside building A (temple ?) in the south-western corner of the fort ; and the other deposit (2149 examples) was in the " Commandant's House " at the northern end (rooms 154, 157 and 162) or thrown from it over the E. wall. Along with these were examples of official sealings of groups 2 and 3 and a few private sealings.

The final group of official seals (group 6) consists of small seals usually found on small letter sealings. They are all official fortress seals of smaller size than the granary seals in order to adapt them to the sealing

of letters. They are seals of the fortresses of Sekhem-Khakauwra (Semna West), Kheseef-Yuwnuw (Uronarti), We'af-khasatiyuw (Sarras), Yegeu, and Buhen. With them I include the seals of the administrative offices in Egypt. They are seals of "The office of the vezier of southern Egypt," of "The office of the vezier of Thebes" and "—tp(?) rsy—." There were also five letter seals which could not be read with any certainty; total 31 sealings of which 28 were letter sealings. The number of official letter sealings of small size is, like that of the large letter-sealings, comparatively small,—11 from other fortresses, 11 from the Egyptian administrative offices, and five uncertain. The letter sealings are perhaps better preserved than the others, and it may be taken that their small number in proportion to the local store sealings is significant of the shortness of the period which is under discussion.

The second great division of seals are those used by individuals and called by me "private seals." These fall again into two divisions,—(1) name-seals which give the name and usually the titles of the owner, and (2) seals with a pattern or with symbols. The name-seals form groups 7-9. They are 51 in number, represented by 181 sealings. Of this number 92 sealings from 17 seals are overprints on the store seals Nos. *va* or *vb*. It is necessary to conclude, I think, that the owners of the 17 overprinted seals were temporarily at least present in the fort at Uronarti. It is interesting to note that the well known but little understood title of *smsw* is held by most of these officials of the granary or treasury of the fortress. Nine out of fourteen of the men held the title of *smsw* in some variation. A certain *mr nwt t'ty* is perhaps the same Ptah-deduw as the vezier in Newberry, *Scarabs*, XI, 1, but the seal is not the same. He may have been in Uronarti on a tour of inspection. The question now arises as to how often the sealings of the granary and the treasury at Uronarti were broken and new sealings attached. It may also be asked what proportion of the original sealings have been preserved among the fragments cast aside in the streets and courtyards of the fort. Five other seals without names occurred overprinted on 81, 66, 56 and 37 sealings respectively. The most that can be said is that the greater the number of sealings, the longer probably was the stay of the official at Uronarti.

The pattern and symbol seals have been divided into forty-eight classes (groups 10-57). It is to be noted that only about thirty basic designs underlie the large number of individual seal designs of the various pattern types (groups 10-34). The individual seals present variations of the basic designs obtained often by very simple methods. In a few cases, two seals have identical designs distinguished only by differences in size, which may force almost imperceptible changes in the design. Frequently differences in size permit obvious variations, or the increase in the number of similar elements used. Sometimes in seals of the same size, the variations are very small as in the ends of the scrolls, or in the space-fillers. Another type of variation is obtained by changing the design from the prevailing vertical position on the oval plate to a horizontal position, or combining vertical and horizontal designs. Variations are also obtained by changing the system of connecting loops or the number and arrangements of the separate scrolls. We found that it required a certain amount of practice to detect the minor differences, especially in the small seals, but it was possible to pick out at sight the impressions of the fine large seals and those with complicated designs. Many other seals with pattern designs are published in the books, but it is obvious that all the known designs taken together have by no means exhausted the possibilities of the variations of the known basic designs. Take for example the series of beautiful looped patterns. The craftsmanship that produced this rich group was without any doubt perfectly capable of inventing other combinations of the same character.

The symbol-seals, groups 35-56, present only about five different basic designs, placed vertically on the oval plate. The number is nearly doubled by the adaptation of the same designs to the horizontal position on the oval. The individual seals within each basic design were composed by the selection of different hieroglyphic signs, or by variations in the arrangement of those signs. The larger dominating symbols (or signs) may be distinguished from the smaller subordinate signs which fill the empty spaces around the main symbols. But taking both large and small signs, only about 35 were used in the seals drawn by us. It is obvious that the great body of symbol signs were less expensive in cutting, and easier to compose. An enormous number of other seal-designs

would have been made possible by the addition of a few signs and by a further development of the types of variation already in use.

A total of 473 private seals was recorded at Uronarti, of which 296 were represented by single sealings. As there were over four hundred illegible sealings, in all probability these contain impressions of a number of seals not included in our list. Certainly over 500 different seals were in use by the men of Uronarti and their correspondents in the other forts and in Egypt. It seems to me that this extensive use of seals, in view of the slight differences in many designs, must have required some system of official registration. At the present time in Egypt, where the practice of sealing is similar to that in ancient times, the seal engravers are licensed by the provincial authorities, and are required to keep a registry of all the seals cut, with particulars of their owners. I believe that a system of seal-registration was in use in ancient Egypt which was equal to or even better than the modern Egyptian system with its obvious defects. When I first noticed the type that I call "sample-sealing" I suspected that it might have been part of a system of seal registration, but the small number of such sealings, their diffuse provenience and the occurrence of the type with an impression of an impression led me away from that idea. It is impossible even to answer the questions whether there were seal-engravers working at Uronarti (or Semna). Most of the officials brought their seals with them, and the official seals were no doubt cut in Thebes or Elephantine and sent to the forts.

THE MBERIDI (SHILLUK GROUP) AND MBEGUMBA (BASIRI GROUP) OF THE BAHR-EL-GHAZAL.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

(WITH MAP.)

THE tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal present the appearance of a routed army. They have been scattered over the Nile-Uelle Divide and in this dispersion numerous tribal units, often consisting of only a few families, have been cut off from the main body and swept permanently out of touch with men of their own language and blood. Some peoples have disappeared altogether as political and cultural units and survived only in tradition, *e.g.*, Bangbinda, Abarambo, Mittu, etc. Many tribes have been carried before waves of Zande invasion on to distant strands there to be snatched up again before they have had time to settle, like debris carried backwards and forwards on a beach. Those cultures which have survived decline and decay flourished only at the price of separation, dispersion and frequent displacement. Such has been, for example, the history of the Madi, the Moro, the Mundu, the Baka, etc. As a result a number of new dialects and hybrid cultures has arisen from separation and from different contacts with neighbouring peoples.

The ethnologist is faced with a chaotic puzzle in which many pieces are missing and many are indecipherable. Much was indeed put together long ago by Schweinfurth, Emin, Junker, Calonne-Beaufaict, Hutereau, Vanden Plas and Czekanowski, but the greater part still remains unsorted and unplaced. It is hopeless to attempt an ambitious scheme of historical reconstruction for the peoples of the Bahr-el-Ghazal in our present state of ignorance. In many cases we cannot give even the roughest estimate of their cultural and linguistic relationship to other peoples of the Sudan and Congo areas. A good few of the tribes are no more than a name and that is probably wrong. The only way to proceed under these circumstances is to take each little group of people who live in the same place, give their rough population, their habitat, a vocabulary of their language, what can be learnt of their history, and every observation, however

slight, which has been made on their customs. Each little group can in this way be linked up with other similar groups in this part of Africa and their history and ethnic position broadly stated.

Two such little groups are those of the *Mbegumba* and *Mberidi* who live along the old Yambio-Tonj road, between 28° and 29° N. and 5° and 6° W., between the Sueh and Iba rivers on a tributary of the Sueh called Nangbanguru ("Lioness river" in Zande). I visited this group during the present year (1930) for four days on a visit in connection with my Zande studies. North of the prominent bend of the Sueh eastwards, which occurs just north of 5° N., we find a mixed population of Ambomu (real Azande), of Bangbinda and other tribes assimilated in the Zande amalgam, and a fair proportion of Babuckur (*Bukuru*) families. Further to the north are a colony of Huma, who appear to be a subdivision of the Babuckur, since they speak an identical language, a settlement of so-called "Balanda" (*Mbegumba* and *Mberidi*) with whom we propose to deal in this essay, and lastly, a section of the Bongo nation, for many years under the direction of their old chief Toi (d. 1929). All these peoples came into the province of Rikita in the old Zande kingdom of Gbudwe. Major Larken has already attached the Huma to the Babuckur tribe¹ and the little group of Bongo under Toi has been attached to the main Bongo nation. The *Mbegumba* and *Mberidi* await similar attachment, and thanks to Major Larken's kindness in pointing out to me their existence in his district, I am going to try and do them this service.

Though the *Bor* have long been known to Europeans under the name of *Belanda*² and their racial and linguistic affinity to the Shilluk group of peoples recognised, it was only discovered in 1923 that at least two quite separate tribes of different origins, languages and cultures were being grouped together under the same term. Though this fact may well have been known to resident Europeans, I can find no trace of the discovery in literature before M. J. W.'s note in *Sudan Notes and Records*.³

¹ Major P. M. Larken. "Zande Notes." *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol VI, 1923, p. 242.

² This is a Bongo name *be landa* signifying hill-dwellers, in the same way as the Azande speak of the Apambia. The word *belanda* was taken over by the Arabs and transmitted by them to European travellers during the last half of the 19th Century.

³ "The Balanda," by M. J. W. in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1923.

Speaking of the Balanda, M. J. W. says "In reality the term covers two distinct tribes, the Amberidi and Ambegumba. These tribes speak different languages and amongst themselves always use these names, although when talking to outsiders they call themselves Balanda in order to be understood. In addition there are the ruling tribes, the Fujiga and the Kamum." He says that the Amberidi, as far as tribal tradition goes, used to inhabit the country between Tembura post and the Bo River, in particular the hilly country lying between latitudes 6' and 6' 15" to the west of the River Sueh. They defended their homes, with Arab assistance, for a considerable period against incursions by the Zande dynasty of Nunge but were eventually forced to withdraw to north of the River Bo. Here they were living in 1923 in the triangle formed by the Rivers Wau, Sueh, and Bo. Many, however, were also to be found on the east bank of the Sueh, a large section in the neighbourhood of Dem Zubeir, and a considerable portion, who chose to remain under Zande rule rather than migrate, between the Bo River and Tembura Post.

The Fujiga mentioned in M. J. W.'s account are evidently a section of the Shilluk-speaking Luo (Jur)¹ tribe, as the author points out. They speak the same language and have similar songs and dances.² They themselves say that they were once a section of the Luo and lived on the river Jur in the neighbourhood of Lake Ambadi. During the last century they left their homeland following inter-tribal disputes, and marched south to those hills to the west of the Sueh which were occupied by the Amberidi. Here they gained ascendancy over the Amberidi and appear to have grafted themselves on to the people as an aristocracy. This Fujiga aristocracy organised resistance to Zande invasion, and it was they who finally led the Amberidi northwards across the Bo river.

Besides the Fujiga M. J. W. refers to a second ruling tribe among the Balanda, the Kamum. That section of the Amberidi which succumbed to the Fujiga was ruled over by a tribe called the Kamum "who assert that they inhabited the country before the Amberidi and three generations ago ruled over four sub-tribes who eventually were merged into the Kamum." The Amberidi, and later the Ambegumba, joined them

¹ Henceforward referred to as Luo.

² Their totem is an ostrich. The ostrich is a Shilluk totem also, vide Hofmayr *Die Shilluk*, p. 236.

three generations ago. Family quarrels and Zande pressure caused them to move northwards and eastwards, following in the steps of the Fujiga withdrawal from their hilly country.

M. J. W. tells us that the Ambegumba, who joined the Kamum and Amberidi in their homes to the west of the Sueh River, "lived further south than the Amberidi inhabiting the country round Tembura and across the Divide, which is now in the French Congo." The Zande advance under their Avungera leaders forced the Ambegumba northwards and many settled amongst the Amberidi. When, however, the Fujiga with the same Arab backing with which they had repulsed the Azande, began to raid their Ambegumba neighbours, these marched off westwards and settled to the south of Dem Zubeir. A few remained and made the northward evacuation of their hills with the Amberidi and are now (1923) living to the south of the River Bussurries under Zande rule. There is a separate section of the Ambegumba, called the Amfungeri, living between the rivers Bussurries and Pongo.

We are mainly concerned in this note with the Ambegumba, but they are so intimately associated with the Amberidi that it is necessary to deal with both to some extent. M. J. W. gives no information about the language or culture of these Amberidi. They speak a Shilluk tongue and this dialect, as far as one can judge from vocabularies, is a dialect of Luo, as will readily be seen by a glance at the lists of words in the appendix. Even were the Luo and Amberidi tongues less similar their geographical relationship to each other, coupled with the fact that they both speak Shilluk languages, would be sufficient evidence to attach the Amberidi to the Luo. They migrated southwards a little before the Fujiga of M. J. W.'s account broke away from their fellow Luo tribesmen near lake Ambadi, and joined them in the hilly country between latitudes 6' and 6' 15" to the west of the river Sueh between the River Bo and Tembura Post. It is thus easy to establish two waves of Shilluk migration southwards, 1. the Amberidi, 2. the Fujiga. What, then, of the Kamum of M. J. W.'s account? He does not state whether this tribe speaks the same language as the Amberidi and Fujiga with whom they lived, but this lack of precise statement leads one to suppose that the author meant it to be understood that all three tribes, the Kamum, the

Amberidi, and the Fujiga, all speak the Bor (Belandá) tongue, and this view is supported by the fact that no Kamum tongue has yet been reported from the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

Moreover, if M. J. W.'s chronology is correct, it is highly improbable that the Amberidi were the first Shilluk-speaking section to move south and south-west. He says that they entered into the hilly country in possession of the Kamum to the west of the Sueh in the lifetime of the grandfather of the present Kamum chief Tuji, but Schweinfurth already found the Shilluk-speaking Bellanda settled 80 miles to the south of Luo country, a wide tract of Bongo country separating these two peoples or rather two sections of the same people, when he visited the north-west Bahr-el-Ghazal in 1870. These Belanda of Schweinfurth had undergone cultural modification by that date through contact with the Bongo, and had partly come under control of the Zande king Solongho, of the dynasty of Nunge. It seems likely, therefore, that part of the Shilluk hordes had been for some time in occupation before the arrival of the particular waves of Amberidi and Fujiga referred to by M. J. W. Schweinfurth's 80 miles south of Luo country brings us to the south of the Bo River into the country which the Kamum used to occupy. Here Schweinfurth marks them on his map. Also Petherick met a section of the Luo tribe in this neighbourhood as early as 1858, an incident to which I will refer later. Moreover the Zande king Nunga is said to have fought them at the very beginning of the Zande expansion northwards (1805-1835).¹

If Luo traditions count for anything, there is no doubt that the Bor have been in their present country and further south for a very considerable time. According to one Luo story the Bor were the first to leave the Shilluk conglomerate which had migrated northwards after the withdrawal of Nyikang and his followers to the banks of the Bahr-el-Gebel, where they form the present Shilluk nation. The legend relates that when the Bor were preparing to take up their position in the land they rose very early and in great haste ground their corn. They then informed their companions, the Luo and Magghi (Dembo) of their project, but their fellow countrymen insisted first of all on eating their customary

¹ A. de Calonne-Beaufaict, *Les Azandés*, Chap. III.

porridge. As their womenfolk had not even bruised the dura in mortars this would have taken some time to prepare, so the Bor struck out on their own and pushed into Zande country. Chance had it that a host of guinea-fowl followed them and destroyed all traces of their route, so that the following Dinka, Luo and Magghi struck out by a different path and settled in the north in the vicinity of the Bongo.¹ A second version places the southward movement of the Bor under their chief Uto, a close relative of Nyikang, somewhat earlier, since in this account they had already broken away from the main Shilluk hordes while Nyikang was still in the Bahr-el-Ghazal.²

These Luo stories probably do not possess great significance, but it seems that there must have been a considerable number of Shilluk as far south as the River Bo long before the migration of the Amberidi and Fujiga, if M. J. W.'s chronology is correct. Consequently, the Kamum may well be Shilluk, as there is no one else to play the part. It is true that there is not a wealth of evidence upon which to base conclusions, but what little information we possess points to successive waves of Shilluk southwards, each representing a typical Nilotic break away from the amalgam of Shilluk-speaking tribes.³ The Kamum were probably an early wave of this southward rolling tide, the Amberidi and Fujiga were later waves.

The first mention we have of the Bor (Beland) is a short list of words under the heading of Baer vocabulary written by Petherick from memory after he had left the country.⁴ Prof. Struck, in a short note on

¹ W. Hofmayr. Die Shilluk, 1925, quoting P. Vockenhuber, p. 12. "Eines Morgens nun, als die Belanda sich anschickten, in das Land einzuziehen, mahlen sie in aller Eile das Korn auf dem *pam*. Dann erst benachrichtigten sie die Gefährten von ihrer Absicht. Die Jur, die Magghi und die Dinka wollten vorher ihr gewohntes *kaen* (Art Polenta) haben. Das war so bald nicht möglich, denn ihre Weiber hatten noch nicht einmal die Durrah im Kornmörser verarbeitet. Die Belanda machten sich daher allein auf den Weg und rückten in das Gebiet der Sandeh (Nyam-Nyam) vor. Der Zufall wollte, das ihnen eine Schar Pharaonenführer folgte, welche jede Spur der Dahinziehenden verwischte. Infolgedessen schlugen die Dinka, Jur und Magghi einen anderen Weg ein und liessen sich nordwärts in der Nähe der Bongo nieder."

² Hofmayr, op. cit. p. 12. "Nyikang hatte sich mit seinen Brüdern, ausgenommen Uto, der sich mit den Belanda gleich anfangs entfernt hatte, im Bahr-el-Ghazal niedergelassen."

³ This is the second dispersion of the Shilluk hordes. It took place somewhere south of Meshra-el-rek in the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The Shilluk went north, the Shatt and Dembo went west, and the Luo and Bor went south. See map at the end of this paper.

⁴ *Egypt, the Sudan and Central Africa*, p. 481.

Petherick's Baer¹ fixes their position from the accounts and maps of Petherick, Schweinfurth, and Junker somewhere north of 6° N. by 28° E. He points out that Petherick's name Baer corresponds to the name by which, according to Schweinfurth,² the Bongo designate the Luo, he stresses the geographical position of the Baer in relation to Luo country, and finally by a comparison between Petherick's Baer vocabulary and the Luo vocabularies given by Schweinfurth³ and Brun Rollet⁴ shows quite conclusively that these Baer are really a part of the Luo tribe.⁵

Now the place where Petherick says he met the Baer in February 1858, is just the other (east) side of the Sueh river to the hills where the Kamum-Amberidi-Fujiga amalgam used to live and where the Belanda are marked by Schweinfurth. They may be regarded as an eastward extension of this amalgam. Those Amberidi whom I met on the Nangbanguru probably migrated south-eastwards from the banks of the Sueh where Petherick and Schweinfurth record their existence as Zande pressure from the south-west became more severe. They say that they did not come into Renzi's⁶ line of march. They could hardly have avoided Renzi if they had lived anywhere near their present position, so that their migration probably occurred after Renzi's period of military activity (beginning of 19th century). Moreover, they are conversant with the affairs of their relatives, who used to live to the west of the Sueh, so that it is likely that they moved eastwards to their present home not long before the Kamum-Amberidi-Fujiga amalgam retreated before the Azande to the north of the Bo river. They claim Kpaiele son of Bonguru son of Bingikono of the Fodjuk clan as a relative of theirs.⁷ They say that Bonguru was defeated and brought into subjection by the Zande prince Bugwa son of Nunge.⁸ The Amberidi on the Nangbanguru seem to have voluntarily come under the rule of Rikita,⁹ no doubt to seek protection from the Arabs.

¹ "An Unlocated tribe on the White Nile," *Journal of the African Society*, 1908, pp. 75-78.

² Schweinfurth. *op. cit.* pp. 61-72.

³ *Linguistische Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Central Afrika*. Berlin, 1873, p. 16.

⁴ Brun Rollet.

⁵ Petherick himself had come to this conclusion, a fact not mentioned by Struck. Petherick says "The language of the Djori being very similar to the Baer, it is by no means improbable that at one time they formed part of this tribe." *op. cit.* p. 456.

⁶ Renzi son of Yakpwati son of Mabenge.

⁷ These names are given by M. J. W. as Peili, Banguru, and Bangikongo.

⁸ Not mentioned in genealogies of Schweinfurth, Junker, de Calonne-Beaufaict and Lagae and Plas.

⁹ Rikita son of Gbudwe son of Bazingbi.

On the Nangbanguru they occupy one government sleeping-sickness settlement. They told me that they called themselves *Bor* and this cognomen is also given in the report of the Rejaf Conference as the correct term in the place of *Belanda*.¹ It will be remembered that Petherick calls them *Baer* and that the Bongo call them, according to Schweinfurth, *Behr*. The Azande class all these branches of the Luo tribe together with the Ambegumba as *Abari*. The Ambegumba call the Amberidi *Bori*. What the word Amberidi is I should hesitate to say. It certainly has not the appearance of a nilotic word with its *mbe* phoneme, but these *Bor* people have undoubtedly been influenced considerably by the non-Nilotic tribes with which they have come into contact. Nevertheless, whatever the origin of the word, I consider it should be Mberidi and not Amberidi.²

The extent to which the *Bor* whom I met have been subject to cultural infusion by their Mbegumba neighbours as well as by the Bongo and the Azande, gave me little opportunity to make enquiries into their customs during the two or three conversations which I had with them. Forgotten are the glories of Nyakang and of Dimo; indeed even their affinity with the main Luo stock seems to be unknown to them. They have undoubtedly suffered many misfortunes during the last few generations. Those whom Petherick met in 1858 he found at bitter feud with the Bongo³ while their relations with the Azande he describes as follows: "Their fields were on a far more limited scale than those in the Dor country, as they said they were troubled by foraging parties of their southern neighbours, the Neam Neam, who pillaged their villages, and committed great slaughter and devastation, their object being to carry off the youth into slavery . . . They told us they had nearly been exterminated by these cannibals, of whom they professed the greatest horror; and stated that many of their communities had been obliged to fly, and establish themselves in distant countries, but whither exactly, they knew not, merely pointing to the east and west."⁴ Doubtless these *Bor* in Yambio District are one such migratory community which

¹ Report of the Rejaf Conference, 1928, p. 42. "The correct name is *Bor*; by the Zande this tribe is called *Ambaridi*." The Azande do not in fact call them *Ambaridi* but *Abari* as a general rule.

² A is the Zande plural prefix and is not used by these two tribes themselves.

³ Petherick, op. cit. p. 454.

⁴ Petherick, op. cit. pp. 455-456.

fied north from the Azande only to find themselves threatened by subjection to the slave and ivory traders. Preferring the Azande of these two evils they turned south again and submitted to Zande domination.

I did not visit their homesteads, but one or two things which I happened to notice recalled to my mind their nilotic origins. They believe that sickness and death are due to the spirits of a dead man rather than to witchcraft or magic, a belief typical of nilotic peoples. Also they rub the seeds of the yellow wild tomato on their chests, and this plant seems to have protective magical qualities throughout nilotic culture. The type of basket they weave and fill in with buffalo dung reminded me of the nilotic peoples who use cattle dung for this purpose. I have a note about the existence of the following clans: mbembemi, mbewinga, finyual, mbembidzo, finyami, talela, mbembrim, mbemuru, fumesu, mbeboi, finyubel, mbembula. Some of them gave clan totems of lion and leopard. The finyual clan gave a totem of a small bird which eats millet, probably the so-called dura-bird which is a totem of Shilluk, Dinka, Nuer and probably other Nilotic clans. I do not know the nature of these clans, but mention them as a possible line of enquiry for others. These remarks are obviously very slight and are only recorded to show my complete ignorance of the Bor.¹ It is greatly to be deplored that those who live in the heart of Bor country and speak their language have refrained from modesty or lack of interest from giving us an account of their language and customs.

At the end of this essay will be found a rough sketch-map illustrating the argument of this first section on the Bor, also a list of words from the dialects of the different Luo sections and a note on some measurements which I made on Bor and Luo in 1929.

Besides the various peoples with different names but all speaking dialects of the Shilluk language which are classed under the general tribal expression Belanda, M. J. W. mentions the Ambegumba (here again I consider it should be Mbegumba and, though open to correction, shall refer to them as such). He tells us nothing of the language of this people nor of their customs, only that they used to inhabit the country round Tembura and across the Divide in the French Congo, and that they joined

¹ See also notes on the Mbegumba in the latter part of this paper.

the Kamum, Amberidi and Fujiga shortly after the arrival of the Amberidi in their common country among the hills to the west of the Sueh river and to the south of the Bo river.

It is easy to give a rough date for the arrival of the Mbegumba to the hills west of the Sueh and south of the Bo from M. J. W.'s genealogies and those of the Azande.



The Mbegumba joined the Kamum after the Mberidi had arrived during the reign of the Kamum chief Zaga, the Fujiga chief Banyikongo meanwhile being still in the Fujiga homeland near Lake Ambadi. The arrival of the Mbegumba must therefore have been very late, probably not earlier than the first half of the 19th century. We know that they were there during the reigns of Bunguru and Liwa. Early European travellers would in any case not have come into direct contact with them, as their routes lay too far to the East (Schweinfurth) or to the West (Junker). The fact that they do not record having heard of such a people is perhaps due to the fact that the Mbegumba had not pushed so far north or east as to be within the ken of such peoples as the Bongo or Babuckur. We know that the Mbegumba came from the south-west, so we have to ask ourselves two questions: firstly, what caused them to move north-east, and secondly, whether there are pockets of peoples speaking a similar language in the direction from which they came.

It is pretty clear what caused the Mbegumba to migrate. On de Calonne's reckoning the Azande moved southwards, crossing the Mbomu at the beginning of the 18th century. In the first quarter of the 19th century the great period of Zande expansion began under the sons of Mabenge, with the exploits of only one of whom we are especially concerned in this paper, Nunga, the founder of the dynasty which rules over

the Azande of Tembura District and the Ubangi-Shari province of French Equatorial Africa. He moved north-east and beat one after the other the Agabu, the Basiri and the Abarambo of the north, as well as "les Apambia et les Azenge et Azulu, hommes tout nus, possédant beaucoup de bétail." His son Bamvurugba continued to extend his father's territories to the north, "marchait vers le nord avec les Abarambo, des Apambia, des Basiri, et leurs proches des Atogbo, soumettait des groupes Shilluk ou Bellanda et poussait des incursions chez les Djur et les Dinka. Son fils Sanango (le Solongoh de Schweinfurth) continua et repoussa des groupes Sele jusque vers Dem Bekir."¹ Without going in for minute examination of de Calonne's record or following the complicated history of Zande expansion closely, it is certain that Nunga commenced to push northwards at the beginning of the 19th² century, displacing and driving before him sections of all the tribes who lived on the M'Bili, the Kere, the M'Bomu, and in general in those parts of French Equatorial Africa which border the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. This is enough for our purposes, for we know that the Mbegumba moved to south of the Bo river during the first half of the 19th century from over the present French political border, and that their migration coincides with the Zande push forward into the same area at the same period under the Nunga dynasty.

The Mbegumba, then, were pushed north-eastwards by the Azande in the early part of the nineteenth century. The next problem is to link them up with other pockets of peoples of this area. This, again, presents no great difficulty. They themselves say that they are most closely related linguistically to the Basiri of the Congo and French Africa and the Ndogo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. I have failed to find printed vocabularies of these two languages, though my search has been by no means exhaustive, but possess a list of words in Basiri which was written for me by a Zande boy when I was in the Belgian Congo, and an Ndogo vocabulary written by Father Ribero, which Prof. Alice Werner kindly lent me some years ago. A comparison between these three lists of words show, as clearly as such compilations can, the linguistic affinity between these three peoples, and is backed by the independent assertion of the

¹ de Calonne Beaufaict, *Azande*, 1921. Preface and Chapter III.

² This is in rough accord with Major Larken's estimate that Liwa first appeared among the Apambia in the decade 1843-1853. *Op. cit.* p. 237.

Mbegumba themselves. Unfortunately we know nothing at all about the culture of the Basiri and the Ndogo at present, but some progress is marked by being able to link up all three provisionally, since it makes the ethnic muddle of the Bahr-el-Ghazal a little less complicated.

It is not my intention to plunge forward into the morass of tribal history of the Ubangi-Uelle region. It is singularly ill-charted in spite of the painstaking researches of de Calonne, Hutereau, and Van-den Plas. But it may be of interest to give a rough idea of whom the Basiri are supposed to be and where they live.

I met a few Basiri in the environs of (N)Doruma in the Congo but was unable at the time to question them. I understood, however, that Basiri families were numerous among the Azande both in this region and across the border in French territory.¹ Presumably also there are a number in Tembura District of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Van-den Plas tells us that the Basiri form homogeneous groups under their own chiefs appointed by Avongara in the Belgian Congo, where they are to be found in small and unimportant pockets on the 27°. In French territory they form a larger and more compact group between the Boku and the Kere. They all speak both Basiri, a sudanese tongue, and Zande, and of all the populations of this region they have resisted most persistently absorption by Zande language and civilization.² In Czekanowski's map they are given a generous area between the rivers Boku and Kerre though he makes no reference to them in the text.³ De Calonne-Beaufaict met Basiri totally ignorant of the Zande language. He places this language in a group with Banda, Mongbwandi, Dendi, Bira, Bangba, Mundu and Mayogo.⁴ Col. Bertrand attaches also the Bwaka⁵ and the Babukr⁶ to this group.⁷ This amalgam is the same as the Mundu-group of

¹ Miss G. A. Weber tells me that the Basiri are in large numbers near Zemio.

² Lagae and Plas, *La Langue des Azande*, Vol. I, p. 16. A. de Calonne-Beaufaict, p. 240 op. cit.

³ "Éthnographie des Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiets." Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen, 1912.

⁴ A. de Calonne-Beaufaict, *Azande*, 1921. pp. 32 and 14.

⁵ i.e. the Bwaka of the upper Ubangi who are not to be confused with the Baka of Meridi District. de Calonne Beaufaict, pp. xii and x.

⁶ The related Huma people of Schweinfurth are classed by Sir Harry Johnston with the Ababua, as speaking Bantu languages (*Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, pp. 122. seq.) There is evidently some confusion since in the same book as Bertrand attributes the Babukr to a Soudanese group, the Boguru (who are presumably the same people) are referred to as speaking a Bantou language. de Calonne Beaufaict, op. cit. pp. 107 and X.

⁷ Introduction to the posthumous work of de Calonne referred to above.

Czekanowski's map and text, which forms a fringe on the south and east of Zande country, and includes the Mundu, the Bangba-Madjaga, the Mayogu, and in all probability, according to the author, the Babukur and Medje. The tribes of this group bear resemblances with the tribes of the Sango-Mongwandi group, which includes, according to Thonner, an Austrian traveller, the Sango, the Yakoma, the Bongo,¹ and the Mongwandi, all tribes living in the valley of the Ubangi River west of the 23rd. deg.² Hutereau tells us only that there are a number of families of Basiri living in the valley of the Sili; that the Basiri, Kare, Ngara present the same somatic characteristics as the Logo-Do and Dongo, and that the Basiri were found by Mopoy on the Boku and subjected by him and transported to the Mbomu. For a long period the Basiri were the great recruiting ground for slaves and soldiers by the slavers of the Sudan.³

The exact relationship of all these tribes to one another and to others of the same region is very doubtful, and we possess very little data to go upon. At present we must be satisfied with linking on the Mbegumba to a larger group, the Basiri, which has already gained a position in ethnological knowledge and controversy.

The Mbegumba also told me that their language was akin to that of the Ndogo and a glance at the list of words at the end of this essay will support their statement. In the report of the Rejaf Conference, 1928, we are told that Ndogo is readily understood by the Bare and that it is "a monosyllabic language with a fully developed system of tones, of a type similar to Madi; Bare and Biri are dialects of Ndogo, but Shaire and Faroghe are distinct."⁴ That fine English scholar Cust places the Ndogo just north of the 10th deg. and just west of the 25th deg., though on whose authority I have not ascertained.⁵ Whether these Ndogo still live in that area I do not know. I believe that the main body of this tribe are to-day to be found to the west and north-west of Wau Post, but here again I must express ignorance, as I have not seen a modern

¹ Not to be confused with the Bongo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Thonner writes "Le dialect Bongo n'a aucun rapport avec le dialect de même nom parlé dans la région du Nil."

² *Du Congo à l'Ubangi* by Franz Thonner, 1910.

³ A. Hutereau. *Histoire des Peuplades de l'Uels et de l'Ubangi*. pp. 28 and 318.

⁴ *op. cit.* p. 42.

⁵ They are not to be found in this position on any modern map I have seen. Possibly they are a settlement of Dago. vide H. A. MacMichael, *History of the Arabs, etc.* Vol. I, p. 76.

map which marks them, and judge their position from the fact that some of them come within the sphere of influence of the Italian Catholic Missions of Kayango, Mboro and Deim Zuheir.¹ They certainly occupied these regions in the time of Schweinfurth and Junker. Schweinfurth shows two pockets, one just north of 8° and between 26° and 27° and the other just east of the 26° and north of the 7°, under the name of Nduggo; while Junker also puts a settlement in the same neighbourhood under the name of Nduggu. Both travellers omit, however, to give any clear information about the tribe. De Calonne-Beaufaict considers that the Zande clan Abandogo² are absorbed members of this tribe and he attaches them to the Akbwaya group. "Les Akbwaya proprement dits comprennent de nombreuses tribus dont les Ndogo (les Ndugo de Schweinfurth, rencontrés par lui entre Dem-Bekir et Dem-Ziber), les Alingi (totem : arc-en-ciel), les Aoro, etc. Ils s'étendent de Djema vers le nord, puis le long de la ligne de faite; presque vers 23° deg. long. Est, où Hanolet les a rencontrés. Ils déclarent que c'est à leur race qu'a été appliqué le nom de Kreich qu'à quelques groupes de fuyards d'autres tribus d'origine basiri (les Atogbo), banda, agolo, agabu, refoulés pas les invasions azande et abandya. Au sud, ils furent en partie soumis après que les fils de Nunga eurent brisé la résistance des Basiri; ceux du nord, restés en place, subirent l'islam et fondèrent de grandes agglomérations entourées de murailles vers Katuaka, notamment la capitale de Said ben Selis, Kreich arabisé, aux sources de la Kotto."³ According to de Calonne-Beaufaict there are groups of Ndogo as far south and east as the Dungu and Kibali tributaries of the Uelle.⁴ These appear to have a special reputation as blacksmiths.⁵ Their existence in this region is supported by Hutereau who calls them Do or Dongo. Of them he says that they live in the valley of the Kibali to the east of the Mangbettu. They like to build their villages on huge granitic rocks which rise from the plain, a situation which gives them equally a look-out post as natural protection and an inexhaustible supply of missiles.⁶

¹ Report of Rejaf Con. p. 40.

² De Calonne-Beaufaict. op. cit. p. 13.

³ De Calonne-Beaufaict. op. cit. pp. 132-133.

⁴ De Calonne-Beaufaict. op. cit. p. 134. "Ils (the Logo tribe) ont englobé au sud de la Dungu de petits îlots de Ndo et Ndogo qu'on retrouve sporadiquement au sud de Faradje jusque vers Mahagi"

⁵ De Calonne-Beaufaict, op. cit. p. 154.

⁶ A. Hutereau. op. cit. p. 317.

It will at once be seen that the information we possess about the Ndogo is very slight and unreliable. Even Schweinfurth, usually our best authority on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, is too overcome with the confusion caused in the north-west of the province by slave traders to write a description of the people of this region which is of value. He writes "Ethnographically considered, Dar Ferteet presented a wondrous medley. Perhaps nowhere else, in an area so limited, could there be found such a conglomeration of the representatives of the different races as upon the cultivated tracts in the environs of the Dehms: they were evidently the miserable remnants of an unceasing work of destruction. As we have already observed, the neighbours of the Bongo upon the west were the Golo and the Sehre, who combine together and have their homes in common. Beyond them, still farther to the west, are the Kredy. These Kredy do not seem to be limited to any particular district, but, like blades of any one particular species of grass, crop up every now and then, in detached groups, amongst the other species. The tribes which predominate, or at any rate those which I had the most frequent opportunities of observing, were the Nduggo, who were settled around Seebuhr's Dehm; the Bia, who were settled all about Dehm Gudyoo; and the Yongbongo, who occupied the region between the two."¹

As Schweinfurth grouped together all these tribes as Kredy, we cannot be sure that his notes on their appearance and customs refer solely or even at all to the Ndogo, but in view of what he says above we may well suppose that his observations were made mainly on this tribe.² He considers the Kredy to be the ugliest people in the Bahr-el-Ghazal. In form they are thick and unwieldy, below an average height and with brachycephalic skulls. Their mouths are wider and their lips thicker and more protruding than any other negroes whom Schweinfurth saw in the course of his travels. Their upper incisor teeth are either filed to a point or cut away, so as to leave intervening gaps between tooth and tooth. Their complexion is coppery-red and of a decidedly fairer hue than either the Bongo or the Azande. The Kredy-Nduggo call the *Encephalartos* "kotto" and Schweinfurth was told that they could manufacture a sort

¹ Dr. G. Schweinfurth. *The Heart of Africa*, Vol. II, pp. 220-221, with introduction by Winwood Reade.

² It is not clear to which tribe he attributes the vocabulary which he gives ("Sprache der Kredy") in his *Linguistische Ergebnisse*.

of beer out of the central portion of the stem. They possess large fishing nets forty feet long and eight feet broad, with meshes and floating rims made of the stalks of the borassus. Kredy building struck Schweinfurth as extremely slovenly and inartistic. Most of the huts consisted merely of a conical roof of grass raised upon a framework of hoops. They possess on the other hand granaries of very remarkable construction. The Kredy women wear bunches of grass or leaves fastened to their girdles before and behind. The Kredy possess a curious creeper used as a purgative medicine.¹

I have given these few notes culled from Schweinfurth only because if I had not done so I must perforce have said nothing about the Ndogo. We may sum up this section on the Ndogo by saying that from their vocabulary they seem to be a section of the Basiri people who have been driven northwards from the banks of the Mbomu by the Azande. In this northwards migration they came into contact with the Arab slave traders, whose sphere of activity lay between the Mbomu and the present settlements of the Ndogo near Dem Zubeir. They were presumably forced to come and live around the townships of the "Nubians" as slaves and subjects, and this accounts for their grouping near Dem Zubeir and Dem Gudju. If the settlement of Ndoggo marked by Cust on his map north of the Bahr-el-Arab in Dar Fur have or ever had any real existence, and are or were the same tribe as the Ndogo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, their position would have to be accounted for in the same way. For their position in Cust's map lay on the great route of slave caravans between Dem Zubeir and Darfur.

The Mbegumba, who now live on the Nangbanguru River, say that they migrated a long time ago from their home on hill Ndu in the vicinity of Mbage river, a tributary of the Sueh flowing into the parent stream from east to west. They say that the Mberidi came from the north and that they have long had a peaceable association with them in neighbouring communities. Three generations ago they came into relations with Renzi son of Yakpwati, who was carving out for himself a Zande kingdom till his meteoric career was cut short by a tragic death, and they appear to have suffered defeat and displacement at his hands. It seems that

¹ Schweinfurth, *op. cit.* Vol. II, Chap. XV.

with other members of their tribe, they moved northwards before turning southwards again, as a result of Arab oppression, in order to enjoy of their own accord the protection of Zande princes, and through submission to receive the benefits of the Pax Zandea. They split off from their relatives in the north who now live in the neighbourhood of Wau.

They give the following account (in Zande) :—

Ambegumba aenge ti vura Sue ku dio yo. Abayo ki pe Sue kindi, ki da ti gu wili Sue nga Mbage, na Ngoya, du na bakere mbia pati ni nga Du, ni bakere gbanga mbia gbe. I ki nimo ka ga ku li e yo dunduko ka sungo yo. Li gu mbia yo re i ki du yo ni liyo, ka kura boro azoganga yo wa sa ya ; ono wa i du yo gayo abazogorago ki du kina dagba yo, limoyo angia Batanzio, Bazanga, Gaki. Agi yo du biyata re i nangia abakumbarago, i ki du ni agbia a.

Renzi ki nimo ka tona vura ka ndu na ni sa Abarambu. Ko ki ta dia be agi yo re Abarambo ki niyugu bara Abari ku gi yo yo li mbia yo. Ko ki nimo ka ndu sa yo na vura, ki so vura na yo kindi, ki imi yo ni dungu yo. Agi abakumba nadu biyata re i ki nimo ka roga atameyo dunduko na awiliyo ka ra fu agbia. Abukuru ki du ku giyo yo.

Agbia ki ta dia be yo i ki niya si ngba ka ami yega sa kina agbia mbiko ka ami nye kina yo kindi agbia ki imi ra dunduko. Si du i ki nidi kina Sue ku beyo ka pe e ku ngboso o na Yubo, ki nisi e kina o. Aguyo ki ta mera ku uru yo, aguyo niga sa Bazingbi, aguyo ki nindu ku kumbo Ezo yo. I ki nimo ka gbandaka dunduko na rago.

The Mbegumba originated on the banks of the Sue to the west.¹ Their fathers followed the course of the Sue until they reached its tributaries, the Mbage and the Ngoya, in the vicinity of a rocky hill of unusual magnitude called Ndu. They built their dwellings on the top of this hill and lived there. Here they were independent, for no one had brought them into subjection. They were under the administration of their own chiefs, whose names were Batanzio, Bazanga and Gaki, which three men held positions of some authority over them.

¹ i.e., of their present position.

Renzi began to take up arms against the Abarambo, and when he had overcome them they opened up the way to the Abari¹ behind them on the rocky hill Ndu. Renzi began operations against them and fought them with great persistence, causing them many casualties. These three old men collected their younger brothers and sons and made submission to the Avongara. The Abukuru were in their rear.

Since the Avongara had defeated them they considered it advisable to make subjection, lest if they showed continued resistance in their homeland they should all perish at the hands of the Azande. For this reason they migrated, following the course of the Sue as far as its junction with the Yubo, where they crossed it. While some wandered eastwards others came into the kingdom of Bazingbi,² others into the country which was once the heritage of Ezo.³ They began to disperse everywhere."

Dungu agbia asonga vura na Abari wa sa te ; kina gu bakindo nangia Renzi, kinako naye na vura sa yo a wa ko amangi Azande. Ko ki so dungu vuru na lika ngbatunga aboro dunduko, ki nimo ka ye fuo Abari a. Ko ki so vura na yo ki di be yo. Fuo kina gu vura re sa Abari ki zere azera dunduko, ki nimo ka zora li gayo mbia yo ka yega sa kina agu agbia na mbedi na yo, aguyo ki nisusi ku mbata yo sa kura agbia. Abari asonga dungu vura na Azande wa sa te, kina vura Renzi sa.

"The Abari have not waged war against numerous Zande kings, but only against the great king Renzi⁴ who overcame them just as he had overcome the Azande earlier. He fought numerous tribes of all descriptions and began to make war against the Abari. He fought them and overcame them. After that war the Abari all submitted peaceably and descended from the protection of their hill. They subjected themselves to the Zande princes of the neighbourhood while some of them migrated elsewhere and submitted to other Avongara. The Abari fought no other wars with the Azande, only this one."⁵

¹ Zande name for the 'Belanda' group of peoples.

² Son of Yakpwati son of Mabenge.

³ Son of Bazingbi son of Yakpwati.

⁴ Son of Yakpwati son of Mabenge.

⁵ Free translations of Zande texts written for me by my Zande clerk Reuben, né Zingbalimboli, from dictation by old Mbegumba men.

Leaving out details it is fairly clear what happened. The Basiri pressed northwards and eastwards before the tide of Zande advance, as we saw in the last section of this paper, and took refuge in hills on both sides of the Sueh, just in the same way as the Apambia of Tembura district and the Babuckur became hill dwellers under similar circumstances. They were at different times and places attacked in their hill fastnesses by various Zande kings, those to the west of the Sue by Liwa, Tembura and other scions of the Nunga dynasty, those to the east of the Sueh by Renzi, a member of the dynasty of Yakpwati, to which house they came into subjection. They were compelled either to migrate, as we have seen some of those on the west bank did, further northwards, to await fresh Zande attacks, or to come down from their hills and to submit to Zande rule. In either instance their dispersion caused tribal disruption and the formation of numerous Basiri pockets widely separated from each other. When they migrated they coalesced with peoples of different cultures, so that racial and cultural admixture took place and new amalgamations of hybrid race and language and mutual poolings of cultures resulted, as between the Bor and the Mbegumba, and presumably also between the Ndogo and the peoples who live around them and with whom they have been pressed together under stress of invasion. Where they submitted to Zande rule, as in French and Belgian territory and in Tembura and Yambio Districts of the Sudan, they tended to disperse in small groups, their own culture being maintained or absorbed by that of the Azande, according to the size of each group and its position in Zande country. The Mbegumba of Yambio District have retained their language and customs owing to their situation on the borders of the Zande domains, where they are little subjected to the cultural influence of their conquerors. The main group of Basiri between the Kere and Boku rivers in French territory, have resisted absorption owing to their numerical strength and tribal solidarity.

My knowledge of the customs of the Mbegumba is negligible, and of the few recorded below it is impossible to say whether they are originally Mbegumba or Mberidi customs, so largely have these tribes pooled their cultures during their long and close association with each other, and so considerably have all the tribes of this region borrowed from their neighbours.

"Abari na yemba limoyo nga Veri ono Azande niya Abari. Gu limo re si nayugo payo dunduko nga wa du limo Azande, ono ngbatunga ki du ni kparaka-kparaka a. Ono Veri ti gayo ngbatungayo ue gbua, Mvegumba na Mverodi. Payo ki du ni kparaka-kparaka a na gayo limo ae dunduko. I nayemba limo Azande Kakundo, ono ka Zande du sa i ki ya Kundo. I nayemba Agbia nga Karungo; ka ni du sa i ki ya Rungo. I nayemba limo Abukuru nga Kasuma, ono ka ni du sa i ki ya Suma. I nayemba limo Abalemu nga Katuru; ka ni du sa i ki ya Turu. I nayemba limo Abunga nga Kavongo; ka ni du sa sa i ki ya Vongo. Ono gu kura dungu Tunga aboro berewe i nayemba kina gu limoyo du nzunzu."

"The Abari call themselves Veri¹ but the Azande call them Abari. This name applies to the whole community just as the word 'Azande' applies to their whole community, but the Veri also have sub-divisions. The Veri have only two divisions, the Mvegumba and the Mverodi.² The languages of these two divisions are altogether different. They call the Azande Kakundo but if there is only one they say Kundo. They call the Avongara Karungo but if there is only one person they say Rungo. In the same way they refer to the Babuckur³ in the plural and singular as Kasuma and Suma, the Arabs and Europeans as Katuru and Turu,⁴ and the Bongo⁵ as Kavongo and Vongo. They refer to other peoples by their correct names."

"Lika Abari ue, Amberodi na Ambegumba. Mbata i adu ni kparakakpara yo, Amberodi ki du rogo gayo ngbi akia. Ono kina Agbia ki ta so vura na yo, ki nizogo yo: si du i ki nimo ka koda ti yo kina lingara agbia. Gayo fugo ni kparakakparaka a, na gayo abia dunduko; ono kina ghere du sa na taka gaza. Amberodi ini fugo Ambegumba, Ambegumba ki ini fugo Amberodi."

"The Abari comprise two different tribes, the Amberodi and the

¹ The Mbegumba call themselves by this name and they may in certain contexts include the Mberidi under the same term, but they generally refer to them by the name bōri. Veri and bōri are often heard as berī and vōrī so that the initial phoneme is probably a bilabial v.

² For the v sound in these two words see preceding footnote.

³ Called by the Azande "Abukuru."

⁴ The usual name in this area for Europeans who come in the category of "Turks."

⁵ Called by the Azande "Abunga."

Ambegumba. Once upon a time they used to be quite distinct, and the Amberodi lived in a different country. It was only after the Avongara had fought them and subjected them that they began to dwell together under the suzerainty of the Avongara. Their languages are also quite different and their songs, though they have a common dance and mode of drumming. The Amberodi can understand the language of the Ambegumba and vice versa."

"Averi naya ami aye dio yo pati gu bakere mbia nga Du(k). Ono agiyo re i nagumba a fe re nga kura ngbatunga o du fugoyo sa na gami te. Kina Abasili sa du na limo gayo ae wa gami, ono kina fugoyo du ni kparakakparaka a ti ga Veri. Ono kina Abaka nakofa tuyo ka ma atara ko yo wa kuru Abari anamanga mbata. Si du i nabera a nga si wa i ini wili bete gami fugo."

The Averi say that they came from the west from near the large hill which is called Du(k).¹ These members of the tribe tell me that there are no other peoples with a language exactly the same as theirs, but that the Abasiri² alone have the same names for common objects as they do, though their language is different. They say also that the Abaka³ pierce their ears to insert (?) in them just like old Abari used to do in the past, so that they think that it is possible that they may understand a few words of their language."⁴

The Mbegumba have a clan system, and I have record of the existence of the following clans, while others doubtless exist: (A)fanzingo, Famangde, Mveungu, (A)mvegbogo, Fumono, (A)fairi.⁵ All these clans are exogamous. They are not associated with totemic beliefs, or at any rate they do not believe in reincarnation in animal forms as the Azande do. "Abari naya ami akuranga rogo ae wa sa te ; ami nakpi ki nye kina ku

¹ I think that this should be Du. It is given elsewhere as Du in these texts and this is how I heard it from my informants.

² The Basiri tribe of French Equatorial Africa. The Ndogo should also have been included as it was by my informants.

³ The Baka tribe of Meridi District and the Belgian Congo.

⁴ It is possible that some Mbegumba have travelled into Baka country, or they would probably have seen some of the many Baka slaves who used to serve their Zande masters. It is worth pointing out also that at one period of their migrations the Baka lived much further to the north than their present homeland. This ethnological observation of the Mbegumba is not very significant because the practise of piercing the ears for insertion of grass, etc., is common to most tribes in the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

⁵ The A prefix to some of these clans was probably given as my informants were speaking in Zande.

sende yo kindi"—"The Abari say that they under no circumstances change into things at death, but that when they die they remain for ever in the earth." But it is of interest to note that to-day many persons will give clan totems to the enquirer, and that this is true also of other peoples without this particular kind of totemic belief who have been absorbed by Zande culture, or who are in various stages of assimilation to it.¹

Before they submitted to Zande rule the Mbegumba were not highly developed politically. Their old men appear to have exercised limited authority over small areas and within their own clans, though it is difficult to say how far this authority went. It is perhaps worth quoting their own statement on this point: "In the old days the Mbegumba had no chiefs² but were broken up into many little communities. An old man with his sons and younger brothers and other relatives lived together and everybody resided in similar groups. They were divided up into clans which were always at war with each other."

"In the old days among the Mbegumba each man lived with his relatives in little separate communities. If any man committed an offence he was told to make compensation, but if he refused then they would seize him and go with him before one of their elders and there would bind him with cord and beat him. There is another point and that is, that if he were to make his case before the elder and it was not settled to his satisfaction, then he would go at night and shoot the man who had wronged him with his arrows. This finished the matter and he would then leave the neighbourhood to go and live in another one."³

It is possible that the authority of these elders was backed by knowledge of magic, as is sometimes the case in this area, especially by knowledge of rain magic. But I have no knowledge that this is the case. On the contrary, they denied any knowledge of rain magic strongly, though this may have been due to the fact that the Azande look askance at those who profess such abilities. They use two methods of divination. The one consists of dropping a needle or some such object into boiling water and the man undergoing an ordeal must plunge his arm into the water

¹ e.g., Bangbinda and Babuckur.

² i.e., they had no chiefs in the sense in which the Zande understands the word *ghia*.

³ Even to-day they have a reputation among the Azande for lawless behaviour of this kind.

to take it out. If his arm is scalded (*ka si mburu*) then he is held to be guilty, whereas if he is innocent there is no sign of scald. Apparently the man undergoing this test will immediately plunge his arm into cold water after removing it from the boiling water. A similar ordeal is used among the Shilluk-speaking Luo, about whom it is recorded: "If a person denies any charge made against him his hand is dipped in boiling water up to as many as six times in one or two ordeals, with an interval of one to two days between the ordeals, as may be desired by the complainant. If his hand should show any burns he is proclaimed guilty . . ."¹ Since this kind of ordeal does not occur among the Shilluk or members of the Shilluk-speaking group of peoples it seems that the Luo must have learnt it from their neighbours (Golo, Ndogo, etc.) as we know they have learnt many other practises, and that the Mbegumba did not take over the custom from the Luo-Mberidi. Moreover, Major Larken has noted this ordeal among the Azande of Tembura district, "An alternative ordeal was that of boiling water. If when it was applied to the skin, no mark resulted, innocence was proved. From a case that occurred at Tembura, it would seem that the water was poured on the wrist when this test was carried out."² I have never heard that such a test was made among the Azande of Gbudwe's kingdom (roughly Yambio District) and think that its occurrence near Tembura is due to one of the tribes conquered there by the Azande, possibly to the Basiri (main Mbegumba stock) whom we are considering in this paper.

Another means of divination is by means of cutting a fowl's throat. Thus, for example, when a man is very ill all his neighbours will go to the homestead of an elderly man, each bringing with him earth from the grave of a relative. They sit round in a circle with these little heaps of earth in front of them. The elderly man then takes a fowl and placing its neck across a block of wood cuts it with a knife. The decapitated hen runs round and falls dead near to one of these heaps of earth, and sickness is held to be due to the spirit of the man from whose grave the

¹ "Notes on the Law and Custom of the Jur Tribe, etc." by Jad Boutros Ghawi. *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1924, p. 72. These "Jur" are the Luo and not the Mittu group further to the south-east, though the author does not explicitly state the fact.

² "An Account of the Zande" by Major P. M. Larken. *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. IX, 1926, p. 52.

earth was taken. The Mberidi hold the same beliefs and have the same customs in this respect. The man who brought the heap of earth now goes to the grave of his relative from which it was taken, and there collects some more earth and rolls it in a little bundle of leaves and it is tied round the sick man's neck. If he does not recover after this treatment they may dig up the corpse and make a necklace of its teeth and hang it round the sick man's neck. Apparently if he dies they will use this method of divination again and if it is ascertained that the death was due to the spirit of this dead man some kind of compensation can be extracted from his family, or a feud may develop, but I have no certain knowledge about legal procedure of this nature.

They do not believe in witchcraft analogous to that believed in by the Azande.

A similar method of curing a sick man to that recorded above is noted from the Luo. "When a sick person believes that his illness is due to the desire to kill him of a man now dead, or that he would not have become sick had he not parted with a dead person when both were still in a state of feud with each other, his people proceed to the grave of deceased, obtain from it a handful of earth, mix it with water and make from it three small cakes which are then baked in fire. If after they are baked they are crushed when pressed between the fingers it would mean that the dead person is not the cause of the illness. If they are not crushed, a hole is made in each of them and hung on the neck of the sick person. If he recovers after this process, no further action is taken, otherwise his people proceed again to the grave, dig it up, pull out one of the teeth of deceased and hang it on the neck of the sick person. This they believe would cause him to recover. The same method is adopted by many other tribes in Bahr El Ghazal, such as the Golo, Bari¹ and N'doggo."²

We suppose that it was from these tribes that the Luo took over the custom, as it does not appear to be known among the Shilluk-speaking peoples. It will be noticed that two of these tribes, the Bari and the N'doggo belong to the same Basiri group as the Mbegumba.

¹ Presumably these are the branch of the N'doggo sometimes called Bare.

² *Law and Custom of the Fur Tribe*. op. cit. p. 80.

It is also worth recording that the method of divining by cutting a fowl's throat and watching which object it dies opposite is also used by the Moro of the West Bank (Mongalla Province—Amadi District)¹ as well as by the Lugware² both of which peoples speak dialects of the Madi language. Among the Lugware eight stones are arranged in judicial trials on the circumference of a circle at regular intervals. In the centre a peg is driven into the ground and a fowl is attached to it by a cord. When its throat is cut it runs round and round in a circle until it dies opposite one of these stones. One of the eight represents the accused.

To-day, and in the old days also, they declare that their methods of burial were similar to those of the Azande. The corpse was placed in a side niche of a circular grave-hole and the niche was closed with stakes of wood. A small heap of beaten earth marked the grave outside. After about a year they held a feast and a heap of stones was erected over the heap. On top of these circular stone mounds they often erect a wooden effigy of the deceased. I think that the Azande took over the idea of stone mounds from the Bor and Mbegumba, who in their turn borrowed it from the Bongo. The Mbegumba and Mberidi almost certainly adopted wooden grave effigies from the Bongo, as neither the Basiri nor Shilluk-speaking cultures are recorded as possessing them and as they are unknown to the Azande. Those erected by the Mbegumba on their graves are the finest I have seen in the Bahr-el-Ghazal; they are draped with bark-cloth or a woven cotton waist band and are adorned with hats, ear-ornaments and nose-pins. They are made for both sexes. The bodies are well-carved and parts are coloured with red and blue dyes. Sometimes what I take to be a tribal mark of the Mbegumba, three short diagonal cuts on each cheek, are added. During the feast when these effigies are erected they shoot arrows into them in the same way as the Bongo do, and, like them, they also set up posts which act as a tally of the larger and more dangerous beasts killed by the deceased during his lifetime.³

The reason given by the Azande for the fact that they do not often marry members of the Mbegumba tribe is, that the amount of bride-

¹ My unpublished notes on this tribe.

² R. E. McConnell, "Notes on the Lugwari tribe of Central Africa." J. R. A. I. 1925, p. 462.

³ E. E. Evans-Pritchard. "The Bongo," *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1929.

wealth which they are expected to hand over to the fathers of their brides is out of all proportion to that expected by a Zande father-in-law. The Mbegumba say that an average bride-wealth consisted of about twenty spears, some scores of arrows in quivers, mats, hoes, axes, bark-cloth, baskets, gourds, knives, rings, waterbuck-skin waist bands, and so on. Women are said to be handed over to form a household with their husbands far later than is usual among the Azande. The Mbegumba possess no livestock other than fowls. They depend for their food supply upon agriculture. Their staple crop is millet, but they also grow maize and a number of leguminous and oil-bearing plants. Their gardens also contain farinaceous food plants, manioc and sweet-potatoes and yams. Some of the plants they make use of to-day seem to have been introduced from contact with the Azande, e.g., the banana, which grows sparsely and to a low height in their country. On the other hand they appear to have added one or two plants to Zande gardens among those Azande who live in their vicinity, e.g., the oil-bearing plants called in Zande *bura* and *gali*.

They have considerable reputation as hunters, and possess a variety of hunting magic. They hunt largely with bow and arrows and adopt the method of climbing trees where animals are known to congregate and shooting at them from the branches. They also hurl spears at them from trees as they pass underneath. They also dig pits along animal tracks leading towards salt-licks at the edge of salt marshes. In common with the Azande and the Bongo they hunt animals in battues. They hoe small paths round squares of bush to observe the entry of beasts, and then drive them into nets in the usual manner in this part of Africa. Another method is the well-known one of firing the bush in a circle round a herd of elephants or other beasts.

Fishing is an important economic activity of this people. They fish in five ways at least, by scooping out water with a gourd from pools towards the end of the dry season, with hooks, with basket-traps, which are used by damming up a stream and leaving only one exit for the water in which opening is placed the trap, by netting, and by fish poison which is thrown into streams. This last method kills the fish which later rise dead to the surface.

The Mbegumba have a reputation as smiths and for their knowledge of magic used in smelting and smithing operations. They understand spinning and weaving, though this is possibly due to Arabic influence, they carve wooden bowls and stools, and they make pots. It is the women who make pots among this tribe, and their handicraft differs from that of the Azande and all other tribes I have seen in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, in that before firing the pots they add a slip of a special kind of black mud, called *lûkî* in Zande, and this gives them a very high polish which has the appearance of a glaze. Presumably they rub the pot after firing to obtain this polish on the surface of the slip, but I failed to make any enquiry about this point.

They collect termites during their swarmings. I have the following note on the names they use for some of these (the Zande name is in brackets): *sara* (*akiedo*), *gabû* (*abio*), *yango* (*angbaiemo*), *ndu* (*akistî*), *gogorigo* (*ali*).

When in their country I saw one specimen of xylophone, an elaborate instrument which has wooden boards on which the player beats, and hollow gourd pipes which give off different notes according to their length. I was told that the Basiri and Ndogo both play this kind of xylophone. Their dance music is derived from drums and trumpets. Three drums, one large and two small ones, are supported from a post and beaten by a single drummer, a feat of dexterity very pleasing to watch. The trumpets are composed mainly of gourd. Each is of a different length and consequently gives off a different note. A melody is commenced by a single player, and then one by one the others come in.

It is greatly to be hoped that some research will be done among the Mbegumba in other parts of the Bahr-el-Ghazal before they have been completely absorbed by Zande culture. Already those whom I met are taking over Zande ideas and customs rapidly. They are all trilingual, speaking their own language, Zande and Mberidi. Even a casual visitor to this area can see Zande influences at work, in language, in personal names, in the erection of spirit shrines, in the use of oracles, in political institutions, the intrusion of blood-brotherhood, and the use of various plants and utensils. I was too interested myself in enquiring into Zande history between the Sueh and Iba rivers to make more than superficial

observation on the Mbegumba, but I can at any rate draw attention once more to this people and the need for investigation into their customs before it is too late.

CONCLUSIONS.

1. Between the Pongo and the Iba there are settlements of people who have long been known as Belanda. This name comprises two distinct races and cultures, Shilluk and Basiri, but through long residence in the same area there has been considerable cultural and probably racial admixture between them. Both have been repeatedly raided by the Azande and have been partially absorbed by Zande political organization.

2. The Shilluk element of the Belanda (Bor) have migrated southwards in successive waves. The last two waves, Mberidi and Fujiga, must have broken away from the Luo during the last century, but the earlier waves (one of which is probably to be identified with the Kamum) may have moved southwards very much earlier, possibly even before Nyakang migrated from the Bahr-el-Ghazal to the present Shilluk homeland in the 16th century. Our knowledge of the Bor is negligible, but one may hazard a conjecture that very little besides language is left of their nilotic culture. They have certainly undergone great physical modification. Further research among them is imperative, as they form one of the most important ethnological problems of culture-contact in the Sudan.

3. The other element in the Belanda amalgam are the Mbegumba. These are related to a large homogeneous tribe called Basiri, who live in the triangle formed by the rivers Mbomu, Boku, and Kere. They suffered severe shocks from the Zande invasion at the beginning of the 19th century, and this invasion, aided by Arab slave-raiding activities, caused dispersion. The main body of Basiri submitted to Zande rule and remained a cohesive group. Others migrated northwards, and now speak a dialect of Basiri known as Ndogo in several settlements in the north-west of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Others migrated north-eastwards and settled in the hills between Tembura post and the Bo river. Here they were again disturbed by Azande and Arabs and a secondary dispersion took place, resulting in the formation of pockets widely separated from each other.

APPENDIX I.

	<i>Boy (Belanda)</i>			<i>Luo (Jur)</i>			<i>Bongo</i>		
	Ht.	Hd. Br.	Hd. Le.	Ht.	Hd. Br.	Hd. Le.	Ht.	Hd. Br.	Hd. Le.
1.	175.0	14.7	18.8	186.0	14.2	19.2	179.0	14.5	18.8
2.	171.5	13.7	19.3	176.5	13.1	18.8	169.5	13.6	18.8
3.	166.0	13.8	18.0	176.0	13.9	18.9	169.0	14.3	19.8
4.	169.0	14.6	19.7	168.5	13.2	18.6	174.0	14.7	18.5
5.	163.0	14.3	20.2	193.0	13.5	19.2	170.0	14.1	19.4
6.	159.0	13.1	19.1	172.5	12.9	18.8	169.0	14.4	19.4
7.	160.5	14.1	19.7	169.0	13.2	18.7	169.5	15.3	18.8
8.	173.0	14.4	19.2	172.5	13.6	19.8	168.5	13.9	19.1
9.	166.5	13.5	20.0	177.5			172.0	14.3	19.2
10.	166.0	13.6	18.8	181.0			172.5	13.9	19.5
11.	164.5	13.2	18.4	181.0			170.5	14.3	19.1
12.	165.5	14.1	19.4	180.5			160.5	13.9	18.6
13.	169.0	14.3	18.9	175.5			171.0	13.7	19.1
14.	159.0	13.8	18.9	73.02			169.5	13.5	18.8
15.	171.0	13.8	20.0	69.0			166.5	13.2	18.3
16.	163.5	13.7	18.2	75.27			164.5	14.7	18.6
17.	169.0	13.0	19.2	67.71			176.5	14.1	18.5
18.	171.0	14.3	18.7	76.47			175.0	14.1	19.6
19.	170.0	13.9	19.0	73.16			162.0	13.6	18.5
20.	173.5	14.1	19.2	73.4			162.0	14.2	18.2
21.	172.0	13.6	17.5	77.71					
22.	161.5	13.8	18.5	74.59					
23.	175.0	14.5	18.9	76.72					
24.	173.5	14.0	19.3	72.54					
25.	176.0	14.8	19.8	74.75					
AVERAGE.				AVERAGE.			AVERAGE.		
N.M.	Ht.	Hd. Br.	Hd. Le.	N.M.	Ht.	Hd. Br.	N.M.	Ht.	Hd. Le.
25	168.14	13.95	19.07	73.21	13	177.65	20	169.6	74.6
					8	13.45			70.75

The measurements on the Bor were made just north of the Bo river and those on the Luo and Bongo at Tonj, where I met a few members of the Luo tribe by chance. If we compare them with the measurements made on Shilluk by Myers and Pirrie (given in "Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan" by C. G. Seligman, M.D., *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1913) we shall see that the Bor are considerably shorter in stature than the Shilluk whose language they speak (av. stature Shilluk 1,776 : Bor 1,681), whereas the Luo are of almost identical stature (1,777). The Luo are considerably taller than the Bongo (1,696) while the Bor come out slightly shorter. Those Luo measured showed an even higher grade of dolichocephaly than the Shilluk (Shilluk 71.3, Luo 70.75) while the Bor display a rise towards mesaticephaly (73.21) though less so than the Bongo (74.6). The measurements are too few, especially on the Luo, to generalize upon, but as far as they go they demonstrate what we should expect, namely, that the Bor having been long wedged between the Bongo and Azande and mixed with Mbegumba, have undergone much modification in the stature and head formation typical of Nilotic peoples, whereas the Luo have retained these special features, which is probably due to the fact that they sought protection among the Dinka.

APPENDIX II.

Of the vocabularies given below, the Shilluk words are recorded by Westermann, the Luo words by Schweinfurth and myself, the Mberidi by myself, the Basiri by a Zande boy (Reuben), the Mbegumba by myself, and the Ndogo by Father Ribero (lent to me by Prof. Alice Werner). As the sole purpose of presenting these lists of words is to demonstrate the similarity in vocabulary between various languages or possibly dialects, it has been thought undesirable to reproduce exactly the technically perfect record of Westermann for comparison with others less exact. Consequently, I have left out all the diacritical marks over and under vowels and have changed phonetic consonant signs to their nearest English equivalent. I have acted in the same manner with Schweinfurth's list of Luo words and Father Ribero's N'dogo vocabulary. My own vocabularies are collected by rules of thumb rather than by rules

of phonetics, and I make no claim for more than an approximation to exactness.

	SHILLUK	SCH.	LUO	E-P.	MBERIDI
ashes	bur	burr	—	—	bur
axe	doro	leh	le	le	le
bamboo	—	kau	kou	kou	kou
beer	mogo	kongo	—	—	kong
buffalo	jopi (pl.)	dovi	gyobi	gyobi	jobi
crocodile	nyang	nyang	nyang	nyang	nyang
dog	gwok	guok	gwok	gwok	gu
drum	bul	—	—	—	bul
ear	yit	yit	yit	yit	kich
egg	tong (pl.)	uott	tong	tong	tong
elephant	lyech	lied (ch)	lech	lech	lech
eye	wang	uang	wang	wang	wang
fire	mach	mad(ch)	mach	mach	mach
fish	rejo	rehyo	reo	reo	reo
God	jwok	—	juok	juok	jok
grass	lum (pl.)	—	lum	lum	lum
hen	gyeno	(tuonn) dgehno	gyana	gyana	gwena
hoe	kwero	—	—	—	kwer
hut	wot	—	wot	wot	kot
knife	falo	palla	pala	pala	fala
leopard	kwach	kuat (ch)	kwach	kwach	ngu
lion	ngu	muh	nu	nu	dubor
man	chwou (male)	gichuau	dechau	dechau	dicho
meat	ringo	ringo	ringe	ringe	le
moon	dwai	duai	dwai	dwai	dwe
mouth	dok	tio	dok	dok	dok
nose	wum	hum	wum	wum	kum
path	yo	yioh or iyoh	yo	yo	yo
penis	chul	chull	chul	chul	chul
pot	dak	atabbo	dak	dak	dak
rain	koth	kott	koth	koth	koth
river	nam	namm	godi	godi	kou
salt	kado	kadda	kara	kara	kada
sky	mal	mahla	mala	mala	udoi (udoc ?)
sister	nyamio	—	nimiya	nimiya	nimiya
spear	tong	lai	tong	tong	tong
stars	kyelo	chiero	—	—	chiro
stone	kit (pl.kiti)	kiddi	lala	lala	kidi
		lehlo			
sun	chang	ch(y) uong	chang	chang	chiang

	SHILLUK	SCH.	LUO	E-P.	MBERIDI
teeth	lek	nyam		lak	nyilak
tongue	lep	lehp		lep	lef
vagina	nyim	murr		mur	mur
water	pi	bafi		bafi	fi
woman	dacho	dahgo		dako	dako
	dakau				
wood	yath (tree)	yatt		yath	yath
	Mbegumba		Basiri		Ndogo
animal	—		nwo		no
arm	gbi (bi)		bwi		bbi
arrows	gili		gali		giri
ashes	vuru		—		mbvuluwu
axe	—		kango		kango
basket	keri		kade		ke
basket (open-wove)	baga		baga		bvaga
beard	—		sande		senje
beer	fe		—		pfe
blood	dzu		jo		—
boy	widago		winako		—
breast	— (ki)		ki		ki
buffalo	gba		gbe		gbwa
butterfly	mvurumvuru		mburumburu		—
cane-rat	mvatara		mbatara		—
dig-dig	di		dii		—
dog	—		voro		bvo
drum	kpolo		kporo		qwu
ear	su		—		tu (orecchio)
earth	—		two		to
egg	—		para (nguru)		para
elephant	iya		—		ya
eye	volo		ro		ro
face	lo		bwuro		gbwiro
father (my)	—		bwa		bvu
feather	ngbu		—		ngbwu
fire	wi		wi		—
firewood	susu		yachwu		tacu
fish	swe		swe		se
five	vo		vuo		—
foot	ngbo		ngbo		ko
four	nau		nao		—
frog	lu		lu		lu
girl	wini		wini		—

	Mbegumba	Basiri	Ndogo
God	zogi	mbali	mbviri
gourd	bi	gbi	gbwi
grandfather	—	gwo	gu
guinea-fowl	koro	koro	—
hen	—	nguru	ngu
hoe	kara	kala	gu (sarchiello)
homestead	ba	ba	bba (patria)
hunger	go	gwo	go
husband (my)	dagowe	nakonde	—
hut	ti	tu	bba (capanna)
hyena	wutoni	zege	kutuku
knee	murudurungba	mburungbo	mungbwo
knife	mva	mba	—
leaf	kpa	—	qwa
leopard	molo	molo	moro
lion	devili	bahu	singi
man	dago	naku	ddako
marsh-mud	vetu	twu	—
mat	ngba	dulu	du (stuoia)
meat	no	no	ya (carne)
moon	—	pwi	pfi
mother (my)	—	naa	na
mushroom	gi	gii	gi
neck	mili	—	miri
net	mu	mvu	mbvu
nose	ngo	ko	no
oil	vara	bara	bva
one	nze	nze	—
penis	gbo	gbo	—
porridge	ko	—	ko
pot	kala	karo	kara
rain	mu	mwu	mu
salt	zi	izi	zi
seven	volandiriso	ibosu	—
six	volandiranze	nzelebingie	—
skin	—	kuno	ku
sleep	li	li	—
smoke	nguruwi	ngwi	nguwu
spear	da	ngbita	ddo
stone	wo	dewe	di
sun	—	li	ri
teeth	ti	ti	ti
three	tau	tao	—
tongue	me	me	me

	Mbegumba	Basiri	Ndogo
two	so	bosu	—
vagina	to	tho	—
water	ngo	ngo	ngo
wife (my)	niwe	ninde	—
woman	ni	mi	ni

THE TRIBAL CONFUSION AROUND WAU.

By Dr. A. N. Tucker.

(WITH MAP).

EVERY large governmental post in the Southern Sudan gathers unto itself in the course of time specimens of every known tribe within a radius of a hundred miles or so ; but Wau has the doubtful advantage over other posts in being established in a part of the country already inhabited by a cluster of small tribes, with the addition of foreign invasion and intertribal war to add to the confusion. One hears of Belanda and Begumba, of Bari and Bare, Rodi, Ndogo, Golo, Jur, and a host of other names, some of which seem to fit, and some of which seem to contradict themselves, according to one's native informant. The government is now attempting to sort out this mixture, and restore its component parts before it is too late, and it is with a view to assisting those interested in the experiment that this tentative article is written.

I should like here to acknowledge the great help given me by Mr. C. A. G. Wallis, who kindly placed at my disposal the very valuable notes which he had already compiled on the subject ; also the careful checking and constructive criticism our material underwent at the hands of Father Olivetti at Kajok and especially Father Santandrea at Wau, whose knowledge of Ndogo enabled him to question the various chiefs concerned directly, and find out their lineage.

The two main causes of the tribal confusion around Wau are the Arab slave raids from the North and the Zande invasions from the South. All tribes were affected more or less simultaneously, but it will be simplest here to start with the discussion of the *Jur*, whose existence perhaps began long ago at Fashoda.

THE JUR.

The Jur tell us that after Nyakang, the national hero of Shilluk legend, had led his faction to the Upper Nile (presumably after their break with the Acholi in the South), a section of his people in their turn broke away from him, and journeyed up the Bahr-el-Ghazal under his brother Dimo. Here they seem to have split up again ; there are still

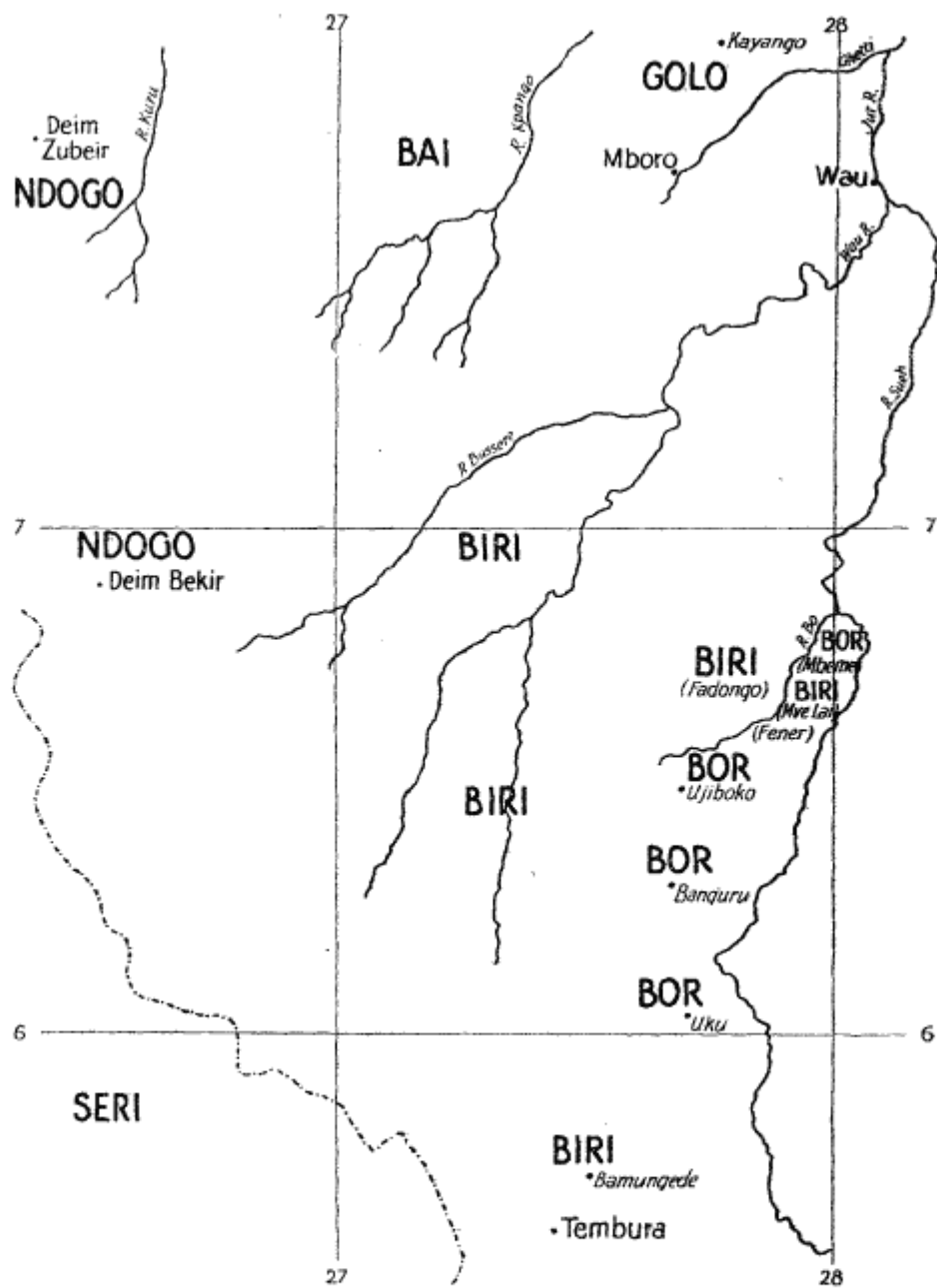
some Jur who call themselves Demo, and we hear of one section, the Dembo (doubtless a Belanda corruption of "Demo") gaining ascendancy over another, called the Bor, but at the same time adopting the Bor dialect of Shilluk;¹ we also hear of the Cat ("Shatt" according to the old spelling), who are now degenerated into mere forest hunters in the West, the presence of "fly" in their country preventing their having cattle. The main body of migrating Shilluk, however, eventually settled in the country around Aweil, where they flourished for a time under their chief Cakcak, even assimilating people of other tribes. They called themselves *Jo Luo* (i.e., "the people of Luo"), a name suggestive of the Shilluk-speaking Jaluo of Kenya and Aluro of Uganda.

Slave raids from the North eventually broke up Cakcak's following, and the main body of the Luo moved Southwards, along the West edge of the Dinka country. The Dinka received them coldly, called them "Jur" (i.e., "foreigners"), and refused to let them enter Dinka country (except as slaves) or intermarry with Dinka. They were regarded as inferiors, because they had lost their cattle in their wanderings. Hence the Jur were extended along the outskirts of Dinka country, Anweij, Kangei, and even as far South as Tonj. According to Wallis: "Each section lived under the protection of a neighbouring Dinka chief; the head of each family was the medium of communication with the Dinka; hence, as the population increased, these old men became 'headmen,' and finally chiefs."

The Jur are excellent iron-workers, and still supply the Dinka with spears, where the two races meet. Although still regarded as the inferior race, they intermarry to a certain extent with the Dinka, the woman taking the nationality of her husband; there is also a fair amount of assimilation of Dinka customs (e.g., the tribal marking of boys' heads). They answer readily to the name of "Jur" (the name no longer carrying with it its former insult), but among themselves they are still the *Jo Luo*.

An interesting article on the Law and Customs of these peoples has been written by Jad Boutros Ghawi (Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. VII, No. 2, Dec. 1924). In build the Jur seem to resemble the Acholi more than the Shilluk, being less "spidery" than the latter. In many cases

¹ The Bor will be further discussed under the Belanda; they are in no way related to the Bor Dinka.



Map to show probable distribution of the Belanda and other Tribes before the Zande invasions.

the skin is brown rather than black. The Jur way of dressing the hair is characteristic neither of the Shilluk nor of the Azande, and seems to have been evolved independently. The Jur language (Dhe Luo) is probably closer to Acholi than to Shilluk. An Acholi "boy," whom I was fortunate enough to come across in Wau, told me that they speak almost like his own people, and that he had no difficulty in understanding them from the first.

Mention here must be made of the Manangeer tribe, inhabiting the swamp area between the "Narrows" and the Lol River; they are expert fishermen, and, in fact, seem almost to live in their canoes. They have no cattle, and do not work in iron. They claim to be descended from the Shilluk, but speak Dinka for the most part, have Dinka tribal markings and head-dress, and, in fact, are often taken for Dinka. The cattle-owning Dinka call them "Jur wir" (i.e., "foreigners of the river"), and it is to be speculated that the Jur River was named after them rather than after the Jo Luo, who entered the country further Westward.

These Northern Jur must not be confused with the "Jur" near Rumbek. The latter, as has often been pointed out, are a totally different mixture of races, and, as far as can be made out, may be divided into two groups:—

- (a) the Beli and the Sofi—speaking a Bongo-like language, and coming originally from the South or East;
- (b) the Lali, Mori, Lori and Kirima—speaking a language like the Namusa language of Amadi. The Lali, however, claim to be related to the Sofi, while the Lori, etc., claim relation with the Namusa.

All these tribes (also including Schweinfurth's "Mittoo") seem to have adopted as tribal name the sobriquet of "foreigner," contemptuously given them at the beginning by the neighbouring Gok and Agar Dinka.

THE NDOGO AND GOLO TRIBES.

These two small tribes suffered so heavily from the slave raids that it is almost impossible now to ascertain their different origins. The end of the slave-raiding period found the main body of the Ndogo settled at Deim Bekir under the Lemgbo family and the Golo at Deim Idris

under the Kayango family. The two languages are in no perceptible way related, but the two tribes still live on terms of equality.

Their history since the time of the slave raiders has been anything but peaceful, since they were situated almost in the path of the Zande invasions. The Azande, after being beaten off by the Dinka (see under *Belanda*), moved North-West under the leadership of Zomoi, and encountered the Ndogo and the Golo. Zomoi called on Lemgbo and Njimaa Kayango to surrender, and, on their refusing, besieged them near Deim Arbab. Of this siege there are two stories. One is that the son of Njimaa escaped and persuaded Sultan Nasir of Raga to come to their assistance; after driving off the Azande, Nasir suggested that the Ndogo and Golo should come and live as his subjects, but the relieved tribes preferred to pay fully for the help received, and remain independent. The other version is that Zomoi, after killing and capturing many of the besieged (which latter he sent to his own country), raised the siege on the recommendation of Nasir, who pointed out how wasted they were with famine and disease. The Ndogo under Lemgbo at first went back to their old home, and lived near Nasir for some time. Then Nasir and Lemgbo quarrelled, and Lemgbo withdrew and settled at the head of the Ghetti, while Njimaa settled at the place which is now known (after him) as Kayango.

A second Zande invasion under Tembura again involved these unfortunate tribes. One of Lemgbo's headmen, named Ngomar, was captured, and Lemgbo himself had to flee to Biselli, calling on Kayango to help him. The latter managed to enlist the help of the Dinka under Akol Agankeer and Tembura retired. One story runs that Tembura, on seeing about 200 head of Dinka cattle, so coveted them that he purchased the lot at two girls a head, and so returned, without having struck a blow. His Ndogo captive, Ngomar, subsequently escaped to Biselli, after seven years' captivity.

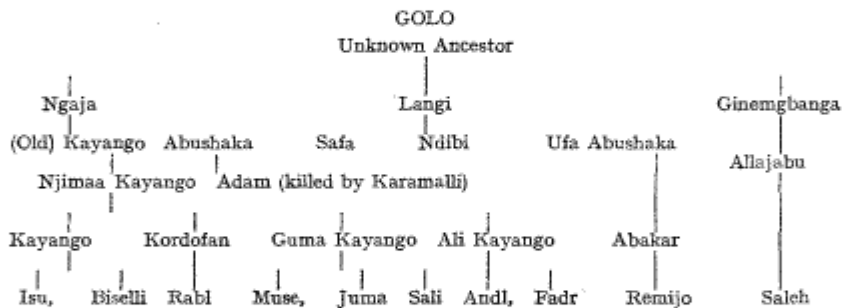
Since then the Ndogo and Golo tribes have lived peacefully together, though there has been a steady flow Westwards during the last few years. Of the two languages Ndogo is by far the better known, and is in fact a recognised lingua franca among certain tribes of this district, with more than one subordinate dialect. (See under *Belanda*). Of the rapidly

dying Golo language very little is known ; it is thought by some to be related to Banda ; others hold that the number of corresponding words in the two languages is due to earlier proximity of the two tribes. All the Golo can speak Ndogo, and many of them know their own language only slightly.

The Ndogo and Golo lines of chiefs are as follows :—



Some people hold that the first home of the Ndogo was on the Ngondabu River, near the sources of the Kpango,¹ that they afterwards drifted to Deim Zubeir, where they lived under a Woro chief before acquiring a chief of their own : (Old) Mboro.



The descendants of these old chiefs play a very small rôle now. Isu has been replaced by the Ndogo chief Fei. Biselli is merely a councillor, and Muse a wakil. Saleh, however, has just been appointed new chief.

THE BELANDA (also spelled Balanda, Bolanda).

The name "Belanda" is of foreign origin, and, as pointed out by M. J. W. in "Sudan Notes and Records," 1926, is used to denote the members of two distinct tribes, speaking totally different languages, but

¹ Written "Pongo."

living together, intermarrying, and sharing the same customs, dances, etc. Their history is as follows :—

Whenever Tembura and his victorious Avungara conquered a tribe, their policy was to absorb that tribe rather than exterminate it, imposing Zande as the principal language, without, however, stamping out the tribal vernacular. In the course of his advance, Tembura overcame a small tribe known as the Mve-Gumba (or Gamba), living under a chief called Bamungede, and speaking a language related to Ndogo called *Biri*. Once subdued, these Biri were left under Bamungede, who became like a Zande sub-chief; in fact his son afterwards commanded Tembura's Abanzengere.

These Mve-Gumba (or Biri) informed Tembura of another small tribe, whom they called the Mve-Rodi, living under a certain chief Banguru in rocky caves about one and a half days' journey from what is now the Bo Post. They spoke a dialect of Shilluk, and their descendants call themselves "*Bor*," saying that "*Rodi*" is a name the Gamba have given them.¹ They claim also to be descended from the Shilluk of Nyakang, and that their ruling family is (or at that time was) the Dembo. (See the section on the Jur.) Tembura commanded them to come and live with the Mve-Gumba, which they eventually did, but not before Tembura had had to beleaguer their mountain and starve them out of their caves. Tembura subdued three Bor chiefs altogether,—Uku, Banguru and Ujiboko. Two other chiefs, Yango and Ukelo, fled northwards to the Jur country near Tonj. The rest of the Bor, however, settled down under Zande rule along with the Biri, while Tembura appointed Gula, son of Uku and a great favourite, as chief of this combined tribe.² Since then these two peoples have lived together and intermarried, so that in outward appearance and customs they are hardly to be distinguished; the two languages, however, still exist side by side. The Biri intermarry freely with the Ndogo, but the Bor do not.

The Avungara called this new artificial tribe (composed of Mve-Gumba and Mve-Rodi) the "*Abaré*" (perhaps a corruption of "*Biri*"), and treated its members as very inferior people. Wallis writes: "I am

¹ The Biri, on their part, declare that "*Gamba*" is the name the Rodi have given them.

² It seems that subsequently Tembura grew angry with Gula, and the latter fled to Lembo, leaving his brother Uräs to rule in his place.

told that if one of them happened by chance to stroll into the compound of a Vungara, the latter would pluck a leaf, and, using it as a glove, take hold of the Baré's wrist between finger and thumb (the leaf protecting him from contamination), and gently deposit him outside again." In course of time, with the advent of the "Turks" this composite tribe acquired the name "Belanda" (a Bongo word signifying "Hill-dwellers,") and this name has persisted, so that the natives now answer to it; and if one asks a Belanda of the Gamba section to speak Belanda, he will speak Biri; while a Belanda of the Rodi section will speak Bor. As far as can be made out, Biri is the more popular language of the two, possibly because it is related to Ndogo. In cross-marriages, the children usually learn the language of the father.

Meanwhile Tembura advanced diagonally away from the Bor, subjugating the Mve-Lai and Fener (East of the River Bo) and the Fadongo (West of the Bo) and other smaller Biri-speaking sections. Some were allowed to remain where they were, but many were brought into Zande country, where their descendants are still to be found. It was part of Tembura's policy to surround himself with the sons of conquered chiefs, often allotting them tribes to rule.

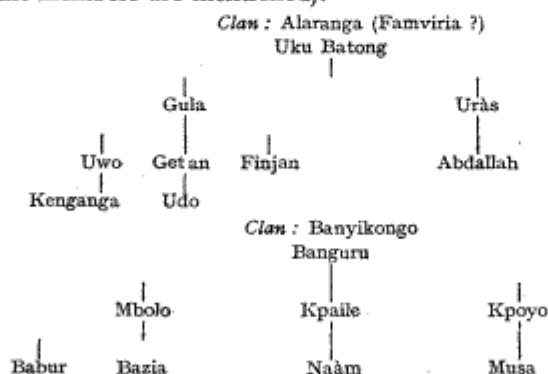
With the advent of the British, the two parts of the Belanda have been freed from Zande interference. First the Mve-Rodi (Bor) were let free to return to their hills, while the Mve-Gumba went to Ndokile on the Kpango. Later on, when the Azande were again threatening, the Mve-Rodi under Kpaile (son of Banguru) were brought North of the Bo River, and settled along the road there, next to the Jur. The Jur would have nothing to do with them, refuting their claim to a common ancestry, even though their languages were mutually understandable; and even now intermarriage between Belanda and Jur is rather rare—but that seems chiefly due to the high bride-price demanded for a Jur woman. It is said that the Rodi chief Arum (son of the chief Yango who had fled North), when asked whether he would not care to adopt Jur customs and unite with the Jur, refused and moved away to another part of the country. Since then he has joined forces with the people of Ayio (son of Ukelo, the other Bor chief to fly North), and they are now settled on the Bo Road, between Gedi and Getan, under the new chief Bazia.

The Mve-Gumba (Biri), except for a group at Deim Zubeir, are now settled along the Belanda Circular Road between Wau and Mboro, under their own chiefs (Ndokile being deposed).

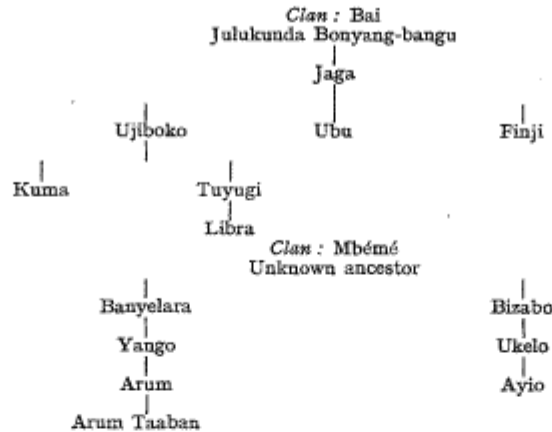
THE RE-NAMING OF THE BELANDA.

Now that the Belanda (or Abaré) are again being separated into their component parts, it seems obvious that they should return to their original names. The difficulty, however, lies in determining what their original names were.

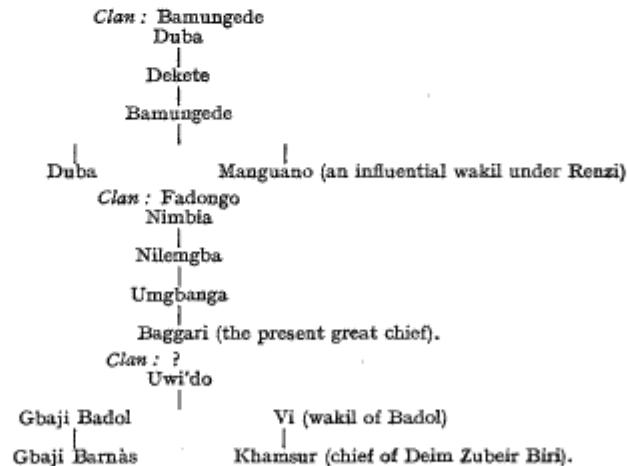
With regard to the Mve-Rodi there seems no difficulty; they all claim that the word "Mve-Rodi" is the Gamba name for them, and that their real name is *Bor*. Old people will sometimes say that they were once called Dembo,¹—or rather that that is the name of the ruling tribe. There are also clan divisions among the Bor, e.g., the family of Getan call themselves Famviriya. Moreover, there is a feeling of antagonism between the Bor of Tuyugi and the rest of the tribe, the former being called "Jo Ugot" ("people of the hills"), and the latter in turn being called "Jo Kunam" ("people of the river"), because they lived near the river Sueh. These distinctions once acknowledged, however, they all claim that the tribal name is Bor, and that they are descended from the Shilluk. Their chiefs' lines are roughly as follows: (only the important members are mentioned).



¹ It is noticeable that the Bor seem to lean to Ndogo more than to Shilluk in their proper names; this can be seen by the consonant combinations mb, nd, nj, etc., which are alien to Shilluk dialects. The word "Dembo" is hence, probably, a corruption of Demo, or perhaps even Dimo. (See section on the Jur).



As regards the Mve-Gumba there is some confusion ; some hold that their real name is *Biri*, and that they are known to the Ndogo and Bor as " Gumba " and " Gamba " respectively ; others say that their real name is Gamba, and that Biri is an alternative name ; others still say that there is a difference between Gamba and Biri, and that they are two sub-sections of the same tribe, speaking allied dialects. Out of this welter of confusing evidence, two facts stand out, viz., that " Mve-Gumba " is a name of foreign origin, and that their language is generally known as *Biri*. Their chiefs' lines are as follows :—



THE BAI AND THE SERI.

The Bai (sometimes called Bari¹ and often confused with the " Bare ") used to live on the right bank of the river Kpango, separated from the Ndogo and Golo by the river Kuru. The latter two tribes were pushed against the Bai by the Zande advance, and all three tribes were speedily subjugated. They were not reinstated till the British took over. Their language is very like Ndogo. The Bai chiefs' line is as follows :—

Kaki—Old Kali—Iddris (Kali's brother)—Rabeh Kali (Kali's son)—Kordofal.

The Seri (or Sheri) are a little known tribe of hillmen, coming from the West, with a language similar to Ndogo, Bai and Biri. Their original name seems to have been Abire, but they were nicknamed " Abasiri " by the Azande, because, it is alleged, one of their headmen licked some fat off his arm while handing out rations to his followers. Wallis records : " In the South these people are still called by this name, but to the North the name ' Sheri ' prevails. There are only about 100 tax-payers of the Sheri in Central District." These people have no chief now, and live among the Ndogo, Golo and Bai. Rani (Rihan) was lately the wakil of Bandas Umbili among the Biri of Bagara.

OTHER TRIBES.

The Bongo in Central District have now been brought together under one chief, and have been settled on the Tembura Road on both sides of the river Busseire. A full account of this tribe has already appeared in this Journal. See " The Bongo " by E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Vol. XII, Part 1 (1929).

The Dinka (Rek and Malwal) cover a large area North of Wau, and the authorities are trying to keep them from settling in and near the post itself. To the West lie the Atuot, Agar and Twic Dinkas, but they lie outside the scope of this article. An interesting account of the Rek Dinka has been written by Major C. W. Titherington in this journal. Vol. X (1927).

¹ Not to be confused with the *Bai* clan of the Belanda, nor with the *Bari* of Mongalla Province, who speak a totally different language, with dialects of its own.

The Azande, while not established in or anywhere near Wau, nevertheless are always to be found there and throughout the Central District as a large, ever-shifting population of temporary visitors from the South. Their language has penetrated far, and will doubtless in time take the place of Arabic as *lingua franca*. It is already as well-known as Ndogo throughout the small neighbouring tribes.

The Western District represents an even bigger tribal muddle than Wau, and very little is known about its scattered tribes and their movements. At the present moment the most important tribe there is the Kreish, whose language has recently been adopted for official purposes. The real name of the "Kreish" is Gbaya, while the Ndogo call them "Mandugba." There seem to be four principal groups: the Gbaya-Ndogo near Deim Zubeir (soon to be transplanted), the Gbaya-Naka near Raga and the River Bolo, the Yomamgba ("people of the mountain") between the Sopo and Raga Rivers, and the Woro, north of Deim Zubeir, intermingled with the Shilluk-speaking Cat.

CONCLUSIONS.

There are two ways of grouping the tribes around Wau, depending on whether one takes language or social customs as criterion.

Linguistically the people are divided into two big camps:—

1. The Jur and the Bor (Mve-Rodi), speaking dialects of Shilluk, claiming descent from the Shilluk, but denying relationship with each other.
2. The Ndogo, Bai, Seri and Biri (Mve-Gumba), speaking dialects of Ndogo, the first three intimately related in customs as well.

The Golo stand outside this group, with a language belonging to neither group; this language, however, is rapidly giving way to Ndogo.

Culturally there are three groups:—

1. The Jur (Jo Luo), despised by the Dinka and despising the Bor.
2. The Bor and the Biri, both answering to the name of "Belandi," speaking entirely different languages, but linked together by intermarriage and social customs. Biri is the popular language, and the Biri are also on friendly terms with the Ndogo group.

3. The Ndogo, Bai, Seri and Golo, linked together socially, the first three speaking dialects of Ndogo, and the last losing its own language and substituting Ndogo.

All these people can make themselves understood in a sort of Arabic patois, and most of them (with the possible exception of the Jur) know Ndogo and Zande as well.

FUNG ORIGINS.

By L. F. Nalder.

The following notes may in some respect supplement the interesting article by Mr. Chataway which appeared in Vol. XIII, part 2 of Sudan Notes and Records.

His theory that the Fung were commissioned by the Abyssinian rulers to join hands with the Abdullab in suppressing various predatory Arab tribes, with a view to restoring communications between Abyssinia and Alexandria hardly seems to fit the fact that what they did do was to destroy the Christian Kingdom of Soba, which, ex-hypothesi, they should have been anxious to save. But the truth of this theory is in no way essential to his main thesis that the Shilluk theory of Fung origins, which seems to be generally taken for granted, is in the highest degree improbable, and it is in support of that thesis that the following observations are put forward.

That the origin of the Fung who for some three centuries dominated a very large portion of the central Sudan should still be a matter of conjecture, is one of the minor mysteries of African history.

There are three main versions. The first is that they came from Darfur or somewhere in the West, but it seems to have no serious evidence to support it, though there is one local tradition to-day to the effect that Umara Dunkas, before his foundation of the kingdom of Sennar had travelled to the West from the Gezira. The second, generally brushed aside with a contemptuous smile, is that they were Arabs of the Beni Omaiya who migrated from the Hejaz to Abyssinia at the time of the rise of the Abbasids and after a long sojourn in Abyssinia made their way therefrom to the Sudan. The third, that they are in origin Shilluk from the South, seems to have become generally accepted as a matter of course.

According to the Fung Chronicle, the original authority for their history, the first appearance of the Fung is at the very beginning of the XVth century, when Abdulla Gama' of the Qawasma Juhaina made an alliance with their king, Umara Dunkas; as a result of the combination

the Christian Kingdom of Soba or Aloa was destroyed and replaced by the Fung dominion, the Abdullab taking a subordinate place. If these Fung were Shilluk from the South it is extremely difficult to see how, by that date, they could have become Muhammedans; it is unlikely that the Arabs of the time were more tolerant in their attitude to 'abid' than their modern descendants, and the idea of the Qawasma making an alliance with a tribe of pagan blacks presents a startling improbability at the outset.

Again, granted that they were Shilluk, we might reasonably expect the modern Shilluk to have some traditional memory of, and perhaps pride in, their erstwhile 'rich relations.' But according to Captain Cann, to whom I am indebted for the information, there is no trace of this. They have a traditional memory of their emergence from Uganda and of the Fung as a people in the North whom they went forth to raid, but regard them definitely as people of another race. Conversely, the Fung seem to have had no dealings with them until, in order to secure the passage of the Nile into Kordofan they drove them back from Kawa (Alays).

The Fung language is sometimes brought forward as evidence. But, as Chataway has pointed out, no such thing exists, and there is no evidence to-day to show that it ever did. The "Fungi" of Marno turns out to be nothing but the speech of the Hameg of Guli; and while there is little doubt that this disappearing race formerly occupied a wide area in the Southern Gezira, through Jebels Mazmum and Dali to Jebel Moiya and along the banks of the Blue Nile, there are no grounds for identifying the Fung with these, and indeed local tradition insists strongly on the contrary. (On the other hand the Hameg were certainly one of the races upon whom the Fung imposed their rule). The Fung Meks of Fazogli and Keili to-day speak Berta, the language of their subjects, and it is probable that the Fung have never been a tribe, but were always, as they are to-day, a small aristocracy who imposed their rule on alien subject populations and adopted whatever language these spoke.

The Shilluk theory rests largely on Bruce, who, for all his merits, was not a very accurate observer, as is shown for instance in his statement that the Adlan who befriended him in Sennar was the brother of Muhammad

Abu Likeilik, whereas it is clear from his seal, given by Bruce, that he was in fact the Adlan Wad Subahi mentioned in the Chronicle. Similarly, he seems to have had little or no idea that Abu Likeilik himself was not a Fung. Moreover, as is shown more than once in his writings, he was apt to be led away by verbal similarities, and I cannot help wondering whether in this case he was not misled by the superficial resemblance between Shankalla, in whom he was very interested and Shilluk. In this connection the following extracts from his journals, given at the end of his work, in which his rough notes are recorded, are of interest: "The Fung are originally Shankala or Hamidge and are, as they are called, Funge, Shankalla converted to Islam—"; "—on the East of the Nile is Guba, a large district of Shankalla, and inland here the father of the present vizier came from."

The care taken by the Hamag after their seizure of power to maintain a puppet king may well point to a belief that there was incorporated in the Fung king a mystical significance quite foreign to the Arabs' conception of their sheikhs. But as regards Bruce's account of the ceremonial killing of the king, on which so much stress has been laid, the fact remains that although several occasions occurred when it would have been highly appropriate, there is, in fact, no recorded instance of its being done. The cases which Bruce cites are merely the political executions of defeated or dangerous rivals. Marno records something of the kind among the Berta, who were subjects of the Southern Fung; and it is certainly curious that MS. D6 in MacMichael's History ascribes the same thing to the Abdullab.

A further objection to the theory of their Shilluk origin is that it entirely neglects their own tradition that they came from Abyssinia. A typical version of this is that being Beni Omaiya, they fled from the Hejaz at the time of the rise of the Abbasids and settled "in the land of the Nagashi, that is, Abyssinia" under a Sheikh Abdulla Abdel Hakam, who was a teacher of the Koran, at a place called Arusa. From Arusa Suleiman, Abdulla's son, moved to Gara, "in the land of the Galla" but finding the inhabitants hostile to the Koran he went to Tafa, under the Mek of Kirin or Keren, and taught there. He acquired great merit by advising the people to eat their food in communion, instead of each individual eating alone as hitherto, thereby increasing the "baraka"

conferred by their food; he was adopted by the Mek as his councillor instead of the Sheikh of the Abdullab who had recently moved down into the Sudan; eventually married his daughter, and in course of time his sons, among whom was Umara Dunkas, went in to the Sudan and set themselves up as rulers in various places. In another version Teifa, Fam and Mitubara are given as names of places in Abyssinia along their route. The name of Suleiman's father varies in different versions; but he is invariably given as the "father" of Umara; there is one tradition (from Hamdan, formerly Mek of Keili) connecting them with old Dongola, Suleiman being said to have married the daughter of the Mek of Dongola, Teoghawal; while one account describes them as passing south along the Abyssinian foothills and striking across to the White Nile.

But whatever the exact route from Abyssinia, this account does much to remove the intrinsic improbability of an alliance between the Abdullab and themselves. As regards their colour and physical type, it gives them 800 years of intermarriage with black tribes to accomplish this. It seems to have been universally accepted by the old pedigree writers, and this is of some importance, because there must have been a number of people who cordially disliked them and would have been glad to discredit their ancestry if any loophole for doing so had been known. It does not explain their use of the "takiya," the two-horned cap (reminiscent perhaps of Dhul Karnain), or of the term "Mangil," but the title "Arbab" in use among them to-day, is mentioned by Bruce as in use in Abyssinia.*

An interesting puzzle in this connection is the whereabouts of the Lul or Lulu, which is several times mentioned as a cradle of the Fung. Four references are known to me: 1. On the inscription on the Fung drum (for which see Sudan Notes and Records Vol. IV, p. 211), it is stated that Umara Dunkas came from Lul. 2. In one version of the Fung Chronicle—I am indebted for the information to Mr. Hillelson—it is stated that "in the beginning they were a community residing at Lulu, they remained there for a period and then migrated to Jebel Moiya." 3. In MacMichael's MS. D6, the following statement occurs "The Amriyyun are the descendants of 'Amr ibn Suleiman el Ommawi. It is said that they are at present the ruling people in the Sudan. They and the people

* As regards "Mangil" see Mr. Palmer's interesting suggestion that there may be a connection between this and the Tuareg "Amanokel" (S.N.R., XII, p. 257).

of Luluh, one of the Hamag districts, have intermarried to such an extent that they have become like these people in every respect, and they are known as the Fung." 4. In MacM. D7, " (the King) gave himself up to frivolous amusement and the practice of immorality until the news of his doings reached the Fung in the South, namely, the troops of Lulu, and they determined to depose him, for it is they who depose and appoint whatever king they choose, without any slaying."

This should give an important clue to their origins ; but unfortunately the modern descendants of the Fung seem to have lost all memory of the name ; and in answer to enquiries can only suggest that perhaps Ulu, between Guli and the Abyssinian frontier, is meant.

In support of the Abyssinian origin are the indications that in early days they were regarded as tributary to Abyssinia (v. MacM. II, p. 221) ; it was in Abyssinia that their rebels tended to take refuge ; and Theodore, as mentioned by MacMichael and also by Rassam, repeatedly maintained that Sennar was within his dominions.

The following striking confirmation of an Abyssinian connection recently came to my notice. Rassam (Vol. II, chap. 22), describing Court etiquette in Abyssinia, refers as follows to the practice of " girding " the robe in the presence of a superior as follows :—

" Before proceeding further with this subject, I must explain what is meant by girding. It refers to the different modes in which the native outer robe is worn, and involves niceties of etiquette far surpassing any connected with the ordinary salutations in vogue, either in the East or West. . . . The lowest style is accomplished by taking the robe from the shoulders, winding it round the waist, tying it in a knot in front and then tucking the ends within the girding. Every subject in the country, from the Heir-Apparent to the Throne down to the lowest peasant, is bound to appear before the Sovereign ' girded ' in this manner."

Exactly the same thing occurs to-day in the Fung Province. A day or two after I had read the above passage a sheikh of a rather old fashioned type, who had asked for an interview with me, as he came into the office slipped his " tob " off his shoulders and tied it tightly round his waist. On enquiry, I was told that though the Mahdia had somewhat loosened

the rigidity of the practice, it was a well-known Fung custom, but not practised elsewhere in the Sudan ; that Idris Regeb would adopt it in approaching the Fung Mek ; and similarly their own people in approaching any of the Mangils. In addition, it is said to be used by his chief Khalifas, such as the Sabunabi or Talha sheikhs in approaching Sheikh Hajju. In the old days, as well as girding, the inferior would take off his imma and appear bareheaded as well as bare-foot, but this is no longer done.

Little is known so far of the ethnology of the negroids of the Fung Province, but there is some linguistic evidence for a connection between the Shilluk on the one hand and the Gura and Burun on the other, and it may be that the Guli Hameg will be found to belong to this group also.

But though these Hameg probably formed a large proportion of the subjects of the early Fung kingdom, there are no grounds for identifying them with the Fung, and from the considerations set forth in the preceding pages, it may be that the idea of the Fung as an originally Arab aristocracy, who, coming from Abyssinia, imposed themselves on an existing black population may be found at least as tenable as the theory that they are Shilluk. It may be mentioned in conclusion, that the Hameg word "pany," the last letter with a sound approximating to "dy" signifies Arab.

TALES FROM THE FUNG PROVINCE.

By L. F. Nalder.

THE following are some of the results of an attempt to collect some of the legendary heroic tales current in the Fung Province. The attempt disclosed, side by side with the usual type of tales of inter-tribal raiding and war, the existence of an interesting cycle of stories, one might say sagas, dealing with the close of the Fung Sultanate and the descendants of Muhammad Abu Likeilik, especially Muhammad wad Adlan, his grandson.

As historical records these stories have in one sense but scant value; names are taken out of their time or two incidents may be condensed into one; but for the picture they give of the state of society then prevailing, so unlike anything found in the Sudan to-day that it is difficult to realise that barely a hundred years have passed since these people lived and died, they seem worthy of preservation. These paladins with their armour and armoured horses, their excaliburs and troubadours, their punctilios, their challenges and single combats, strangely recall our own Middle Ages or the Border Ballads.

The time was one of the break-up of a feudal system, of misgovernment, anarchy and bloodshed. The central figure, Muhammad Adlan, most ruthless of a ruthless race, whose first act on coming to power was to have all his cousins murdered, is here set out in no favourable light. His successes are generally due to treachery, and yet, perhaps for that very reason, his doings seem to have impressed themselves on the popular imagination so vividly as to obliterate the memory of the Fung Kings who preceded him. At any rate, practically no tales of their doings have come to light, and even their individual names seem forgotten.

For the vividness of their touches it is tempting to include other stories; that of Regeb, Beshir el Ghul's son, who after a life of outlawry was impaled at Khartoum, so mighty a man that he used red pepper for snuff; of Burra, Nimr's heroic sister, and her courage and resource when captured by the Takarir of Gallabat; the exposition by Idris Regeb to the Pasha in Khartoum of the *seven* Paths of Islam which added to the

more orthodox four, the "Yaquababia who wive their sisters, the Hamegawia, we ourselves, who kill our brothers and take their wives, and the Turkia, who wive their brothers"; but the present selection will serve to give their flavour.

The last tale is of a different *genre* and tells how the rise of the Mahdia appeared to a soldier in the ranks and what befell him.

I. THE HAMEG OVERTHROW THE FUNG.

(NOTE.—Muhammad Abu Likeilik, called by MacMichael probably the greatest man produced by the Sudan in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, though sometimes claimed as a Gamu'i was almost certainly of the Hameg, the negroid race formerly widespread in the Southern Gezira, upon whom the Fung imposed their dominion. His first appearance is in 1754 as commanding the Fung cavalry in the successful battle against the Abyssinians. Three years later he took part in the invasion of Kordofan, rallied the army after its defeat and the death of its generals, was confirmed in the command and successfully subjugated the country, where he appears to have remained for the next thirteen years. In 1760, taking advantage of the discontent caused by the misrule of King Badi Abu Shelukh, he marched on Sennar, deposed the king who, spared at first, was subsequently put away, and seized and held the reins of power till his death in 1776. He and his successors were, however, curiously careful to maintain a puppet king of the Fung line, which later nearly led to their overthrow. In 1785 King Adlan, chafing at the tutelage imposed upon him and taking advantage of the absence of the reigning Vizier Regeb in Kordofan, rose "in revolt" and killed Ibrahim, Regeb's brother and regent at Sennar. Regeb, on hearing the news, marched on Sennar but was defeated and killed. His successor, Nasir, subsequently renewed the struggle and Adlan owing, according to the Chronicle, to a long standing illness, or, according to this account owing to sorcery, was unable to continue in command of his troops, which were defeated, he himself dying at the same time.

The account which follows combines the stories of the two marches from Kordofan. The command of the Hameg is assigned to Abu Likeilik, but it is in effect an account of Regeb's march and the defeat and death of King Adlan).

* * * *

After assuming power at Sennar Mek Badi appointed the chieftains who were with him, amongst whom was Muhammad wad Adlan Abu Likeilik, and he, with his cavalry and his soldiers, went forth and subdued Dar Kordofan as far as Taweisha. His brother Ibrahim he left at Sennar as guard on the king and with him the tribes of Kira, Awaisab, some of the Naiyilab, the Gindiyabab, the Kamtinab and the Garibilab.¹ He set up a great kingdom in the west, and month by month used to send the tribute to King Badi. Then he delayed some two months in its despatch, whereon the king sent to him Abu Reida wad Khamis² with seventy-five horsemen. After reading the king's letter ordering his attendance he detained Abu Reida and wrote to the Mek saying, "I am increased and multiplied;³ I will not come to you but will send the tribute."

Meanwhile his brother, Ibrahim Salatin, had written telling him that King Badi's troops were scattered in different parts collecting tribute and exhorting him to rise and come at once for "If you do not attack him now that his troops are scattered you will never conquer him." Muhammad detained Abu Reida for a month and twenty days, debating with himself whether he should go to the king or remain, until Abu Reida, incensed, swore that he would not stay; and Muhammad promised to give him the answer after two days. Then he wrote his answers to the letters of the king, and with them an answer to Ibrahim Salatin his brother saying "I am ready to make war on the Mek and we will subdue Sennar; the household of Vizier So-and-So shall be the booty of such a one of my followers, and so forth" and so he expounded the matter to his brother Ibrahim to the last detail. So Abu Reida set forth with the king's mail, which was placed in a bag bound with *mudus* bark. But the conspirators, fearing that King Badi would come to know their treachery, for their letters to Ibrahim were in the same bag, sent a hundred and fifty horsemen after Abu Reida, who had with him but seventy-five, saying to him "Muhammad Adlan bids you return again and wait a day or two for a further need;" and when he replied "I have waited a month

¹ Most of these "tribes" are said by the local commentator to be Nuba slave troops. Awaisab are said to be Sheikh Haggu's tribe.

² Perhaps the son of Khamis el Fur who is mentioned in the chronicle as having assisted at the defeat of the Abyssinians.

³ Arabic, *lakhna*, said by the local commentator to be derived from "lakk," ten thousand, and to be the origin of the nickname Abu Likeilik.

and twenty days and your task is not yet done, I will not wait," they set on him, but he scattered them and took from them thirty chargers and came with them to the king.

When he arrived it was sunset, and they brought the bag and its contents before the king, who summoned the feki to read the letters. The first letter he read was the letter of Ibrahim Salatin, which he had written to his brother, bidding him come and kill the king, whereat the king summoned Ibrahim, who was in the Council, and after reading the letter to him called for Abu Reida and charged him to behead Ibrahim with the sword; and they bore him out. Then the king sent for el Na'isan,¹ Ibrahim's bard, and said to him, "to-morrow morning I will present you with something that neither your father nor mother gave you," and so dismissed him. Na'isan began to consider saying, "My father and mother gave me everything except death, so the king means to kill me." Then he went to the king saying "Lord, I ask your leave to make a feast," and the king replied, "Go, do so." Then he prepared the feast, gathered together the girls and youths and prepared much drink, so that all the people were drunk. Now the king had posted a guard on his house, and while they were off their guard Na'isan broke out from the back of the house and fled, the guard being unaware. In the morning they went for him and, finding him not, asked concerning him from the people of the feast, who told them that Na'isan had fled away in the night. So they told the king that Na'isan was fled and he appointed eighty horsemen to catch him; they spurred as far as the White Nile, and when, after sunset, they halted on its banks lo, Na'isan had crossed the river to the west side and was urging on his camel. They called to him saying, "Hallo, Na'isan, the king bids you come," to which he replied, "My compliments to the king, there is no use in a lemon after supper."² So they returned to the king and reported to him.

Na'isan set forth to el Obeid and arrived there on the market day; and people, recognising him, went to tell Abu Likeilik saying, "Na'isan has come to the el Obeid market." Muhammad, knowing that he had not come for nothing went with his company to meet him, and when they met

¹ A famous poet of the time: for one specimen of his poetry see note No. 17.

² The point of this is said to be that while a lemon might be used for seasoning the evening meal it would be no use afterwards.

Na'isan refused to salute him and Muhammad did likewise. Then Na'isan, before saluting him, recited two verses, "May the God of resurrection recompense you for your brother, who strode like the mighty eagle; this side and that are bent on slaughter: disaster is upon you, I come not of mine own accord."¹

Then Muhammad cried, "The Mek has killed my brother Ibrahim, beat the drum² and the big *nahas*." They did so, and continued for a space of eight days mourning and weeping: the women and slaves gathered together dancing, every day they did so with ashes in the bowls, the women and slaves dancing with ashes on their heads, and for forty days they ate nothing sweet nor anointed their heads or their bodies.

When the mourning was ended he summoned all the people, Arabs and villagers, from el Obeid even unto Taweisha and bade them prepare water skins and bags. This they did for a whole year, and when after the year he was ready he rose up to descend upon King Badi at Sennar. They came down to the White Nile clad in their mail, their armour on the horses; they swam the river without boats and when they emerged on the east bank the horses' armour was full of fish, so that the birds fed on the flesh of the fish for eight days.³ They filled the water skins and rode to Sennar, and when they arrived grass had sprouted from the drippings of the water skins, on the right hand of the road and the left, as far as Sennar. When they reached Tegale and Wad Tuweim in the plains of Sennar, Mek Badi and Abu Reida and all their horsemen came out against them, they were joined in battle; their armies fought and the army of Mek Badi was victorious over Wad Adlan who fled with his men to Salali and Dadul. Then they returned to the fray and again Mek Badi was victorious, and they returned to Salali.

But on the evening of that day Higazi ibn Abu Zeid rose up from Sennar and going to Muhammad Adlan said to him, "If I put a charm

¹ *Yağarkum el qaiyūm : fi hūkum el mill es saqr el qatābi yakum : el kina wa kināk min el qitāl mahmūm : fikum sī wa lā ana barāya aqūm.*

² Ar. "*dingir*," said to mean in origin a wooden drum. The two "children" of the Fung "*nahas*" were called "*dingir*" and "*Shattam*"; the name of the big *nahas* was "*Ga'adiya*." "*Tor*," the bull, is a generic name for any big drum.

³ The quilted horse armour had up-turned skirts in which the fish were caught. We are told in other stories that the chieftains wore a leather waistcoat under the mail shirt; and over it a quilted coat to prevent its being dented and cut. According to Bruce, quilted gauntlets were also worn.

on Mek Badi, so that you kill him, what will you give me ? " Wad Adlan replied, " You have my promise " by which he meant that of every kind he would give him a thousand, of slaves and camels, of cattle and sheep, of gold and silver. Then Higazi bade Adlan bring him soft clay, there in the council ; a slave brought it and he fashioned it into the form of Mek Badi and placed it in the fire until the clay was cracked. Then he said to Wad Adlan, " The deed is done " and rode in the night back to Sennar, and on that night King Badi was stricken with fever and pain in his back so that he could not go forth to battle on the third day.¹

So he said to Abu Reida wad Khamis, " Go out to them and fight them, my back pains me, and the fever." So Abu Reida and Wad Adlan were joined in battle, but the king's party fled, and he came to the king, who asked him, " Victorious or broken ? " He replied " Lord, the gathering² without a master accomplishes nothing : the horsemen and the leaders refused the battle." The king bade him return and fight again ; again the king's army were routed. On the third day King Badi died owing to the enchantment of Higazi ; Abu Reida warned his wives and concubines that they should not lament him, for if any lamented he would cut off their heads ; and they buried him in the store of his house. Then Abu Reida gathered together all the boats in Sennar ; each day he fought with Wad Adlan and each night he was ferrying the family of Mek Badi over to Tarfaiya on the east bank. He continued thus for eight days and after eight days crossed himself. Then Wad Adlan came to fight Abu Reida and found him not, so he entered Sennar and took possession of it and settled there. He announced an amnesty to the people of the country and the power was in his hands.

Then he gathered together the chieftains of his people and his counsellors, saying to them, " Verily Higazi may bewitch us and kill us as he bewitched Mek Badi." So they agreed to kill Higazi and built a cell for him, and made a door to it and put him inside by force ;³ a guard was placed on it so that he ate not nor drank for four days, after which

¹ Another form of sympathetic magic which recently came to light in Singa is to write the name of the victim, with suitable charms, on a piece of wood which is then buried, burned or thrown into the river.

² Ar. " *naḡīr*," the levée en masse for communal cultivation : among the Fung it has a feudal aspect, the villagers being bound to render so many days' work each year to the Mek.

³ Presumably for magical reasons they were anxious to avoid shedding his blood.

Wad Adlan ordered the cell to be opened to see if he were dead or no, and they found with him every kind of food and drink. Then Wad Adlan struck the guards, saying that they had given food and drink to him, and drove them away, and brought men of his own people and ordered them to keep watch on him for eight days, after which they opened the cell again and found with him gourds full of milk, and melons. So they changed the guards and shut him up again for fifteen days, but when they opened the cell they still found the milk and melons.

Then Adlan was terrified of Higazi and began to search for wizards; and presently he found a Fellati, who told him to have collected a rotl and a half of the dung of a yellow fowl; and he ordered him to build a room on the shore of the river with iron windows and when this was done he said, "Go, open the cell, and put an iron chain on Higazi's neck and bring him." They brought Higazi to the Fellati, who ordered Wad Adlan to bring two slaves and the dung of the yellow fowls; and when they were brought he ordered that the two slaves should smear Higazi with the dung, but after that they will die. So they put Higazi in the cell by the shore of the river in chains, and bound him; the slaves smeared him with the dung and then they closed the room upon him; and after closing the cell the slaves died and the river began to rise and boil. After four days Higazi began to call out in his thirst, "Give me water and kill me, give me water and kill me," but they gave him no water, so he thrust his head out of the window and his tongue hung out and he died of thirst. And the people made a proverb about him, "O God of recompense, consider Higazi; the river surrounded him, thirst destroyed him."¹

II. THE STORY OF ALI ABU HUNEIK.

It is related of Ali Abu Huneik, the father of Ahmad Abu Sheikh Kamtur, that the cause of his relationship to the Fung king of Sennar was as follows.

Ali was of the Qawasma Rufa'a,² a sheikh of nomads, who every *kharij* went to the Butana to pasture his herds, and in the winter came down to the river at Tarfaiya opposite Sennar. And so he continued

¹ Ar. " *Yā muḡāri šūf al Hiḡāzi : al baḡr haddāhu wal 'ataš rawāhu.*

² He was of the Zamalta subsection of the Gawasma.

until the time when the barbarous Nuba came from their mountains in the West, attacked the Fung Mek, slew his army so that little was left of it, and carried off his wealth, his horses and his camels, his cattle and his sheep, and his women and everything that was in Sennar. Ali, hearing how the king's host was slain and his riches and his treasures plundered, gathered together his people the Qawasma, and, crossing the river, took with him the remnants of the king's army and overtook the Nuba. A battle took place, but the men of Ali and the king fled, all of them save Ali alone, who fled not, but fought the Nuba until he put them to flight and recovered the booty.

Now the Fung king had asked Ali's men saying, "Where is Ali" and when they answered one and all "The Nuba have slain him" the king gave order for the drum to be beaten, and they mourned over him exceedingly, and the king was sad for him, and so they continued in their mourning and sadness until lo, in the morning the first of the booty which Ali had sent before him, the cattle and the women, arrived at Sennar in the early dawn. All day long they were entering the city until the setting of the sun, and last of all came Ali on his mare, smitten in the jaw with a spear so that it projected from the other jawbone; with his right hand he held the spear steady and with his left the reins. Then when the king of Sennar saw him he rejoiced, and gave order for the drum to be beaten in joy, and Ali with the spear between his jawbones.

Then said Ali to the king, "Saddle me a stout charger and bring me a rope"; and when they did so he mounted the charger, and tying one end of the rope to the spear shaft, he bade the slaves tie the other to a tree. Then he called out and boasted and spurred the charger: the spear came out and in its teeth part of his jawbone, and so he got the name of Abu Huneik, the little jawbone.

But the king of Sennar, in his great pleasure in him, sent on the spot for the Kadi and bade him marry Ali to his daughter Haifa; and after they were married they slaughtered camels and cattle and sheep, they brought merissa, light and heavy, and ate the flesh and drank the wine; and in the evening Ali entered into his house and Haifa conceived his son Ahmed, the father of Sheikh Kamtur.

III. THE DEATH OF SHEIKH KAMTUR.

(NOTE.—Kamtur, the grandson of the Ali Abu Huneik, mentioned in the last tale, backed by his numerous brothers, seems to have been the real originator of the greatness of the family which took its name from him. His father Ahmad, the father of the ninety-nine, through the insinuations of intriguers at Sennar incurred the suspicion of the Fung king, who had him beheaded, and he achieved fame by taking his head in his hands and hurling it away from him after the sword had fallen so that no blood stained his beard. His son, Kamtur, is recorded in the stories to have left the court as a refugee with his brothers, and after various wanderings to have carved out for himself a principality extending roughly from Karkoj to Roseires, which his successors continued to rule well into the Egyptian period.)

* * *

Sheikh Kamtur Ahmad was one of Mek Badi's chieftains who had become an independent ruler in the south, from Dibeiba to Barankwa and to Roseires, on the east bank and the west. After Muhammad Adlan had become king in Sennar he assembled his army and went by the east bank to attack him. He passed by Karkoj and at Launi crossed the river to Barankwa.

Now Sheikh Kamtur had nine and ninety brothers whom he had had brought up and whom the people called the Chickens.¹ But when Wad Adlan came to him his brothers and his troops were dispersed in the districts collecting the tribute, and there was none with him save Hajj el Kamil el Feki, who was one of his cavaliers and his companion. Wad Adlan arrived in the evening, and Kamtur, when he heard of his coming had been oiling his sword, and had placed it in the sun and was sitting reading the book of prayers.² Then there came to him Hajj el Kamil, to whom he said "Bring the sword." And in bringing it he put his fingers on the sword's edge and they were cut so that blood dripped from them. Then Kamtur said to el Kamil, "The days are completed, and this sword shall no more be put on the fingers but only on the necks of men." After sunset he prayed the evening prayers and they supped and while they were doing so, lo, the messengers of Wad Adlan stood before Sheikh

¹ Ar. "*simasiyu*."

² The *Dalā'il el Khairāt* of Gazālī.

Kamtur saying, "Wad Adlan salutes you." He returned to them the salutation and they said, "Wad Adlan waits you without." He replied, "Tell him to wait, we are coming to him," and then they saddled for him his charger and he mounted; el Hajj el Kamil rode with him and they went forth against Wad Adlan.

Now their fighting was by single combat, and one of Wad Adlan's knights came at Sheikh Kamtur and challenged him, saying, "What do you call yourself, O knight?" Kamtur answered, "I am the hen, the mother of chicks, I am the high mountain, none can climb me." Then the champion struck Kamtur on his mail shirt but hurt him not, but Kamtur struck him with his sword and killed him. Then another of Wad Adlan's knights challenged him saying, "How call you yourself, O knight?" He answered again, "I am the hen, the mother of chicks, I am the high mountain, none can climb me" and then challenged him, to which the champion replied, "I am the camel loaded with gourds." Said Kamtur, "By my divorce, for all your gourds you shall find no cup to drink from," and struck him with his sword and hurled him down dead.

Now Wad Adlan had a coat of mail called "el Beit," it was all set with jewels and the helmet was inlaid with gold; and an Abyssinian¹ slave also, whom he had brought up like a youth of rank, everyone has heard of him; and when he presently asked of his two champions, and was told that Kamtur had slain them, he brought out the shirt of mail and placed it on the slave boy; while he himself stood in the midst of the army. The Abyssinian went out and challenged Kamtur—and all this fighting was in the night—but when Kamtur challenged him in return he answered not, but was silent. Then Kamtur went to el Hajj el Kamil and said to him, "The steed is Wad Adlan's steed and the armour his armour, but the horseman is not he." Said Hajj el Kamil, "On such a day Wad Adlan gives not his horse and armour to another." Kamtur said to him, "Strike him down"; el Kamil replied "Strike him thou," and Sheikh Kamtur rushed at him with his steed and struck him with his sword so that he fell to the ground with a shriek. Then Kamtur returned to el Hajj el Kamil saying, "Said I not that this was not Wad Adlan? I was right, for when I struck him with my sword he shrieked."

¹ Ar. *Mahādī*.

And by now Sheikh Kamtur had terrified all the army of Wad Adlan, none could withstand him ; during the fighting his wives and his concubines were beating the drums for him ; he would fight and then return and boast his deeds to them. At last one of his own slaves went out secretly to Wad Adlan and said to him, " I will kill him," and he answered, " If you do so, I will give you anything you ask of me." So the slave returned and hid himself at the door screen ; and when Kamtur came out from boasting his deeds to his wives and concubines he struck him with his sword, and cut off his legs at the knee so that he sank sitting to the ground. Then the slave went to Wad Adlan and told him what he had done ; and Wad Adlan came to Kamtur saying, " How fare you ? " Kamtur answered, " I am no beast for slaughter, do your business," and Wad Adlan slew him and entered into the concubines, who said to him, " the dead was our lord and the living is our lord," and hailed him as Mangil. He abode with them there for four days and then set forth and went to Raraba.

IV. THE ZERIBA AT RARABA.

Then (after Kamtur's death), his brothers, the sons of Ahmad, gathered at Barankwa and made ready to fight Wad Adlan, nine and ninety men all mourning their brother and binding their heads with tree bark like a turban ; they went not in to their wives, but set forth and stopped at Rammash, making for Raraba. Now Idris Abu Jafen was a brother of Kamtur and a mighty champion ; he was called Abu Jafen, from a sword cut in the cheek he got in the battle of Um Suweibina,¹⁷ in the plains of Sennar. After Ahmad's sons had halted at Rammash he went to his house saying, " Go ye on, I will overtake you." The leaders and the army came up with the brothers at Rammash ; and then

¹⁷ Perhaps the battle in which King Adlan was defeated, but this is uncertain. The fragment of a panegyric by Na'isan on Muhammad Adlan is preserved :

*Hāfirak lē mahallāt el rimam ṣabāy
muḡarrab wa ma'rūf min qilāl um suweibina wa qōl, āyin ḡāy
Yōm el mahāda dīk el aḡadat el ḡarrāy
hāfirak yuṣadda el hēl lū ṣaqr ḡaddāy.*

*Thy horse presses on to the fields of the slain ;
tested and known on Um Suweibina's plain,
and him who called " behold, I come,"
The day of that ford which engulfed the coward,
Thy horse treads down the steeds amain
for the hites to devour.*

all spoke amongst themselves saying, "Idris Abu Jafen is afraid of the fighting and will not come; the battle of Um Suweibina was enough for him." Then one of Idris' followers rose up by night from Rammash; he rode his charger and urged it on till he came near to Um Dibeiba; he hailed the boatmen, they brought the boat and ferried him over; and he told Idris how his brothers and the leaders were saying that the battle of Um Suweibina had been heavy on him and that he feared the fighting and would not come. So Idris called his slave and bade him saddle his charger, and have the drums sounded; they beat the drums, he mounted his steed and pranced him through Um Dibeiba vaunting himself and calling out, "I am thy bull, O Ajiba"¹ (Ajiba was his daughter). Then he took his company and crossed the river with his follower who had brought him the news and travelled the day long and rested not until he came to Rammash in the evening. He galloped up to the sons of Ahmad calling out, "I am Idris! tomorrow some of the camels will go forth and others stay idle in the house." Then he said, "The sacrifice shall be your work, the slaughter mine; for one edge of my sword is blunted, if I smite with it it will not cleave the head but shatter it, and this shall be the sign of the killing by Idris; but the clean killing, let the sons of Ahmad do it, their swords are sharp and will cleave the head."²

Then they set forth from Rammash, making for Raraba; and wrote a letter to Wad Adlan which they entrusted to Abu Fada, Kamtur's brother, and with him they sent his brother Nur ed Din; and sent them to Wad Adlan and Sultan Kunjara.³ They were both young boys, wearing new cotton shirts; and the press of the company at Wad Adlan's court was so great that their shirts were torn in pieces; they walked on, asking "Where is Wad Adlan," and his people saying "Go on further," until they came before him and handed him the letter. Then Abu Fada began to boast saying, "I am Abu Fada; my virtue is in my fingers;" and Mek Kunjara said to him, "To-morrow you will not find one of your fingers to suck." Then Abu Fada and Nur ed Din returned to their

¹ A common form of battle cry; Mek Nimr goes into battle saying "*torak ya Burra*," and Burra when the rescue party falls on Miri's Takruris calls out in exultation "the bulls of Burra are come."

² A common touch in these stories; in another the Kamatir are described as vowing that one will only kill by splitting the head; another by shearing off the arm at the shoulder; another by slaughtering like beasts with the mace.

³ I.e. the Fur.

brothers and informed them saying, "Our horses by day will not withstand the horses of Kunjara and Wad Adlan; for their horses are from the West, while ours are from Dongola." But the sons of Ahmad had written in their letter, "We will not fight in the open; make a zeriba, and if you break it we will stop it up; if we break it, you shall stop it up." And accordingly Wad Adlan's men built a zeriba and he and Mek Kunjara entered into it with their company, and wrote to Ahmad's sons saying, "The zeriba is completed, show us the time of your coming to us"; and they replied, "We will come to you and enter the zeriba before the morning prayer." So they left the zeriba open and slept not that night in expectation of the sons of Ahmad; who put on their armour and mounted their steeds and went to them before the morning prayer; and entering the zeriba, they and their warriors, they closed it and fought inside with their swords with Muhammad Wad Adlan until he and Mek Kunjara and their company broke through the zeriba and fled in fear of the sons of Ahmad.

Now Wad Adlan had a coat of mail called "el Beit," the back whereof was all set with jewels; and Abu Fada and his brother Nur ed Din urged on their horses and caught him up; being small, they held their bridles in their teeth and struck at him, but could not hurt him because they were small. They drove him to a *khor* between Abu Shoka and Karaba which his horse cleared at a bound, but theirs refused it. Then he said to them, "Go back, gladden your mothers; for the horse I ride and the sword I carry were each bought with a thousand ounces of gold." So Abu Fada and Nur ed Din returned back to their brothers.

But after Wad Adlan's flight his army took heart again against the sons of Ahmad, and slew many of them. Idris Abu Jafen, his follower, lifted his mail shirt from his leg and cleft his thigh so that he remained in the midst of Wad Adlan's host; and Suleiman Jurab el Rai, another of Ahmad's sons, they smote and hurled down. About noon Wad Adlan returned from his flight and rejoined his host. He said, "Let us go and see the slain;" and when he came to the battle ground he found Idris Abu Jafen dead, and many of the sons of Ahmad dead; and Suleiman Jurab el Rai he found at the point of death. He asked who he was, and when they told him that it was Suleiman Jurab el Rai he spoke to him

and Suleiman answered, "Hail, thou runaway." Said Wad Adlan, "Has your waterskin aught in it now, or is it finished?"¹ and Suleiman replied, "My skin is tied with a tight knot,² till now it is not loosed." Then he asked him where he was hurt, and when he answered that he was hurt in his back he told some of his company to knead his back, but they said to him, "His back is not hurt, but he meant by that that there were no men following at his back."

By now Suleiman was hard pressed with the pains of death and some of Wad Adlan's people said to him, "The man is your son-in-law, bring him honey to drink to make death easy for him." He did so, and stirred it in water and they raised Sheikh Suleiman on to his side, and Wad Adlan said, "Drink, O sheikh;" but when Suleiman raised his head and saw Wad Adlan standing over him he refused to drink. Then they said, "He is your son-in-law and cannot drink in your presence," so³ Wad Adlan moved away and hid among his people. Then Sheikh Suleiman drank the honey and died and had rest from his pain.

V. IDRIS REGEB WAD ADLAN AND TAM ZEIN, HIS CONCUBINE.

(NOTE.—Idris Regeb, the hero of the following trifle, was a grandson of Abu Likeilik and fled to the south after the Egyptian conquest of Sennar. He was eventually given safe conduct and installed as sheikh of the Fung Gebels with his headquarters at Gule. Owing, no doubt, to his control of the gold production along what is now the Abyssinian frontier, he acquired great riches and power, and many tales are told of his munificence. The present Sheikh of Gule, also called Idris Regeb, is his grandson.)

* * * *

Sheikh Idris used to say, "Whoever I seize on, my sister Nasra gets him off; whoever Nasra seizes, Tam Zein gets him off; but anyone Tam Zein seizes, only God alone can get *him* off."

It is related that one day an Arab came to Gule market with camels to sell and sold them for four ounces of gold; and going to Sheikh Idris'

¹ A play on his nickname.

² Ar. *Mahgarawiya*, said to be a particular form of knot.

³ This *tabu* is said to be still current amongst certain sects of the Gezira.

house he found with him his mistress, Tam Zein, and in front of them were heaps of gold which they were wagering against one another. He saluted Sheikh Idris who said, "Welcome, Arab;" then he said, "Mangil, I will play with you." "Good," said Sheikh Idris, "Tam Zein, open the door for the Arab." She did so and in he came; then Idris asked him, "Who has first challenge, you or we?" "You," said the Arab, and took his four ounces of gold and held them in his palm with his fingers tight closed on them. Then Idris took him by the wrist and said, "I challenge with odds and Tam Zein challenges with evens;" and the Arab knew not what to do but gazed at the ground and began to weep, while Tam Zein took the four ounces. Then Tam Zein said to Idris, "Master, the Arab is a poor man, give him back his gold." Said Idris, "Not so fast, Tam Zein, are *you* willing?" She said, "Master, I am," so Idris gave him back the four ounces of gold and added to it half an ounce on his own account.

VI. THE SWORD OF SHEIKH MUNSHATTIH, AND HIS DEATH.

(NOTE.—Munshattih was the son of Musa'ad, Mek of Metemma and of Burra, sister of the famous Mek Nimr of Shendi.

Ahmad Dudu was a famous Mangil of the Hamada; his equally famous brother, Beshir el Ghul, founded a semi-independent kingdom on the Abyssinian border. Their names are out of place here, however, as both of them must have been dead before the Egyptian conquest.)

After journeying from Shendi, where they had parted from Mek Nimr, Mek Musa'ad and his son Munshattih went to Abyssinia and raided the Abyssinians until the rainy season ceased their warfare. But the climate there suited them ill, because they had no salt; and Mek Musa'ad died there and most of his following. Thereafter Munshattih led down the remainder of his people, and went to the country of Beshir el Ghul and dwelt near him.

Then he fell into want and sold his sword, the famous Shibeika, to Beshir el Ghul for a hundred ounces of gold, promising him that it would cut through two iron fetters. After two days Beshir, being minded to test the sword, brought it out in his council, and bringing two rings of iron smote at them but it did not cut even one. So they sent to Munshattih saying, "'Tis a poor piece of iron that you have sold us; you

said that it would cut through helmet and armour and quilted coat, but it will not cut anything; give us back our money." Then Munshattih came to Beshir el Ghul and Ahmad Dudu his brother and said to them, "Bring more iron." They laughed at him saying, "Since it will not cut this, why bring more?" ; but they brought two more rings and laid them on the first. Then Munshattih took the sword from them and, kneeling on one knee, smote with it, and it cut through all the iron and buried itself in the ground. Then he stood up and put the sword on his shoulder, saying, "I sold you the sword, can I sell you my arm as well?", and mounted his horse and went to his people, taking both gold and sword, saying, "He who wishes to overtake me, let him do so." But the Hamada, marvelling at his strength said, "We cannot fight this man, if we attacked him he would destroy us utterly," and let him go.

Then Munshattih collected the rest of his people and went to Runga and dwelt near the Fung king. But afterwards the people of Beshir el Ghul overcame him by means of a woman who was a witch, a beautiful slave girl who insinuated herself into his presence at a drinking party and put a charm upon his vitals. Then Munshattih in great pain called his slave and bade him bring Shibeika and his two other swords and his horse, saddled. And when he had done so he bade him take the three swords and ride and give them to his uncle, Mek Nimr; and that if he did so he should be free, to the glory of God, he and his wife and his children, all of them.

Then he died, sitting there in his chair, with his eyes open and angry, so that all who came and saw him sitting there were afraid and went back; and so he stayed three days until they smelled the smell of him and knew that he was dead indeed, and took him and washed him and shrouded him and buried him, may God have mercy on him.

VII. THE OUTBREAK OF THE MAHDIA.

Told by OSMAN BASSIUNI, an old soldier.

I was stationed at Karkoj and was bringing the mail from Karkoj to Sennar; and when I got to Kabbush¹ I found that Amir el Makashfi²

¹ A forest between Makwar and Maiurno.

² He called himself a Sherif and was at that time living with the Arabs outside Sennar. He had not visited the Mahdi nor received any message from him; but was the first in the Province to rise on his behalf, on the strength of his early successes.

had gathered together a great number of people there, numerous as the sand, and had shaved their heads and put the hair on the trees, so that the trees were black with hair. In the days before the Mahdia we were all one folk; he asked me about my people, who was on a journey and who was sick; I told him all my people's news, he gave me the *fatiha* and I rode on and brought the mail to Jaudet Effendi, the Wakil of the Mudiria at Sennar, who then told me to return, with the three soldiers who were with me, to our sanjak at Um Dereisa.¹ We did so, and when we got there after four days, we went to the sheikh, Ibrahim el Mardi, who used to provide our supplies as ordered by the Government. Two of us went to the market, and we others went to Sheikh Ibrahim who, when he saw us said, "Bring not your western fire here, ye Maghrabis; save your necks, go join your people and die far away from me, not here." So we went to Suleiman Agha, our sanjak, and Ismail Agha, and told them that Ibrahim had refused to supply us with an angarib or anything at all; and had told us that the Expected Mahdi had appeared in Sennar, that his name was Amir el Makashfi, that a great pit had opened in Sennar which all those who submitted to him passed by in safety, but those who denied him fell into it. The officers, Suleiman Agha and Ismail Agha, told us that such talk was foolish lies and that we were not to believe it; but that night we soldiers made a zeriba to protect the ammunition store and the officers' quarters; we were twenty-two men and two officers. In the morning Ibrahim el Mardi collected all the Arabs and came to the zeriba; every man of us broke open two boxes of ammunition and brought a piece of wood and lit it, resolved that if the Arabs attacked and overcame us we would fire the ammunition and let it consume us and the Arabs together. Then there appeared Ibrahim wad Ahmad Abu Gin,² the brother of Taiyib Bey, returning from Abyssinia, who, finding all the people gathered together asked them what was the matter. And when they told him how the Mahdi had appeared at Sennar he said, "Ye sons of whores, would you bring discord to the land of my fathers and grandfathers," and set on the Arabs with his escort, seventeen

¹ On the Rahad. Musa Pasha had recently defeated Ras Kassa there, and there was a large ammunition dump.

² The Abu Gin are the ruling family of the Hamada Rufa'a and hereditary Mangils of the Dinder. Taiyib Bey Abu Gin was Mangil at the time.

horsemen and a hundred shield men, and slew them till the blood was halfway up his horses' legs. Then he came to the zeriba, but we were afraid that he would kill us and prevented his entrance ; so he threw his sword over to us in token that all was well, and then we opened the zeriba and let him come in. He sent five of his horsemen and twenty of the others to Ibrahim el Mardi to bid him bring in a hundred camels on which to load the ammunition, but when they got to the village they found it empty, no one there at all, so, unable to carry away the ammunition we threw it into the river. Then Ibrahim bade us send out four men with stout camels in advance, to discover the news and join up with the others at Beida ; they set off, making for Sennar and we four went ahead until we got to Um Damur on the Dinder, where we ran into a whole crowd of Arabs. Two of us ran until they got to Rera in the Shukria country, Omar came out on the Nile at Mina, the Mek's village, and I, Osman, came out at the lagoon between Abu Tamr and Sheikh Talha. I knew there was a pool there from the birds over it and went there to drink. While doing so I heard the noise of the hobble chain of someone riding by, and called out to know who it was, and finding from his answer that it was Omar, I called to him to come, and told him I did not know where we were. He told me that this was Abu Tamr and that was Sheikh Talha, and suggested going to Abu Tamr to find Regeb and Haboiya, the Kurd's sons, who would tell us the news. We did so, but found neither Regeb nor Haboiya nor anyone else in the village, which was deserted, until a slave girl of Regeb's appeared from underneath a grain store. We asked her the news and who of our people were killed and she told us : Nimeir the Sanjak, Hussein Agha Shellabi the Bimbashi, a Yuzbashi whom we used to call the Bird of Paradise, and some fifteen men.

What had happened at Sennar was this. When Amir el Makashfi attacked and had killed these people the rest of the soldiers climbed on to the barracks with their ammunition to save their lives. Amir came into the town and made for the Mudiria ; when he got to the magazine he found an Arab Yuzbashi on guard over it and made towards him. The Yuzbashi fired his pistol at him meaning to kill him, but the bullet hit him in the groin, castrating him, and his people bore him away outside

the town. Later a Bimbashi called Abu Zeid Agha, who had been too late to go with Yusuf Pasha Shellali's¹ expedition, arrived with his troops for the defence of Sennar, and soon afterwards Saleh Bey el Mek² with his, whereat the garrison took heart and came down off the walls on to the ground; and later on Ali Kashif, the Dog's Tail, came also.

Meanwhile Amir el Makashfi had made his way to Teigo and from there sent a Takruri³ named Muhammad Zein to attack Sennar; he came down to the river at Abu Shoka and Ali Kashif led a force against him there, composed of Saleh Agha el Shaigi, Sheikh Bashir of the Hamada, Wad Ais the sheikh of the Kawahla, Muhammad wad Sabun the Agali and the Bimbashi from Jira on the Setit with his troops. And it was just at this very juncture that I and Omar arrived on the river bank.

Omar suggested that we had better not move on until we had been to Mek Osman and found out from him whether the girl's story were true. I said I wasn't going to Mek Osman, I didn't trust him after the way the Hamada, with whom we had been such friends, had treated us, so Omar told me to stay where I was and he would go to Mek Osman; if I heard a shot I'd know that the Mek had killed him and if I did not hear a shot he'd be all right and would bring the Mek to where I was. So he went off and found the Mek at the ford and learned from him about Ali Kashif being at Abdin. He said that if Muhammad Zein beat him he would be safe there; and if Ali Kashif won he would cross the river and join him. Then he came with Omar to where I was and told us that we had better stay where we were, swearing that if anyone molested us in the least he would cut their throats; he said that if we didn't trust him and made off for Sennar we should never get there, but were certain to be killed, unless we travelled via the Kawahla who were still loyal to Government. We stayed where we were; we didn't start for Sennar nor go with the Mek, but remained there and grazed our camels.

At sunrise the bugles blew the "stand to" in Abdin, and the army advanced at the double to attack Muhammad Zein. Mek Osman came

¹ Yusuf Bey Shellali was sent from Khartum with a force of 6000 men to destroy the Mahdi at Gedir; they were surprised and completely destroyed on June 7th, 1882.

² A famous "Turkish" soldier with the reputation of never having lost a fight.

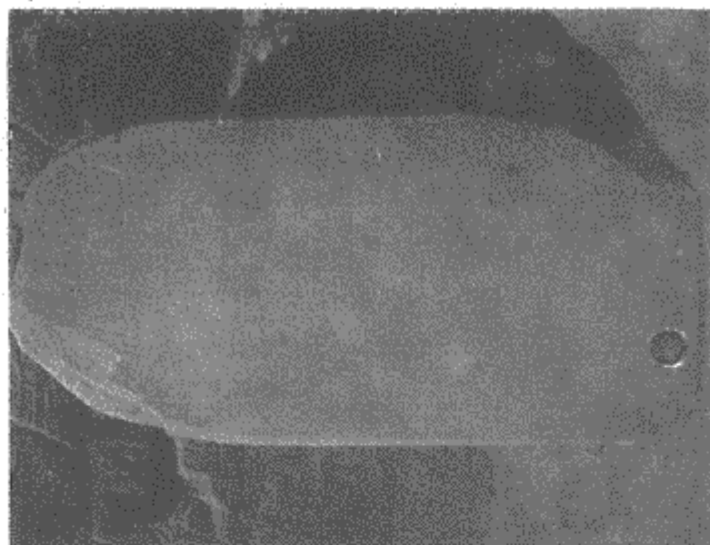
³ Fellata, Takarir and Borgu seem to have played a prominent part in the early stages of the Mahdia

to us again, saying that he would go in front of us ; if Ali Kashif won the day we could join him, otherwise we had better get off. Then he rode his horse into the ford, half way across the river and stood there watching the battle. Then the fight began between Muhammad Zein and Ali Kashif's army ; he had four hundred Magharba alone besides lots of others. Muhammad Zein charged the Magharba, who shattered him with their rifle fire, and he and his men bolted into the undergrowth leaving the Magharba boasting and patting themselves on the back, with neither powder nor shot in their guns, quite happy that Muhammad Zein and his men had run away. But what he did was to work round the island and burst out in the rear of the troops and the ammunition column, and the first thing that the Magharba knew was that they were surrounded. The other troops, the Bashibuzuks and the Jehadia, bolted, leaving the Magharba to it alone ; they clubbed their rifles, but they broke in their hands, and every man of them was killed, and with them Ali Kashif's two sons, Ahmad and Osman. Ali Kashif told Beshir el Hamadi and Wad Ais and Wad Sabun to cut down Bimbashi Surur and his men who had run away ; they did so, every man of them, and returned. Then Ali Kashif drew up the Shaigia and Bashibuzuks in a line along the bank, the Jehadia went down into the island and fired it ; the fire drove the Dervishes out, and as they came out they were caught by the rifle fire and all killed, including Muhammad Zein.

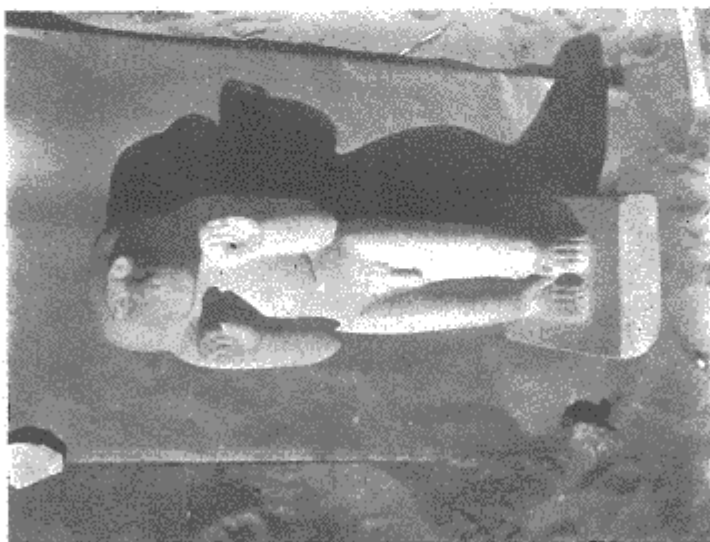
Then Ali Kashif fired Abu Shoka village. When the people round saw the flames they thought that Muhammad Zein had killed the soldiers, and came and attacked Mek Osman in the ford. He killed Khalil wad Abul Hassan¹ and threw him in the river and killed some of his people, and others were drowned.

Then Omar and I crossed the ford and joined up with the troops. We were afraid to report to Ali Kashif in case he would tell us to go back to Sennar, for there was death on the road, and being afraid of death we did not report. Some of the soldiers wanted to bury their dead, but Ali Kashif would not let them, saying that the birds could have them all, including Ahmad and Osman, his two sons ; so they were left to the birds without burial.

¹ Uncle of the present Omda of Abdin.



ONE OF THE GRANITE STELE OF TIHAGA.



GRANITE APE IN ATTITUDE OF ADORATION.

NOTES.

Excavations at Kawa, 1930-1931.

(PLATES I and II.)

THE excavations here of the Oxford Expedition to Nubia have falsified every expectation. I was confident that we should find rich foundation deposits of Tirhaqa, like those of 1913 at Sanam, and nothing else notable except the temple walls. The sculpture on the walls, which were visible when we first saw Kawa in January, 1930, was unusually good and interesting; the condition of the east end of the temple, excavated in the following week, was, however, execrable. The antiquities which we found then at Kawa were of poor quality, and I received the impression that the civilisation of the Sudan had never rooted itself away from the royal residences at Napata and Meroe. Thus, we returned here in November, 1930, rather as a duty, to save the remnants of a temple from progressive destruction, than in the hope of a substantial return for time and money expended. But two months of strenuous excavation have given us not only the plans of three temples and of several secondary buildings, but also four rams, a number of monuments in grey granite inscribed with the name of Tirhaqa, a complete sphinx, a broken statue, and two figures of apes adoring the sun.

The harvest of inscriptions, too, has been abundant, including five great granite stela of Tirhaqa and one of his third successor Andaman, and a fragmentary sandstone stela of a new king Amanary. On a wall in the temple of Tirhaqa we found a long inscription of 126 lines of another Ethiopian king, Amannearok, fortunately in fair preservation. Of small matters: bronze statuettes, bronze fittings of doors, etc., and ornaments in Egyptian fayence, some of them bearing royal names, we have a fine collection. But the foundation deposits, on which we had set our hopes of reward, where they exist at all, are miserably poor: the plaques are few, thin, and without inscription, in sad contrast to our experience at Sanam.

Early in last year, Mr. Addison traced the general outline of the temple of Tirhaqa at Kawa¹ identifying also the name of the builder, the name of

¹ S.N. and R., Vol. XII, 1929, p. 85.

the local god (Ammon) and the name of the city (Gem-aten). The principal temple at Kawa is that of Tirhaqa, with axis at right angles to the river; but between it and the river we found a closely knit pair of temples with axes from north and south, and separated from each other only by thickness of their walls. The one, which we denote as A, was built by Tutankhamun to Ammon and added to by Tirhaqa and others, while B was a sanctuary of Anukis and Satis built in much later times, almost Meroitic, although the names of two earlier kings are connected with it. Both A and B are mainly of crude brick, though Tutankhamun's little shrine, and his columns in the second court are of stone; so also are two gateways added by Tirhaqa. The sanctuary of B, though very late, is entirely of stone, and the interior is covered with elaborate sculpture and was once completely gilded: unfortunately no name can as yet be attached to this remarkable work: three stone columns in the inner court show the names of Shabako and of Harsiotef, while the two stone doorways are unfortunately without inscription.

The town, with its three temples near the centre, seems to have extended about two miles along the right (East) bank of the Nile, where now nothing is seen but its potsherds and the dry desert. But the large and wealthy population which it must have contained argues for a wide extent of cultivation in ancient times. The city of Gmepaten can hardly have flourished long, merely on the plunder of its neighbours or on the trade of caravans. It must have had at least twenty thousand inhabitants, and the black soil which here underlies the sand in the desert must once have been diligently irrigated and cultivated. Tirhaqa indeed boasts on a stela of the trees which he planted here, and the great vineyards which he gave to the temple, tended by skilled husbandmen brought from the Oases and from Syria.

The God of Kawa was one of the numerous Ammons worshipped in and around the Nile Valley. He is figured with the head of a ram crowned by the disc of the sun, like Chnum of Elephantine, and, like the latter god again, he had for consorts Anukis and Satis. The identification in Nubia of Ammon with the ram-headed Chnum, god of the First Cataract and of Nubia, has been long recognised, and here we find as third consort a second form of Anukis identified by her headdress with the goddess



TEMPLE A. SHRINE OF TUTANKHAMUN IN THE BACKGROUND.



VIEW LOOKING DOWN THE AXIS OF THE MAIN TIRHAQA TEMPLE.

Mut of Thebes, the consort of Ammon. Occasionally too, Mut and Chons of Thebes are substituted for Anukis and Satis.

A local peculiarity of religion is displayed in the large numbers of iron concretions from the desert and the sandstone quarries which are found in the temples of Kawa. The commonest form is a globe, which may have suggested a connexion with the Sun's disk as well as with the egg-ball of the sacred beetle, and a variety of queer shapes and all sizes have been collected. Similarly, we have found in the temples a series of prehistoric and early historic stone implements, including some of the rarest types.

The earliest cartouche that we have found at Kawa is that of Amenhotep III, on a large scarab below the lower floor of temple B, and on a fragment of red granite (from the base of a sphinx or ram ?) before the facade of the temple of Tirhaqa. The early history of the town is now beginning to clear up. Tutankhamun states that he "set up what he found ruined." Aton is a word that is conspicuous first in inscriptions of the time of Amenhotep III. Whatever settlement the Egyptians may have made here earlier, he it is who must have given the place its name Gmepaten "the Aton (sun's disc) is found," and built and dedicated a temple therein to Ammon, the god of his great empire. The temple that preceded temple B was probably his work. Akhenaton succeeding him, and fanatically destroying the name and monuments of Ammon, ordered the destruction of his father's new temple at Kawa ; but Tutankhamun restored it, and added the shrine etc., which forms the nucleus of temple A. Many centuries later, Shabako or Tirhaqa, finding temple B invaded by the waters of the high Nile, piled earth on the old floor and laid a new one a metre over it. Then some late Ethiopian king, perhaps Harsiotef, built a gorgeous sanctuary of stone, sculptured and gilded, inside the old brick walls of B.

F. LI. GRIFFITH.

"Nubian Origins."

THE following notes refer to the paper on this subject in Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. XIII, 1930, Part I.

1. Group B seem a fairly straightforward proposition. These are the Kordofan and Gezira negroes, direct descendants of the invaders of dynastic Egypt—whose invasions were presumably caused by pressure from the South, but who were a non-nomadic people, never established themselves as a nation in the North, and were never a permanent ruling race. There are also Arzana's "Black Nuba" who built their grass huts besides the ruins of Meroe. They provided the Egyptian inscriptions with their negro portraits and the Ethiopian kingdoms with their steady infiltration of black blood. Their language gave place to Arabic at the first onset.

2. Group A seem to be something very different.

- (i) In the 3rd century B.C. Eratosthenes makes them a great race, living not only about J. Haraza but all along the western frontier of Ethiopia as far as the bends of the river, northern Kordofan, that is, and the Bayuda Desert. They were independent of Ethiopia, as opposed to the Blemmyes across the river, and for this reason as well as the nature of the country they must surely have been nomadic. As far as I know Eratosthenes doesn't say they were black.
- (ii) In the 1st century A.D. (Pliny and Ptolemaeus) they are on the river, but also in the Isle of Meroe and on the western steppes, the Bayuda desert.
- (iii) In the 4th century A.D. Arzana's troops, after dealing with the Black Nuba and the remains of the Meroitic civilisation, penetrated, somewhere below the mouth of the Atbara, to the country of the "Red Nuba"—surely Group A.
- (iv) In the 5th century A.D. Diocletian (acc. to Procopius) found a section of them as far north as the Kharga oasis—very much white man's country—and chose them to be guardians of the Dodekaschoinos, not necessarily, as Palmer supposes,

against the Blemmyes (who appear in these passages rather in the guise of allies) but against the anarchy further south consequent on the collapse of the Meroitic Kingdoms. In Procopius' own day they were on the river there with the Blemmyes up country. [Surely the Blemmyes would never have been such a nuisance if they'd been entirely sedentary? In locality and habit they seem very parallel to the Ababda to-day. *cf.* also Pomp. Mela, as quoted by MacM. I., 3, XI, as to their nomadic character.]

- (v) In the 6th century a new kingdom sprang up in Dongola. This seems to have begun by fighting the Nubatae (qua buffer state of Egypt) but soon became the kingdom of "The Nubians and Ethiopians," that is, of Nubians first, and the remains of the Ethiopians second. This new kingdom rising out of the ruins of an empire 1000 years old, and destined within a 100 years to be the only power this side of Touraine strong enough to withstand Islam, and to last for almost another millenium itself, is surely miraculous unless there was a considerable access of new blood from outside which was something different from negro, even partially Libyanised negro.
- (vi) This group "A" stock further succeeded in enforcing its language on the entirely alien Arabic speaking Kanuz, where it has survived to the present day.
- (vii) To it must presumably be assigned all the "Anağ" remains of northern Kordofan, Kaja, J. Meidob, etc.*

*NOTE.—I infer that the term Barabra, since it includes the Kanuz,† can only have been applied to these people after the fall of Dongola and any Barabra migrants across to Meidob must therefore have been of Arabicised character, builders in grass and so not responsible for the Anağ ruins. Whatever the derivation of the term, from the Zaghawa BAR-man (Palmer) or a semi-contemptuous BARAB "would-be Arab" on the lines of Shaburgo-Basbergo and Tergam-Bergam; and whatever the origin of the Berber race—Barca or Tibesti, 1st century B.C. or before—what *does* seem to be evident from Ibn Khaldun's account of the origin of the Sanhaja Berbers and Sultan Bello's version of the Kanuri conquest of Kanem and Bornu‡ is that the term Barabra was commonly applied to people of mixed Libyo-Arab origin. This is exactly what the Nubian peoples had become by the time of the fall of Dongola.

† MacM. I., 2, VI.

‡ MacM. I., 1, XVIII.

In view of the above, surely Group A must have been something more than negroes, even Libyanised negroes, since :

- (i) They made the kingdom of Dongola.
- (ii) Previously to that they were in a nomad country and surely pure negro nomads as far north as the Bayuda are unusual.
- (iii) As regards colour, the Guraan and Zaghawa are now dark, but they are, or were, Libyan enough. Further, apart from the "nebud" quotation which is now discredited, the first definite reference to the Group A peoples as black among MacMichael's quotations is the 6th century one of Barhebraeus, an admittedly unreliable authority. There is the additional point of Arzana's "Red Nuba." What evidence is there that the Kharga Nobatae were even as dark as the Guraan?

- (iv) There is the question of their neighbours to the west.

In Harkhuf's day (2750 B.C.) the Temehu were supreme in the Kharga oasis and the Bayuda (MacM. I., 2, X.). In 1000 B.C. they held Egypt and founded the Ethiopian Kingdom (at least so Reisner says). In the days of Herodotus, and ever since, the Garamantes, Guraan or Teda, a dark but essentially Hamitic race, centred on the Tibesti and nomadic by nature, have preserved an unbroken control over the western Bayuda desert up to within a hundred miles or so of the river. How then, and when did the "negro ancestors" of the Noubatae oust these nomads from their desert? (v. MacM. I, 2, XXXIII). Palmer definitely classes the Noubatae as Guraan, on theoretical grounds, but surely on every ground but that of language he is justified.

- (v) Palmer and Newbold between them (S.N. & R., Vol. V, No. 4, Vol. VII, No. 2, Vol. IX, No. I.) seem fairly satisfactorily to have established that when, about 400 years later, the movements of the Guraan were restricted, it was by a kindred people to themselves, a people from the South, and a people whiter than they were.

[The Guraan called them Bul, white, but did not apply to them the name (Tura) of their white cousins to the North. This the Fur of Jebel Si, classing all Hamites together, did call them.]

These were the Kiya - Bulala - Beli - Bedeiria - Zaghawa people, apparently of Tuareg origin, whom Palmer, with fair probability, identifies with the Anag of Anadi. They also it appears were Barabra, and presumably owed their whiteness to Arab (yemenite) blood as well as Libyan.

What I feel therefore is that if Group "A" *were* negroes they must have been fit to rank with the Masai, the Mande and the Zulu, and even they, I believe, had a Hamitic strain.

K. D. D. HENDERSON.

(NOTE.—Idrisi, writing a century later still, when the Nubian kingdom had weakened, refers to the Belii (already Black) as ranging East of the Nile, into the Blemmyes country "between Beja and Habash,"—the presumable location of the "Bellonos, a tribe of Moors" mentioned in the 16th century Portuguese MSS. quoted by Hillelson in his notes, as being between Abyssinia and Alwah. There is a further mention by Burton (MacM. footnote p. 31) of "Beli, who are mixed with a few Kuraan-Huweytat," in an Arabian port of the Red Sea. As the Blemmyes were also on the Red Sea on a time (MacM. I, 3, VIII), there may be more in Palmer's theory than meets the eye.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

THE editors have received a letter from Herr H. A. Bernatzik referring to Mr. Evans-Pritchard's review of his book "Zwischen Weissem Nil und Belgisch Kongo" which appeared on page 271 of *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XII (1929). Herr Bernatzik takes exception to the strictures passed on his book by the reviewer, and replies to them with observations on Mr. Evans-Pritchard's methods in ethnological field-work. As the controversy threatens to become a purely personal one, without throwing new light on the subject-matter of Herr Bernatzik's book, the editors must content themselves with placing their correspondent's protest on record.

II.

THE HISTORY OF SLEEPING-SICKNESS.

ALEXANDRIA, 21st January, 1931.

SIR,

I read in the Part II of Vol. XIII, 1930, of the "Sudan Notes and Records," in "The History of Sleeping Sickness in the Sudan," that the earliest mention of sleeping sickness is by a naval surgeon, John Atkins, in 1742.

It might probably interest your readers to know that this sickness has been mentioned at a much earlier date by an Arab author, Kalkashandi, who wrote in the 8th century of the Hira, or 14th A.D., saying in Vol. V, page 297, of his book "Sobh El Aasha," that a King of Malli, named Mari Gaza, died in the year 775 of the Hira, or 1373 A.D., of sleeping sickness, which existed on a large scale in that country. The sign of the disease being a nearly continuous sleeping, with a great difficulty to wake up. The king died after two years' illness.

Malli was the name of a vast stretch of country which Kalkashandi limits as follows: North, Mountains of the Berbers (referring probably to the Atlas Mountains); East, Kingdom of Bornou; South, unknown

savage country ; West, Atlantic Ocean. This country was itself divided into five kingdoms, situated from East to West, as follows : Takrour, Kaoukaou, Malli, Sousou and Ghana. It is the King of the middle one who died of the sleeping sickness. The capital of the last-named one bore the same name as the kingdom, and was situated on the Niger River, not far from Tombouctou.

Yours truly,
OMAR TOUSSOUN.

The Secretary,
Sudan Notes and Records,
KHARTOUM.

III.

TOOT BALDON, OXFORD,
21st January, 1931.

The Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records*.
Dear Sir,

Many interesting matters for discussion arise from the two papers by Mr. Chataway in the last number of your journal. May I be permitted some comment on Soba and the stone cult of Darfung, and also on one of the beads figured by Mr. Addison ?

With regard to Soba, the following quotation from my Presidential address to Section H. of the British Association, 1915, summarizes the information Mrs. Seligman and I obtained at Jebel Gule in 1910 (and I would add that Dr. Evans-Pritchard has given me interesting examples of the cult of stones still prevalent among the Ingassana) : " At the foot of the hill are two settlements of a people who call themselves Fung, but who are generally known as Hameg. These people say that the great Queen Soba whom they worship, was their ancestress, but they also apply her name to certain stones which they regard as sacred. The most important of these is a spherical water-worn stone (about 18 in. in diameter) of a brownish colour, with large quartz veins traversing it in every direction. This stone was stated to have been the " throne " of Queen Soba, and is still the " chair of kingdom " (*kursi memlaka*),

upon which every Hameg paramount chief (*mangil*) assumes office. Besides this rock there are two others associated with Soba, and hence called Soba. Both are weathered boulders, partly embedded in the soil of the track round the base of Jebel Gule. A prayer given me by a woman at one of these rocks ran somewhat as follows: "Grandmother Soba . . . permit us to go on our journey and return in safety." There was obviously the utmost confusion in this woman's mind between Soba the goddess and Soba the stone, on which she had just placed a handful of sand. Soba may also be asked to relieve sickness, and is invoked during a dance held by the neighbours of a recently delivered woman, about the time when the young mother is allowed to leave her house for the first time." It may be that I have confused Fung and Hameg—if such authorities as Mr. Chataway and Mr. Nalder disagree with me in this respect I shall be ready to accept their ruling.

Turning to the bead reproduced as No. 17 of Plate IV, this appears to me to be one of a type, often made of greyish semi-transparent chalcedonic flint, but sometimes so opaque as to appear in part or entirely porcellaneous—which twenty years ago were not infrequently dug up at Omdurman and were occasionally to be seen mixed with other beads round the necks of Arab women. The origin of these beads was unknown: enquiries generally elicited the answer, "*Min Rabona sakit*." The boring of the beads is generally from both ends and very rough, so that there is often an angle where the two bores meet, and the general appearance often suggests considerable age. I kept these beads in mind, and in the spring of 1914 noted a string of them in Munich Museum from a grave of Merovingian age. About the same time a large number came upon the market in London, with the allegation that they had been found in Somerset, a statement which archaeologists informed me had no sufficient warrant. Since then the distribution of these beads has been investigated by Mr. Horace Beck, who, without committing himself, does seem to suggest that they belong to a period at least as early as Roman (*The Antiquaries Journal*, April, 1930).

I should like to enquire whether any small glass beads have been found by Mr. Chataway. Some, which I obtained during the winter of 1911-12 from Beraeis in Kordofan, are tentatively placed by Mr. Beck

at 6th to 10th century A.D., though I find it difficult to accept this date for the burials from which I obtained them. These beads—green, brownish, white, yellow, dark blue—go ten to twelve to the inch; there are also some larger white beads running about six to the inch. I also found one much larger single green glass bead, irregular in shape, a quarter to three-eighths of an inch long and rather more than a quarter of an inch across. This is obviously wire-wound, and in a general way resembles wire-wound beads from Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanganyika Territory found with 14th and 15th century coins; it is however, considerably rougher in make.

As to the stone implements shown in Fig. 5 of Pl. 3, only one of them appears to be unpolished—a rather surprising result considering the number of flaked implements we found at Jebel Gule, unless indeed these were not looked for or collected. The examples we brought back are described and a number figured in a paper entitled "A Neolithic Site in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XL, 1910. In that paper I pointed out that certain irregular disks resembled palaeolithic disks from Suffolk. Since then the Abbé Breuil has expressed to me the opinion that some of these are of palaeolithic age, but whether this be so or not there seems little doubt that stone was worked on these sites for a prolonged period, and it is possible to identify three if not four industries, including a true pygmy industry.

I remain, etc.,

C. G. SELIGMAN.

REVIEWS.

I.

A FOREIGNER LOOKS AT THE BRITISH SUDAN.

ODETTE KEUN.

Faber & Faber, Criterion Miscellany, No. 20.

NILOTICS AND AZANDE.

N. B. PHILLIPS.

FOUNDATION FOR THE FOREIGN TRAVEL OF AMERICAN TEACHERS.

Reports, Vol. IX. Printed by the Trustees, New York, 1930.

THESE two brochures have this in common, that they both express the reactions to the Sudan scene, of highly observant travellers who record the impressions formed during short visits, that never strayed far from the beaten track. They do not claim to go deeply into the matters on which they touch with an impressionist pen, and they are all the better for this limitation of purpose. To residents in this country the cinema film depicting the well-known scene never loses its interest, and those to whom the Sudan is but a name may perchance learn more about it from these well-written and attractive sketches than from the ponderous accounts of more ambitious but duller authors. Both writers speak appreciatively of the work done by the Sudan Government and its officers, and if we refrain from quoting Mme. Keun's eulogies it is in order to keep the blush of self-consciousness from our cheeks.

II.

THE BIRDS OF TROPICAL WEST AFRICA.

D. A. BANNERMAN, M.B.E., M.A., F.R.S.E.

Published by the Crown Agents for the Colonies. Vol. I. 1930.

Price 22/6.

HANDBOOK OF THE BIRDS OF WEST AFRICA.

G. L. BATES, M.B.O.V.

Published by John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., 1930. Price 30/-.

THE lack of a practical book of reference dealing with the ornithology of the Sudan becomes at once apparent to anyone who is interested in the birds of this country and wishes to be able to identify them when

he sees them. Large volumes on African birds, such as those of Shelley and Reichenow, are in practice as useless to the amateur field ornithologist as are mere lists of species such as Sclater's "Systema"—invaluable though that work may be in other respects. What is required is a book of reasonable size giving the distribution and a brief description of each species, together with notes on field identification and a certain number of key illustrations.

Recently the governments of several British possessions in Africa and elsewhere have undertaken the publication of such books. An excellent work on the birds of Malaya has been issued and a handbook of the birds of Southern Rhodesia; and the latest contribution to the series is an extensive work on the birds of Tropical West Africa, prepared by Mr. D. A. Bannerman, of the Zoological Department of the British Museum. True, it cannot be called a handbook, for it will, when completed, consist of five or more quarto volumes of some 300 pages each, and the set is priced at five guineas. But it is a work of great value to any African ornithologist, in that many of the forms with which it deals do occur right across the continent, and the descriptions and illustrations will provide very useful material for any book on Sudan birds which may in future be produced.

The avifaunal map of that part of Africa which lies within the Ethiopian region has now been fairly well established. The northern district consists of a great arid belt (the "Sudanese arid") which extends right across Africa from Senegal to Northern Nigeria and Lake Chad, and eastwards through Darfur and Kordofan until it reaches the Red Sea. There is, as Mr. Bannerman points out, a striking continuity of avian forms in this belt, and a list of birds of the desert types from West Africa will include many Sudan species.

Similarly the "Sudanese savanna" district, which lies between the thorn-scrub country of the Sudanese arid and the forests further south, extends from the Atlantic to the Abyssinian highlands, and includes the northern Bahr el Ghazal, the Upper Nile, most of Mongalla and the southern parts of the Fung Provinces of the Sudan. Thus it happens that of the 164 species dealt with in volume one of Mr. Bannerman's work (comprising the sea birds, the Herons, Storks, Ducks, Birds of

Prey and Game Birds) no less than 129 do occur in the Sudan, Kenya or Uganda. East as well as West African ornithologists are therefore likely to find the book of value.

The illustrations, both coloured and black-and-white, are excellent; there is an adequate synonymy and index, and the notes on field identification are one of the most useful parts of the book.

A work planned on rather different lines is Mr. G. L. Bates' "Handbook of the Birds of West Africa." It consists of one volume only (containing some 570 pages) and is priced at 30/-. Within these limits the descriptive matter must of necessity be brief, and just sufficient detail is given for the identification of a specimen in the hand. But the general notes, even with the aid of the black and white illustrations (which are good but not numerous) are not really adequate for field identification. For the more experienced ornithologist, within the limits of his own area, Mr. Bates' book provides a compact and accurate summary of the birds of West Africa; but the ideal book for the amateur would be one that combined the handiness of Mr. Bates' with the additional illustrations and notes of Mr. Bannerman's. Such an ideal might well be aimed at by the future compiler of a handbook on the birds of the Sudan.

Mr. Bates uses the nomenclature of Sclater's "Systema" with a few divergencies, but he wisely decides to leave many of the rarer birds without English names. The "Systema" itself demonstrates that artificial "popular" names are seldom successful.

A short bibliography, a map and an adequate index complete this useful handbook.

J. F. M.

III.

A ZANDE GRAMMAR.

REV. CANON E. C. GORE.

London, The Sheldon Press, VIII, 166 pp.

THE Zande language is important not only on account of the large number of people in the Sudan and the Belgian and French Congo by whom it is spoken, but as one of the "group languages" selected by the Rejaf Language Conference, 1928, for educational and administrative use. The appearance of a handy and well-constructed grammar

written by one who has had unusual opportunities for studying this tribe, is therefore certain to be welcomed by the increasing number of residents in Africa who realise that without a knowledge of the vernacular, there can be little progress towards an understanding of the African mind. The present writer has no knowledge of Zande, but Canon Gore's scholarship in this field needs no testimonial in these pages, and it only remains to say that in arrangement and outward form the book is all that it should be. Copious exercises with vocabularies will be particularly welcome to the beginner, and there are chapters containing conversations, proverbs, and folk-lore stories. A Zande dictionary by the same author is announced, and is looked forward to with much interest.

IV.

GAME ANIMALS OF THE SUDAN.

CAPT. H. C. BROCKLEHURST.

TO all those interested in the game animals of the Sudan Capt. Brocklehurst's book will prove a real boon. In the smallest possible space the book contains a mine of information on the fauna of the Sudan, and it is written by one who has unrivalled knowledge of his subject clear to the latest recruit to the country. Previous to the publication of this book there has been no authoritative treatise on Sudan animals, and "Game Animals of the Sudan" will supply a long felt want.

A feature of the book is the excellent illustrations in colour by Mr. W. H. Riddell and the sketches by Mr. Frank Wallace, Mr. Raoul Millais and Mr. W. D. M. Bell. These should enable anyone to identify, without difficulty, any species when seen in the flesh, but it is hoped that in the next edition of this book that there will be an improvement in the photographic reproductions. The articles by Major Audas on hunting by natives, and by Mr. W. D. M. Bell, the greatest living expert on the subject, on the hunting of elephants are extremely instructive and the chapters on skinning, vital shots, clothing, camp equipment and rifles are all full of valuable information. In short "Game Animals of the Sudan" is a book which all persons interested in sport in that country should possess.

W. R. B.

CORRIGENDA.

Four Arabic Inscriptions from the Red Sea.

(S. N. & R. VOL. XIII, p. 288.)

The following corrections of misprints should be made in this article :—

Plates II, III, and IV, line (1) read :—بِسْمِ اللَّهِ

Plate II, line (2—4) read :—قُرْآنِ

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XIV

Part II

1931

MANI, A ZANDE SECRET SOCIETY.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

1. INTRODUCTION INTO THE SUDAN.
2. ORGANISATION.
3. NATIVE ACCOUNTS.
4. DESCRIPTION OF CEREMONY AND RITUAL.
5. FURTHER USES OF *Mani* MAGIC.
6. RESULTS AND FUNCTIONS OF *Mani* SOCIETY.

1. INTRODUCTION INTO THE SUDAN.

THE Congo area is rich in that kind of special association which is generally known as a secret society. We have information about the *Kimpasi*, *Mani* or *Imani*, *Ndembo*, *Bilé* or *Nebili*, *Muri*, *Babende*, *Butwa*, *Buami*, and many others. Documentation about these secret societies is not usually very full but it is sufficient to show how widespread they are and how varied are their functions. It will no doubt be possible in the future to make a detailed study of African secret societies, to show what social functions they perform, and to present a condensed general description of these, but at present it is desirable to await more accurate information derived from intensive investigation into the part played by each society in separate communities. Hence I shall not attempt in this essay ambitious generalisations, but shall endeavour to present the material which I gathered among one people, the Azande of the Nile-Uelle Divide, about one special association, the *Mani* Society. Suggestions will be made about the functions of *Mani* in the life of the Azande, but no reference will be made in this paper to the theories that have been put forward about Secret Societies by Schurtz, Frobenius, Webster, Van Gennep, Simmel, and others, though full consideration of their views will naturally be given in the final presentation of my Zande material.

In an account of this kind it is even more important than in most ethnological descriptions to state fairly and clearly the manner in which the information was collected. The material for this paper is derived

from three different sources, from a large number of Azande in the course of a general enquiry into Zande customs and beliefs, from a few members of the Society itself, and from first-hand observation of its ceremonies. I regard the first of these three sources as important, because it enabled me to gain a general idea of the moral and social standing of the Society, and the extent to which it influences other institutions. From the second source it was possible to discover the various rites performed at meetings and what was believed to be their purpose. The third source controlled information which I had received from members of the Society, and my initiation into it, though less fruitful than I had hoped, at least gave opportunity for observation of the psychological element in the rites. I must make it clear, however, that owing to prohibitive legislation against these associations all three sources were contaminated and the flow of information neither free nor uninfluenced by caution. Indeed, if it had not been for the unfailing assistance of one of my servants and best informants, I should have made very little progress in my enquiries. Under these circumstances I have considered it better, in describing the rites, to give as far as possible a preliminary account in my informant's own words in the form of freely translated texts which I took down from his dictation, before presenting my own impressions and experiences. This proceeding, while requiring of the reader rather greater concentration and patience to begin with, ensures a more reliable description and will greatly facilitate final analysis.

It seems certain that *Mani* did not originate in Zande country, but that, like various other associations of the kind, it was introduced from neighbouring peoples of the Uelle regions. It is true that M. C. Camus attributes its presence in the Kindu region to Zande porters who, he says, brought it from the Upper Uelle, but he does not suggest that it necessarily originated among the Azande or indeed that it is a Zande institution at all. Moreover, it is obvious from his description, which appears to err on the side of credulity, that the composition, rites, beliefs, and functions of the two associations, his *Imani* and the *Mani* of the Sudan, are very different.¹ M. E. P. Six, writing in *Congo*, adds his testimony that the *Mani* Society of the Kongo originated among the

¹ C. Camus. "Une société secrète au Congo." *Congo*, May, 1921.

Azande. The short description which he gives of its proceedings¹ certainly seems to show that the Congo and the Zande associations spring from the same source, but if it is not a product of Congo culture, then it must have spread among these two tribes from some third area since Mgr. Lagae tells us definitely that it did not originate among the Azande. He says "The secret societies were introduced into Zande country by foreigners, or at least were founded under foreign influence. Not one of them goes back for more than a generation, and not one of them can boast of having had at its commencement the support of Avongara chiefs. I will go even further, and say that if it had not been for the arrival of the Europeans no secret society would have been able to maintain existence in areas ruled over by Avongara chiefs."² The Azande of the Sudan are well aware that the Society is of foreign origin, though they took it over from their compatriots in the Congo.

Whoever may have been the originators of the association of *Mani*, and there seems some reason to suppose that in the Lower Congo, where it is principally found in the big European centres, it sprang up among the detribalized natives who form a medley of clerks, porters, interpreters, personal servants, and so on.³ The configuration of its rites and functions differs considerably in the different cultures into which it has been introduced. Thus its contents are not the same in the Sudan and in the Congo even among the Azande themselves, for Mgr. Lagae records the presence of statuettes in human form and of snake-worship as features of the rites, whereas, as far as my knowledge goes, the former play no part and the latter has no prominent position in the ceremonies of the society in the Sudan. As the worship of snakes and the use of images are recorded by Camus, Six, and Lagae, they appear to have a central position in the complex of *Mani* ritual, and as Lagae points out, this is further evidence against a Zande origin for the society, as Zande culture is sympathetic to neither feature. Ethnological evidences indeed tend to show that institutions of this kind shed their contents the more diffused they become, so that it is no great surprise to find the absence or lack of

¹ P. Six. "De Geheime Mani sekte te Boma." *Congo*, July, 1921. Mr. E. Torday was kind enough to let me see his translation of this Flemish article before its publication.

² Mgr. C. R. Lagae, O.P. *Les Azande ou Niam-Niam*, p. 117.

³ Camus op. cit.

prominence of these two principal ritual components, images and snake-worship, in the Society on its farthest fringe of extension in the Sudan. In this place, however, we are less concerned with the origin and diffusion of the association than to discover what social needs it satisfies among our Azande of the Sudan.

The Society was quite unknown to these Azande during the life of King Gbudwe (d. 1905), and does not seem to have become established in their country before the death of Prince Basongoda (d. 1914) so that its history in this region dates from long after English conquest and administration. We cannot say for certain what sort of reception it would have had in the old days before European penetration, though I have little doubt that it would have been suppressed by the Avongara or at any rate persecuted by them. We know that Gbudwe tried to exterminate the *Nando* Society and though it was probably not completely stamped out it never took root in his domains. *Nando* was the only one of these associations which penetrated into his kingdom during his lifetime. Lagae, moreover, has told us that when *Mani* first reached the Azande of the Congo it was strenuously opposed by the Avongara, though he adds that they were eventually forced to compromise with its members and to allow lodges in their territories. I cannot agree, however, with Mgr. Lagae on this point, since it is incredible that the Avongara, weakened though their authority may have been by contact with slave and ivory traders and by European conquest and rule, should have been forced to submit to the erection in their territories of lodges which, according to Lagae, constituted a state within a state. Certainly in the Sudan their opposition was always sporadic, uncertain, and local. Sometimes a chief would attempt to punish members of a Society when he thought they had committed some crime or had flouted his authority, while at other times he would permit them to perform their ceremonies in peace, or would even summon the head of a lodge to give him magic. In the same way to-day some chiefs are opposed to the Society in a half-hearted way, the stimulus of their opposition being due less to their own opinions than to knowledge of those of the European. Other chiefs are members and supporters of *Mani*. It would, in fact, be possible for the chiefs to stamp out all these secret societies with the power of the

Government behind them were they so disposed, but those who are not themselves already members, waver between doubt about the morality of *Mani* magic and the political results of the lodges on the one hand and a desire to partake in the protection which its magic affords on the other hand.

The *Mani* Society flourished in its many lodges free from persecution, either from the Avongara or from the European for a few years only. In the Sudan it became illegal under "The Unlawful Societies Ordinance" of 1919, and if one may judge from what de Calonne-Beaufaict wrote, persecution of its members had commenced in the Belgian Congo long before this date.¹ Missionaries of every sect are opposed to all secret societies in these regions.² I believe that I am right in saying that to-day there are no prosecutions initiated against members of the Society in the Sudan, but the Azande are not aware that the Society is tolerated, if such indeed be the case.³ The results of suppression by European Governments are not easy to estimate. Certainly the societies continue to flourish, but they are less amenable to observation. One consequence is that the societies tend to become "secret societies" in fact and not merely by virtue of a misnomer, because before European intervention, they were closed societies rather than secret associations. Everyone knew who were members, where lodges were situated, and when meetings were to take place. It was only a part of the rites that were kept secret from outsiders.⁴

It has been thought wise, even at the risk of a digression, to explain that these societies formed no part of the social structure of the Azande of the Sudan before about 1914, that they entered Zandeland during

¹ De Calonne-Beaufaict. *Les Azande* 1921. He seems to have had a deep knowledge of these secret societies, but refused to publish information about them. "Ici," he wrote, "Il est peut-être prudent de postposer l'étude définitive pour ne pas déclencher sur nos pauvres bougres de frères du nebeli et du mani les persecutions officielles." (p. 171). It must always be remembered that de Calonne-Beaufaict died in the midst of his Zande studies and that only what he had actually written down could be published after his death.

² Lagae op. cit. p. 134 and various opinions expressed in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1921.

³ The Azande certainly believe that membership entails penalties at the hands of the European. This belief is mostly due to the fact that members of the *Bili* Society are often imprisoned.

⁴ This is the case with most of these associations. Thus de Jonghe in a paper on the subject ("Les Sociétés Secrètes en Afrique," *Congo* 1923, Tome 2, p. 388), writes "Les sociétés secrètes indigènes sont des sociétés fermées plutôt que des sociétés vraiment secrètes. Les profanes connaissent les adeptes; ils savent où et quand ceux-ci se réunissent, mais ils ignorent ce qui se dit et ce qui se fait dans les réunions."

European administration and that they are prohibited by European governments. These circumstances not only render enquiry into and observation of the *Mani* Society exceedingly difficult but also determine to a very considerable extent both its mode of expression and the nature of its functions.

Mani entered the Sudan about 1914. Our Azande mention both Abarambo country and the region of the Kibali river, which flows from north of Lake Albert into the Uelle, as the areas from which it spread into Zande country;¹ but they do not express any certainty about the matter. Another informant, while insisting that he was more than doubtful about the origin of the association, said that he had heard that it was introduced from the Amuganda, whom I take to be the Baganda, a location which tallies well enough with that of the region of the Kibali river. It is supposed to have been introduced by either a woman called Natiru or her husband who is called sometimes Zamba and sometimes Zaba.² Their daughter Ngbasongo³ is said to have introduced it into the kingdom of Wando (Congo). From there it spread slowly into the border marches of Gbudwe's old kingdom (Sudan) until its lodges covered most of, if not the whole country.

Its intrusion does not appear to have met with any determined opposition by the chiefs, though, as I have said earlier, they showed sporadic and hesitating disapproval. The Azande give several reasons for this antipathy. Members of the Society will tell you that chiefs are always conservative and object to any new custom being introduced into the country. In support of this statement they can point to the determined opposition of Gbudwe to the intrusion of circumcision, and the way in which he set his face against the copying of habits from Arab slave and ivory traders, and to the general aversion of the noble class to other cultural innovations. They were particularly inclined to condemn secret societies like the association of *Mani* because members built lodges far away in the bush and there carried out practices which were only

¹ Lagae op. cit. p. 118, says that according to the Azande of the Upper Uelle, *Mani* comes from the country of the Ambili of the Lower Uelle and that they also say that it comes from the region of Bondo and even further.

² This name with a number of others, Pedi, Nabandia, Marawo, Natiru, Baramgba, Yesimara, etc., are those from which heads of lodges choose their *Mani* names. They belong to early associates of Zamba.

³ The name Nagiresu is sometimes given for this person.

partially known to the Avongara. In their eyes this was *mungu*, disloyalty. It must be borne in mind that the Avongara are often surprisingly ignorant of matters well-known to all commoners. From childhood they remain mostly at the courts of their fathers and brothers and seldom visit the homesteads of commoners. When they reach manhood and are given provinces to administer by the king they spend more and more time in their harems and in their inner and outer courts, and only on rare occasions will journey further than their gardens, and on these occasions it is usually to superintend collective agricultural or hunting activities, or for purposes of war, or visits to the king's court to pay him their respects. They rely mainly on what information they are given by their favourite courtiers to keep abreast with what is going on in their areas of administration. Consequently, they are very suspicious of these societies, and this suspicion is intensified by the hostility of their old courtiers, who are very conservative in matters of custom.

Moreover, both chief and old men have common ground for animosity towards secret societies, since both are husbands in polygamous households, and their vanity is only fed and their social position maintained by keeping strict control over their wives. It is almost incredible how close a watch a Zande nobleman or commoner of good social position keeps over his wives. As far as possible he never lets them out of his sight, and even when they visit their parents and he is compelled to do so he deposes responsibility for illicit relations to their parents, a deputation which he enforces by carefully thought out and subtle spying on their movements. It is not surprising, therefore, that these jealous leaders of Zande society should resent the freedom which the *Mani* society gives to women and the opportunity which they have at its meetings to start love affairs. Besides innate conservatism, aversion to closed meetings of their subjects, and jealousy about their women, chiefs have, the Azande say, an antipathy to any institution which may lessen their authority. Absolute obedience and loyalty the Avongara have always insisted upon by admonition and compelled by ruthless cruelty. The *Mani* society allowed cases of small importance between members to be heard by the head of their lodge and, although his judicial functions were slight, they were enough to arouse envy and dislike among the chiefs.

The last and most serious objection of all those which the Azande tell us were held by the chiefs against the *Mani* society as well as against other closed associations of the same kind which entered Zandeland after European conquest, springs from fear of bad magic. This objection is mostly pointed out by those who are not themselves members. In this community there is a clear cleavage between good, moral, legal, magic and bad, immoral, illicit, magic. The first assists in carrying out numerous economic and social ventures undertaken in conformity to law and custom. It cannot be used for socially pernicious purposes as it automatically either loses its power or turns savagely upon the magician if an attempt is made to use it in such a manner. Bad magic, on the other hand, is used against innocent persons who have committed no offence against law or morality, but who have brought on themselves the private hatred and envy of a man with criminal powers and intent. Good magic is sanctioned by public opinion and authorised by the chiefs. Bad magic is condemned by public opinion and penalised with death by the chiefs. It is obvious that in a society which makes a division of this kind, the introduction of new magic from a neighbouring and foreign people is likely to be looked upon with deep suspicion, which is greatly increased by the secrecy of its rites and spells and the mystery of its initiation. In particular, those who are not members, fear that the magic is used by adulterers to kill husbands and by unfaithful wives against their spouses.¹

How well or ill founded were these feelings against the Society we shall be better able to judge when we describe its rites and analyse its motives. It is advisable, however, in this place to explain how it is that the Society surmounted these obstacles. To-day when young nobles mix more freely with the commoner population and have to dispense with privileges and pride of class, many have joined one or more of these secret societies and have influenced their relatives in their favour or have themselves succeeded to power. But generally conversion of chiefs has been more direct. An important chief makes enquiries about this new magic and gets a trusted courtier to make a secret investigation of its

¹ I have discussed the moral attributes of different kinds of magic among the Azande, and the general principle upon which magic falls into the categories of good or bad in my paper in *Africa*, January, 1931, on "Sorcery and Public Opinion among the Azande."

powers and uses. If he is favourably impressed by the information which he receives about it he will send for the head of the lodge to learn more, and will often himself partake of its medicines if not in its ceremonies.

Since the curtailment of their powers by European control, the chiefs have been plunged in humiliation and despair. In spite of everything which has been done lately to maintain their authority there is no doubt that a feeling of hopelessness and bitter weariness pervades their lives. They are conscious of their rapid extinction as a class and of personal insecurity in their offices held under European governments. At any moment they may be dispossessed for doing things which their fathers were accustomed to do or for not doing things unknown to their fathers. In my opinion it would be a grave error to suppose that *Mani* is in any way directed against European rule, but its medicines give some protection to its members against the vagaries of this rule, and enables them to face the future with all its uncertainties and lack of security with greater confidence. Hence the chiefs who in the old days of their power and prosperity persecuted these societies, to-day not only permit their activities, but also often partake of their magic.

It is, however, in my experience, of little use to question the chiefs about the Society. They are too well aware of the White Man's attitude in this respect to give their real opinions. Thus when I questioned the chief Gangura about *Mani* he replied that he knew nothing about it, while in fact he had at the time two members of the Society at his court whom he had seized on suspicion of having conspired with a wife of one of his headmen to kill her husband. I found that Gangura was no exception among the chiefs in his settled refusal to discuss the matter.

2. ORGANISATION.

When *Mani* first entered the Sudan its members used to meet in lodges in the bush, but these are no longer built. A site for meetings was selected in the bush because an ordinary hut in a homestead would possibly have been contaminated by one of the tabooed foods or by sexual intercourse. It was not placed in the bush to hide its existence from the chiefs, because when a man who possessed *Mani* medicines came into a district to build a lodge everyone was aware of the fact. The lodge

consisted of a miniature hut (*basa*)¹ and a cleared circular space in front of it. The hut was erected as a protection for the *Mani* medicines, which were kept in a pot resting on the heads of three short thick stakes driven into the ground, the whole being known as *kenge*. Here the pot remained between meetings and it became filled with spiders' webs, which were boiled with the medicines on the next occasion, as they were considered to add to their potency. Sometimes they built a small shrine like those erected for the ancestral spirits and the pot was placed in this. Members of the Society are, however, explicit in saying that this shrine was in no way associated with spirits of the dead. The cleared circular space was used by members to sit down on during the stirring and eating of the medicine and afterwards for dancing. Such a lodge was always nearby a stream, since novices had to pass under water during the rites of initiation. To-day meetings take place late at night, either in a hut or under the shelter of a verandah, where a palisade allows secrecy in an ordinary homestead. The *kenge* consists of three thin stakes so that they can be easily removed after each meeting and hidden away till the next one. Members sit huddled together in the small space thus allowed them by the cramped nature of the site. When the medicine has been addressed and eaten a dance will be sometimes quietly performed in the centre of the homestead.

At the head of each lodge is a man called *bro basa* or *gbia ngwa*.² He derives his title not by inheritance but through purchase. He has purchased knowledge of the medicines from another *bro basa* with several spears, knives, piastres, pots of beer and other wealth. In the purchase of medicines of this kind among the Azande it is essential that the owner shall be well pleased with what the purchaser has given him in order that he may spit or blow a spray of water from his mouth on to the medicines as a sign of goodwill. If he omits to do this the medicines will lose their power and the same result will happen if he simply spits on them with his mouth and not "with his whole body," as the Azande say, that is, with complete good will. The magic is not sold in one sale but is transferred slowly, bit by bit, over a considerable time. The

¹ Called *barada* in *Mani* terminology.

² Sometimes referred to as *bro barada*. A number of *Mani* names are also usually restricted to heads of lodges, e.g., Ndakpwazuzu, Zabagu, Yembura, etc.

purchaser will have to give the owner a spear, knife, and hen, or such kinds of wealth, in order that he may be shown the different medicines in the bush. He will make further payments to receive the *ranga* of *Mani*, one of the medicines which is domesticated and planted at the foot of spirit shrines in the centre of homesteads. Further gifts will have to be handed over to his teacher in exchange for the *Mani* magic whistle with which he is supplied. The final preliminary payment is made when the teacher builds a lodge for the new *boro basa*, though even after this he will be expected to make him occasional gifts from the proceeds of his magic. Magic of this type cannot be handed over simply as a gift from relative to relative or from friend to friend, because it is considered essential that the medicines should see the payment, for otherwise it will not function properly. Thus a man cannot just ask his sister's husband to show him *Mani* magic for nothing. One of the essentials of much Zande magic is that the practitioner should have a title of use in purchase.

The *boro basa* receives some wealth by selling knowledge of his medicine in this way, and he also gets a few fees from initiates, though he shares these with their sponsors and senior members of the Society. Besides these small payments made by initiates he receives also little presents from junior members of the Society when they wish to stir and address the magic about their affairs during ceremonies. The *boro basa* also has generally a special kind of large rubbing oracle called *yanda* which he uses, on receipt of a small present, to give oracles to members who have reached the highest grade in the Society. He also settles cases of small importance which arise among members of the Society, but these are almost invariably disputes which arise about the business of the Society itself and not about outside affairs. People also give presents to the *boro basa* lest he become annoyed and the medicine deteriorate in consequence.

Each lodge has also a few minor officials with separate functions. These are the *kenge*, the *uze*, and the *furushi*. The *kenge* is next senior to the head of the lodge and he often knows the medicines, and so is sent by his chief to gather them. It is his duty to erect the three *kenge* stakes, to place the medicines in a pot on the fire, and to cook them.

The next official is the *uze*, called after the stick with which the medicines are stirred. He alone may eat the medicine at the end of this stick. His duties are to hand round medicines to other members and to see that people observe the rules of the lodge generally and pay attention to the proceedings. The ordinary members are called *sunguliangbi*¹ to distinguish them from those Azande who are not initiated and who are called in the language of the Society *fio*. They eat the medicine at the end of their little fingers. Apparently often there is also an office of *furushi*,² from the Arabic word for policeman, who is detailed off as a guard to see that members are not interrupted or spied upon during their meetings, and to assist the *uze* in keeping good order. It will be seen that these offices are not very significant. The functions of each office are not rigidly restricted to the holder and if he is not present then anyone can carry them out. They are slightly privileged positions in the lodge held by senior members, but they have no great importance either as grades or in the part their holders play in the rites.

The Society is spread over the whole of Zande country in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Its membership must number thousands, though it is impossible to take any kind of census. Each locality has its lodge, and members of the same lodge know each other, but a man cannot tell you who are members in other districts. In the past members wore a blue bead as a badge of membership, but to-day they do not do so openly on account of the hostility or supposed hostility of the Government. Though small children do not belong to the association as a rule, there are no restrictions to enrolment based on either age or sex. Anyone can join on the payment of two or three piastres at the most, sometimes for even less. A piastre or two are given by the initiate to his sponsor and he hands them over to the head of the lodge. Later a similar present of a piastre will be paid to the sponsor when he takes off the cord which the novice must wear when subject to taboos. The old barkcloth which was worn by the novice when he was initiated also belongs to his sponsor. The sponsor may be of either sex and a woman may sponsor a man. It is usual, however, when a woman is being initiated for her sponsor, if a

¹ They are also called *aboro mani*, men of Mani, and *awili mani* children of Mani. Other names are *Abandiya*, *akuru*, *abandahpwa*, *awili aiyengbe* and *awili yanda*.

² Also called *Sungali*.

male, to be either her relative or her husband, since there is likely to be trouble if any other man performs the service. Otherwise she will be introduced by another woman. One of my informants told me that the same man must not make himself responsible for introductions of both husband and wife.

As far as I could observe men and women belong to the Society in about equal numbers. As we shall see later, this is not likely to lead to any licence directly or in the lodge itself, but husbands are doubtless right in believing that when their wives attend meetings they form acquaintanceships which lead later to adultery. For this reason, unless a man is himself a member of the Society, he strongly objects to his wife being initiated, though it often happens that a woman enters the Society without either her husband's knowledge or his approval. Women indeed are generally keen on becoming members, both on account of its magic, for the sphere of women's magic is greatly restricted in this community, and on account of the opportunity which meetings give of escaping from the boredom of family life and the drudgery of everyday labour in the household. Aged persons of both sexes do not as a rule become members, and when an exception does so he prefers it not to be widely known, as it is thought scarcely proper for a person of his years to undertake new ventures of this kind, and to associate on a plane of equality with those who are by age or relationship his children. Occasionally quite young children are present, as they come with their mothers and are initiated. I was told that sometimes as many as forty or fifty people will be present at a ceremony, though I have not myself seen more than fifteen.

There are various grades in the Society, elevation to which depends upon knowledge and use of new magic, thus a member of *water-mani* can be initiated into the grade of *blue-bead mani* and afterwards into *night-mani*.¹ Besides these grades there are a number of medicines which can be acquired on purchase for a piastre or two, but I do not think these should be classed as grades, since they are neither durable nor uniform,

¹ Another name for night-mani appears to be *cut-throat-mani* (*mani degoro*), so called because it breaks the neck of the person who injures anyone who has eaten it. In using this type of mani the juices of a forest creeper are boiled with mani medicines in the place of water. The type of hoop used in initiation is like that erected for the rites of *water-mani*.

but subject to constant change and to localisation. What happens is, that people are constantly bringing over new Mani medicines, either from the Azande of the Congo or directly from the Mangbetu. A man with a new medicine of this kind introduces it into his lodge and, being new, it attracts members. Any of these who are already members of the Society but wish to have the benefit of the new magic can do so on a small payment, which may sometimes be combined with the performance of a simple rite. Such for example, are *fire-mani*, in the rite of which the initiate wriggles like a snake under hoops placed close to the ground towards the *mani*, which is in a pot on a fire at the far end. There is *dysentery-mani* which will cause those who injure the partakers of it to suffer from dysentery. In receiving this a man passes under high hoops. There are other introduced Mani medicines like these, but my account is likely to be complicated enough without mentioning all of them, and it will become hopelessly confused if every detail is related. Moreover, these different kinds of mani sometimes consist of little more than the addition of a new root of a shrub or creeper. *Yemo mara*, desire for wealth, is said to be the real origin of this constant change so typical of the flux observable in most Zande magic, for a man who comes from some foreign country with a new Mani medicinal ingredient is likely to make a certain amount of wealth before the novelty of his introduction has passed and become superseded by yet newer fashions.

A further difficulty in describing the Society is that all description must be to some extent in duplicate, since rites are performed to-day differently in some important respects from the manner in which they used to be performed before its activities were prohibited. I shall proceed to give several translations from native texts, describing the rites of the Society, and we shall then have to enumerate the main stages of a ceremony in condensed form and chronological order. This course entails a certain amount of repetition, but I fear that this is unavoidable if we are to grasp the salient points in the ritual. I have allowed myself considerable freedom in the translation of these texts though I have everywhere done my best to present their full meaning. Although I shall no doubt one day publish these texts, together with literal translations, I can see little advantage in doing so here.

3. NATIVE ACCOUNTS.

TEXT I.

The first text, collected on my first trip to the Azande, relates how preparations are made for a ceremony, how spells are uttered over the medicines while they are being cooked, and how at the end the magic is eaten.

"Members of the Society begin to go to the place of ceremony while the head of the lodge arranges for oil-bearing seeds to be ground together with leaves of the domesticated medicinal Mani plant called *ranga*. He gathers these Mani medicines both on river banks and in the bush. During the ceremony the members sit in a semi-circle in the lodge but when the head of the lodge appears they stand up and he salutes them, saying, 'Bazengu to,' to which they reply 'Aiyai yengbe te aikio.'¹ They then sit down while three short stakes are driven into the ground around the fire so that their heads meet above it. These stakes are called *kenge* in Mani language.² The pot containing Mani medicines rests on these three stakes and its contents are stirred with a little stick called *uze*.³ While he is stirring the medicine the head of the lodge addresses it, first uttering the salutation 'Banzenguta' and then going on to say 'You are *Mani* which I address here; may the chiefs bear me no ill-will; may no misfortune fall upon any members of my lodge; you are *Mani*, if anyone among the members of my lodge is to die, then do not boil properly, but if none among them is to die, then rise to the top of the pot in oil.'⁴ When it is seen that the oil rises well he goes on with his speech to the magic: 'May no misfortune fall upon the wives of members; if any witch comes to do me an injury may he be frustrated

¹ There are a number of these expressions which are generally restricted in their use to ceremonial situations, but they are occasionally uttered outside the lodge, when there are no uninitiated persons present, for I was told that if anyone met the head of his lodge, he ought to salute him with respect in these Mani greetings. They consist partly of Zande words and partly of some foreign language, presumably one spoken in the Congo, from where Mani came.

² These stakes are made from a tree called *kubungu* in Zande.

³ This consists of a little stick, one end of which is split several times, and in stirring the medicines, this split end is held in the hand.

⁴ The medicinal roots are first boiled in water to extract their juices, and this water is then decanted and boiled again. On this second occasion, humps of ground seeds of some oil-bearing plant and salt are added. It is usual in all Zande magic of this kind to note whether the oil rises to the top of the pot, which is considered proof of the strength and validity of the magic.

by *Mani* and become ill and die; let all those who hate me without cause die from *Mani*; if somebody slanders me may I be cognisant of the fact, for I am a child of *Mani*; all my property, my ground-nuts, my millet, and all my children may they suffer no misfortune but remain prosperous and at peace.' When they have addressed the medicine they take it from over the fire and place it in its pot on the ground where it remains for a little while. Then one man comes forward and takes it in his hands and bends his face over its mouth, saying 'Oh *Mani*, I bend my face over your steam; may not the favour of the chiefs depart from me; may all men be of good-will towards me; during the present year may the chiefs not become angry with me and hand me over to the European.' They then take the oil and decant it into a little gourd¹ and afterwards anoint all members of the lodge with it. Then the head of the lodge tells all members to draw together for a communal eating of *Mani*.² The first to eat is the new initiate, whose sponsor scoops up some of the medicine on his little finger and makes as though to place it in his mouth, but as the novice opens his mouth to receive it his sponsor draws the medicine away and gives it to another member. The sponsor then scoops up another lump and after deceiving some members in this way he gives it to his initiate."³

TEXT 2.

The second text, which, like all succeeding ones, was collected on my second expedition, begins with an account of how the initiate is warned not to divulge secrets of the Society lest he be penalised by the magic. He is also admonished to keep the taboos of *Mani*, and to observe its rules of conduct during meetings of the Society. It tells also how the novice is given a new name, the manner in which he is instructed how to prove to other *Mani* members in different districts that he has really

¹ In the second boiling of the medicines, that in which their juices are boiled with oil and salt, a solid residue is left at the bottom of the pot, and on top of this a liquid consisting of what is left of the juices and the oil extracted from the seeds. It is this liquid which is decanted.

² This refers to the solid residue at the bottom of the pot. Only the *agbia ngwa*, the medicine chiefs, eat from the pot itself, the rest from leaves on which lumps of the medicine are placed. Everyone eats with his little finger.

³ In collective magical ceremonies of this kind the passing of medicine to the mouth of one man and the giving of it to another is a common *motif*, though I have never been given any consistent or well formulated explanation of why it is done.

been initiated. These instructions give us an account of the traditions, special terminology, ritual, and grades, of the association.

"When a new member of the Society is initiated he joins by going under the *gagara*¹ through water. When he has been brought out of the river he is taken to the lodge and there they break off some leaves of *aiyengbe* on which they seat him. They then take a *Mani* magic whistle, called *bakazunga*, and tap him with it on the head and legs saying that if he divulges the secrets of the Society to the uninitiated then *Mani* will cut his throat; that if he divulges these secrets then may he not survive, but may a snake bite him. If he keeps the secrets of *Mani* then *Mani* will judge him equitably and he will rest at peace as a member of the Society. If he makes himself offensive to other members then *Mani* will cut his throat; if he is offensive to the head of the lodge without due cause then *Mani* will cut his throat. The speaker then blows the whistle in conclusion and puts it down. Afterwards they admonish him in the following manner: he must not have sexual intercourse with women in the lodge; he must not eat bush-buck if he is a member nor must he eat the vegetable *mboiyo* before he goes to approach *Mani*; he must not eat *lande* vegetable, nor tortoise, nor snake, when he is a member. They tell him also the word for snake in *Mani* language is *garamba*. They tell him that he may only eat red-skinned animals after these have been blackened for him with magic.² He is informed that his first name in *Mani* language is *parangayanda*.³ If a member of the Society asks him what happened when he was initiated he should first of all utter this preliminary name. When he is asked 'Who is your grandfather in the Society?' he should tell the member who questions him that the name of his grandfather is *Zamba*. If he is asked from where *Mani* came he

¹ This *gagara* consists of two hoops, formed by flexible boughs with both ends thrust into the ground, which are joined together by a transverse branch tied to their summits. These branches are cut from special *Mani* trees and are entwined with cuttings from special *Mani* creepers.

² This blackening of red-skinned animals, which are taboo during initiatory periods, is a feature of Zande magic, practised by a restricted group of persons. In this instance they collect various leaves and having burnt them, cook the soot together with pieces of hen and of the skin of various tabooed red-skinned animals and afterwards eat it. These leaves are called *bisi*. Most of the taboos are terminated in this way, though some are observed in perpetuity and others before ceremonial practices.

³ Sometimes called *Zambayanda*. This name is given when a novice's sponsor has made a gift to the master of the lodge. It is changed when the novice has been fully initiated.

should reply that it came from the west,¹ so that members of the Society will know that he has really been initiated. If a member questions him about what kinds of Mani he has seen he should reply that he has seen *mani-ngboko*, and if they go on to ask him what that means in *Mani* language he must say that *ngboko* means water. When questioned about what is over the water he will say it is the *gagara*. In response to the enquiry about what he went under in the lodge he must also say that he went under the *gagara*. He will then be asked what happened to him at the lodge, and he must give an account of how he was tapped on the head and knees with the magic whistle *bakazunga*² and how he was told that if he divulged the secrets of the Society *bakazunga* would kill him, and how he sat on *Mani* leaves which are the leaves of *aiyengbe*. He must describe how they put *Mani* on the fire, and when asked on what they placed *Mani* to cook it he will reply that they placed it on the *kenge*, and that the name of the *Mani* pot is *meke*, and that the little stick with which they stir the medicines is called *uze*. They may ask him whether he has seen the chief medicine, which is *yanda*, and if he has seen it he will reply that he is an initiate of *yanda*. They will then tell him to describe it and he will explain that after a long walk he went and stood in the path while the members went to the *yanda*³ and asked it saying 'Shall this member of Mani come here before you who are *yanda*?' and that *yanda* agreed to the suggestion, and that the chiefs of the lodge told him to approach and took him before *yanda*, and that he placed a little present on the ground in front of it. He then said '*Aiyai kuru te*' to which the members of the Society responded '*Aike o.*' He said '*Banzinga ju roni*' and they replied '*Aike o.*' He said 'Head of the lodge I have come to see chief medicine.' He placed a present near the *yanda*. Then they began to rub the *yanda* for him about his affairs, because *yanda* is a rubbing oracle just like the *iwa*. The man who is watching *yanda* makes its statements known to the Society in this manner. From the account given by this man members of the Society know that he has been fully initiated."

¹ Though *diyo* has been translated west, it really means in this instance south or south-west, since it refers to the direction of a big river, in this case the Uelle river.

² People also take oaths on this whistle. If a man is accused of some offence, he will blow the whistle and say that if he is guilty, may he die.

³ The nature of *yanda* is explained in a later text.

TEXT 3.

This third text contains warnings and instructions couched in the form of magical spells to novices. It describes the old method of initiation by passing under water and the frightening of the novice by imitating the voices of wild beasts. It describes also the giving of a *Mani* name to a new initiate and his return from the river to the lodge.

"When a novice is initiated he is taken and placed in the path, all arrangements having been previously made, and his sponsor stands by him there. When they are told to bring him along they take hold of him and he places his hands over his face. They go with him and put him under the *gagara*, that is to say, the *gagara* which is on the path. They take him and seat him on leaves, namely leaves of *kondoiyengbe* as it is called in *Mani* language. Those who are conducting the novice say '*Banzingota*,' to which salutation the others reply '*Aike o*'; they say 'The novice has arrived;' they say '*Aike o*.' They then take him and seat him and tap him on the head and on both legs with the magic whistle of *Mani*, which is called *bakazunga*, while they address it saying 'Any man who hits him on the head or beats him let *Mani* seize him here (taps knee) and here (taps other knee) and cause his head to ache (taps head).' They further address the initiate and tell him that now he has seen *Mani* he must realize that no shameful practices are allowed in the lodge. He must not anoint himself with the oil of *Mani* and then go and have relations with a woman, lest *Mani* should kill him. He is warned not to play the fool with *Mani*. They wait a little while with the novice, and then, leaving him in the lodge, they go to erect a *gagara* in the river. When this work is finished they take him from the lodge and go with him and place him with two sponsors on the path. Various members crouch behind trees in the vicinity of the path. When the head of the lodge tells them to bring forward the novice he advances with a leaf placed over his eyes, and this is removed when they reach the *gagara*. Meanwhile the hidden members are told to make noises imitative of wild beasts and they say '*A a a a a a a*' like lions and leopards. The novice is told that he must now undergo initiation (which consists in passing under water through the hoops of *gagara*) and he stops up his nose with his fingers. The head of the lodge tells him that such is the

custom of *gagara* and that he must not be frightened. He passes backwards and forwards under water through the hoops reappearing on the opposite side. Those who have been imitating the voices of animals ask him how many times he has passed through the hoops¹ and when he says that he has passed through three times they tell him to pass through a fourth time. They afterwards take him out of the water. Then they stand and ask those who have been imitating the voices of animals to name the new member, and if he is a dark-skinned man they say his new name is *Biyanda*, while if he is a fair-skinned man they say his name is *Parangayanda*. The members place their hands out in front of them² and say ' *Banzengo te aikiyo* ' and ' *Gbia ngwa te* ' and ' *Aike o.* ' They say to the chief of the lodge ' You also speak the words of medicine ' and he replies ' Yes, my grandchild. ' Afterwards they say ' *Ngoli mani* ' and respond ' *Aike o.* ' They then start a song to walk back from the river to the lodge in company with the novice to its rhythm :

Eee Barangba o
gini Ndakpwa mangi re ware
barangba Ndakpwa Zuzu ?
Eee Barangba o
gini Ndakpwa mangi re ware
Barangba Ndakpwa Zuzu ?

They thus go away with him to the lodge and there salute those members who have remained there, ' *Banzingota* ' to which they reply ' *Aike o.* ' They inform them that the novice has passed out of the river, and in reply to an enquiry about his new name they are told that it is *Biyanda*. They then salute *Biyanda* saying ' *Biyanda te aike o kwo !* ' and then he sits upon the ground. They put the *Mani* on the fire and commence to stir it while the novice sits down opposite to it. They begin to address *Mani* saying ' *Ngoli Mani* ' to which the members of the lodge respond ' *Aike o.* ' The head of the lodge begins to address *Mani* saying ' You are *Mani* here, throw away misfortune from my *Mani* children in this

¹ I believe that they erected two hoops in the water though it is possible that they only erected one.

² Their arms are bent from the elbow and are moved up and down loosely, as is customary in all Zande singing and dancing.

direction and in that direction and let their good fortune remain steady.¹ May no *Mani* child of mine die in connection with *Mani*. If any member knows other bad kinds of medicine and tries to spoil my lodge with them then *Mani* will cut his throat. If anyone has sexual relations with a woman before coming near *Mani* then *Mani* will cut his throat. *Mani* of Zamba, *Mani* of Yembura, if anyone among my *Mani* children is likely to die, you are *libere*,² you prevent it.'

It is in this manner that they address *Mani* and when the head of the lodge has stirred the medicines he gives place to the *kenge* who in his turn begins to stir it also, saying: 'May no misfortune fall upon our *Mani*; if any *Mani* children divulge the secrets of *Mani* without due cause may ill luck fall upon them thus.' When the *kenge* has finished he puts down the pot-stirrer and says '*Okuru te*' in sign that he has finished and is about to rise, and the members respond '*Aike o.*' He goes on to tell those senior *Mani* members who are present and are privileged always to stir the *Mani* to come forward and state their affairs to the magic and address it about all their possessions, as, for instance, may their fowls prosper on its account. Those ordinary *Mani* members who are not privileged to stir it must sit down and watch, doing nothing, for they must not stir the *Mani*.

Various members then stir *Mani*. First one comes and places on the ground a little present, saying '*Aiyengbe te*' to which the others respond '*Aike o.*' Another member says that he also wants to stir *Mani*, so the head of the lodge says '*Ngo i Mani*' to which all respond '*Aike o.*' The chief of the lodge says 'You also speak words of magic, anyone who makes a present may come and stir my *Mani* and address it about his affairs.' Thus a number of members produce little gifts and come forward to present them in order to address the medicine. They continue to cook *Mani* for a long time, and when the oil begins to rise to the surface they pour it off and take the pot and place it under the face of the novice so that he, first of all the members of the lodge, may bathe his face in its

¹ The person who is stirring and addressing the medicines, places the stirrer in an upright position in the centre of the pot and lets it fall, first to one side of the pot and then the other, adjuring the medicine to banish ill-luck in these directions. He then holds it firmly between thumb and finger in the centre of the pot, calling on the magic to make fortune be thus sure and steady.

² This appears to be the original name of *Mani*. At any rate, it is sometimes used as an alternative name.

steam. Then they let each of the other members have it in turn so that all may bathe their faces in its steam.¹ They afterwards take the pot of *Mani* and place it on the ground."

TEXT 4.

The fourth text is about the second *Mani* grade, that of blue bead *Mani*, and it describes its ritual of initiation and embodies spells and instructions relating to the magic.

"I have seen *Mani nzingira*.² They erect two hoops and hang blue beads from the hoops so that one comes out between them. They place others on the ground on leaves of *aiyengbe*. They said to me 'Come forward to be initiated into blue bead *Mani*.' I came forward and put my lips out to the blue bead and they said to me 'It is blue bead *Mani* into which you are being initiated, you must not divulge its secrets to those ordinary members of *Mani* who have not seen it.' Then I became initiated by picking up the bead with my mouth from off the leaves and by carrying it through the far hoop. I then repeated this performance, going through the hoop in the opposite direction. Someone then asked how many times I had passed through the hoops and another answered 'four times' so they told me that it was sufficient. They then took a magic whistle and said that if I divulged the secrets of blue bead *Mani* to those *Mani* members who had not been initiated into this grade then blue bead *Mani* would kill me. At the end of this address they blew on the whistle '*fia*.' They afterwards took a blue bead fastened to a little ring and gave it to me, saying that every now and again I must hold it in the smoke arising from cooking *Mani* medicines, and that if anyone were to do me ill I was to take this blue bead and bury it in the threshold of his hut. Such are the secrets of blue bead *Mani*."

TEXT 5.

This last text gives a description of initiation into the third and final grade of *Mani* in which one sees the special rubbing oracle of the Society called *yanda*.

¹ Placing one's face over a pot from which the steam of cooked medicines rises, is a common part of a Zande magical rite. The magic in this way is brought into close contact with a man and its protective properties easily absorbed. The eyes must be kept open throughout in order to allow the magic to enter them.

² This is the name in *Mani* language for the imported blue bead, which is generally referred to in Zande as *manguru*.

" This is about *yanda* ; they ask a man whether he has seen *yanda* and if he says he has not seen it, he takes a little present and says that he will go and see it. The head of the lodge consents to his proposal, saying that he will go and speak to *yanda* about it. Children of *yanda* then take the novice and go away and stand with him in the path, while the head of the lodge goes to ask *yanda* saying, ' Yanda, this child of Mani may come to see you ? ' and *yanda* agrees to the question. Those standing with the novice are now told to bring him along and they commence to do so bringing him to near by *yanda*. The novice takes his little present and presents it and utters special greeting of the magic, ' *Gbia ngwa te* ' to which the head of the lodge replies, ' *Aike o* ' ' You also see *yanda*.' He replies ' Yes, my grandfather.' They then begin to rub the *yanda* oracle asking it ' Yanda, I am about to die ? Yanda, that relative of mine who lives over there he is about to die ? Yanda children of Mani will kill me in connection with Mani ? ' But *yanda* gives negative replies to these questions. It is thus, and they say to him that it is *yanda* which he has seen because it is the *iwa* oracle of the head of the lodge, because it is chief medicine.

They say to him that if he meets a child of *Mani* who claims to be a child of *yanda* also, then he will know that he is an old *Mani* member because *yanda* is the last grade and is chief of all the medicines. They say to him that he must not sleep with a woman and then go to near *yanda*, that he must not eat *mboiyo* and then go to near *yanda*, and then if he has not kept the taboos he must keep away from *yanda*. They tell him that the groove of *yanda* is like this¹ and that one rubs *yanda* along it. Then they warn him again that he must not disclose the secrets of *yanda* to ordinary children of *Mani* who have not been initiated. The rules of *yanda* are finished."

4. DESCRIPTION OF CEREMONY AND RITUAL.

We may now boil down these texts into a straight-forward account of what happens at an ordinary *Mani* meeting. We shall describe a meeting at which a novice is introduced, so as to embody initiation and ritual of the Society in one account. I shall here introduce parts of the

¹ I have never seen a *yanda*, but I understood from description that it is a rubbing oracle, in which one piece of wood is rubbed in the groove of another.

ceremonial not described in the texts, but told me by informants or which I have witnessed.

It is arranged that a man shall be initiated at the next meeting. Medicines are collected in advance by the head of the lodge or by one of his subordinates and the various magical ponderabilia of stakes, withies, and creepers, are gathered and set in position.

When all is ready his sponsor takes the novice by the hand and leads him from where they have been awaiting orders, some distance away, to the lodge, which to-day is generally a space, under the verandah of a hut in an ordinary homestead, used temporarily for the rites of the Society. As he leads the initiate forward he holds a long oval leaf over his eyes so that he cannot see. Sometimes the old custom is still maintained of dropping a little liquid into his eyes which causes the novice a certain amount of pain and prevents him from seeing clearly for a while. Generally also, on his way to the lodge his future comrades hide behind trees on the route and imitate lions and leopards, and he is also told that there is a snake in the hut to which he is going. When they reach the place of ceremony the leaf is removed from his eyes and he is greeted in the special language of the Society.

When the leaf is removed from his eyes the novice sees in the background a fire, and between him and the fire two wooden hoops joined by a branch tied from the top of one to the top of the other, hoops and this horizontal bough being twined with various creepers.¹ He goes down on hands and knees and crawls under this structure from one end to the other and then back again. He repeats this performance four times, and each time as he emerges at one end the people seated there turn him round in the opposite direction.² The reason given for this rite is that it fixes the medicine in the novice and prevents him from receiving its virtues in a merely superficial manner. He then goes and sits in front of the fire, which is separated from him by a pile of leaves, and is

¹ These hoops are made from the *ngberangberi* tree and the creeper is generally cut from the *araka*. Lagae mentions these bent boughs which he says are made of *bisimo*. The *mvue* leaf which is held over the eyes is called in *Mani* language *kurung-baiengbi*. The novice's sponsor greets the members "*Baneengu fu roni*" to which they reply "*aiyai yengbe ta aike o*."

² Going through these hoops is known as *ti mani*. According to Lagae, if the novice touches the sticks in passing under them, then he will have to pay a fine. My informant said it did not matter if the hoops were touched.

warned not to divulge the secrets of the Society, to obey the head of the lodge, to behave with decorum during the meetings, and not to use them as a means of forming illicit sexual unions.¹ He is told what taboos² he must observe and is given other like instructions. These instructions are given partly in direct admonition to the novice and are partly embodied in a rambling spell said over the magic whistle of the Society, which is blown at the conclusion of the address. Through this rite the rules of the Society are enforced by magical sanctions.

On the fire are the *Mani* medicines and water in a pot which rests on the heads of three stakes driven into the ground. The fire is fed by sticks being thrust in between the stakes.³ While it is cooking first the head of the Society, then the higher officials and senior members, and lastly, those who lay a present before the magic, take a special wooden stirrer in their hands and stir the medicines in the pot and utter long spells over them asking general protection and immunity for the novice, for themselves, and for all members of the Society, against a variety of evils. Each requests special immunity and success for himself. Whilst a man or woman is addressing the magic, those who are sitting on the ground at the far end of the verandah space will often repeat a terminal phrase of the address in the mode of a litany. Thus, for example, when the stirrer, the magical practitioner for the moment, finishes a section of his spell by saying 'May I be at peace' (*Kpotore zeledi aze eda*) the others will repeat in low chorus 'May I be at peace.'

When the medicines have boiled for some time and their juices have consequently been extracted, they are removed from the pot and oil and salt are added to the water, and juices mixed with it. This mixture is allowed to boil and during its heating further spells are uttered over it. It is watched anxiously to see whether the oil will rise well to the

¹ This body of instructions is known as *mando mani*. Although, as I have pointed out earlier, no direct love-making is allowed in the lodge, it is impossible to prevent exchange of glances between the sexes and these visual invitations, known in Zande as *sanza bangilise*, are quite sufficient to initiate a love affair.

² If a man has not observed the taboos, e.g., if he has slept with a woman the night before, it is possible nevertheless for him to attend the meetings, but he will get someone else to stir the medicine and address it on his behalf. He will say " *Kenge mo ba gi ngbanga ku meke yo* " (" *Kenge*, you speak my case into the pot ").

³ The pile of *bisimo* leaves are called *kutingboaiangbi* or *oningo* in *Mani* language, the three stakes made of *kumbunga* and *ndili* woods are called *kenge*, the pot is called *meke*, water is called *ngboko*, and the oil is called *kondoiyengbe*.

surface as this is considered a good sign. When it has boiled the oil at the top is poured off into a gourd, leaving a sediment derived from oil seeds at the bottom of the pot. Some of the oil is poured into the novice's mouth and a few drops into his eyes also while his body is anointed with it. Other members of senior position will also drink this oil and use it to anoint their bodies.

After the residue has cooled a little at the bottom of the pot, lumps are placed on leaves and handed round to the members to eat or to take bits of it home with them if they choose to do so. Those near the pot, being of senior position in the Society, will eat out of it. The novice is fed with medicine by the hand of his sponsor. However, before the medicine is eaten, while it is still cooling in the pot, members will pick the pot up and place it on their heads or against their breasts and hold their faces in its mouth so that they are suffused with steam. While they do this they keep their eyes open in order that this magic steam will get into them, and they will utter short spells into the pot during the process.

It is usual after the medicines have been eaten for the novice to be given his first *Mani* name, and at the same time his everyday waist-band is removed and a special creeper¹ with magical associations is tied round his waist in its place. He will also be given one or two magic whistles by the master of his lodge and will be instructed under what conditions and circumstances he is to use them. He is then led by the hand of his tutor from the verandah, and the meeting usually closes with a dance accompanied by songs, both of which are special to the Society. I shall not describe these here, especially as the songs are largely unintelligible even to members themselves. When the meeting has broken up the novice goes home. For several days he must continue to wear his creeper belt and to observe various taboos. Thus, he must not eat hens, the flesh of all light-skinned animals and of elephant and certain kinds of vegetables. Sexual intercourse is also strictly forbidden to him during this period and he must not sleep on his bed, but on leaves on the ground. At the close of this period the creeper is slowly and carefully removed by the novice's sponsor after the payment of a present and the initiate is

¹ This creeper is called *odoruka* in Zande and *gili iyangbi* in *Mani* language. It is probably the same as the beautiful creeper usually referred to by the name *araka*.

given his final *Mani* name.¹ The creeper cannot be removed without the payment, which in the Sudan consists of a piastre or two, but which in the Congo is given by Lagae as four spears, and this, according to my informant, goes to the novice's sponsor, but according to Lagae's informants, to the head of the lodge. The novice is thus released from the most pressing of his taboos and becomes a full ordinary member of the Society. Other tabooed animals may be eaten after they have been specially "blackened" for him, in the manner described above, while other taboos, such as those on eating the flesh of snakes or tortoises are permanent.

The account which I have given above would have to be altered if we were to describe proceedings in the old days. It will be sufficient, however, if I show what are the main points of deviation. After a spell had been said over the novice he was led from the lodge to a nearby stream, which had been previously blocked up to bring the water to a man's waist or knees. On his way to the stream the novice was frightened by members of the Society hiding behind trees and imitating lions and leopards. Appearing just over the surface of the pool were one or two hoops, and the novice had to duck three or four times under these, each time returning from where he came. He was said to have struck the water with his club (*kopi*) meaning that he struck it with his head. He was then taken out of the water and given his first *Mani* name. Afterwards all returned to the lodge where medicinal juices were poured into the novice's eyes causing tears so that he was said to be weeping for Zabagu,² the founder of the Society. The medicine was then cooked and addressed as described above and later the novice was invested with his creeper waist-band and was instructed in the rules and customs of the Society. Dancing then commenced, interrupted now and again to talk business of the Society. At dawn the ceremony broke up and all returned home.

There are various other *Mani* medicines which have been introduced into the Sudan after those which compose *water-Mani*. Two of these

¹ Such names are those of *mbuluru* and *abalikenge* for men, and *ndasu* and *namani* for women. Before these societies were prohibited persons were referred to by these names in everyday intercourse.

² This is another name for Zaba or Zamba mentioned earlier in this paper.

have become so generally tacked on to the ceremony described above, that they may fairly be regarded as forming grades in the Society. The first of these is blue bead *Mani*. When a man is initiated into this a section of the hut is closed off with a banana-leaf palisade so that ordinary members of the Society shall not see what is going on. Any member of *Mani* who cares to make an extra payment can be initiated into blue bead *Mani* and his initiation takes place behind this enclosure. Two hoops are erected and the novice passes under one of these and picks up with his mouth a blue bead which lies on leaves mid-way between the two and carries it through the other and thence back again. This is done three or four times. From the tops of the hoops hang more blue beads and often a ring fastened to a whistle at the end of some twine. The whistle, ring, and blue bead, will be given to the novice at the end of the ceremony, or later, according to whether a sufficient payment has been made to the head of the lodge. During the ceremony the blue bead is put at the end of a stick and held in the fumes of a pot of medicine and addressed with a long magical spell.

The third *Mani* grade is that of *yanda*. This is a rubbing oracle, a variant of the many forms of this object found in the Congo area, and a member of *Mani* may on further payment be permitted to ask the oracle questions about his affairs. He must not, however, tell other members of the Society who have not made this payment what the *yanda* is like or how it is consulted.

5. FURTHER USES OF MANI MAGIC.

The two most outstanding characteristics of *Mani* society in Lagae's account, worship of wooden statues in human form and snake worship, are absent, as far as I am aware, from the association in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. According to Lagae these small statues are called *yanda*¹ and are cut from wood, those representing men being called *uza* and *balinkenge* and that representing a woman being called *namani*. There is a cult which consists in the contemplation of these images and

¹ It will be observed that the word given by Lagae for these human figures is the same as that given to me as referring to a special kind of rubbing oracle in the possession of the head of the lodge. (See earlier note.)

in the address of prayers to them to obtain protection or vengeance. "Pour donner a cette prière contemplative plus de force, on prend un anneau en cuivre auquel on a attaché une grosse perle en verroterie, au côté de la statuette *namani*, au moyen d'un brin de paille ou d'une cordelette" writes Mgr. Lagae. I have no information from the Sudan which tallies with this description and I do not think that these figures occur in our *Mani* society. In an earlier society, called *Nando*, figures of this kind certainly played a part in ritual, but this society has now completely or almost completely ceased to exist though it appears to have left a legacy which is to be seen in the clay figures of human beings which are sometimes placed together with magic for the protection of property or retaliation against theft.

Lagae also says that in the lodge there is a living snake which is the object of a cult and is looked upon as the protector of the members. My informants told me that there was not to their knowledge a living snake placed in the *Mani* hut, but they pointed out that a novice is often told on initiation that he will see a snake there. In the Sudan also there is a special word in *Mani* language for snake (*garangba*) and the flesh of all these reptiles is forbidden as food to members of the association. A new member is told that if he meets a snake he is not to be frightened, but that he must greet it in *Mani* language "*gbia ngwa'te ! banzengu fo ro !*" with his hands outstretched in front of him. If he does this the snake will slide away harmlessly.

There are several minor prescriptions and prohibitions of this kind, e.g., if a member of the society knocks his foot against a stone he is not to jump about, but to stoop down and rub his legs hard, or, as another informant told me, a new member of the society must under these circumstances walk back again and place his foot in front of the piece of wood or stone against which he has knocked it and then continue on his journey. If he is a senior member of the society he will not need to go through this procedure, but it will be sufficient if he simply closes his fist. Also while still a new child of *Mani*, if one meets an army of red ants one ought to throw down a leaf on top of their column.

Besides giving a description of formal ceremonial in the lodge it is necessary to refer to various individual uses of *Mani* magic. A new initiate is given one or two magic whistles by the master of his lodge, generally in return for a small payment. These, in common with most magic whistles of their kind, must be blown in the morning before the magician has washed his face. The initiate is warned that he must not utter spells and blow the whistles *gbwa* or *ni sawia*, without good reason or out of spite, because if he does so it will prove unlucky for him (*si nasal asa*) and it may even do him serious injury.

The spells which are uttered over these magic whistles are variable, like all Zande spells. A typical spell addressed to the whistle *bakazunga* runs as follows: "You are *bakazunga*, and I have come to blow you. Now if anyone injures me with witchcraft, may he die. If anyone injures my millet crop, my food, and all my food plants, may he die because he is injuring my cultivations."

Another spell uttered over a magic whistle known as *zelengbondo mani* runs as follows: "You are *zelengbondo*. May I remain at peace. May the chiefs not seize me, but let me be fortunate in all things. If children of *Mani* gather to-day in my homestead do not let anyone seize me on account of *Mani*."

Mani whistles often have a blue bead attached to them, but owing to the fact that secret societies have been made illegal by the Government bead and magic whistle alike are kept from view. In the past, however, it was worn openly, often on one finger attached to a ring. Some people kept it in oil in a tiny gourd bottle, and in any difficulties they rubbed themselves with the oil, while they could also hold it in the smoke of a fire and utter a spell over it. Besides being worn on the finger and kept in oil the bead was also often attached to a whistle worn on the wrist. This imported blue bead is called *manguru* in Zande and *nzingira* in *Mani* language. If a man is injuring you and you have discovered who he is by means of the oracles you may enter by night into his house, take your blue bead and bounce it on the floor of the hut and leave it there. Later the owner of the hut will sicken and die, and at his death the power of the magic must then be checked or it may prove dangerous to you and your family. You therefore take the whistle and tap it on your legs,

arms, head, and other parts of your body and blow out water on to the ground from your mouth.¹

The whistle with a blue bead attached to it is known as *banzingini*, and the following was given me as a typical spell uttered over it: "You are whistle of *Mani*. I have come to blow you. If any man says that he is going to do me ill, let misfortune fall upon him, may he die, may a snake bite him, may he cut his foot with a hoe, may someone pierce him with a spear, let misfortune fall upon him. If any man intends to do me an injury, may sickness fall upon him."

Besides being given these whistles and the blue bead the novice is also given a bulb of *Mani* medicine, which he grows in the centre of his homestead near the shrine for the ancestral spirits. If at any time he is depressed or frightened, he can eat a piece of the leaf from this plant and thus regain his good spirits and courage through confidence in its properties. When *Mani* medicine is being made for a ceremony, some of the leaves of this plant are generally ground together with oil-yielding seeds, generally from the *kofu*, *kpagu*, and *detiru*, but not usually from sesame.

Occasionally special *Mani* magic is made in order to kill someone, rather than for the normal purpose of protection. This is done when a person wishes to kill an adulterer or a witch, or to injure his relatives-in-law, who have taken his wife from him without returning all the bride-wealth. The procedure is similar to that used normally for purposes of exacting blood vengeance through magic in a feud and consequently is known as *ngbasu mani*.² One cooks the medicines on top of an *anguru* termite mound and stirs and addresses it until the eye of the person one wishes to kill appears in the middle of the boiling medicines, when one pierces it with great force with a spear, smashing the pot to pieces.

¹ Lagae says of this bead: "Une autre médecine est la perle bleue en verroterie appelée vulgairement *manguru*, mais que les gens du *mami* appellent *mansingira*. Cette perle enduite de huile dont on porte toujours sur soi une petite réserve contenue dans une petite bouteille, se porte soit au doigt, soit à l'oreille, soit même à la ceinture. Quand on a se venger, il suffira d'enterrer cette perle dans le foyer éteint de la personne qu'on vise. Des qu'on y fera du feu, la perle éclatera et la vengeance suivra son cours."

² The medicines used in these circumstances are different from those used in ordinary *Mani* ceremonies and they are mixed with sesame oil. I was told that some of the medicines are juices from the *pai*, the *giro*, and the *ngboro* plants. Juices of the creeper called *mani yulu* are also used. No part of the medicine is eaten or drunk.

As in all Zande magic a haze of floating tradition gives support to ritual and belief. One hears how such-and-such a person died from *Mani* magic, or how such-and-such a person escaped impending danger through the same medium. These stories are short-lived and are known within a very restricted area, but they are succeeded by others equally convincing and they are paralleled throughout Zandeland. It is important to understand that *Mani* magic, like all other kinds of magic, is believed in, and consequently fulfils its functions, because it has proved to be powerful by pragmatic tests, and the claims made for it can be proved valid by many a practical experience. A story of how the medicine affected one man spreads throughout his district, becoming magnified as it goes, and acts as a kind of floating mythology, which backs up belief in the magic and bears testimony to the efficacy of the rites. Such a piece of everyday tradition is the following story. The wife of a man, X, became ill and went to stay with her brother at whose home she was initiated into the local *Mani* lodge hoping that the medicines would cure her sickness. Her husband, as is Zande custom, paid a sudden visit to the house of his brother-in-law at nightfall, and found that his homestead was vacant except for a little boy, whom he asked "Where is my wife?" The boy told him that she had gone to draw water, and when asked where his mother was the child replied that she had gone to gather firewood, and had not yet returned. X said to the boy "All right, when they return, tell them that I have gone to see my blood-brother, and that I will return." He went in the direction of his blood-brother in pretence that he was going to pay him a visit, but when out of sight he cut through the bush towards the path which led from his brother-in-law's homestead to the place where they drew water. Here he searched for his wife's footsteps, and having found them he tracked her into the bush to a place where her footsteps and those of many others led. After a while he heard voices, and creeping up, he saw the *Mani* hut and a ceremony of initiation being performed there. He remained hidden until the ceremony was concluded and everybody went off to their homes at dawn. He then emerged from his hiding-place and stole the pot, magic whistle, and the three stakes upon which the pot rested, intending to go home with them and to make a case against the man who had initiated his wife and the head of the lodge.

On arriving home he flogged his wife, saying that he knew all about her trickery and how she had gone away with her brother in order to acquire medicine to kill him. He left her exhausted and bruised and then took the pot and smashed it to pieces on the ground in a rage. Later he took the three stakes and the magic whistle and accompanied by his wife he proceeded to court to make a case before his chief, Gangura. On the way he met an old friend who dissuaded him from this course, saying that what he had seen was a bad dream and that it was far better not to bring such matters before the chief. He thereupon desisted and returned home.

Some time later his wife again went to visit her brother. It is unknown whether she again saw *Mani* and addressed the magic while she was there, but when her husband followed her to his brother-in-law's homestead, he had a row with his mother-in-law, who was annoyed because she had not seen him on his previous visit, and afterwards, when journeying back home with his wife he developed pains in his back and died shortly after his return home. Magic was made and put on his grave with the object of revenging his death, but instead of an outsider falling victim to its power, the dead man's son, who was wearing the special waist-cord of a magician in the situation of blood-revenge, died also.¹ The relatives then consulted the oracles, which told them that *Mani* was wreaking vengeance, so they went to the head of the lodge and asked him to "wash" them, a rite which consists in rubbing water in which bruised leaves of the *bamololumolu* have been soaked over the body of a man in order to prevent him from falling victim to magic. The head of the lodge told them however, that it was none of his business, that he had not initiated the woman, that he wanted to know what they meant by breaking his pot, and that they must first bring him spears as a payment before he would perform a ceremony to cancel the magic. They refused to bring spears. First the man's daughter died, and then they made the payment in fear lest the same fate should overtake them all, and the head of the lodge then "washed" them and cancelled the magic. My informant pointed out to me that the deaths were due to

¹ This happens when a dead man died from the effects of a crime he had committed and not from the effects of private malice.

the breaking of the medicine pot and the manner in which other sacred things of the society had been handled.

There is another story which is perhaps worth recording. It is about Zabagu, who appears to have brought *Mani* into the Sudan, though what we are told about him in this story does not tally with the general impression about him in the minds of most members. It is said that Zabagu, with a knowledge, but not a complete knowledge, of *Mani*, came from the Congo into the Sudan and was there given beer by a certain man called Nganzama to whom he promised, while intoxicated, that he would show him the medicines. In the morning he initiated this man and showed him the different medicines which go to form *Mani*. Knowledge of the society thus spread all over the Sudan.

As a result of this disclosure, a series of misfortunes overtook Zabagu. He himself fell into the fire; one of his sons died of an abscess; and another died of leprosy. The head of Zabagu's lodge was furious at this betrayal of the secrets of his society and threatened that he would dig up his corpse, cut off his head, and bury it beneath his *kenge*, and it is even said that he actually sent messengers into the Sudan who carried out this gruesome task. Hence it is, as my informant pointed out, that people are very frightened of disclosing the secrets of *Mani*.

6. RESULTS AND FUNCTIONS OF MANI SOCIETY.

Two points emerge very clearly from the description of the *Mani* society which I have given. In the first place it is a society, and in the second place its functions are magical.

It has all the characters of a special social grouping, which has to maintain the cohesion of its members within and to give them solidarity in relation to the outside social world. Thus we find a ritual initiation which dramatically impresses on the novice his entry into a new social group, gives him a community of experience with fellow members, and marks him off conspicuously from the uninitiated. This ritual, like most of its kind, gives dramatic representation of passing from the condition of non-membership to that of membership; thus the passing through water and under hoops and the period of strict taboos in which a special magic waist-cord is worn; thus also the payments to enter the

society and to rise from one grade to another, and the new names conferred on initiates; and thus the special terms of address and salutation, the special dances, and the special songs.

Like any other social grouping, it has also its leadership and grades, its rules and sanctions. Leadership rests on possession of knowledge about the *Mani* medicines as well as on general organizing ability and on personal prestige in the lodge. The powers of leaders are never great, and are mainly restricted to the sphere of the lodge on occasions of assembly. The sanctions on which leadership rests are, in the first place, fear of the magic which the leader alone possesses and of which he partakes in a common meal with other members; in the second place, on public opinion in the lodge which insists on decorum and obedience to authority in matters pertaining to the society, and in the third place on the fact that whenever Azande form a grouping, of however temporary a nature, they organize authority, with considerable modifications, on the pattern of their political institutions, which are marked by an extreme development of leadership in the existence of the Vongara class. The same sanctions uphold the rules of the society, maintenance of order and decency in the lodge, exclusion of love-making, insistence on secrecy about the rites, and observation of the proper ritual.

Each lodge is further given cohesion by its localization. The members all live within a restricted locality and are known to each other socially outside the lodge. All have the same chief and come under the administration of the same chief's deputy. A man will have many blood-relations, relatives-in-law, and blood-brothers, among the members of his local-lodge. Others will have been fellow-members of war companies, of circumcision camps, or of the corporation of medicine-men. All will have been for years neighbours. In short all members of a lodge have many other social bonds in common than that of *Mani* membership alone.

Special emphasis may again be laid on the exclusion of love-making within the lodge. The *Mani* society is not an association for extra-marital or pre-nuptial sexual practices. Not only is this not its object, but it insists through the admonition of its leaders and through its spells on adherence to the traditional rules of Zande society in this respect.

It is nevertheless important to note that the inclusion of women is a revolutionary break-away from established modes in a society where sex dichotomy is rigidly drawn in social activities, and every effort is made to uphold marital rites. Even at *Mani* ceremonies the women sit apart from the men, and there are two separate paths leading from the lodge, one for men and one for women. But it is remarkable that women should take part in the ritual at all, as they are, with few exceptions, excluded from any part in magical performances in which men participate, and in collective activities which have no magical import, their special sphere of activity is very clearly defined. Certainly a Zande man never allows his wife to even speak to anyone who is not her relative and will win his case on any issue of this kind. In this Society, however, not only do the sexes take part together in enacting its ceremonial, but women can attain to the rank of leader in the society.

The novelty of this cutting across the institutions of the family, and of this branch of established usage and legal and moral principles, is of considerable importance. We find evidence of similar social disruption in the manner in which *Mani* cuts across the line of class. In almost every activity of Zande life in which the chiefs take part they act as leaders, in law, in government, in war, and in hunting. Even in those activities in which the chiefs did not normally in the past take a prominent part, e.g., in dancing, they assumed, when they did take part, either the role of leader or at least an independent position, refusing subordination to the particular leaders of the undertaking. In *Mani*, however, the chiefs do not as a rule enter into full or regular participation in the ceremonies, and when they do so, though treated with the proper respect due to all members of their class, they cannot take part as leaders unless they happen to know the magic. *Mani* was introduced without backing or even permission from the chiefs and has remained a commoner grouping, with its special powers and privileges derived from its magic, right outside the world of ordinary social groups, where the chiefs exercise direct authority and maintain personal control.

I do not consider that the very limited juridical functions of the head of the lodge have great significance in this respect, for the cases which he hears are, I believe, generally restricted to matters pertaining

to conduct of the lodge and are about points of very little social importance. He would have no powers to enforce decisions of importance, e.g., an adultery fine, as the Zande has a proper contempt for magical sanctions when he is really interested in litigation. Small disputes are in any case often settled out of court by chiefs' deputies, or by old men of social position. But the social importance of litigation is not here the point. It is the principles of government and privileges of status which are involved. When a chief's deputy settles a case he does so openly and reports the matter to the chief, whereas when the *Mani* "chief" settles a case he does so in the secrecy of his lodge and without authorisation from the sole legal authority in Zande culture, the Avongara.

Here, as in the admission of women, we see *Mani* cutting right across the old social structure, breaking down exclusive rights of institutions and destroying the restricted privileges of their members. It is worth noting that in both instances *Mani* comes to a certain extent into the ill-odour in which the *Bili* society is held for this association is quite frank in its sexual purposes and its assumption of legal functions. But though *Mani* has neither the one nor the other, it is obvious from what I have said above, why the chiefs oppose its entrance into their domains and still regard it with mixed feelings, which are shared by many of those commoners who have not been initiated. These have a further objection, alluded to earlier in this paper, in that the introduction of *Mani* magic confuses accepted rulings in law and morals.

In the past there was a clear demarcation between legal and moral magic and illicit and immoral magic. The one was backed by custom and authority of the chiefs, while the other was condemned and penalized by both. The introduction of a new kind of magic pointed the issue whether it fell into the one class or the other. Its members and sympathisers held that *Mani* magic conformed in every way with the characteristics of good magic, but uninitiated persons note that the rites are not simply private, in the way in which most magical performances among the Azande are private, but that they are secret. They are therefore at best ignorant about the real nature of the magic and are often sceptical about the claims of its practitioners, and definitely hostile

to the whole society on the grounds that their magic is of doubtful morality if not certainly immoral. Hence it is that commoners who associate themselves closely with the court and are held to be men worthy of trust and position, usually keep out of the *Mani* society. Here again we observe a transverse cut made by *Mani* across established Zande usage, this time across principles of law and morality, confusing well-known divisions by innovation of notions and customs.

Reference to the morality or immorality of *Mani* magic brings us to the second point which emerges from our description of the society, namely, that it is an association for magical purposes. The proceedings described in my texts show clearly the elements and attributes of typical magical acts in Zande society. The nucleus of the magical performance consists of concrete medicines, pieces of wood, roots, bits of creepers, and leaves of various plants.¹ Ownership of the magic means knowledge of these medicines. The spells uttered over the medicines are irregular and unformulated. They consist of addresses to the magic made up by the practitioner as he goes along and their length and composition depend entirely on what he has to say. Generally the magician wishes and asks for certain privileges, both for the society and for himself and his family, at the same time as warning members against betraying the secrets of the society, breaking its taboos, and infringing its rules. The rites are also typical of all Zande magic; blowing of magic whistles; stirring of medicines in a pot; payments made before stirring; letting the stirring stick fall to the sides of the pot and holding it upright in the centre between the fingers according as good or ill is desired in the spell; holding the face over the pot to receive the magical steam; passing the medicine to one member and then quickly giving it to another instead; anointing bodies with magical oil and eating the material substance of the medicinal juices mixed with oil and salt; dropping medicine into eyes; and so on.

As in all other Zande magic also, its practitioner is conditioned by taboos on sexual intercourse and on certain foods, by payments, and by moral restrictions which are placed upon its use. For the practitioner can only ask for favours which are without intent to injure others guilty

¹ The word *mani* when referring to the medicine itself, is applied to a collection of different botanical objects. Some of the trees used are *kofo senemboli*, *bombise*, *rang birangbi*, *hadaingi*, *kpoiyo*, etc. Lagae gives bark of the *kukutuku* and *kekumangu*.

of no offence against himself. His motive must always be *bape*, desire to obtain vengeance for some definite offence, and not *sogote*, mere desire to injure somebody through dislike or jealousy.

Like all magic *Mani* has its stories of mysterious happenings, which lend credence to its claims, a saga of current tradition, which is formed both within and without the society. This saga buttresses the ritual of the society by providing pragmatic proof of the power of its medicines and the validity of its magical performances. It also has an incipient mythology and in this respect is unlike all Zande magic except that of secret societies and the corporation of medicine-men, and the magic of bone-setting, which is restricted to one clan. Its novelty, the ease with which anyone can become a member, its loose organization, the carelessness and haphazardness of its rites like those of all Zande magic, the indefinite and unformulated quality of its spells, and the rootless parasitic nature of its place in Zande culture, are all reasons which militate against the growth of standardized and richly-developed mythology. In its recognition of a founder and the occasional reference made to him in the rites, *Mani* shows a tendency to develop traditions absent from most Zande magic. This is doubtless due to the fact that *Mani* is a medicine which can be utilized only by members of a special grouping into which they have been initiated. I have tried to present this thesis, that socialization of magic through its association with a group leads to the development of standardized mythology, owing to the general tendency of group ownership to create its own mythology, the function of which is to provide a background of belief and moral justification for the exercise of its privileges, in a paper elsewhere.¹ *Mani* magic can be bought and sold, but only within the society itself, and in this respect it differs from the vast bulk of Zande magic in which the sphere of sale is unrestricted by group boundaries.

The communal nature of its rites is peculiar and shows features which many writers have held to be typical of religious ceremonies. The performance is not carried out by a single individual for purely private ends, but by a number of persons and largely for their common welfare.

¹ "The Morphology and Function of Magic," *American Anthropologist*, 1929, Vol. 31, No. 4.

Nor are these persons a chance crowd, but they form a durable grouping bound together by ties of membership of a common lodge. Nor are they merely spectators of ritual carried out by a single practitioner, but all play a role in the ceremonies, uttering spells, giving responses, partaking in communion of a magical meal and of ritual anointing.

The effervescence of religious gatherings is to be seen at a ceremony of *Mani* in the heightened emotional feeling displayed by word and gesture, not only by the practitioner for the time being, but also by those who have the role of audience. Yet the society is in no way related to the cult of ancestral spirits or of the Supreme Being, nor must the medicines, though they have dynamic qualities, be regarded as possessing a spirit in any way analogous to those of God and the ancestors.

The purposes of *Mani* magic are, moreover, not specific but general. No definite event is expected to follow a performance but it is supposed to ensure general well-being and success in economic and social activities. Often a man will join the society when threatened with some calamity of which he has been warned by the oracle *benge*. In their spells, members of the society ask for protection from the protean enemy witchcraft; immunity from bad magic; freedom from molestation by chiefs and white men; and they request the favour of European¹ and Vongara; peace with all men of goodwill and triumph over slanderers, back-biters, those actuated by jealousy and envy, and evil-wishers of every kind; success in social and economic undertakings; and prosperity of home and family. These objects are clearly enunciated in the spells which I have recorded and they may be summed up by saying that *Mani* society gives to its members through magic a general sense of security and confidence in their social activities.

Normally *Mani* magic has purely protective functions, but it is also sometimes used as a weapon of offence. When it is thus used a person's name is mentioned in the spell and the magic is called upon to kill him. It is, however, a rule of the society that before anyone can take this step he should have attempted to obtain compensation first of all through the

¹ The stress which is laid in *Mani* spells on immunity from European interference, is not in any way due to anti-white hostility. It is due to the prohibition of these special associations and the ever-present fear of their members that they will be arrested and imprisoned.

usual legal channels. It is only in those cases which have already been heard before the chiefs and which have been given in the favour of the *Mani* member, and his opponent refuses to pay compensation in spite of this legal decision that he is permitted to use magical weapons against him.¹ Such circumstances are those in which a woman leaves her husband and lives a licentious life or in which a woman is remarried without all the bride-wealth being paid back to her first husband, or in which black magic or witchcraft have been used against one, or one has been assaulted without justification.

It would be erroneous to suppose that *Mani* gives immunity to a criminal. The most it does in this respect is that it enables a man who loses his case to get off lightly. Thus a member of the society who is going to have a case heard at court blows a whistle on the way and asks the magic to help him in stating his case and if he is in the wrong that the chief may penalize him lightly. Thus *Mani* magic, though just, is nevertheless a means of to some extent biasing justice in your favour.

We have summed up the objects of *Mani* society by saying that it gives a general sense of security and confidence. Such an object is teleological and manifest. It can be explained by the natives themselves. Must one look further for a latent function of the society, the workings of which cannot be explained by the Azande themselves, but have to be unearthed by the sociologist? Generally it is possible to show what vital biological and social needs any institution satisfies and to explain it in terms of what it does, that is to say in terms of its functions. In the present paper we are, however, confronted with grave difficulties in approaching our problem. In the first place, *Mani* is modern, and has not been firmly riveted into Zande culture, in the second place it entered Zande country during the breakdown of their institutions, and in the third place it has been prohibited by European governments and has been to some extent opposed by the chiefs. Consequently, it is impossible to employ the ordinary methods of anthropological enquiry in its investigation. Though I have obtained what I believe is an accurate

¹ It must be remembered, that to-day many crimes, such as those of witchcraft and black magic, cannot be punished by ordinary legal machinery, but have to be avenged by magical means. The same remark often applies to failure in one way or another to observe the legal obligations of the contract of marriage.

account of its rites and purposes, and have witnessed several of its ceremonies I am not entirely satisfied with my understanding of the society. The collection of information about it was a task which lacked interest; observation of its rites bored me; and the writing of a description has given me little pleasure. The delights of investigation into Zande custom and belief which are enacted without restraint day by day and with which one is in continuous and lively contact were absent, and *Mani* primarily, in spite of my initiation and ceremonial participation, remained for me largely a paper institution, born in my hut and developed in my notebooks, rather than an essential and intense social activity.

I approach therefore an analysis of its functions with caution and reserve. Certainly it presents one aspect of the crumbling of Zande culture in contact with European rule and teachings. But whilst its existence in Zande society is evidence of change and instability, we must bear in mind that its survival against much opposition is a sign that the breakdown of custom which obtained for it an entrance, may also have determined for it a useful social function.

The more one gets to know the Azande the more one realizes their lack of confidence under modern conditions. Their outlook is tinged with pessimism, though this *weltschmerz* is concealed by the unusual sophistication of the Azande. This feeling of weariness and hopelessness is not extreme, but it is evident and inevitable. A dominant conquering people with advanced institutions, characterized by the great authority of heads of tribes and family no less than by the rigour of law and morals, has sustained a tremendous shock. Their expansion has been checked, their empire divided up under three separate European administrations, and their freedom of movement has been seriously restricted. They have been compelled to give up their traditional mode of territorial distribution and to live herded together in settlements which they abominate. Their economic life has been interfered with, their methods of agriculture and hunting curtailed; their racial existence has been threatened by sleeping-sickness; their laws have been changed; their whole social organization has been disorganized by modification of political privilege, by breakdown of economic dependence on the father of the family, by disruption of the union of marriage, and by disregard

paid to rules regulating sexual life. In a hundred different ways their social life has been upset, as is indeed inevitable, by European conquest and rule.

As is well-known, many primitive peoples fail to survive impact with European culture, but die out as they become aware of the hopelessness of their struggle against changed conditions of life. Others, especially in Africa, are able to adapt themselves, though none succeed in doing so with complete success. Adaptation consists in the first place of the development of new social processes to replace the old, and in the second place of reorientation of belief. Not only are native beliefs, in religion, in magic, in morals, and in knowledge, rudely shaken by the white man, who makes his contempt for all these aspects of their life abundantly clear, but also they lose confidence in themselves when faced with the boundless power of white men and their vast unknown resources. These secret societies seem to me to be the black man's answer to this challenge of despair, they are reassertion of his power and a reaffirmation of his confidence. The range of magic is limitless, and its validity established by long experience. Behind its fantastic bastions the Zande is secure from the enemy and has faith in his own strength. True, he can no longer kill witch or mutilate adulterer, but he can exact vengeance with the shafts of magic. True, he cannot protect himself from much interference with his life by the white man, but he is at any rate to some extent protected against the vagaries of European rule and shielded from personal molestation by his magic. The mysterious power of magic transforms the minds of white man, chief, and fellow commoners alike, so that they look at him with friendly eyes. The white man is conquered by volition because his erratic and unaccountable behaviour is to some extent controlled by invisible emanations which rise from rite and spell.

The peace introduced by European rule opened up vast sources of new magic in surrounding cultures, and everywhere visitors brought back new medicines from foreign parts to their own districts. The need for some new means of expression to take the place of old modes of activity in social life, and the desire for a feeling of security and stability amid the uncertainties of a new order and the disappearance of old values, gave a

special emphasis to magic which it did not before possess and supplied it with a host of new functions. Owing to the amorphous character of Zande magic, its lack of associations with permanent social groups through ownership, its absence of standardized myth, formulated spells, and stereotyped rites, the ease with which it can be handed over from one practitioner to another since its essential quality consists in material medicines and not in long and difficult spells, and its consequent rapid diffusion throughout the population, all militate against its ability to fulfil its new functions for a long period. It is difficult to believe in the great efficacy of medicines which everybody possesses. That magic which is least diffused retains the greatest faith. I am inclined to regard the secret societies of Zandeland as having a great advantage over magic unassociated with any durable grouping, since ownership, communal rites, initiation, hierarchy, grades, and the beginnings of myth, all tend to buttress magic and give it power and permanence. In these societies magic is at any rate restricted in use to members and in knowledge of its properties to the head of the lodge. But even here desire for gain has been its undoing, since new members have been admitted into the society on lower and lower payments and heads of lodges have sold their knowledge of *Mani* medicines freely and cheaply. To renew faith in *Mani* new magic has constantly been introduced from over the Congo border, and this new magic has supplemented rather than replaced the old. It is introduced with all the flair of novelty and is grafted on to the old ceremonial through new payments and subsidiary rites. Hence we find grades appearing in the structure of the society. Often these societies eventually lose popularity and their members join some newer association while the older one passes into oblivion. The *Mani* society is still, however, a flourishing institution.

THE LANGUAGES OF THE NUBA MOUNTAINS.

By P. A. MacDiarmid and D. N. MacDiarmid.

DURING the dry season of 1930-1931 a three months tour of the Nuba Mountains was undertaken on behalf of the Sudan Government, with a view to ascertaining the number of languages spoken in the region and their relations to one another. Before beginning this survey we procured from the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures a list of words and phrases suitable for the purposes of translation into the various languages met with and of comparison with one another in order to settle the verbal and grammatical resemblances of dialects. This list we used as a basis for our work, but added to it a number of additional short sentences for the comparison of grammatical structures. The final list employed during the survey comprised 150 nouns, 120 short sentences, the personal pronouns and the numerals.

Our procedure at the various centres of population was to secure the services of someone who knew both the local dialect and enough Arabic to act as a medium; police, prisoners in chains, men from the market, patients from the hospitals, men, women and children from the villages, all were pressed into service. On the whole we found the Arabised Nuba police the most helpful of our informants.

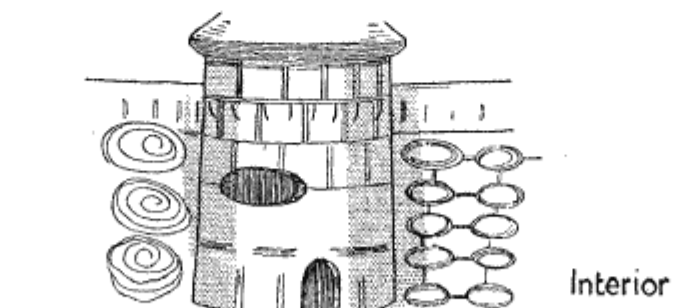
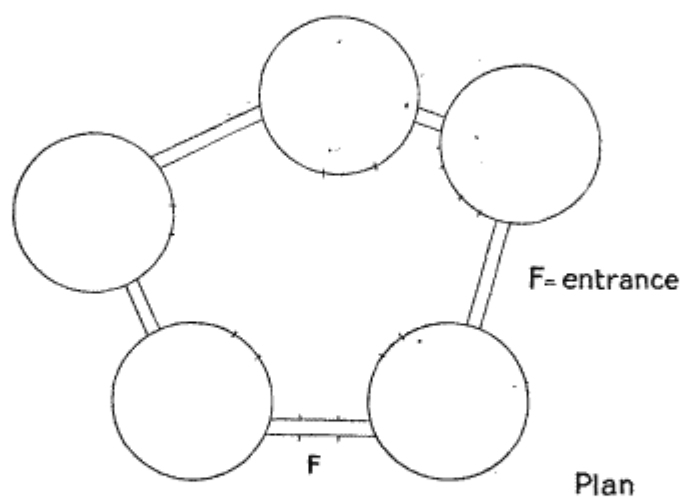
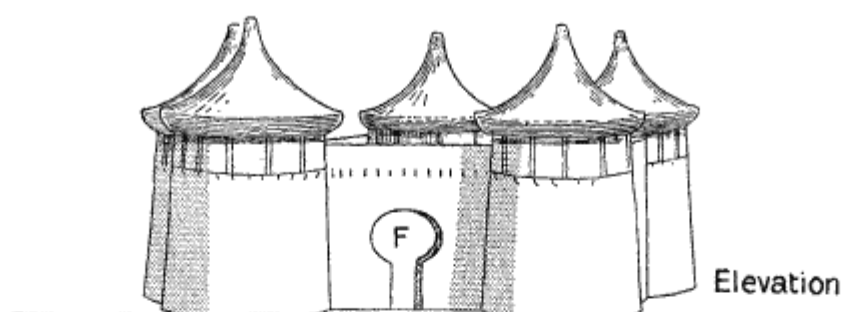
When a suitable informant was found we spent the best part of a day, sometimes we spent two days, in getting our list of words translated into his dialect. Frequently, when we were doubtful of our man, we had him back on another day and read over his words in his own tongue to see whether he had rightly understood our Arabic. We thus feel fairly confident that the majority of the words translated can be relied on, and while the verbal forms were much more difficult to get owing to the lack of knowledge of Arabic tenses on the part of some of our informants, we feel that they too are set down with sufficient accuracy to make possible a classification of languages according to their grammatical structure.

This does not, however, mean that with this list of words at hand one could get very far in a conversation with a member of the community using these words; a certain amount of knowledge of the grammar of the language is essential for the most simple phrases, even in the combining of a noun and an adjective. For instance, the word for "good" in Heiban Nuba is "gwigir," but in conversation this might appear variously as "digir," "dhipir," "lipir," "igir," "jigir," "nwigir," etc., according to the noun with which it was used. Thus it will be seen that the practical value of these long, and laboriously compiled, lists of words and sentences, except for the purposes of comparison and classification, is not very great.

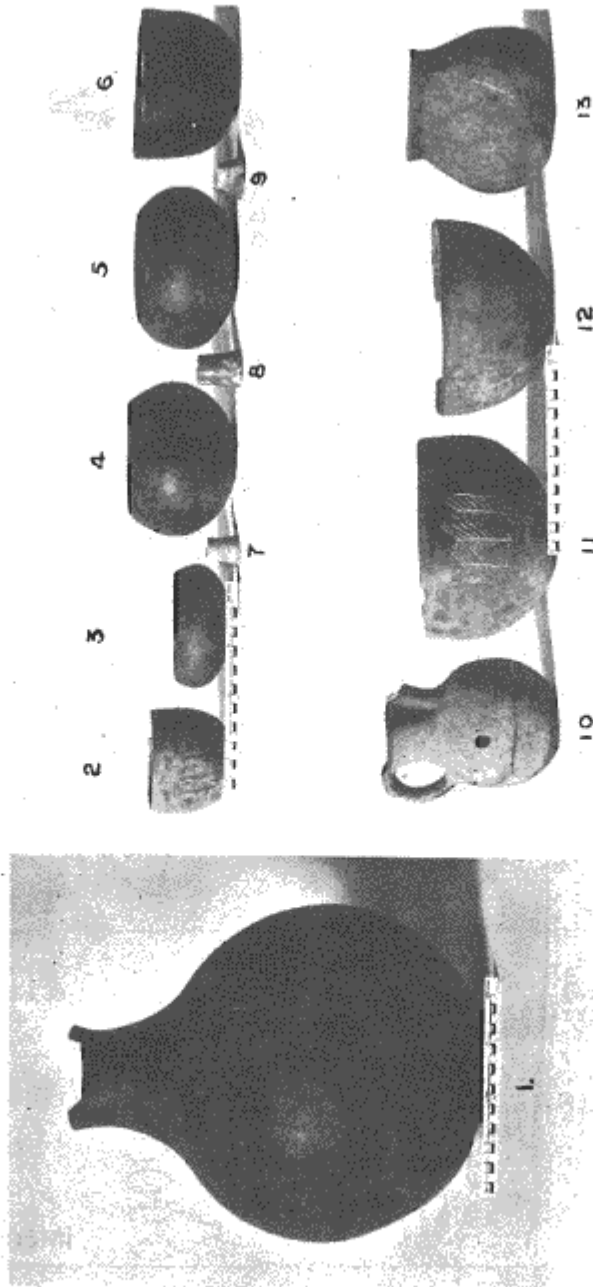
From our previous experience of the Nuba we did not place over-much reliance on whether the people of one village said that their language was totally unlike the language of any other people. Any considerable difference in vocabulary, or method of speaking, at once makes the Nuba close his ears and his mind to an unfamiliar tongue, and say that that is the language of so and so and that he does not know it at all. On the other hand a few accidental similarities of vocabulary might lead to the supposition that two languages of entirely different classes were the same.

In this connection it is to be noted that certain words, in varying forms, run through most of the languages studied. The words for horse, pig, drum, fowl, millet, etc., are instances of this. On the other hand, the words in two dialects for the same object may be so different as to conceal the fact that they are of the same language. For instance, the word for "leg" in the Shwai dialect is "dhimeni" while the Otorá word for the same thing is "lara," but further study reveals the fact that in the dialect using the word "lara" for "leg," the word "thigh" is "themini." Many examples of this kind of thing have been met with.

Representatives of 45 dialects were interviewed and into these dialects we translated our list of words and phrases; in some cases where there was absolutely no question as to the language group to which a dialect belonged, we made a shortened list suffice. The conclusion we came to was that these 45 dialects can be placed in ten language groups. Further study of the data collected may show that some of these ten languages



NUBA HOUSES IN THE MESAKIN HILLS.



ANTIQUITIES FOUND NEAR GORDON'S TREE, KHARTOUM PROVINCE.

have enough in common to allow of their being grouped together. Possibly also, too much reliance on similarities in vocabulary has induced us to group dialects under a common heading which ought for grammatical reasons to be regarded as different languages.

In speaking of certain forms of speech as being merely dialects of one language, it is to be understood that this does not mean that these dialects are mutually intelligible. For instance, a Kadugli Nuba will almost certainly deny that his language is essentially the same as that of Krongo, and he may be quite unable to understand, or be understood by, a native of that region; nevertheless, a glance at the two forms of speech at once exhibits their close similarity. In the same way a villager from a southern English county might well be pardoned if he failed to understand a man of a northern county, yet both dialects are equally English.

Generally speaking we found fewer language groups than we expected, and these to extend over larger areas than was formerly supposed. For instance, the whole centre of the Nuba Mountains region from Delami and Tendik in the north to the Moro Hills in the south, comprises one language. This group includes the Koalib, Heiban, Otor (Kawarma), Shwai, Um Heitan, Tira el Akhdar, Kinderma, Moro (excepting a few villages in the centre where a Talodi dialect is spoken), Um Dorein and Lebu Hills. We were somewhat surprised to find this language spoken as far to the east as Fungor.

It should here be noted that the term Kawarma applied to the Otor Hills in so many publications and on many maps is a word not used in the region itself. After ten years' residence within five miles of "Kawarma" we have never heard of it, nor has the Mamur in charge of these hills. The name used is Otor or Atora.

In this large central region above-mentioned, there are a great many dialects spoken, we could name at least twenty-one of them and there are doubtless a great many more. It might also be impossible for a native in the north of this group to understand a man of the south, yet the language is obviously one. As an example of this, we were interested to find that some Heiban Nuba youths we had with us as servants, who had never before seen the Moro people of Kororak and were inclined to look on them as foreigners with an unknown tongue, could with a

little trouble make out a good deal of what the Moro people said. The usual failure to make this mental effort to understand is undoubtedly one of the causes of the continued isolation of these language and dialect groups.

The twenty following representative words taken from longer lists attached to our report show some of the points of resemblance between the four most widely separated (geographically speaking) of the dialects of this language. This short list is not a sufficient basis for classification, but the words are essential words and are probably not borrowed from outside sources, and when the majority of these words in one dialect are the same, or approximately the same, as those in another dialect, there is a strong probability that they are both dialects of one language. That, at least, is the assumption on which we have worked, and a study of the fuller vocabularies has justified the hypothesis.

<i>English</i>	<i>Koalib</i>	<i>Tira el Akhdar.</i>	<i>Moro.</i>	<i>Fungor.</i>
nose	ɲwadhulu	adhilo	nadhilo	kedhin
hair	orú	ola	wala	urú
tongue	thiɲila	langila	thangala	thaɲila
chest	kwurdum	lurum	lurum	kirim
female breast	ūdhu	ūdhu	ūdhu	kudhú
abdomen	kari	ari	ara	ebin
navel	kwulā	utūr	utur	thugugu
blood	ɲin	ɲivin	ɲivini	ɲwuin
fire	iga	ijo ; iju	ijia	ige
water	ɲau	ɲau	ɲauʔ	ɲa
milk	ɲān	ɲan	ɲan	ɲān
grain (dura)	ɲwan	ɲwōn	ɲwana	ɲwōn
honey	lai	lai	lai	lai
frog	kwuró	luli	ūldu	kudro
dog	tinyēn	ɲēn	ɲina	tin
sun	aɲwun	adhinyen	ūdhinyina	tiɲin
meat	yidhi	idhe	idhe	cidhe
rain	kau	lome	erumuwa	kio
rat	gwuri	uri	uri	gwuri
egg	loiny	lēny	lenya	loiny

To the north-east of this large region where the Koalib-Moro language is spoken is the Rashad-Tagoi-Moreb group; these dialects show considerable divergence in vocabulary, but appear to be one language. The same twenty words as shown above are here given, in these three dialects. It should be understood that in this language, as in all the others discussed, a larger list could be drawn up showing greater similarity between the dialects, probably twenty words identical in all the dialects of a language could be chosen from the longer lists of words, but it has been thought better to use the same twenty words in all the examples given.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Rashad.</i>	<i>Moreb.</i>	<i>Tagoi.</i>
nose	'ndūr	indir	ɲidr
hair	am	sām	hām
tongue	āna	thāṅgalāth	thaṅilak
chest	ro	karam	piro
breast	min	thimin	timiny
abdomen	mas	yemi	kim
navel	bat	yemirē	yimri
blood	wiya	ɲwoi	ɲoi
fire	ibi	kebi	kibe
water	iga	ɲai	ɲai
milk	na	ɲān	ɲan
grain	mān	sig	ɲimin
honey	ɲanɲan	ɲomi	ɲomi (a bee)
frog	korām	yoram	koram
dog	siru	wusu	wohu
sun	ani	yan	yan
meat	fās	ɲefi	ɲefi
rain	au	kurú	yau
rat	run	wūrēn	kemdi
egg	yī	yī	yiye

To the south of the Koalib-Moro area there is a great jumble of languages, but an examination of the collected data show that the following hills speak various dialects of one language: the greater part of Talodi (Talodi, Tasomi, Tata), the southern end of Eliri (Teis Koko), the Buram-Masakin group (including Jebel Dagig) and four small communities

in the central Moro region, viz., Acheron, Tacho, Luman and Torona. These four show considerable divergence of dialect, but are to be included in this group. Dialectical differences in the group are shown in the three following dialects of the language.

<i>English</i>	<i>Talodi (Tasomi)</i>	<i>Moro (Tacho).</i>	<i>Buram-Masakin</i>
nose	kānji	kēnje	kasě
hair	gugunw	nāgān	tuwa
tongue	thuliŋa	thulūne	tholonǵě
chest	cirēmbě	cerēŋ	sere
breast	jinjik	cinjik	sisi
abdomen	carak	jarāk	sārāk
navel	duthe	jaluka	tuthe
blood	ŋisuk	ŋicuk	ŋiru
fire	thek	thik	te
water	ŋir	ŋi	ŋerr
milk	ŋwusi	ŋwuji	lowe
grain	musir	mujir	musa
honey	ŋire	ŋire	ŋire
frog	kwulabirō	dulabok	tilba
dog	thok	thau	ŋau
sun	ciŋgi	siŋgi	siŋgi
meat	kābās	kabak	kabi
rain	pāŋir	pēne	pāne
rat	cimbire	wau	pagu
egg	ciin	ciŋ	moi

At Jebel el Amira and at Lafofa in the central region of the Eliri range are to be found two dialects of one language. These two dialects, when spoken, seemed to have nothing in common, owing largely to the strongly pronounced and elongated nature of the vowels in the Lafofa dialect, but further examination showed that they should be regarded as one language. Taking the same twenty words as a test the following similarities—and differences—appear.

<i>English</i>	<i>El Amira.</i>	<i>Eliri (Lafofa).</i>
nose	wimu	wigwei
hair	naith	lai

<i>English.</i>	<i>El Amira.</i>	<i>Eliri (Lafofa).</i>
tongue	liŋ	liāŋi
chest	liūn	tier
breast	two	tōwi
abdomen	tu	tori
navel	two	tōwi
blood	nyi	ŋiyi
fire	thei	thei
water	nyi	nyii
milk	ŋwo	ŋwo
grain	mamāk	tiragi
honey	ūyi	ŋeri
frog	luwo	porogi
dog	pu	bebuwi
sun	puwu	buwi
meat	ka'a	kwō'oi
rain	wēn	kaloi
rat	pou	poi
egg	mwa	tuwe

Another large and widely distributed language is that spoken in the following regions, Karondi, the southernmost dialect examined, the north of the Eliri range (Talassa), part of Talodi (Tumtum), Krongo, Tabanya, Fama, Teis, Krongo Abdulla, Kanga, Miri, Kadugli, Murta, Keiga Tummero, and among the Nubas of the southern and central Dagū Hills.

There are strong dialectical differences in this language, especially between the southern (Krongo) and northern (Miri) sections of it and the same may be said of its many dialects as of the dialects of the Koalib-Moro group, but the vocabularies taken and the grammatical constructions examined show these dialects to be one language.

The following are examples of four of the (geographically) most widely separated dialects.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Karondi.</i>	<i>Tabanya (Krongo)</i>	<i>Miri.</i>	<i>Tuleshi.</i>
nose	mona	amoni	mörōh	bongora
hair	auwā	auw	au	kau
tongue	thāṇādo	cadu codu	nadhu	kadu

<i>English.</i>	<i>Karondi.</i>	<i>Tabanya (Krongo)</i>	<i>Miri.</i>	<i>Tuleshi.</i>
chest	ro	ro	ro	ro
breast	thonugwu	thonugw	dhunugu	kuntunu
abdomen	adhi	adhi	adhi	kadhi
navel	kulu	sol	'mbuk	kula
blood	oba	uridhu	iridhu	kiridha
fire	isi	ishi	isi	gisi
water	bidhi	bidhi	bidhi	bithi
milk	ogwu	agwu ; sege	sigā	
grain	migilē	me'el	migilē	
honey	kudhua	ugwudi	kwudhe	
frog	gwōdhurō	bodhor	muro	
dog	irā	daner	tira	
sun	aya	eya	ndhinaia	teniya
meat	dhoda	dhoda	thodā	kwuda
rain	ni	'ni	tifunda	kime
rat	nifa	nifi	fife	
egg	sulā	disuli	urpule	

A language that is somewhat difficult to place is that of the Dagu people. These people are not Nuba, but their language is spoken not only by the people of the Dagu Hills, but also by the peoples of Shat Damam, Shat Tebeldia, Shat Safia and by the inhabitants of Jebels Liguri, Saburi, and Talo to the east of Kadugli. One was surprised also at the Kadugli "Gathering" to find naked men who were obviously Krongo Nuba in appearance and customs, yet of the Dagu-Shat Safia speech. The Dagu speech may not be "Nuba," but it is now very much at home in some of the Nuba Hills.

The following examples show the relations existing between the Dagu, Shat and Liguri dialects.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Dagu.</i>	<i>Shat.</i>	<i>Liguri.</i>
nose	munāŋ	munigi	munī ; munuŋ
hair	ābāxti	ābāxtigi	ābāx
tongue	kuldāŋ	nyibirigi	libixāŋ
chest	cimarāŋ	auwagi	tosakāŋ
breast	nyidujāŋ	kidice	kidicāŋ

<i>English.</i>	<i>Dagu.</i>	<i>Shat.</i>	<i>Liguri.</i>
abdomen	shimāŋ	bileki	kilekāŋ
navel	kulkultāŋ	guldigi	gulanāŋ
blood	tamci	tamij	temāk
fire	masi	mas	mas
water	mai	'ma	'ma
milk	mima	min	mim
grain	kwunje	kwuny	kwuny
honey	mudheni	dimux	muith (bee-dimux)
frog	puliŋne	bugoxtini	bugox
dog	ise	is	is
sun	rōje	uxōŋ	uxōŋ
meat	iye	iya	iya
rain	korni	guxa	gaxa
rat	nyiŋze	nyiŋis	nyiŋis
egg	pir kandini	pu guxuk	lotis

Another surprise awaited us in the examination of some men from Teis um Danab in the north of the Kadugli Hills. These people, among whom we found it very difficult to find informants with sufficient knowledge of Arabic for our purposes, and the people of the small hill Keiga Girru further north, seemed to speak a language quite unlike anything else in the Province. It was not until later in our tour, when we were among the more northern hills, that we found the people of Temain spoke a similar dialect. This language may possibly have to be classed with one of the larger languages of the Province, but for the present, owing to the many differences between it and any other language, we have classed it as a separate language. The following examples are given.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Teis um Danab.</i>	<i>Temain.</i>
nose	māmārok	kiminthil
hair	kijāk	kijet
tongue	nadimak	mendinyath
chest	shōndōŋ	kwulkō
breast	nyiledak	nyilekidāth
abdomen	oŋ	om

<i>English.</i>	<i>Teis um Danab.</i>	<i>Temain.</i>
navel	kulo	sulukuthu
blood	mūnik	mumith
fire	pūdiŋ	pudiŋ
water	'muŋ	muŋ
milk	sia	ki
grain	mūriŋ	inyēn
honey	tuju	tiju
frog	kwudo	kwudo
dog	ō	ō
sun	nūnu	nūnu
meat	lidhak	ntath
rain	nok	naŋināth
rat	thedeŋ	thiděŋ
egg	kwerek	waris

Working northward, it was found that Katla and Gulud form one group. Tima also must be classed with this language, but it is a very different dialect of it. The Tima people affirm that there is no other language like theirs in all the Nuba Jebels, and there is something to be said for this statement. The twenty words shown in the previous examples happen to show a number of similarities between the Katla and Tima dialects, but it must be admitted that the majority of the words in the longer vocabularies taken are totally unlike.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Katla.</i>	<i>Tima.</i>
nose	ŋitil	kimimith
hair	gagām	hām
tongue	liŋeth	giliŋith
chest	kwōŋger	pirāmpirām
breast	munji	kimida
abdomen	guth	kurun
navel	gēlo	kilelu
blood	iya	idu
water	ginyi	shiŋi
milk	idi	idi
grain	ě	ye

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kalla.</i>	<i>Tima.</i>
honey	ogben	hiham
frog	kingok	kwuɲwok
dog	gu	gu
sun	gine	kine
meat	gabas	kaboh
rain	otak	warak
rat	gun	guhun
egg	giwoiny	kahan kukwak

The Nyima (or more correctly Nyimang) and Mandal Jebels (except a section of the Sobai people) speak, with strong dialectical divergencies, the same language as that of the Afitti Nuba of Jebel Dair. The following examples exhibit some of the similarities of the two dialects.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Afitti Dair.</i>	<i>Nyimang.</i>
nose	ɲwudhu	omūdhu
hair	iya	je
tongue	ōlo	ɲildi
chest	kofurkā	tulum
breast	kasi	kashi
abdomen	arik	bushi
navel	gurwa	kwūri
blood	ole	wili
fire	'mbārr	mer
water	boɲ	boɲ
milk	olō	elo
grain	mināk	munuɲ
honey	tomrr	ami
frog	tor	gwo
sun	wil	gil
meat	ɲiji	nyijan
rain	aranga	arigi
rat	kinya	kenya
egg	domi	dami

The Dilling speech is a dialect of a large and widely distributed group which includes regions as far apart as Jebels Dair, Kadaru, El Tabbag, Ghulfan, and the westerly hills of El Hagarat. Examples of words in these four widely separated regions are given.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Dilling.</i>	<i>Kadaru.</i>	<i>Ghulfan.</i>	<i>El Hagarat.</i>
nose	ijin	ijina	inyu	ijiga
hair	til	til	til	tildu
tongue	jare	jaldu	jado	doldu
chest	uki	oku	oku	uga ; ugi
breast	ūri (pl. ol)	öldu	odu (pl. ol)	ulda
abdomen	tête ; to	tu	tu	tu
navel	kindi	kindindu	kerdu	kindu
blood	ogur	ogur	or	our
fire	ika	ikā	ikā	iku ; iki
water	oti	otu	oti	oti ; uti
milk	iz	iju	ij	izi
grain	we ; wi	we	wi	uwe
honey	thumer	thumuru		
frog	twarr	twarr		
dog	bol	bol		
sun	ingalti	iju	ij	igaldu
meat	kwaje	kwaje	kwaje	kwaje
rain	are	ara	ari	are
rat	kumi	kume	kume	
egg	kunyulti	koinultu	konyultu	

To sum up : it is our opinion that there are ten languages, besides Arabic, spoken in the area in which our work has been done and that these are distributed as follows. All the inhabited Jebels in the Province have not been mentioned by name, but those that are named indicate the region where the particular language is spoken.

- I.—(Kawalib). Delami, Um Berumbeita, Tendik, Kawalib, Nukr (Nyukur), Aleira, Heiban, Abol, Otorā (Kawarma), Shwai, Um Heitan, Tira el Akhdar, Kinderma, Tira Lumon (in Moro Hills), Moro, Lebu, Um Dorein, Lukha, Fungor, Kau, Nyaro, Werna.

- II.—(Tagali). Rashad, Tagali, Kajaja, Tagoi, Turjuk, Tumeli, Wadelka, Moreb, Tukum.
- III.—(Talodi-Mesakin). Eliri (southern end of range), Talodi (Talodi, Tasomi, Tata), Buram, Mesakin (Jebel Dagig), Tacho, Acheron, Torona, Luman (four small communities in the Moro Hills), El Aheima, Daloka.
- IV.—(Lafofa). Eliri (Lafofa), El Amira.
- V.—(Talodi-Kadugli). Eliri (northern end of range), Karondi, Talodi (Tumtum), Krongo, Tabanya, Fama, Teis, Krongo Abdulla, Kanga, Miri, Kadugli, Murta, Keiga el Kheil, Demik, Kadodo, Keiga Luban, Keiga Tummero, and the Nuba of Dar el Kabira, Kamdang and Tuleshi.
- VI.—(Dagu). Dagu Hills (Dar el Kabira etc.), Shat Damam, Shat Safia, Shat Tebeldia, Liguri, Saburi, Talo (north east of Kadugli), parts of Abu Sinoon and Abu Hassim.
- VII.—(Temein). Teis um Danab (north of Kadugli), Keiga Girru, Temein.
- VIII.—(Katla). Katla, Gulud, Tima.
- IX.—(Nyimang). Nyimang, Mandal Jebels (except a section of Sobai), Afitti-Dair (Sidra).
- X.—(Hill-Nubian). Dilling, Gulfan, Debri, Nyetto, Moron, Turon, Shilma, Kabila, Wali Kuron, Wali Baboi, Abu Seida, Kunit, Fanda, Dulman, Kasha, Shifr, Abu Gunuk, Tabbag, Kubja, Shanshan, Boska, Serga, Bobai, Abu Garein, Kadaru, Dabatna, Koldegi, Kortala, Kafeir, Dair (except Sidra).

In this report no attempt has been made to divide the languages studied into Nubian, Sudanic and Prefix groups, but it will be evident from the foregoing that the classification of the Nuba languages on this basis by Professor Meinhof as given in *Sudan Notes and Records* (Vol. III, No. 4, Dec. 1920, page 290) requires some emendation. For instance, if "Kawarma" (Otor and Kinderma) is a Prefix language so must Kawalib be, for they are not merely kindred languages, but the same language, also Talodi and Dagig (Masakin) should be in the same class,

and Tumtum must be grouped with Krongo. Other changes will also be necessary. It is hoped that the material collected during the recent language survey of the Nuba Mountains will enable a more complete classification to be made.

NOTE.—The phonetic system used in this report is that decided upon at the Rejaf Conference ("ŋ" represents "ng," "x" represents "kh," "c" represents "ch" etc.), with the following modifications owing to typewriter deficiencies: the open "o" is represented by ǒ, the open "e" is represented by ǝ, and the "u" as in "but" has been written "â," and the "u" as in "cur" has been written "u" The soft "j" has occasionally been met with but has been typed as an ordinary "j."

THE PEARL SHELL FARM AT DONGONAB ON THE RED SEA.

By Dr. Cyril Crossland

(*Late Director, Sudan Government Pearl Fishery*).

IT has been suggested that a record, available to the public, should be made of the pearl shell farm which was established by the Sudan Government at Dongonab, on the Red Sea coast in 1905 and which, but for the war, might still be operating and be a source of profit to the country.

A series of attempts has been made to cultivate the large mother-of-pearl shell, none of which has succeeded but this. Hundreds of tons of shell produced at Dongonab were sold in London, of which all but about 1 per cent. were raised artificially by means of apparatus and methods invented by me. There was plenty of evidence that the natural fishery outside the limits of the bay was also strongly helped by the excess of spat produced in the farm. The post war slump in the shell market, with the rise in price of all materials and wages, destroyed all chance of profit, and the enterprise was abandoned in 1923.

Dongonab is about 100 miles north of Port Sudan, and is situated on the west shore of a bay with a large expanse of shallow water sheltered by the peninsula of Ras Rawaya. A couple of the principal houses, wooden affairs of portable type, were erected on pillars rising out of the sea some yards from the shore and based on the platform of coral rock, which is a feature of most of this coast. This region is not a desirable residence with its alternations of burning wind and soaking damp.¹ Indeed, it seems entirely unfit for human habitation. The houses above the shallow sea were decidedly cooler than those on the land and were also relatively free from dust. In spite of its character, the coast has its inhabitants, the "Fuzzy Wuzzies" of whom Kipling has sung. These were my labour in working pearl shell, though they took only a small share in the original fishery, which was mostly worked by Arabs from the

¹ Desert and Water Gardens of the Red Sea, 1913, by C. Crossland.

other side of the Red Sea, together with their negro dependents. They led the hardest of lives of any men I have met, convicts at labour are in luxury by comparison, but sweet is freedom for which men will barter all they have but life. The gambler's chance of a big find adds spice, the meeting of a larger craft with piratical instincts, adventure above that always possible to seafarers in small sailing boats. The produce of their fishing was generally astonishingly poor. Two men in a canoe seemed content if the day's search yielded half a dozen large "oysters" and some small—so small that their taking would have been forbidden if legislation for such wild men had been possible. The canoes were carried on larger boats, one of which with 20 men might have ten canoes. Such were the conditions before the farm was started and which, in fact, continued outside the radius of Dongonab.

In the early, purely experimental years, I worked with one assistant and about twenty men. Finally, my staff amounted to one assistant, three superintendents of labour, three clerks, one engineer, and five carpenters, who effected all repairs to boats and engines, motor bicycles and condensing plant. We ran a toy dockyard in fact, and built our own barges and pearling canoes, besides much apparatus of various sorts. Sailors, divers and labourers amounted to about 200 in winter, 300 in summer. The village, a wretched set of tents, unknown to the Governor's office when I first discovered the place became of some size: it could have been much larger had there been grass, or other native building material available.

The problem of all oyster culture is briefly this. Each pair of oysters produces hundreds of thousands of young each year, which, naturally are very small, in fact microscopic; after some weeks of life, those of the large pearl oyster are hardly visible to the naked eye. The eggs are liberated into the sea in a milky cloud, and meet the sperm of the male outside the body of the parent. After fertilisation they soon develop vibratile hairs, by which they can swim, and for the next two or three weeks lead a floating life at the mercy of currents. Many are devoured by other animals, small jelly fish and so on, but their great crisis is when the time comes for them to settle down and fix themselves to the bottom. Of the myriads born only a fraction of one per cent. find a place where

settlement is possible, the rest perish in mud and sand or in the deep sea. The successful few can crawl like a snail for a short time but the real function of the foot is to produce the threads by which it is glued to a stone on which the living creature is settling. Soon a number of these hairs is produced, forming the silky green cable which anchors it for the rest of its life, or at least until old age, when the oyster lies like a stone on the bottom.

Now if suitable settling ground can be provided, the lives of any number of these floating microscopic young can be preserved. In France tiles are used, which are put into the water just at the time it is full of the floating "spat," and have not had time to become fouled by the mud and weed which are great hindrances to settlement in nature. The position in which the tiles are placed is of great importance, e.g., there must be enough current to carry to them a plentiful supply of spat, but not enough to prevent their fixation, and, in the case of the pearl mussel (it is much more like a mussel than an oyster) other precautions must be taken which I do not propose to detail here. I may remark that, in the early days of my work, I used far more collecting material—*i.e.*, the artificial settling ground—than I did later, its arrangement having become progressively so much the more efficient. The last season's collecting yielded the prodigious number of 10 million young oysters, of which $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions were taken into the nurseries, this being the maximum number we could handle, the rest thrown away. The chances of their surviving when merely scattered over the sea bottom are so small, as was observed over and over again, that these $5\frac{1}{2}$ million young oysters were left in a heap on shore.

This "collecting" material was put into the sea in June, after the annual "megili" wind was over, and taken up again in December to February. The young grow very rapidly, and are now between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across. Those of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch would overtake the larger ones in the nurseries, but the fine meshed net was so expensive that it would have been better to have thrown away all that passed the half-inch sieve.

These young shells have many enemies; those in Dongonab Bay are not quite the same as those usually given for oyster farms. In the nurseries the fish *Chrysophrys bifasciata* is the most dangerous, next the

whelk, *Murex angulata*, and, finally, small crabs. Starfish are absent. The young oysters are therefore kept under wire net until too large to be broken up by these animals. The boxes in which they lived for the next eighteen months were laid out in rows on the bottoms of shallow and sheltered lagoons, hundreds of boxes, each ten feet by three feet, to each lagoon, and a gang of men employed, as continuously as weather permitted, in keeping them clear of weed and intruding whelks and crabs. Occasionally, but fortunately rarely, a cover would get displaced, and, after one night of exposure to the fish, the box would be found empty, the sand around it sparkling with fragments of shell.

At the end of their eighteen months in the nurseries the oysters were transferred to the other side of the bay, a distance of from five to seven miles, where they were thrown out on to the smooth rock bottom, characteristic of this area. The boxes were emptied into "sambils," palm leaf baskets, each containing fifty oysters, so that the total transferred was accurately known. The counting was done by the natives, "gal, malu, miham, jadig, sagut, eit" up to twenty-five pairs, I, or one of my assistants checking a number of the baskets, and scarcely ever finding a mistake, so there is no doubt about our totals. Two launches transferred daily up to 30,000 oysters, and, though no special precautions were taken, and some of the oysters were out of the water for five or six hours, no deaths resulted from this handling. The throwing out was something of an art, and, in early years was always superintended by myself. The patches of suitable bottom were all mapped out roughly, but with enough care to make each patch recognisable, so that records could be kept. The launch was anchored at the windward edge of the patch, the men aboard, each with a basket of about twenty oysters, lined up along her side, while I and the *ravis* examined the bottom with water glasses. Finding it suitable, and clear of the oysters thrown out the previous day, the order was given, and the baskets emptied in the direction indicated. This area being covered, at the rate of an oyster to from one to three square feet, the anchor rope was slacked off and the next area covered in the same way. Eventually, many acres of the sea bottom were covered, both crowded and vacant areas being remarkably few.

The oyster is now exposed to a different set of enemies, which are however, fortunately rare. The two larger species of the fish *Ballistes* (the so called "File" or "Trigger" fish) are able to break up shells of this age, while the big rays, *Trygon walga*, can smash shell even when $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. *Murex* (now *M. ramosus*, in place of *M. angulata*, if the species are really distinct), is still active, and causes more loss than any of the fish. Something like 10,000 of these pests were destroyed every year, but we never reached anything like a local extermination.

Four years on these rock surfaces brings the oyster to fishable age. The fishing was done by naked divers, fifty to seventy being employed at a time. Diving dress was tried, but on these shallow and crowded beds it was of doubtful advantage, my calculation showing that, though the two helmeted men sent up many times as much shell in a day as any two naked divers, the wages of their assistants, with the cost and depreciation of the apparatus, made things about equal. Towards noon, when the land breeze blew freshly, diving ceased, and the sambuk into which the shells were loaded, came across the bay. At 2 p.m. the oysters were carried to the long shed in which were seated about 100 men, who spent the next three hours in cleaning out the flesh and searching for pearls. The prospect of a very small reward made all searchers very thorough, and I am confident that none were missed. Often have I had a knife blade thrust at me over my desk, on which lay a pearl almost too small to see, and which, indeed, would be invisible but for its brilliance. In such cases the hope of a reward was vain, though I took the pearl. The finder received only the brief prayer "*Inshaalla bukra*" for his trouble. This keenness is a consequence of rewards paid for any fair-sized pearl. According to regulations, these rewards should have been added to the men's pay at the end of the month when they would have been received with very mild enthusiasm. As, however, I am allowed to pay on the spot, these microscopic rewards, amounting to as much as two shillings in extreme cases, are very eagerly hoped for and ensure thorough search for pearls and remove all incentive to retain the finds. "What we get at the end of the month goes to the shopkeepers, but this is our own," the importance of which will be understood by anyone who has acquaintance with the intricacies of an "Arab's" domestic finance.

Of all the wearisome jobs, an afternoon of stifling heat, walking up and down that shed in the hope of noting an important find is the worst. Between five and six, the cashier and I would be able to close the office, our pearls, a trumpery lot hardly worth the time given to securing them, or sometimes larger finer ones of which we had high hopes, locked away in their special safe. In the morning the same lot of aged and infirm assembled to clean the dried shell from attached weeds, corals and other shells and transfer to store, roughly classified. A very important point is that our harvests of shell were regular, year after year. Partial failures in the early years I learned the reason for and, this rectified, we were assured of our crops.

The day in winter began by the clanging of a suspended piece of girder by the watchman in the harbour, taken up by the police at their barracks in the village, together an unholy din, even if not enhanced by a steam whistle from the condensing plant. We have had our morning tea, the men working at the nursery lagoons are already there, the superintendent in charge joins them on his bicycle. Another set of men are distributed to their work about the harbour and all is in full swing within a quarter of an hour of sunrise. This is important, because the nursery lagoons are workable only during the early morning calm, and at 8 or 9 a.m. the north wind comes in with a bang and there are another hundred men to be employed ashore, repairing oyster boxes, packing shell remaining from the summer's fishing, and all the hundred things necessary in a self-supporting business a hundred miles beyond the edge of civilisation.

In summer we awake to a gasping calm, but this enables us to get more done in the nurseries. Some of these have to be emptied, shells which have been therein for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years are sent across the bay to be distributed over the bottom. At the same time an older bed was being fished, a superintendent with sixty men or more camping out by the bed. No small trial this, a double fly tent is no proper protection in such a climate, while the men had tents best described as bits of matting on sticks. Of course every drop of water as well as food had to be sent over to them by the vessel which brought in their daily catch to be cleaned and put into the store. A heap from here, twenty tons or so at a time,

would be packed in mat bags, and put aboard a boat for Port Sudan and eventually London. The queer musical tinkle as the upper shells of the eight foot heap slid down to replace those taken from the base is one of the memories of the pearl fishery as characteristic as the drumming and chanting by night, the smell of native incense or of the flowers of the thorn bushes inland, carried to the sea shore by the land breeze, the gorgeous sunrises over the sea, throwing red and purple colours on to the mountains westwards, or the flaming sunsets against which these mountains looked black.

The Director of the Commercial Intelligence Branch, Central Economic Board, has kindly supplied figures for exports of mother-of-pearl shell from the Sudan as follows :—

Year	Quantity Tons	Value £E.	Per Ton £E.	Year	Quantity Tons	Value £E.	Per Ton £E.
1907	19	1,146	60.4	1919	379	22,121	58.3
1908	15	893	59.5	1920	217	18,428	85.0
1909	85	1,627	19.1	1921	110	4,306	39.2
1910	96	5,695	59.4	1922	225	11,595	51.5
1911	119	7,139	60.0	1923	477	9,613	20.2
1912	41	2,475	60.2	Farm closed.			
1913	186	15,369	82.7	1924	168	3,137	18.7
1914	32	2,304	72.0	1925	66	3,653	55.3
1915	48	3,580	74.6	1926	85	3,532	41.5
1916	148	11,012	74.4	1927	66	1,547	23.4
1917	51	4,053	79.5	1928	27	1,034	38.3
1918	14½	733	50.6	1929	8	412	51.5

The value per ton has been obtained simply by dividing the money by the quantity. Therefore it takes no account of the grade of shell and this may be responsible for some of the variations in value. However, the figures show that in the pre-war years, the price was pretty steady at about £E.60 a ton. After the war, prices fell, but the low prices of 1923 and 1924 may have been due to the sale of a quantity of immature shell at the time the farm was closed. Since then prices seem to have improved. These figures include all exports of shell, from the farm as well as the ordinary fishery. Though the farm was never worked on more than

half its proper scale, its effect on production during this stretch of years is clearly shown, the exports rising from £E.1,146 in 1907 to well over £E.10,000 and then falling so that in 1929 it was only £E.412. Medium sized oysters weigh rather more than 1 lb. Each oyster has two valves or shells so that the ton may be regarded as including about 4,000 shells.

I have already alluded to one difference I should make in my methods were I to start afresh. There are others, which would increase the rate of growth by fifty per cent. at least, at the same time simplifying some of the handlings of the young oysters. The results of this more rapid growth would be three: (1) quicker returns, shells to be sold after four or five years cultivation instead of seven to eight; (2) The shells would be better, *i.e.*, flatter shape; (3) They would be more free from parasitic defects, holes, rotten patches, etc., than any Red Sea shells in nature. What the effect on pearl yield would be I do not certainly know, though it is certain, contrary to beliefs which have been published, that the best pearls are found in well-grown shells. One good pearl is worth hundreds of the deformed and bad coloured pearls so frequently found in the Red Sea.

This work, unique as it was, came to an end eight years ago and meanwhile modern communications have transformed desert life. In those days the cost of a wireless installation was just coming within possible limits, and only one car had ever reached Dongonab. Ice was unknown to us, fresh vegetables and fruit were rare luxuries. How different will be the circumstances of my next spell of desert life at the Marine Biological Station which the University of Egypt is founding in the northern Red Sea.

A NOTE ON THE DAGO TRIBE.

By E. H. Macintosh.

THE Dago tribe at the present day consists of a tribal unit under a Sultan in the vicinity of Nyala, a tribal unit under a Sultan in French Wadai and a few sections in Southern Kordofan.¹ The following notes are written in an attempt both to account for their origin, and to supply the reason for the Dago being split up into the different areas in which they now find themselves. Such details as are set down have been largely compiled from statements obtained from the Dago of Southern Darfur and their neighbours.

The Dago are in appearance negroid, very black, and strongly built. They are sedentaries who depend for their livelihood on cultivation and herds. The Dago of Darfur live in the hills north-east and south-east of Nyala. The tribe has its various sectional Omdas and Sheikhs under a Sultan, and professes Islam. They have a language of their own, in addition to their speaking Arabic. The Dago state that they were originally a riverain tribe, living near Shendi. They go on to say that they were brought to Darfur by Ahmed Dag, from whom they derived the name Dago. Their tradition is that Ahmed Dag settled at Meeri in Gebel Marra and thence made an attack upon the Furogé, who were occupying the area now inhabited by the Dago. After driving out the Fertit or Furogé, the Sultan settled at Gebel Kilwa, which was the tribal headquarters, until Omar Kissifuroge left it upon his ill-fated ride on a tiang. I collected two tribal nisbas which trace the descent of Ahmed Dag to the Prophet. However doubtful are the claims put forward therein, they are interesting in that they claim kinship for the Dago with the Beni Helba and Salamat. Another interesting feature is a reference to "Faraon," in view of Barth mentioning that the Dago who were dominant in Darfur about the tenth Islamic century, were known as "nas Faraon."

¹ On the Kordofan Dago, see S. Hillelson in "Sudan Notes and Records," Vol. VIII, 1925.

The Dago give their succeeding Sultans as follows :—

Salf or Zalf
Abdullahi Kamteinyee
Husein Morfaijen
Fileil
Omar Kissifurogé.

My informants, who were various of the old men and the tribal elders, did not seem very sure of the names of the sultans, and it is possible that their order is incorrect. However they were agreed unanimously that Ahmed Dag was the first sultan and Omar Kissifurogé the last. Whether Ahmed Dag really led the tribe to Darfur and finally settled at Gebel Kilwa is problematical. It is more likely that succeeding sultans carried on the work begun by him. My informants had no records of the intermediate sultans but were full of information about Omar. Nicknamed Kissifurogé owing to his having auspiciously commenced his reign by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Furogé or Fertit, he appears to have derived from his victory an intolerance which ultimately led to his downfall. His tyrannies are legend in Darfur to this day. It is related how he levied tribute in grain which on being presented was emptied in the sand for the luckless tax-payers to reassemble. The Dago state that his horse was watered by a human chain from his stable on Gebel Kilwa to the wells a mile away, and it is said that the horse was held by a man day and night with a second recumbent man acting as a shackle. The act which led to his downfall, was the royal order that Gebel Um Kardos was to be moved to adjoin the group of hills surrounding his residence. Gebel Um Kardos is a large hill, containing rock cisterns lying about twenty miles south-east of Nyala and about 25 miles from Gebel Kilwa. The ancestors of the present Dago laboured for a long period on the abortive task of trying to dig up and move some millions of tons of rock. There still exists at the base of Gebel Um Kardos a huge depression that does not appear to be of natural origin and which lends colour to the legend. It is not hard to imagine the discontent that must have been seething in the tribe. Direct violence towards the royal person, which was sacrosanct, was impossible. The legend relates how the counsel of old men evolved a scheme to rid them of the tyrant. Playing upon his

conceit, the suggestion was put to him, that as a horse was the portion of the common herd, he should as sultan adopt a more exclusive mount. He was at length persuaded to ride a tiang and it is said he was tied on for safety. Before a vast assembly grouped round Gebel Kilwa, the sultan was placed on the tiang. At this spot there is about six hundred yards of steeply sloping sand from the summit of the hill to the plains. The maddened beast on release is said to have dashed down this slope and disappeared in a westerly direction. The sultan's disappearance was followed by a huge tribal exodus. Led by the sultan's counsellors a large party of tribesmen set off along the tracks taken by the tiang. Wherever a portion of the sultan's clothing or flesh were found adhering to the thorn trees there sections of the party broke away and formed villages. The old men followed the tracks always westward until at Sulltokanyou in French Wadai, they came upon the tiang lying dead beside the sultan's head. There they formed their new headquarters and appointed the first sultan Angarib. Succeeding sultans are given as Boulad, Abu Reesha, Bekhit, and Mustafa the present sultan.

The Dago state that when this western exodus took place a section of the tribe moved eastward and took up residence in the hills round Dilling.

Fantastic as the legend of the tiang is, there is probably a substratum of truth underlying it. It is not difficult to compute the havoc a man of Omar's tendencies could wreak on Dago prosperity. With the tribal resources being drained to gratify the sultan's whims, public security must have steadily gone to the wall. Dago prosperity was probably at its height about the beginning of the 15th century, and began its decline about the middle of the seventeenth century. Suleiman Solong the first Fur sultan, is said to have reigned from 1695-1715. We know that the Fur took over the Dago overlordship, so that this roughly dates the Dago exodus.

Suleiman's successors, it is interesting to note, moved their headquarters from Turra to Reel, which is on Gebel Deblakoora, a few miles north of Gebel Kilwa. Another point of interest is that the Dago subscribe to the legend that Ahmed El Maakur married the Tungur sultan's daughter, and the issue, Suleiman Solong, was the first Fur Sultan.

It is clear that apart from Omar's arrogant behaviour, there were other factors at work to engender the western and eastern exodus. One of these clearly was Bergid infiltrations from the east. The Bergid themselves claim to have come to Darfur from the east prior to the Dago exodus and to have afterwards taken over the areas vacated by them. They point to the various stone circles existing in their *dar*, to which they ascribe Dago origin. The numerous circles of boulders north and west of Nyala and in the foot hills of Gebel Marra are also said to be of Dago origin, which gives a rough idea of their old area of occupation.

After the disappearance of Omar Kissifurogé, the Dago who remained in Darfur were under "Omdas." These were Abdullahi, Hassan, Hamid, Ali, Khamis, Suleiman.

During the Mahdia, Adam Musa was given the title of sultan of the Dago by Osman Gano and as such he went to Omdurman, where he died. Suleiman Khamis was after the Mahdia appointed sultan by Ali Dinar. He died in Dar Masalit and was succeeded by Fiki Abo Musa who was discharged and succeeded by the present sultan Adam Suleiman.

It was mentioned that the Dago have a language of their own which is still spoken amongst themselves. Their *rotana* varies from that of the Dago in French Wadai. They explain this difference by the fact of intermarriage on the part of the westerners and consequent alterations in language. A few Dago words are given in the appendix. Nyala is a Dago word meaning "a place of chatting," not an inapt name for a future merkaz. What the ancient Dago religion was, it is not possible to say. It would not seem too much to infer that the various rock circles that occur in the district had some religious significance. There was probably animistic worship of stones or trees. When I last visited Gebel Kilwa I questioned the old men about the cromlech which I had been told existed on the summit of Gebel Kilwa. They admitted that such did exist and furnished a guide to show it to me, after first putting forward numerous objections thereto, such as the heat of the day and the steepness of the climb. After ascending the sand slope down which Omar made his last fateful ride, we forced our way through a thick mass of thorn bushes lying in a cup of the hill in which the old ruins of the houses of the sultan's council are still to be seen. A scrambling ascent over large

boulders brought us to several caves. My guide stated, the cromlech consisting of a huge flat rock borne by two other gigantic slabs, was close by, but he was uncertain of the exact site, not having revisited the place since he was shown it as a boy. A two hours' search failed to reveal it and I was forced to return unsuccessful. I knew that when the military visited this site, they had been also unsuccessful in their search for the stone. Whether the spot has some significance to this day and is a shrine for votive offerings I do not know, but I came away with the feeling that its whereabouts had been wilfully concealed from me for some purpose known to the Dago.

In concluding a note on the Dago, mention should be made of their southern neighbours, the Beigo. Historians, in the past, in commenting on the tribes of Darfur, have been wont to group the Dago and Beigo together. In appearance and characteristics they are similar whilst the dialects are almost identical. The Beigo even claim descent from Ahmed Dag, but vehemently deny relationship with the Dago. Although there is no direct evidence to support it, it would not seem illogical to assume that in the distant past the Beigo were a subject race to the Dago. This would explain their similarity of language and general characteristics. History definitely shows the Beigo to have been a subject race to the Fur Dynasty until Um Busa's fortunate encounter with the sultan Mohammed Fadl. It is more than probable that they were taken over as such by the first Fur Sultan as a legacy from the recently defunct Dago kingdom. The denial of the Beigo of Dago relationship is probably put forward to avoid the stigma of past servitude to that tribe.

In the appendix will be found a list of a few common Dago words together with the Dago names still existing for local sites.

APPENDIX A.
DAGO WORDS

Man	...	...	...	<i>Yohai</i>
Woman	...	...	...	<i>Wore</i>
Boy	...	...	...	<i>Chichee</i>
Horse	...	...	...	<i>Murtane</i>
Cow	...	...	...	<i>Teinye</i>
Small hill	...	...	...	<i>Fernungi</i>
Grain	...	...	...	<i>Kunge</i>
Tree	...	...	...	<i>Ete</i>
Forest	...	...	...	<i>Ewege</i>
Goat	...	...	...	<i>Ashke</i>
Sheep	...	...	...	<i>Shake</i>
Dog	...	...	...	<i>Eese</i>
Meat	...	...	...	<i>Iye</i>
Sultan	...	...	...	<i>Bouge</i>
Headmen	...	...	...	<i>Segale</i>
Rahad (pool)	...	...	...	<i>Logone</i>
Path	...	...	...	<i>Soge</i>
Village	...	...	...	<i>Tugude</i>
House	...	...	...	<i>Are</i>
Good	...	...	...	<i>Shade</i>
Bad	...	...	...	<i>Rubr</i>
Easy	...	...	...	<i>Mischeedik</i>
Difficult	...	...	...	<i>Bikr</i>
Green	...	...	...	<i>Rashr</i>
Milk	...	...	...	<i>Minge</i>
Spear	...	...	...	<i>Malushte</i>
Smooth	...	...	...	<i>Ferg Ferg</i>
Sandhill	...	...	...	<i>Algoznei</i>
Sand	...	...	...	<i>Chakchagidee</i>
Hit him	...	...	...	<i>Owda</i>
Fetch it	...	...	...	<i>Koine</i>
Look outside	...	...	...	<i>Nya ton yo</i>
Come here	...	...	...	<i>Bong</i>
Go	...	...	...	<i>Wede</i>

APPENDIX B.

DAGO NAMES OF LOCAL SITES.

dry	...	...	...	<i>Komaski</i>
a hill	...	...	...	<i>Mungi</i>
big-browed	...	...	...	<i>Niola</i>
white	...	...	...	<i>Fasha</i>
a battle	...	...	...	<i>Agileray</i>
a well	...	...	...	<i>Omore</i>
a well of sheep	...	...	...	<i>Murashkee</i>
mildewed	...	...	...	<i>Karsoga</i>
let come and chat in a				
place of chatting	...	...	...	<i>Nyala</i>
broken	...	...	...	<i>Koffindo</i>
gather up	...	...	...	<i>Nyomo</i>
stony	...	...	...	<i>Segai</i>
nubukh tree	...	...	...	<i>Kaderinga</i>
found and taken	...	...	...	<i>Kubogee</i>
kisra (hameed)	...	...	...	<i>Tuguranya</i>
not yet	...	...	...	<i>Nyaka</i>
grass or gassab	...	...	...	<i>Shalasha</i>
a sharp stone pillar	...	...	...	<i>Sigera</i>
narrow	...	...	...	<i>Karralei</i>
fat-faced	...	...	...	<i>Sudugu</i>

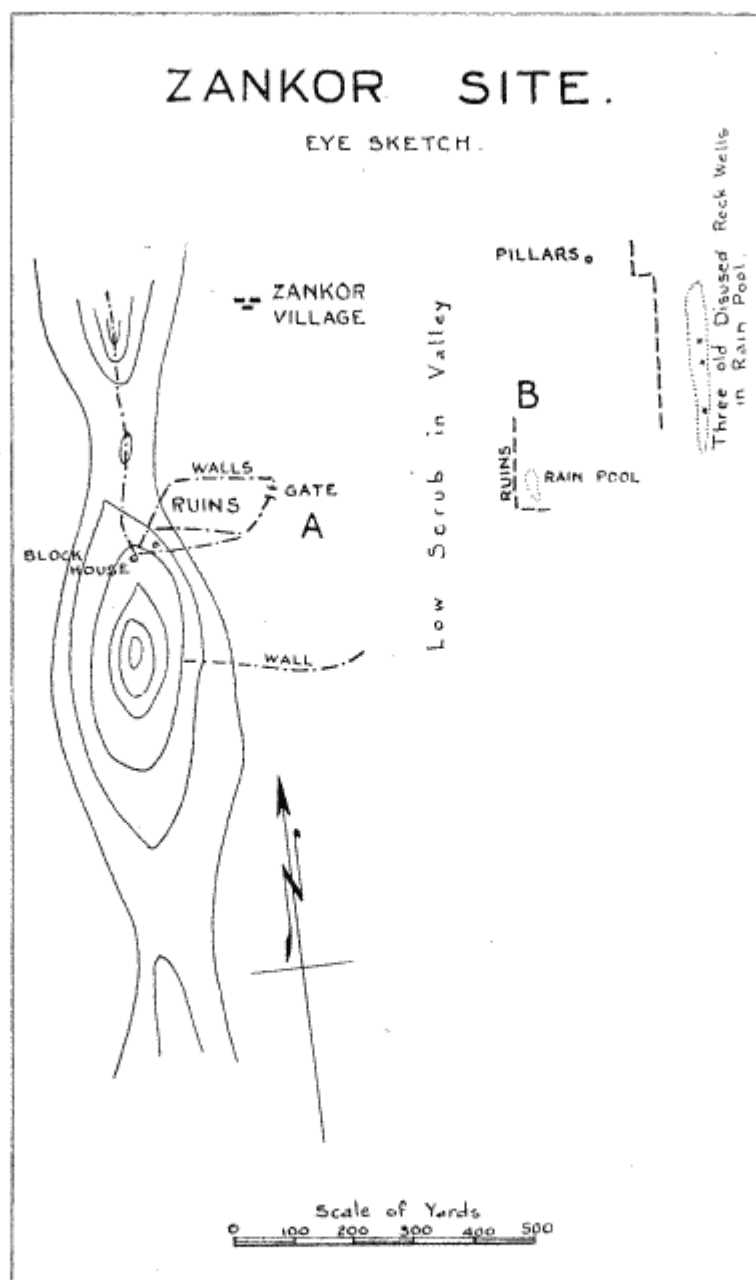


FIG. 1.

THE RUINS OF ZANKOR.

By A. E. D. Penn.

(PLATES I—VIII.)

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF SITE.

THE ruins of a town built of burnt red-brick and stone and surrounded by inner and outer walls of defence lie at the foot of Jebel Zankor in the Kaja Serug hills of Western Kordofan. The site is of no great size, consisting of a few acres of mounds under the shadow of the hill and on some rising ground half a mile to the East. A sketch map (Fig. 1) accompanies these notes and shows the position of the two sites, A and B. Figs. 2 and 3 give a general and particular view of the ruins at site A.

The surface of these mounds is covered with bricks, a few broken stone pillars and slabs of building stone. The bricks are of three varieties—burnt red-brick, hewn stone and mud brick—and the first are remarkable for their exceptional size, weight and quality.

A visit to the site of these ruins in December, 1928, resulted in the discovery of some burnt clay pottery at a depth of only two or three feet on the highest mound and, as a consequence, in my visiting these ruins again in May, 1929. The shapes of the pots are unlike those in local use to-day, and—as the debris in which they were found showed clearly—must have belonged to the people who lived in these houses. My object in returning to the site was to find further evidence on which it might be possible to arrive at some conclusion as to the nature, date and origin of this town.

2. LOCAL TRADITION.

There is no sound local tradition at all concerning this site. The Kajawi will say, "It is the work of the Anak or Abu Um Genaan (giants)," and these ruins are consequently called Anak on the Survey Department's map. The Jekheisi nomad will suggest that it was built by the Um Belul (Mesabaat?) and add that he has heard of other such red-brick ruins in the vicinity of El Obeid and also in Darfur.

3. CONCLUSIONS.

The results of excavation on this site may confirm a suggestion put forward by Mr. Grabham that Zankor was a Meroitic outpost from Dongola, planted by people who had found their way down the Wadi el Melik to Kaja Serug. In the days before desiccation had spread so far south the country around Kaja Serug may not have been so barren as it is to-day, and although so remote and isolated, may have been attractive enough for people from the river to settle there. So far as I know we came upon no traces of Christianity, but it may have flourished in Kaja Serug during the Middle Ages if, as I believe, such traces have been found in the Kuttum District of Northern Darfur.

I leave it for others with a more specialised knowledge to determine, if possible, the nature and origin of this site. I should like to believe that the theory of a Coptic outpost most easily accounts for the forms of such arts of life as we found in their building, pottery, ornaments and domestic utensils.

DIARY OF EXCAVATION.

THURSDAY, 8TH MAY, 1929.

Arrived from Nahud by car: the native track was found to be quite practicable. In the evening I drew two lines intersecting the ruins from each side, as advised, and decided to start the next morning on a site of some broken columns towards the centre of the ruins. The main site of the ruins, which hug the eastern foot of Jebel Zankor, consists of a number of large mounds rising to their greatest height on the centre: the surface of these mounds is covered with very large red bricks of a fine quality, pieces of building stone, and fragments of various shapes and sizes that look like cement, but may be sandstone.

FRIDAY, MAY 9TH.

Natives of the Kaja Serug hills appeared for work and we started on the Pillars site. We found some broken pieces of burnt clay pottery, a heavy metal anklet and some flints, one of which resembles a scraper. The nearest flint is obtainable a day and a half journey's North at Jebel Sungur. The large cement-like underground oil or grain jar, found

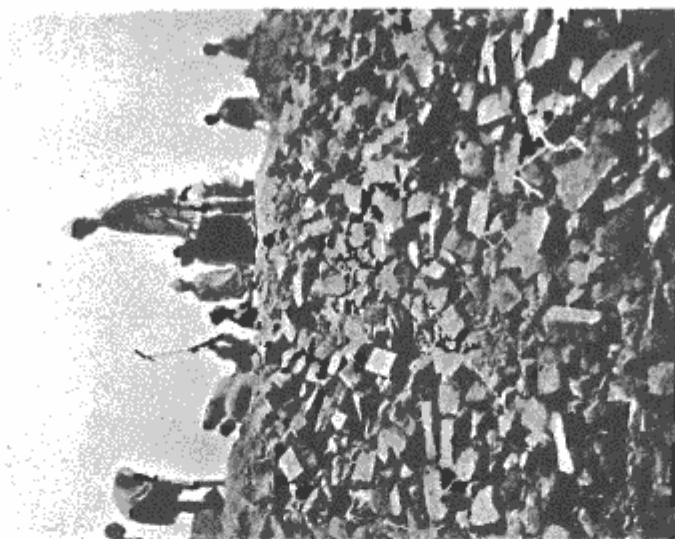


FIG. 3.

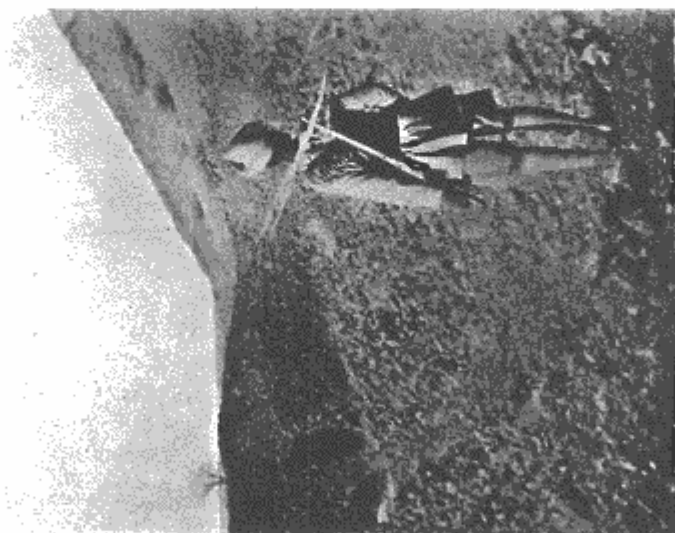


FIG. 2.

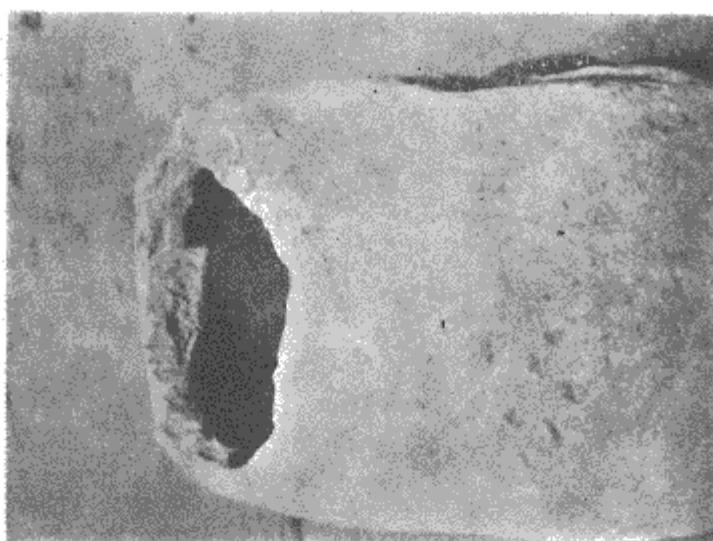


FIG. 5.

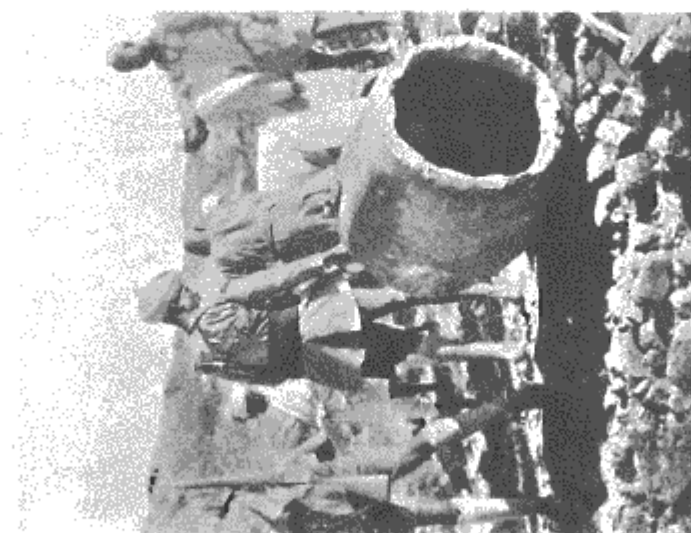


FIG. 4.

during my last visit, was dug out and rolled down to a new resting-place outside the wall of the ruins. It is roughly round, standing about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and is just over two feet in diameter. It is shown in Figures 4 and 5.

In the afternoon the Pillars site was fully excavated and laid bare. It consisted of twelve single pillars only, arranged in a circle—eleven forming the circumference and one standing in the centre. I should like to believe that they were made on the spot, as they are too heavy to be transported by camel. If, however, they are made of some sort of sandstone rock, such rock is, I am told, not found in the vicinity. Neither Sheikh El Mardi Imam nor any of the working party can remember seeing any rock of this type in Kaja Serug. The average measurements of these pillars are: Height, 1 metre 10 cms.; Diameter, 55 cms.; Circumference, 2 metres. The diameter of the circle was roughly 4 metres at any point. See Fig. 6. The surrounding debris gives me no clue to the function of these stone pillars, though there are the ruins of other groups of pillars in a similar formation throughout the site.

SATURDAY, MAY 10TH.

As the vicinity of the pillars did not promise quick results we continued excavation on the site originally opened during my last visit—the top of the highest and central mound, forming a small acropolis to the town, wherein we had found a large number of burnt clay pots. We are working for quick results as the rains are late and there is no water nearer than Foga Wells—15 miles away. During the morning we found some beads, very fragile and possibly made of ostrich shell, a quantity of charcoal and a pestle and mortar of the same stone as the drums excavated yesterday.

There is a large midden outside the town; it lies to the south, as the prevailing wind for eight months of the year is north. It lies 80 yards outside the town wall and is about 50 yards long by 30 yards wide and twenty feet high. Bones, refuse of iron ore and broken pots make up the bulk of what lies on the surface. I thought it not worth while working on the midden, rather than on the houses within the walls.

One room, the north room of the central mound, was fully excavated revealing nothing but a style of building of half burnt, half dried mud

brick and known to-day as "galoos." The East room gave up a number of small flat circular beads of ostrich egg and the burnt bones of a man on a clay charger, after the pattern of the Sudanese "tabag." One of the finger bones was still wearing two brass rings—both bone and rings burnt black.

SUNDAY, MAY 11TH.

During the morning a cache of large "zeers" was uncovered in the East room. None of them could be taken away as they were too cracked. Figs. 7 and 8 show the type of ornamentation on the necks of these large pots, usually of river rushes, and may be a memory of the Nile.

Also a great quantity of broken pottery was found, of various sizes and shapes. The central room consists of stiff clay, mud and red brick: with great labour we have dug down six feet into it and not reached the floor of a building, which was perhaps of more than one storey. An iron hoe (Fig. 14f) was found which differs from the modern Sudanese hoe, being slightly longer in the neck.

MONDAY, MAY 12TH.

The Central room is proving very difficult to excavate—the solid mass of mud brick and clay is as hard as a rock and appears to be petrifying of its own weight. In the East room were found two skulls and two large querns, of the same type of stone as the stone drums and underground "zeer" and well trimmed. They measure $70 \times 54 \times 20$ cms. and $60 \times 45 \times 17$ cms. respectively. Both were eagerly seized at the end of the morning and carried down to the village of Zankor for future use. They are shown with others in Fig. 9. During the afternoon work on the East room was stopped and the working party moved down to the site of some stone pillars south of the first group. Neither the pillars site nor the central room revealed anything during the afternoon—there is still not a hint why such pillars were set up. These were, as the first, loosely imbedded in the sand at a depth of only a few inches; their formation could not be exactly estimated as they were broken and scattered, but were probably set up in a ring as the others.

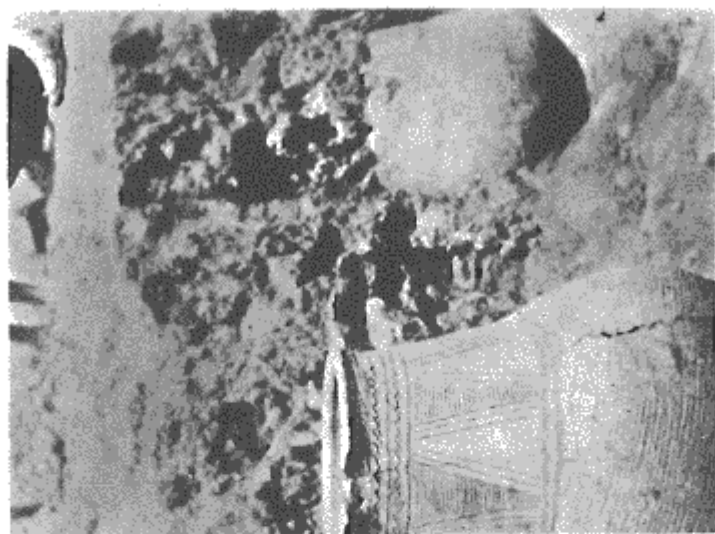


FIG. 7.

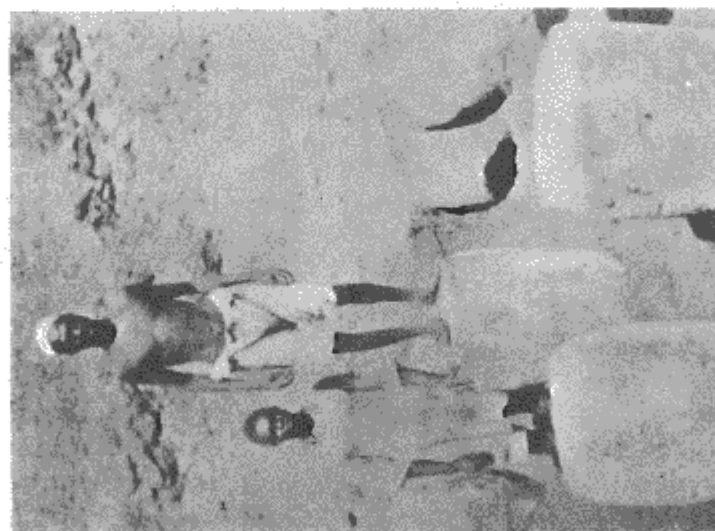


FIG. 6.

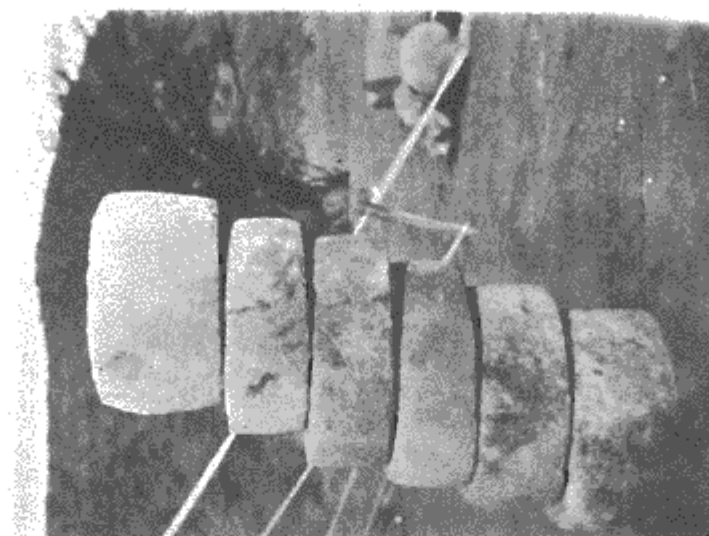


FIG. 9.

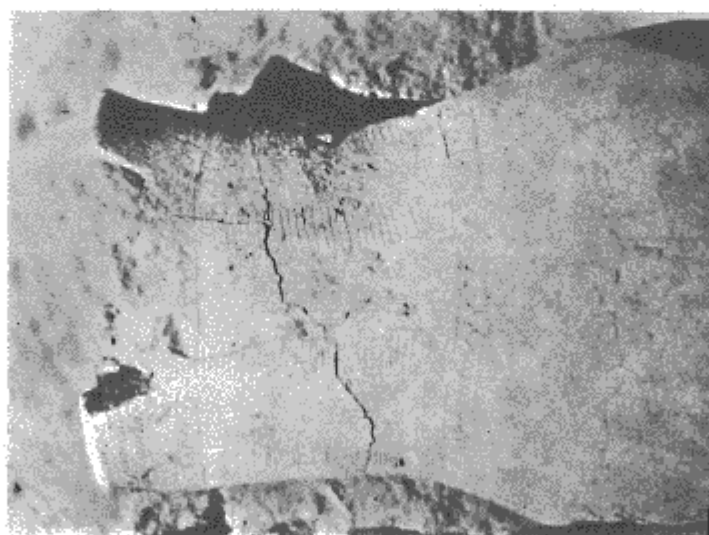


FIG. 8.



FIG. 10.

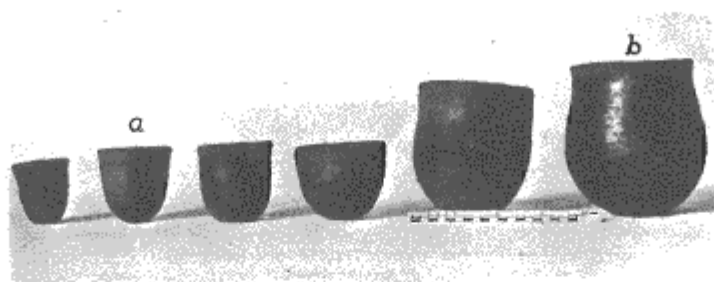


FIG. 11.

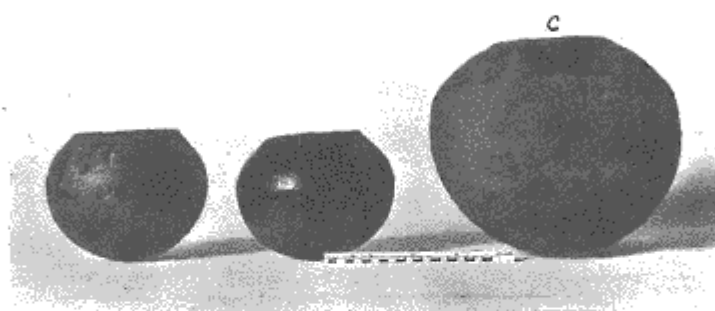


FIG. 12.

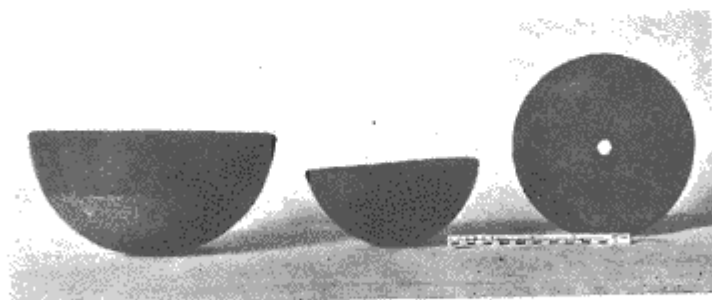


FIG. 13.

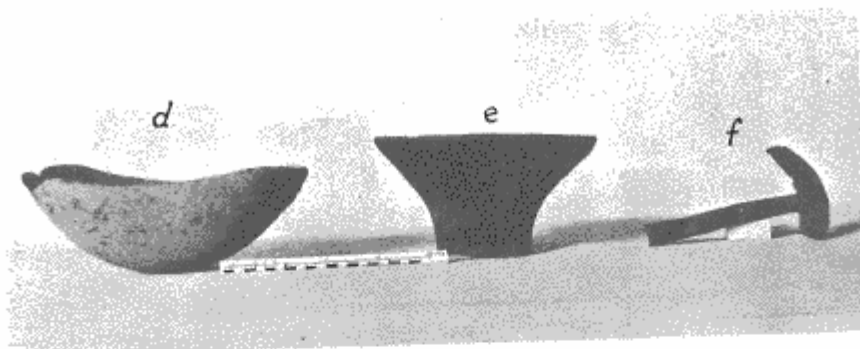


FIG. 14.

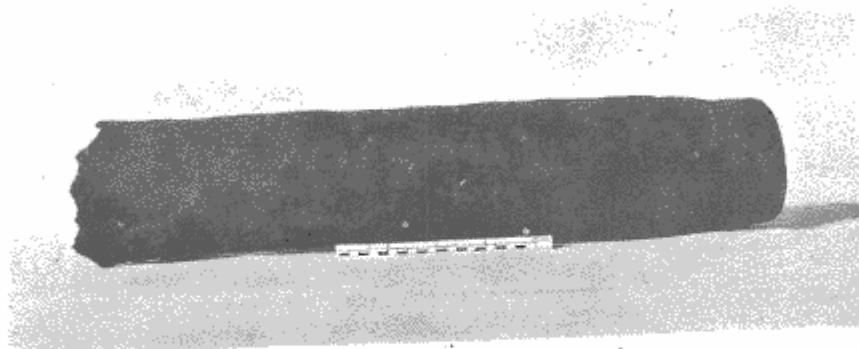


FIG. 15.

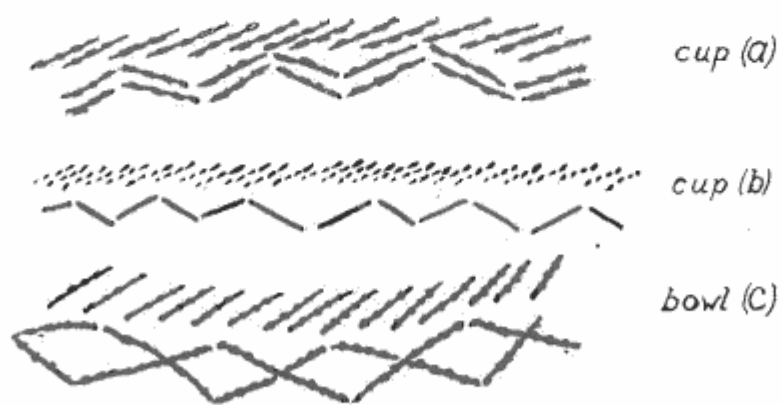


FIG. 16.

TUESDAY, MAY 13TH.

I had originally intended to concentrate on one segment of the ruins, but, since the site of the ruins consists of a number of isolated mounds, it was decided to excavate the largest of them in turn. Success on attacking the acropolis from the south was almost instantaneous. We met with a large stratum of ashes which contained a great number of burnt clay pots, whenever we have dug ashes have been found in such quantity as to suggest that the town was destroyed by fire, or that this was a cemetery for people who practised cremation.

During the afternoon the cache of clay pots was found to be even larger than first anticipated. Most of them were broken, but about ten per cent. were brought out whole and were found to consist of various varieties of household bowl and pot. Many of them contained the bones of sheep or goat or cow. The names given to the various types brought out were: "zeer," "burma," "kalul," "doreia," "kantoush," "daha-loob," "tareeb" and "sakhkhana." (Fig. 10.)

There was also a disk about the size of a ten-inch gramophone record, with a hole in the middle. It was perhaps the cover for a bowl and was raised by putting a finger through the hole. Pots and all were made of the same material—burnt clay—without the aid of a potter's wheel, but built up by hand, and they were so many in number as to give rise to a sudden ejaculation of "Wallahi! their wealth consisted only of burnt mud."

Note on the Pottery from Zankor.

By F. ADDISON.

THE various types of pottery sent to the Antiquities Museum are shown in Figures 11 to 16. All these vessels are hand-made of thick ware, and all except (d) fig. 14, are covered or partly covered, with a thick red slip. They are very similar to each other in fabric and workmanship and a typical fracture of the ware is black with a thin edging of red on either side.

THE MONASIR COUNTRY, 1930.

By N. McL. Innes.

(PLATES IX—XIII.)

THE Monasir is essentially a land of contrast, at once the most barren and the most beautiful, the most loosely administered and the least troublesome in the whole of Berber Province, if not in the whole of the Northern riverain Sudan.

So much has already been written of this stretch of river by men who fought through it in 1885 with the flat-bottomed boats of the River Column, or who followed General Hunter twelve years later, that I feel it somewhat presumptuous in me to take up the tale, and of necessity to repeat much that many readers will find familiar. But I hope that those who know most of the past may most readily welcome a note on the present, and so I venture to proceed.

The publicity achieved by this country is no exception to its rule of contrast. In old days the caravan routes passed it by on either side, and even then its people lived out of the world and almost untouched by passing events. Only in moments of conquest and violence does its name find a place in the pages of history.

Whether the old Kingdom of Dongola exercised sway here is uncertain. Probably there was at least some sort of suzerainty, but native tradition firmly disputes this, and affirms that the pillars of Kubinat were the utmost limit of its power, and that the battlemented fortresses of Dulka and Dirbi, noted by Colonel Butler* from the peak of Gebel Boni, and supposed by him to have been the last refuge of King Samamouan, were built by outlaws named Sukr, and Tombal, his son, for the gathering and hoarding of their spoils from far and near, and that these rebels were of a pre-islamic semi-negroid race not subject to the Dongola kings, and probably of much later date. But there remains a fort at El Kab, and the ruins of a church on the Province boundary, which bear contradictory evidence. My own learning is not of an order which entitles me to voice an opinion, and in any case the question is outside the scope of this article.

* Col. Sir W. Butler, K.C.B. "The Campaign of the Cataracts."

Let it suffice that at some time the Monasir Arab, of Beja origin, saw fit to make his home there, presumably being too tired to go further, for no other attraction is apparent, and that he has been there ever since. He has survived, almost unspoilt by successive governments, until to-day ; comparatively untaught and untravelled, but preserving a tribal loyalty and unity perhaps unique among riverain peoples, untouched by the quarrels and murders of *meks*, the intrigue of Turkish officials, the appointments and transfers of semi-tribal, semi-official, but often wholly corrupt *hukkam el akhtat* ; and almost free from the centralising influences of bureaucracy.

It is refreshing, after a trek through the adjoining Rubatab country, desolate because its people have left to find easier money elsewhere, and have broken up their homes and community, to find here a country far more barren, demanding far more and yielding far less, whose young men still remain and cultivate every cultivable acre, and, having little leisure for talk or rumour or ambition, remain content with the life and the lot of their fathers before them.

Nevertheless it is a hard lot. The river flows between steep rocky banks, and her flood leaves only a narrow margin of *gerf* or soil cultivable by *selluka* ; in many parts even this is absent, or ruined by drift sand. The average water-wheel has a lift of over thirty feet from a channel dug back twenty feet into the sloping bank ; and even then a platform for the bulls and wheel must be built out on a tremendous scaffolding of massive *dom* logs, and the water carried back on a raised channel of hollowed *dom* to a point where the irrigation channel can be built high enough. Figurés may perhaps convey little, but the illustration speaks for itself, and is no exaggeration of the average. Behind that the cultivable area may be two feddans, round which the land rises to barren rock, and there is perhaps no other cultivation for half an hour's ride. The average village boasts at most thirty feddans, some twenty water-wheels, and is separated from its neighbour by nearly an hour of rocky emptiness.

It is, of course, largely this which gives the country its charm for a visitor, though charm is perhaps too gentle a word. It has, rather, a rugged grandeur comparable to that of the Highlands, or to that which

the Highlands might have if they were shorn of heather and pine, and if a pitiless sun were substituted for their mists.

By day, therefore, its hills and passes are unrelievedly forbidding, except when one catches a glimpse of the river. Then, upon occasion, its beauty may be unforgettable. One midday scene at least is fixed exactly in my memory ; it is a plot of yellow barley, fringed by the brown and green of date palms along the river bank, against a background of sheer red stone as rich in colour as that of Devon. I came upon this upon suddenly rounding a corner after two hours' ride through desolation, and by chance the picture was given the completeness of life and movement by the presence of an Arab boy in picturesque but unusual Bisharin headdress. The moment was breathless.

But the Monasir country is at its best in the early morning or sunset lights, or, perhaps surpassing these, when her contrast and contours are etched in moonlight. The river in the half light takes wonderful shades of green and blue. One may climb a hill in the evening and watch the sun blaze out in the West, leaving behind it a glow of softening shades in the sky, which are sometimes reflected even more richly in the winding ribbon of water. And at night the steely stream seems to have been inlaid in the dense blackness with the fantastic abandon of an artist who achieves his most beautiful effects by mistake.

One wonders, looking downstream in this year of grace and complete security, with what feelings the same rugged scenes must have filled the men of the River Column, or Colonel Stewart trying to break through for home, with Gordon's last messages, and hopes.

The river was fuller then than I have ever seen it, allowing passage of the steamer. Food was short, it seems, and nearing Um Diema the reis was tempted by sight of a cow on the right bank to run his vessel in too close. She struck the submerged island upon which some of her wreckage remains to this day. It has been impossible to glean further knowledge of the assassination which followed. By no code is the murder of guests a matter for pride ; old men will admit no complicity, and younger men explain how the women and children were sent to the hills, and so saw and knew nothing. The record of a survivor, preserved in the official history,* is therefore as reliable as any.

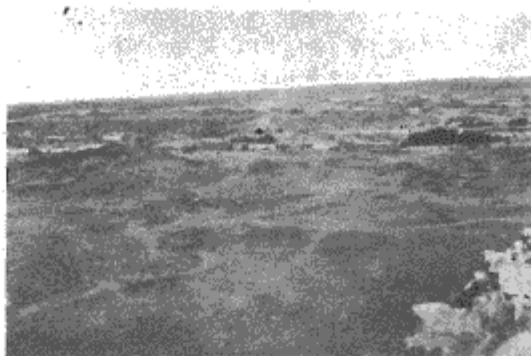
* History of the Sudan Campaign, by Col. H. E. Colville, C.B., p. 100.

The young omda, Suleiman Gamr, after parley with the translator, and on the advice of a blind feki, Fakhri Etman, invited Colonel Stewart and his party ashore unarmed—unarmed that they might not unduly alarm the natives—entertained the three Europeans in Fakhri's house, some two hundred yards downstream of the island, and on a given signal murdered them there, and massacred the crew who were waiting by a group of palm trees near the river. A few escaped by taking to the water. The complicity of the reis and translator must remain open to conjecture; both escaped, but as far as the reis is concerned the wonder is, to my mind, that he brought his charge so far without disaster.

Colonel Stewart's present and most effectual memorial, is the boiler and other parts of his steamer which lie on the island where she sank, and which are shown in my photographs. These may reasonably be expected to remain undisturbed for some years to come, but they are under water at high Nile and arrangements are being made for the erection of a new memorial stone on the site of the murder.

The old hut of the blind Fakhri Etman was razed to the ground by the River Column, but I determined its exact position with the aid of the old man's sons, who now keep an adjoining *khakwa*, and marked it out with boulders for the guidance of the P. W. D. officials, to whom the task of erecting a fitting memorial has been handed over.

At the same time (in April, 1929), I confirmed and marked out the site (already determined and recorded in compass bearings by Mr. Broadbent), of the graves of the British officers who died at Kirbekan in the following February, of 1885. General Earle, Colonel Eyre, of the Staffords, and Colonel Coveney, of the Black Watch, were all killed in action. Lord Avonmore died within a few days, of fever brought on by unsparing exertions. All four are buried side by side on the British army's camping ground, and, although their graves were levelled to prevent their subsequent disturbance, it has been possible to determine their almost exact position from the description of the scene, and the "solitary dom-palm," which Colonel Butler has given in his book "The Campaign of the Cataracts." The old dom-palm itself is there no longer, but the landowner (himself a veteran of the battle) remembers it, and General Sir Herbert Jackson was able to confirm the approximate correctness of his information.



General view from the summit of the Gebel Musa
(or J. Kirbeka).



Memorial at Kirbeka erected by Colonel Balfour in 1913.



View of the British Camping Ground and Sagia where the
British Officers who died at Kirbeka are buried.

THE SCENE OF COLONEL STEWART'S MURDER.



The site of the house in which the murder was staged is marked with boulders at the four corners.

The top photograph shows the khalwa now kept by the sons of the blind Fakhri Etman.

That below shows the date palms beside which the crew was massacred.

The scene is quiet, peaceful, and deserted enough to-day, but one can imagine the exhilaration of going into action at last after the long weary trek upstream, dragging the unwieldy, flat-bottomed boats through the cataracts, or riding and marching through narrow, rocky defiles with insecure foothold for man and horse, never knowing whether or when an ambush might have been prepared by an unseen force.

At Kirbekan, at last, the Dervish army became a reality. From the top of the "Gebel Musa," then held by Musa Abu Higl, the Rubatabi dervish leader, it is possible to recall the whole drama played out among the rocks below and up the steep sides of the hill itself.* Half right, near the river bank, is the camp of the British, who open fire from the ridge ahead. By the obvious riverside approach the British infantry are advancing in frontal attack, attracting all eyes on the Gebel, while the hussars press on by a deep sandy wadi to break in from the flank and rear. The sweep of the wadi is obvious from the hill-top; the advancing troops, apparently, were not; and on their arrival the dervish forces, already shaken, became a rout.

Unfortunately one or two stalwarts were determined to sell their lives dearly. A stone hut stood among the koppies which lie between the hill and the river, and which the British had just taken, and from it the shot was fired which killed General Earle in the moment of victory. The hut was fired, and its ruins and its bones still lie where it stood. Just below it, beside the track which runs by the river, and near which the British privates killed in the action have been buried, Colonel Balfour, then D. C. Berber, erected a rough memorial in 1913, with the assistance of the people, and of their omḍa, Osman Suleiman.

Kirbekan and Heibah are the points of greatest interest in the district, but the whole stretch of the river from Kubinat to Kirbekan, from Kirbekan through the narrow defile of the Shukuk pass (where the dervishes should have made their stand) to the Omḍa's village of Sellemat, and thence to Heibah and El Kab and on almost to Abu Hamed, the whole river is a memorial to the perseverance of the River Column, and the fine courage and endeavour of those men who fought their way through,

* The battle is, of course, fully described in Col. Colville's *Official History*, Part II, p. 105, already quoted.

finding Nature herself their most pitiless foe, only to turn back once again and retrace their steps from the verge of victory in the knowledge that their achievement came too late. But their spirit of rugged endurance is that of the country they endured.

Only once again, when General Hunter came through to the taking of Abu Hamed, has the Monasir country been of importance. By that time the tribesmen had learned better ; they were now tired of Ta'aishi tax-gatherers ; Omda Suleiman Gamr had died at Berber, none the better off for his part in the murder of Colonel Stewart ; and his boy son Osman had been taken to Dongola to make his peace. Kitchener made the small boy Omda and passed on to Atbara and Omdurman. The desert railway was completed ; the Monasir country remained aloof, self-contained, almost self-controlled ; poor but proud ; barren yet beautiful ; forgotten and yet, consistent to the last in inconsistency, to those who know her, unforgettable.



VIEWS OF THE BOILER AND OTHER REMAINS OF
COLONEL STEWART'S STEAMER.



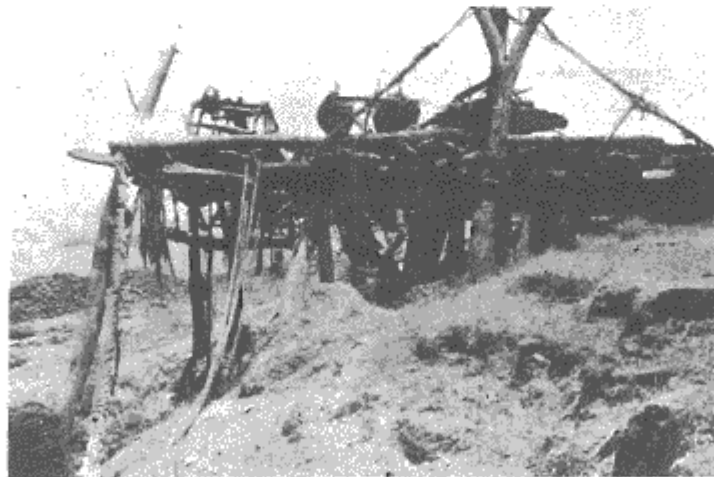
THE MONASIR FERRY,
A RAFT PROPELLED BY A PAIR OF SWIMMERS.



TYPICAL VIEW IN THE MONASIR
COUNTRY.



SMALL MONASIR BOYS.



MONASIR WATER-WHEELS.
Showing the tremendous lift and superstructure required.

NOTES.

Witchcraft applied to Animals.

By A. N. TUCKER.

THE STORY OF THE BEWITCHED LIONS.

THE scene of this story lies on and about the R.C. Mission at Rejaf East, where I was staying at the time. There are two little Bari villages lying close together in a hollow about a quarter of a mile from the Mission, and it was a girl in one of these villages who was at the bottom of the whole trouble. It appears she was *'depa* to a young man of a distant village (*i.e.* most of the cattle had been paid, and only the final pow-wow or *putet* was necessary before she should go to live with him). She, however, had other views on the matter, and, about the middle of June, ran away across the Nile with another man. The disgruntled bridegroom, after making a scene at the house of her parents, journeyed off to a mountain, where dwelt a Lokoya magician, renowned for his influence with wild beasts, and bribed this magician to "whistle with medicine," so that lions should come and haunt the village till the parents took steps to bring their daughter back. (Why the lions were to confine their activity to the parents' village rather than to the village of the girl's lover, I could never make out).

There seem to be two theories about "whistling with medicine." The actual "whistling" consists in wedging a small wooden charm between the finger and thumb, and whistling shrilly over it. Sometimes the whistler stands in the middle of the village which the lions are to haunt, sometimes in his own village; in which latter case, he has to meet the lions when they come, and give them their instructions. According to some accounts, only people of "lion-clans" can successfully call lions: others are inclined to credit individual natives with this power.

It was about this time that we began to hear lions roaring in the distance (as is the usual thing each year at the beginning of the wet season). On June 25 (exact dates always give an air of veracity to anecdotes of this description!) the girl's brother, Kinyong ("crocodile")

turned up at the Mission to be treated for guinea-worm, and was put into the hut which my two Fajelu boys were occupying. This hut, incidentally, was not in the Mission compound, but a hundred yards away, and next to it was the small "office-storeroom" which had been put at my disposal. It must have been about 2 a.m. that we were all awakened by the roaring of two lions close at hand, which gradually faded away in the direction of the girl's village. The next morning we saw the footprints of a lioness and a young male leading between my house and the hut of the boys, behind which they played and gambolled for some time, before setting out further to serenade Kinyong's village.

So much for the first visit. Everybody predicted the return of the lions the next night, either to molest the hapless Kinyong (who had spent most of the previous night under his angarib with one of my boys and a spear) or else to raid cattle belonging to the girl's family. My two boys, to be sure of no mistakes, moved into other quarters; as for the Mission boys, the whole place simply bristled with spears, while, down in the haunted village, people beat drums till far into the night. Needless to remark, the lions did not return that night, nor the next. After which my boys returned sheepishly to their hut, while the guinea-worm man went back to his village.

And then, the following Sunday (June 29), at about 10 p.m., the familiar "grumping" of lions broke out again, this time between the Mission and the village, from which no sound was heard. I went out and let off a shot-gun in the general direction, and the shot roused a perfect pandemonium of shouts, cat-calls, laughter, and drum-beating. All this racket was too much for the visitors, who moved off, and were only heard once more,—in the direction of the river.

The next day we heard that those lions had serenaded the *wrong* village, namely, the second one, about two hundred yards away from the one where the girl's parents lived. Evidently the Lokoya's instructions cannot have been very explicit, or perhaps lions have bad memories; in any case it was a very dark night!

Five days later, on the night of July the 4th, to be exact, they came again, killing a water-buck between the Mission and the river, and singing over its body all night long. This time they were nearer to the Mission

than to the village, and their roaring started off another bunch of lions across the Nile, and *they* kept up the concert till about nine o'clock the next morning.

This incident started a new theory among the Bari, namely that the two previous visits of the lions were not undertaken to punish the girl's family (and Kinyong), but to receive instructions from the bridegroom, who was staying there; and that this third visit was in order to shout their instructions to the lions across the river, so that *they* could get on the trail of the eloping couple. They were more successful, for the girl returned to her parents and prospective bridegroom a few days later, the final incentive being, it seems, the indignant reproaches of an innocent neighbour, whose cattle the lions raided on the somewhat slender excuse that his wife was distantly related to the girl by marriage. Since her return we have been treated to no more lion concerts, although we often hear their voices in the distance.

This, I should think, typifies the working of Bari magic,—enough coincidence to satisfy the credulous, and enough inconsistency to justify the sceptical. The fact that a man in the same village had two cows taken by lions a couple of months later has no bearing, in Bari opinion, on the case in hand. Those were probably different lions, and anyhow it was his own fault. He had promised a local magician (or '*bunit*') a goat for services rendered, and had agreed to look after the goat till the '*bunit*' called for it. When his creditor arrived, however, he informed him sadly that a leopard had eaten the goat. The incredulous magician, however, had discountenanced this story, and had even presumed to identify his goat among the man's flock. A violent altercation arose, at the end of which the '*bunit*' cursed the goat in question and predicted that it should eat up five of the man's sheep as a punishment. On arriving home, however, he changed his mind about the punishment, and sent some lions to kill two of the man's cows instead.

To return to the haunted village, I was unable to find out whether there was any formal lifting of the ban when the girl returned, or whether her return was sufficient in itself. Theoretically speaking, when a lion-caller has been pacified, he should place a stick across all the entrances to the village, to let the lions know that the matter is now closed. Anybody going beyond those sticks at night, however, does so at his own risk.

THE STORY OF THE BEWITCHED LEOPARD.

About a month later (early in August to be exact), a Bari girl of about twelve years of age, named Kuma Gore, was admitted to the Juba hospital, suffering from a leopard bite in the face. This, her relatives averred, was due to witchcraft, and the following story was told:—

A Lokoya named Pitia Yipori journeyed from Lokoya country to the village of a certain Bari chief, where he stayed ten days. On his way back, he stopped for five days at the house of the rain-maker Legi Puri, of the chief Dogale Gore. When he was about to depart from there, Legi Puri demanded a gift as recompense for putting him up these five days. Pitia Yipori replied that all he had was a spear and a tin of ground-nuts, which the chief had given him. The spear he now gave as payment to Legi Puri, but the latter was still dissatisfied, and seized some of the ground-nuts. After this, the man Pitia Yipori left for home in a very bad temper, threatening vengeance against Legi Puri and all those belonging to his chief Dogale Gore.

It was shortly after this that a large leopard began raiding the village of Dogale Gore. As far as can be made out, it confined itself to people, ignoring the cattle. First it sprang at a woman named Pitia, mauling her slightly; shortly afterwards it killed a boy named Lугоi Wani (biting him, I think, in the neck); and now it had added the girl Kuma Gore to the list. She was drawing water at dusk, when it sprang at her from the side, clawing her right side—front and back—and inflicting a nasty bite over her face, its teeth cutting the flesh each side of the nose. It did not stay to maul her, but vanished almost immediately, leaving her to scramble to her feet and run towards the village, where she met her friends, who brought her to the hospital.

Meanwhile the Lokoya Pitia Yipori had given out that the leopard was sent by him as a punishment to the village of Dogale Gore, but that he would call it off on receipt of a suitable gift. He had already received six goats when the girl was bitten. The father of Kuma Gore, on hearing of his daughter's plight, at once set out for the village of Pitia Yipori, and gave the wife of that man a severe beating. When asked why he had not beaten Pitia himself, he replied that he feared the leopard (for it is held in some circles that the leopard was none other than Pitia himself,

metamorphosed for the occasion). The matter now came up before the Lukiko in Juba, and after a very stormy trial (of which I could get only a very bare account), the father of Kuma Gore was given a term of imprisonment for his assault on the wife of Pitia Yipori.

This was the last of the leopard outrages, but Pitia Yipori, who had by now received ten goats (or seven, according to other authorities), still threatened the village for another month. The people of Dogale Gore asserted that it would be useless to put him in prison, as his brother or next of kin would still be able to send the leopard; the only thing to do was to buy him off, and get him to remove the curse from the village. This he did after a month or so, but whether he was actuated by pity for the village or by the fact that the leopard had already abandoned the neighbourhood on its own account, one is not permitted to surmise.

Although the Bari—or some of them—claim power to summon wild animals to settle their disputes, nobody claims the power of converting himself into an animal. This metamorphosis, however, is widely spread among the people of the south, the Lokoya, the Latuko, and the Acholi. There is an account of a certain Latuko being heavily fined by his lukiko for turning into a pack of leopards at night, and raiding the herds of those people who had refused to buy him off with gifts. A European court of justice would probably have convicted the man of "obtaining money or goods under false pretences," and fined him just as much; so there was no injustice there! The following extract is taken from a (Bor) Dinka school-boy's essay on animals: ". . . Among our people, a man whose grandfather was a lion can also become a lion. He goes by himself to an ant-hill, and he bends down and pushes the ant-hill with his head. And then a tail shoots out from behind, and hairs shoot out from his body, and he becomes a lion."

This seems to point definitely to totemism among the Dinka, apart from metamorphosis. The Bari-speaking tribes—Fajelu, Kakwa, Kuku, Nyangwara—do not change into animals, except the Mandari, who can become lions; this is probably due to contact with the Dinka. In the west, the Moro and Mundu, I am told, have individuals who can transform themselves into wild-cats; while as for the "Makarakak"—they have no need to turn into carnivorous animals: *nyönyösu ngutu kana!* ("They eat people anyhow!").

Nuba Houses.

By G. W. T.

(PLATE XIV.)

I SEND herewith rough sketches of a type of Nuba house, very common in the hills South East from Kadugti. They are striking because more skill, care and indeed art goes to their making than with any other Sudanese tribe. The material is a very hard red gravelly clay, raised on lower courses of big stones, and a "crazy paving" of big flat stones is also laid down. The roofs are conically thatched with grass, and the central court has a flat roof over it, which is not, however, rain-proof. The walls of the round houses stand about 12 feet high and their floors (usually raised 2 or 3 feet) are some 9 feet across. A group of five round houses connected by outside walls is the usual pattern, but more are also seen. The only outside aperture is the peculiarly shaped entrance shown in the sketch, and above and on each side is fixed a row of wooden hooks for hanging up domestic articles. Outside, the walls are given a coat of whitewash, and often a diced pattern in red occurs under the eaves, while inside the court the decoration in red, white and black is very elaborate and a row of hooks goes right round it. Entrance to the round houses from the court is by little oval holes well up the walls. Each house has its own use, and the one whose inner side is illustrated has two storeys, the pigs live in the lower one and chickens above them. Another contains pots of water and merissa, another has two or three stone corn-grinders and the kitchen fire and another has in its centre a turret-shaped grain-bin. The fifth is a bedroom. Considering the lack of ventilation the dwelling is not as stuffy as might be expected—probably the height of the roof is of some assistance. The whole is kept remarkably clean and it is noticeable that those recently built on slabs of rock at the foot of the hills are bigger and more elaborate than the older ones that cluster like martins' nests up the hill sides.

Antiquities found near Gordon's Tree, Khartoum Province.

By F. ADDISON.

(PLATE XV.)

THE photograph (plate XV.) shows a number of pots and three "staff-beads" found in 1930 during the construction of a new dockyard for the Egyptian Irrigation Service on the White Nile near Gordon's Tree. (For the origin of the name—or the misnomer—"Gordon's Tree" see the note by Col. Stanton in "Sudan Notes and Records," Vol. VIII, page 237).

I understand that a good deal of broken pottery and a quantity of human bones was found, indicating that an ancient cemetery had been disturbed, but no record of the position or type of graves is available.

The large beer jar (1) is of faded black ware, with doubtful mat marking at the bottom, (2) is a bowl of grey-brown ware with an incised, red-filled, design. The vessels (3) to (6) inclusive are of polished black ware, (6) having a small criss-cross decoration inside the rim. The staff-beads (7) and (9) are of mud stone, and (8) of diorite. The jug (10) is of red ware with a thin buff slip, (11) and (12) are grey-brown in colour and burnished, and the rim of each is lightly and irregularly notched. In addition (11) has a band of decoration both inside and outside the rim, and the white-filled design shown in the photograph occurs three times on the circumference of the bowl (13) is a crude pot of coarse, faded, red ware.

I should say that most of these objects may be dated to that "post Meroitic" period between the Meroitic and Christian civilisations, *i.e.*, to about A.D. 400-500. The jug (13), and possibly the bowl (2), may be Meroitic, A.D. 200-300, but I do not hazard any opinion on the crude pot (13).

In addition to this pottery, a few faience beads and cowrie shells with the backs ground off were unearthed, of a type similar to those found at Faras in Meroitic graves of the first and second centuries A.D. There were also quantities of ostrich egg shell disc beads.

GELLATLY, HANKEY & Co.

(SUDAN) LIMITED.

KHARTOUM, PORT SUDAN, WAD MEDANI, EL OBEID,
SUAKIN, TOKAR, MASSAUA (Eritrea) and JEDDAH (Arabia).

Telegrams:—"GELLATLY."

AGENTS:—

GELLATLY, HANKEY & CO. LTD.

LONDON { DOCK HOUSE, BILLITER STREET, E.C.3.
AND 62, PALL MALL, S.W.1.
LIVERPOOL, MANCHESTER, GLASGOW.
MARSEILLES: GELLATLY, HANKEY & CO. (FRANCE) S.A.
ANTWERP: GELLATLY, HANKEY & CO. (BELGIUM) S.A.
HAMBURG: GELLATLY, HANKEY & CO. G.M.B.H.

LLOYD'S AGENTS.

Regular Service of First Class Passenger and Cargo Steamers
between PORT SUDAN & CONTINENT, UNITED KINGDOM,
U.S.A., INDIAN, AUSTRALASIAN and FAR EASTERN
PORTS, EAST and SOUTH AFRICA.

□ □ □

PASSAGES BOOKED

by all Lines through PORT SUDAN or via EGYPT.

Exporters of Sudan Produce—Importers of General Merchandise.

SOLE AGENTS FOR:—

FIRESTONE TIRE & RUBBER EXPORT CO.
PYRENE FIRE EXTINGUISHERS.

MORRIS CARS AND TRUCKS.

Garage Owners; Tyre Distributors.

Coal, Patent Fuel (Briquettes), Cement, Explosives, etc., etc., always in Stock.

INSURANCES OF ALL KINDS EFFECTED AT KEENEST RATES.