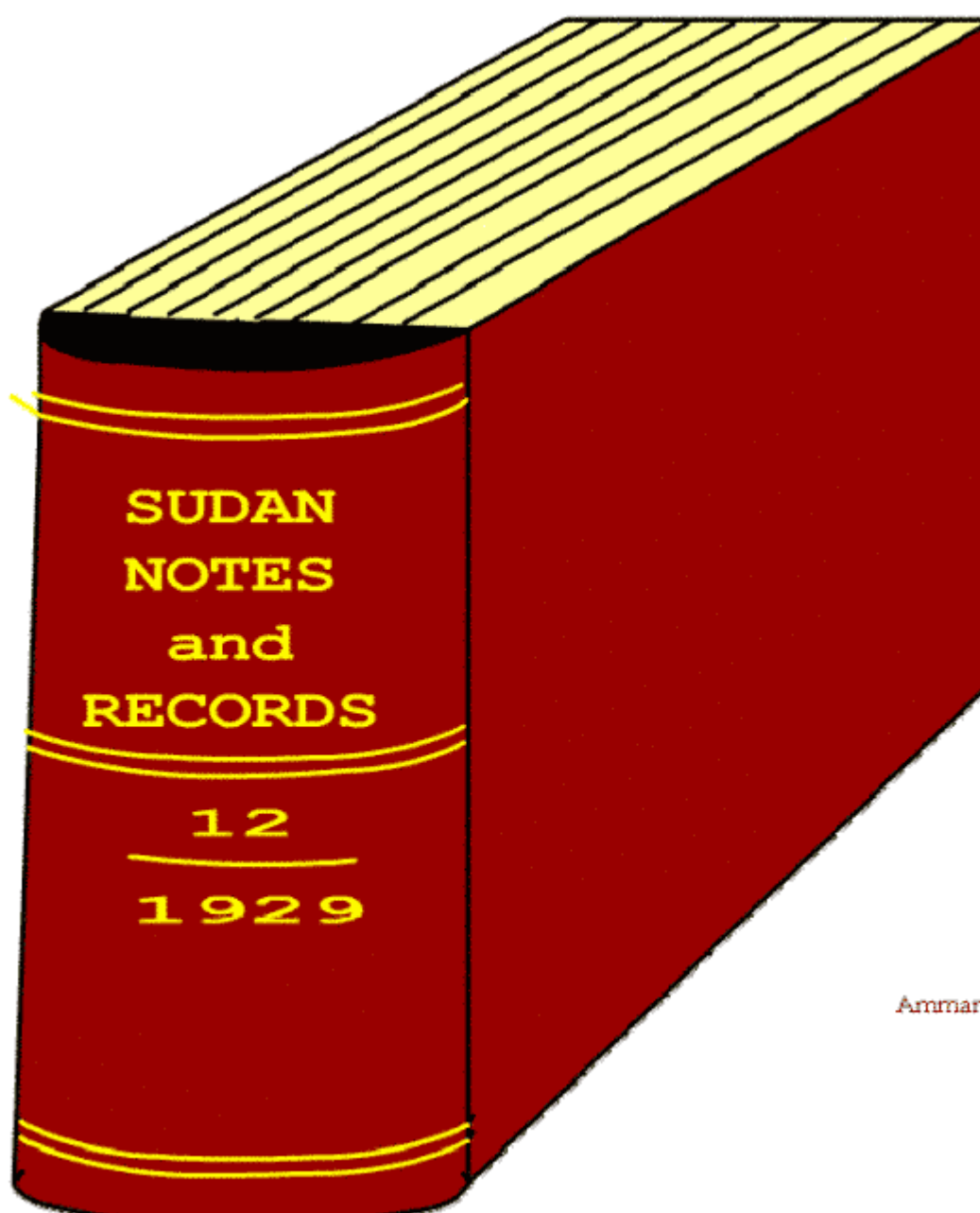




Ammar Yasir

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

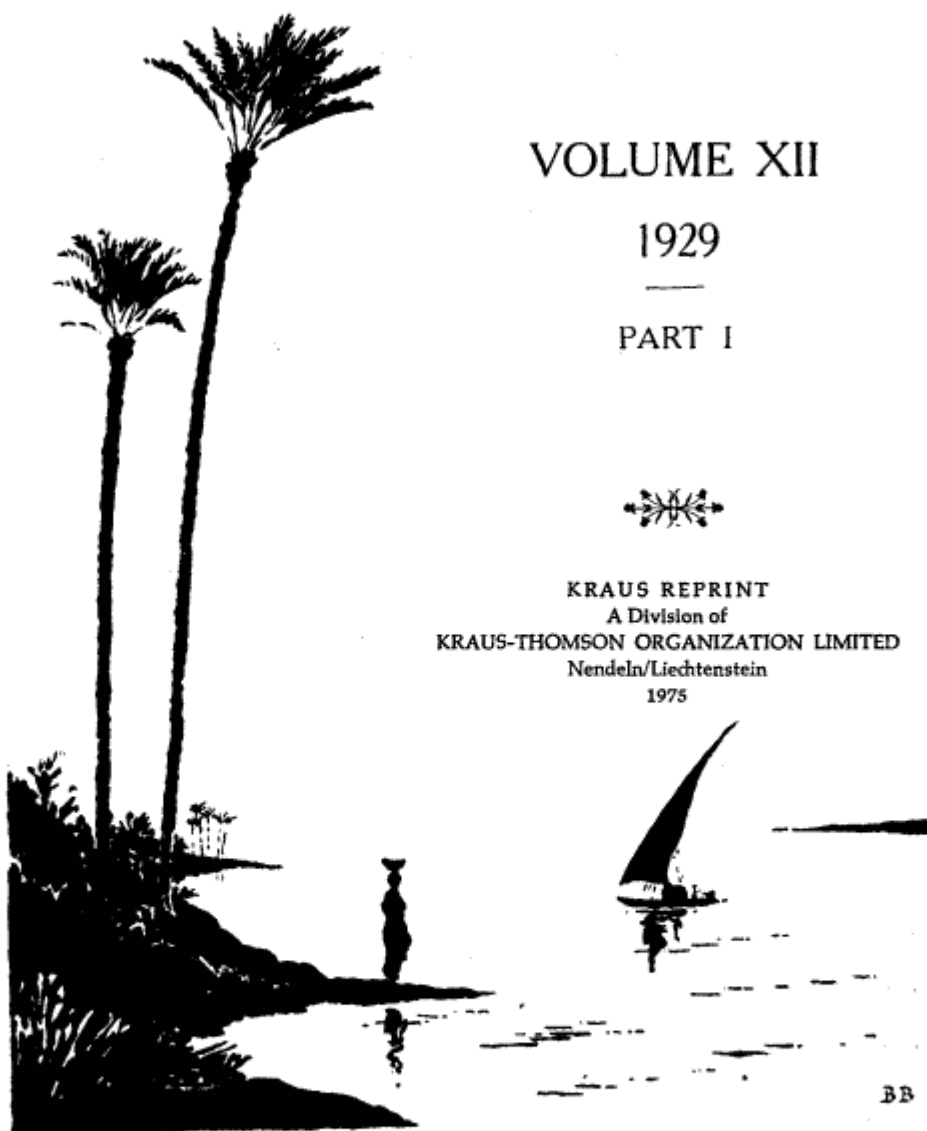
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PART I



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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 l .	
				Silent t (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.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XII

Part I

1929

THE BONGO.*

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

(Plates I-IV.)

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I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

ON my way home from Zande country in March of this year I spent nine days in Bongo country in the Tonj District of Bahr-el-Ghazal Province, and, since very little has been written after Schweinfurth's account about these people, I think that it is worth embodying his account with the notes, which I made during my short visit, in a report on the Bongo.

It should still be possible for anyone so minded to collect a fair amount of knowledge about Bongo culture before it finally disappears,

* Acknowledgments are made to the Sudan Government, The Royal Society, and the Trustees of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund.

and this report will enable anyone in a Bongo area to see exactly how much and how little we know about this people. It is to be hoped that someone will make further enquiries about Bongo customs and that this account will not be a final winding-up of their affairs from an ethnological point of view.

Schweinfurth tells us that he knew the Bongo better than any other people with whom he stayed during his travels (XII, i, 257), and he has left us a very useful account of their life. I have incorporated everything relevant from his account into this paper, and I have also included scanty gleanings from other early travellers, in particular Heuglin and Petherick. The numbers in the text refer to books given in a short bibliography at the end of the paper.

Owing to the shortness of my visit, my own notes are lamentably incomplete and uneven and insufficiently checked. This paper must not be regarded as more than a compilation of known facts. It is to be hoped that someone will add to them, and, with this hope, I have taken the liberty of pointing out some of the questions upon which more information is especially desirable.

II. NAME.

In Schweinfurth's account and on all the official maps of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Bongo are called *Bongo*. This is the name by which they refer to themselves: *ge Bongo*, they say, "we are Bongo." The word means "men" in the generic sense. The Dinka call them *Dor*, and I was told that they also use sometimes an offensive appellation *Fanatongnying* which, I was informed, means the "eaters of boiled durra," i.e., "old women." The Shilluk-speaking Luo call them *O-Bong*. The Azande to-day call them *a-Bunga*, and I have never heard any other term used, but Schweinfurth gives the name A-Kuma (XIV, 46). The "Jurs" of Rumbek district (the Beli, Sofi, Gberi, Mittu tribes) call them *Munga*.

The Bongo on their part call the Azande *Mundu*. Schweinfurth gives this term as in use amongst the southern Bongo, but says that the northern Bongo use the term *Manana* instead (XIV, 16). They refer to the Dinka by the name *Djenga* and the Shilluk-speaking Luo *Djur*, according to my notes; *Ber*, according to Schweinfurth's vocabulary (XIV, 16). I rather think that the Bongo are responsible for

the name *Luo*, which is sometimes applied to the mixed tribes of Rumbek district. Other Bongo appellations given by Schweinfurth are *Turr* or *Turru* for the Nubians, *Mundu* for the Babukur and *Mittu* for the Mittu (XIV, 16).

III. HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.

When Schweinfurth travelled through the Bahr-el-Ghazal, over fifty years ago, he wrote :—

" The present country of the Bongo lies between lat. 6 and 8 N. on the south-western boundary of the depression of the Bahr-el-Ghazal basin, and on the lowest of the terraces where the southern slopes appear to make a transition from the elevated ferruginous crust to the unfathomed alluvial flats which are traversed by all the affluents of the river. In the extent of its area the land covers about the same surface as Belgium ; but with regard to population, it might be more aptly compared to the plains of Siberia or the northern parts of Norway and Sweden ; it is a deserted wilderness, averaging only eleven or twelve people to the square mile. The country extends from the Roah to the Pango, and embraces the middle course of nearly all the affluents of the Gazelle ; it is 875 miles long by 50 miles broad, but towards the north-west the breadth diminishes to about 40 miles. On the north it is only divided by the small Dyoor country from that of the Dinka, which, however, it directly joins upon the north-east. The south-east boundary is the Mittu territory on the Roah ; and that on the west is the country of the Golo and Sehre on the Pango. The eastern branch of the extensive Niam-niam lands joins the Bongo on the south ; whilst, wedged between and straitly pressed, the Bellanda and the Babuckur have their settlements." (XII, i, 257-8.)

During the period when Heuglin, Schweinfurth, Petherick, and Junker visited the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the Bongo were being moved by the Arab slave and ivory traders to their zeribas to work or to be sold as slaves or to act as carriers and food producers for their masters. Those who escaped the Arabs did so by fleeing to Zande or Dinka country. None of them seem to have maintained a permanent and complete independence. Emin found one colony of Bongo living amongst the Gok Dinka at Gok el Hassan to the east of Djur Ghattas (Tonj) but he says that they preserved their nationality intact (XI, 344). In a letter to

Schweinfurth in 1883, he remarks that these Bongo had joined the Dinka in a revolt (XI, 430). Gessi writes to Dr. Junker that many Bongo families who in former years had emigrated into Zande country had come to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of Meshra-el-Rek (III, 382). Junker found a colony of Bongo subject to the Shilluk-speaking Luo near Abu Gurun, and he remarks, in the same paragraph, "the frontiers of the various negro territories can scarcely be indicated even approximately, the relations having been fundamentally altered by the founding of new stations and of Arab settlements." (V, 77.) Consequently, it is impossible to map out the tribal distribution of the Bongo before the arrival of the Arabs.

At the present time, the bulk of the Bongo population lives in Tonj district, where they have been placed along the Government roads. Some of these came from the Zande kingdom of Tembura to the south-west, and others from Dinka country to the east after the English occupation of the country. Most of them live on the old Government road from Tonj to Miniobolo, whilst a settlement much interspersed with Azande lives between Tonj and the first rest-house on the Wau road. There is another small group between Tonj and the second rest-house on the Rumbek road. There is a small colony of Bongo in Beli country in Rumbek district, and I gather that there is a large group near Bor on the Wau-Tembura road in Bellanda country (XV, 40). I am told that there is another group on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road. There are still a fair number of Bongo in Tembura district, I believe, interspersed amongst the Azande and Bellanda, but I doubt whether these are localised into groups. The same applies to the old Zande kingdom of Mange, now Meridi district. On the other hand, there is a small localised settlement of Bongo in the extreme north of Yambio district under a Bongo chief named Toin. I think that Major Larken told me that there were some thirty families in this part of his district. A large number of Bongo have drifted into Wau, where they have settled permanently.

IV. NUMBERS OF BONGO POPULATION.

Schweinfurth, in 1878, reckoned the Bongo population at not more than 100,000 at most, scattered over an area of nearly 9,000 square miles. This number he regarded as a remnant, for he considered that the population must have diminished by at least two-thirds (XII, i, 260).

Schweinfurth, however, only witnessed the beginning of the destruction of the Bongo, which was continued by the Arabs long after his visit and, upon their departure, by the Azande. The extent of this destruction may be gauged from the numbers of their present-day population. The Mamur at Tonj told me, though his books of reference were in Wau and he was fresh to the district, that he calculated the Bongo in his district to be about 3,500 souls, all told. The other Bongo settlements would hardly total more than 1,500 persons, thus giving a total Bongo census figure of some 5,000 souls. I should fancy that this is an over-estimation.

V. LANGUAGE.

Schweinfurth says, as far as I know, correctly, that all the Bongo speak the same language (XII, i, 310). There appear to be a small number of dialectical differences amongst the different tribes, but these are unimportant and probably arise from different cultural contacts during the Arab and post-Arab occupation of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The Bongo at Tonj told me that the greatest dialectical difference is found amongst the Dogodjo tribe on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road (?), whose songs they find it difficult to understand entirely.

The existing *data* about the Bongo language are the vocabulary and sentences given by Schweinfurth in his "Linguistische Ergebnisse einer Reise nach central Afrika," and lists of words given by Heuglin (IV, 381-2) and Petherick (VI, 481-2). I have made a similar compilation myself and will write a separate note on the grammatical structure of the language. I may say here that it is of a predominantly monosyllabic type and is, consequently, unlike the nilotic languages, distinguished by its vowel endings. The language is also rich in tones which differentiate tenses in the verbs, and so on. It is unlike the Sudanian type of languages in some particulars, as, for instance, in the structure of the genitive, the thing possessed, preceding the possessor, *e.g.*,

bihi ba nyeri
dog of chief.

Bongo is related linguistically to the Baka, Mittu, Beli, Sopi, Namusa, Moro Kodo, Moro Wadi, Biti, Wira, and possibly other languages to the south and east of Bongo country. It is not intelligible to the people of these tribes, but the words for common things are so similar that they

can obtain what they want in Bongo country through its medium. Also, if they neighbour the Bongo, like the Mittu, they can understand Bongo speech, or if members of these tribes spend a few weeks in Bongo country, they find it very easy to pick up the language quickly as it has so many points in common with their own.

Arabic is little spoken in Bongo country, but, as in the rest of the Southern Sudan, it is spreading in a gradual but cumulative manner. All the Bongo are, however, bi-lingual. The Bongo near Bor and those in the Yambio district must be perfectly acquainted with Zande, and probably those on the Wau-Dem Zubeir also. Of the main settlement of Bongo near Tonj some know Zande and some know Dinka, according as to whether they were in the past subject to Azande or associated with Dinka. However, Zande is spreading quickly. There is a large sprinkling of Azande amongst the Bongo, and there is always a large floating population of Azande from the south, seeking work, who mix with them the whole year round. Moreover, in the dry season, the Bongo leave their homes and move to the south to hunt for several months in Zande country. Since the Bongo left Dinka country there has been very little intercourse between the two peoples. They have, however, been given a Dinka chief, the adopted son of a Luo (Shilluk-speaking "Jur").

VI. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Schweinfurth compared the complexion of the Bongo to the red-brown soil of their country (XII, i, 261). He said that they rarely exceeded a medium height, that they had a more compact form of limb than the Dinka, a sharper development of muscle, a wider formation of the skull, and generally, a preponderating mass in the upper part of the body (XII, i, 263).

"Of 83 men that I measured I did not find one who had attained a height of 6 feet 1 inch, whilst the average height did not appear to me to be more than 5 feet 7 inches . . . I cannot recall a single instance among the Bongo where the skull was of the long, but narrow, shape that is all but universal among the Dinka. Of many of these Bongo that I measured, I should pronounce that they would require to be classified as hardly removed from the lowest grade of Brachycephaly." (XII, i, 26.)

Petherick also drew attention to the short stature of the Bongo as compared with the Dinka and their broader chests and stouter limbs (VI, 400). Schweinfurth says that the hair of the Bongo offers no peculiarity, being short, curly, woolly and perfectly black; and that whiskers and beards are cultivated in rare cases, but never grow more than half an inch long (XII, i, 264-5). The Bongo were the most prized slaves from the Bahr-el-Ghazal districts, since they were easily taught, docile, faithful, good-looking and industrious (XII, ii, 419).

With regards to colour I should have said that the Bongo are not nearly so light as Schweinfurth makes out. I did not see amongst the Bongo so many of the copper-coloured people whom one sees in Zande country, and I should have thought that on the whole they were no lighter than the rest of the peoples who intervene between Dinka country on the one hand and Zande country on the other. However, one really requires a colour chart, as one's estimation of the colour depends so much upon whether one comes from Dinka or Zande country. Other travellers, however, are of Schweinfurth's opinion, *e.g.*, Jules Poncet (VIII, 47) and Petherick (VI, 400).

I took some measurements on twenty Bongo. In height they averaged 169.55 cm. The destruction by fire of many of Schweinfurth's notes may account for his statement that the Bongo were hardly removed from the lowest grade of brachycephaly (round-headedness). My measurements on these twenty Bongo gave an average Cephalic Index of 74.6, which places them in the group of dolichocephalic peoples and on the border line of mesaticephaly (medium-headed).¹

Generally speaking, we may say that in height, complexion, muscular development, structure of limb and shape of the head, as well as language and culture, the Bongo form one people in a large ethno-cultural group of peoples stretching from the Pongo to the Yei, and including the various so-called "Jur" tribes in Rumbek district (Beli, Sopi, Mittu, Lori, Gberi), some of the so-called "Moro" of Amadi district (Namusa, Moro Kodo, Biti, Wira), and the Moro Wadi and Baka of Meridi district, and possibly other peoples. Roughly, this ethno-cultural group of peoples stretches over the whole of the vast area between the Azande to the south and the Dinka and Bari-speaking peoples to the north and east. It is possible

¹ These figures must be, for several reasons, regarded as approximate.

also that it includes some of the tribes absorbed by the Azande and some of the so-called Bari-speaking peoples, as well as the ethnologically little-known population of the Western district, Bahr-el-Ghazal Province.

The Bongo also come into the larger group, classified by Seligman, which includes the entire peoples on the west bank of the Nile outside the Nilotes. His classification is based upon certain common physical and cultural similarities amongst these peoples, the most outstanding common cultural feature being a technique of rain-making with stones. However, this is not the place to discuss such wider questions which may be studied in Seligman's "Some little-known tribes of the Southern Sudan," in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1927.

VII. MUTILATIONS AND DRESS.

"Circumcision is unknown throughout the entire river district" (XII, i, 294) said Schweinfurth. To-day it is coming in from the Azande to the south, who, in their turn, borrowed the custom from the Amadi in the Congo. Seclusion of the initiated in the bush, the circumcision dances and songs, and the various other customs connected with the rite as it is practised amongst the Azande are now part of Bongo social life, at least in parts if not throughout Bongo country. (For an account of Zande Circumcision Customs see Brock's article in SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. I, No. 4.)

Both sexes remove usually four, sometimes two, lower incisors. This takes place, according to my information, before or about the time of puberty, according to Schweinfurth's account, as soon as the milk teeth have been replaced by the permanent ones (XIII. i, 294). In the removal of the four lower incisors they have another cultural feature in common with the tribes mentioned above.

There is a well-known description of Bongo women by Schweinfurth :

"The men . . . wear an apron of some sort of skin, and recently have adopted a strip of stuff, which they fasten to the girdle that is never missing, allowing the ends to hang over before and behind . . . The Bongo women . . . merely replenish their wardrobe every morning by a visit to the woods . . . a supple bough with plenty of leaves, more often than not a bough of the Combretum, and perhaps a bunch of fine grass, fastened to the girdle, is all they consider

necessary. Now and then a tail, like a black horse-tail, composed of the bast of the sansevieria, is appended to the back of the girdle . . . All full-grown women attain such an astounding girth of body, and acquire such a cumbrous superabundance of flesh, that it is quite impossible to look at them without observing their disproportion to the men. Their thighs are often as large as a man's chest . . . I can vouch for it that women who weigh twenty stone are far from scarce." (XII, i, 294-6.)

"Not infrequently the men deck themselves out in female ornaments. Many cover the rims of their ears with copper rings and crescents; others pierce the upper lip like the women, and insert either a round-headed copper nail or a copper plate, or, what is still more general, some rings or a bit of straw. The skin of the stomach above the waist is often pierced by the men, and the incision filled up with a bit of wood, or occasionally by a good-sized peg . . . As soon as a woman is married the operation commences of extending her lower lip. This, at first only slightly bored, is widened by inserting into the orifice plugs of wood, gradually increasing in size, until at length the entire feature is enlarged to five or six times its original proportions. The plugs are cylindrical in form, not less than an inch thick . . . By this means the lower lip is extended horizontally till it projects far beyond the upper, which is also bored and fitted with a copper plate or nail, and now and then by a little ring, and sometimes by a bit of straw about as thick as a lucifer match . . . Similar bits of straw are inserted into the edges of the nostrils, and I have seen as many as three of these on either side . . . The greatest coquettes among the ladies wear a clasp or cramp at the corners of the mouth . . . The plug in the lower lip of the married women is alone a *sine qua non*, serving as it does for an artificial distinction of race." (XII, i, 296-8.) (See wood-cuts in text and XIII, Tab. iii).

"The Bongo women limit their tattooing to the upper part of the arm. Zigzag or parallel lines, or rows of dots, often brought into relief by the production of proud flesh after the operation has been accomplished, are the three forms which in different combinations serve as marks of individual distinction. The men tattoo themselves differently, and some of them abstain from the operation altogether. At one time the lines

run across the breast and stomach to one side of the body ; at another, they are limited to the top of the arm, whilst it is not at all unusual for the neck and shoulder-blades to be tattooed." (XII, i, 298.)

I saw none of these large lower lip-pegs to-day in Bongo country, and of all the peoples related to the Bongo, I have only heard of their existence amongst the "Löli Jurs" on the old Toinya-Meridi road and amongst a section of the Bongo proper, the Dogodjo tribe, who live, I believe, on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road. The only mutilations which I saw amongst the Bongo were the very small holes in nose and ears for insertion of pieces of grass. It is probable that whilst the large lip-plugs have altogether ceased to be used since the time when Schweinfurth visited the country, they were even then never more than a local custom. Thus Petherick tells us : " We had now reached the southern confines of Dor territory, which, from north to south, extends about three hundred and fifty miles. The language, habits and customs of the various communities of this tribe were similar to those described on its northern frontier and Djau, the only remarkable difference being in the mountain district traversed between Neare and Umbolea, where the women did not distort their features by the use of the ornament worn in the under lip." (VI, 454.) Probably, also, the Bongo of Biselli district whom Junker referred to in this respect were the Dogodjo tribe mentioned above. Junker says : " Some of the Bongo women in these parts (Biselli district) wear enormous wooden pegs from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter in their under-lip. Apparently to give support to this heavily-weighted member, they often let it rest on the knee when assuming a squatting position." (V, 83.)

With regard to ornamentation Schweinfurth remarks that " very few are the people of Central Africa amongst whom the partiality for finery and ornaments is so strongly shown as with the Bongo." (XII, i, 296.) Apart from the rings, bells, clasps, buttons, which the women affix to their ears, lips, and the hair-pins which they use, they wear on their necks an accumulation of cords and beads. (XII, i, 282 and 296.) The men prefer necklaces on which they string little fragments of wood and roots, talons of owls and eagles, teeth of dogs, crocodiles and jackals, little tortoise-shells, and claws of the earth pig (XII, i, 296.) It is evident that some of these things have a magical purpose. Speaking of men, he says : " On the wrist and upper part of the arm they wear

iron rings of every pattern ; some rings are cut out of éléphant hide and look almost as though they were made of horn." (XII, i, 297.)

" The decoration of which the men are proudest is the *dangabor*, which simply means ' rings one above another ' . . . Each separate ring is furnished with a boss of a height and strength to correspond with the ring next to it, the rings themselves being forged so as to become gradually larger in proportion as they are further from the wrist. The arm is thus covered with what may be described as a sleeve of mail, each ring of which can be turned round or displaced at pleasure." (XII, i, 282.) (See wood-cut in text.)

Women like masses of iron and copper rings on their wrists and arms and ankles (XII, i, 298). Feathered head-gear is worn on the occasion of a feast or dance (XII, i, 295).

" For the purpose of plucking out their eyebrows and eyelashes, they employ a pair of little pincers called ' *peenoh*.' " (XII, i, 281.) (See wood-cut in text and XIII, Tab. iv.)

VIII. HISTORY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

It is, perhaps, well to remember that in attempting to reconstruct the history of any African tribe that most of the reconstruction must be guesswork of varying degrees of probability. For Bongo history of the last sixty years we have scanty contemporary accounts by travellers. Before these accounts we have to rely for the material for historical reconstruction on the little evidence afforded by physical characteristics and language, culture and the geographical distribution of allied tribes. On what little evidence we possess I am inclined to give the Bongo with their relations the " Jurs " of Rumbek district, the Baka, the Mittu and other peoples a more southern home than their present one, probably in the basin of the Uelle river in the Congo. We know with more than the usual amount of probability, thanks to the labours of de Calonne (De Calonne—Beaufaict. See " Bibliography, II ") that some three or four centuries ago there were a series of invasions from the N.W. by peoples who speak what the French writers call Sudanian languages : the Madi, Bangba, Barambo and others. These peoples swept over the basin of the Uelle in a series of waves driving other peoples before them in all directions and creating, in consequence, an appalling ethnic

confusion on the west bank of the Nile. Thus, for example, the Moro were cut off from their relatives the Madi and Lugbware.

The last and most powerful of these waves of invasion were the Azande, who, in their turn, split up some of the preceding invaders, *e.g.*, the Mundu were separated from the Bangba. One of the results of these invasions is that we have little isolated pockets of peoples dotted about the area, which act as milestones in their past history. It appears that there used to be a pocket of Bongo on the Congo, just north of the Bomokandi River, where they were signalised by Casati. Their position is marked on one of de Calonne's maps. Casati is quite definite in his information that he discovered "A colony of Bongo people who had settled there a long time ago, and retained the language and traditional customs of their ancestors." He says that they showed a marked physical contrast to the other natives of this area. (I, 102 and II, Map.) I shall not go further into the larger aspects of these ethnic shiftings, since they concern a number of peoples and the subject may more suitably be dealt with in a paper specially devoted to it.

It must be remembered that when we begin to get our first scanty accounts of the Bongo from travellers' accounts, we are reading about the remnant of a once large group of tribes occupying an immense area. These travellers did not see the Bongo till after the process of detribalization was already far advanced. Moreover, they did not come into close contact with native life, but made their observations from the zeribas of the slave raiders. It is difficult for us, therefore, to get more than a rough general picture of Bongo tribal life before the arrival of the Arabs.

The Bongo were divided into a large number of tribes who all spoke the same language but who were often separated from one another by perhaps thirty to fifty miles of uninhabited bush. Each tribe lived along the banks of a stream or in the neighbourhood of reliable water-holes, and the bush country which separated it from other tribes was waterless in the dry season and a swamp during the period of the rains. Consequently, the social and political life of each tribe was distinct from that of others. They did not act together in any undertakings. Sometimes there were inter-tribal feuds, but these were restricted by distance to two or three tribes who lived near enough to each other to make hostilities feasible.

Then came the Arabs, who entirely altered the distribution of population as well as changed the life of the Bongo. Whole tribes left their homes and either came to live near the zeribas of the slave-raiders or sought refuge from them by migrating to Dinka country to the north-east, where they were, to some extent, protected from the Arabs. Others seem to have been completely wiped out by slavery and starvation. During this period in their history each tribe led its own isolated career. Of this wholesale change and destruction Schweinfurth remarked that very many of the Bongo habits were disappearing in consequence of the oppression to which they were subject. "My attention," he says, "was rather arrested by what were memorials of a bygone and happier condition of things, than by anything that was really done under my eyes." He felt certain that Bongo culture would soon disappear for good. This opinion was formed over half a century ago. (XII. i, 259-60, 314.) A later account by Dr. Wilhelm Junker is written in the same vein :—

"The Bongos, Jurs, Dinkas, etc., that Schweinfurth, Heuglin and Petherick saw in the full flower of their national life, were threatened not only with the loss of their independence, but of their very existence, their customs totally changed by the rude force they had to contend with, and their national characteristics fast dying out." (V. 429, 1875-78.)

Perhaps the most graphic account of the destruction wrought by the slave and ivory traders and its effect on native life is to be found in the account of Heuglin (IV, *passim*).

After the Arabs came the Azande. The Bongo, politically ill-organized and completely broken by the years of Arab misrule, were unable to put up a prolonged resistance against the well-organized Zande monarchies of Gbudwe, Mange, and Tembura, which had largely escaped the worst effects of the slaver period. At one time they seem to have united and to have been able to repulse Zande attacks. There is a story that after the Arabs had left the country and the period of Zande invasion was commencing, the tribes who then lived to the west of the Tonj River, the Mitu, the Kela, the Ngor, the Ngulupara, the Domuku and other tribes were menaced by a severe famine and were dying from hunger. The Karakiti, Gubi, Dawai and other tribes who lived to the east of the Tonj, in the neighbourhood of Koki, to the south

of Miniobolo, took advantage of the plight of their famine-stricken neighbours and placed quantities of honey on the path which lead to their country. Whenever anyone came to eat it to staunch his hunger, they claimed him as a captive. When the famine had passed, Ngoli, a chief of the Mitu tribe, gathered his neighbours about him, proceeded to cross the Tonj, moving southwards, and built a pallisaded fort at Koki to compel the Karakiti and their allies to give him two captives for every one they had previously taken from his side.

After this Ngoli seems to have united together several of the Bongo tribes and to have built a fort with pallisades and trenches, and to have successfully defied the Azande. As is the Zande custom, Mange, the son of Gbudwe, sent messengers to Ngoli asking him to become his subject and to send him tribute. This Ngoli refused to do, saying that he was a Bongo and would not become subject to the Azande. When Mange's forces attacked the fort they were repulsed with great slaughter. For these tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal basin, such as the Bongo, Moro, "Jurs," Baka, possessed a great military advantage over the Azande. They possessed the bow which, in certain circumstances, is invincible against the spear. The most advantageous position for the arrow-fighter is behind a stockade, and several of these tribes either had always erected such stockades or had learned to do so from the example of the zeribas of the Arabs. A stockaded village, of the type made by Ngoli in this story, if well supplied with arrows and food was almost as untakeable by spear warfare as the mediæval castle was untakeable by the offensive weapons of the period before the fifteenth century. As the Bongo never built their villages far from water they used, if the siege was prolonged, to dig deep holes in the centre of their village and were sure to come to water sooner or later. Crouched behind their stockades, with a round of an animal's skin slipped over their left arms, by a round hole in the middle, to protect the body, they were unapproachable. The possessor of the bow in such a situation is able to wait quietly until one of the enemy exposes himself. The flight of an arrow is swift, it can carry large distances, it can pierce through shields, its poison is quick to work and fatal, and the method of release enables the shooter to remain in shelter. The spear, on the other hand, is a comparatively slow-progressing weapon, it is effective over very small distances, can be easily turned aside or blocked by well-made shields, it is seldom immediately fatal, and its

method of propulsion compels the thrower to come out into the open.¹ These considerations will enable one to understand more clearly how the Zande forces, better organized, both politically and militarily, were able to suffer defeat at the hands of smaller and less organized tribes like the Bongo. Such defeats, however, were only temporary set-backs, as we see, for example, in this history of Ngoli.

The Azande, according to this Bongo story, were thoroughly frightened by the slaughter of Mange's men and made no further attempts to annex Bongo territory. Relieved from the pressure of the enemy, the old tribal disputes broke out once more. The success of Ngoli arouses the jealousy of two other chiefs, Djabir and Malyan (both of the Kela tribe). These two men murdered Ngoli and his son at a feast, driving an elephant spear into his back. Ngoli was a powerful man, and as he lay on the ground he drew out the spear from his back and said that he had been a great chief and that even if they killed him his name would live as that of a great chief. Moreover, he said that his murderers would soon regret his death because many people would die on account of it.

After the death of Ngoli, his murderers, Malyan and Djabir, quarrelled about the leadership of the allied tribes, and many people were killed in the dispute as Ngoli had foretold. The Zande chiefs, hearing that Ngoli was dead and that the Bongo were quarrelling amongst themselves, took heart once more and overran the country.

It is impossible to say how much of this story is history and how much of it is legend. We know for certain that after the Arabs had left the country, Rikita, son of Gbudwe, moved northwards towards Minibolo and subdued one section of the Bongo, with one member of whom, Toin, he made a blood-covenant and gave him a deputyship in his territory; Gede, son of Mange, harassed Bongo country from the most eastern Zande kingdom, taking many captives, who, later, fought in his armies against the Mittu, "Jurs," Moro, Baka, and other tribes; while the most devastating of all the Zande invasions was made by Tembura's armies from the west. Tembura's brother, Selimi, crossed the Sueh and the Tonj to the banks of the Meridi, where he ordered the Gubi, Kela and other Bongo tribes as well as the Mittu, to leave their homes on the banks of

¹ I was informed later by the Rumbek "Jurs" about Bongo methods of warfare and not by the Bongo themselves.

the Meridi and to come and live in Tembura's country, between the Sueh and the Iba. They put up no resistance, and obeyed Selimi's orders. It was only after the English occupation of the country that they returned from Tembura's kingdom to their present homes near Tonj.

The outstanding point which the history of the Bongo brings to view is the lack of organization between the different tribes. Even to-day many of the tribes are still as localized and lead as isolated a tribal life as the Government will allow them to do. Thus, whilst Bongo homesteads line the old Tonj-Yambio road on either side, and one passes without any very noticeable break from the dwellings of the Kela tribe to those of the Gubi, and from those of the Gubi to the homesteads of the Karakiti (probably the largest tribe to-day), there is very little intercourse between these sections. They seldom intermarry, and take little interest in one another's affairs. This isolation of tribal life is due, I believe, to an age-long territorial separation and traditional hostility and suspicion. For in the past some injury done by one man, such as adultery, to a man of a different tribe, led to feuds and inter-tribal warfare. Thus, there used to be frequent fighting between the Gubi and the Dawai sections about women, as the territories of the two tribes bordered on each other. On the other hand, whilst the Karakiti had disputes with the Dinka, they were too far removed from the other Bongo to fight with them. Also, each tribe had its own hunting areas, and men of one tribe preferred to allow a wounded animal to escape rather than pursue it into the area of a neighbouring tribe where they might be attacked, especially if there was any bad blood between the two tribes.

Though Schweinfurth mentions the lack of cohesion amongst the Bongo tribes (XII, i, 258), it is most strikingly alluded to in Petherick's book :—

"The Dor acknowledge no superior chief, and the tribe is divided into separate communities; and these, although living . . . in close proximity, look upon each other as almost separate tribes, holding little or no communication." (VI, 403).

He gives a description of an inter-tribal fight arising from a hunting dispute (VI, 403-7). In another passage he says :—

"No inducements could induce them (the Bongo) to perform more than one day's journey with me; and although members of one great

tribe, such were the animosities of the inhabitants of the separate villages towards each other, that nothing but the assurance of my protection could induce them to enter neighbouring villages." (VI, 445.)

The Gubi, Kela and Karakiti tribes referred to above, are, to-day, probably numerically superior to other tribes, and this is one of the reasons for their keeping more apart. On the Wau-Tonj road the tribes are more mixed and are much interspersed with Azande. Probably, also, in the case of the Karakiti, continued isolation is in part due to the fact that they for long lived in Dinka country, whereas the other tribes have been subject to Azande.

Schweinfurth said that the Bongo of his day were no longer separated into various tribes, but I fancy he was mistaken. To-day the following tribes exist, and they are probably less than half of the existing tribes: Gir, Kolongo, Dobor, Domor, Karakiti, Mor, Gubi, Domuku, Kere, Ngudu, Kolanda, Moro, Nguru, Mbor, Muku, Dogodjo, Dawai, Kela, Bio, Landa, Mbelembe, Ngulumbeli, Lelo, Dobodo, Ngongo, Bobur, Ngboku, Ngbanguru, Ngelo, Babagimi, Gomono, Ngulupara (possibly the Ngulfala tribe which Schweinfurth said had ceased to exist), Mokobi, Neri, Longo.

The Bongo word for tribe is *kohu*, and one asks, "What is your tribe?—*kohé yéki?*" Each tribe is divided into a number of clans. Thus, for example, Osman, one of the chiefs of the Karakiti, gave me the following clans of his tribe:—Dohilu, Yeri, Nguku, Molokor, Dola, Mbaiya, Gola, Ngelo, Budo, Ngwiyemba, Bobo, Koiyo, Dobodu. To give one more example, Zungambia, a chief of the Gubi tribe, gave me the following list of clans of his tribe:—Dogoi, Gege, Landa, Lelo, Nyongo, Biyo, Dongbeli, Ngulu, Mberi, Kele. In both these instances probably the chiefs gave me some and not all of the clans of each tribe.

I do not know what the clan is called in Bongo. It is an exogamous totemic grouping. A man may not marry any woman from the clans of his father or his mother. Whilst a man can, and generally does, marry into his own tribe, certain of the clans appear to be more closely related than others, and observe the rules of exogamy between them. Thus, amongst the Gubi tribe, I was told that a Dogoi will not marry a Gege and a Gege will not marry a Landa, and a Biyo will not marry an Ngulumberi though they will marry into other clans of the Gubi tribe.

A man also observes the totemic taboos of his clan. Thus, the Mata clan of the Dai tribe will not eat guinea fowl or *digidig* (*gbafu* in Zande) and an animal called *mbandua* in Zande. All the clans have certain animals which they will not eat, and in the light of this one must modify Schweinfurth's statement that the Bongo will eat anything, with the exception of the flesh of men and dogs (XII, i, 274). They will not eat the totemic animal, they say, because if anyone did so he would be stricken with various illnesses, the chief of which seems to be blindness. Some people say that leprosy is the penalty of breaking the taboo, but it is possible that this idea has come in from the Azande. A common totem is not a bar to marriage between two clans. All my informants denied without hesitation that the Bongo passed at death into an animal.

It was only just before leaving Bongo country that I found that they possessed totems; through not asking them the question in the right way, I had not discovered this earlier. Consequently, I found out very little about Bongo totemism. I fancy that there is very little to find out, and that the taboo on eating the clan animal is the main feature of totemism amongst all this group of peoples who are related to the Bongo, as well as amongst the Bongo themselves. However, here is a question which should certainly be probed into further, and I would draw the attention of any future visitor or resident in Bongo country to the desirability of clearing up the point.

The Bongo clans seem to have been territorial groups as well as groups of blood relatives. Each occupied its own area of the tribe. In this area were small stockaded villages in which lived a man and his brothers and sons and uncles and cousins, with their wives and children, some twenty, thirty or forty souls in each village, "under the same tree," as the Bongo say, as the centre of each village was usually marked by a large tree, often a fig tree. Some hundred yards away was another village of the same clan and tribe. These stockaded villages, *be molo kaga*, were probably similar to those which were to be seen a few years ago in Rumbek district amongst the "Jurs." In Schweinfurth's time they had already disappeared, for he says that:—

"In the period when the Khartoumers first made their way into the country, the Bongo, quite unlike the other tribes, inhabited extensive villages, which, similar to the present zeribas, were encompassed by a

palisade. Neither towns nor villages are now to be seen, and the districts which are occupied at all are only marked by scattered enclosures and little gatherings of huts, as in the country of the Dinka and the Niam-niam. Very rarely are more than five or six families resident in the same locality . . . The communities in past times seem to have had a preference for gathering round some great tamarind, ficus, or butter-tree . . . " (XII, i, 275.) (See illustration of Bongo village in XII, ii, 461 and IV, 192.)

Petherick writes about Bongo villages :—

" In the centre of the village is a large circus, where, on a tree, their war trophies—the skulls of the slain—are suspended. Beneath it, large tom-toms, made of hollow trunks of trees, well finished and strung with dressed buffalo hides, were used only on occasions of universal rejoicing, or to sound the alarm in time of war . . . The village was prettily situated at the foot of a hill, around which were two or three other villages, this forming the entire community of a large district . . . " (VI, 401-2.)

Heuglin, who preceded Schweinfurth in this area, says that the Bongo were divided into many small family groups, and that since they were almost exclusively agricultural they had little need for larger villages. He saw no homesteads which numbered more than 30 huts, but he often noticed a fair number of such homesteads in a small compass (IV, 194).¹ In view of Heuglin's account and what Petherick tells us it may be regarded as doubtful whether previous to Arabs' rule the Bongo ever lived in " palisaded " and " extensive villages." Schweinfurth himself never saw them with his own eyes, but was evidently relying upon information given by traders who are generally quite unreliable. I failed to convince myself from the statements of the Bongo to-day whether their ancestors lived in such villages or not, since they professed to be ignorant about the matter.

To-day each family lives in a separate homestead, and neighbouring homesteads are manned by relatives or relatives-in-law.

¹ " Die Dor theilen sich in viele kleinere Qabeil oder Familien-Zunächst um unsere Zeribah wohnen die zu jenem stamm gehörigen Bongo, weiter nördlich die Dambo. Da diese Völkerschaften fast ausschliesslich von Feldbau leben, haben sie weniger das Bedürfniss, sich in grössere Gemeinden und Ortschaften zu vereinigen. Ich sah deren keine welche mehr als 30 Hütten gezählt hatte. Doch findet man oft ziemlich viele solche Gehöfte auf einem kleinen Bezirk." (IV, 194.)

IX. CHIEFS AND RAIN-MAKERS.

About chiefs, Schweinfurth tells us :—

" Each village simply had its chief, who, in virtue of superior wealth, exercised a certain authority over the rest of the inhabitants, and who, in some cases, had an additional prestige from his skill in the art of magic." (XII, i, 258.)

In another place, he seems to equate this magic skill with their knowledge of black magic (XII, i, 306). In an already quoted passage Petherick writes that "the Dor acknowledge no superior chief." (VI, 403.) Heuglin tells us that the chief was the richest and most distinguished man in the village or district, and that the office appears originally to have been hereditary. The chiefs who were recognised by the traders, nevertheless, had little power and influence. The hut of a chief was marked by a big drum and a wooden trumpet standing outside. (IV, 195.)¹

Certainly the Bongo chiefs (*nyeri*) never had great executive authority, but rather they seem to have been men who were listened to in matters of law, and acted as leaders in inter-tribal feuds. I gathered that there might be more than one *nyeri* in a tribe and that, as Schweinfurth says, he was little more than an affluent man whose father and grandfather had also exercised a limited authority over a number of villages in a small area. There was, undoubtedly, a tendency for chieftainship to become hereditary in certain families. The chief was assisted by other old men in the exercise of his judicial functions. Those under his authority do not seem to have rendered him any dues nor to have made him gifts nor assisted him in economic undertakings.

It is very likely that those chiefs whom Schweinfurth said had additional prestige from their skill in the art of magic were really rain-makers. It is true that he states in a sentence, the meaning of which is a trifle ambiguous, that "The practice of fetching down rain is never pretended to by the Bongo chiefs, and may be said to be absolutely unknown; but probably this may rise from the climate so rarely making

¹ "Ihr Oberhaupt ist gewöhnlich der Reichste und Angesehenste eines Dorfes oder einer Gegend. Die Häuptlingswürde scheint ursprünglich erblich gewesen zu sein. Jetzt bestätigt der Handelsmann oder Agent diese Mescheich (plur. von Schech, Ortsvorstand), doch haben sie wenig Macht und Einfluss. Vor den Hütten des Schech, der immer mehrere Weiber und Sklavinnen hat sind die Wahrzeichen seiner Würde aufgefianzt: einige grosse Noquarah (hölzerne Trommeln und ein trompetenartiges Instrument. . . ." (IV, 195.)

it necessary to put their skill in this respect to the test" (XII, i, 306); but I have no doubt that he was mistaken in this assertion.¹ This doubt is not dispersed by a similar assertion by Henglin (IV, 196).²

They certainly have rain-makers to-day, and all the evidence I gathered on the subject points to the conclusion that they must also have had rain-makers in Schweinfurth's day, though it is just possible that they learnt the art from the "Jurs" of Rumbek district.

It would, indeed, be surprising if the Bongo were to lack rain magic. Their country is parched for a great part of the year and they have to rely on water from the rivers, from holes dug in the ground (*goda*), which provide a small quantity of dirty, smelling water in the early mornings, and from swamps where the stinking remains of rainy-season water have gathered (*ho*). Even in the rainy-season the drinking supply is often drawn from a hole in the rocky surface of stone outcrops. There is probably neither the quantity nor the regularity of the rainfall which is enjoyed by tribes further south. Moreover, the Bongo are essentially an agricultural people, and naturally enough have a deep interest in rain. In such circumstances we should expect to find rain magic playing a prominent rôle in the culture of a people.

A few days before I left Bongo country I heard about an old man who made rain by means of his medicines which he gathered in the bush, but when I asked whether he could come and have a chat with me, I was told that he was ill, which was quite true, and that in consequence he could not come. As I was very busy I put off going to see him in his own home until the evening of the last day of my visit to Bongo country. I was, therefore, unable to check what he told me, and many questions which I had forgotten to ask him occurred to me later.

This man, Surur by name, is the real traditional rain-maker of the country. Though I spoke with him through an interpreter, using Zande, he was an excellent and direct informant, and I much regretted

¹ It must be remembered that though we are compelled to use travellers' accounts in the ethnological compilations for want of more reliable data, and while these have the advantage that their writers were unbiassed observers without any ethnological axes to grind, they are extremely inaccurate. They can seldom be relied upon for any descriptions other than those of material culture. They have a bad habit of uncritically copying previous accounts.

² "Nie hörte ich, das die Dor-Häuptlinge zugleich Regenmacher und Zauberer sind, wie viele bei den Bari und anderen Stämmen am oberen weissen Strome." (IV, 196).

that I was unable to pay him another visit. He told me the following myth to account for the existence of rain-making magic :—

A long time ago a man called Dudu fell from the sky with his stool and his pot for making medicine and in the pot his rain-stones. He was found sitting in one of the villages of the Kolongo tribe. When the people of this tribe saw him sitting on his stool with metal bracelets on his arms and his medicine pot by his side, they asked him from where he had come. As he made no reply to their questions they called a small child and told him to ask the stranger from where he had come. He replied to the child that he had fallen from the sky. The Kolongo gave him a place to live in under a granary, and they brought him goats and hens and termites to eat. Dudu lived to an old age with the Kolongo, and before his death he left the knowledge of his magic with the Kolongo, Dai, and Mitu tribes, for these three tribes were related, being sprung from one father and one mother. Of these clans to-day, the Mitu¹ are extinct, the Dai are represented in rain-making by Surur of the Maha clan, and the Kolongo are represented by Kpoiyo. I know nothing about Kpoiyo, whether he has rain-stones or not.

Surur said that he would make rain on his own initiative if he thought that it was needed, but that often a band of people would come with presents of corn and meat and termites and oil and spears and hoes to give to him. They arrived at night, never by day, and one of them would take a spear and beat it on the door-post of the rain-maker's hut, so that his wife came out to find out what was the matter. His wife asked them what they had come for, and went to her husband's hut and told him that people had come with presents, wanting rain. He told them to leave the things which they had brought and to go away to their homes without anyone seeing them, and to send a young man from among their number in the morning.

When the young man came on the morning of the next day, the rain-maker took oil and anointed the body of the young man with it. He then took a strip of the inner bast of a shrub called *kpoiyo* in Zande, placed it in the water of his water-pot, bound his ankle with it and told him to go home without uttering a word. If anyone asked him what he was doing or from where he was coming or to where he was going, he was to

¹ These Mitu are a tribe of the Bongo and not the Wetu (Mittu) people mentioned by Schweinfurth and other travellers.

make no reply. He was to go straight to a water-hole in a stone outcrop and was there to take off the cord from his ankle and place it in the water-hole. He was then to go home and to remain in silence, and the next day the rain would come. If the rain did not fall as was expected, it was because the rain-maker was angry and was withholding it. I was told that he would never be beaten or in any other way annoyed if the rain did not fall, because if you illtreated the rain-maker, rain would never fall, and everybody would die from the ensuing drought. Rather the people brought him more presents that he might be appeased and make rain to fall. Other people told me that if the drought continued, in spite of the rain-maker's efforts, they would send for Surur and would throw oil, made from the crushed stones of butter-tree fruits, over his head and body, so that it trickled from his face and trunk and kept on dripping off him as he went home. This would ensure rain coming on the next day.

As it was near sunset and I wanted to take some photographs, I asked Surur if he would let me see his rain-stones and tell me about his medicines *in situ*. He told me that he used to have several long magic whistles (some 5 or 6 inches) made from his special medicine wood. These whistles were slightly bored at one end and he used to scrape in the bore with a knife and knock out a little sawdust into his hand and eat it. However, one of the Mamurs at Tonj some time ago made a raid upon his house and burnt his whistles.

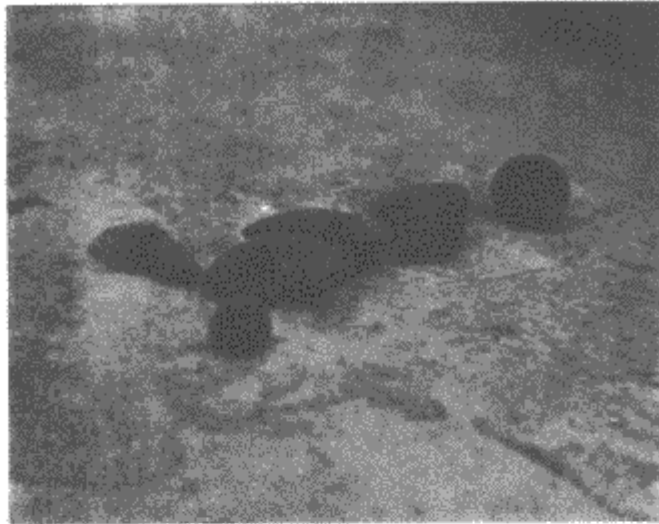
The rain-stones seem either to have been allowed by or to have escaped the Mamur, and Surur took me to see them on condition that I did not touch them, which I promised not to do. They were lying in an old pot (or possibly sherd) which appeared to be let partly into the earth under the verandah of his hut. On the left side of the pot, as one looked at it, was a heap of his hair, and between the hair and the verandah post a small bundle of inner bark (of either the *kpoiyo* or the *dakpwa* shrubs as the Azande call them). On the right side of the pot was a deep mass of his hair, partly covered by earth. He could not, like other people, just throw his hair away when it was cut, but he had to collect it all carefully and place it near his medicine pot.

In the pot were the rain-stones and nothing else, and he was kind enough to take them out and lay them on the ground so that I could see them. He also permitted me to photograph them, but since he

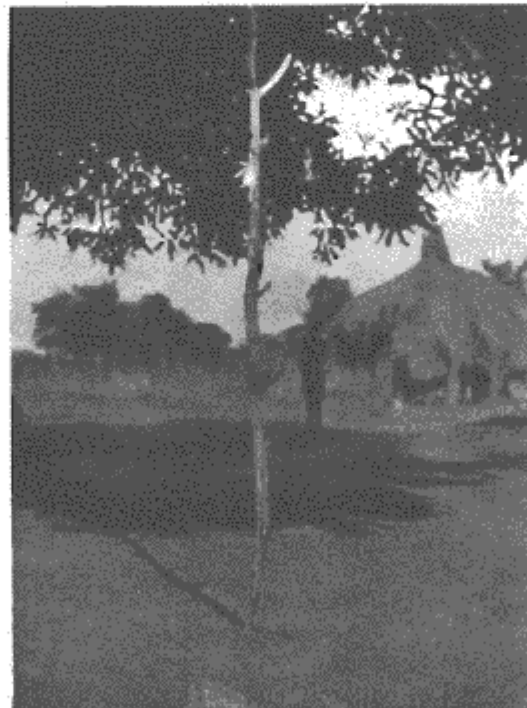
would not allow me to finger them, it was difficult to estimate their qualities well, especially as they were thick with dirt and age. However, they were certainly primitive stone implements. There were five axe-heads, one of which appeared to be flaked condition, and the rest ground finished axe-heads. They were from about two to about four or five inches long. There were also two round stone balls, perhaps some nine inches in circumference, which had possibly been used as stone hammers. There was another small stone which was also probably an axe-head. I was later told that whenever a new stone was found the rain-maker would add it to his collection.

Before I describe his technique in rain-making, I will say that these stones, called *landa loma*, "stones of Loma," are also used for rain-making amongst the "Jurs" of Rumbek district and amongst the Mittu. Such stones are also found amongst the Azande and throughout the Northern Congo generally, though there is no evidence that they have any association with rain-making. But all over the country where they are found there are unmistakable rock holes where the instruments have been fashioned. I intend to deal in another place and at some length with the subject of these primitive instruments and workshops in the Southern Sudan rather than in this paper, since they do not concern the Bongo alone. I will content myself with simply pointing out here also that rain-making by the use of stones, though probably not primitive stone implements as amongst the "Jurs," Mitu and Bongo, have been signalled from the Nuba mountains, from the Bari-speaking tribes, from the Madi, the Latuka, and the Acholi peoples. The ethnological significance of this distribution has already been discussed by Professor Seligman in his Presidential Address referred to above. (X, *passim*.)

In making rain the Bongo rain-maker first went into the bush and dug up the various roots which were required and placed them in his pot, and then placed the stones on top of the roots. He then drew some water from a rock water-hole and poured it on top of the stones into the pot. He next took some leaves of a creeper, called *badangi* in Zande, one of the largest creepers in this part of Africa, dipped them into the water and threw the water into the east and rain would come on the following day. This account is obviously very incomplete, for, as everyone knows who has tried it, it is impossible to get a complete account or one free from minor misunderstandings, or one accurate in



BONGO RAIN-STONES.



Riyah RAIN-POST. ON THE POST ARE A HEAD OF MAIZE
AND FRUIT OF *Mapiang* MEDICINE.

chronology of events, in a single short sitting with a native informant. But all the same, I fancy that the above account is correct, in so far as it goes. It does not, however, go very far, and it is important to make more enquiries into the technique of Bongo rain-making.

Surur told me that he was called upon to produce rain for hunting as well as for agriculture. In the rainy season the Bongo hunt with nets (see under "Hunting"), and in such hunting one must have a preliminary shower of rain to see the spoor of animals on the ground. If one intends to hunt and awaits rain in vain, he may either go with a present to the rain-maker, or he may send for him to come and drink beer. When the rain-maker has drunk beer he will take a piece of bast-cord (from the shrub called *dakpwa* in Zande), will chew it, spit it out and make a piece of cord from it, which he binds round the wrist of the hunter. Rain will come on the following day. This procedure also appears to embody hunting magic, ensuring that the hunter will not only have rain, but will also be sure of a successful hunt. It is possible that people come to the rain-maker for simple hunting magic unconnected with rain, but I am not certain whether this is the case or not. There is a similar ceremony when someone comes or sends for the rain-maker because he wants rain for his crops. People appear sometimes to act individually in this manner. Before he leaves the beer-party, the rain-maker is anointed with oil from the shea butter tree. He will then chew and make a small piece of cord from the inner bark of a shrub (called *kpoiyo* in Zande), and will tie it round the wrist of the applicant for rain, upon whose garden rain will fall on the following day.

His medicine also has special virtue in war. The rain-maker is always a successful warrior, on account of his medicine and his possession of *Loma* (see later). If he went out with only a handful of men against overwhelming numbers of the enemy, his men would go out from him on either side and drive back and slaughter their foes.

The person of the rain-maker is "sacred." No one would strike him, as this would result in grievous illness. No one will touch those beside him, his "flies" as he calls them, as this would result in mortal sickness. His house also is sanctuary. Surur told me also that one of his rain-stones, only one, was used by people in legal cases. Both the plaintiff and the defendant would swear by the stone and the one who was lying would surely die. There is certainly an association of holiness

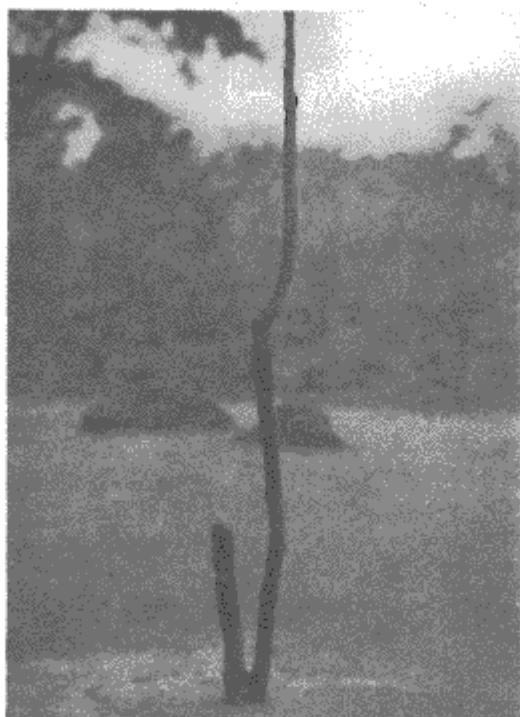
about the rain-maker on account of his medicines, but more, I think, on account of his possession of *loma*, for he is a *be Loma*, a possessor of *Loma*. I am in some doubt as to what exactly we are to understand by *Loma*. It is certainly a spiritual conception, probably the most important spiritual being in Bongo Cosmogony, and one which we should translate "God." The Bongo "God" appears, however, to be *otiose* (see under "Religion"). I did not gather whether the rain-maker is thought to have the spirit of a previous rain-maker in him or not.

Surur told me that a *be loma*, or rain-maker, was not necessarily a chief, but that he was sometimes a chief and always a man of note and of great prestige, not only in his tribe, but in other tribes as well. Surur himself is the son of Bolo, son of Dogboko, son of Bomadol, and comes of a line of chiefs. I understand that his father, Bolo, was the main chief of the Bongo before they were placed under Luo and Dinka chiefs. I regard it as more than probable that the rain-makers were really the chiefs whom Schweinfurth referred to as exercising special prestige on account of their magic. Such is the case amongst the "Jurs" of Rumbek district and the Moro, or a section of them, in Amadi district, and there can be little doubt that such was also the case amongst the Bongo before the Arab invasion and the advent of the present administration.¹

Other methods of rain-making have entered Bongo country in late years from the Dinka, or possibly from the Luo. Sometimes on the roads one will see posts erected under a large tree. These generally have some medicine or food stuck on their branches. All around the post the ground is neatly swept and kept clean, and is apparently used for dancing. There is one of these shrines on the Wau road under a butter-tree, and hanging on it are some maize heads and some fruits of *mapiang* medicine (see under "Magic"). The post is called *riyak* and the officiator in the rain-ceremony is called *biriak*.² I was told that these were Dinka words. My informants said that when there was no rain in the rainy season and the people feared for the crops, they would send for the *biriak* and everyone would collect under the tree near the shrine, and would bring durra in their hands. The durra is boiled under the tree and water is brought from the river. I gathered that the water

¹ It is just possible that the Bongo learnt about rain-stones from the "Jurs." Some of the "Jurs" of Rumbek district said that this was the case, but they were not representative of the general consensus of opinion.

² *Biriak* is possibly a composite word, since *bi* (possessor of) looks like a Bongo prefix.



Rtyak RAIN-POST WITH *Linga* NOTCHED STAKE
AT ITS BASE

was poured on to the boiled durra and it was then thrown into the air and amongst the assembled people. As the *biriak* throws the durra into the air he cries, "*mini aiba, mini aiba, toro aiba, toro aiba!*" "Water come, water come, rain come, rain come!" I could not discover any good reason for any particular man being selected to perform the ceremony, and I believe that whilst one or two persons generally act as *biriak*, there is nothing to prevent others from doing so.

There is another of these posts, with a medicine post (*see* under "Magic"), called *lingi*, placed under it, on the Tonj-Rumbek road. I saw a third shrine on the old Tonj-Yambio road. This was not a simple post like the others which I saw, but was a somewhat elaborate shrine such as the Azande build for the ancestral spirits, and which they call *Tuka*. It was made of *kolome* wood and was situated under a *mama* tree. The ground all around it was well swept. There were some maize cobs, with the seed partly eaten by birds, tied over the shrine, and in the basket-shaped head of the shrine itself were some ground-nuts, and on top of it was an empty cup-gourd.

A woman is the officiator at this shrine, and she told me that her father and mother had not been rain-makers and that she had no rain medicines. Her claim to erect and officiate at the shrine is based on the fact that sometimes she has what appears to be fits, for the spirits lift her up and throw her down to the ground. In the winter she collects water from holes in stone flats and she keeps it in a pot in her house. Then, if there is a drought in the rainy season, she will dream that she is to make rain and will summon the people round to come with foodstuffs. She takes water from her pot in a cup-gourd and, carrying it in her hand to the shrine, she throws it into the air crying, "*Loma, we are dying for lack of water, rain come and fall on us lest we die!*" The woman is a *be loma gubu* which, I believe, means one possessed with the spirits.

The shrine in this instance seems to be a mixture of Zande and Dinka cultures. The placing of the shrine under a tree and the technique are either Luo (Shilluk) or Dinka in origin, whereas the actual shrine itself is of a type to be found in any Zande village, and is connected with ancestor-cult.

Apart from the use of rain-stones and these pole-shrines, there appears to be another Bongo rain-making ceremony. For when I told the Bongo how the Azande behaved in a drought, they replied that they

themselves acted in a similar manner. I am not certain, but I think that this ceremony which I am about to describe is performed before the rain-maker is called upon. Men and women collect durra and probably other foodstuffs and go down to the banks of a neighbouring river and shout for rain, calling on *Loma*, and calling on the rain to come, saying, "Rain come, rain come, we will die from hunger; rain come and fall on our country!"

The only other remark I can add about Bongo rain customs is that I checked Schweinfurth's statement that the Bongo believe that if they were to bury a dead dog no rain would fall, so that they just throw the corpse into the bush (XII, i, 272).

As a stimulus to others, I will give one or two unchecked references about other tribes. It will have been seen from the above account that the Bongo to-day have three different rain ceremonies.

(a) The communal ceremony of throwing durra into the river. I was told that this was an old custom. When at Shambe a Dinka told me that certain sections of the Dinka, when they want rain, collect durra and go down to the river with it and throw it into the river. I understood that this took place under the direction of the rain-maker. Some corroboration of this statement is needed. The Azande also have a ceremony in which they collect the leaves of vegetables, maize heads and hens' eggs, which they take down to the head of a stream. Here they sweep a place clear of undergrowth and place the offerings on the ground.

(b) The post shrines under trees. The Bongo told me that this was a Dinka introduction, but I rather doubt this, and think that it is probably introduced from the Luo (Shilluk-speaking "Jurs"). When talking to some Luo at Tonj they told me that they had an identical ceremony in which durra is boiled near the shrine and then thrown into the air. These Luo said that there was only one rain-maker in their country, whose office was hereditary in his family. Also, when coming by motor from Tembura to Wau I saw several of these posts, as well as the Zande *Tuka* type, under large trees on the road. The ground was always neatly swept all round the trees. This was in Bellanda (Bor) country, and the Bellanda are, like the Luo, a Shilluk-speaking people. It is probable that this is a Luo-Bellanda custom which was introduced a short while ago amongst the Bongo. It is possible that it is also to be

found amongst some of the western Dinka. It would be interesting to know whether it is found amongst the Shilluk proper or any other of the Shilluk-speaking tribes, such as the Anuak or Acholi, or some of the peoples of Fung area.

X. BIRTH AND INFANCY.

Schweinfurth says that :—

"A Bongo woman, as a rule, will seldom be found to have less than five children; the usual number is six, and the maximum twelve.¹ In childbirth she is supported with her arms on a horizontal beam, and is in that position delivered of the child. The navel cord is cut very long with a knife, and always without a ligature. No festivities are observed on the occasion of a birth. The infants are carried on the mothers' backs, sewn up in a bag of goat's-hide, like a water-bottle. The children are kept at the breast until they have completed their second year, weaning being never thought of until they can be trusted to run about. In order to wean a child, the mother's breast is smeared with some acrid matter, and the bruised leaves of some of the *Capparidæ* are mixed with water to a pulp, and have the effect of drying up the milk. Among the Bongo and neighbouring nations there is a custom . . . that forbids all children that are not at the breast to sleep in the same hut with their parents. . . . The elder children have a hut appropriated to themselves, but take their meals with the rest of the family." (XII, i, 302-3.)

I have nothing to add to this account save that twins are not in any way regarded as a misfortune. They are called *runge*.

Schweinfurth says, about naming :—

"As a regular rule, parents name their children after trees or animals, or some object in nature, and it is quite exceptional for any personal peculiarity to be associated with the appellation." (XII, i, 312.)

MARRIAGE.

The information given by Schweinfurth about marriage customs is as follows :—

The number of a man's wives seems to be limited to a maximum of three. The usual price paid for a young girl would be about 10

¹ Schweinfurth cannot possibly have known such details—they can only have been a general impression.

plates of iron weighing two pounds each, and twenty lance tips. In the case of divorce, the father is compelled to make restitution of at least a portion of the bride price. If a man should send his wife back to her father, she is at liberty to marry again. If her husband retains the children, her father is bound to refund the entire wedding gift that he received, however many years had elapsed since the marriage. A woman's barrenness is always grounds for divorce. In cases of adultery the husband endeavours to kill the seducer, and the wife gets a sound flogging. A circumcised man cannot hope to make a good match (XII, i, 301-2).

The Bongo, whom I consulted, denied that girls were or had ever been married with plates of iron, saying that such was the custom of the Beli ("Jurs") and that they always used to marry with from 20 to 40 spears (*mehe*). This may well be a regional difference, as it is hardly likely that Schweinfurth would have been mistaken about so concrete a subject. Moreover, he is supported by Petherick's account (VI, 400). On the other hand, the statement that if the husband keeps the children in divorce the father of the girl must return all the iron he received as a bride-price is surely incorrect, and should read that if the mother keeps the children, then her father will have to return the spears to her husband. Also, I was told that a man would not divorce his wife for barrenness, but would simply take another wife.

When a Bongo chooses a girl whom he thinks that he would like to marry, he sends an old relative to ask her father for his daughter's hand. The father gives a non-committal reply and tells him or her to come again. He then summons his relatives to a family discussion, in which everyone will express their opinions about the desirability of the marriage. If they agree to accept the man, they send again for the old relative who is representing the suitor, and tell him that they consent to the marriage.

The young man will then bring some five or six spears which he will give to his father-in-law, and becomes engaged to the girl. This gives him no rights to any marital or pre-marital sexual relations with her though he may come to pay her visits in her parents' home. Were he to have sexual intercourse with her the marriage would be broken off, and I gathered that the man would forfeit the spears which he had already paid. Instead, the man collects his spears one by one until he has some 15 to 20 spears when he brings them to his prospective

father-in-law. The girl, who, when he became engaged to her was only a few years old, is now a grown woman and is handed over to him as his wife. I understand that amongst the Bongo a man does not give spears to his relatives every now and again in twos and threes, but that he makes two main payments, at engagement and at marriage. A man calls his wife *kumara ma* (*kumara*=woman, *ma*=my) and a woman calls her husband *budu ma* (*budu*=man, *ma*=my).

Marriage may be broken off for a variety of reasons. If a man does not work hard enough for his parents-in-law, for he is expected to build them huts, to assist them in hoeing their garden, to hunt for them and to perform other incidental labours, the marriage is dissolved by the parents-in-law returning the spears and seeking another young man who is more likely to work for them and make them presents. Another reason for divorce is when the man speaks ill or is said to have spoken hastily about his mother-in-law in some quarrel. If the girl's parents are dissatisfied with him they will take advantage of his hasty words to break off the marriage, whereas, if they wish to be lenient, they will allow their son-in-law to make them a present to atone for his offence.

A man will send his wife away for laziness but not for adultery. For the latter offence, if he catches her in the act, he will beat her, but he would regard it as foolish to get rid of or kill a woman for adultery. Indeed, coming from Zande country, I was amazed by the Bongo's attitude on this subject compared with that of the Zande. If a Bongo can catch a man in the act of committing adultery with his wife, he would probably spear him, or at least could exact compensation of 20 spears. But he would not act unless he actually caught the man committing adultery with his wife. He would not act on the statement of his wife and kill her lover, because she might be deceiving him, and he would then be involved in a feud. In the same way no case was made against a man who invited the wife of another to carnal relations.

Amongst the Bongo, as also in the "Jur" tribes, there is a certain degree of mother-in-law avoidance practised. The mother-in-law is called *morima* and the father-in-law *batuma*. If you meet your *morima* on the path, you must go into the bush a little way to allow her to pass. When she passes you may greet her in a respectful voice over your shoulder, and she will acknowledge your greeting. When you pay a

visit to the house of your wife's parents, you will not eat of your mother-in-law's food. Also you will not sleep in her homestead, but in a neighbouring homestead, where your wife, if she is of age, will come and spend the night with you. The "Jurs" told me, and they suggested that it was probably the same for the Bongo, that when you bring your mother-in-law a present of meat, which you are expected to do from time to time, you will knock with a spear on the door-post and say that you have come with the meat, put it down, and quickly withdraw. If any of these rules of etiquette towards your mother-in-law were to be broken, you would have to pay her a present to quiet her shame.

Often these rules of avoidance last till you have been long married to your wife and have had a child by her, when they are relaxed. But the rule against either son-in-law or mother-in-law eating of the food of the other is ritually broken for good by the payment of a spear or some other payment by the mother-in-law when you visit her house, and by the son-in-law when his wife's mother eats for the first time in his homestead.

The "avoidance" of mother-in-law is another common cultural feature between the Bongo and the "Jurs" and Mittu. Amongst the Beli "Jurs" the young man himself asks for the hand of a girl in marriage, and if he is accepted he brings three hoes as a preliminary payment. He may then have sexual relations with the girl when he comes to see her and to sleep in his father-in-law's home. During this period of engagement he works for his parents-in-law. He brings his brothers to build a hut for his mother-in-law and to hoe her gardens. After the harvest they come again to bind her grain in leaf-bundles. When he kills an animal he gives her a large bundle of meat. After the birth of the first child this work for the parents-in-law will cease.

A man may not during the early days of marriage eat any food in his mother-in-law's homestead. Your brothers may eat it, but you must go and beg food from some neighbour, and when you have eaten it you will return to the house of your parents-in-law to sleep there with your wife. Some few months after marriage your mother-in-law will take pity on your plight, and will give you a goat, so that you may eat, and a hoe, so that you drink, in her house. It seems that sometimes she will do this shortly after marriage so that you may eat and drink in her house, and she promises to give you the goat and hoe later. These

payments are made to quiet the shame which the young man has at eating at his mother-in-law's homestead.

When your mother-in-law comes to see you, you must give her five hoes and a similar amount to your father-in-law, to enable them to eat at your house. Even your wife will not eat in your house unless you give her five spears, which she will later give to her father when she pays him a visit.

Amongst the Gberi section of the "Jurs," who speak the same language as the Mittu, a man will not eat in the presence of his relatives-in-law. When trekking with Gberi carriers towards the Meridi river, I used to gather them together to give them food to eat, but I noticed that two men used always to pick up a pot of gruel and stew and disappear into the bush to eat it. On enquiry I was told that some of their relatives-in-law were present, and that they were not allowed by custom to eat with them.

Another set of customs which I may mention here are those existing between a man and his mother's brother. Here again we have a common cultural feature among this group of tribes, in that a man may "steal" articles from his maternal uncle with impunity and within reason. It will later be shown how among the Bongo all the spears which are paid at a mortuary feast are given by the master of the feast to his sister's sons. On the other hand, the sister's son has corresponding duties to perform towards his mother's brother. To-day, if a youth kills an elephant, he has, by government orders, to give one tusk to the chief, and he will give the other tusk to his maternal uncle. He will also make him presents of meat off any animal which he may kill, and he must give him all leopard and buffalo skins.

The same rules of reciprocity hold also amongst the Beli "Jurs." Amongst this tribe also, when a person dies the father must give 15 hoes, if the dead is a male, to his mother's brother; and, if she is a female, 15 hoes and a goat.

BURIAL.

The corpse is placed in a crouching position, with hands placed between the knees, and knees drawn up to chin. In this position it is bound with leaves and cord. Schweinfurth's statement that "when

the body has been thus compressed into the smallest possible compass, it is sewn into a sack made of skins " (XII, i, 303) was not borne out by the statements of the Bongo whom I questioned on this matter, but it may well have been a past custom or one practised by a different branch of the Bongo. The grave consists of a vertical shaft at one side of which a niche is hollowed out to contain the corpse. I did not see a grave being dug, but its form was drawn for me on the ground in the shape of a circle. Short wooden stakes are placed against the niche entrance and are covered with leaves, which are then plastered on the outside with earth or clay. The corpse thus rests in a neat air-tight chamber. The body itself, having been bound round with the leaves of a shrub (called *kpoiyo* in Zande), is placed upon the skin of an animal (called *nzungbwe* in Zande). The whole shaft is called *gu* (hole) and the niche is called *gigu* (little hole). A grave is *dodo* in Bongo. Schweinfurth says that men face north and women face south (XII, i, 303), but I was told that men face west and women east. The account on which Seligman relied says that the corpse was buried on its right side with head resting on right hand and knees drawn up, and, in the case of men, the corpse faces the east and, in the case of women, the west (IX).

My informants admitted the truth of Schweinfurth's statement that in the old days a heap of stones in a cylindrical form was erected over the grave, and that this was supported by a circle of strong stakes (XII, i, 303). But this is no longer practised to-day, because, say the Bongo, the white ants eat the stakes and, in consequence, the heap of stones falls down, so they gave it up and simply build a pile of stones instead. The old stake-supported grave, called *roti* in Bongo, is still to be seen amongst the neighbouring Bellanda (*Bor*) amongst whom it is the normal grave-form. In this type of grave the stakes are erected first and the stone heap is piled within their circuit. (See illustration of this type of grave in wood-cut XII, ii, 461.)

According to Heuglin (IV, 196), "on the death of a brave warrior his comrades erected a pile of stones on his grave, and this was sometimes surrounded with a fence of rough wood-work and a tree-trunk is set up slanting on it, so that one might imagine that it was a draw-well of the Hungarian Puszta. Circular notches are cut in these beams, each distant some eight inches from the next, and our soldiers maintained that each

such cut, with which the beam was well provided, represented an enemy killed."¹

It has long been known that the Bongo erect carved posts of various forms on the surface of their graves, though the reason for their doing so has never been quite clear. Petherick writes :—

"The several approaches to it (the village) were narrow footpaths, and both sides were ornamented with rough wooden posts, carved into semblances of human figures, four feet apart; the first were largest in size, the others had on their heads wooden bowls. These figures were said to represent the chief proceeding to a festival and followed by his retainers, bearing viands and mau to the feast." (VI, 402.)

Schweinfurth tells us that :—

"The graves are always close to the huts, their site being marked by a number of long forked branches, carved by way of ornament, with numerous notches and incisions, and having their points sharpened like horns. Of these votive stakes I saw a number varying from one to five on each grave. The typical meaning belonging to these sticks has long since fallen into oblivion, and, notwithstanding all my endeavours to become acquainted with the Bongo, and to initiate myself into their manners and customs, I could never discover a satisfactory explanation . . . In answer to my enquiries the Khartoumers merely returned the same answer as they did to my predecessor Heuglin; they persisted in saying that every notch denoted an enemy killed in battle by the deceased. The Bongo themselves, however, repeatedly declared that such was by no means the case. . . ." (XII, i, 304.)

"In the villages there are found very frequently whole rows of figures carved out of wood and arranged either at the entrances of the palisaded enclosures, forming, as it were, a decoration for the gateway, or set up besides the huts of the 'Nyare' (chiefs), as memorials to immortalise the renown of some departed character. In Moody, a district towards the west, I came across the remains (still in a perfect state of preservation)

¹ "Stirbt ein tapferer Krieger, so errichten seiner, Genossen auf dem Grabe eine Steinhäufen, dieser wird zu weilen mit einer kleinen Umzäunung aus rohem Holzwerk umgeben und ein Baumstamm schräg darauf gestellt, so das man glaubt, einen Ziehbrunnen der Ungarischen Puzten vor sich zu haben. In diesem Stamme sind rundum Querschnitte angebracht, einer etwa 8 Zoll von andern entfernt, und unsere Soldaten behaupteten dass jeder solcher Schnitt, der den Baum gleichsam gliedert, einen erschlagenen Feind zu bedeuten habe." (IV, 196.)

of an erection of this sort, which had been reared above the grave of the Bongo chieftain, Yanga. Large as life, the rough-hewn figures represented the chief followed in procession by his wives and children, apparently issuing from the tomb . . . (XII, i, 284 and illustrations XII, i, 285 and XIII, Tab. 8). Plastic representations of men are known generally by the name of 'Moiogohgyee' . . . The true design of these wooden figures is simply to be a memorial of someone who has departed this life: this is proved by the term 'Moiagoh Komarah,' *i.e.*, the figure of the wife, which is applied to an image by a surviving husband to the pious memory of his departed wife, and which is set up in the hut as a species of penates . . . They very often deck the figure with bead necklaces and rings, and affix some hair over the appropriate parts of the body . . . (XII, i, 285-6). In addition, it may be mentioned, that a custom exists of raising a monument of this kind to preserve the memory of any male person who has been murdered. . . . When anyone discovered that either his friend, or it might be his brother, or perhaps his wife, had been killed, and the criminal could not be detected, it was no unknown device to prepare beforehand an image carefully representing the murdered person, and very often the likeness would be singularly perfect. He would then invite all the men to a feast, at which the spirituous 'legye' would be freely circulated; and then, when the excitement was at its height, in the very midst of the singing and dancing, he would unexpectedly introduce the figure that had been prepared. The apparition would be sure to work its effect; the culprit would not fail to be betrayed, as he cowed and exhibited his wish to slink away . . ." (XII, i, 286-7.)

"Besides the Bongo, the Mittoo, too, who resemble them very much in regard to funeral rites, as well as the Sofy on the Rohl river, make such memorial images, which are generally hung with pearl-strings and other ornaments. In Wood's *Natural History of Man*, "The Dor," there are found, on page 500, two wooden figures representing men, which Consul Petherick brought from Bongoland to Europe" (XIII, Text of Tab. 8, Fig. 5)¹.

There is one of these carved Bongo figures in the museum at Khartoum, and a note on it has been published by Professor Seligman.

(1) Captain T. A. Joyce kindly informs me that "the Dor figure in the British Museum was given by Franks in 1871, and is the original of the right-hand picture in Wood. Franks bought it from Warcham, whose name is mentioned by Wood."

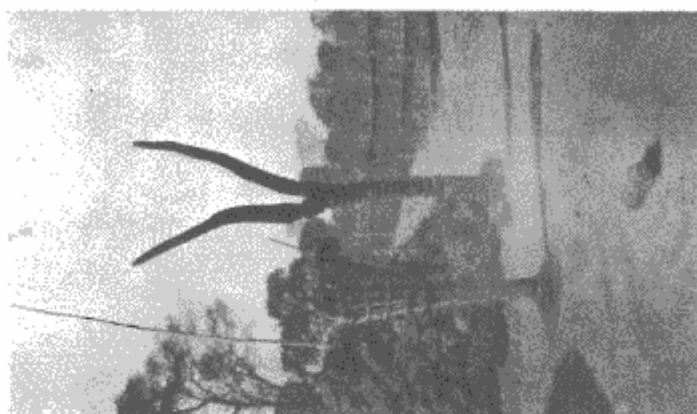
It was found on the el Ateesh road from Wau to Tembura. The donor of this figure, whose name is doubtful, also described some mixed graves in Bongo-Bellanda village near Rafili. These graves consisted of piles of stones, surrounded by stakes driven into the ground. "The graves were similarly constructed for both sexes, but at the eastern part of the circle surrounding a man's grave a post, roughly carved to represent a man, was erected, and on the base of this post were a number of horizontal notches, said to be the tally of the elephant, buffalo, leopard, lion, hippopotamus, and crocodile the deceased had slain; but it was not discovered whether these notches were arranged in any particular sequence as regards species of animals or not. One old man in this village, formerly a "chief," was having his tomb figure prepared in anticipation of his death. The women's graves had no carved figures, but a clay cooking-pot had been placed on the top of the heap of stones." (IX.) The total height of this Bongo funeral is 82 inches, the carved portion being 38 inches.

These wooden carvings have always been something of an anthropological mystery. Carvings of various types stretch from the north and west of Bahr-el-Ghazal province to the Nile, where they are said to have existed amongst the Bari, and there are so-called Bari ancestor-figures in the Vienna Museum. I have collected a fair amount of information about wooden carvings on the west bank, and intend to make a separate account of them in another paper. At present I shall restrict myself to a consideration of the Bongo.

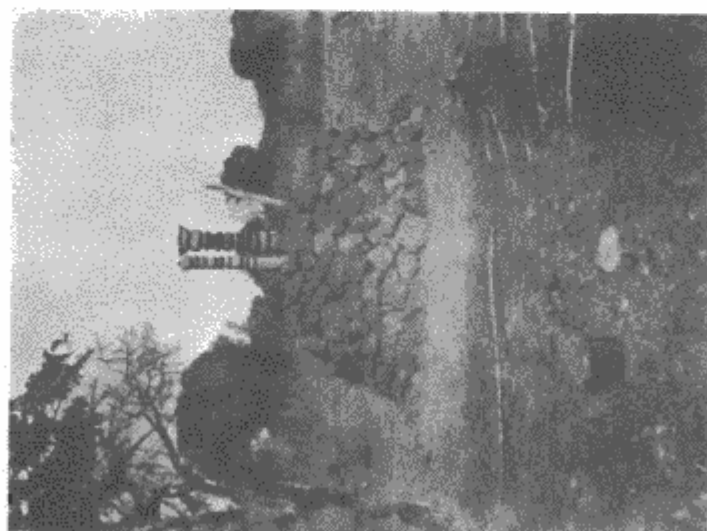
As remarked in the above quotations, the Bongo graves are surrounded by carved wooden figures of men and carved posts tallying the number of the larger animals killed by the deceased during his lifetime. The different animals killed may be counted by adding up the different kinds of notches and by the shape of the forked head of the posts. The native can tell at once whether the carvings represent elephant or lion or leopard, or hippopotamus, or rhinoceros, or buffalo, and so on, only the larger or more dangerous animals being represented. All the posts branch at the top not unlike the horns of animals, which indeed they are supposed to represent. The posts are called by a name, according to the animal which they represent, e.g., *dombura* (*do mbura*—the head of the *mbura*), *dokobi* (*do kobi*—the head of the buffalo), and so on.

I was told that the posts were not carved to magnify the hunting deeds of the dead, and not to give just a general idea of his kills, but are an actual tally, correct in numbers and in species. Thus at one grave which I saw in the country of the Karakiti tribe there were three carved poles surmounting the heap of stones over the grave. The carvings on these poles represented a tally of twenty elephants. Round the grave, planted into the earth, were five other posts. Walking round the grave clockwise the first post which one met was carved in the likeness of the dead, having bead eyes, and the face being stained blue with a dye bought from an Arab merchant, and the body being painted red with red ochre. Next came a carved branching pole erected by the son-in-law of the dead man in honour of his wife's father, but upon which he recorded his own game tally of buffaloes. Then came another carved post in the likeness of the dead, but with carvings also which represented two hippopotami killed. Next came a post (*do masha*) showing six carvings, each representing a rhinoceros. Lastly, there was a post (*do kobi*) showing a bag of five buffaloes.

These carved images of persons are not erected over every grave, but only over the graves of old or important persons or their sons. There appears to be no ritual associated with them. They are simply erected to honour the dead. All graves of men, on the other hand, seem to have carved posts erected on them to tally the number of animals they have killed. If the dead has not been a hunter of any note, then a relative or relative-in-law will honour him by recording his own kills on a post, and will put it up over the dead man's grave. Even in the case of women, who do not hunt animals, one sees such posts erected on their graves. These are put up by her husband, who notches thereon the animals which he has killed. There are specialists who know how to carve these posts, and who are commissioned to do so. There appear to be only two of these men still left in the Tonj district. They are to-day paid a spear or two or ten piastres for their services. Bongo graves are often collected together in a bunch, like small cemeteries. This is probably far less so than in the old days when homesteads were much larger; but to-day one may see half-a-dozen graves grouped together, the whole being surmounted from six to twelve posts. Not all the graves which I saw had heaps of stones erected upon them, and I rather think that some graves are not treated in this manner. It is possible, however,



GRAVE OF ZANDERESIDENT IN BONGO COUNTRY
SHOWING INFLUENCE OF THREE CULTURES :
(A) Zande Spirit Shrine. (B) Bongo Tally-Post.
(C) European Flagstaff.



BONGO WOMAN'S GRAVE. BASIN ON TOP OF POST.

that the stones will later be piled on to them at a feast held some years after the death of the person who rests in the grave. This is a point which should be enquired into further.

One informant told me that in the past the dead man was buried in his hut, but I was generally informed that he would be buried near the hut in the centre of the homestead. A year or so after his death a feast is made and relatives and friends collect together to drink beer. In the evening they dig holes for the erection of the carved posts and figures around the grave of the dead man, for the posts and figures are carved from a length of wood, the uncarved base of which is buried some three or four feet into the earth. All night long beer drinking takes place, and, in the early morning, they take the carved figures and shove them into the already prepared holes. Then, one after the other, friends and relatives and neighbours come up close to the stakes and fire arrows into them, where they are left sticking in the wood and will be noticed at any Bongo grave. They do this so that the dead may rest well. They do not shoot arrows into the human figures. When they have performed this ceremony, those who have been shooting the arrows come and place hoes, spears, knives, etc., on the ground, and these are gathered by the master of the feast, who gives them later to one or more of his sister's sons, retaining only a few small things, such as knives for his sisters, and a single spear for himself, which he walks about with. Pots of beer are then distributed to the people who have paid spears, hoes, knives, etc., in accordance with their contribution.¹

The old men whom I questioned about these carved images of humans seemed to regard it as a Bellanda (Bor) rather than as a Bongo custom. All denied that such images were ever made except to place on graves, and knew nothing about the figures described by Schweinfurth for discovering the murderer of a relative or for acting as a sort of penates in memory of a departed wife. When I asked them about this latter assertion, they replied that that would be a very stupid thing to do, because the sight of the image of a man's wife would continue to recall his grief at her death. It seems unlikely, however, that the Bongo could have given Schweinfurth such a circumstantial and detailed account without there being a good basis for it. Customs may well have changed

¹ I was told on another occasion that the man who fashions the carved images receives part of the gifts. However, I did not follow up this point.

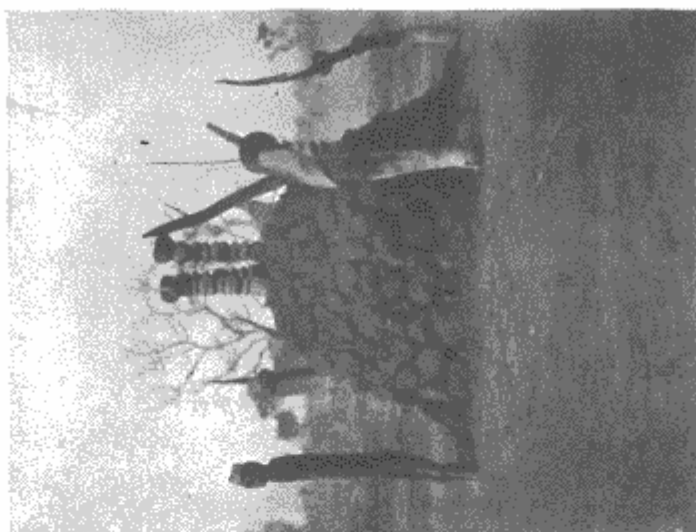
or have been peculiar to certain tribes of the Bongo. Figures similar to those mentioned in the above contexts by Schweinfurth are, indeed, used even to-day by the Gberi and Loli sections of the Rumbek "Jurs" who border Bongo country to the east, but these have little connection with death and the spirits.

Schweinfurth also said that certain of these images represented women, and gives the name of the male figure as *moiogoh gyee*, and that of the female figure as *moiogoh kumara*, but the Bongo told me that they never carved female figures, though, I believe, that the Bellanda do so. The Bongo words given by Schweinfurth in reference to these figures mean, I think, "to fashion a person" (*moiogoh*=to fashion, and *gyee*=person), and to "fashion a woman" (*kumarah*=woman), the word *moiogoh* being used for different kinds of work such as smoothing a mud wall in building a hut. It will be necessary to make much deeper and more prolonged enquiries about these Bongo carved figures of Schweinfurth's account before we can be sure of their real significance, or even be quite certain of their existence amongst the Bongo, for Schweinfurth does not record that he actually saw them, and we cannot tell how he obtained his information, whether from a trustworthy or an untrustworthy source.

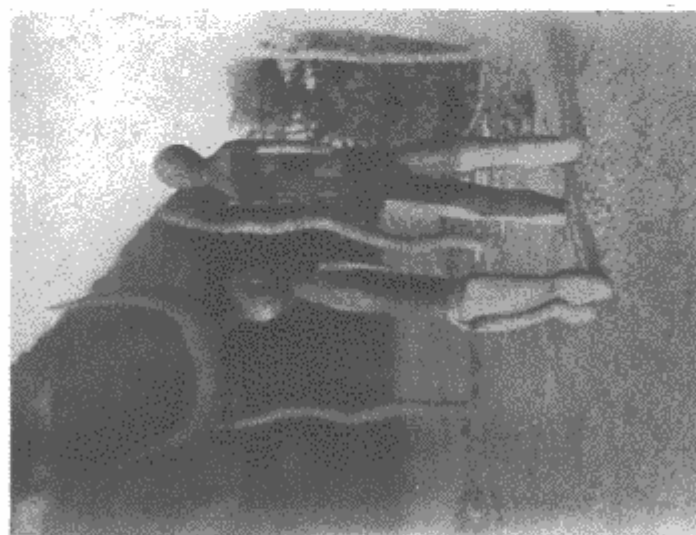
XI. MAGIC AND RELIGION.

Schweinfurth tells us nothing about Bongo magic. This is more the pity, because it would probably have been easier to find out about in his day than to-day, when the natives of the Southern Sudan are convinced that all magic is a criminal offence. Consequently, an enquiry about the most harmless kinds of magic are not treated as the natural curiosity of a stranger, but as a line of enquiry which must at all costs be deflected into some other channel by any form of deception and assurance.

Rain-magic I have already discussed. Another important medicine of the Bongo is their oracle-magic. I take the liberty of supplementing my account of the use of this medicine amongst the Bongo by filling in the details from information derived from the "Jurs" of Rumbek district. I think that it is fairly certain that the technique is the same for the two peoples. There is a tree, called *gwiya* by the Bongo and *gero* by the Azande, which has little brown seeds. From these seeds a powder is made by first roasting them and then crushing and grinding them.



BONGO GRAVE SURROUNDED BY HUMAN FIGURES AND HUNTING TALLY-POSTS. NOTE ARROWS STICKING IN POSTS.



TWO FUNERARY FIGURES SURMOUNTING BONGO GRAVE. ONE HAS HORNS GROWING FROM ITS HEAD.

This powder is used for consulting the oracles by the Bongo, the Beli, Gberi, Sofi, Loli, Mittu tribes of the "Jur" conglomerate of peoples; by the Baka and, probably, by other tribes of this area. Faiz Effendi, at Tonj, told me that it is also used by all the Dinka tribes.¹

When one wishes to find out who has killed a dead relative, one places about a teaspoonful of this powder on the end of a knife into a specially made pot. This pot is about two inches high, the actual pot cavity being about an inch and a half high, and the bottom of it elongated to about half an inch or so. Three stones, generally the small mushroom-shaped termite hills of the country, are placed to receive a potsherd, which has a small hole bored in the centre of it. Into this hole the little medicine pot is placed so that the elongated bottom protrudes below the sherd surface and the cavity part of the pot protrudes above it. A very little water is placed in the pot and fire is placed underneath by firewood being shoved between the fire-stones, as in the ordinary way of cooking. The *gwiya* powder is now added, and the consulter of the oracle, who must always be an old man of consequence and of long experience in the work, sits down near the fire and begins to put questions to the medicine. If it is a question as to who has killed a member of someone's family by witchcraft or black magic, he will commence by mentioning the names of the various districts in the neighbourhood one by one. If at the mention of one of these districts the powder rises to the top of the pot and then sinks down again and is burnt at the bottom of the pot, the guilty man will be found in that district. At the mention of other districts it will rise up and completely overflow. In this case the district, the name of which was being mentioned at the time by the consulter to the oracle medicine, does not contain the guilty man. Once the name of the district has been discovered, then you begin to go through all the suspected persons of that area in the same manner. It is often a long and wearisome sitting before the medicine selects the guilty from amongst the innocent by rising and then falling to burn at the bottom of the pot.

This ceremony takes place in the presence of a large number of old men, so that it receives thereby considerable public weight. The accused would apparently often admit his guilt, or at least express his ability

¹ My thanks are due to Faiz Effendi Abdul Malik for his interest and help in my work when I was at Tonj.

and willingness to pay compensation to the relatives of the dead. Amongst the "Jurs" of Rumbek District compensation seems always to have been allowed, and the Bongo told me that in their country it was normally allowed, but that sometimes a man would be so angry that he would proceed to spear the murderer on the verdict of the *gwiya* medicine, without giving him any chance to pay compensation.

However, many would, after accusation of murder, theft or adultery by the *gwiya* oracle, still obstinately deny their guilt, and in this case they would be given some of the *gwiya* seeds to drink. The accused would be given three seeds to swallow and then a large quantity of water to drink. If he were guiltless he would recover by vomiting the medicine, but if he were guilty he would fall back in great pain, with a swollen stomach, and in spasms. From the description of his end, I should say that it is likely that the *gwiya* has strychnine properties, like the Zande oracle magic *benge*.

The Bongo told me that in the event of a man writhing on the ground from the poison, an effort would be made to revive him by giving him a raw egg to swallow, to cause vomiting. However, I should think that the Beli ("Jur") practice is more efficacious. They quickly tear down the side of a termite heap and thrust the man into the hole they have made, head first. The termites, of course, terribly bite him all over his face and body, and he is taken out oozing blood.

Amongst the "Jurs" the guilty man will have to pay 15 spears to the relatives of the man he has killed by witchcraft, and another 15 spears to the man who has manipulated the oracle. I do not know, in the case of the Bongo, what the fee is which has to be paid to the old man who undertakes to consult the oracle.

A medicine known amongst all the Bongo is *mapiang*. This medicine is said to be Dinka in origin, and it has spread as far as the Azande of the southern Bahr-el-Ghazal, amongst whom it is as yet fairly rare, though it is common enough amongst the Babuckur (*Bukuru*) to the north of Zande country. I did not see any of the plant growing in the bush in the country of any of these tribes. I have seen it, however, at Terra-kekka, in Bari country, and it appears that the Bari also use it as a medicine. More about this medicine, as it is found in different areas, would be very interesting; as it would, I think, show us how a cultural trait like a medicine can travel quickly over large distances, and how

each culture through which it travels uses it in a distinct manner to the others. I hope that someone in Bongo country will make further enquiries about it.

It is a plant with large spikey, yellow fruits, which they plant in the centre of their homesteads. These fruits are often seen hanging on various posts associated with magic, such as posts connected with rain-magic, which I have already described. The medicine seems to be possessed by most people, and one often sees men with the seeds of the fruit plastered on to their chests. This seems to be done partly as a protection against black magic, though it appears to act in other ways as well. For instance, if a man gets a swelling on his body, he will consult the little Zande oracle, *iwa*¹, and *iwa* will tell him whose *mapiang* is making him ill. He will then go to the owner of the *mapiang*, and, if he has stolen anything of his or has committed some offence against him, he will confess his fault. In this case he will first make restitution to the owner of the medicine, and the owner will then take a hen and cut its throat, near the entrance to his hut, allowing its blood to fall into a gourd.

He will afterwards prepare the hen, and the sick man will eat it. Finally, he will take the hen's blood and rub it on the ill man's chest, and throw seeds of *mapiang* on to his chest, where they will stick to the blood.

When cutting the throat he addresses the hen, but I have no note as to what he says. Often it happens that the *mapiang* makes someone ill without any wrong having been done to its owner. In this case the ceremony is the same as above.

Mapiang is also used as a hunting medicine. A man will cut the neck of a fowl, addressing it about his hunting; will smear the blood on to his chest and will plaster some of the seeds of the *mapiang* there.

The traditional hunting medicine of the Bongo is *lingi*. This consists of two or three little carved posts about a foot or eighteen inches high, which are driven into the earth near the entrance to a hut.² They are not erected by everyone who hunts, but only by well-known hunters. The hunter takes a hen and cuts its throat over these posts, and will

¹ See Lagas, *Les Azande*, 1926, and the writer's Paper, "Oracle-Magic of the Azande," SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol X.

² It is probably a *lingi* which is figured on the centre of the grave in *Artes Africanae* (XIII, Tab. B, Fig. 6).

speak to the spirits as he does so, saying: "Give me animals, let my crops succeed," and so on. He throws the head of the hen into the bush and eats its body.

I am somewhat uncertain about the true significance of the *lingi*, for it may be more correct to connect it with the spirits than with elephant hunting, but the two are often so closely mixed up in their material co-relations that it is difficult through a language of interpretation and in a short period to make certain whether it is the magical or the religious association which is the more stressed.

Later, when walking through "Jur" country, I came across similar posts erected outside huts, and I was informed that they were placed there for the spirits. Nevertheless, this is a point for future investigation rather than for dogmatic assertion at present.

The whole question of Bongo religion is also beyond the range of my knowledge to answer with precision.

Schweinfurth wrote:—

"The Bongo have not the remotest conception of immortality. They have no idea of the transmigration of souls, or any doctrine of the kind, than they have of the existence of an ocean . . . Beyond the term "*loma*," which denotes equally luck and ill-luck, they have nothing in their language to signify any deity or spiritual being. "*Loma*" is likewise the term that they use for the Supreme Being, whom they hear invoked as "Allah" by their oppressors, and some of them make use of the expression "*Lomagobo*," i.e., the superior, to denote the God of the "Turks." . . . If anyone is ill, his illness is attributed to "*loma*," but in the event of anybody losing a wager or a game, or returning from a hunting adventure without game, or coming back from war without booty, he is said to have had "no *loma*" (*loma nya*) in the sense of having no luck (XII, i, 304-5).

"Quite amazing is the fear which exists among the Bongo about ghosts, whose abode is said to be in the shadowy darkness of the woods. Spirits, devils, and witches have the general appellation of '*bitaboh*'; wood-goblins being specially called '*ronga*.' Comprehended under the same term are all the bats (especially the *Megaderma frons*, which flutters about from tree to tree in broad daylight), as likewise are owls of every kind (*Strix leucetis* and *Strix capensis* being here the chief); and, besides these, the Ndorr (*Galage senegalensis*), a kind of pseudo-simias, with great

red eyes and erect ears, which drags out a gloomy existence in the cavities of hollow trees. There are, too, prowling beasts of night, for which they entertain the utmost dread, regarding them with suspicious awe. To ward off the evil influences of these spirits, the Bongo are acquainted with no other means except the magical roots in which the professional sorcerers trade . . . The institution of the '*cogyoor*' is here called '*belomah*,' but whenever it is necessary to have an invocation over a sick patient, they more often than not send for a professional wizard from the neighbouring Dinka . . . (XII, i, 305-6.)

"All the very old people of either sex, but especially the old women, are exposed to the suspicion of allying themselves to wicked spirits, for the purpose of effecting the injury and detriment of others. Old folks, so the Bongo maintain, wander through the forest glades at night, and have only to secure the proper roots, and then they may apparently be lying calmly in their huts, whilst, in reality, they are taking counsel with the spirits of mischief how they can best bring their neighbours to death and destruction. They dig for roots, it is continually said, that they may have the means of poisoning those around them. Whenever any case of sudden death occurs, the aged people are held responsible, and nothing, it is taken for granted, could be more certain than that a robust man, except he were starved, would not die . . . " (XII, i, 306-7.)

Heuglin is equally vague on the subject of Bongo belief in spirits and witches. He says that, properly speaking, the Bongo have no religious conceptions at all, but that they believe in spirits and sorcery and spells. When anyone dies an unexpected death, it is always put down to some enemy (IV, 195-6).¹ Schweinfurth and Heuglin may well be forgiven vagueness on this subject. During my few days amongst the Bongo I found it quite impossible to discover what is the correct meaning of the word *loma* in terms of native belief and culture. I failed to make my informants understand the difference in the Zande conceptions *Mboli* (Supreme Being) and *atore* (ancestral spirits). I think, however, that we may regard the conception of *loma* as equivalent to those Supreme

¹ "Religiöse Begriffe scheinen die Dör eigentlich nicht zu haben, sie glauben aber an Geister, an Behexung und Verwünschungen. Betrifft Jemanden ein unerwarteter Tod, so glaubt man allgemein, das irgend ein geheimer Feind die Ursache davon sei, der die Macht besitze, auch auf weite Entfernung Andern Schaden zuzufügen. Es gibt Hexen, welche vorgeben diese Menschen zu kennen, ihr Thun und Treiben verrathen und das übel, das sie verursachen, beschwören . . . " (IV, 195-6.)

Beings, whom Seligman calls "strictly otiose," and who figure largely in the ethnology of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

For "spirits" I was sometimes given the word *loma gubu*, and sometimes the word *moriŋo*; but I think that probably *loma gubu* is correct for spirits, because hysterical people subject to fits are sometimes called *bi loma gubu*, "those possessed by spirits." Illness seems generally to be attributed to the *loma gubu*. However, if a person is really ill, then it is thought that he is being injured by *togbo* or black magic. If it is feared that the sick man may die, then his relatives send round oil in a cup gourd to all the neighbours, who are asked to spit into it. If the person who is using *togbo* against the sick man spits into the gourd, then he will recover.

The word *hege* seems to be used by some of the Bongo, e.g., the Karakiti tribe, for the Supreme Being, but not by others, e.g., the Gubi, etc.

There is an insuperable difficulty in understanding the exact meaning of these terms *loma*, *hege*, *moriŋu* through a medium of interpretation. Moreover, the idea itself appears to be vague and to be associated with a Supreme Being, with the spirits, and with magic. Thus the terms will certainly be found to vary in meaning amongst the different tribes of this area, though they are related linguistically and ethnically and culturally. In all cases the word used for Supreme Being is vague and difficult to understand.

Bi togbo (*Sch. bitaboh*) is the expression which the Bongo would give in translation of the Arabic *sakhār*. It is the word by which they translate the Zande *ira mangu*. I doubt, however, whether Schweinfurth's account of the functions of this man is accurate. *Bi togbo* means the possessor of *togbo*, and *togbo*, so the Bongo informed me, was a medicine, a type of black magic which was definitely *kaga* (medicine in the physical sense) and had nothing to do with the spirits of the dead. I was told that it was put on the ground in the doorway of the hut of the intended victim. If he were the first person to cross the threshold of the hut, he would assuredly die; but if a dog or a hen were to walk over the medicine before him, then the animal would die and the man would escape.

On the other hand, the same medicine *togbo* is believed in by the Rumbek "Jurs," the Mittu, and probably by other peoples of this area;

and amongst these I fancy that it has sometimes a quite different connotation, and one more in accordance with Schweinfurth's description. However, none of these people seem to understand the idea of a physical, or rather physiological, functioning of black magic which does not require the use of medicines, but which is hereditary, like the Zande *mangu*, and which is found throughout Africa under the term "evil eye."

I feel confident that Schweinfurth uses the term *be loma* incorrectly. The *be loma* is the rain-maker. There may be, or have been, other people called *be loma*, because a rain-maker is sometimes more specifically called *be loma mini*, which means the possessor of the spirit of the rain; so that it is possible that there were other departmental magic specialists called *be loma*, but I was never told about them, although I made enquiries. The *kujur*, or medicine man proper, is called *be mala* in Bongo. This term means the possessor of the gourd, because he always carried a gourd containing seeds when he was called to a house of sickness, and used to shake this rattle before removing the offending object from the body of the sick man. His methods of work seem to have been the same as those generally employed by medicinemen, the careful concealment of some small object, which is then extracted theatrically as the cause of the sickness. The *be mala* seems to have been rare enough in Schweinfurth's time, and he has completely disappeared to-day. Women also seem to have acted in this capacity. (IV, 196).¹ To-day one generally calls in a Zande medicine-man, *binza* (in Zande), to heal the sick. It is probable that some remarks of Schweinfurth about sickness and remedies are descriptive of the functions of the old Bongo *be mala*, viz.: the sprinkling of persons suffering from internal disorders with boiling water by means of a leafy bough, and the introduction into wounds of a number of setons, made of the strong and fibrous bast of the *grewia*, to reduce inflammation (XII, i, 309). Against syphilis, which was introduced into the country by the Arabs, they employed the bitter bark of the Heddo-tree (*Anogeissus*). (XII, i, 309.)

"The insane (" *bindahko* ") are shackled hand and foot; and, avowedly with the design of cooling and soothing their passions, they are thrown into the river, where they are immersed by practised swimmers.

¹ "Auch gegen gewisse Leiden und Krankheiten werden häufig alte Weiber zu Rath gezogen. Wir machten die Bekanntschaft einer solchen Frau, welche sehr gute Taschenspielerkünste zum Besten gab." (IV, 196.)

If this remedy should prove of no effect, the patient is put into confinement and dieted by the relatives . . ." (XII, i, 310.)

On analogy with Zande practice, one may suggest that the man is thrown into water, not to cool his passions, but in order that he may name the sorcerer who is injuring him by causing madness.

XII. SOME NOTES ON LAW.

I give below a few notes on Bongo law which have not found an appropriate inclusion in any of the preceding sections. My informants were half-a-dozen old men to whom I put the questions directly.

1. *Homicide by Spearing*.—Generally avenged by death, but seems sometimes to have been paid for by handing over the murderer's sister.

2. *Homicide by Black Magic*.—Twenty-five spears penalty. If the man died from the oracle test, no further blood-money was exacted from his family. The relatives of a man or woman are expected to assist him or her in paying the blood-money. If the murderer cannot be found, then another of his family may be killed in his place, and the feud will then end.

3. *Homicide by Member of own Family*.—In this case no revenge can be exacted. The contempt in which the murderer is held throughout his tribe and clan will generally compel him to seek peace of mind by going to live amongst some distant tribe.

4. *Messenger's Fee*.—In cases involving the payment of spears the messenger who collects the money keeps five spears as his fee.

5. *Adultery*.—If the parties are caught in the act, the husband will beat his wife and spear the adulterer. If he accepts compensation it will be 20 spears.

6. *Intercourse with Unmarried Girl*.—Twenty spears must be paid her father.

7. *Incest*.—No penalty attached to incest, but the abhorrence in which the crime was held would lead to the man seeking a new and distant home.

8. *Accidental Wounding*.—If a man wounded another in a hunting accident, so long as the man was from his own community no action was taken. But if the wounded man came from another community, the man who speared him, and his relatives, would probably pay some 15 spears to prevent a feud.

9. *Accidental Homicide*.—If a man killed another in a hunting accident, no action was taken against him unless there was an old enmity between the two families or districts concerned. In this case, the relatives of the dead man would probably act as in a blood-feud, on the grounds that the killing had really been intentional.

10. *Theft (bugu)*.—The stolen articles must be given back, and the theft of them will probably lead to fighting. No case can be made against a sister's son for "stealing" articles belonging to his mother's brother.

11. *Cases between two Tribes*.—In cases involving subjects of two chiefs or members of two tribes, the steps taken depended upon the conditions existing between the two areas. If conditions were bad, then the injured party would await the opportunity for propagating a feud. If they were good, then the plaintiff would make his case before the defendant's chief, assisted by other old men, and a just decision would be given in order to maintain good political relations.

XIII. ECONOMIC LIFE.

I arrived in Bongo country in March, when most of the people were in the bush, either hunting or fishing. Being the dry season, no agricultural pursuits were in progress, and since only the old and sick were left in the homesteads, I saw no crafts. I shall, therefore, make a condensed account of Bongo economic life from Schweinfurth's book, with additional notes which I made from enquiry.

Hunting.—Schweinfurth gives very little information about Bongo methods of hunting. He describes a trap consisting of a tree balanced horizontally by means of ropes. A hedge or some sort of enclosure is set up on each side of the tree so that the game has to run underneath, and in doing so treads on a cord which slackens the ropes by which the tree is suspended, the tree crashing down upon the animal (XII, i, 273, and wood-cut (VII, i, 255). These traps, which are made in different sizes for different-sized animals, are common to the whole area between the Nile and the western borders of the Sudan. It is called in Bongo *mabaro*, in Zande *dongbo*, in Beli ("Jurs") *handu*, in Gberi ("Jurs") *mabari*, to mention the name amongst only some of the tribes who use it. There is a snare for catching buffaloes and large antelopes figured in

Artes Africanae (Tab. V) the length of which is given as one metre. It is thus described :—

“ A string twisted of very long straps of hide serves to stretch the massive bow, while a gag interwoven in the former to increase its tightness, is turned round with it several times and at last brought to rest in the bow. In this state the apparatus is laid down in the steppe on a much trodden spot and brings the snare in such connection with it, that as soon as the game steps on it, it is cast by the force of the recoiling gag up the leg of the beast. The frightened game, which jumps up at the same time, is caught that very instant. This apparatus is in use among the Bongo, Mittoo, and Dyoor for catching buffaloes.” This type of snare is also used amongst the Rumbek “ Jurs ” and the “ Moro ” Namusa of Amadi district.

Schweinfurth also mentions a long woven tubular basket which children lay flat upon the ground near mouse-holes. They then commence a battue which drives the mice along their runs into the baskets, from which they cannot extract themselves (XII, i, 273). Similar baskets are also made by Azande children who barb them with thorns facing inwards, so that the mice cannot back outwards again. Schweinfurth says that the mice so caught are sometimes used by Bongo children as bait for a cat-trap, which is made by constructing a small hut out of some twisted reeds in the narrow bush paths. They snare wild cats by placing mice inside these diminutive huts (XII, i, 274.)

The winter hunting of the Bongo is similar to that of the Azande, from whom it is possibly derived. The grass is trodden down, forming paths round squares of untrodden bush. It is possible, after rain, by walking along these paths, to see if an animal has entered and has not quitted the squares by noting its spoor in the wet earth. The square in which the animal is feeding or snoozing having been isolated, the Bongo proceed to place nets round one or two sides of the square and to station children on the other sides to shout and frighten the animal from escaping where there are no nets. One man will then track and frighten the animal to try and get it to enter the nets. This method of hunting, called *gbaria* in Zande, is known by the Bongo as *dokamaduku*. This is probably the method of hunting referred to by Petherick (VI, 403), who says that the nets cover a space of several miles.

In the past, extensive fire battues were used by the Bongo for elephant hunting. When the herd had been sighted, they simply carried fire in a circle all round them. When the fire had done its work the hunters rushed in to secure the dead animals and to spear the wounded ones. Some escaped with charred flesh into the forest, where they died. Such hunting is forbidden to-day by the Government.

Another method of elephant hunting, which is used to-day, is to climb a tree with a heavily weighted spear and to spear the elephant in the small of the back or in the region of the brain. When the hunter sights the herd he climbs up a tree and sends a boy to circle round to the back of the herd so that they will catch his scent and begin moving in the opposite direction where the hunter is waiting for them up a tree. The wounded animal rushes onwards and is tracked by the hunter. If the hunter is all by himself, he will resort to an ingenious device to make the herd move in his direction. He takes an arrow, and rubbing it under his armpit so that it is oiled by his sweat, he shoots it high into the air, so that it lands on the opposite side of the herd. The elephants smelling human scent, begin to move off from the direction where the arrow has landed to where the hunter is waiting for them up a tree. This hunting technique has been well described by Petherick :—

“ Another method of slaying the elephant is practised by some of the upper Dor and Baer tribes ; a strong lance, with a handle of five feet in length, the extremity shaped like a club, in diameter about four inches, is laden with a stone, fixed to it with cords and plastered over with clay, the whole being made as heavy as it can be managed. With this instrument a negro, conversant with the noonday haunts of the elephants—invariably under the shade of large trees—ascends one of them, and, laying himself out on a branch, quietly awaits the arrival of his prey ; and when one of them is directly under him, with all his force he sends the spear into his back or shoulders. . . . ” (VI, 415.)

In the past also, the Bongo used to rely very largely for their game supply upon large pits covered over with thin branches and grass. These are called *ngel*. Petherick says that they used to excavate pitfalls near pools or streams and across narrow gorges (VI, 415). A considerable amount of labour is required to dig these pits and to visit them and periodically to clear them of fallen earth, and the Bongo say that they

have little time for this labour to-day. They also use snares, *koro*, for snaring guinea-fowl and partridges.

The Bongo is a famous hunter. Amongst the Azande who dislike the discomforts of a hunting life, the Bongo is considered to be the beau ideal of a hunter. In the dry season, almost the entire population leave their homesteads and erect little temporary shelters far away in the bush and spend their days in hunting and fishing. Women go with them to cook and dry the meat. Their small supply of flour soon gives out and then they simply eat the meat which they have killed, by itself, and supplement their larder with wild fruits and yams. The skill of the Bongo is also well known amongst all the tribes of this area. He will go out hunting in the dry season and, sighting an animal, such as a buffalo or bushbuck, perhaps, he crouches down to the ground, and, taking advantage of any tuft of grass or tree, or ant hill, or slight unevenness of the ground, will crawl to within a few feet of the animal, and spear it, a feat requiring the utmost skill and patience. Now that many of the Bongo possess guns, they are deadly hunters, as their methods of hunting enable them to shoot the animal from a distance of a few yards.

The Bongo use a number of poisons for their spear and arrow heads, the chief of which are a species of *Euphorbia* and a small spikey rock succulent called *liga* in both Bongo and Zande (XII. 300).

I have already remarked that in the old days each tribe had its own hunting areas and did not encroach on those of neighbouring tribes. The old men whom I questioned about the rules of hunting told me that in winter-hunting with nets, one leg and the skin belonged to the owner of the hunting square in which the animal was killed; the tracker took the small of the back, the *mbalamini*, the man who speared the animal, took one fore-leg; and the rest of the beast belonged to the owner of the net. When elephants were killed by bush-firing, the man who started and led the hunt was given one tusk and the trunk, and the man who first found and speared the beast after the fire had done its work took the rest of the animal. In dry-season hunting of small animals with dogs, the owner of the dog which bites the animal takes all the meat and gives one fore-leg to the owner of the net in which it is caught, for the owner of the net is considered to be the *mbalamini*. If the dog chases but does not succeed in leaving teeth marks on the animal, then all meat belongs to the owner of the net which catches it.

FISHING.

Schweinfurth says that the Bongo fish by damming up the stream by weirs and laying down wicker pots of considerable size (XII, i, 231). Fishing is done twice a year, at the commencement of the rainy season, and again when the waters begin to subside. He also makes a reference to fish snares, but he does not describe these. *Artes Africanæ* figures a Bongo fish-hook called "Golloh" (XIII, Tab. V). There are some very interesting methods of fishing employed by tribes which neighbour the Bongo, and one would be grateful to anyone who can give a full description of the instruments and technique of Bongo fishing.

LIVESTOCK AND AGRICULTURE.

In Schweinfurth's time and to-day, the Bongo possess only dogs, hens, a few goats, and an occasional sheep. They used to possess a fair number of goats but the depredations of the Arabs reduced them to a scanty remnant (XII, i, 270-272), (IV, 194).¹ Petherick says :—

"Fowls were reared to a great extent, but, from some unaccountable superstition, they were only considered proper food for women; if eaten by men, it was a proof of effeminacy. (VI, 399-400.)

They are essentially an agricultural people :—

"The chief products of their soil are enumerated according to the quantity yielded, Sorghum, Pencillaria, Eleusine, Sesame, Hyptis, Arachis, Vigna Sinensis, Phaseolus Mungo, Ph. lunatus, Nicotiana rustica, Nic. Tabacum, Dioscorea and Helmsia." (XIII, 5 Tab. 3.)

Besides these they make use of various wild plants as tubers and vegetables. Gynandropsis, Corchorus, Gieseckia and gourd leaves are used as ingredients in soups, the fleshy leaves of the Talinum toseum are served like our spinach, the Tirna-tree and the fruits of the Hymenocardia are used as vegetables. Many fungi are kept till on the verge of decay and are then dried and pounded as flavouring to sauces. These fungi are called *hakoo*, and the larger species *hegba-mboddoh*. The commonest fungi are different species of Coprinus, Marasmius, Rhodosporus and Lentinus. They make use of the fruits of the butter-tree and Parkia.

¹ "Die Djur und Dor besaßen früher ziemlich viele Ziegenherden, auch hin und wieder Schafe, jetzt hat sich aber der Viehstand wegen der beständigen Räubereien der Soldaten so sehr vermindert, dass es im ganzen Lande kaum möglich ist, auch nur eine Ziege zu kaufen." (IV, 194.)

Many bitter bulbs are also eaten, e.g., *Mandibe*, a species of *Coccinea* and *Moddobehee* (dog's gum), one of *Eureinandfræ*; also roots of the *asclepiadæ*, huge tubers of the *Entada Wahlbargiee* and of the *Pachyrhizus*; various kinds of *Vereniæ* and *Flemingiæ* and *Drimea*.

As there is no common salt in the district of the Gazelle, they use an alkali substitute made by soaking the ashes of the burnt wood of the *Grewia Mollis* (XII, 2, 266-270).

Schweinfurth tells us little about Bongo methods of cultivation. He says that they start the sowing of the crops with a festival of beer-drinking and dancing (XII, i, 183). The Bongo do not admit to having any such ceremony to-day.

"I could not help being astonished at the length of time which most of the kinds (sorghum) take to ripen. In some fields a portion of the stubble is left intentionally ungrubbed until the next season; this will die down, but, after the first rain, it sprouts again from the root, and so a second gathering is made from the same stem.

"No loosening of the soil is ever made, and this, perhaps, accounts in a degree for the tardiness of the growth. With small spades . . . shallow holes are sunk in the ground at intervals of about a yard; into these is dropped the corn, which then is trodden down by the foot. It is only during the first few months that any labour at all is given to the fields, just to remove from the surface of the soil the multitudes of weeds which will spring up. These weeds are gathered into heaps and form the only manure which is employed in this lavish laboratory of nature. Never more than once is this weeding repeated; it is done by the women and children, and the corn is then left entirely to take its chance until it is time to gather it. On account alike of its tall growth and of its luxuriant habit, the men are careful not to plant it too thickly . . . " (XII, i, 236-7.)

"To agriculture men and women alike apply themselves, devoting their greatest attention to the culture of their sorghum. The amount of labour they bestow on this cereal is very large. The seed is lavishly broadcast into trenches which have been carefully prepared for its reception, and when it has germinated and made its appearance above the ground, two or three weeks are spent in thinning the shoots and in transplanting them away from the spots where they are too thick; a

system which experience has shown can very advantageously be applied to maize." (XII, i, 266.)

Women and men both take part in hoeing. Women alone harvest the millet crop.

HOUSE BUILDING.

"Upon the erection of their dwellings there is no people in the Gazelle district who bestow so much pains as the Bongo. Although they invariably adopt the conical shape, they allow themselves considerable diversity in the forms they use . . . The materials they employ are upright tree-stems, plaited faggots, canes of the bamboo, clay from the mushroom-shaped white ant-hills, and tough grass and the bast of the grewia. The diameter of the dwellings rarely exceeds 20 feet, the height generally being about the same. The entrance consists of a hole so small that it is necessary to creep through in order to get inside ; and the door consists of a hurdle swung upon two posts so as to be pushed backwards and forwards at pleasure. The clay floor in the interior is always perfectly level ; it is made secure against damp as well as against the entrance of white ants by having been flattened down by the women trampling upon broad strips of bark laid down upon it. The common sleeping-place of the parents and smaller children is on the floor. The bedding generally consists only of skins, the Bongo having little care for mats. For the pillow of the family they ordinarily use a branch of a tree smoothed by being stripped of its bark (88, i, 276).

"In every dwelling-house is found a conical receptacle for corn, named the '*gallotoh*' which is elevated on piles, varying in height, so as to protect the provision from the damp of the soil or from the ravages of rats or white ants. . . ." (XII, i, 276-7.)

"In the case of smaller storehouses the entire roof may be opened like a lid in order to get at the contents of the hut. The walls of these Bongo huts consist almost always of wickerwork of split bamboo (*B. abyssinica*) in fresh state, and are stuccoed with a thick layer of clay on the inside. A stem of a tree provided with jagged notches leads from below, by way of a staircase, up to the interior space. The conic-shaped framework of the roof, formed, in the case of smaller huts, of bamboo-cane, and in that of the larger ones of long boughs of trees, is held together by loop-like spars tied with bast of bark, and resembles in shape a hoop

petticoat. The covering of the roof is effected by means of grass-blades strung together on long rows of ropes, likewise twisted, of grass, the former being wound round the framework from below ; one layer of grass thus coming to lie upon the other, until a sheaf, put on top, crowns the whole." (XIII, Tab. 6.)

" All the dwellings of the Bongo, whether large or small, are marked by one characteristic which might almost be represented as a national feature. The peak of their huts is always furnished with a circular pad of straw, very carefully made, which serves as a seat, and from which it is possible to take a survey of the country, covered with its tall growth of corn. The name '*gony*' is given to this elevation, which is surrounded by six or eight curved bits of wood projecting as though the roof were furnished with horns. It is peculiar to the huts of the Bongo." (XII, i, 277.)

The men, I was told, do all the house-building, even grass cutting and mud-mixing. The only other remark which I have to add to Schweinfurth's account is that only amongst the Bongo have I seen the grinding-stone let into the floor on a level with the earth of the hut. Flour is simply ground on to the earthen floor and swept up when the grinding is finished. All other tribes grind corn into some receptacle.

Petherick says that a wooden bedstead occupied the centre of their huts, but he was probably mistaken in this statement. (VI, 399.)

IRON WORKING.

I saw no work going on in a Bongo smithy, and the smelting industry has been destroyed by the iron provided by the merchants. I will, therefore, condense Schweinfurth's account :—

" Iron is found in great quantities and is worked even better than by the Dyoor. With their rude bellows and a hammer, which, more commonly than not, is merely a round ball of pebble-stone, though occasionally it may be a little pyramid of iron without a handle, upon an anvil of gneiss or granite, with an ordinary chisel and a pair of tongs consisting of a mere split piece of green wood, they contrive to fabricate articles which would bear comparison with the productions of an English smith. The bellows consist of two earthen vessels, covered with hides and opening into a third one (*borro*) (XII, i, 227 and XIII, Tab. V).

"Smelting takes place after the harvest and the rains are over. The Bongo system is considerably more advanced than that of the Dyoor. Their smelting apparatus is an erection of clay, generally about five feet in height, containing in its interior three distinct compartments. These are all of the same size, that in the middle being filled with alternate layers of fuel and ore. This centre chamber is separated from the lower by means of a kind of frame resting on a circular projection; and it is divided from the chamber above by a narrow neck of communication. The highest and lowest of the divisions are used for fuel only. Round the base of the interior chamber there are four holes, into which pokers are introduced and to which bellows are applied to increase the intensity of the combustion; there is a fifth hole, which can be stopped with clay as often as may be desired, and which serves to allow the metal to be raked out after it has trickled down into the cavity below the frame." (XIII, Tab. V, and XIII, i, 277-8, and IV, 197.) Heuglin gives a similar description (IV, 196-8).¹

"They trade their productions with the tribes of the north. The raw material is produced in the form of spearheads of one or two feet long (*mahee*), exactly like those of the Dyoor; or black, ill-formed spades (*loggoh kullutty*) the circulating medium of the Bongo, and is used for the marriage portion; and of regular spades (*loggoh*). (XII, i, 278-9, wood-cuts XII, i, 279 and XIII, Tab. IV and VI.)

"The axe of the Bongo consists of a flat, cumbrous wedge of iron, into the thick end of which is inserted a knobbed handle . . . Besides these, the Bongo produce arrows, tools and ornaments of admirable quality; the work displayed on the point of their arrows and lances is artistic. There is the common lancet-formed spear-head (*mahee*): a hastate sort of spear, with long iron barbs below the point extending along the stem to which the wooden stock is attached (*golo*); and one which consists of a spike the stem of which is covered with a number of teeth symmetrically arranged along it, sometimes upwards and sometimes downwards (*makrigga*). This last is often merely an article of show, and the technical skill of the smith is concentrated upon its design. (XII, i, 279-81 and wood-cuts. For illustration of all types of Bongo spears and arrows, see XIII, Tab. VII.)

¹ "Das Schmiedehandwerk wird . . . sehr beliebt." (IV, 196-199.)

" They also make peculiar elongated oval knives, with handles at either end, and these are sharpened on both edges. Such knives are used only by women. (XII, i, 281 and wood-cut and XIII, Tab. IV.)

CRAFTS.

Schweinfurth gives an account of some of the Bongo crafts. He remarks upon their skilful wood-carving, especially in the instance of their little four-legged stools (*hegba*), which used to be made from the chestnut-brown goll tree, and the use of which was restricted to women (wood-cuts XII, i, 283 and XIII, Tab. 4). These stools are no longer made by the Bongo to-day, but they are still found among the Rumbek " Jurs," where they are used by both sexes, usually as neck-rests. They have long tails, and, whilst the woman places her head on the actual stool part of the rest, she puts her arm over the tail, where it serves as a support for the head of her husband.

Other wooden articles made by the Bongo mentioned by Schweinfurth are pestles, troughs for oil-pressing, wooden hammers, flails for threshing corn, and goblet-shaped mortars for bruising grain. These last are not sunk below the ground. He says that the Bongo cut spoons out of horn, but I did not see any of these to-day. (XII, i, 283 and XIII, Tabs. 4 and 6.)

He draws notice to the attention which the Bongo give to basket-work, strainers to filter beer, baskets for carrying things, basket-pots for fishing, basket-work walls of huts and bee-hives. Generally, these hives are long cylinders which midway have an opening about six inches square. Of other crafts he mentions the manufacture of fish-nets, creels, snares, fishing-lines, made from fibres of bast (XII, i, 272 and 290-1).

Pot-making is alone carried on by the women. Their pots are very brittle, owing to the large quantity of the mica which the clay contains. (XII, i, 291-2 and XIII, Tab. 5.) I was told, though I did not see the work in progress, that they employed the coil technique in pot-making. They also make clay pipes, which often have a human head design. (XII, i, 292, and XIII, Tab. 5.)

Preparation of skins is done by kneading and fulling by means of ashes and dung, which is followed up by a liberal application of fat and

oil till a sufficient degree of softness and pliancy is attained. They learnt the use of tan from the Nubians, and the bark of the *gere* (*Hymenocardia Heudelotii*) serves this purpose (XII, 292-3).

"The Bongo are enthusiastic lovers of music . . . The youngsters, down to the small boys, are all musicians . . . They contrive to make little flutes. They also construct a monochord . . . This consists of a bow of bamboo, with the string tightly strained across it, and this is struck by a slender slip of split bamboo. The mouth of the player himself performs the office of sounding-board, one end of the instrument being held to the lips with one hand, while the string is managed with the other. Festivals are characterised by unwearied thumping of drums, the bellowing of gigantic trumpets . . . interchanged by fits and starts with the shriller blasts of some smaller horns Meanwhile, women and children by the hundred fill gourd-flasks with little stones, and rattle them as if they were churning butter; or, again, at other times, they will get some sticks or dry faggots and strike them together with the greatest energy. The huge wooden trumpets are called '*manyinyee*.' They vary from four to five feet in length, being closed at the extremity and ornamented with carved work representing a man's head, which not infrequently is adorned with a couple of horns. The other end of the stem is open, and in an upper compartment, towards the figure of the head, is the orifice into which the performer blows with all his might. There is another form of *manyinyee* which is made like a huge wine-bottle; in order to play upon it, the musician takes it between his knees like a violoncello, and when the build of the instrument is too cumbrous, he has to bend it over as it lies upon the ground."

To make a kettle-drum a section is cut from the thick stem of a tree, preferably a tamarind. This is hollowed out into a cylinder, one end being larger than the other. The ends are then covered with two pieces of goat-skin stripped of the hair, which are tightly strained and laced together with thongs Signal horns (*mangoal*) are made from the horns of different antelopes. They have three holes like small flutes. There is one cut out of wood, called *mburrah*. (XII, i, 2, 87-9.) Heuglin also pays tribute to Bongo love of music and to the quality of their singing, which is antiphoneous, and has the typical characteristics

of folk-songs. Beer-drinking often accompanies the dances, but sobriety and decency are maintained. Their dances are pantomimic, like those of the Djur.¹

The wood used for making fire was that of the *Anona Senegalensis* (*mambeleleh*). The Bongo generally carry their fire-sticks about with them under their arrows in the quiver. Into the end of one bough a score is cut, in which the other piece is vertically inserted. By means of friction the upper piece of wood is next made to whirl round between the two palms of the hand, while the lower piece has to be held tight with the foot. A hard support (a spear-head answers the purpose best) must be provided . . . (XIII, Tab. 4.)

XIV. GAMES.

Schweinfurth says :—

Amongst the Bongo games there is one in which "a number of men are provided with pointed sticks made of hard wood, which they use as lances. They form a large ring, and another man, who has a piece of soft wood attached to a long string, runs round and round within the circle. The others then endeavour with their pointed sticks to hit the mark whilst it is being carried rapidly round."

In another game "a piece of wood, bent into a crescent, has a short string attached to the middle; this wood is then hurled by the one end of it with such violence to the earth that it goes spinning like a boomerang through the air. The players stand face to face at about 29 feet apart, and the game consists in catching the wood by the string."
.....(XII, i, 301.)

There is another game played by the Bongo and the Azande, and it is possible that the one tribe took it over from the other. A group of children form a circle with joined hands. These are the net in the centre

(¹) "Die Bongo und Fertit sind grosse Freunde der Musik. Oft bedienen sie sich als Begleitung zum Gesang einer Art von Mandoline mit 5 Saiten, die übereinander liegen; dieses Instrument kommt vorzüglich von den Niamniam und Kredj. Ihre Lieder sind äusserst harmonisch, meist schwermüthiger Natur, wie so viele echte Volkslieder, und bewegen sich, wie es auch bei diesen sehr häufig der Fall ist, in Molltönen, die in richtigem Takt und Rhythmus, theils ein-theils mehrstimmig hervorgebracht werden. Zumeist singt eine Stimme vor und die andern fallen im Chore ein. Zu jeder geselligen Unterhaltung, welche die Schwarzen über alles lieben, gehört auch Merisah, ein Getränk, das früher in allem Hatten zu finden war, wenigstens nach der Erntezeit, wo überfluss an Getreide ist. Doch sahen wir hier bei solchen Gelegenheiten niemals Betrunkene, überhaupt führen sich die Leute, wenigstens Angesichts den Fremden, in jeder Beziehung anständig auf. Der Tanz ist ähnlich dem der Djur mit Pantomimen und Scheinkämpfen verbunden."

of which is another boy who represents a bushbuck. The game, accompanied by singing, consists in the boy trying to break through the joined hands around him. Another game which I saw being played consisted of a line of children sitting each between the legs of the one behind. A grown-up then takes a stick and, standing at the front of the line of children facing them, with legs apart, pulls them one by one through his legs as they hold on to the stick with their hands. This game also is accompanied by stereotyped speech, the meaning of which is unknown to me.

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DARB EL ARBA'IN. THE FORTY DAYS' ROAD.

By W. B. K. Shaw.

(PLATES V-VII).

IT is a sign of the times when the Sudan's leading Arabic newspaper, in reproducing an article from its English contemporary, can translate Darb el Arba'in, (درب الأربعين) a name once renowned throughout north-east Africa, as طريق عشرين¹. A sign that the Sudan, which has known the Steam Age of transport for a quarter of a century, is now fast entering the Petrol Age, and that the days when a man walked or rode the Forty Days' Road from Assiut to Darfur, once one of the five great caravan routes of north Africa, have not only passed, but are well-nigh forgotten.

The following notes on the Darb el Arba'in may be of interest to readers of SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS; with effort I have refrained from signing myself "*Laudator temporis acti*."

Five main caravan routes cross the deserts of north Africa from north to south. Beginning with the most westerly, they are as follows :—

- (1) Algeria—Tuat—Timbuctoo.
- (2) Tunis—Ghat—the mountains of Air—Kano.
- (3) Tripoli—Murzuk—Lake Chad. Most of the traffic from the Mediterranean coast during the last 2,000 years has passed along this road.
- (4) Benghazi—Kufra—Wadai.
- (5) The Darb el Arba'in ; Assiut—Kharga—Selima—Bir Natrun—Darfur.

We are concerned with the last of these.

Traffic on the Arba'in Road is now reduced to a minimum ; probably no caravan has passed along its entire length since the beginning of the twentieth century, though sections of it are still in intermittent use. An occasional caravan comes from Egypt to gather rock-salt at Bir Natrun. But it was at one time a highway between Egypt and Darfur, whence

¹ Hadaret el Sudan. 18.1.28.

roads radiated to Wadai and Bornu in the west and to the happy hunting-grounds of the slave dealers in southern Darfur and the Bahr el Ghazal.

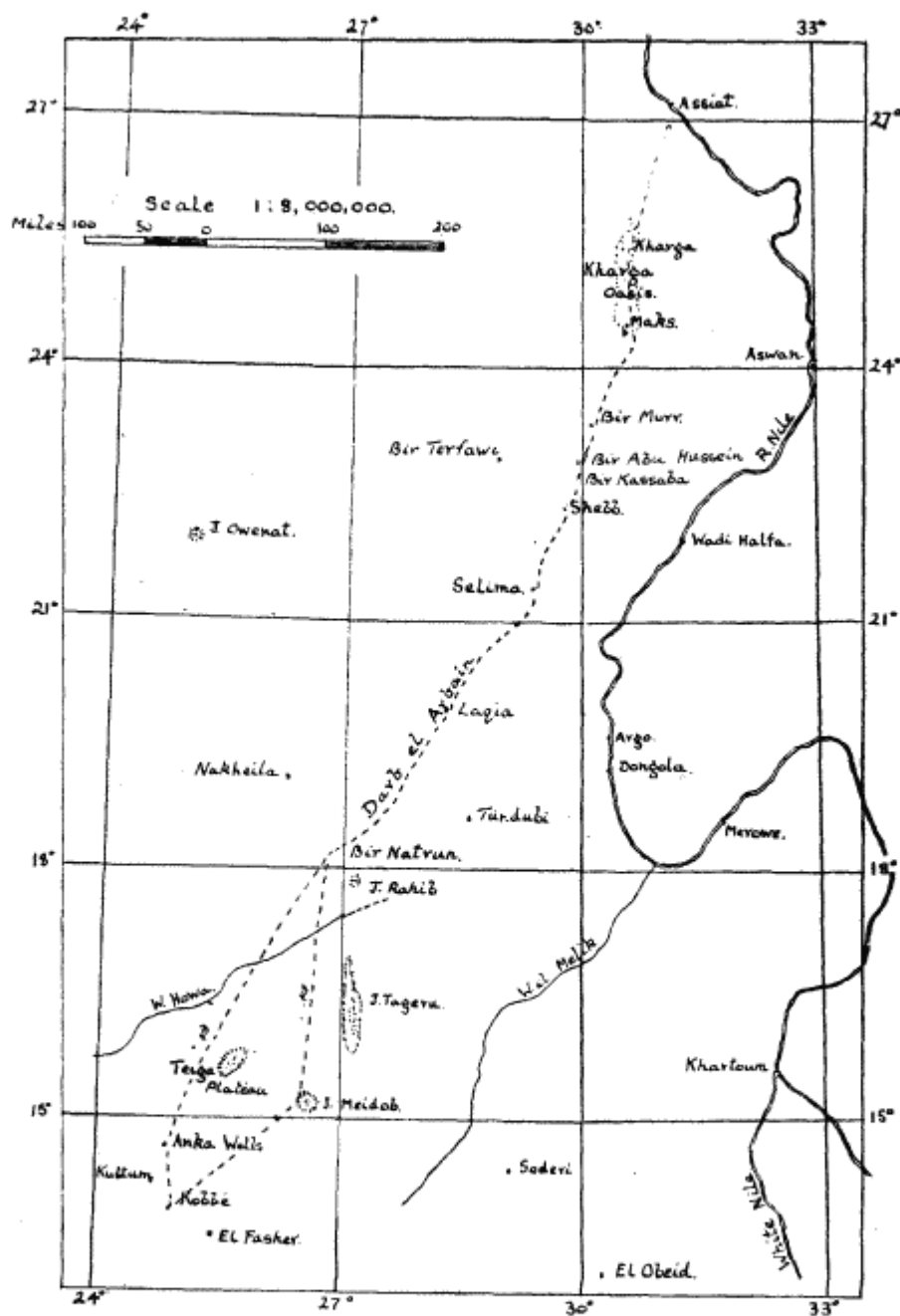
It may be wondered that the travellers of those days did not choose the more pleasant Nile route to the interior rather than cross the barren deserts to the west. But though less pleasant, the desert route was the quicker, there were no portrages of goods at the cataracts, nor was a merchant's property subject to that constant attrition in the shape of bribes and presents then so widely demanded by the rulers of the countries which he traversed. And as W. G. Browne,¹ the first and only European to pass along the whole length of the Road, writes :—" For many years Dongola, Mahas and all the borders of the Nile as far as Sennar . . . have been the scene of devastation and bloodshed, having no settled Government, but being constantly torn by internal divisions and harassed by the inroads of the Shaikie and other tribes of Arabs."

There was, it is true, always the possibility of being raided on the Arba'in Road by the Kababish, Bedayat, or other tribes, but the country traversed was far too barren to support a permanent population, and with a little luck one would avoid their occasional descents.

The traffic on the Road was closely connected with the slave trade, and for thousands of unfortunates it was a " one-way street " at its worst. From south to north travelled slaves, and from north to south the merchandise wherewith to purchase them. The volume of trade was considerable. Browne estimated the value of the goods carried by the caravan with which he returned to Egypt in 1796 at the high figure of £115,000 ; it consisted of 500 camels. A caravan of 2,000 camels and 1,000 slaves was considered rather larger than the normal. He gives a pleasing list of the articles of trade :—

" Commodities brought by the Jelabs from Egypt are :
 amber beads ; tin in small bars ; coral beads ; cornelian ditto ;
 false cornelian ditto ; beads of Venice ; agate ; rings, silver
 and brass for the ancles and wrists ; carpets, small ; blue cotton
 cloths of Egyptian fabric ; white cotton ditto ; Indian muslins
 and cottons ; blue and white cloths of Egypt called *Melayes* ;
 sword blades, straight (German) from Kahira ; small looking-
 glasses ; copper face-pieces or defensive armour for the horses'

¹ W. G. Browne. *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria from 1792-1798*. London, 1806.



heads ; firearms ; kohhel for the eyes ; coffee ; silk, unwrought ; wire, brass and iron ; small red caps of Barbary ; light French cloths made into Benishes ; silks of Scio ; silk and cotton pieces of Aleppo ; shoes of red leather ; black pepper ; writing paper ; soap of Syria . . .

" Transported into Egypt :—

" Slaves, male and female ; camels ; ivory ; horns of the rhinoceros ; teeth of the hippopotamus ; ostrich feathers ; gum ; pimento ; tamrinds made into round cakes ; peroquets in abundance, and some monkeys and Guinea fowl ; copper, white, in small quantity."

The Road takes its name from the number of days required to accomplish the journey along it. Gleichen¹ gives the distance from Assiut to El Fasher, via Anka, as 1,117 miles ; to Kobbé, the real terminus, it would be some 35 miles less. To travel continuously for 40 days at 27 miles a day would seem well-nigh impossible along such a road, where grazing for camels is entirely lacking, except at a few watering places, and there usually indifferent. We must assume that the name implies 40 marching days, and excludes halts. Browne, at the hottest time of the year, took 58 days between Assiut and Sweini (?), two days from Kobbé, where he was delayed for some time. It is not clear how long the return journey occupied. Mohammed Omar el Tounsy², in 1803, took 60 days from Assiut to Souwayneh (*sic*), of which 40 were spent in actual travelling.

Food for the camels had to be carried from Egypt. Browne's caravan took one camel-load of beans and chopped straw for every ten camels of merchandise. On the return from Darfur the camels were given dukhn.

Assiut, in the seventeenth century, was the chief town of middle Egypt, largely owing to its being the clearing-house for the Sudan caravans, where taxes were levied on slaves and merchandise.

From Assiut the Road ascends from the Nile valley and crosses a flat limestone plateau in a southerly direction until 90 miles from Assiut it descends into Kharga Oasis.

¹ Count Gleichen. *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. London, 1905.

² *Voyage au Darfour*. By Mohammed Omar el Tounsy. Tr. Dr. Perron. Paris, 1845.

This is a large, well-watered depression about 100 miles long and 20 broad, running north and south. It has been inhabited since pre-historic times and has passed in turn under the influence of the Pharaohs, Persians, Romans and Christians. The period of greatest prosperity was under the Romans, who garrisoned the oasis and largely developed the water-supplies. Hoskins¹, who visited Kharga in 1835, estimated the population at 4,300; to-day this figure is probably doubled. Dates, rice, wheat and barley are the staple crops and are irrigated from artesian wells.

The Arba'in Road, entering the oasis from the north, passes through the villages of Meheriq, Kharga (the terminus of the railway from the Nile), Bulaq, Jaja, Beris to Maks, the most southerly village in the depression.

From Maks the Road continues southward, passing the site of a Persian outpost at J. Mishersha, 50 miles out, to Bir Murr, two and a half days' journey from Maks. This is nothing more than a few water-holes 3-4 feet deep and containing brackish water.

Bir Abu Hussein, 35 miles from Bir Murr, is of much the same character. Bir Kassaba, half a day's journey further south, is a pool of good water at the foot of a group of dom palms.

Twenty-five miles from Bir Kassaba is Shebb, the "Cheb fontaine alumineuse" of de l'Isle's map of 1792, and, as the name implies, the site of alum deposits. A blockhouse was built here in 1884 to guard against Dervish raids. A track leads off to the north-west to Bir Terfawi, the most westerly of the known wells, and the *point d'appui* of the expedition of Prince Kemal el Din Hussein to Owenat in 1925.

Two long days' march from Shebb is the oasis of Selima. By the side of the Road between Shebb and Selima, about half-way between them, is the tomb of Sheikh Ambigol. Boulton's map of 1787 marks the site as "Tomb of a Fakir." Who Sheikh Ambigol was, history does not relate. He must have been a man of antiquity and importance, and his name is presumably connected with that stretch of the Nile bank called Ambigol lying east of Selima.

A full description of Selima has recently been given in SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.² The reports on it are amusingly contradictory:

¹ G. A. Hoskins. *Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert*. London, 1837.

² T. A. Leach. *The Selima Oasis*. SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. IX. 1926.

Gleichen records that "the water has a strong sulphurous taste and smell; there is plenty of grazing;" Browne, that "it affords the best water of any place on the road but . . . no vegetable fit for the support of either man or beast;" Leach, correctly, that "the water is sweet, cool, and inexhaustible."

All visitors to Selima are agreed on the ruined building which stands on a low ridge to the south of the palm groves. Agreed, at least, upon its existence though not as to its use. Suggestions for the latter range from a convent to a coffee-shop, the enterprising owner of this, a lady named Selima, who is reputed to have given her name to the oasis, being equally identified with a "princess who, like the Amazons, drew the bow and wielded the battle-axe with her own hand . . . and who spread terror over all Nubia." (Browne.)

The walls of the building and the rock on which it stands are covered with scrawlings, names, camel-brands and some Cufic inscriptions. "H.E.C.," whoever he may be, has entrusted his initials to posterity.

Charles Neufeld passed through Selima in April 1887. He had left Wadi Halfa with a party of Kababish with the intention of accompanying them by way of Lagia to El 'Ain, there to join Sheikh Saleh, the head of the tribe. From El 'Ain he proposed to go to El Obeid to trade in gum. After leaving Selima the party wandered confusedly for eight or nine days, either owing to ignorance of the way or treachery on the part of the guides, and, finally, in desperate case and with their water exhausted, they were captured by a party of Dervishes near the Wadi el Gab, west of Dongola. Neufeld was taken into Dongola and thence to Omdurman, where he spent eleven years in captivity.

Maps compiled before the date of Browne's journey show the Arba'in Road as turning in from Selima to the Nile, which it reached near Argo on the third cataract. This route was taken by Poncet (1698), Krump (1701), and du Roule (1704). Denon,¹ who travelled in Upper Egypt in 1799, received the following itinerary of the Darfur caravan from a merchant of Keneh: "From Assiut to Selima as given here, thence to the Nile at Dongola, from Dongola four days westward to El Goyah, and from there six days to Zagoneh." Zagoneh is the same as Bir Natrun and is, presumably, a mistake for Zaghawa, under which

¹ *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*. By Vivant Denon. Tr. by Aikin. London, 1803.

name the place appears in earlier maps. Denon seems to have been the first to put El Goyah on the map, though no well is known in the position which he assigns to it. His informant may have confused it with El Gia in the Wadi el Gab, or possibly, it is intended for Lagia, though incorrectly placed.

Dr. Cuny, who held the post of chief physician in the Province of Assiut in the middle of the nineteenth century, records that a caravan route went from Selima direct to Wara, the capital of Wadai. Later cartographers have shown this road as passing through Nukheila or the mythical 'Ain Kiyeh, but there is little authority for its existence.

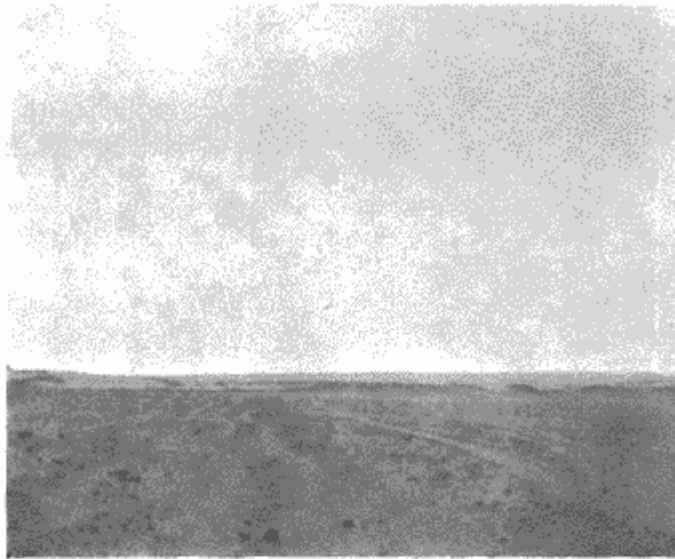
Selima appears to have been inaccurately marked on the map for several years. Newbold, in 1927, found it to be some 9 miles west of its previously indicated position. This, presumably, was taken from the astronomical observations made by Browne; it seems that he was wrong, but one can have nothing but sympathy for one who made "frequent lunar observations, the occultations of Jupiter's satellites, etc," at Selima in June.

From Selima the road leads south-west to Lagia, a distance of 140 miles, mostly over difficult going. At Lagia it descends into a narrow valley some 10 miles long, running east and west. Good water within 6 feet of the surface is found in half a dozen places, but there is practically no vegetation. At Lagia Omran, 12 miles east-south-east, water is also to be found near the surface on a plain 5 miles wide, surrounded by rocky hills.

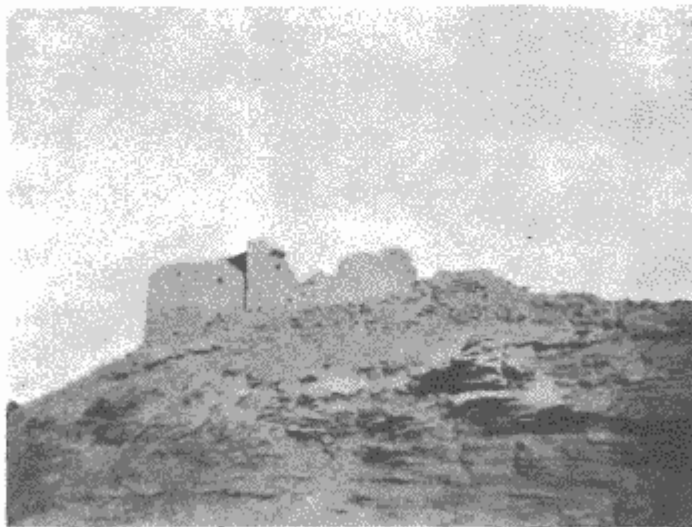
Lagia is a place of evil omen and sudden death. De Cadalvene and de Breuvery¹, writing in 1841, say of Lagia, "jamais les caravanes ne battent pas le tambour dans cet endroit qui passe pour être habité par des démons."

It is a stepping-stone on the route of the Bedayat and Gor'an raiders who, coming via Nukheila from the mountains of Ennedi, pass Lagia on their way to raid the tribes which frequent the fertile Wadi el Gab. Lagia has retained its reputation up to the present day, for, in 1926, an Egyptian caravan bound for Bir Natrun for rock-salt was cut to pieces by the Gor'an. The raiders, according to their usual custom, lay concealed near the camp till midnight and then crept down to cut

¹ de Cadalvene and de Breuvery. *L'Egypte et la Nubie*. Paris, 1841.



THE DARR EL ARBA'IN, NEAR SELIMA.



the throats of the sleeping travellers. Two or three escaped and made their way back to Selima on foot.

The next stopping-place on the Arba'in Road south of Lagia is Bir Natrun, 160 miles journey. The nomenclature of this place is confused. Known in the past as Wadi Natrun, Bir el Malha, or Bir Zaghawa, it is now usually shown on the maps as Bir Natrun. This, strictly speaking, refers to one of the four wells in the oasis (Bir Sultan, Milani, Natrun and Nakhla). The Kababish and Howawir know the place as a whole as El Atrun.

The four wells lie scattered over an undulating plain bounded on the north and east by a high broken plateau. Out of the centre of the plain rises the sharp cone of J. Kashafa, where the Camel Corps had their post some twenty years ago. The stone sangars still stand, and at the foot of the hill are the remains of a few palm-leaf shelters. In 1927 Newbold and I found a few relics of the Camel Corps' occupation, a sparklet bulb, a broken shamadan glass frosted by the action of the wind, and a bottle of Rose's limejuice.

The final evacuation of the post was attended by disaster. The grain supply from Dongola was overdue and the company started off for the river without adequate water supplies. A number of the men perished from thirst, some fell in with a party of Kababish and were saved by them, and one returned to Bir Natrun, took a proper supply of water, and reached the river in safety. One of those rescued was a woman who is, I believe, living in Bara to this day.

Bir Sultan is said to be named after Sultan Ali Dinar, whose men used to water there on their visits to the oasis.

Bir Natrun is much more frequented to-day than Lagia or Selima. Every year a number of caravans come from Dongola, Kordofan and Darfur to collect rock-salt, which is found in quantity on the salt-pans two miles west of J. Kashafa. In 1927 it fetched 50-60 piastres a kantar in Dongola.

Browne says of Bir Natrun, "A troop of the natives of Zaghawa met us at this well. It is their practice to station a small party there, when caravans are expected, who remunerate themselves for the fatigue of a ten days' journey by supplying provisions at an exorbitant rate. The vicinity of Bir el Malha is occasionally infested by the Cubba-Beesh,

a wandering tribe, who, mounted on the swiftest dromedaries, rapidly traverse the desert, and live by plundering the defenceless."

As far as Bir Natrun the Arba'in road is fairly well known. The reports of visitors to Selima from the Nile, of the Egyptian Army officers who patrolled the road from Assiut to Lagia in 1884 and 1894, and of later travellers along the Egyptian section, all contribute to the account. But from Bir Natrun southwards all is uncertainty. Browne, whose account is almost entirely without details, is the only European who has travelled it.

There appear to be two alternative routes. The first and longer of these leaves Bir Natrun in a south-westerly direction and, crossing the Wadi Howa and leaving the Teiga plateau on the east, strikes the first water at Anka Wells. It is almost certain that this was the route followed by Browne. After leaving Bir Natrun, the first place he mentions is Medwa, where there was no water; this I cannot identify. Thence he went on to the Wadi Masruk, which is presumably the present-day Wadi Zurrak, in Lat. 15 N., Long. 25 E. From here he proceeded southwards to the villages of Sweini and Le Haimer. The former I cannot trace, but Le Haimer may be Hamei, 12 miles north-east of Anka. He mentions that the road he followed is bounded on the east first by the Téga (Teiga) and then by the Wanna (Wana) hills.

The second and shorter route from Bir Natrun runs almost due south to Malha Wells at the west end of the Meidob massif. If Browne had followed this it is unlikely that even he would have left the remarkable crater at Malha unrecorded.¹

Both de Lauture² and Cuny³ show on their maps a J. Gheribat on this second route, and speak of it as being the boundary of the kingdom of Darfur. I can find no such hill on the modern maps, but from its position, it is most probably identical with J. Tageru.

Any caravan going south of Bir Natrun would, after three or four days, cross the Wadi Howa. This great *wadi*, containing much vegetation, though now without water, rises in the mountains of Ennedi and runs thence in a north-easterly direction till it fades away in the deserts south-east of Bir Natrun. Browne mentions it under another name, "the Wadi

¹ See *Malha Crater*. By G. V. Colchester. SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. IX.

² Le Comte d'Escayrac de Lauture. *Le Désert et le Soudan*. Paris, 1853.

³ V. A. Malte-Brun. *Journal de Voyage du Docteur Charles Cuny de Siout à El Obeid*. Paris, 1863.

Shaw, which is filled with the shrub (*Salvadora persica*) of that name." Stone implements and pottery have been found in two or three places along the Wadi Howa indicative of a permanent or semi-permanent population in earlier times.

Kobbé, the real terminus of the Arba'in Road, lay some 35 miles north-west of El Fasher. It is now deserted and the 1 : 1,000,000 map of Darfur marks only the hill of J. Kobbei. But it was once the chief city of the western Sudan. Burckhardt¹ in 1814 names it after Sennar as the second town of the whole country. Browne describes it as lying in a wide plain, a long narrow town of scattered houses. It had an uncertain water supply from shallow wells dug in the bed of the khor running on the south-east side. He estimated the population as 6,000, mostly merchants and foreigners with a few Furs. Of the merchants, some were from Egypt and Tunis, but the majority from Sennar and Kordofan.

Mohammed el Tounsy states that Kobbé could produce 6,000 fighting men, but goes on to say that in his time (1803) Fasher (Tendelti) was the capital of Darfur, having been made so by Sultan Abd el Rahman el Yatim in 1791.

Arrival at Kobbé ended for the traveller two months' journeying over a thousand of the most barren miles in Africa. The difficulties and trials of such travel are well summed up in the stiff language of the translator of Poncet's book.² On leaving Kharga Oasis he says, "We were to pass thro' a Desert, where there was neither Brook nor Fountain. The Heat is so excessive, and the Sands of those Desarts so burning, that there is no marching bare-foot, without having one's Feet extremely Swell'd. Nevertheless the nights are Cold enough, which occasions troublesome Distempers in those who Travel thro' that Country. Those vast Wildernesses, where there is neither to be found Bird, nor Wild Beast, nor Herbs, nor so much as a little Fly, and where nothing is to be seen but Mountains of Sand, and the Carcasses and Bones of Camels, Imprint a certain horror in the Mind."

Sixteen hundred years before Poncet, Pomponius Mela said well of Libya :—

Vasta est magis quam frequens.

¹ J. L. Burckhardt. *Travels in Nubia*. London, 1819.

² Poncet. *A Voyage to Æthiopia*. London, 1709.

SONGS OF THE BAGGARA

By S. Hillelson

THE songs of the Baggara (Baqqāra) are simple and artless improvisations, and they often have a charm of freshness and spontaneity which is lacking in the conventional set pieces of the riverain and eastern tribes. Songs are composed by women and men and sung at the tribal dances. The woman poet (*hakkāma*) is the arbitress of conduct, and her verses in praise of courage and chivalry are as much prized as her lampoons on the base and cowardly are feared (cf. "Notes on the Baggara, etc.," by Nagib Eff. Yunis, *S.N.R.*, vol. v (1922), p. 200).

The verses here published are the compositions of men which may be either sung or recited in a staccato chant (*ḡardāg*; v. *ḡardag*, n.a. *ḡardāgī*): they have been selected from the compositions of three Baggara tribes (Misīriya, Humr, and Rizeigāt), and may be regarded as typical both in subject matter and in style. The transcription is that of my Sudan-Arabic vocabulary with this modification, that the single letters *ḥ*, *š*, and *ḡ* have been substituted for *ḥḥ*, *šš*, and *ḡḡ*. For grammatical features characteristic of the Baggara dialect reference may be made to the Introduction to the Vocabulary *passim*.

I

Muḥammad al Faḡīr was Nazir of the Misīriya. He did not hold this position by hereditary right and his conduct made him unpopular with the majority of the tribesmen. Dissension was rife in the tribe until Muḥammad al Faḡīr was deposed in 1915. The poet, a partisan of the unpopular Nazir, addresses the Aulād Umm Salīm, one of the seven sections of the Misīriya, and that to which Muḥammad al Faḡīr himself belongs.

*Yā ḥalī wulād Um Salīm ta'ālū bewaṣṣikū
ḥāif battān mā-aḡikū
kē ḥazzimū wālikū.*

*kin ġw'tū be gadaḥa l kabīr be'aššikū,
 kin faġirtū bil lōḥ el murr beġannikū
 ḥāif lākū min el badanāt es sittī yilḥāmasan fikū,
 en naḡāra zarāfa, kin gāfal battān mā mtaḡikū.*

My people, Aulād Umm Salīm, come here that I may advise you,
 perhaps I may not come to you again.

Thus strengthen your champion.

When you are hungry, he feeds you from his large dish,
 when you are poor, he enriches you by means of the "bitter tablet".
 I fear for you lest the six clans strive with you for mastery.

The nazirship is like a giraffe; once she has bolted she never comes near
 you again.

Notes

"The bitter tablet." Muḥammad al Faġīr had religious pretensions
 as a worker of charms. The reference is to a potion made from the ink
 washed off from a tablet on which incantations had been written.

yilḥāmasan, for the form cf. Introduction iii (f). The classical meaning
 of تخاص as given in Hava is "to contend for superiority with
 o. another".

gāf to bolt (of animals). I have met with no other examples, but
gaffā (قفي) is fairly common in a similar sense.

2

Some time after his deposition Muḥammad al Faġīr with his
 family and his herds migrated to the district of Nyala in southern Darfur.
 The poet laments the departure of his daughters from the home of the
 tribe.

*Am madās 'iḡāl el kdlaha
 bēt amha ḡālis mā ḥalwā.
 Am Tāḡl ḥātm eṣ ṣalā
 isimā maḥalā
 sallimū 'alē m girēn bi 'Ašš šidēr Tīmā,
 bigat lai ḥirriya mešit et Tōma lē buḥūr Nyalā.*

Umm Madās, the heifer of Kalaka,
 her mother's house is a gathering place for guests, never deserted.
 Umm Tāgiya who is like the ring on the fourth finger,
 how sweet her name.
 Greetings to Umm Girēn together with 'Aisha the flower of Tima.
 Bitter to me is the going of Al Tōma to the rivers of Nyala.

Notes

ḥātīm eṣ ṣalā; to wear a ring on the little finger of the left hand is a *sunna*.

Tima, a "Nuba" hill in Abu Zabad district. At the foot of it is a favourite dry weather camping place of the Misiriya.

3

The Rizeigāt (Ruzayqāt) of south-eastern Darfur were a thorn in the flesh of the Fur sultans. Subject to them in name they resisted all attempts to do more than exact a nominal tribute. The poet expresses the tribe's defiance of the threats directed against them by their overlord.

Niḥna aulād Rizēgi nabazna turāb el ḥīn
ḥattīnana lil fana niḥna tara ḥaiyīn,
ḥattīnana lil ḡala niḥna tara ḡā'idīn,
māsikīn ḡilitt ed dār mūballadīn,
šāilīn ḥadīd firān be zindena 'āšīn.

We are the sons of Rizēg, our nickname is "handful of dust".
 They destined us for destruction, behold we are alive,
 They destined us for exile, behold we remain,
 firmly holding the land as settled dwellers.
 We carry sharp steel and live by the strength of our arms.

Notes

ḥīn, the hollow of the two hands as held in drinking. The expression *turāb el ḥīn* as a nickname for the Rizeigāt is well known.

ḡilitt ed dār for *ḡilēdat ed dār*, either diminutive of *ḡilā*, skin, surface, or *ḡalada*, hard soil (see S.N.R., vol. x, p. 211, No. 32).

4

After the fall of Omdurman the Ḥumr and Rizeigāt and other Baggara decamped through Dār Ḥāmid. "Those who were not waylaid by the Dār Ḥāmid tribes and the Nuba of Katūl were seriously harassed by a remnant of Misīriya and Ḥamar . . . In one case, however, the fugitives were successful: Musa Madibbo the Rizeigi inflicted a heavy defeat upon the Ḥamar near Mafūra and killed their leader, Muḥammad el Sheikh" (MacMichael, *Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*, p. 49).

*'Adal yā walad Mādibbō eš šagg ed diyār gabbal.
Gām min Am Dermān nizil kū' el baḥar,
ḡarab el Misīriya dahḡhal fihum faṣal,
kammal riḡāl Ḥamar ašba' eṭ ṭēr namma ṭ ṭēr gadal.
Mūsa walad Mādibbō asad el ḡala l ašgar
'uḡūtt el ḡadīd kaḡḡāb el yaḡūl tinḡhall,
šāšak 'alē rāsak dārat gamar,
šālak 'alē kitfēk dūdat maṭar,
šadd 'alē m merbēt mū tōr safar.
'Isa ma'a Mūsa yatū l biḡūl aškal,
Mūsa besill riḡāb 'Isa beḡīb bagar,
ḡakar tōr am sagādo ṭarad saḡal*

Hail, son of Madibbo, who penetrated the lands [of other tribes] and returned.

He rode forth from Omdurman and alighted at the bend of the river.

He fought the Misīriya and brought destruction upon them,

He exterminated the men of Ḥamar and filled the birds [with flesh] till the birds walked heavily.

Musa son of Madibbo, the tawny lion of the desert.

A knot of iron, he lies who says it can be untied.

Your turban on your head is as the circle of the moon.

Your shawl on your shoulders is [red] as the rain-mite.

He saddles his mare Umm Merbēt, not a transport bull.

'Isa and Musa, who can say which is the better man?

Musa cuts off heads, 'Isa brings [loot of] cattle.

A bull elephant that chases [the hunter] trumpeting.

Notes

gadal, to walk in a mincing manner.

dūdat maṭar, a mite of bright scarlet colour seen after rain; it is generally known in the Sudan as *bint el maṭar*.

am sagādo, an epithet (meaning doubtful) applied to bulls, stallions, etc. Here an elephant is intended.

5

In praise of Musa Madibbo.

Mūsa walad Mādibbō yā nādir el ḥawīya
asad el ḥala—ab zōr ed dagg 'alē s sa'iya
eṭ ṭarad el bagar u katal et tanīya
'agīd ed dabbalan sāran darangalīya
azrag ḡebel er Rizēgiyāt el kullehin biḍḍāran fīya
el buktul lai rāḡil el yimsik lai sirrīya.

Musa son of Madibbo, nāzir of a large tribe,
 the strong-chested lion of the desert which raids the herds
 which drives the cattle and kills the heifer;
 the leader of horsemen who march in columns;
 swarthy, the protector of the women of the Rizeigāt who all take shelter
 with him,
 who kills for me a man and gains for me a slave-girl.

Notes

ḥawīya, the usual meaning (pack-saddle) seems inappropriate here, and to the reciter the word suggested "large numbers"; we may compare the classical meaning of حوى to collect, and the derivatives *ḥiwā* (plur. *aḥwiya*) and *muḥawwā*, a collection of tents near together, etc. (see Lane, s.v.).

tanīya, fem. of *tanī*, an animal nearly full-grown (with two permanent teeth), e.g. a five-year-old camel, a two-year-old cow, etc.

dabbalan. The word, the precise meaning of which is doubtful, suggests the crowding together of horsemen on the march.

darangal, matting of split bamboo plaited with strips of leather, used on the Baggara bedstead. The rows of horsemen are compared to the pattern of the *darangal*.

ḡebel in the sense of "prop", "support" is common in Sudanese verse.

fīya, not a concession to the rhyme, but the regular Baggara form for *fi*.

6

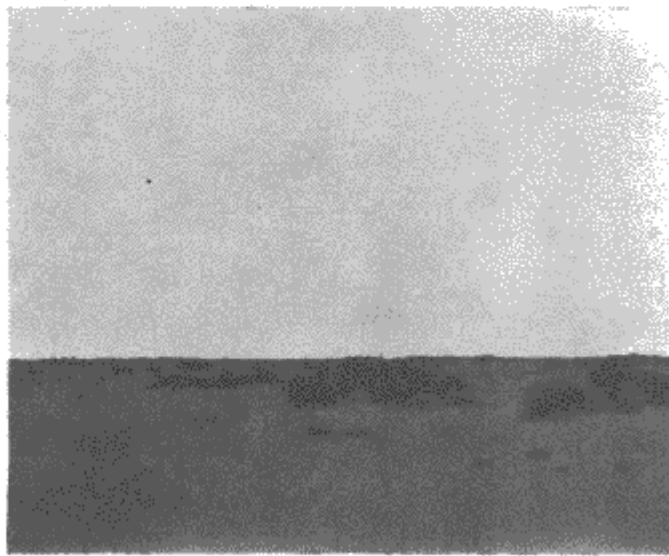
Hauwa al Kōra, a girl of the Ḥumr, was sought in marriage by a Misīrī. Her Ḥumrāwī lover seeks to dissuade her from the match, the worldly advantages of which do not outweigh separation from her tribe.

*Es samḥāt benāt Maḥmūd et telālī,
Am m'sēl binaiyit kīr,
ḥaṅḡūr ḡidaīy er rīl el ḥannan es saīyādī,
ed dugla Zēnaba—am ḡarasan bingī,
ḥiss ḡarasa l gidr el bakā fī Tālōdī.
Hulu d dīnya kin bedūm mā dām lē 'Alī l fūrā'ī;
kin bīnḡūkī bār Meḥammad wal Ḡōdāt u bār Ismā'īn Ḡambī,
kin tibī'ti nasīt er ruwāba 'umrikī barḡaltī.
Yōm tafkur dārna, dār el lahel, am zānan 'uṣur babkī,
kalāmī l gibēl halbat yaḥara 'alēkī,
Hauwa l kōra māmūr Šendī.*

The fair ones Mahmūd's three daughters,
Umm Misēl daughter of Kir,
Ḥaṅḡūr the young of the rīl gazelle which fawns on the hunter.
Dugla Zeinab, she of the tinkling bell;
the sound of her bell is like the cooking pot resounding at Talodi.
Though prosperity may last, it did not last for Alī [Dinar] the Furawī.
Though they give you the cattle of Mahmūd wad Ḡodāt and the cattle
of Ismail Ḡambī,
if you follow [the lure of] curdled milk, you will render your life unstable;
when you remember our *dār*, the *dār* of your people, where in the after-
noon the dance-drum plays,
then for sure my words said long ago will arise in your mind.
Hauwa al Kora, [splendid as] the Mamur of Shendi.



J. KASHAFA, WITH REMAINS OF CAMEL CORPS' SHELTERS IN FOREGROUND.



THE WADI HOWA. SOUTH OF BIR NATRUN.

Notes

telāh, see Introduction, p. xxiv (k); the form is here required by the rhyme.

bār, a Baggara form for *bagar*.

barḡaltī, for this word see *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. x, p. 215, No. 63.

binṣūkī, *anṣā*, to give, as in many dialects.

zān, the name of a tree (species unidentified) from the wood of which dance-drums are made. In the towns *zān* means imported timber, especially beech.

halbat, "certainly," "no doubt," "perhaps."

7

Hauwa al Kōra married her Misīrī suitor. The poet now laments her departure and extols the superiority of the Ḥumr and their country over the Misīriya.

Hauwa el kōra yōm infarag el murḥāl
ḡaltān mānī raḡyān.

ḡallēti kēlak el turda—am widyān,
ḡallēti balad en nūnū ma'a s sukkār,

Ḥauwa ḡazāla š šām,
bilhanna lēki l ḡaladi dār el Gulla abū Selmān
lōna sukkar el ḡāi min Am Dermān,

yā Ḥauwa ḡazāla š šām,
dallōkī dār 'iyāl Misīr am zānan meḡaffal, am ṣabīyan rāḡid ḡaznān,
dallōkī be Tōtō 'iddan ṣuwāl,
nazzalōkī fī Kutna balad el 'urbān,
'addōkī be s sinūṣ ez zargā—am siyādan biḡṭa'o l garaḡ u bitāḡirol burām,
'addōkī be—ab zabad balad es sūdān,
yā—am šī'ēran birdi ḡazīr ḡalab es sallāl.

Hauwa al Kōra, when the travelling party separated,
I was grieved and unwilling.

You have left Keilak the lake of wadis,
you have left the country of the lotus-flower and the papyrus,

Hauwa gazelle of Syria,
 better for you the ground of the *dār* of El Ġulla Abū Selmān,
 which is the colour of sugar that came from Omdurman.
 Hauwa gazelle of Syria,
 they have taken you down to the *dār* of the Misīriya, where the dance-
 drum is neglected, where a lad lies down in sorrow.
 They have taken you down by Toto of the deep wells,
 they have taken you to camp at Kutna where nomads dwell,
 they have taken you past El Sinut the black, where people gather acacia
 pods and trade in earthenware pots,
 they have taken you past Abu Zabad where black men dwell,
 you whose hair is like thick papyrus which defeats him who would pull
 it up.

Notes

ġaltān, cf. *ġallaṭ* 'ala, to annoy; the pronunciation seems to vary between *ṭ* and *t*.

Kēlak, Lake Keilak in Southern Kordofan; for *turda* cf. *S.N.R.*, vol. x, p. 212, No. 35.

El Ġulla, the former nazir of the Ḥumr.

nūnū, a water plant with a white flower.

sukkār, sprigs of the papyrus plant.

ġaladi, see note on No. 3.

8

A poet of the Ḥumr addresses a girl of the tribe married to the son of a slave mother.

Yā midīr el Fāšer Sāfīl Bē,
kubbāyt eš šāhi abū ša'irē,
el ḥasāra fī Farīt ma'a Ġangē,
er rizz el ma'sūl, ka'k fī šuḥūn, fuṣūr el Barāmkē,
Hauwa—am rigēbi ḥaiyat Faṭnī,
el meḥallīs eṭ ṭāif buḥūr Ġangē.

[In splendour like] the mudir of Fasher Savile Bey,
 [sweet as] a cup of Abu Sha'ira tea,
 alas for [marriage with] Fertit und Dinka.

[Sweet as] honeyed rice, cake on plates, the breakfast of spendthrifts.
 Hauwa Umm Rigēba, sister of Fāṭima,
 [like] a Commissioner touring the Dinka rivers.

Notes

Abu Sha'ira is the name of a brand of tea.

El Barāmkē, the Barmecides of the *Arabian Nights*, famous for lavish hospitality. The connotation is thus the exact opposite of "Barmecide feast" in English. Amongst the Baggara there are "clubs" of Barāmika organized under mock Nazirs and 'Omdas for the purpose of love-making and feasting.

9

A Misīrī love-song.

*Samḥi belā ḥadūr u samḥi belā ḥanāg,
 bandah lēki Allah el wāḥid el ḥallāg
 ḡīdan faḍḍal 'alēki biṭ ṭalāg.
 yōm qarabō am zumbāg
 futti l 'awīn kubār u dugāg,
 ṣabīyan mā ḥaḍanki min el ḥulu šin ḍāg?*

Fair without [adornment of] beads and necklace,
 I pray for you to God the One the Creator
 that graciously He may grant you a divorce.
 When they played the dance-drum
 you surpassed all women great and small;
 a lad who has not "petted" you, what does he know of sweetness?

Notes

ḥadūr, cf. El Tounsy, *Voyage au Ouaday*, p. 339: Le *khaddour*, kharaz allongé, blanc, ou rouge, ou bleu, et que les négociants étrangers transportent au Dârfour . . . Le *khaddour* a peu de valeur au Dârfour; on ne le voit que sur les domestiques et les pauvres.

am zumbāg, a dance-drum. There are other names, e.g. *am bāggo*, *mérdama*, each of which perhaps signifies a special type of drum. The generic name is *nuggāra*.

ḥaḍanki. On *ḥaḍāna*, the "petting" custom, cf. "Notes on the Baggara, etc.," by Nagib Eff. Yunis, *S.N.R.*, vol. v (1922), p. 203.

10

Another Misīrī love-song.

*nūnīt el ǧarag
el milweššiḥe l warag,
ǧallāyt el maḥrag
ḥarīfkī dallag,
rašriškī mil'akkif lāḥig el ḥadag.
dāir anzurki—irmī l ḥalag,
ǧalbī 'alēki—inḥarag,
Marḍā ḥaiyt Aḥmad,
ez zōl eṭ ṭammaḥṭi ḥadda—illaḥag,
bigi tēs fī tuyūs laǧlag.*

Lotus flower of the lake,
wearing an amulet on a leather thong
[fair as] grain sown in a burnt clearing
on which rain has come down abundantly.
Your eyelashes curl up and touch the lids.
I desire to gaze on you, throw off the garment.
My heart burns for you,
Marḍa sister of Ahmad,
The man whom you scorn reaches the limit [of wretchedness],
He is [contemptible as] a miserable he-goat.

Notes

milweššiḥe, from *wišāḥ*, here taken to refer to the leather thong on which amulets are carried. In cl. Arabic (see Hava) *wušāḥ* may mean various feminine ornaments such as a studded belt, a necklace, and a scarf.

ḥarīfkī dallag, lit. your rainy season has been abundant. For derivatives of *dalag* in this or a similar sense see the dictionaries, s.v.

lāḥig el ḥadag. *Ḥadag* should mean the iris or pupil of the eye. To the reciter the word suggested that part of the eye-hollow which is just underneath the eyebrow.

ḥadda illaḥag for *ḥaddo inlaḥag*, his limit has been reached. The pronunciation *a* for the possessive suffix is typical of the Baggara dialect.
tuyūs laglag, goats of inferior growth and quality.

II

A poet of the Rizeigāt addresses a woman of the tribe whose matrimonial indiscretions have been the subject of talk and litigation.

Am zēn am bēt el bardahō
ṣabāḥ ed dōr banō,
am ḥadīsan ramḡakō,
'ind el gādī mā ṣaffō,
el muhra l fōka l badīd gāsō,
el 'igla am takaḡō,
am zēn Hauwa gūmī lēna kō.

The fair one, for whom they erected a bridal hut
 built to the east of the camp,
 she who caused words [of strife] which were bandied about,
 [whose troubles] were not settled before the kadi;
 a filly on whom they fitted the saddle-pad,
 a white-flecked red heifer,
 Hauwa the fair, arise [and come] to us.

Notes

bardah, to adorn; *ramḡak*, to confuse, mix up; *am takaḡō*, a red cow with white marks. The use of these words seems to be confined to the Baggara dialects.

THE TEMPLE OF TAHARQA AT KAWA.

By F. Addison.

(PLATES VIII-XIII.)

THE ancient site of Kawa lies about three miles south of Dongola, on the opposite, or east, bank of the river. The visible remains consist of mounds thickly strewn with potsherds, and of well-built mud brick walls of ancient houses laid bare by *sebbakhin*. To the north, traces of masonry indicate a temple. The area covered by these remains, though extensive, is well defined, and the site is evidently that of a walled town of considerable size and importance, with a temple, as usual, in the north-east corner.

This site is known to archaeologists, but, as far as I am aware, has never been examined or described, and the purpose of this note is to put on record one or two facts of some interest which emerged as a result of a few hours clearing in the temple area.

The Governor of the Province, Mr. A. B. B. Howell, was anxious that I should undertake this clearing, and had arranged with the District Commissioner of Dongola, Mr. C. R. Wordsworth, to provide a gang of labourers. These men were already energetically if unscientifically at work in a cloud of dust when I arrived, and had excavated a deep pit in the only part of the site where masonry appeared above ground level. They had cleared a stone stairway, descending with one right-angled turn to a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres, and, more important, had exposed the name and titles of Taharqa (688-663 B.C.) shown in Fig. 2. This inscription reads: ". . . (Lord) of the Two Lands, Lord of the Administration, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra-nefertem-Khuw, Son of Ra, Taharqa, living . . . "

The date of the building being thus established, it remained to find out something of its nature and extent. The most plausible explanation of the steps was that they were the bottom flight of a stairway within the thickness of a temple pylon. This proved to be the case, for when the men were sent to clear away the sand in the places where the remainder of the pylon might be expected to lie, its complete outline was recovered about 20 centimetres below existing ground level. With this as a guide, excavations were made at various likely points, and sufficient of the

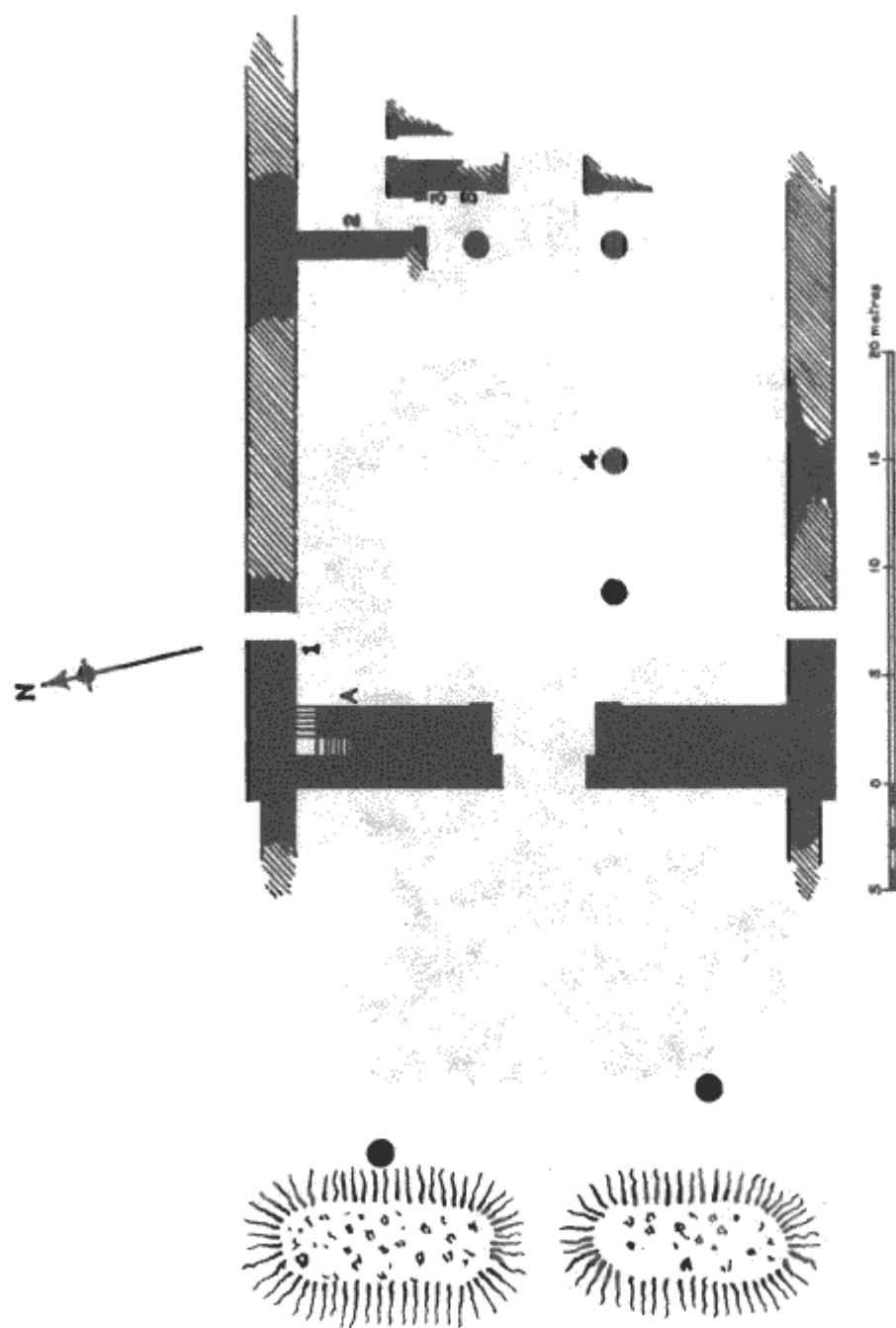
masonry was exposed to enable me to take the measurements from which I have drawn the plan in Fig. 1. This shows the stonework existing at, or a little below, present ground level, and the parts shown black are those actually uncovered.

The temple evidently consisted originally of an entrance pylon, represented by the mounds to the west, leading into a colonnaded forecourt; then a second pylon leading probably into a hall of columns, and then a sanctuary with its surrounding chambers. The plan gives a mere indication of all these, but no more could be accomplished in the short time at my disposal.

The faces of all the walls are decorated with reliefs and inscriptions, but these faces were not cleared except at the points marked on the plan. The only place where the floor of the temple was reached is at the bottom of the stairway, and the height of the wall still standing at (1) is $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres. The face at (2) was cleared to a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres, and at (B) to about a metre. I should say the walls are standing in most places to a height of about 2 metres, but the building is buried in blown sand so that very little is visible on the surface. The stone used is a soft sandstone, and many of the blocks are cracked. The sand, however, has preserved the reliefs, and those which were uncovered were in fairly good condition.

The reliefs on the wall at 2 are shown in Figs. 3 and 4. Fig. 4 is a continuation to the left of Fig. 3 and the ram-headed figure of Amon is the same in both photographs. On the right (Fig. 3) Taharqa is shown embracing Horus, and embraced by Horus and by Thoth (behind him). Above are the ends of three vertical lines of inscription; the first gives the name (Tahar)qa and the city-sign terminates the second line. On the left (Fig. 4) is an offering scene. Taharqa is shown leading calves up to Amon with the ram's head, and in front of the King is a vertical line of hieroglyphics which reads: "Smiting calves in the temple." Over the top calf is the word "green"; over the second is the word "white"; and over the third the word "red." There is, presumably, a fourth calf still covered by the sand below the edge of the photograph. Above are the ends of several vertical lines of hieroglyphics, the first, as before, ending with the name (Tahar)qa, and the last again terminating with the city-sign.

The name "Son of Ra, Taharqa" appears on the projecting portion of the wall at (3) on the plan, and both his names appear on the column



THE TEMPLE OF TAHARQA AT KAWA

(The parts shown black are those at or near existing ground level on the site in December 1928.)

FIG. 1.

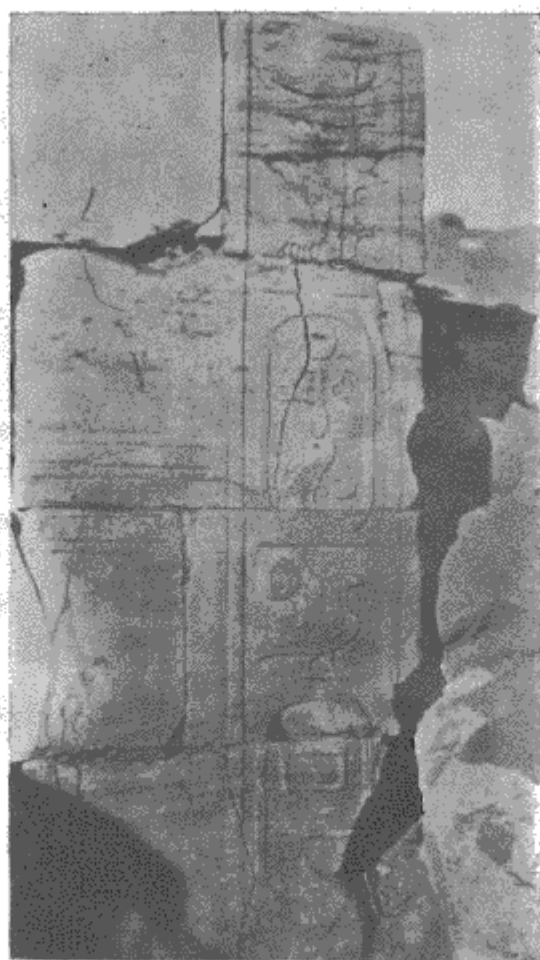


FIG. 2.
NAMES OF TAHARQA AT (1).

at 4 (see Fig. 5) which was partially cleared. These cartouches are the same as those shown in Fig. 2, but to the left the signs read " . . . beloved of (Amon of) Gem-pa-Aton."

Fig. 6 shows part of the inscription on the wall at B, and here again, starting from the right of the second line, we have the words: "Amon (of) Gem-pa-Aton." The line continues: "May they drive out all the evil which is in him . . ."

Dr. Reisner, to whom I sent copies of the photographs and to whom I am indebted for many of the readings already given, has sent me the following note:—

"In the inscriptions at 2, 4, and B, the god is named *Amon-gem-pa-Aton*, always with the determinative for 'city' after, *Aton*. In the tomb of Ramose at Thebes, a Theban temple is mentioned with the name *Amon-(gem?)-em-per-Aton*. It seems plausible to assume that the god of Kawa was originally *Amon-gem-em-per-Aton*, and that in the time of Taharqa this name was corrupted to *Amon-gem-pa-Aton*. The omission of the *em* after *gem* would be easy in the spoken name and, similarly, the *per* pronounced *piy* or *pe* might be mistaken for the article *pa*. By this time, it is clear that Gem-pa-Aton was taken as the name of the temple or the place (*i.e.*, Kawa) and the scribe wrote the name as if it were Amon of Gem-pa-Aton. The inscription of Harsiotef (line 20) actually writes "Amon who is in Gem-aten." The name shows the following changes in the later inscriptions:—

"Taharqa . . . Amon-gem-pa-Aton.

"Harsiotef . . . Amon-hery-ib-Gem-ten (Amon who is in Gem-ten).

"Nastasen . . . Amon-per-gem-te (Amon of the temple of Gemte).

"It is obvious that three hundred years after Taharqa's time the name Gem-pa-Aton had been contracted to Gem-Aton (Gem-ton, Gem-te).

"The inscriptions of Harsiotef and Nastasen show that a visit to obtain the sanction of Amon of Gem-Aton was an essential part of the coronation ceremonies of their time. Harsiotef, after recounting his visit to Amon of Napata, says (line 20):—

" 'Thereafter I visited Amon, who is in Gem-ten (Gem-Aton). He said to me that which Amon of Napata had said to me.'

"Similarly Nastasen (line 22) :—

"On the twelfth day of the first month, I sailed downstream to Amon of Per-gem-te, my good father. I caused Amon of Per-gem-te to appear, coming outside the great temple. I spoke my good speech with him, the Ra. He gave me the Kingship of Ethiopia; he gave me the two river-banks (?), Aloa, the Nine Bows, and his strong bow. He said to me that which Amon of Napata, my good father, had said to me. I went up and sat on the golden throne." (*Schaefer's translation.*)

I would read Per-gem-te as "of the temple of Gem-te (Gem-Aton)."

"I conclude that originally the temple at Kawa was named Amon-gem-em-per-Aton and that the place had the same name as the temple. In the time of Taharqa, the name of the temple and the city had been corrupted to Gem-pa-Aton; in the time of Harsiotef, to Gem-ten (= Gem-Aton); and in that of Nastasen, the name of the temple was Per-Gem-te, and that of the city Gem-te (for Gem-aton). The temple is the 'great temple' mentioned by Nastasen."

The city, however, was evidently in existence long before the days of Taharqa. A short distance to the west of his temple, though not in line with it, are the remains of seven standing columns, the existing tops of which are flush with the ground. These are arranged as shown in Fig. 7, and it is of interest to note that the bearing of the probable axis of the building of which they formed part is exactly the same as that of the axis of the Taharqa temple. Time did not permit of anything more than the most cursory examination of these columns, but a little clearing of the sand showed column 3 to be covered with plain white plaster and apparently cylindrical. Columns 1 and 2 are fluted, or, more correctly, polyhedral, but while (2) has fragments of plaster still adhering to it, (1) is devoid of plaster and is inscribed with a single vertical line of hieroglyphics, the top of which is shown in Fig. 8. Columns of this type are characteristic of the Egyptian New Empire period, and more particularly of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and the inference is that a temple of this period once stood here. The white plaster suggests a possible restoration and re-use of the temple in Meroitic times, but until the site is cleared, there can be no evidence in support of this conjecture. Dr. Reisner reads the line of inscription on column 1: "in the house of his father, Lord of the gods, Amon, Lord of Nesuwt-tauwy . . ." and adds

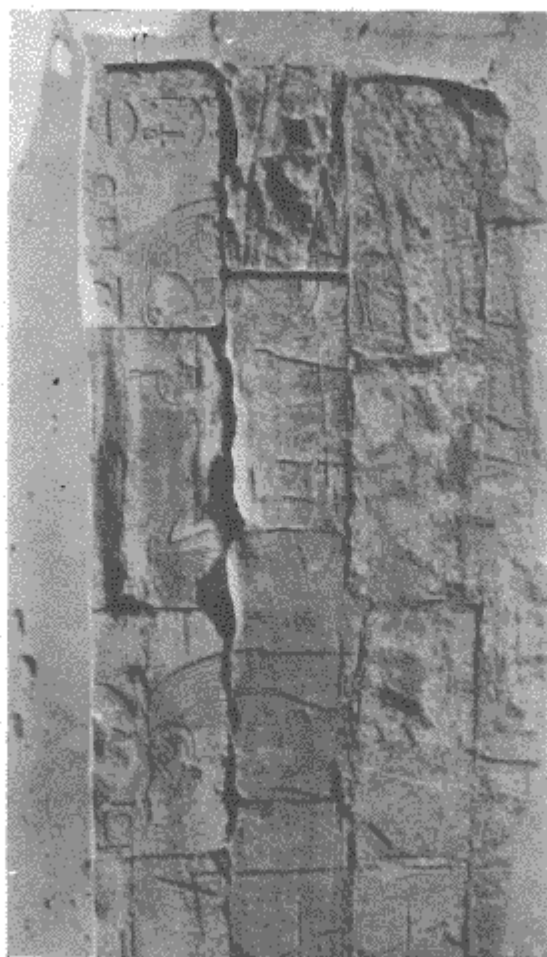


FIG. 3.
TABARQA BETWEEN HORUS AND THOTH.

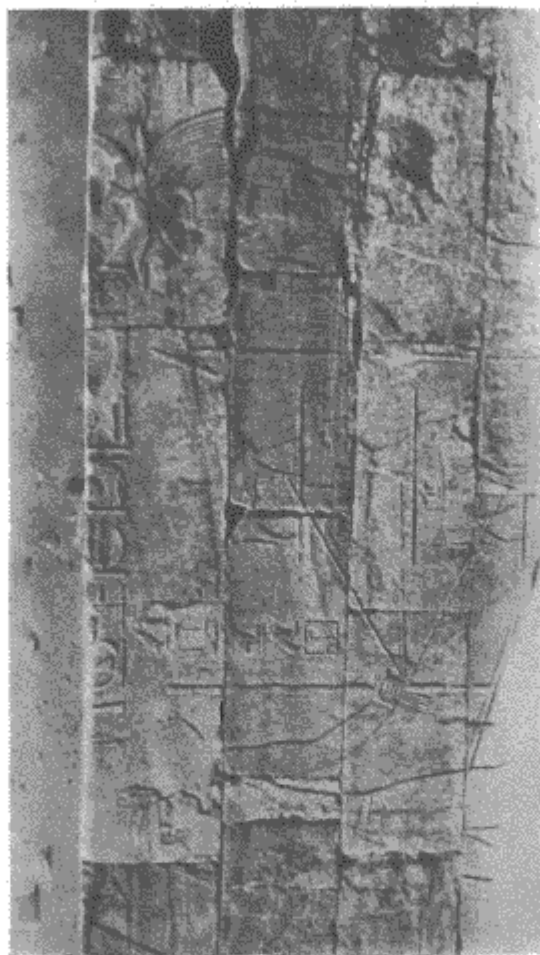


FIG. 4.
TAHARQA MAKING AN OFFERING OF CALVES TO AMON.

the observation : " Nesuwt-tauwy is here the temple of Amon at Gebel Barkal, but is also the temple of Karnak at Thebes."

It seems, then, that Kawa was an important Egyptian town during the New Empire occupation of the Sudan, and was, without doubt, one of the centres from which Egyptian culture and ideas were disseminated. On the evidence of the pottery with which the site is strewn, it was more or less continuously occupied until Meroitic times and has thus a history extending over at least 1,500 years.



FIG. 5.
NAMES OF TAHARQA ON COLUMN AT (4).



FIG. 6.
PART OF INSCRIPTION ON WALL AT B.

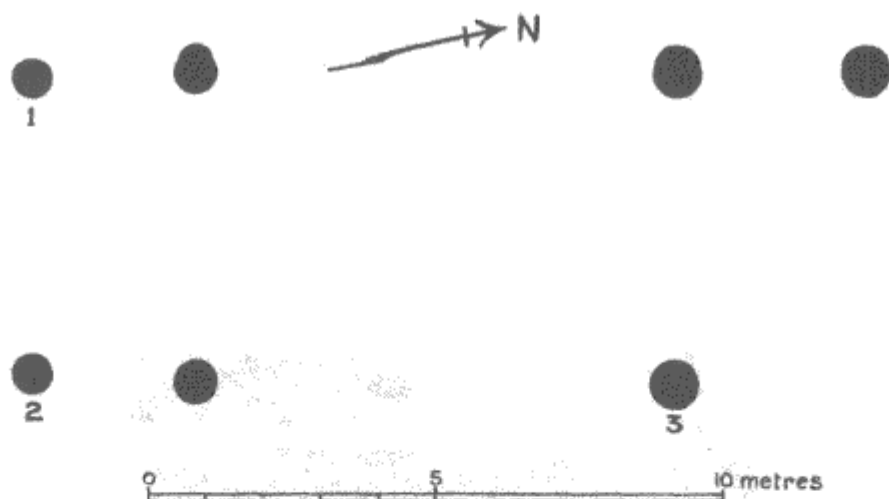


FIG. 7.
PLAN OF COLUMNS OF NEW EMPIRE TEMPLE.

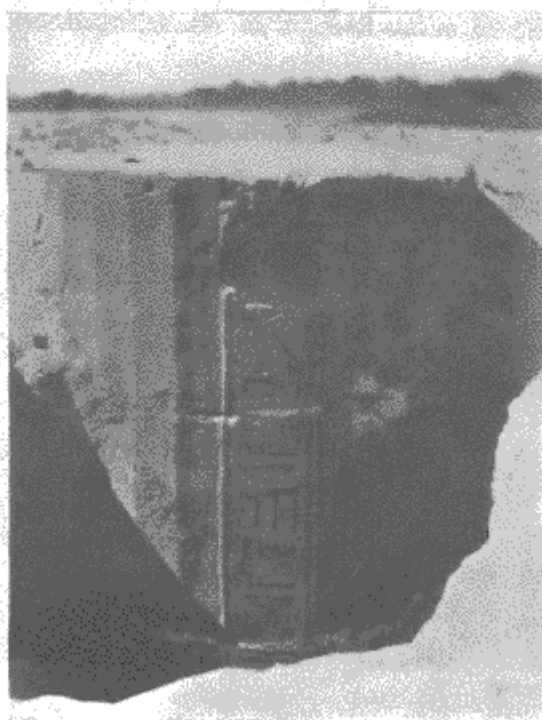


FIG. 8.
INSCRIPTION ON COLUMN (1).

SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE BARI.

By G. O. Whitehead.

BARI society is composed of freemen, who are called *Lui* (*sing.* *luitöt*), and a number of servile groups who are collectively called '*Dupi*' (*sing.* '*dupiet*'). This distinction between freeman and serf is still important, but the whole trend of social change tends to efface it, and the description here given of the functions and position of the various classes refers to an earlier date, before the coming of the Turk or the European.

In the first place there are the '*Dupi* proper, or '*dupi kaderak*, that is to say the serfs who cook. The most fundamental distinction between them and their masters the *lui*, though it is not one that a Bari would point out, is probably a physical one. At any rate one fairly well marked type occurs more often among the ranks of the serfs who cook than among the freemen. It is a type marked by a reddish tinge of skin, a spreading nose, and parted lips. The Bari themselves realise that the '*dupi* tend to be hairy and short, and age more quickly than the *lui*.

The '*dupi kaderak* used not as a rule to own cattle. They are supposed originally to have possessed them, but to have lost them to the freemen. There are various forms of a legend which relates how this happened. The following is one of them :—

"At first in the history of the Bari it is said that the '*dupi* were wealthy, when their bull was alive. His name was *Gölubek*. And he was lost because he went into the enclosure of the freemen. Therefore a '*dupiet* sought for him, and said: 'Freemen, is my bull here?' And they said: 'What is your bull's name?' And he said: '*Gölubek*.' And they said: 'Where has it got its teeth?' And he said: 'It has got teeth above.' And they said: 'Come and see.' But it happens that '*dupi* do not understand cattle well, and he could not find *Gölubek*, and he said: 'My bull is not here.' And the freemen laughed loud, and mocked the '*dupi* because they do not understand cattle. And the freemen tricked the '*dupi*, and punished them much, and the '*dupi* feared the freemen."

Nevertheless, though the '*dupi*' had no cattle, they had to pay a bull and a cow-calf as the marriage price of their wife, and for this they were bound to apply to their chief. This assistance by the chief seems to have been the legal ground, as it were, on which his claim to the services of the father and the children was based. These services were the building of huts and grain-stores, the cutting of wood and the fetching of water, and the cooking of food. At feasts they were given the entrails of the animals, which they took away and ate by themselves.

In the old days the freemen are said to have killed off the children of their '*dupi*' if they became too numerous, and to have entertained a superstitious fear of them, as if the children of the '*dupi*' might exert a malign influence on their own children. As a rule a freeman never married a '*dupiet*'; if he did he incurred the taunts of his fellows; but a chief, who had lost a succession of his children through illness, might take a wife from among the serfs and would make her a freewoman.

The position of these '*dupi*' was not however one of unrelieved serfdom. They had some qualities of mind which won the respect of the freemen. They were the first inventors of beer. One of them named Wöri Maridja composed many songs. The serfs of the rain-maker played an important part in the ritual of rain-making, and were sent to different parts of the country to represent their chief, when they received the honours that were due to him. They also became '*bonok*' or doctors, a position which gives a good deal of influence.

The Bari themselves are uncertain how to account for the origin of this class. They think that people may have dropped into the status of serfs in a time of severe famine, when they were forced to find a patron to support them, but their ranks have not been recruited by freemen who have sunk in the social scale, so long as anyone can remember. They also tell a story of the coming of the freemen into the country. The '*dupi*' were already there, and supported life by trapping rats. But when the '*lui*' came their cattle trampled down the rat traps, and deprived the '*dupi*' of their food. The '*dupi*' lamented, and begged the freemen to give them and their children milk, in return for which they would work for them.

The facts about this class suggest that it is probably racially distinct from the class of freemen. The freemen, so it seems, represent the

superior, cattle-owning element of Bari society, while the '*dupi*' are an earlier people of a much less advanced culture, who, upon the invasion of the Nile valley by the freemen, were forced to submit to this servile condition.

Another servile class are the *Yari*, or hunters. They followed a manner of life which clearly marked them off from the freemen. They lived away from the Nile in the open forest land. They neither owned cattle nor cultivated to any great extent. Instead they lived on the fruits of certain forest trees, honey, flying ants, rotten meat, and mushrooms. They paid a tribute of *hegliḡ* and tamarind fruit, honey, ants, and elephant tusks to their chief. When they wished to marry they would come to their chief and beg him to assist them by giving them the bull and cow-calf which was the customary bride-price of the servile classes.

The other two classes which compose Bari society are the *Tomonok ti Yukit*, or Artizans of the Forge, and the *Tomonok ti Kare*, or Artizans of the River. In the old days both these classes lived in separate villages, and some of them still do. These villages would be recognisable by the type of hut which was smaller and lower than those of the freemen, and by the presence of the tools of their respective trades, the pottery bowls covered with skin which serves the smiths as bellows, and the large hippopotamus harpoons of the fishermen. The distinction between them and the freemen is not so clear as with the '*dupi*', nor is their status so low. A freeman might designate them '*dupi*', and include them with the cooking serfs, or '*dupi*' proper, and the hunters; but they themselves might deny that they belonged either to the class of freemen or to that of serfs. It may be the case that they never held so servile a position as the '*dupi*', or that they were able to emancipate themselves from it earlier. In the old days they had few or no cattle, yet they have long been in the habit of marrying independently of the chief's assistance. This they were able to do, owing to the value of the goods they produced; the smith could generally find someone to buy his hoes, and a fisherman could do the same with his hippopotamus oil.

At the same time the smiths used to appeal to their chiefs among the freemen to assist them with their marriage price, and would seek to please them either by making some of the many iron ornaments which the Bari women wear, or by coming and working for their chief

as domestic servants. They also paid a yearly tribute of ten or fifteen hoes to their chief, while the fishermen were bound to hand over two legs of every hippopotamus and the tail of every crocodile.

Against this background of specialised occupational classes stood the Lui or freemen. The ownership of cattle, the possession of the principal posts of state, and a general sense of their superiority mark them off from the servile classes. It is not true that they all owned cattle, for some freemen might be quite poor, but there would be no danger of their being considered as serfs. Certain positions were the exclusive right of the freemen. Such were that of *Mor*, or over-chief (there might be four of them in the country at the same time); of *Monyekak*, or "father of the soil"; and of *Matat lo Piong*, or rain-maker. Should the succession fail in this last office, it seems that a '*dupiet*' might take on the duties of rain-maker, but this would be exceptional.

Such a distribution of society into slave and free, immigrant conquerors and autochthonous conquered, is probably a commonplace of much African history, but the interest of its existence among the Bari is that it links them up with the Masai and the Nandi to the east, with whom they already are known to have strong linguistic connections. Both the Masai and the Nandi are a cattle-owning aristocracy in a country already occupied by a "helot" race, the Dorobo. The Dorobo are hunters; like the '*dupi*', they once possessed cattle, but they lost them to the Masai, and are nowadays a by-word for their ignorance of cattle. Another point of similarity between the organisation of the two people, Masai and Bari, is to be found in the manner in which their cattle pastured. During the wet season the Bari cattle were driven inland to places where the grass was good. At one time the Bari villages on the west bank of the Nile between Rejaf and the river Luri used to take their herds all the way to the river Ko'da. There a *kurumi* or large cattle enclosure was built of posts of ebony wood and thorns. The *teton*, or young men of eighteen to thirty-five years of age, remained with the cattle, while the married men, women and children stayed at home, and the young girls journeyed backwards and forwards carrying milk. The warriors herded the cattle by day, and danced and sang songs by night; their food during this time was for the most part milk, blood drawn from the necks of the cow and mixed with milk, and a little dura.

Such were some of the salient points of the old regime in Bari society. The penetration of the country by other races has profoundly altered this state of affairs.

In the first place the introduction of money has put it in the power of the servile classes to make themselves independent of their chiefs and patrons among the freemen. The Yari perhaps were in the most fortunate position; they suddenly found themselves faced with the chance of "wealth beyond the dreams of avarice." The foreigners needed ivory and the Yari were the only Bari who were constantly in the habit of killing elephants. The opening was obvious, and the story is told of how one enterprising freeman, Pitia lo Tangun, turned *yaranit* himself so that he could supply the European demand for ivory. His children, however, feared that they would lose their status of *lui*, and gave up their father's occupation.

The smiths in the same way began to earn money. In the old days their hoes were purchased with milk, then, when milk became scarce, with dura, and later with money, the present price for a hoe being two piastres.

The importance of this change lies in the fact that the servile classes can thus become independent in their marriage arrangements, and when they have bought their wives with their own cows, it would seem that half the chief's claim on their services has gone. Their chief has to base his appeal to them on the other ground of traditional right. Thus he might say: "My children, although I have not assisted you in marriage, you will work for me because you are the '*dupi*' of my grandfather."

The '*dupiet*' is not yet sure of his position, but he begins to take advantage of these opportunities for emancipation. On feast days and at assemblies he is still unable to stand up against the force of public opinion, but falls into his usual place and does the work that is expected of him. But at other times he begins to claim a better position; he will often pay a much higher price for his wife than the customary bull and cow-calf, and he may at times refuse to perform his customary duties. At any rate, in the eyes of the *lui* he is becoming an upstart. The servile classes on the whole feel that in the government they have a champion that fosters the spread of property and is set against any form of slavery.

Quite as important in its effects upon the social habits of the Bari as the introduction of money has been the destruction and the redistribution

of cattle. All evidence of early writers as well as of the Bari themselves is unanimous in asserting the great herds of cattle that they possessed when the foreigner first entered the country. These were steadily reduced by the raids of the Khartoumers, the disturbances during the Mahdi's revolt, and by disease, so that about forty to twenty-five years ago cattle at times actually disappeared from the marriage prices of freemen which were paid instead in goats and hoes. Cattle have now become common again, and for a freeman to demand twenty cows, four guineas, sixty goats and sheep, and twenty hoes would be by no means uncommon. But the cattle are no longer in the same hands. Whereas in the old days large herds were owned by a few prominent freemen, now members of all classes, slave or free, may be found owning cattle, and 'dupi begin to pay marriage prices which some time ago would have been beyond the means of a freeman.

There are almost certainly a smaller number of cattle in the country now than there were fifty years ago, but there is also a smaller population; relatively to the population the decrease in cattle may only be a small one; the chief point is that they are distributed differently.

The dearth of cattle that occurred at the end of last century seems to have broken down some of the traditional habits of the Bari. The *kurumi*, or forest cattle enclosure used in the wet season, has disappeared for good. Thus the occupation of the young men, or *teton ti kurumi*, who attended to it, has gone too. Not only is there no annual migration, but the need for watching the herds at all times against the attack of hostile raiders has disappeared. This state of affairs is a part cause of another great change in the social habits of the Bari, the earlier marrying age of the men. In the old days they did not usually marry until they had passed into the age-class of the *longure* (about 35 years of age), when they settled down in a house of their own. But now they often marry ten or twelve years earlier. While the chiefs always married a number of wives, freemen of early middle age, as well as 'dupi, were often content with one. Now it is not uncommon for quite a young man to marry two wives.

The dislocation of the pastoral life of the Bari led them to pay more attention to agriculture. When the white man first appeared he found the Bari growing sesame, tobacco, beans, marrows, and red dura. The latter, it seems, was grown in quite small quantities, rather as tobacco

is now. Since that time a variety of new crops have been introduced, and the cultivation of the old very much extended. In the eighties Jephson noticed telabun and ground-nuts. Maize has since been added.

All this has made a change in the people's habits of work, as the younger men, who at one time were occupied with the cattle, now join the older men in the work of the fields.

The economic changes that have taken place have had their effect in blurring the hard-and-fast lines between the Bari social classes. Some freemen have joined the occupation of the *tomonok*, though apparently without losing their status, while, as has been seen, the position of the *'dupi* has on the whole been raised. But changes in the actual native system of government are naturally to be traced to the effects of European control. As is to be expected, the administration of the country is worked through the existing native aristocracy, so that the *kimak ti gela* or chiefs of the foreigners are at the same time the *kimak ti jur* or chiefs of the country. But this double character has rather altered their position in the eyes of the people. The basis of their authority is now their connection with the government rather than their own intrinsic positions. Consequently, the representatives of some old native institutions do not receive the same respect that they used to. The advice of the *komonyekak*, or fathers of the soil, is not sought or listened to quite as it once was; the *Mor* no longer collects the customary tribute; and the chief rain-maker does not now make solemn progresses through the land as far as the Mandari border borne aloft on a couch by four of his slaves.

Thus in the brief period of three generations there has been a very considerable revolution. There has been a gradual and partial emancipation of the servile classes, a redistribution of property, and a partial change from an almost exclusively pastoral to a mixed pastoral and agricultural economy. It is easy to talk of native society as changeless, but such facts as these suggest that it is only the absence of written records that allows such a generalization.

NOTES.

The Trial of a Jur "Witch-Doctor."¹

IN February, 1929, the trial was held at Yirrol, in the Upper Nile Province, of a Jur witch-doctor called Apur Mena and one Shengaan Aiyel, a chief of the Kwek, on a charge of criminal conspiracy to commit murder. It was alleged against Apur that some three years ago he had supplied Shengaan with a charm for the purpose of bringing about the murder of Captain A. F. Kidd, the District Commissioner, and two native chiefs.

Apur had long been notorious for undesirable activities, and native rumour believes that the murderers of Captain H. V. Fergusson had been fortified by his magic. The story is that Apur had supplied an Afak chief called Korrium Awo with certain dust for the purpose of bringing about the death of Captain Fergusson. As will be remembered, that gallant officer was murdered in December, 1927, and it is said that one of the Nuer who took part in the attack had received some of this dust from Korrium.

It was not, however, on account of this rumour that Apur was brought to trial, but for a similar act which happened some three years ago.

Shengaan Aiyel, the Kwek chief, had stolen some elephant tusks and exchanged the ivory for cattle. This came to the ears of Ungwee, who, though by birthright Shengaan's head chief, was not acting in this capacity, on account of his age. Ungwee reported the matter to Del Biok, the official chief, who in his turn informed the District Commissioner. The latter confiscated the cattle, and Shengaan was now left with a grievance against the three men who had brought about his punishment. Therefore, he approached Apur in order to obtain his revenge, taking advantage of the occasion to deal at the same time in domestic magic for the increase of his own household.

Garang Sarki, a man of the Atwot tribe, deposed as follows :—

"Some three years ago a man named Atwang accused me of the theft of a cow. On account of this I was arrested by Chief Shengaan, pending the hearing of the case. Shengaan went to visit Apur and took me with

¹ The "Jur" here referred to are those of Rumbek district.

him to act as a porter. There were with us four women, the wives of Shengaan, and another woman, the wife of Shengaan's father, and certain other men (names here omitted). Shengaan also brought two goats.

"He went to Apur's house with his brother Beiel and his four wives, leaving the rest of the party to sit under some trees. Presently they all went off a little way to a place where two paths crossed. Here Shengaan fetched me to act as interpreter between him and Apur. Shengaan told Apur that he had been oppressed by Ungwee, Del Biok and Captain Kidd in the matter of some cows which had been taken from him, and asked for medicine to kill those three. Apur slaughtered one of the goats at the crossing of the paths and dipped a root in the blood and sprinkled it on the ground. Then he gave the root to Shengaan, who put it in his pocket. This was medicine to kill the three men mentioned, but it was not said in what manner their death was to come about. That was left to fate. Then Shengaan, Apur, and the five women went back to Apur's house, and soon I was sent for again to interpret. Shengaan now asked for medicine to make the women fertile, and Apur killed a cock and made a paste from its blood which he rubbed on the bellies and the heads of the women. For this Apur received Pt. 50 and a shirt."

Similar evidence was given by two other witnesses present at the ceremony. Apur did not deny the charge, and at the preliminary enquiry he made the following statement :—

"I am a kujur of the Jur. The first man who consulted me as such was Diyo Alam, who enquired concerning a war against Achol in the time before the Government. He paid me three goats. I gave him a handful of earth and told him to take it with him to the war and to spit upon it; then he would kill his enemies. Diyo was successful in the fight and I went to his house and he gave me a white bull . . .

"Some years ago Chief Shengaan came to me accompanied by four women and a cow. He said 'the Government have taken my cattle and I want some dust from you to kill the men of the Government who took my cows.' I gave him some dust, I refused the cow.

"Three days before Warakwoi (Captain Fergusson) died, Afuki came to me with two goats and said 'Warakwoi has taken Diyo away; for all I know he may be dead. Give me some dust to kill Warakwoi.'

I gave him dust, and three days later we heard of the death of Warakwoi . . . On hearing of Warakwoi's death, Korrium Awo came to me and gave me twenty piastres. He said he wanted me to give him medicine to kill Turakwoi (Captain Kidd), as his father, Awo Kun Agok, had been killed in the first Atwot patrol, and his brother, Riak Awo, in a later patrol. I gave him some dust to make his women fertile, and with the remainder he could do as he liked."

It will be observed that there is a discrepancy as to the method used in Apur's magic, which is not removed by Apur's statement at the trial. He said :

" I have nothing to add to my previous statement. I gave Shengaan the medicine to kill Captain Kidd, Del Biok, and Ungwee . . . I told him to sprinkle a little from the roots before the house of each one."

Similar discrepancies occur in other parts of the evidence ; thus Garang Sarki, whose deposition at the trial is quoted above, stated at the magisterial enquiry that the fertility ceremony for the benefit of Apur's wives involved the killing of a goat and not a cock, as reported at the trial. " Apur stipulated that the rite would only be successful if Shengaan did not speak to his wives until they had conceived."

Shengaan denied the accusation that he had conspired to bring about the death of Captain Kidd and the two chiefs. He admitted that he had visited Apur, but only for the purpose of the fertility rite, of which he gave the following account :—

" Apur made me and my four wives sit down on a goat which I had brought. I sat on its head and the women crowded on to the body. It was alive at first, but died when we sat on it. Apur cut off the testicles and gave portions to me and to my four wives to eat. He also gave us each a root dipped in the goat's blood, telling me to eat a little of it during the periods of menstruation.

" I paid Apur Pt. 50 and gave him a shirt and the other goat. . . . None of the women has since had a child. One is dead, one is still with me, and two are divorced."

The Court convicted both accused of criminal conspiracy to commit murder, and sentenced Apur Mena to two years' imprisonment, and Shengaan Aiyel to three years.

S. H.

A Note on the Food of Certain Birds Shot in the Sudan During
1920 and 1921.

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THE accompanying Table shows the results of examination of the crops and gizzards of 55 birds shot during 1920 in Dongola Province; at Shambat; in Khartoum; along the White Nile from the Moghren; and on the Gezira Research Farm, Wad Medani. Thirteen species are represented.

Much of the food extracted from these birds had become so disintegrated in the process of digestion that recognition was rendered impossible. Insect remains, however, were separated from vegetable matter, and as much as possible of each was identified. Doubtful and undetermined material has been entered in the neutral column.

Bird No. 51 had consumed many beetles, chiefly dung-beetles, which seemed to have been mostly *Gymnopleurus tristis*, Cast., and *G. bicolor*, Latr., which being scavengers, have been put in the beneficial column.

Birds Nos. 51 to 55 were shot along the edge of the White Nile, when the river was rising apace, and driving every living thing out of the deep cracks in the soil of the gently sloping bank. Most of the fauna of these cracks were Coleoptera, and formed the subject of a note in *The Entomologist Monthly Magazine*.¹

The Gull-billed Tern (*Sterna nilotica (anglica)*, Gm.) Nos. 54 and 55, besides eating fish and frogs, has been recorded as feeding largely on insects in India and Africa, catching them on the wing.² On the White Nile it was not seen to catch anything on the wing, but to stoop at insects trying to escape from the flood.

It seems remarkable that this bird should have been able to accommodate twelve insects of the size and of such uncomfortable nature as the beetle *Pentodon bispinosus*, Kust.; some of the specimens extracted being nearly an inch long and half an inch broad, and all having well-armed legs!

Birds No. 1 and No. 14 were shot in the garden of the Research Farm at Shambat. Birds No. 2 and No. 3 seemed to have preferred dukhn to dura. The Sparrows (Nos. 3 to 34) which were shot around

TABLE SHOWING THE FOOD OF CERTAIN BIRDS EXAMINED IN THE SUDAN, 1920-1921.

D.—Durra (Sorghum); DK.—Dukhn.

No.	NAME.	SEX	DATE	TIME	PLACE.	INJURIES		BENEFITS		NEUTRAL.
						Crops.	Beneficial Insects.	Weeds.	Injurious Insects.	
1	Beladi House Sparrow	♂	—	—	Shambat ..	—	—	—	—	" Mush."
2	(<i>P. domesticus</i> var. <i>niloticus</i>)	♂	—	—	" ..	5-5. D.	—	—	—	—
3	"	♂	18/10/20	7 a.m.	Baslan Is., Dongola	1 D.	—	—	—	—
4	"	♀	18/10/20	"	" ..	50 DK.	—	—	—	—
5	"	♀	5/11/20	noon	Wad Medani	71 DK.	—	—	—	—
6	"	♀	"	"	" ..	4 D.	—	—	—	Vegetable matter
7	"	♀	"	"	" ..	1 D.	—	36 <i>Cyperus</i> sp.	—	—
8	"	♀	"	"	" ..	6 D.	—	—	—	—
9	"	♀	6/11/20	4 p.m.	" ..	2 D.	—	—	—	—
10	"	♀	"	"	" ..	1 D.	—	—	—	—
11	"	♀	"	"	" ..	1 D.	—	—	—	—
12	"	♀	"	"	" ..	2 D.	—	—	—	—
						1 D.	—	17 <i>Portulaca oleracea</i> , L. (?) 4 <i>Chenopodium</i> sp. (Donab el Kelb.)	—	—
13	"	♀	"	"	" ..	3 D. (remains in gizzard)	—	—	—	—
16	"	♀	8/11/20	6 p.m.	" ..	4 D.	—	9 <i>Amaranthus caudatus</i> , L. 1 <i>Caryophyllaceæ</i>	—	—
17	"	♀	9/11/20	"	" ..	6 D.	—	—	—	—
18	"	♀	"	"	" ..	remains of	—	—	—	Grit only.
19	"	♀	"	"	" ..	2 D.	—	—	—	—
20	"	♀	"	"	" ..	3 D.	—	12 Red Coleopterous pupæ.	—	—
21	"	♀	14/11/20	5.30	" ..	—	—	1 <i>Caryophyllaceæ</i>	—	—
26	"	♂	16/11/20	7 a.m.	" ..	—	—	—	—	3 insect legs 1 determined.
27	"	♀	"	"	" ..	—	—	17 <i>Chenopodium</i> sp. 1 <i>Cyperus</i> sp. 3 <i>Chenopodium</i> sp.	—	—
28	"	♀	"	"	" ..	(remains of little D.)	—	—	—	—
29	"	♀	"	"	" ..	3 D.	—	10 <i>Chenopodium</i> sp. 8 <i>Portulaca oleracea</i> , L. (?)	—	—
30	"	♀	24/11/20	noon	" ..	6 D.	—	—	—	—
31	"	♀	"	"	" ..	3 D.	—	1 <i>Sporobolus</i> sp. 12 No. 21 (undet.)	—	—
32	"	♀	26/11/20	1.15 p.m.	" ..	8 D.	—	—	—	—
33	"	♀	"	"	" ..	6 D.	—	—	—	—
34	"	♀	"	"	" ..	—	—	—	—	—
47	The Yellow Sparrow (<i>Passer luteus</i>)	♀	2/8/21	6.30 a.m.	Khartoum ..	—	—	—	—	Grit, 25 grass see 1 piece grass.
48	"	♂	"	"	" ..	—	2 <i>Chilomenes vicina</i>	—	—	Grit, 350 grasses see Grit and brick g 144 grass see (59 No. 26).
49	"	♂	"	"	" ..	—	—	—	—	Grit and brick g 5 grass seeds.
50	"	♂	"	"	" ..	—	—	—	—	1 worm cocoon, pebbles from s of mustard s to that of pea
51	Black-tailed Godwit (<i>Limosa limosa</i> , L.)	—	5/8/21	10 a.m. to noon.	White Nile from the Mogren.	—	Remains of many beetles (probably useful), mostly <i>Gymnopleurus tristis</i> and <i>bicolor</i> , Latr.	4 seeds.	—	—
52	Egyptian Plover .. (<i>Pluvianus ægyptius</i> , L.)	—	"	"	" ..	—	Do. do. amongst which <i>G. bicolor</i> .	—	—	—
53	Cattle Egret .. (<i>Ardea garzetta</i> , L.)	—	"	"	" ..	—	Carabid beetle ..	—	—	—
54	Gull-billed Tern .. (<i>Sterna Nilotica</i> (<i>Anglica</i>), G.M.)	—	"	"	" ..	—	12 Dynastids (<i>Pentodon bispinosus</i> , Kust.)	—	1 Cricket, 1 Locust.	—
55	"	—	"	"	" ..	—	4 " "	—	1 Locust.	—
56	<i>Quelea</i> "Ethiopia" ..	♂	2/8/21	6.30 a.m.	(A Lawn) Khartoum	—	—	—	—	220 Grass seeds.
40	Finch	♀	29/11/20	8.30 a.m.	Wad-Medani	—	—	86 ?	—	—
14	Bulbul (<i>Pycnonotus arsinot</i> Licht.)	♀	—	—	Shambat ..	1 Guava seed	—	—	—	—
15	Wheat-eater .. (<i>Saxicola</i> sp.)	♂	8/11/20	6 p.m.	Wad-Medani	—	Bees' legs Spiders' legs .. Braconid (prob. <i>Rhogas</i> sp.)	—	Caterpillars 6 beetles (3 <i>Heteromera</i>)	—
35	Grey Wagtail .. (<i>Motacilla boarula</i> — <i>boarula</i> , L.)	—	26/11/20	1.15 p.m.	" ..	—	—	—	9 small red ants.	—
37	"	♀	1/12/20	8 a.m.	" ..	—	—	—	2 beetle larvæ.	—
38	"	♀	"	"	" ..	1 D.	12 <i>Chilomenes vicina</i> .	16 No. 24 (Prob. <i>Pancoid</i>). 2 <i>Panicum</i> sp.	—	—
22	<i>Corvus scapularis</i> ..	♀	14/11/20	8 a.m.	" ..	20 D.	—	—	14 locusts	—
23	"	♀	16/11/20	"	" ..	39 D.	—	—	3 locusts	—
24	"	♂	"	"	" ..	—	—	—	8 locusts	—
25	"	♂	"	"	" ..	49 D.	—	—	14 large locusts.	—
39	Ruff (<i>Philomachus pugnax</i> .)	♀	10/1/21	6 p.m.	Medani (Fallow)	114 D.	—	—	—	—
40	"	♂	6/2/21	7.30 a.m.	(Canal Bank)	39 D.	—	—	—	—
41	"	♀	"	"	" ..	16 D.	—	—	—	—
42	"	♀	"	"	" ..	228 D.	—	—	—	—
43	"	♀	"	"	" ..	99 D.	—	—	—	—
44	"	♀	"	"	" ..	101 D.	—	—	—	—
45	"	♀	"	"	" ..	19 D.	—	—	—	—

the house of the Gezira Research Farm, Wad Medani, had fed chiefly upon dura (*Sorghum vulgare*) but also upon certain weed seeds.

It may be noted that the crop of the Beladi Sparrow is as tight as a drum when it contains 6 to 8 grains of dura.

The Wagtails (Nos. 35, 37, 38) were shot whilst hunting under cotton on to which the irrigation water had just been turned. These birds invaded a cotton plot as soon as the water began to run into it; picking up insects which either dropped on to the water from the leaves above, or were driven up from the soil.

The single grain of dura found in No. 38 may be considered as accidental, for these birds are insectivorous.

The Crows (Nos. 22 to 25) were collected whilst resting and feeding on fallow land; and an examination of the Table will show them to have been distinctly useful, for the dura they ate was picked up from the ground as in the case of the Ruff (Nos. 39 to 45). Attention has already been drawn to the Ruff feeding upon dura³: being a wader, its natural food consists of insects and their larvæ, worms, molluscs, and seeds of aquatic plants.

A larger number of birds of each species will have to be examined throughout the year to determine the dietary and degree of utility or of harmfulness of each. But, on the evidence of the food shown in the Table, all the birds examined except the Beladi Sparrow, were being useful at the time they were collected.

Actually, this sparrow was not in sufficient numbers at Medani to be responsible for much damage to the huge crops of dura. Far greater loss must have been occasioned by the wide-spread occurrence of fungoid disease; the grain on the threshing floors being discoloured by the spores of Smuts, *Sphacelotheca sorghi*, Clinton—vide Massey.⁴

For the identification of the weed seeds I am indebted to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew; and for that of the beetles swallowed by birds 54 and 55 to the Director of the Imperial Bureau of Entomology.

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Additional Notes on the Shore Birds of the Red Sea Province.

By J. F. MADDEN.

DURING 1928 I have been able to add to the observations on which the Notes published in the last number of SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS were based. These further observations, in so far as they amplify or correct my previous Notes, are given below.

Family PELECANIDÆ.

Pelicans are commoner at Port Sudan than I had previously supposed. Individuals or small parties may be seen in the harbour at almost any time of the year.

Family ARDEIDÆ.

Grey Heron (*Ardea c. cinerea*). Single birds were seen at Mohammed Ghol and Dongonab in November and December, 1928.

Purple Heron (*Pyrherodia p. purpurea*). One immature (or ♀) was seen at Port Sudan on October 5th, 1928.

Little Bittern (*Ixobrychus m. minutus*). At least two were seen in private gardens in Port Sudan during October, 1928.

Family ANHINGIDÆ.

The African Darter (*Anhingia r. rufa*) has occasionally been seen in Suakin harbour: I have no records from elsewhere.

Family PLEGADIDÆ.

Two Spoonbills were seen at Halaib on May 22nd, 1928. They had dark bills and legs and a distinct chestnut band on the front of the lower part of the neck. They were about the size of the ordinary European Spoonbill (*P. l. leucorodia*).

Family ANATIDÆ.

Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*). Three birds of this species (the first I have seen in the Province) appeared in the Port Sudan public gardens soon after Christmas, 1928, and were still there at the beginning of January, 1929. They were very tame and spent most of their time in the *gadwals* among the *bersim*. On several occasions I watched them busily eating grass. The party seemed to consist of one adult drake and two immature birds.

Teal (*Anas crecca*). Two were shot near Port Sudan in September, 1928, and several others were reported as having been seen during October. One was also seen for several days in the Port Sudan public gardens in the middle of December. This species should be classed as an autumn passage migrant in small numbers.

Pintail (*Dafila acuta*). This is a species which I had not observed before 1928, when I saw a pair at the head of Port Sudan harbour, on November 18th. Presumably they were on passage.

Family CHARADRIIDÆ.

Sociable Plover (*Chettusia gregaria*). I have further records from Dongonab (one on November 21st, 1928). I also saw a party of five or six at Ægir Wells, in the Gash delta (Kassala Province), on March 30th, 1928. On present data the species could be classed as a passage migrant (spring and autumn) but not common.

Spur Winged Plover (*Hoplopterus spinosus*). In addition to previous records, one was seen in Port Sudan on October 5th, 1928.

Oyster Catcher (*Hæmatopus æ. ostralegus*). Further records are from Halaib (a few, on January 31st, 1928) and Mohammed Ghol (one, on December 19th, 1928).

Family SCOLOPACIDÆ.

Ruff (*Philimachus pugnax*). Further Port Sudan records are: April 3rd to 9th, 1928, several every day; and October 5th, 1928, numerous.

Terek Sandpiper (*Terekia cinerea*). Definitely a winter visitor. I have seen them late in December at both Port Sudan and Mohammed Ghol. Numbers increase considerably during the passage seasons.

Dusky Redshank (*Tringa erythropus*). In addition to the Suakin record, I saw two of these birds at Dongonab on November 19th, 1928.

Family GLAREOLIDÆ.

European Pratincole (*Glareola p. pratincola*). In 1928 two Pratincoles appeared in the Port Sudan public gardens on May 16th, and remained for several days.

Family DROMADIDÆ.

Crab Plover (*Dromas ardeola*). This species is commoner than I had thought. Between May 20th and 23rd, 1928, I saw one at

Mohammed Ghol, three at Dongonab and at least eight at Halaib. They did not appear to be breeding, but they may well do so on the small islands off the coast.

Family BURHINIDÆ.

Strictly speaking, the Stone Curlews are not shore birds at all, though I have seen them, on passage, close to the edge of the sea. In addition to previous records for *B. edicnemus*, I saw single birds near Sallom station on November 30th and December 7th, 1928

An Ornithological Puzzle.

By W. WEDGWOOD BOWEN.

A FAMILIAR sight in the scrub-lands alongside the Nile in Berber Province is the presence of many hundreds of "stick-nests." Often every acacia of any size within sight contains one or more of these structures. The Hon. N. C. Rothschild and Mr. A. F. R. Wollaston, when writing an account of their bird collecting trip to Shendi in 1901, remark upon these nests, under the heading *Spreo pulcher* (P.L.S. Müll.) as follows (*Ibis*, 1901, pp. 12-13):—

"We were very much puzzled by the large number of empty nests in the trees in the desert; in some places every little tree contained one or more nests compactly built of twigs with a scanty lining of grass. They were just such as this bird might build; but while we saw only four or five birds in a day, we were certain to see at least five hundred of these nests. In no instance did they contain eggs."

Mr. A. L. Butler, in his "Contribution to the Ornithology of the Egyptian Soudan" (*Ibis*, 1905, pp. 301-401), also makes reference to these nests as belonging to *Spreo pulcher*, as follows (p. 325):—

"I have not found eggs or young, but the old nests, built of sticks and placed in low thorn-trees, are very conspicuous objects in the desert-scrub. Being well protected by the thorns among which they are built, they last in the dry climate for many years, and the abundance of these old nests gives one at first a very exaggerated idea of the quantities of Starlings necessary to build them."

Now, the chestnut-bellied Starling, *Spreo pulcher* (P.L.S. Müll.) builds a *grass* nest of very different appearance. I have found its nest at Hosh (Blue Nile Province), at Kassala, and again in the Red Sea Province. In each instance the nest consisted of a sphere of grass, lined with feathers (and in one case, at Hosh, with a cast snake's skin), and had the entrance at one side. Admiral Lynes describes the nest of this species in Darfur (*Ibis*, 1924, p. 655) as "a sparrow-like grass ball with rather large side-top entrance, lined with feathers; placed in thorny bushes and small trees five to twelve feet from the ground." Clearly this is a very different thing from the stick nests described by Messrs. Rothschild, Wollaston, and Butler.

When stationed near Shendi in 1924, I became greatly interested in these curious stick nests. During July I examined some hundred or more of them, but always they were empty. So well protected are they by the thorny acacias in which they are built that I found gloves and a pair of garden pruning-scissors a necessity! Even after painfully pruning off twig after twig until the nest was reached, it was seldom that I was able to gain entrance without tearing it to pieces, so well concealed is the entrance hole. Never did I see a single bird acting as though the nest belonged to it.

Most of August and September I spent at Erkowit. On my return to Shendi in October the desert was delightfully green after the rains. I again turned my attention to these nests and would stroll around of an afternoon watching them through binoculars in the hope that from a distance I might catch a glimpse of some bird entering or leaving, or in some way giving indication of ownership. Once I saw a Sudan Golden Sparrow, *Auripasser luteus* (Licht.), sitting close to one, but that was all.

Again, I had recourse to examination with the aid of gloves and pruning-scissors; this time with more interesting results. Some of the nests, but only a small percentage, showed signs of fresh lining; two contained each a single sparrow-like egg. In my efforts to gain an entrance, I had torn the first of these two nests until it was beyond repair. The egg I took; it is now in the bird room of the museum in Khartoum—a mystery egg! The second, a more conveniently located nest, was, fortunately, only slightly damaged, so, after patching it up as best I could, I retired a convenient distance to watch, leaving the

egg unmolested. Many hours of watching through my glasses brought no reward, for not a single bird was seen to approach the nest. On the third afternoon, weary of watching, I again approached the nest, only to find the egg gone.

A few days later my fingers (this time inserted into another nest with more care for the preservation of the structure than for lacerations which inevitably they would receive) were greeted by the feel of two eggs—but such small eggs! Upon withdrawing them they were seen to be white and rather elongate in shape, too small for any African bird, even for one so small as the little long-tailed, yellow-breasted Sunbird, *Hedydipna metallica* (Licht.), so common in that region. A horrible creepy sensation shot down my spine as I imagined some unknown snake coiling within these nests for the purpose of laying its eggs. What chances had I been taking, groping blindly into these nests? With some relief I found, on opening the eggs, two tiny lizard embryos within. Later, two more nests were found containing similar lizards' eggs.

Soon after I was called to Khartoum, and never since have I had opportunity to investigate these nests. As to what bird builds them, if bird it is at all, I can hardly guess. Could the little Golden Sparrow construct so large and cumbersome a nest? Certainly the two eggs I found might easily be ascribed to this species. I have never, otherwise, found its nest, nor can I find a description of it in the limited literature available to me as I write. It may be so, but then what of the lizard whose eggs I found? Does it habitually utilise the deserted homes of *Auripasser luteus* in which to rear its young? And what species of lizard can it be? A host of questions might be asked, but without further observation, little use can come of idle speculation. Perchance someone stationed at Shendi, Berber Province, or elsewhere where these nests occur may, upon reading these few lines, be interested enough to walk out into the scrub-desert some afternoons (preferably, I should think, *during* the rains) in the hope of catching either lizard or bird at home.

Sudan Arabic

Continued from Vol. X (p. 219)

TERMS RELATING TO GUM

(Contributed by W. B. K. Shaw)

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 101. | ربو
rabū | Small gum-trees after one rainy season. |
| 102. | سوط
sōṭ | Small trees about the size of a whip. |
| 103. | شقل
shigl | Trees about 4 years old often growing on abandoned cultivation plots. |
| 104. | ورشال
wershāl | Coppice shoots, i.e. branches springing afresh from the base of a felled tree. |
| 105. | غفل
ghifl | Untapped gum-tree; cf. غفل "unmarked". |
| 106. | شن
shan | Old tree producing little or no gum. |
| 107. | مطقوق جبة وسروال
maṭgūg ḡibba wa sirwāl | Lit. "tapped shirt and trousers", refers to a tree tapped heavily on the upper and lower branches. |
| 108. | بزغ
bazagh | Lit. "to peep out", i.e. to exude a small quantity of gum. |
| 109. | بكر
bakkar | Lit. "to be early", to make the first exudation of the season. Also البكري <i>el bikri</i> , the gum of the first exudation or collection. |
| 110. | أم سابو
umm sābū | Cf. ساب "to flow". Gum which exudes without the tree being tapped. Also used of Talh gum (from <i>Acacia seyal</i>), which is never tapped. |

111. ككول
ka'kūl A globule or lump of gum.
112. كداب
kadāb Dirty gum.
113. مطور
mamṭūr Lit. "rained on", refers to gum of bad colour and quality which has been damaged by rain.
114. حناوي
ḥanāwī Reddish or yellowish gum with a sweet taste.
115. دقندي
dugundi Generally, dues paid by the gum garden owner to his nazir, omda, or sheikh, but exact meaning varies locally.
116. عوائد خشم الفاس
'awā'id khashm el fās Generally, dues paid by hirer of garden to the owner, but exact meaning varies locally.
117. لقط
laggaṭ To gather gum from the tree.
118. ضم
ḍimm The gathering of the gum.
119. حق البغلي
ḥagg el begḥēlī Lit. "the share of the begheil", meaning the tip or other reward given by the hirer of a garden to the owner for showing the former round its boundaries and in so doing suffering from the pricks of begheil grass (*Blepharis* sp.) on his legs.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE TEBELDI AGAIN.

In 1922 there was a controversy in Volume VII of this Journal about the age of the tebelDI tree, in which I took reluctant part. Messrs. Blunt and Parr argued for a hoary antiquity for these trees, while I gave, conjecturally, 400 years as being the maximum age of any tree standing in Kordofan. Mr. Bond, then Governor, Dongola, showed that the average age of the big trees in Fung Province was about 200 years.

On page 239 of Volume VIII Mr. Struve quoted instances of tebelDIS planted at Malakal and reaching the height of 20 feet in 12-15 years.

Since the above papers were written, I have had my attention drawn by Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., late Senior Provincial Commissioner, Kenya Colony, to an article of his called *Baobabs and Ruins* in the "East Africa and Uganda Natural History Journal," No. 17, March, 1922. In it he writes :—

"There is a current idea that, on account of the great bulk of the baobab trees, they are of enormous age : this belief is, I consider, a somewhat ill-founded inference. The baobab belongs to the mallows (*malvaceæ*) and the wood is hardly worthy of the name, as it has the consistency of a cabbage stalk."

Mr. Hobley counted the rings in a medium-sized tree : he allowed for two rings per annum, one for each of the two annual rainy seasons. The rings did not exceed 220.

"Assuming that the count was fairly accurate, 220 rings would give an age of 110 years, which seemed small for a tree of about ten feet in diameter.

"During railway construction it was found that by anchoring one end of a steel rope, taking a turn round the tree and attaching the other to a traction engine, the rope would cut through the base of the tree."

The Fung Province, Malakal and Kenya have all a higher rainfall than Western Kordofan. Possibly trees grow quicker there. But, all

things considered, the data seem to confirm my conjecture that these trees do not pass an age of 400 years.

We still, however, have to find an explanation of the mystery that no young tebeldi seedling has been seen growing in Western Kordofan within living memory. This fact is, of course, beyond proof, but I believe it is generally accepted.

D. NEWBOLD.

TRACES OF CHRISTIANITY IN NORTHERN DARFUR.

The following incident may be of interest as an addition to observations in support of the theory that Christianity existed at one time among the tribes of Northern Darfur.

I went with Hassan Kanjok, the Tungurawi Melik of Dar Furnung, and his son, a boy of about 16, to visit the fresh-water spring at 'Ain Farra (*vide* MacMichael, *Arab Tribes of the Sudan*, Vol. I, p. 122, etc.). On arriving there, Hassan Kanjok, his son, and a servant of the Melik's called Ibrahim, walked on ahead up the rocky path leading to the stream. After a few minutes spent in choosing a camping-ground, I followed them and arrived at the big pool just in time to see Ibrahim concluding the administration of some sort of rite to the Melik's son; I saw him touch the backs of the boy's hands and then bend down and touch his insteps. I asked Ibrahim what he was doing, and he said "It is because this is the first time that the boy has visited this place." I asked him to repeat the ceremony; he took some weed, or moss, from the edge of the pool, and touched the boy with it, on the forehead, at root of neck, on the backs of both hands and on both insteps, explaining that this was done to keep off evil spirits. At my request he did the same thing to me, omitting only to touch my insteps, because, he said, I was wearing boots.

This gave me a clue, and I asked Ibrahim what he would do if the boy were not wearing clothes. "I should do this and this," he said, illustrating by gesture the whole of the previous performance; "and

also this,"—he made the sign of the Cross (he called it *bersham*) over the boy's breast.

The above certainly suggests a survival in which Baptism and the representation of the Stigmata are curiously remembered and confounded.

C. G. DUPUIS.

Mr. Dupuis' note is a welcome supplement to the account of the Tungur-Fur which Mr. MacMichael published in Vol. III (1920) of *SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS*, and, later, embodied in his *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*. Mr. MacMichael concluded that "the Tungur brought with them from Christian Nubia the recollection of certain Church rites, in particular the sign of the Cross, and though the Fur were never converted to Christianity, their holy stone was utilised by the new-comers. On the other hand, the Tungur in time became Muhammadans, witness the Mosque at Farra, but both they and the Fur still preserve superstitiously some relics of their ancient faiths."—E.D.

SHORE BIRDS OF THE RED SEA PROVINCE.

Mr. Madden's "Notes on Some Shore Birds of the Red Sea Province," which appeared in your Volume X, 1927, is most interesting reading. Various people have, from time to time, visited the Red Sea Province to observe and collect birds, but, so far as I know, continuous observations covering a period of years have never before been placed on record.

I note with pleasure that Mr. Madden has in several places called attention to parts of the *Catalogue of Sudan Birds* where correction or modification is desirable. The data upon which the catalogue was compiled were in many instances fragmentary, and many inaccuracies have undoubtedly been incorporated. It is hoped that other officials will follow Mr. Madden's lead and will point out places in the catalogue, where, according to their practical field experience, improvement could be made. Thus, in time, should the demand arise, a second and more accurate edition could be published.

Particularly do I invite suggestions for improvement to the various keys to families and species. Good keys are almost invaluable, both to the novice and to the more serious student, whereas a poor or faulty key cannot but lead to confusion. I am at present devoting my spare moments to a more complete handbook of Sudan birds, and as many of the keys in the catalogue will be used again therein, it is hoped that all who are able to put them to the practical test of everyday usage will pass judgment upon them through the medium of SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

In conclusion, I should like to say that Part II of the *Catalogue of Sudan Birds*, which deals with the Passerine families, is now, after many unavoidable delays, nearing completion.

TEXAS, U.S.A.

W. WEDGWOOD BOWEN.

November 7th, 1928.

To the Editor, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

DEAR SIR,

In 1927 you published a "Preliminary account of the Ingassana" and in 1928 "Oracle-Magic of the Azande," both articles written by me. As I received no proofs of these two papers, they were printed without due acknowledgments. Acknowledgments are due not only to the Sudan Government but also for additional financial assistance in my work to the Royal Society and to the Trustees of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund. I shall be grateful if you will allow us both to make amends in your next issue.

Yours sincerely,

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

4, Fitzwilliam Avenue,

Richmond, Surrey.

REVIEWS.

CATALOGUE OF SUDAN BIRDS.

(Based on the Collection in the Sudan Government Museum—
Natural History.)

PART I.—STRUTHIONIDÆ TO PICIDÆ.

By W. WEDGWOOD BOWEN, B.A., M.B.O.U.

Sudan Government Museum (Natural History) Publication No. 1.
May, 1926. Price P.T. 20 (4/-). Obtainable from the Government
Entomologist, Khartoum.

THE ornithological literature of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is so scanty (and often so inaccessible) that any new and systematic contribution to the subject is very welcome.

The present work consists of a list of all the birds known to have occurred in the Sudan, with notes on their relative abundance and on their distribution. Keys to the species of each family are given, and also a list of the specimens of each species to be found in the Museum. There are in addition two useful plates, one a diagram showing the various parts of a bird (in explanation of the terms used in the keys), and the other an avifaunal map of the Sudan.

A compilation of the scattered information already published, chiefly in the "Ibis," from 1905 onwards, by A. L. Butler, Admiral Lynes, Sclater and others, was badly needed: but it is to be regretted that Mr. Bowen has not given any reference to these earlier publications. A short bibliography would have added considerably to the value of the work.

Unfortunately, too, the catalogue will not greatly assist the visitor or resident who is not interested in classification or distribution of species, but only wants to know how to recognise the birds he sees. If he is

Residents in the Sudan stationed in the Provinces may pay the sum of P.T. 20 into the Local Government chest (to the credit of the Education Department, account *Catalogue of Sudan Birds*) and send the receipt to the Government Entomologist.

within reach of the collection of birds in the Sudan Government Museum he will be able, with the help of the catalogue, to identify the specimens there, but in the field the "keys to species" will give him little help. It is a pity that these keys could not have been more descriptive in character, since it is only when they do approximate to descriptions (*e.g.*, in the amended key to the family Cuculidæ) that they become of any practical use for identification. Elsewhere (*e.g.*, in the key to the family Scolopacidæ) many of the distinctions given depend on features which could not possibly be visible to an observer in the field.

Nevertheless, the catalogue is a valuable contribution to the ornithology of this country, and its very defects should stimulate observers in different parts of the Sudan to add to or correct it. The second part of the work covers the Passerine birds, but its publication is delayed pending that of the remaining parts of Sclater's *Systema Avium Ethiopicarum* on which the nomenclature of the whole is to be based.

J. F. M.

FLOWERING PLANTS OF THE NORTHERN AND CENTRAL SUDAN.

By MRS. G. M. CROWFOOT.

Mrs. Crowfoot's Book of Illustrations of Sudan Flowering Plants is the product of a rare and refreshing enthusiasm. With most travellers in the Sudan, after a hot, tiring trek on an indifferent camel, the midday halt is usually devoted to the easing of cramped limbs, and even in these days of automobiles the collecting of specimens calls for considerable mental and physical effort. Our debt to Mrs. Crowfoot and to her predecessor, the late Mrs. A. F. Broun, is, therefore, all the greater, since theirs was a labour of love.

The drawings in the little book are botanically correct, and great care has been taken to bring out diagnostic features. The reproduction of the drawings is excellent, considering the low cost of publication and the cheapness of the whole volume. It is to be regretted that it was not possible to provide a stronger binding, though this is a point which fellow enthusiasts may themselves remedy.

An alphabetical index might with advantage have been included for the benefit of those who are not familiar with the new classification, but again this drawback can be overcome by inserting the number of the plate in the Flora which is about to be issued, for the volume under review is essentially a companion volume to this revised list of Sudan flowering plants."

The introduction by Mr. Broun may, at first sight, appear to be somewhat technical, but no great difficulty should be found in identifying the plants named, once the Flora is available, as all are common and characteristic species, with definite native names. This review of the prominent features of the botanical landscape should, therefore, be of real value to the amateur.

The present volume contains only half of Mrs. Crowfoot's drawings, but all the natural orders occurring in the Northern and Central Sudan are represented. Now that the development of the country is rapidly progressing, it would be a great help to workers if the remainder of the illustrations could be published, along with the many beautiful drawings made by the late Mrs. A. F. Broun, whose work includes plants confined to the Southern Sudan, a region of great promise.

R. E. M.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XII

Part II

1929

THE CAMPAIGN OF GORDON'S STEAMERS.

By the late Col. Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E.

(WITH MAP).

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following account of the campaign of the steamers sent by General Gordon to Metemneh, in the Autumn of 1884, to co-operate with the British Relief Expedition, was originally published in the *Royal Engineers' Journal* of October 1st, 1888, and is here reprinted by kind permission of the Institution of Royal Engineers.

For the suggestion that this extremely interesting document should be reproduced the Editorial Committee is indebted to General Sir Reginald Wingate, who also kindly lent a copy of it from his private library for the use of the printers.

The Author, Sir Charles Watson, had served, as a Lieutenant, under General Gordon in Equatoria in the Winter of 1874-75, but was then compelled by ill-health to return to England. In 1882 he was sent to Egypt on Lord Wolseley's Staff, for Intelligence work. He was present at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir; and, after the subsequent rapid march on Cairo, he executed the dramatic seizure of the Citadel. From 1883-86 he was Surveyor-General in the Egyptian Army, then in course of reconstruction by Sir Evelyn Wood, and, in 1886, he held the position of Governor-General of the Red Sea Littoral. The account of the campaign of Gordon's steamers was written two years after his retirement from Egyptian service.

The "Bordeen," mentioned among the steamers, is, of course, the "Bordein," which now lies high and dry on the bank of the Blue Nile at Khartoum North.

THE history of the rebellion in the Sudan has yet to be written. Although many books have been published on the subject, they only deal with certain episodes, and, for the most part, with those episodes in which English officers and English soldiers took part; and yet, when the whole course of events is duly weighed, it will be found that, with the exception of General Gordon's defence of Khartoum, the actions of Englishmen form but a minor portion of the whole story. Of course, we do not allude to the action of the English Government, which, by its deliberate abandonment of the Sudan to anarchy, and its long delay

in attempting to aid Gordon, had so important an influence upon the chain of events.

We know enough, however, of the actions in which no Englishmen took part to be able to realise that Egyptian officers and Egyptian soldiers did deeds well worthy of record. Of these, perhaps, the best known is the gallant defence of Sinkat, near Suakin, in the winter of 1883, by Tewfik Bey; but the defence of El Obeiyad, the campaigns in Sennaar, and the prolonged defence of Kassala for months after Khartoum had fallen, have brought honour upon those concerned in them. As regards Kassala, Ahmed Effat, the brave commander, like Gordon, refused to abandon his post, and died on the spot that he had so gallantly defended, vainly hoping for the succour which was never to be given him.

We propose, in the following pages, to give an account of one episode in the Sudan war, in which only Egyptian and Sudanese troops were concerned. We refer to the actions of the steamers which General Gordon sent to Matammeh to meet the English troops, and to give them a helping hand on the road to Khartoum.

Probably all concerning these steamers that many English people know, is, that when Sir Charles Wilson arrived at the Nile with the English troops after the battle of Abu Klea, he found some steamers waiting for him, in which he made his gallant advance to Khartoum. But why the steamers were there, or how long they had been there, is not generally known; whereas the fact is that they had been waiting for the English for *nearly four months*, during the whole of which time their crews had been constantly fighting with the Arabs, often in great danger, and suffering great privations for want of the necessities of life.

Fortunately, the senior officer in command of the steamers kept a careful journal of all that occurred during the long interval which elapsed between the date when General Gordon sent him to Matammeh to await the hoped for advent of the English troops, and the actual arrival of Sir Herbert Stewart's column upon the banks of the Nile. This journal, though very carefully kept, is a remarkably simple statement of facts with but little comment; Nushi Pasha, the writer, only occasionally making such a remark as this—"I thanked God that the shells of the enemy did no more damage to the steamers"; and again, "we gave God thanks for granting us a victory over our enemies this day." The journal is too voluminous to reprint in its entirety, and we propose

to epitomize it so as to give a detailed account of the action of the steamers during that weary time of waiting.

It will be advisable, in the first place, to describe what the steamers were which played so important a part during the siege of Khartoum, as this will make it easier to understand the nature of the operations carried on by Gordon and his subordinates upon the Nile. In order to do this clearly, we will classify the steamers in accordance with the dates when they were sent to the Sudan.

Steamers were sent from Egypt to the Sudan at three different times—

First, during the vice-royalty of Said, the predecessor of the Khedive Ismail. Said Pasha visited the Sudan personally, and formed many schemes for opening up the country for trade. On his return to Cairo he sent four steamers by the Nile from Cairo to Khartoum.

Secondly, for the expedition of Sir Samuel Baker Pasha to the White Nile in 1869. Six steamers were sent up the Nile from Cairo to Khartoum, while three steamers were taken in sections across the Nubian desert.

Thirdly, when General Gordon was Governor General of the Sudan, in 1877, four steamers were taken in sections to Khartoum by the Suakin-Berber road.

The four steamers sent by Said Pasha to the Sudan were the following:—The "Fasher," the "Musselemieh," the "No. 9" (she had no name and was always called by the number), and the "Tewfikieh."

The "Fasher" was a paddle steamer, about ninety feet in length, and of thirty-four horse-power. She was originally built for mail service on the Nile between Alexandria and Cairo, before the railway had been made, and is said to have steamed from England to Alexandria. Being built for passenger service, her after cabin was like that of an Egyptian dahabieh, half above and half below the deck. It was in this steamer that Sir Samuel Baker made his difficult journey to Gondokoro, in 1870-71, when he had to cut his way for many miles through the grass barrier on the Bahr el Girafe.

The "Musselemieh" and "No. 9" were paddle steamers, eighty feet long and twenty-four horse-power, with cabins below the deck. The "No. 9" sank at Khartoum in 1882, and went to pieces.

The "Tewfikieh" was a paddle steamer, about seventy feet in length, and with engines of twenty-four horse-power. She had a large

saloon cabin, and, being a very comfortable boat, was generally used as the yacht of the Governor General of the Sudan.

The six steamers which were sent up the Nile for the expedition of Sir Samuel Baker were as follows:—

The "Tel el Hoween," the "Bordeen," the "Safia," the "Mansureh," the "Shebeen," and the "Embabehe."

The "Tel el Hoween" was a paddle steamer, about one hundred and fifty feet long, with engines of sixty horse-power. She had a large after-cabin and saloon, and could carry a battalion of infantry. She was the most powerful steamer at Khartoum, although not so fast as some of the other steamers.

The "Bordeen" was a similar vessel, but somewhat smaller.

The four other steamers were paddle vessels of one hundred and forty feet length, and forty horse-power. Of these, the "Embabehe" was lost between Khartoum and Berber in 1883, and the "Shebeen" was worn out.

The three steamers which were taken in sections to Khartoum by Sir Samuel Baker were—The "Ismailieh," the "Khedive," and the "Nyanza."

The "Ismailieh" was a paddle steamer of 250 tons measurement, with engines of thirty-two horse-power. She was put together at Khartoum in 1875 by order of General Gordon, who intended to use her for the postal service on the White Nile. She had a large deck cabin, and was a very superior boat.

The "Khedive" was a steel twin screw steamer of 108 tons measurement, with twenty horse-power high-pressure engines. She was put together by Sir S. Baker at Gondokoro in 1872, and taken to pieces and rebuilt by Gordon for service on the Lake Albert Nyanza.

The "Nyanza" was also a twin screw, of 38 tons measurement, with ten horse-power high-pressure engines. She was put together by Gordon in 1876 for service on the Albert Lake. The two last named steamers are those now used by Emin Pasha, and appear to have been of great service to him.

The four steamers sent out to Khartoum by the order of General Gordon, in 1877, were—The "Mohamed Ali," the "Abbas," the "Khartoum," or "Husseinieh," and the "Zubair."

These were all of one type, small paddle steamers with high-pressure engines, originally intended by Gordon to work on the Upper Nile between the Albert and Victoria Lakes. Gordon had left the Sudan before the plan was carried out, and the steamers remained in sections in the arsenal at Khartoum until 1881, when the "Mohamed Ali" and "Abbas" were put together. The "Husseinieh" and "Zubair" were fitted out by General Gordon himself during the siege of Khartoum.

It will be seen, therefore, that when General Gordon arrived at Khartoum in February, 1884, the following steamers were available for service :—The "Fasher," the "Musselemieh," the "Tewfikieh," the "Tel el Hoween," the "Bordeen," the "Safia," the "Mansureh," the "Ismailieh," the "Abbas," and the "Mohamed Ali," ten steamers in all. But of these the "Fasher" and "Musselemieh" were captured at Berber, when that town was taken by the dervishes in May, 1884, and the "Mohamed Ali" was captured by the rebels on the Blue Nile, when Saleh Bey was defeated. On the other hand, the "Husseinieh" was finished on the 16th October, and the "Zubair" was launched on the 27th November, 1884.

The steamers proved of most important service during the siege of Khartoum. Small though they were, and quite unfitted for military service, Gordon, with his usual power of utilizing unpromising materials, turned them into regular war vessels, which greatly aided his operations on shore. The account which Sir C. Wilson, in his interesting work, "*From Korti to Khartoum*," gives of the way in which the "Tel el Hoween" and "Bordeen" had been fitted out, gives a good idea of the manner in which they had been prepared for fighting. He says :—

"The two boats were fitted in much the same way ; at the bow a small space was left for the cable, and then came a rude turret of baulks of wood, fastened together with iron pins, and built up from the deck so as to give a gun-platform, to fire over the bulwarks. The turret was not round, but splay-shaped, to fit the bows ; it was bullet proof, but not shot or shell proof, and it was open at top. In this turret there was one gun firing right ahead through a port-hole. At the foot of the turret was the cooking place, where all day long the slave girls were baking durra cakes for the soldiers and sailors. How they never set the ship on fire was always a mystery to me. Behind this was the hatchway of the fore-hold, and a gangway on each side for landing ; then the fore-

mast, to which a bird-cage was slung for a look-out man, a sort of iron bucket; next followed on each side small dirty cabins at either end of the paddle boxes, and between the paddle boxes the midship turret—a square box built like the other of baulks of wood pinned together. The floor of the turret was just high enough to enable the one gun in it to fire well over the top of the paddle boxes; it had a port on each side, and was reached from the after part of the ship by a ladder which led through a small square hole, through which it took a moment or two to squeeze oneself. From the ports one could get out on to the top of the paddle boxes. Thus, anyone going to the turrets in action was unpleasantly exposed. Within the turret, shot, shell, and cartridges were lying about in a way that would soon have put an end to a boat not manned by orientals. After the turret came the funnel, with many a bullet hole through it, and the boiler, partly above deck, but protected by logs of wood placed over it. Then came the hatchway of the main-hold, and, just behind it, a saloon or deck-house, a slight wooden structure divided into two rooms and having a narrow passage running round it. On the top of the saloon a place had been prepared for infantry by making walls of boiler plate iron, except at the entrance. The wheel was on the top of this deck-house, and particular care had been taken to protect the helmsman as much as possible. Behind the deck-house was a little open space in the stern, with a hatchway leading to a small hold. Round the sides of the ship the bulwarks and deck-house were protected by sheets of boiler plate iron fixed to wooden stanchions, except where the cabins and paddle boxes came. The plates were just high enough to allow a man to fire over them, and along the top of the stanchions ran a wooden beam, sufficiently raised above the plates to leave a long loop hole. This gave excellent cover and was bullet proof, except at ranges under 150 yards. To shot and shell it offered no protection, and unfortunately it was broken in several places, especially at the stern, where some sheets had disappeared; it also left about a foot of the upper portion of the deck-house quite exposed."

We do not propose to go through the history of the siege of Khartoum, except so far as it bears upon the expedition of the steamers to Shendy. Some day, perhaps, sufficient information may be collected to write a complete account of the defence, but at present there are many gaps to be filled up. Suffice it here to say that Gordon arrived at Khartoum

with Colonel Stewart on the 18th February, 1884, and was received with great demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, who welcomed him as the saviour of the Sudan. But General Gordon was placed in a difficult position by the orders which he had received with regard to the evacuation of the Sudan. The people soon knew the Government intended to retire, instead of doing its duty and suppressing the rebellion. Of course, the people did not understand that it was the English Government which was using the position of power it had gained in Egypt to cause the Egyptian Government to abandon the Sudan.

On the 27th February Gordon wrote that, "two-thirds of the people at Khartoum are terrorized over by one-third, and in place of supporting the two thirds, our undisguised intention is to get the Egyptian employés out of the Sudan. To this the two-thirds strongly object, for it leaves them impotent," and he adds, "that the evacuation of the Sudan is impossible until the Government asserts its authority, and that I mean by evacuation the removal of all Egyptian employés who form the machinery of the Government, and not only the departure of the sick. We can hold out and force back the revolt, but the position will not ameliorate by time, and the money must come to an end."

But, though Gordon fully realized the difficulty of the situation, he set to work with a will and commenced the evacuation by sending down the wives and families of the Egyptian employés at Khartoum, together with the old and invalids among the garrison. The news that General Graham had defeated the rebels near Suakin was received with joy, and the belief that an English army was coming to Berber raised the spirits of the loyal. But the dervish forces began to gather round, and on the 11th March a body of about four thousand visited the town of Halfiyeh, a short distance north of Khartoum, and, three days later, appeared before the capital. The siege commenced on the 14th March; that siege, which, as Gordon said, lasted "without respite" until the fatal 26th January, 1885. From the 17th March to the 31st July not a day passed without firing, and, although we have not an accurate account of all that took place, we know enough to be able to picture the course of events. Desperate attacks on the part of the rebels, counter attacks by Gordon's troops; sometimes victory gained by the enemy, sometimes by the garrison; then the sad news of the departure of the English from Suakin without attempting to open the road to the Nile,

followed by the fall of Berber and the defeat of Saleh Bey at Sennaar; hopes again raised by the victory of Mohamed Ali Pasha at El Efoun on the Blue Nile, on the 24th August, when the rebels were beaten with great slaughter and their commander was killed. But this bright gleam was soon extinguished by the defeat and death of Mohamed Ali at the same place on the 4th September, when no less than a thousand of the Khartoum garrison were killed.

Then Gordon wrote that he felt the situation had become desperate, and he decided to make an effort to send his papers down the Nile in the steamer "Abbas." It was arranged that Colonel Stewart should proceed in her to represent the state of affairs at Khartoum, and that the English and French consuls should accompany him. Stewart hesitated long before agreeing to leave Gordon, but the latter pointed out to him that it would be of great service if he went, because "if Europe knew of the state of affairs the English Government would be shamed into action." The "Abbas" left Khartoum on the 9th September with Colonel Stewart, the two consuls, and some Greek merchants. She was accompanied by the steamers "Mansureh" and "Safia," which had orders to escort her as far as Berber, and engage the attention of the rebels while the "Abbas" and two Nile boats she had in tow hastened down the river. The voyage down as far as Berber was accomplished in safety, the "Mansureh" and "Safia" engaging the rebels until the "Abbas" and boats had passed in safety, and then returning to Khartoum to bring the news to General Gordon. He says, "I felt grateful." How different would he have felt could he then have known that the "Abbas" was already lost and Stewart and the two consuls murdered. The ill-fated steamer reached the cataract of Abu Hamed and passed it safely, but soon after struck a rock and became a total wreck. A neighbouring sheikh promised to provide camels to take the passengers to Dongola, and, while the negotiations were in progress, asked Stewart and the others to go into his house, where Stewart and the consuls were killed. So died Gordon's only English companions in the Sudan.

Stewart had left Khartoum on the 9th of September, and at that time Gordon felt that affairs were at their lowest ebb. There was, so far as he knew, no hope of succour being sent to him, and the prospect of Khartoum being able to hold out grew less and less. Provisions were running low, the two months for which he had calculated his supplies

would last were drawing to a close, and the place seemed bound to fall. But Gordon, according to his wont, acted promptly, and on the 11th September sent the steamers "Tel el Hoween" and "Bordeen" to Sennaar to try and find some corn. On the 18th September he received the first rumour of the advance of the English expedition up the Nile, which was corroborated by the following letter from Major Kitchener, R.E., that reached him on the 21st.

"Dear General Gordon,

"Mr. Egerton has asked me to send the following"—"August 30th. Tell Gordon steamers are being passed over second cataract, and that we wish to be informed through Dongola exactly when he expects to be in difficulties as to provisions and ammunition."

Message ends:—

"Lord Wolseley is coming out to command. The 35th Regiment is now being sent from Halfa to Dongola. Sir E. Wood is at Halfa. Generals Earle, Dormer, Butler, and Freemantle are coming up Nile with troops. I think an expedition will be sent across from here to Khartoum, while another goes with steamers to Berber. A few words about what you wish done would be very acceptable."—Yours, H. H. KITCHENER.—Debbah, August 31st.

By the same post came some cypher telegram from Mr. Egerton, the English Chargé d'Affaires at Cairo, which Gordon could not translate as he had sent his cypher keys away in the "Abbas" with Colonel Stewart. Gordon immediately ordered a salute to be fired from all the forts to proclaim the advance of the English expedition, and gave a large reward to the messengers who had brought the letters.

Then followed an action characteristic of the man. Scarcely had he received the news of the British force that was coming up the river than he at once began to arrange for assisting them in the advance to Khartoum. He wrote in his journal as follows:—

"My view is this, as to the operation of British forces. I will put three steamers, each with two guns in them, and an armed force of infantry at disposal of any British authority; will send these steamers to either Matammeh, opposite Shendy, or to the cataract below Berber, to meet any British force which may come across country to the Nile. These steamers, with the force coming across country, will (D.V.) capture Berber, and then communicate with Khartoum. The steamers will have

a month's provisions. I would not attempt to pass the *bulk* of British force across country, only the fighting column to co-operate with the three steamers. No artillery is wanted with either force, it is not needed in any way in this country." He then discusses the policy which should be adopted after the English force had arrived at Khartoum, and adds—"This will take at least six months from the *present date*, for you will *not* come for a *month*." He never for a moment imagined that it would be *four months* before the advance guard of the English expedition reached Matammeh. Then Gordon, having decided to send the steamers to meet the English troops, looked upon the matter as settled, and proceeds to describe in his journal how the column for marching across the desert should be organized. He says—"A heavy lumbering column, however strong, is nowhere in this land. Parties of forty or sixty men swiftly moving about will do more than any column. If you lose two or three, what of it—it is the chance of war. Native allies above all things, at whatever cost."

On the 26th September the steamers, which had been sent up the Blue Nile to Sennaar to get corn, returned to Khartoum with 10,000 bushels of grain. They had had some fighting with the rebels, and lost twelve men killed and wounded. All the steamers had holes in them made by the shells fired from the Arab batteries on the banks of the Blue Nile. But these were quickly repaired in the Khartoum arsenal, and the steamers were ready for fighting again in a few days. Gordon was well pleased with the success of the trip, and raised Nushi Bey, who had been in command, to the rank of Pasha. On the same day he nominated Nushi as commandant of the steamers which he proposed to send down the Nile as far as Shendy, there to wait for the English expedition.

General Gordon selected three steamers for the mission :—The "Tel el Hoween," "Safia," and "Mansureh," and gave the following written orders to Nushi :—

"Khartoum, 27th September, 1885.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY NUSHI PASHA,

"You are appointed to proceed to Shendy with the three steamers "Tel el Hoween," "Safia," and "Mansureh," in order to meet the English troops who are coming to Berber, and you will take the necessary number of soldiers. Two other officers will accompany you, namely, Mahmud Bey Tala'at and Ali Effendi Riza, so that each of you will

have a steamer. Khashem el Mus Bey will accompany you as commandant of the Shagiyeh troops, and to make negotiations with the Shagiyeh who are at Shendy.

"On your way down you are to fire at the enemy on both sides of the river, so as to intimidate them. Do not go on to Berber but stay at Shendy, and get as much news as you can about the English troops and the state of the inhabitants. You will take steps to render the road safe between here and Berber, and you are to help the English as much as you can.

"In case you receive any letter or communication from the Mudir of Dongola, or from the English troops, you are to comply with their requests. Khashem el Mus Bey being with you, he may be able to come to an understanding with the chiefs of the Shagiyeh tribe at Shendy and induce them to fight against the rebels.

"If anything important occurs which you think I should know, you can send one of the steamers back. One hundred dollars will be given you, as you may need them to pay the messengers whom you may send to the Mudir of Dongola, or to the English troops.

"I have every reason to believe you will fulfil this mission successfully."—(Sealed and signed).—"C. G. GORDON."

"P.S.—Yusef Effendi Sadak has been appointed your clerk, with a sufficient supply of stationery."

The preparations for the departure of the steamers were made as quickly as possible, and they left Khartoum on the afternoon of the 30th September, Nushi Pasha being on board the "Tel el Hoween," Mahmud Tala'at in command of the "Safia," and Ali Riza in command of the "Mansureh." As regards the two latter officers, we may mention that they were half brothers of Ahmed Pasha Effat, the gallant defender of Kassala, and had both done good service in Sennaar during the spring and summer of 1884. The "Safia" took up Khashem el Mus, and the fleet started down the Nile. General Gordon had thus deprived himself of the services of three of his best steamers, in order to lend a helping hand to the English expedition. He retained the "Ismailieh," "Bordeen," and "Tewfikieh." The "Husseinieh" and "Zubair" were still unfinished. Shortly after leaving Khartoum, the steamers had their first brush with the enemy at a place called Gabli, not far from Halfiyeh.

A body of cavalry which Gordon sent along the right bank co-operated and drove off the enemy, while the steamers captured a large boat and a number of cattle and sheep, which were sent back to Khartoum for the use of the garrison.

On the 3rd October the steamers again started, and, on reaching Hakneh, a village on the east bank, met a messenger, who brought the news that the English had already started from Debbah and were expected to get to Berber very soon. This was a rose-coloured view of affairs which cheered the hearts of those on board the steamers, but, unfortunately, was not founded on fact. The same afternoon, when the steamers reached Om Jarki Island, the rebels appeared in some force, but were dispersed by the fire of the "Safia" and "Mansureh," and ran away leaving a large boat, which was captured.

On the 4th October the village of El Magayer, the head quarters of the rebel general, El Habashi, was passed. Here entrenchments had been thrown up, and the dervishes opened fire upon the steamers, which returned it, driving off the rebels. An officer and two soldiers were wounded. The steamers were again fired upon when passing Salweh, and were moored for the night close to the island of Moosk. Two slaves were taken prisoners at Salweh and enlisted among the troops of Khashem el Mus.

On the following day the steamers reached Matammeh in the morning. The rebels had thrown up earthworks and opened fire, which was returned with interest, a considerable number of dervishes being killed. Nushi remarks in his journal, "God was pleased to grant us a victory over our enemies." On the afternoon of the same day the steamers arrived at Shendy and took up their station there, in accordance with General Gordon's orders. A messenger was sent into the town with letters to the principal inhabitants, advising them to abandon the cause of the Mahdi and return to their allegiance to the Government. After a short interval the messenger returned with a letter from Fatmeh, the daughter of Said Hassan el Morghani, an influential lady, who stated that the Shagiyeh were loyal to the Government, but that the majority of the inhabitants of Shendy were rebels who would never give in unless forced to do so. This lady and her sister Nefiseh were two very remarkable women who stood their ground in the midst of the rebels at Shendy, and remained loyal to Gordon and the Government.

On receiving this letter Nushi ordered the steamers to open fire upon the town, and upon the rebel entrenchments, and the following morning Mahmud Bey Tala'at landed forty men from the "Safia" and took possession of some storehouses on the northern side of Shendy.

On the 6th October, Nushi sent a messenger to Dongola, with letters from Gordon to the Khedive, the Mudir of Dongola, and six letters in English from Gordon to different persons. Whether this messenger ever arrived is uncertain. He may have been the man who reached Debbah on the 28th November, with letters dated the 18th September; but this is not probable, and it is more than likely that this messenger shared the fate of many others.

Ali Effendi Riza landed a party from the "Mansureh" to support Mahmud Tala'at, and a joint attack was made upon the rebels, who were dispersed. Khashem el Mus and his Shagiyeh also took part in the fight, and some of the Shagiyeh in Shendy deserted from the dervishes and joined him. Soon afterwards he received a letter from the Morghani ladies, who have already been mentioned, in which they informed him that they had called the leading men of Shagiyeh together, and had made them take an oath that they would give up the rebellion and join Khashem el Mus. But, although the good ladies had sufficient influence to get the Shagiyeh to take the oath, they could not make them keep it, and the rebel Emir, Ahmed Hamza, persuaded them to remain with him. So the steamers reopened fire on the town and knocked down a number of houses, in order to frighten the Shagiyeh into submission. A fortified post was then established at the storehouses, which Mahmud Tala'at had taken on the 5th October, and Khashem was placed there with his troops, in order to enter into communication with the Shagiyeh in Shendy. Firing was kept up on both sides for the next two days, but the Egyptians only lost five men killed, and one officer and twelve men wounded. The officers and crews were therefore in excellent spirits, and quite ready to co-operate with the English troops, whose arrival was eagerly longed for. Gordon had done all he could to assist the English expedition and he and the steamers could only wait. And now let us leave Nushi and his fleet for a while at Shendy, and see what steps were being taken in England and Egypt with regard to the relief expedition.

All through the spring of 1884 the English nation had been watching the action of General Gordon at Khartoum, and loud were the murmurs

against the Government for doing nothing to help him in the dangerous position in which they had placed him. Why the Government showed this indisposition to assist Gordon is very hard to understand. At last, in the beginning of August, it was decided to make preparations for sending a force to Dongola. In a despatch dated 8th August, 1884, from the War Office to General Sir F. Stephenson, who was then in command at Cairo, Lord Hartington informed him of the decision of the Government, and also told him that it was proposed to make use of small boats to transport the troops, similar to those which had been employed in the Red River expedition. General Stephenson replied pointing out the disadvantages of the small boat scheme, and on being asked what he proposed, replied on the 11th August :—

“Can move to Wady Halfa, four battalions, 2,200 bayonets; two squadrons, 200 sabres; one battery—horse or field artillery; two batteries, mountain; and mounted infantry. Small boats proposed not suitable. Can procure large amount of water transport, locally.”

It is interesting to note that General Stephenson's plan seems to have been exactly what General Gordon wanted, and, if it had been carried out, the English troops would probably have joined hands with the crews of Gordon's steamers towards the end of October. But his recommendations were not followed, and 400 boats were ordered on the 12th August, the day after the receipt of General Stephenson's telegram; and, shortly afterwards, 400 more. Now, if the boats had been built and used to assist the expedition in returning they might have been of great use, but, *because* they were being built, the expedition was kept back to wait for them. It will be remembered that it was on the 11th August that General Stephenson said he could send a force at once to Dongola, but it was not until the 1st November that the first of the small boats, having passed the cataract at Wady Halfa, started for Dongola.

The two months thus lost could never be regained in time to reach Khartoum before it had succumbed to famine. What would Gordon have thought on the 6th October, when his steamers at Shendy were all ready for the English troops, had he known that the boats which were to bring those troops up the Nile, had not yet begun to arrive at Assuan!

And not only was the great distance against the boats, but the Nile was falling, and every day the rapids became worse. As a comparison

of General Stephenson's proposal with the War Office plan, it might be mentioned that half of the Royal Sussex Regiment, which was sent up to Dongola in September in native boats, took *thirteen days* to travel from Sarras to Dongola, a distance of about 210 miles, whereas two months later on the troops in the small boats took about *five weeks* to cover the same distance. Looking back upon the whole transaction, it is sad to think of the responsibility which the English authorities in London incurred by neglecting the advice of their advisers in Egypt. The final result was that the advance guard of the English expedition was not assembled at Korti until the latter part of December, 1884. Lord Wolseley reached Korti on the 16th December, three days *after* General Gordon had written :—" *If some effort is not made before ten days time the town will fall.* It is inexplicable, this delay. If the expeditionary forces have reached the river and met my steamers, one hundred men are all that we require, just to show themselves." But *thirty-nine* days elapsed after he wrote this before the troops met the steamers, and Gordon's worst predictions were verified. The gallant effort of Sir Charles Wilson to reach Khartoum in time failed because the expedition reached Matammeh too late.

Let us now return to the steamers at Matammeh, where we left them on the 9th October. On that date Nushi wrote to the Shagiyeh chiefs the following letter :—" According to the orders which I received from his Excellency Gordon Pasha, with regard to my mission, his Excellency hoped that, when we arrived here with Kashem el Mus Bey, you would come and see us, and that, through you, we would come to an understanding with the people of the country. If you did this, you would be well received and rewarded, but none of you have come. Five days have elapsed since we came to Shendy, and through the goodwill of his Highness, the Khedive, and the grace of the Prophet, we have been successful in our engagements with the rebels. Now, if you have an inclination towards the Government, you should come to us, and come quickly, before the arrival of the troops that are expected, for you will have no excuse then. Before we came you sent many messengers to Gordon Pasha, and to Khashem el Mus, asking for reinforcements, and promising to help the Government in subduing the Arabs. We have come as you asked, and your promises seem to be untrue. Are you not aware that the Egyptian Government, and the Turkish Government,

and the English Government have a great many men of genius, who are working to restore the Government as it was before ? ”

On the following day, the 10th October, Khashem el Mus received a letter from the Emir Ahmed Hamza, calling upon him to surrender to the dervishes. The Emir stated that “ the steamer of your brother Gordon, which was going down the Nile, was captured, and all who were on board were killed or brought to Berber.” This was the first report which the officers in the steamers had received of the loss of the “ Abbas,” and death of Colonel Stewart. Ahmed Hamza’s letter was read to all the officers, and a defiant reply was sent back.

On the 11th October the “ Tel el Hoween ” went aground, and was got off after considerable exertions on the part of the crew under fire of the enemy. The fire was renewed on the 12th, and kept up with great vigour in consequence of the Emir of Shendy having received a fresh supply of cartridges. On the 14th October the rebels opened fire from a mountain gun, which had been sent up from Berber to annoy the steamers. In reply to this, Mahmud Tala’at landed one of the small guns from his steamer, and succeeded in dismounting the rebel gun. A spy came in shortly after and reported that the enemy were repairing the gun carriage with raw hide, and would recommence firing when the hide got dry. This proved to be correct, for the rebels mounted the gun and opened fire on the 16th.

Further rumours as to the capture of the boats with Colonel Stewart and the advance of the English having been received, Nushi Pasha despatched the “ Tel el Hoween ” to Khartoum, to convey the news to General Gordon, who had sent the steamer “ Tewfikieh ” to reinforce the fleet waiting at Shendy for the English.

The day after the “ Tel el Hoween ” left for Khartoum, the following letter was received from Mohamed el Kheir, the Emir of Berber, giving definite intelligence with regard to the death of Colonel Stewart :—

“ In the name of God the Almighty. Praise be to God and to his Prophet.

“ From the servant of God, Mohamed el Kheir, Vakil of the Mahdi, to Khashem el Mus Bey, to his Excellency Nushi Pasha, and to all the officers and soldiers. May God lead them in the right way.

“ I advise you for your benefit in this world, and in the world to come, that you should remember that this world is vain, and that happiness

awaits the believers in God, and in his Prophet, and you must be thankful that God has sent, in this blessed century, the Mahdi, of whom the Prophet prophesied.

"Do not believe in the speeches of Gordon, which are false and deceitful. Be reasonable, and see what has happened to those before you.

"Stewart Pasha, with the English and French consuls, who were with him, have been killed, and are now dwelling in hell, while the other Christians who were with him have become Moslem, and are well received."

He then goes on to prove the certainty of Stewart's death by recapitulating the papers which had been taken with him, and concludes by urging Khashem el Mus and the other officers to join the cause of the Mahdi.

During the next few days nothing serious occurred, though firing was kept up with but little intermission between the rebels and the steamers. On the 21st a shell struck the turret of the "Mansureh," damaging it severely, and blowing up some ammunition. Five men were killed and four wounded. While this fight was going on, the steamers "Tel el Hoween" and "Bordeen" arrived from Khartoum, and proved of considerable assistance. There were now five steamers at Shendy, waiting for the English who were not to come for three long months more.

Day by day the firing went on, and on the 29th October another long letter was received from the rebel chiefs, pointing out the futility of waiting for the English troops, "who," they said, "are very far from you yet." The only answer given to this letter is thus quaintly described by Nushi:—

"On receiving this letter, we soon began to bombard the houses of those rebels, which were pointed out to us by the messenger who brought the letter. Some of the houses were knocked down upon their heads, and Ali Saad's brother was killed. Some ran out of the houses, and were fired at by our soldiers, of these we saw two fall down dead. Others ran to seek refuge at the other end of the town."

On the 31st October the "Bordeen" was sent to Khartoum, and arrived there on the 3rd November, bringing to General Gordon the certain intelligence of the death of Colonel Stewart, which was, of course, a terrible blow to him. By the same post he received some newspapers of the 15th September, which, as he says, were "like gold, as you may

imagine, since we have had no news since the 24th February, 1884!" In his journal Gordon pasted some cuttings from this paper. One of these was:—"An official telegram from Wady Halfa states that owing to the unprecedented lowness of the Nile, no confidence is felt in the practicability of hauling boats over the cataracts till the end of September." Upon this Gordon wrote the comment, "It was not a low Nile, it was an average Nile, only you were *too late*."

While the "Bordeen" was at Khartoum the other steamers continued their fight with the rebels, who fired a good many shells at them, but without doing much harm. Nushi says:—"We gave God thanks for preserving us from the enemy, whose number and fire increases daily, while we are waiting for the arrival of the English troops." Poor Nushi would have felt rather low if he had known how much longer he would have to wait for the much desired arrival of the English troops. On the 6th November the "Bordeen" returned from Khartoum, having had to run the gauntlet of the enemy's fire on the way down.

Day after day things went on in much the same way, constant firing going on between the rebels and the steamers. On the 20th November, the "Mansureh" was sent on an excursion down the Nile to try and get some information about the advance of the English, but she was not very successful, having only heard vague rumours of the expedition. Her captain was severely wounded by a bullet in the mouth. On the following day a messenger arrived with letters to Gordon from Cairo, which were sent on at once to Khartoum in the "Bordeen," where she arrived on the 25th November. Gordon was pleased with Nushi's reports, and sent him the following reply:—

"Khartoum, November 26th, 1884.

"Your Excellency's letters, sent by the steamer "Bordeen," have arrived. I am pleased with your conduct, and care to protect the steamers, their crews, and the soldiers. This is what I wish. You should continue to do so until the army meets you. Greetings to you and to the soldiers."

After the "Bordeen" had been sent to Khartoum, the other steamers remained near Shendy. Provisions got low, and the officers grew uneasy about the "Bordeen," not knowing that Gordon had kept her at Khartoum to help him in his fights with the rebels. The "Tel el Hoween" was sent to forage along the river, which she did most successfully, bringing back a good deal of grain, with the loss of only three men wounded. She then

went to collect fuel for the boilers, and got a fair amount, with the loss of a few men.

On the 7th December the "Tel el Hoween" and "Mansureh" went down the river on another foraging expedition. They were very successful, and were returning to Shendy when the rebels opened fire from a new battery on the east bank of the Nile. A well-directed shell struck the "Mansureh" near the engines, making a large hole close to the water line. She was taken to the west bank, and a great part of her cargo was transferred to the "Tel el Hoween," which then attempted to tow the "Mansureh" back to Shendy. She heeled over so much that the water came in at the cabin windows, and then sank; but there was time to transfer the crew to the "Tel el Hoween," which on her way back to Shendy was struck by a shell that did considerable damage to the boiler. The engineers were collected from all the other steamers to repair the boiler, and this was effected in three days. The loss suffered by the Egyptians in this expedition was nine men killed and twelve wounded. The sinking of the "Mansureh" was a great blow to the Egyptians.

During the time the "Tel el Hoween" was under repair, the rebels built a battery for two guns on the west bank, just opposite the position of the steamers, and a spy reported that it was intended to open fire at night. Ali Riza therefore took a force on shore, and succeeded in taking the battery.

On the 15th December the fleet cruised up the Nile to try and get intelligence about the advance of the English, and also to obtain provisions. While the steamers were passing Matammeh, the rebels opened fire with shell, one of which pierced the boiler of the "Safia," and completely disabled her. The "Tel el Hoween" took her in tow, and the engineers succeeded in patching up the boiler, a difficult task under the fire of the enemy. It is curious that this happened not very far from the place where the same steamer, when Lord Charles Beresford was on board, was disabled in a similar manner, on the 4th February, 1885. Nushi remarks, "Thank God only two firemen and the clerk were killed, and one fireman was wounded." The steamers stopped at Salweh island for the night, and then went on to Bessabir, where a party landed to cut wood for the steamers. Hardly had they got on board again before a party of rebels came up and opened fire, killing two of the crew. A little further on, at Baryat, on the west bank, the enemy had placed a

gun which fired some shell at the steamers, but the only damage was the loss of one soldier in the "Tel el Hoween." The battery at Wad el Habashi also fired at the steamers, but without effect, and Jarki island was reached without further loss. The following morning, the 17th December, the steamers again started up the river, and shortly afterwards saw the "Bordeen," which it will be remembered had been sent up to Khartoum on the 25th November. Gordon sent her back on the 15th December with the last post that ever left Khartoum. She took the last volume of his Journal, which concluded as follows:—

"Now mark this, if the Expeditionary Force, and I ask for no more than 200 men, does not come in ten days, the town may fall, and I have done my best for the honor of our country. Good bye.—C. G. GORDON."

When the other steamers met the "Bordeen," she was in a sad plight, for she had struck on a rock in the cataract, and the captain had only just time to run her aground at Wad Hassourreh island, where she lay stranded and full of water. All the crews set to work to take out the cargo and pump out the water, while the captains and engineers considered how the leak could be stopped. Shortly afterwards the rebels began to assemble on the bank of the Nile and commenced to fire, in the hope of delaying the work doing upon the "Bordeen," so part of the Egyptian force had to be employed in returning the fire. Nushi remarks, "It was very lucky that we met the 'Bordeen' in time; had we been some days later she would no doubt have been lost."

The following day, work on the "Bordeen" went on under a tolerably heavy fire from the enemy. Four men were wounded. On the next morning, the 19th December, the rebel fire became so annoying, that Khashem el Mus was sent with his Shagiyeh irregulars in the "Tewfikieh," to drive off the enemy, which he succeeded in doing. Notwithstanding the efforts to repair the "Bordeen," it was found impossible to do it satisfactorily, on account of the water that came in while the work was being done, so it was decided to make a water-tight caisson, or box, to cover up the holes, and keep out the water until the repairs were completed. This was made as soon as possible, and on the 25th December, Nushi writes in the Journal:—"The whole repairing of the steamer was completed to our greatest satisfaction." On the next day the ammunition and other cargo was put back on board the "Bordeen," and the fleet was thus again ready for action.

On the 28th December it was decided to return to Matammeh. Nushi writes :—

"I called all the captains of the steamers together and consulted them about going towards Matammeh to meet the English troops. The captains said that the steamers are too heavy to pass the cataract as they are, and that the troops on board would have to go in boats until we pass Wady Bishara, then they would be taken on board again. I approved of this plan to avoid any injury being done. On Monday, the 11th Rabi Awel (29th December), having approved of the captains' opinion, I ordered Khashem el Mus Bey to start with the "Tewfikieh," and go down the cataract, taking the men in boats, and then wait down there for the other steamers. In like manner the remaining steamers went down the cataract, and we thanked God because no damage was done to any of the steamers, although the cataract is not passable at this time of the year."

Reading the above makes it easy to understand the great risk Sir Charles Wilson ran in passing this cataract on the way to Khartoum, a whole month later, nor is it matter for surprise that he lost the two steamers, the "Tel el Hoween" and "Bordeen," on his way back from Khartoum to Matammeh. In fact, it would have been more surprising if he had succeeded in bringing them back safely.

On the 30th December the steamers started again, and on the 1st January went on towards Matammeh, always hoping to get some news of the advance of the English. At Nasri island a raid was made to obtain provisions, as the supplies were falling very low, and after a sharp brush with the enemy, a good stock of provisions was obtained. The Egyptians lost two men killed and six men wounded. The number of the enemy killed was put down at 250, but that is probably a high estimate. The officers and men were much encouraged by this success, as it removed their fear of running short of provisions.

Little of interest happened in the next few days, but on the 9th January large bodies of rebels were observed going down the west bank of the Nile towards Matammeh. There can be little doubt that these were the Mahdi's troops, marching from Omderman to check the advance of Sir Herbert Stewart's column, which was on its way across the desert from Korti to Matammeh. Stewart had marched from Korti on the 30th December with his advance guard, and arrived at Jakdul Wells, about halfway from Korti to Matammeh, on the 1st January.

Leaving orders to fortify the position, he returned to Korti, and marched with the remainder of his column, arriving at Jakdul on the 12th January. Looking at the course of events with our present knowledge, it is matter for regret that Stewart did not push on at once for the Nile when he first arrived at Jakdul, for had he done so he would probably have arrived at the river with little or no fighting. As we have already seen, he arrived at Jakdul on the 1st, and he would therefore have arrived on the Nile by the 5th, whereas the force that came from Omderman to oppose him did not begin to arrive at Matammeh until the 9th, while the orders for the march of the Berber force of rebels were not given until the 4th January, and these had a distance of more than 100 miles to traverse. Indeed it is probable that the entire force of rebels, which fought Stewart at Abu Klea, were not assembled until the 14th or 15th January. Had, therefore, Stewart advanced at once, the battle of Abu Klea would never have been fought, and the small English column would have arrived intact on the Nile three weeks earlier than it actually did. But, it is easy to be wise after the event.

On the 11th January the rebel general, Feki Mustapha, sent another letter to Nushi, to induce him to join the Mahdi, and saying that Gordon was trying to make terms, but to this no answer was sent, except "a few words to threaten the rebels."

Each day, up to the 14th, large bodies of Arabs were observed moving towards Matammeh. The rebels were getting uneasy at the near approach of the English, and on the 16th sent the following letter :—

"From the servants of God and the Mahdi, to their brothers, Kashem el Mus, Abd el Hamid, and Mohamed Nushi.

"You certainly do not deny that God is Almighty, and that no one can resist him. He is very merciful to those who follow his commands, and revengeful on those who violate them. Our Imam, the Mahdi, is also merciful, and we communicate the proofs of his good will, and advise you to surrender. Let it be known to you that Omderman has surrendered, and Farag Allah (the commandant) is well treated.

"It is contrary to religious principles that you should rely on the English troops, who can never reach you because they are already surrounded by the Moslem troops.

"As you are related to us in many ways, we have pity on you, and are anxious that you should surrender, and we promise, by the name of

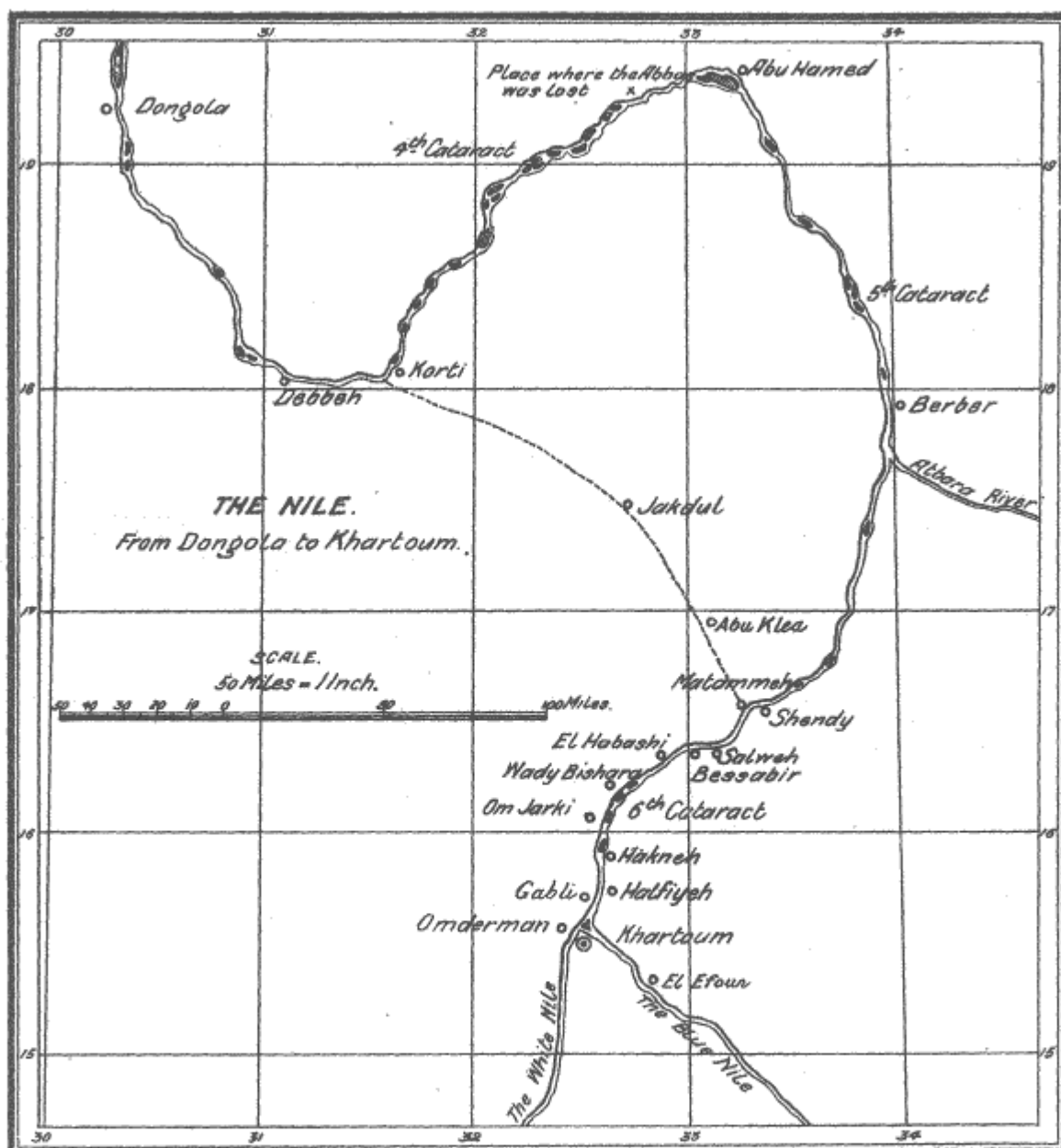
the Prophet, that no harm shall be done to you, and your property will be spared. We inform you that to-day thirty-two companies have arrived here, among whom is the brother of Khalifeh Sidi Omar, Musa, Mohamed Abu Safia, and Mohamed Bellal. So do not delay to come to us."

No answer was sent to this letter.

On the 18th January a messenger arrived with the information that the English troops had fought and beaten the rebels at Abu Klea. On receiving this information the steamers moved nearer to Matammeh. On the 21st January, the look out in the steamers saw the English cavalry approaching, upon which Nushi says:—"We hoisted all the flags, and the music on board began to play."

The weary four months of watching and fighting were over, and the English troops, so long anxiously looked for, had arrived at last. And here ends the journal of the steamers. The officers on board had done all they could to carry out Gordon's instructions, but the English troops had come too late, and notwithstanding the heroic efforts of Sir Charles Wilson and those with him to get to Khartoum in time, the game was played out, and the town had fallen. Gordon wrote on the 13th December, "All that is absolutely necessary is for fifty of the Expeditionary Force to get on board a steamer, and thus let their presence be felt; this is not asking much, but this must happen *at once*, or it will (as usual) be too late."

And it *was* too late.



EXCAVATIONS AT SEMNA AND URONARTI BY THE HARVARD-BOSTON EXPEDITION.

By Professor G. A. Reisner.

(PLATES I—VI.)

THE first draft of a history of Ethiopia, based on the excavations of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, was published in the *SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS* entitled "Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan."¹ Two other reports, one on the historical material at Gebel Barkal and the other on the tombs of the kings of the Egyptian XXVth Dynasty at El-Kur'uw² added the material discovered by the expedition in 1918 to 1920. Part V of the "Outline" gave that discovered at Kabushiyah (Begarawiyah) in 1920-23. Since 1923, the expedition has been working at Semna and Uronarti, about fifty miles south of Halfa. The work there was begun in the season 1923-4 with the assistance of Mr. Alan Rowe (now directing the Philadelphia expedition at Beisan in Palestine). In 1924-5, being obliged to return for a semester to Harvard University, I concentrated the work of the expedition at the Giza Pyramids, where, after twenty years of research, the methods had been fully developed. While I was absent, having left Mr. Rowe in charge, an intact tomb-chamber was discovered which was clearly that of a member of the family of Sneferuw. The expedition was not responsible for the erroneous reports circulated by newspaper agencies, which attributed the tomb to Sneferuw himself. The importance of this tomb, the only intact tomb ever found of a royal personage of the pyramid age, drew the whole attention of the expedition to the clearing and recording of the one burial chamber. The tomb proved to be a secret re-burial of Hetep-heres I, mother of Cheops. An account has been published in "The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston" (Special Bulletin, May, 1927; No. 151, Oct., 1927; No. 157, Oct., 1928). It was not until 1927-8 that the expedition was able to resume work in the Sudan. During 1927-8 and 1928-9 the excavation of the two forts at Semna was completed, and that of the fort at Uronarti was begun, under the field direction of Lieut.-Comm. Wheeler.

¹ See Vol. I, pp. 3, 57, 217; Vol. II, p. 35; Vol. V, p. 173.

² See Vol. II, p. 237, and Vol. IV, p. 59.

The excavation of the forts at Semna and Uronarti is part of a larger plan for the examination of all the old Egyptian forts from Semna to Halfa. There are eleven of these structures visible to the traveller from Buhen (opposite Halfa) southwards to Semna, given by Mr. Somers Clarke (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, III, pp. 155-179) as Buhen (A), O.K. Fort south of Buhen (B), Mayanarti (C), Dorgaynarti (D), Matuka (E, more correctly Mirgisseh), Dabenarti (F), Sarras (G, more correctly Shalfak), Uronarti (H), Semna-Gharb (I), Semna-Sherq (J), and one other, Semna-Gubli. These are not all equally ancient. Fortunately we have a list of the Middle Kingdom Fortresses which Dr. Gardiner has published (*J.E.A.*, III, pp. 184-192). It is on a papyrus roll, a vocabulary, found by Mr. Quibell in a Middle Kingdom tomb under the Ramasseum. This list gives eight forts including Buhen. The names of the forts in order as on the papyrus are as follows (identification by Dr. Gardiner) :—

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Repressing-the.....(?) | ... | K. Semna Gubli (?) |
| 2. | Powerful-is-Sesostris III | ... | I. Semna Gharb. |
| 3. | Warding-off-the-Bow-people | ... | J. Semna Sherq. |
| 4. | Repelling-the-Nubians | ... | H. Uronarti. |
| 5. | Curbing-the-foreign-lands | ... | G. Shalfak (Sarras). |
| 6. | Subduing-the-oasis-people | ... | E. Mirgisseh (Matuka)(?) |
| 7. | Iqen | | F. Dabenarti (?). |
| 8. | Buhen | | B. and A. At Buhen. |

The identification of the names 2, 3 and 4 is certain because of inscriptions found in those three forts giving the ancient names; and that of the others may be regarded as probable. I believe that the two forts at Buhen were both called Buhen, one (the southern) being older. The other two forts examined by Mr. Somers Clarke, Mayanarti (C) and Dorgaynarti (D) are certainly later, but the dating must await excavation. The eight forts of the papyrus list were all built in or before the Middle Kingdom (about 2000 B.C.).

The Middle Kingdom forts at the cataracts from Semna to Halfa have a great importance for the history of the relations between Egypt and the ancient Sudan. If I may be permitted to recall the historical context, the interest of Egypt in the Sudan down to quite recent times has always been a matter of trade. The story of the early caravans to the Sudan shows the king of Egypt as a great merchant prince importing

into Egypt for the royal treasury the ebony, ivory, resins, gold, black slaves, etc., of the southern countries. The tribes along the river between the First and the Third Cataracts had enjoyed a considerable prosperity during Dyn. III-V (and perhaps before) from the backsheesh (*tongo*) levied on these trading caravans. As is usual in such cases, the population tended to increase and was obliged to increase its demands, so that the situation from the Egyptian standpoint became intolerable. In Dyn. VI, the caravan leaders sought to avoid the exactions of the riverine tribes by opening a road through the desert and travelling under the protection of the chiefs of the much less numerous and, therefore, less exacting desert tribes. This was the situation when, owing to the breakdown of the Egyptian monarchy at the end of Dyn. VI, the Egyptian inscriptions fail us for some centuries. The Nubian Archaeological Survey has shown that Lower Nubia between the First and the Second Cataracts during the obscure period was only very sparsely populated by tribes existing on the meagre agricultural produce of the country. There is no doubt that the local market trade went on—that cumbersome process by which goods passed up and down by exchanges between traders who travelled from one local market to another. Market to market exchange can be inferred even from pre-dynastic times and goes on to-day between the Nubian villages. But there is no evidence of further royal expeditions until Dynasty XI (see *SUDAN NOTES*, I, p. 15) and no clear view of the relations between Egypt and the Sudan until Dyn. XII.

When the curtain rises again in Dyn. XII, the traffic is again passing along the river and mainly by ships. But the trade, instead of depending on royal caravans sent unsupported to the south, is now organized throughout a country thoroughly subdued by military expeditions. There were three of these—the first by Amenemhat I in his twenty-ninth year; the second, nine years later by his successor, Sesostri I; and the third, by Sesostri III, eighty-three years after the campaign of Sesostri I. The third campaign was so decisive and the means taken to hold the country so well organized that during the New Kingdom, Sesostri III was generally worshipped as one of the gods of Ethiopia. The Egyptian policy towards the Sudan, which was, of course, merely the family policy of the kings in support of their supply of materials from the south, had been adopted as early as the reign of the founder of the

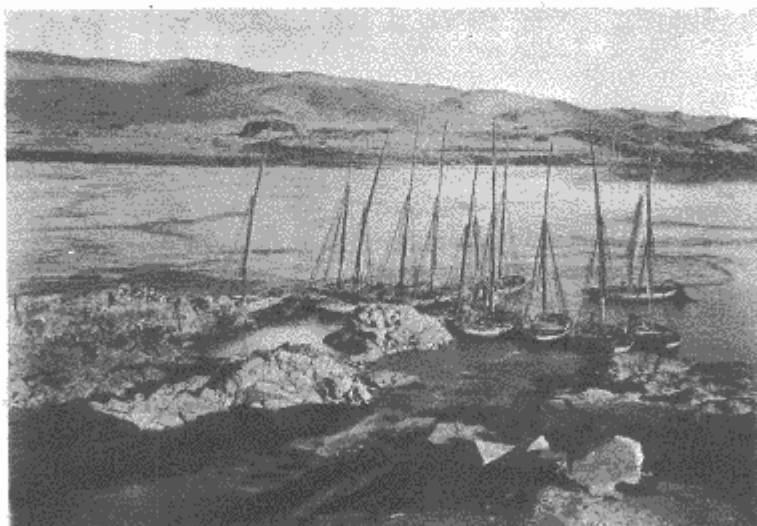
dynasty, Amenemhat I. That policy consisted of a permanent occupation of the Northern Sudan by officials who were little more than trading agents, the maintenance of communications mainly by water, and the protection of the transport by means of fortified posts along the river. The riverine tribes had been severely handled, but the desert tribes, particularly on the west, were a constant source of danger to the trading fleets. Amenemhat protected his chief agency, which was at Kerma, in Dongola Province, at the head of the Third Cataract by a fort called "The Walls of Amenemhat" (*see* "Harvard African Studies," Vol. V-VI). There can be little doubt that he had a garrison at Buhen and probably at other points on the Second Cataract. For example, it may well be that Amenemhat built the eastern half of the fort at Semna Gharb, although this fort was enlarged by Sesostri III and was known later as "Powerful-is-Sesostri-III." Sesostri III also built the Fort at Uronarti in his sixteenth year. One of the objects of the proposed excavation of all these forts is to determine the date of the construction of each. But even without these details it is clear that in the latter part of the Middle Kingdom the waterway from Kerma to Halfa was fully protected at those points where the trading fleets were exposed to the attacks of the desert tribes.

Such was the historical situation in which the Egyptian forts in the cataract region had their place. The expedition went to Semna full of curiosity as to what lay under the layers of debris and sand which filled the space inside the walls and covered the bottom parts of the walls outside. Now, after completing two of the forts, Semna Sherq and Semna Gharb, and half excavating a third, Uronarti, the results may be presented under the following heads:—

1. The navigation of the cataracts in ancient times.
2. The relations between the three forts at Semna and Uronarti ; the land roads.
3. The control of the traffic by land and water.
4. The plans and construction of the forts.
5. The garrisons and their life in the Middle Kingdom.
6. The occupation of the forts in the New Kingdom and later.
7. The records left by Egyptian officials.
8. The fall in the high Nile level after Dyn. XII.



SEMNA CATARACT AND THE EAST FORT, LOOKING NORTH, FEBRUARY, 1924.



THE DONGOLA DATE FLEET RETURNING FROM WADY HALFA. PASSING SEMNA,
NOVEMBER, 1927.

I. THE NAVIGATION OF THE CATARACTS IN ANCIENT TIMES.

It is not generally realized that the cataracts have always been passable at high Nile for light draught sailing boats. Even at the present time, a great part of the date harvest of northern Dongola and southern Halfa provinces is moved to Halfa by sailing boats. The boats move in fleets so that their crews may help one another through difficult places especially on the return voyage. I am told that about three trips are made each high Nile, and while that is hearsay, the expedition has seen and photographed the fleet passing Semna cataract. The boats go down loaded with dates and come back nearly empty. Some of them carry back small general cargoes of cloth, etc., bought in Halfa for the local merchants in Dongola and Halfa and for personal use. The downstream journey is the dangerous part and usually results in one or two accidents every year. The return journey is the more arduous as the boats have to be pulled up one at a time through every difficult place where the north wind fails to carry the boat against the current.

In ancient times the boats laden with the southern products must have travelled the same way in fleets which passed down annually. Many of these boats in the New Kingdom were constructed in the Sudan of local timber and went downstream to Thebes, probably never to return. In the Middle Kingdom the Sudan boats probably went all the way to Memphis, but the cargoes may have been transhipped at Assuan. But on occasion, no doubt, a fleet had to be sent upstream and the procedure was probably as it is to-day.

In addition to the annual fleets which went to Egypt from the Sudan and those which at times came southwards, there was a certain amount of movement of troops, and a constant passing up and down of officials, both royal inspectors and men stationed in the Sudan on longer terms of duty. It is impossible at present to determine just how much of this passed by land and how much by water, but it may be accepted as reasonable that a good deal of this official traffic was also by water. Lighter rowing boats with crews of eight to sixteen men such as Egyptian officials used would have been able to navigate the cataracts up or downstream from June to January. No doubt there were accidents enough, but the danger would not have been sufficient to deter the officials from adopting the more convenient mode of travel.

2. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE FORTS AT SEMNA AND URONARTI AND THE LAND ROADS.

At Semna, a rock barrier stretches across the river-bed, which is at present divided by erosion into three channels and two massive knolls of rock. The eastern part of the barrier is of red granite (gneiss) and the western of hornblende-schist. On the east bank the barrier continues eastward in a row of three fairly high rocky hills separated by deep, wind-swept ravines. The eastern fort, Semna Sherq, is on the first of these hills, that on the river bank. On the western bank, the more fissile hornblende-schist rises in a broad undulating plateau with a rocky hill on the river bank just below the western end of the barrier. This hill is in the centre of the eastern part of the western fort (Semna Gharb), but the fort has received an addition which covers the saddle of rock to the west of the peak.

The distance from fort wall to fort wall is a little over 500 metres. It is easy to call verbal messages across from one fort to the other. The barrier in the river bed is about 200 metres long in the direction of the stream and about 500 metres wide. At low water the whole river flows through the middle channel between the two massive knolls of rock, and this middle channel is only about 40 metres wide. I doubt if the depth has ever been correctly ascertained, but Dr. Ball gives it as a little over 20 metres. At high Nile the water flows over the whole barrier for a short period; but as the rocks appear the Nile is separated into three channels—an eastern, a middle, and a western channel. The eastern and middle channels are due to slow erosion; but the western channel, probably originally a shallow erosion channel like the eastern one, has been widened laterally by the undermining of the western rock-cliff composed of the more fissile hornblende-schist. Further on I shall show that this widening took place in the XIIIth Dynasty, and that since then the high Nile has wasted itself around this spillway and never again risen so high as in Dyn. XII. Above the barrier there is a wide pool through the western part of which the river flows. And below there is another even wider pool, in which the currents vary with the passing of water through the three different channels. In ancient times, it is now proved, the lower pool had about the same extent and the same water levels as at present. The river can be ferried easily in sail boats or row boats both above and below the barrier; but the local inhabitants



LOOKING EASTWARDS ACROSS THE SEMNA BARRIER. WEST FORT ON THE RIGHT, EAST FORT MARKED (x) ; NILE LEVELS AT ARROW.



SEMNA, POOL BELOW THE BARRIER. WEST FORT MARKED x—x ; WATER STAIR INDICATED BY ARROW. LOOKING W.N.W. NOVEMBER, 1928.

always prefer the shorter ferry above the rapids. There is an eddy in the lower pool which they dislike. But I consider it probable that the Egyptian garrisons used the lower pool. The date fleet coming upstream always gathers in the sort of harbour formed by the western curve of the lower pool and crosses with the wind to work up the eastern side of the middle channel, up which the boats are pulled by ropes.

The ramparts of the two forts command a wide view of the river and the country on both sides. About three miles away to the north, the walls of Uronarti fort on its island are clearly visible to the naked eye and within easy signalling distance of both of the Semna forts. Uronarti is also on high rock, but this is a long ridge running north and south. The eastern side of the ridge descends cliff-like to the edge of the minor eastern channel, while the western side slopes more gently to the main western channel which contains a difficult minor cataract. The island can be reached by ferry from both banks at its downstream end, and is easily accessible from the east bank all along the minor channel. The chief crossing place seems to have been from the east bank towards the southern end of the island.

The old land road on the west bank is clearly visible. It comes from the south, passes through the western Semna Fort, and winds on over the hills towards Uronarti and Shalfak (Sarras). The road on the eastern bank is not so clearly marked, except just below the eastern fort at Semna, where it is seen proceeding towards Uronarti. It passes outside the eastern fort apparently through both of the ravines to the east, but the easternmost ravine is now choked by sand-drifts. The sandy eastern shore of the lower pool at Semna continually gives off travelling dunes of grey sand which shift and vary from year to year but have probably always been present even in antiquity. They often encroach on the lower slopes of the hill on which the fort is built, partially block the exit of the nearer ravine, and pour through the far ravine to form an enormous "sand-snake" south of the barrier. The Uronarti fort, being on an island, lay between the two roads and could have been reached from both.

The southern fort at Semna, Semna Gubli (K), stands on a low plain and is difficult of excavation because of the superstition of the local inhabitants. The north-west corner is taken by a "sheikh" of some reputation, because of two incidents perpetuated in local tradition. The discovery of the sheikh arose from the cutting of halfa-grass by a man

of the village some generations ago. After cutting the halfa in the fort and feeding it to his camels, he went to sleep about a hundred yards away. Awakening suddenly he saw a gazelle, seized his gun and shot it. On approaching the gazelle he found no gazelle but one of his own camels. Thereupon he knew he had offended the "sheikh" and to placate him built the present vault over the north-east corner of the ancient building. It is also related that during the Wolseley campaign an "Englishman" stationed at Semna in connection with the passage of the cataract, in a private search for treasure, dug two or three trenches which were shown to me. "The sheikh seized on him" and a short time after, having returned to Halfa, the man shot himself and died. Whatever of truth or falsehood there may be in this, none of the locals would work on the site, and their fear was transmitted in some degree to our Egyptian workmen.

This southern fort is quite small and may have been an outpost of the main fort of Semna Gharb. West of the great fort there is a much smaller outpost of crude-brick.

3. CONTROL OF THE TRAFFIC BY LAND AND WATER.

It is obvious that the garrisons of the forts at Semna and Uronarti were in a position not only to protect the southern fleet during its passage of the rapids of Semna and Uronarti, but also to stop and examine any party attempting to pass by land or water. The forts were so strong that a mere handful of soldiers could have held out against almost any attack with the primitive arms of the time. Therefore, the greater part of the fighting force was always available for co-operation with the neighbouring garrisons against any party which might raid the transport or attempt to break through the trading prohibitions. The regulation given on the stelæ of Sesostri III orders that no Sudani is to pass by Semna either by land or water, except only traders proceeding to the market at Iqen (*see* fort No. 7 in papyrus list). The three forts were so situated that river traffic could not have got past them undiscovered. Land parties might have evaded them by making a considerable detour through the desert. But sentinels stationed on outlying peaks could have watched the roads for many miles on each side.

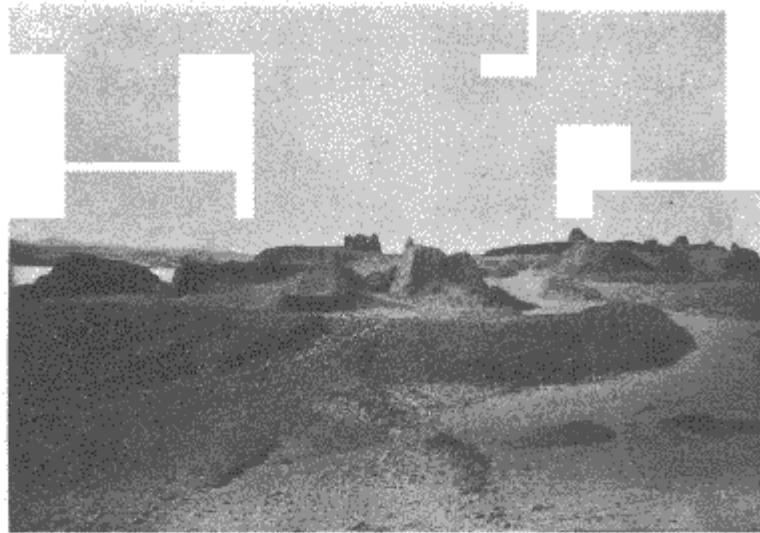
Probably the traders who frequented the market at Iqen were well known and had standing permission to pass. It must be understood,



SEMNA WEST FORT, LOOKING SOUTH.



URONARTI FORT: EXTERIOR OF EASTERN WALL, SHOWING WOODEN BEAMS.
SEMNA FORTS ARE MARKED E. AND W. IN THE BACKGROUND.



SEMNA WEST FORT, LOOKING SOUTH. NEAR VIEW, SHOWING GLACIS WALL, DRY DITCH AND NORTH GATE.



SEMNA WEST FORT; MAIN STREET, LOOKING SOUTH THROUGH SOUTH GATE.

of course, that they paid a regular, if small, blackmail to the officers on duty. As far as we know there would have been no excuse for other Sudanis to pass northwards by Semna except those who accompanied the annual freight fleets. It is to be presumed that the regulation referred especially to armed parties of the riverine or the desert tribes who sometimes raided the settlements further north (between the First and Second Cataracts) or sought an occasion to waylay the transport on the river.

4. THE PLANS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FORTS.

Each of the three forts, Semna East, Semna West, and Uronarti, was built on a hill, and the plan of each was drawn to suit the physical configuration of the hill on which it stood. The thick outer walls were of crude-brick (unbaked mud brick) and were built on a level platform of granite rubble which, founded on the solid rock, filled out the dips and equalized the inequalities of the surface under the walls. Inside the outer wall a street ran all around the fort. The space inside the wall street was divided into blocks (*insulae*) by cross streets. Semna West was divided into seven or more blocks; Semna East into three blocks; and Uronarti into four. Each block was further divided by walls into separate apartments or quarters—temple, dwellings of the commandant and other high officials, barracks for the men, storehouses, etc. All these streets were paved originally with small slabs of stone. Each apartment had, as a rule, only one doorway opening into the street.

The tops of the outer walls were destroyed, but they were probably flat with a parapet and reached by stairways. Curiously enough, no stairways were found in the thickness of the walls, and only one in the wall street. It is possible that the tops of the walls were reached from the tops of the buildings inside. No evidence was discovered of loop-holes in the walls, such as those found at Ikkur, north of Halfa.

The massive outer walls of crude-brick were strengthened with wooden beams which were built into the brickwork both parallel to and perpendicular to the faces of the wall. Some of these are wonderfully preserved even to-day, especially in the Uronarti fort, but some are decayed and some have been burnt out by fire. The outside faces of the wall are broken by towers or buttresses or both towers and buttresses.

These are characteristics common to the three forts. The largest and most complicated of the forts was Semna West, which was apparently

also the most important from a military and administrative point of view. The peculiar features of this fort were the dry-ditch, with glacis, all around the three landward sides, two gates in addition to the river-gate, and the passage of the north-south land road through the fort. Apparently the chief land-road was on the western bank at Semna, and all the traffic coming from the south, whether Egyptian official parties or traders, was shepherded through the fort and subjected to control in the southern gateway. The road from the south ascended a rubble causeway to the top of the rubble glacis, passed across a culvert over the dry-ditch and so into the southern gateway. Sudani traders were not allowed to remain in the fort except under exceptional circumstances, but were passed through the main street to the northern gate where they again crossed the dry-ditch over a culvert and so came down a causeway to the north-south road again. I imagine that they often camped on the shore of the lower pool before resuming their journey.

Unfortunately the high rock on which stands the north-east quarter of the Semna West fort was partly denuded by rainfall (?) and partly overbuilt by the temple of the New Kingdom, so that the plan of the structures surmounting this hill could not be recovered. The remains of foundations indicated a tower. From the eastern side of this structure on the hill top, a stairway of crude-brick descended through the massive outer wall to the top of the rubble foundation platform, where it entered a covered rubble stairway built against the foundations. This rubble stairway descends in ninety-three steps to the river and ends at what is approximately low Nile level of the present day. It was covered with granite slabs, but the roof is now preserved only at the upper end. By this covered stair the supply of water for the garrison was secured against attack from the land side, the only side in any danger. The whole corridor is directly under the eastern wall (river wall) of the fortress. On this side the river and the steep river bank gave better protection than that afforded by the dry-ditch and glacis of the other three sides.

The western part of the fort of Semna West was an addition covering part of the broad saddle of rock which joined the rocky hill to the plateau behind. The Middle Kingdom houses on the southern slope of the high hill (that is, the southern part of the older fort) were terraced to meet the slope of the ground; but the north-south streets ran on a slope. The houses in the western part were also terraced, but with less differences

in the levels of the terraces, and here it was the east-west streets which ran in an ascending slope. There was no exit from the fort towards the west or desert side.

The fort at Semna Sherq (Semna East) was much smaller, covering an area of square miles. It had only one land gate and that was through the north-eastern tower. It was entered by a stiff climb from the first ravine. There was no dry-ditch or glacis because the rock was precipitous on all sides. The river gate opened at the north-western corner through a doorway in the wall street which led through the massive outer wall to a covered rubble stairway. Only the top steps of this stairway are preserved. The roof is gone and the lower steps, but it descended, no doubt, like the stairway at Semna West, through a covered corridor to the water's edge at low Nile. It is not clear whether this stair continued downwards to the west or turned north along the cliff to reach the water of the lower pool. The whole of the small interior of the fort was laid on one level by the use of rubble foundation walls and by filling in the compartments of the foundations. In the middle western part the rock actually rose a little above the floor level, and made a slight terracing necessary.

The peculiar feature of the fort of Semna East, aside from the general form, was that the massive outer wall of crude-brick was built out as a single wall from the southern wall to cover a spur in the rock. From the top of this spur-wall, the garrison overlooked the upper end of the eastern channel, where there was a landing place and the southern approach to the fort.

The fort at Uronarti stands on a long triangular hill, which runs out to the north in a narrow ridge. The main fort is, therefore, triangular in form with a very long spur-wall running out on the northern ridge to defend the slopes of that ridge. The spur-wall ends in a tower, from the top of which there was a view over the river as far as Shalfak (Sarras), with which fort signals could have been exchanged. The main fort at Uronarti had only one entrance, a strongly protected gateway in the middle of the southern wall, the short base of the triangle. This fort is not yet completely excavated; but it is clear that there was an outer enclosed space on the lower ground south of the southern gateway. The river gate and the river stair have not yet been discovered, and possibly were unnecessary owing to the situation of the fort on an island.

5. THE GARRISONS AND THEIR LIFE IN THE FORTS.

The size of the garrison of each fort can be roughly calculated by the quarters provided for the men, and their character by the cemeteries, the objects found in the houses, and similar archaeological evidence. First of all, on a hill south-west of the fort of Semna West there was found a considerable cemetery of the Middle Kingdom, which had been re-used in the New Kingdom; and in the slopes of another hill to the north-west, another cemetery begun in the New Kingdom. These were Egyptian cemeteries in every way—in the types of tombs, in the burials, and in the funerary furniture. The bodies included those of women and children as well as men. It is obvious that the garrisons were accompanied by their families, although some of the women were probably of Nubian origin; and that they were stationed in the forts for long periods. Each fort had its temple dedicated to the gods of Nubia—the ram-headed Khnum, Dedwen, Mut, Satis, etc. And the temples required, of course, learned scribes who acted as priests. Life went on much as it did in garrisons in other parts of Egypt—guard duty, carrying messages, examining and recording passing traffic, private intrigues and quarrels, but mostly just existing. On the passage of important officials there would have been the usual hospitalities, the slaughter of sheep and feasting. The passage of the freight fleet was, of course, a great event. Occasionally the approach of a raiding party caused a general alarm and even led to fighting and chasing. Then there was always marriage, birth and death.

The more commodious houses of the commandant and officials took a large part of the area inside the walls in all three forts. When it is remembered that there were women and children also quartered in the forts, the fighting strength must have been rather small. I estimate about fifty men at Semna East, about 150 at Semna West, and about 100 at Uronarti. But primitive men have such a capacity for crowding themselves that probably more men could have been accommodated at times. At Uronarti further excavation may show additional barracks in the outer fortress. I imagine that in dealing with a raiding party the commandant at Semna West, who was in charge of the district, could have got together between 150 and 200 men for operations outside the forts. This should have been quite sufficient to deal with any



SEMNA WEST FORT ; WATER STAIR, LOOKING WEST.



ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT SEMNA EAST. NOS. 29 AND 30 ARE NILE RECORDS ;
13★ NOS 31 AND 32 ARE PRIVATE PRAYERS.

ordinary raid. In case of a serious revolt of the whole country or of an attack in mass by the desert tribes, the garrisons would have had to sit tight within the massive walls of the forts. With an assured water supply they could have held out long enough for troops to arrive from the north. But after the time of Sesostri III, who completed the fortification of the road, we know of no such general rising or attack.

6. THE OCCUPATION OF THE FORTS IN THE NEW KINGDOM AND LATER.

All three forts were occupied in the New Kingdom. In each of them a stone temple was built or a crude-brick temple faced wholly or partially with stone. The earliest of these was at Semna West, and bears the name of Thothmes I. Of this we have found only the foundations of a single east-west cell and a fallen stone with reliefs. South of it were the outlines of several rooms with mud-brick foundations which had been destroyed when Tirhaqa (688-663 B.C.) built his temple. And south of this in debris we found two large stone slabs with the name of Thothmes II. The stone cell of Thothmes I has its doorway on the west opening on an open court enclosed by crude-brick walls. On the northern side of this court stands the small temple of Thothmes III, built in his second year, and somewhat enlarged by himself later. The inscription on the east wall outside says: "The Good God, Thothmes III, he has made it for his father Dedwen, foremost god of Nubia, and for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sesostri III. That which he has made for them is a temple of the good white stone of Nubia, when he found it of crude-brick, greatly decayed." This inscription is a warning against taking such inscriptions too literally. The stone cell of Thothmes I was certainly there when Thothmes III had his temple built, and that new temple was by no means wholly of stone. The back third of the main cell was a thin casing wall of stone backed with crude-brick, and the walls bounding the eastern and the western porticos were also of crude-brick.

In this time, Dyn. XVIII, the walls of the houses inside the eastern part of the fort were levelled off and new walls built on the old foundation, but not always to the same plan. In the western addition, the alterations in Dyn. XVIII are not so easy to follow. But pottery and other objects of the New Kingdom were found all over the fort. The exterior walls

were still standing in good condition and seem to have required no repairs. The main street leading from the southern to the northern gate was re-paved, and also parts of the wall street.

In the cemetery, the old graves of the Middle Kingdom, which had been plundered and partially filled with drift-sand, were re-used and bodies buried on top of the layer of drift-sand; but a number of new tombs were also excavated, and some of these were used as communal burial places. Two of the communal graves contained 12-16 bodies stacked in up to the roof—all of poor persons.

Many of the important objects found in the cemetery and in the fort of Semna West were of this period—in particular, the ceremonial axe-blade with a dog pulling down a gazelle, the dagger with wooden handle and ornamented butt showing a lion biting the head of a negro, the two mirrors with a handle in the form of a naked girl, and the mirror with a wooden handle in the form of the god Bes. There was also a number of personal ornaments found stuffed in a copper jar and buried under the floor of a room—three girdles of gold shells separated by coloured beads, two necklaces of coloured stone amulets and beads, and five seal rings of which one bore the name of Amenophis III. I imagine this was the loot of some thief who was sent away before he could collect his hidden treasure, or maybe was put to death for that very theft without revealing its hiding-place. We shall never know. But all this material proves conclusively that this fort of Semna West was occupied continuously through the New Empire. In fact, we could trace three levels of house walls ending with the Meroitic period. In that time, Tirhaqa built a crude-brick temple in front of the temples of Thothmes I and Thothmes III, and his people lived certainly in the western part of the fort, and probably in the eastern part as well. Certain repairs to the outer walls carried out in a curious sort of rubble work may be attributed to this period or a little later.

At Semna East the first temple of the New Kingdom appears to have been built by Thothmes III, but also bears the names of Thothmes II and Hatshepsut. The name of Hatshepsut has, however, been altered to that of Thothmes II. The whole of the back part of this temple either collapsed or was pulled down and rebuilt by Amenophis II. Amenophis II also used the device of backing the stone walls with crude-brick. This crude-brick backing has decayed to within about a metre of the ground, and

on examining it we discovered that four of the blocks bore inscriptions of Thothmes III. That is, Amenophis II had used the stone from the older temple as the material for his temple.

The objects of the New Kingdom from Semna East were scanty. The outer walls of the fort were still in good condition ; but it may well be doubted whether in this period the fort was garrisoned by a military force. I am inclined to think of the New Kingdom occupation as purely civil. The priests of the temple, probably lived there with their servants and kept a sort of guest house for official travellers. The object of the king of Egypt in building this temple, as well as those at Semna West and Uronarti, was to honour his great ancestor, the conqueror of Nubia, Sesostris III, and to that end Thothmes III not only built the temples but endowed the services.

7. THE RECORDS LEFT BY THE EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS.

The temples of the Middle Kingdom were of crude-brick and their inscriptions, if there were any, have not survived. Three official stelæ of Sesostris III in granite have been found : (a) dated in year 8 of Sesostris III, found at Semna West ; (b) dated in year 16 of Sesostris III, found at Semna West ; and (c) a duplicate of (b) also dated in the 16th year, "when the fortress *Repelling-the-Nubians* (Uronarti) was built," found at Uronarti. The first two were found by Lepsius and the third by Steindorff, Borchardt, and Shaefer. Aside from these we found four stelæ and two offering-stones which had been dedicated in the old crude-brick temple at Semna West. The four stelæ give the names of :—

1. The king's sealer, commander of the army, Mentuemhat.
2. The district commandant, Makhw ; an invocation to those who enter the temple to utter a prayer for him.
3. The district commandant, Ameny, born of Yaky ; the ordinary prayer formula.
4. The overseer of followers, Bebusen ; prayer formula.

The two offering-stones give the names :—

5. The district commandant of the soldiers of Sekhem (Semna West), Ameny.
6. The king's sealer, overseer of (?), Ameny, born of Senebtisi.

The three Ameny's mentioned are probably three different men of the same name.

In addition to these few stelæ, a number of graffiti were inscribed on the rocks on both banks. Some of those recorded by Lepsius had disappeared and we found a number which he had not reported. We have photographed and copied 109 inscriptions at Semna East and 23 on the west bank. Lepsius mentions 76 on the east bank, of which he publishes 47, and of these 4 could not be found (3 taken to Berlin); and on the west bank 11, of which we could not find 5. Thus the total number recorded on the east bank is $109 + 4 = 113$; and on the west bank, $23 + 5 = 28$, making a total of 141 inscriptions. Of those recorded by us, 23 recorded the levels of the high Nile during the Middle Kingdom, and there were four more recorded by Lepsius, making a total of 27 Nile levels. Of these 18 were on the east bank and 9 on the west bank. Nineteen inscriptions are from the reign of Amenemhat III, the successor of Sesostris III, one from the reign of Amenemhat IV, one from the reign of Sebekneferuw, and four from the reign of Sekhemra-Khutaui of Dyn. XIII. The usual form of these Nile level records runs, for example: "Level of the Nile of year 24, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nema'atra (Amenemhat III), living for ever and ever." The sign "mouth," which signifies level marks the height of the water, and sometimes had a horizontal line drawn through it to emphasize that fact. The purpose of these marks is obscure. There is no graduated scale, and even if the difference from the preceding Nile had been sent to Egypt, the flood would have travelled nearly as fast as the message. A message stating that the Nile had definitely begun to fall might have been more useful in Egypt but hardly enough to justify the trouble. The levels began early in the reign of Amenemhat III, in his first to third year, and continued until the fourth year of Sekhemra-Khutaui. Some inscriptions have undoubtedly been lost, but probably very few after the last-named king. We cannot even be sure that all the Niles were recorded. I suspect that these marks were made for local use and had no connection with Egyptian irrigation. It may be that they permitted the officials to determine the date of the sailing of the annual freight fleet, or to estimate the navigability of the river during the falling period of the Nile. The boats do not begin to pass downstream until the full flood has passed.

Only one of these Nile levels contains a personal mention, south-west 1 on the west bank: "Year 9: level of the Nile of year 8, which is year 9

under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemhat III, living for ever and ever. During an inspection (?) of the commandant of the table (?) of the Ruler, Sebek-khuw, whose fine name is Zauw, true of voice, lord of honor, born of Yatauw, true of voice." This man, Sebek-Khuw, called Zauw, is one of the well-known persons of Dyn. XII, through his stela found by Professor Garstang at Abydos, and now in Liverpool (see Professor Peet, *The Stela of Sebek-khuw*, p. 13). He was born in the 27th year of Amenemhat II and began his military career at the accession of Sesostri III. He took part in the Nubian campaign of that king and in an Asiatic campaign. At the time he made this inscription at Semna West he was about seventy-four years old. The words which indicate his presence at Semna are obscure. I take it that he was making an army inspection and happened to be on the spot at the time the record was made. Probably the commandant of the fort made mention of the presence of Sebekkhuw out of a desire to please his superior officer.

A part of the private graffiti on the rocks at Semna West are of the Middle Kingdom, and seven of these (in the second ravine) are dated to the reign of Amenemhat III. Two, which are not far apart (Nos. 112 and 115), read: "Year 6 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemhat III, the actual kinsman of the King, his beloved, the judge attached to Hierakonpolis, Si-Montu, lord of honor. Whoever passes by this inscription, when he reaches home in prosperity and finds his wife happy, and embraces his kinsfolk, let him say 'offerings, a prayer for the soul of the judge attached to Hierakonpolis, Si-Montu.'" Beside these is a third inscription (No. 116) by the same Si-Montu, dated in the ninth year of Amenemhat III (three years later), which adds to the same text a note which is, unfortunately, nearly illegible, but records the fact that he was going down to Egypt. Near this are two records of "the messenger, the palace door-keeper, Dehuti-hetep." The earlier of these is dated only to the reign of Amenemhat III, but the other, with a text similar to that of Si-Montu, is dated like the second Si-Montu inscription in the year nine. I take it that Dehuti-hetep came down with Si-Montu, and perhaps went up with him to serve for the three years between the sixth and the ninth year. In the year 9, someone else has left an inscription of eight long lines (No. 119A), but this has defied all our efforts at reading owing to its weathered state. In the

year 43 of Amenemhat III, a "great commandant of the city (Thebes), Neter-puw-Geb," left a record close beside another undated record of himself. There are many other records which can be assigned to officials of the Middle Kingdom. In general, the prayers of the New Kingdom refer to Sesostris III as well as Khnum and the other gods. But none of the New Kingdom graffiti bear formal dates.

The inscriptions left by the officials of the New Kingdom which were of the greatest importance were those cut on the walls of the stone temples or on stelæ set up in these temples by the viceroys (see "The Viceroys of Ethiopia," in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. VI, pp. 28-55, 73-88).

8. THE FALL IN THE HIGH NILE LEVEL AFTER DYN. XII.

I have mentioned above the records of the levels of the high Nile during the reigns of Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV, Sebekneferuw, and Sekhemra-Kkuwtauwy. The levels are about eight metres above the average high Nile level of the present day. This proof that the Nile flood at Semna is now eight metres below its ancient level has for many years been a source of discussion; and many theories have been evolved as to its causes and its effect on Egypt. Dr. John Ball, in his article, "The Semna Cataract" (*Quarterly Journal Geological Society*, Vol. LIX), concludes that the channel at Semna has been worn by erosion. That is certainly true, but it does not account for the sudden fall. If the fall had been gradual, the records would have been certainly continued through Dyn. XIII and XIV and probably into the New Kingdom. Our examination of the cataract at low Nile and soon after the water had begun to fall, shows clearly that the Nile cannot rise higher than it does because the water is spilled around the broad western channel. This western channel has been considerably widened by undermining the western cliff immediately south of the fort of Semna West. Only the inscription referring to Sebekkhuw is in place. The others, including the records of Sekhemra-Khuwtauwy, are on huge blocks of stone, which have slipped down the river bank; and the western part of the western channel is littered with great blocks of stone washed out of the cliff. It is clear that the moment this occurred the water of the high Nile was wasted, so to speak, through this spill-way and ceased to find its old levels. Thereupon the records which, as I surmise, were used for local



SEMNA WEST FORT, LOOKING N.N.W. ; THE COLLAPSED CLIFF AND THE LATER WESTERN CHANNEL DUG AT THE TIME (FEBRUARY, 1928).



SEMNA CATARACT IN NOVEMBER, 1929, LOOKING EAST. IN THE FOREGROUND THE LATER WESTERN CHANNEL FLOODED WITH WATER.

purposes connected with navigation, not with agriculture, ceased to have any value. Such an event as I have deduced would not have affected the Nile for more than a few miles up-stream, and that effect would have concerned the high Nile only. Below the cataract the effect was practically nil. The great river stairway of the fort of Semna West proved that the level of the low Nile is now much the same in the lower Semna pool as it was in the reign of Amenemhat III.

WITCHCRAFT (*MANGU*) AMONGST THE A-ZANDE.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

(PLATES VII—XI.)

- I. THE ATTRIBUTES OF WITCHCRAFT.
- II. PHENOMENA ALLIED TO WITCHCRAFT.
- III. ROLE OF WITCHCRAFT IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.
- IV. WITCHCRAFT AND SOCIAL CONTROL.
- V. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE BEWITCHED. DREAM LIFE.
- VI. THE MORAL ASPECT OF WITCHCRAFT.
- VII. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WITCHES. AN AUTOPSY.
- VIII. WITCHCRAFT AND NATIVE LAW.
- IX. SUMMARY.

I.—THE ATTRIBUTES OF WITCHCRAFT.

IN an analysis of public opinion in relation to sorcery amongst the A-Zande of the Nile-Uelle divide we gave a preliminary account of the place occupied by illicit magic in this community. We pointed out that witchcraft (*mangu*) and magic (*ngwa*) have quite different connotations in Zande culture and should be clearly distinguished in an ethnological account.² In certain respects witchcraft and sorcery are similar. Probably neither, certainly not *mangu*, has any real existence. Both have common functions, since they are used for pernicious private ends against the lives and property of law-abiding citizens. But their technique is quite different. Zande magic comprises the common characteristics of magic the world over, rite, spell, ideas, traditions, and moral opinion associated with its use, taboo and other conditions of the magician and the rite.³ All these are traditional facts transmitted

¹ This Paper contains material collected during two expeditions to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. They were carried out on behalf of the Sudan Government with additional financial assistance from the Royal Society and the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Trustees. Though this is not the place to record the many acts of kindness which I have received during my travels in the Sudan, I cannot refrain from mentioning the constant courtesy and help which I have received from Major P. M. Larken and the hospitality and sympathetic interest in my work which have from time to time been extended to me by Captain L. N. F. Brown, the Rev. C. Gore, Captain H. Burges Watson, and Dr. J. R. N. Warburton in the three Zande districts, Meridi, Yambio, and Tembura, of the Sudan.

² Evans-Pritchard, "Sorcery and Public Opinion in Zande Society," *Africa*, 1930.

³ See Hubert and Mauss, "Théorie Générale de la Magie," *Année Sociologique*, 1902-3. Malinowski, "Magic, Science and Religion," in *Science, Religion and Reality*, ed. by Joseph Needham, 1926, and Evans-Pritchard, "The Morphology and Function of Magic," *American Anthropologist*, 1929.

from one generation to another. Witchcraft operates through different channels though in similar situations to sorcery.

Let us commence our analysis of Zande witchcraft from its concrete elements, for as the nuclear equipment of sorcery is a concrete, generally botanical, medicine, so the nuclear equipment of witchcraft is an abdominal condition (*mangu*). We have never actually seen a *mangu*, but it has often been described to us as an oval, blackish swelling or sack which sometimes contains various small objects. In size about the elbow-width of a man's bent fore-arm, it is situated somewhere in the upper abdomen near the bile tract. It cannot be observed from the outside during a man's lifetime, but in the past it used often to be extracted by a post-mortem operation, and was sometimes placed hanging from a tree bordering one of the main paths leading to a chief's court. We are ignorant about the real nature of this abdominal condition, but think that it is probably the gall-bladder or the stomach itself in certain digestive periods. Dr. Gair Anderson asserts that "the possession of a vermiform appendix is said to be diagnostic."¹ His opinion does not, however, agree with descriptions of an autopsy given to us by natives who have been present at an operation, from which we gather that *mangu* is drawn out with the entrails. Nor does it agree with Mgr. Lagae's account: "cette excroissance (*mangu*) se trouve dans le haut du vent. Elle voisine avec le foie ou avec la vésicule biliaire. On prétend qu'elle a une forme allongée atteignant plusieurs centimètres."² De Calonne suggests "Un viscère (vésicule biliaire ?) hypertrophié,"³ while Hutereau reports "On donne ce dernier nom (*mango*) à toute déformation d'un organe. La déformation de l'estomac est tout particulièrement considérée comme un signe de l'existence du *mango*. Ainsi les indigènes appellent *mango* le bonnet, le feuillet et la caillette de l'estomac des ruminants. Généralement affirment-ils le *mango* se trouvé près de l'estomac, à la naissance de l'intestin, c'est une excroissance de chair, certains en possèdent deux."⁴ Major Brock says that *mangu* is described as being like a mouth with large sharp teeth, and thinks that it is possible that a witch is a person

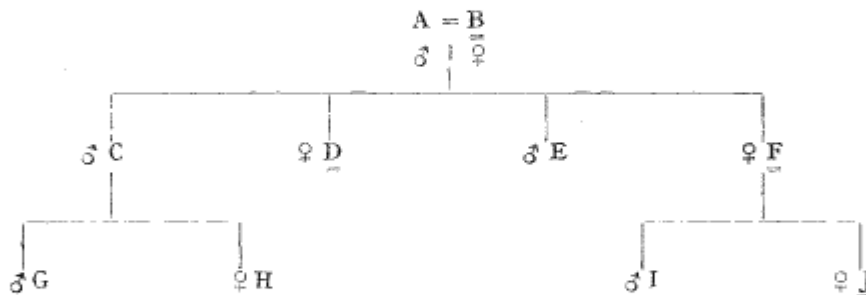
¹ "Some tribal customs in their relation to medicine and morals of the Nyam-nyam and Gour people inhabiting the Eastern Bahr-el-Ghazal." *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*. Vol. B, p. 253, 1911.

² Lagae, *Les Azande*, 1926, p. 107.

³ De Calonne Beaufaict, *Les Azande*, 1921, p. 178.

⁴ Hutereau, *Notes sur la Vie Familiale et Juridique de quelques populations du Congo Belge*, 1909, pp. 27-8.

suffering from appendicitis, perhaps accompanied by an internal abscess.¹ Later we shall give a description of an autopsy from the lips of an eye-witness from which, and from our commentary on the various doubtful points arising from it, the reader may judge for himself about the physiology of *mangu*. Here we wish to state the main attributes of *mangu* in a preliminary manner before discussing the part the concept of witchcraft plays in native life and the complex and often contradictory notions associated with it in Zande mentality. The first of these attributes is its physical character. It is a physical or physiological fact, a thing, which is situated, so far as we have been able to gather, in the abdomen just below where the breast-bones meet. The second important fact which we wish to bring out about *mangu* is that it is an hereditary anatomical endowment which is transmitted in unilinear descent from parents to children. There is sex dichotomy in the biological transmission of witchcraft. Thus whilst the sons of a male witch are all witches his daughters are not, and whilst all the daughters of a female witch are also witches her sons are not.² Thus in the following diagram all those persons underlined are witches:—



Witchcraft thus regarded as an inherited biological trait transmitted along the lines of sex does not run counter to Zande ideas of kinship and

¹ Major R. G. C. Brock, "The Zande Tribe," *SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS*, 1918.

² Lagae, with his usual care, quotes a Zande text for the doctrine of unilateral inheritance of witchcraft: "Ka kamba du na mango vuruni yo, ni ki vungu wilini ni kumba, gu gude le ni du ni mango awo, bombiko bani adu mbata ni ira mango. gu pay le si ti ade awo. ka de du na mango vuruni yo, ni ki vungu wilini ni de, mango du vuruni yo awo, bombiko nani adu mbata ni ira mango. wele, ka mango rungbwanga baziya boro gbwa ka lima ku vuruni yo te." "If a man with witchcraft in his stomach gives birth to a male child, he also is a witch because his father was one before him. It is the same with women. If a woman has witchcraft in her stomach and gives birth to a female child she also is a witch because her mother was one before her. Thus witchcraft does not worry a man who is born free from it by entering into his stomach." (Our own free translation.) *Op. cit.* pp. 107-8.

of inheritance, succession and descent. But it must be remembered that *mangu* is part of the body and that the totem-soul is also closely associated with the body, so that they would naturally go together with the inheritance of female functions from the mother.

Besides being an inherited physical character of man, *mangu* is also sometimes found in dogs, and is associated with various other animals and birds. The dog has a way of looking at people, which, accompanied by insatiable greed and a touch of maliciousness, might well arouse suspicions since they are so human. Later we will understand how it is that the dog has certain moral deficiencies in common with human witches, but here it must suffice to point out that there is certain proof that dogs are sometimes witches since there are several cases on record where the relatives of a dead man have consulted oracles in vain about all those neighbours whom they suspect of murder and have, as a last resort, asked *benge*¹ whether a dog had not been responsible for the death and have received an affirmative answer. Whilst there can be no doubt that some dogs possess actual *mangu* in their stomachs, the Zande probably does not hold the same opinion so seriously about other animals and birds, which he sometimes refers to as witches. In the situations of everyday life, these remarks are often more in the nature of jokes, though, in situations of mental unrest, they are taken more seriously. The analogy between these beasts and human witches will be seen when we describe the conventional character of a witch and examine his behaviour in the society of his fellows. But some nocturnal birds and animals are very definitely associated with witchcraft and are thought to be the servants of human witches, and to be in league with them. Such are bats, which are universally feared for their evil attributes, and owls, which hoot forebodings of misfortune in the night. These nocturnal creatures are associated with witches because witchcraft is especially active at night, where it may sometimes be seen in motion.

For, like many primitive peoples, the A-Zande believe that witchcraft emits a bright light which can only be seen in the daylight by witch-doctors² and by witches themselves, but which is occasionally visible at night to persons who are neither witches (all such being *amukundu*) nor

¹ *Benge* is the chief Zande oracle-magic. *Vide* Lagae : *Les Azande*, 1926. Deuxième Partie, Chapitre III, and Evans-Pritchard : "Oracle-magic of the Azande," *SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS*, 1928, pp. 1-53.

² See Note 1 on page 168.

witch-doctors.¹ The light of *mangu* is described as being similar to the little lights of firefly beetles, which move about like sparks kicked from a log-fire, only it is ever so much larger than they. The beetles themselves arouse no suspicion of witchcraft, but the Zande compares their phosphorescence to the emanation of *mangu*, adding that it is a poor comparison, since *mangu* has a so much greater and brighter light. I was once privileged to see *mangu* on its murderous path. The occasion was one of those dramatic events which remain for ever in the memory where so much else fades. I had been sitting up late writing notes, and about midnight, before retiring, I took a spear and went for my usual nocturnal stroll. I was walking in the garden at the back of my hut amongst banana trees when I noticed a bright light, such as given by the type of lamp which one can buy from Greek and Arab traders, passing at the back of my servants' huts towards the homestead of a man called Tupoi. As this struck me worth investigation, I followed its passage until my grass-thatched fence obscured the view. I quickly ran through my hut to the other side to see where the light was going but never regained sight of it. I knew that only one man had such a lamp as might have given off the light, but he told me that he had neither been out late at night nor had used his lamp, and in any case it was not going in the direction of his hut. But I did not lack ready and alarmed informants anxious to tell me that what I had seen was undoubtedly *mangu*. Shortly afterwards, on the same morning, an old relative of Tupoi and an inmate of his homestead died. This fully explained the light which I had seen as *mangu* on the way to finish off this sick and failing old man. I never discovered the real origin of the light, which was possibly a handful of grass lit by someone on his way to defecate, but the strange coincidence of the light, the direction which it took, and the subsequent death, all found a ready support in Zande tradition.

We will naturally wonder from this story what the light was, whether it was the actual witch stalking his prey or whether it was some emanation which he had emitted to do the murder. On this point Zande theory is quite decided. The witch is asleep during the period of his activity on

¹ Lagae's textual note reads "agu aboro nabi mango abi, si ni ndu yulu ka no boro, i ni ya we, mango naza ka ndu; si kini ki aki wa kina we; si kini ki toni; kini bisi abisa belewe." "Those people who see witchcraft when it goes by night to injure someone say witchcraft is on its way shining bright like fire, it shines a little and again obfuscates itself." (Our own free translation.) (Op. cit., p. 108.)

his bed in his hut, but he has despatched the spirit of his *mangu* (*mbisimo mangu*) to accomplish his ends. The spirit of *mangu* removes parts of the spirit of the victim's flesh (*mbisimo pasie ni* : *mbisimo*=spirit, *pasie*=flesh, *ni*=pron. suff.) and devours it. The whole act of vampirism is a spiritual one ; the spirit of *mangu* removes and devours the spirit of the body. I have never been able to obtain a more precise explanation of witchcraft activities by enquiring into the meaning of *mbisimo mangu* and *mbisimo pasie*. The Zande knows that people are killed in such a way, but only a witch himself could give a circumstantial account of what exactly happens.

Witches usually combine in their destructive activities and subsequent ghoulish feasts. They assist each other in crime and they arrange their nefarious schemes in concert. They are believed to possess a special kind of ointment (*mbiro mangu*) with which they rub their bodies and little drums which they beat to summon others to congress, where their discussions are presided over by old and experienced members of the brotherhood. For witches have their hierarchy and status and leadership in the same way as all other Zande social groupings have. Experience must first be obtained under tuition of elder witches before a man is able to kill his neighbours. Growth in experience goes hand in hand with physical growth of *mangu* itself.

A child born of a witch parent of its own sex has such a small *mangu* that it can do little injury to others. It is possible that his *mangu* will remain inoperative or largely so throughout life, but generally it grows both in size and in exercise of its powers. Hence, a child is never accused of murder, and even grown boys and girls are not suspected by adults of serious offences of witchcraft, though they may be a more serious menace to their child contemporaries. Generally speaking, the older a man grows the more potent becomes his *mangu* and the more violent and unscrupulous its use. The reason for this genetic concept of witchcraft will become apparent when we explain its situations in Zande social life and its place in their system of morals.

Sooner or later, a witch will probably fall a victim to vengeance or, even if he is clever enough to avoid retribution, he will be killed by another witch or by sorcery. Is the distinction between witches (*aboro mangu*) and non-witches (*amukundu*) operative beyond the grave? We have never been given a spontaneous statement to this effect, but in

answer to direct and leading questions we have been told that at death witches become *agilisa*. The ordinary spirit is a benevolent being, at least as benevolent as is the father of a Zande family, and his occasional participation in the world he has left behind him is, on the whole, orderly and conducive to the welfare of his friends and relatives. Such spirits are known as *atoro*. There are, however, certain *atoro* whose attitude towards human beings is truly venomous. They make repulsive assaults on travellers in the bush and cause passing fits of dissociation and insanity. These evil spirits are known as *agilisa*. We confess that we have come across them little in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where the ordinary Zande seems little interested in them, and we have met young people who did not know what the word meant.¹ However, they have been described in the *Belgian Congo* by our distinguished predecessor in the study of Zande culture, Mgr. Lagae,² though he does not suggest that they are spirits of dead witches. No suggestion of this kind is made by Captain Philipps, who has also described their assaults on wanderers.³ Nevertheless, we think that this is the opinion held by some A-Zande at any rate, though we do not feel confident about the matter.

We have traced briefly the main characteristics of witchcraft, what we might call the morphology of witchcraft, in sufficient detail to enable us to draw aside the curtain and watch its rôle in the everyday drama of a Zande community. Our synopsis showed that the villain of the piece is an abdominal endowment which is inherited from either parent according to sex. Like other parts of the body it grows year by year, and it is only when it is fully grown that it becomes a serious danger, and only when the witch has also undergone training and team work with others of his kidney that he becomes a lively menace. We saw that an action of witchcraft is a spiritual process, the spirit of the *mangu* devouring the spirit of its victim's flesh, and that it is sometimes to be seen on such errands as a bright light. We pointed out that in all probability the witch continues his criminal life beyond the grave as an evil spirit. Finally, we draw attention to the fact that *mangu* is sometimes found not only in men but also in dogs, and is also associated with many more offensive and night-loving beasts and birds.

¹ Such also is Major Larken's much greater experience in the same area.

² Op. cit. Deuxième partie. Chapitre II.

³ "Observations on some aspects of religion among the Azande ('Niam-Niam') of Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1926.

II—PHENOMENA ALLIED TO WITCHCRAFT.

THE association of *mangu* with these creatures suggests its connection with a wider constellation of misfortune-bringing phenomena of which it forms the most important star, and it will be useful to touch on these before studying the sociology of witchcraft. We will quickly pass in review these allied phenomena, those which have a close physical affinity with *mangu*, those which are quite distinct from *mangu* but which the Zande often speaks of in the same breath, thus classing them in the same category, and those unlucky forerunners of disaster, which are known as *ahe kpele* (things of ill-luck).

Where *mangu* is found, other abnormalities are sometimes found with it. We have a note that *banzi* is invariably associated with *mangu*, but we are very uncertain about the meaning of this word.¹ *Kikpwē*, on the other hand, has a much more easily ascertainable locality and function. It is probably the bile tract. Everybody possesses a bile tract, but in Zande opinion its development and activity seems to be more pronounced or abnormal in some persons than in others. Those who are spiteful and ill-tempered and resentful to a marked degree are called *aboro kikpwē*, as we should say spiteful fellows, or nasty, ill-tempered characters. *Boro kikpwē nazeda pai*, the man of *kikpwē*, broods over things, he will not easily forgive others or make up a quarrel. When you enter the chief's court and greetings are exchanged, you may notice that one man will just look at you and say nothing, then you know that he is *aboro kikpwē* who has got some grudge against you (*gu boro le boro kikpwē du ni akpi pai ko ti ro*). Whilst there is a moral stigma attaching to *kikpwē*, people do not trouble very much about it, since it can do them little harm, whereas witchcraft can cause serious injury, even death. However, we have been told by some persons that small annoyances are sometimes attributed to *kikpwē*, as when a man knocks his toe against a stump of wood or treads on a large thorn, or becomes unpopular in the chief's court.² Generally speaking, however, Zande

¹ Lagae and Plas give *Banzi* in their dictionary: complice, complicité; les *banzi mangu*: les complices du mauvais oeil. *boro banzi avule*: homme suppose faire de l'avule. *Banzi ti ni te*: il n'est pas complice, il n'est pas connu comme tel. We think that the word is probably of foreign origin. It does not seem to be known among most people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

² *aboro na zinga ko ti ro ko ngbwanga yo, ka gbia aidanga na mo ya; pai mo nagumba fu gbia ka si arunga bangilini ya*. People are angry with you in the Court for the chief is not gracious to you; you speak to the chief, but what you say does not find favour in his eyes.

doctrine holds that all men are possessors of *kikpwē* (*aboro dunduko nga aira kikpwē*) which, of course, would be the case if we are right in identifying *kikpwē* with the bile tract. When we say that it would be well to steer clear of someone as he has a "liver," we suggest the same shortcomings in his character as a Zande associates with an unusually developed *kikpwē*. The external behaviour of a *boro kikpwē* is difficult to know from that of a *boro mangu*, or witch, since they both exhibit the same unpleasant social traits, but one can always rely on oracles to separate the one from the other. Thus *benge* will appear to kill a chicken and so accuse a man of witchcraft, and then revive it (*benge naimi kondo ka kusi ru berewe*). If *benge* acts in this manner it is to say that the person in question is not a real witch, but is a rotten fellow with the evil feelings of a witch, he is not a *boro mangu* but a *boro kikpwē*. Though we shall have now and again to refer to *kikpwē* in this Paper, it will be unnecessary to pay special attention to it as it is a distinct phenomenon to *mangu* in the eyes of a Zande. Apart from these physiological characteristics, there are various ill-boding things and actions which a Zande often refers to as witchcraft by analogy. It is well to mention the chief of these, though they are distinct from true witchcraft.

The most fearsome of those evil things which are often classed as *mangu* by metaphor are the *adandala*. These are a kind of wild cat, said to possess bright red bodies and gleaming eyes, and to utter shrill eerie cries in the bush at night. A Zande will often say "*mangu du, ami sa na mangu*," "it is witchcraft, they are the same as witchcraft," but he speaks by analogy rather than asserts that there is any real identity between the two evils. These cats copulate with women who give birth to kittens of the same species and suckle these like human children at their breasts. There is no cleavage of opinion about their existence nor about the serious consequences of seeing them. We have not ourselves come into close contact with these cats, nor do we know by name any women who have sexual intercourse with them. Once, indeed, we have heard the nocturnal cries of a wild cat, and one of my Zande servants came in late at night to my hut to borrow a magic whistle which I had bought from someone, the function of which was specifically directed to warding off the *adandala*. My servant uttered a spell and blew on the whistle.

Major P. M. Larken tells of a man who had once described to him how he had seen *adandala*.¹ I believe that this was the same man whom he sent to me to give information on the subject. The man was evidently very reluctant to discuss his experiences at all, but when you are a policeman you have not the same rights of reticence as other informants. Unfortunately I took no notes of his information, but I remember the main outline. He was walking, as a boy, across some gardens when he saw a woman kneeling on the ground. As he approached her he perceived that she was engaged in suckling two kittens, one on either breast. Horrified at what he had seen, he would have run from the place had she not called him. He pointed out in answer to my scepticism that on her calling him he had approached the woman and thus had an opportunity of seeing the cats quite clearly. The woman told him that what he had seen would be fatal unless he obeyed her directions completely. He was never to mention to any living soul what he had seen, and on the strength of this promise she passed him between her legs and gave him magic (*mbiro adandala*) which would act as an antidote to having seen the cats. At the same time she warned him that if ever he were to speak about the event death would indubitably follow. On his return home he was for some time seriously ill, but eventually recovered by use of the medicine given to him. On no persuasion was he prepared to reveal the name of the woman, even though many years have elapsed since he saw her engaged in suckling her cats.

In discussing the policeman's story afterwards with Major Larken it was quite obvious that whilst the main fact of having seen a woman nursing *adandala* was common to the stories which he had told both of us, the details varied too considerably to be accounted for by the Zande's love of embellishment and histrionic ability, and that a great part of it was probably made up for my benefit. But if it is unusual and even suspicious to find a native who will admit having first-hand knowledge of such matters, there is no lack of corroborative support in tradition. It is often said that great A-Vongara chiefs of the past have sometimes met their ends through sight of these cats, and we may perhaps perceive in this a compliment to their splendour, since it took more than common-or-garden *mangu*, which is normally responsible for deaths, to kill such famous nobles. Thus Bazingbi, the founder of the three kingdoms of

¹ "An Account of the Zande." *SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS*, pp. 48-9, 1926.

Wando, Malingindu and Gbudwe, is believed to have died by opening the door of a hut of one of his wives and seeing a cat running out of it. The death of Gbudwe's favourite commoner governor, Zengendi, of the A-Ngumbi clan, the only man who ever dared to touch him in playful banter, is attributed to a similar cause. The story is a very long one, so that I will not tell it here, remarking only that his end was both tragic and poignant, and seems to have been due in the first place to his having been shown *adandala* by a woman who brought them in a closed basket which she undid in his presence. In the most famous war of the last generation Gbudwe's troops were defeated by those of his nephew Renzi at a place called *Birishi*, and this defeat was attributed to the fact that some members of Gbudwe's crack regiment (the Abaiego) saw *adandala* when engaged in searching for food in the neighbourhood; in other words, looting friendly country. Such examples, briefly stated though they are, will be seen to provide backing for the opinion held by all A-Zande about the consequences of seeing *adandala*. Only those possessed of the right magic can hope to survive such a sight. However, many men possess some kind of magic which is efficacious against this evil. One member of the Andebili clan, who died this year, was famous for the fact that he used to eat *adandala*, which were sometimes killed in the bush, but he was at the same time renowned for his powerful medicines against their evil powers. The Zande often refer to lesbian practices between women as *adandala*, but this reference is only made by analogy. We can only make a few brief remarks about lesbianism in this place since it more properly belongs to an account of the whole sexual life of the people. It is sufficient here to say that Zande women, especially in homesteads of chiefs and rich polygamous commoners, often resort to mutual masturbation, using bananas or manioc, sweet potato roots shaped with a knife into a phallus, for the purpose. One woman ties the phallus round her abdomen and inserts it into the vulva of the other and both push backwards and forwards in simulation of copulation. When such a practice was discovered in houses of big chiefs offending women were usually put to death, whilst in smaller commoner establishments they were beaten and a considerable scandal ensued. The reason for such strict treatment of this offence is that it is believed to cause serious injury to the husband, since it has a baneful influence similar though not so potent as that of the *adandala* and analogous to

Mangu. The Zande thinks, moreover, that women who practise mutual masturbation are the sort who might well give birth to cats or possess witchcraft also. In the giving birth to cats and mutual masturbation amongst women it will be noticed that the sexual functions of woman are concerned. Indeed, in any extraordinary use of a woman's sexual organs there is a danger to men which may often prove mortal, and a Zande will often talk of it in association with witchcraft or giving birth to wild cats, though save for their effects they are quite distinct. We do not wish here more than to touch on these dangers which are only related in part to the study of witchcraft. One of the most offensive actions which a woman can perform in the presence of a man, and an action which is fraught with most pernicious consequences, is to bend down with her back to him and lift up her grass or banana-leaf buttock-covering so that she exposes her anus to his eyes. This is sometimes the last argument of a woman in a prolonged family quarrel. Less serious is the case of a woman who exposes her vulva by lifting up her grass covering from over her genitals. This was done shortly before I left for England by the mother-in-law of one of my informants in order to put an end to a family quarrel between my informant and his wife at which a small crowd of participants and onlookers were present. A more serious exposure of the anus also took place in the neighbourhood where I lived. A man was anxious to marry a second wife and to this step his first wife strongly objected. Through her malice she caused two brides to leave him and he was at the end of his patience. When he married a third bride the same thing occurred again. His first wife was hostile to his fresh spouse, and it looked as though she would have to leave her husband's homestead as the others had done. One day when they were both going to the gardens together to cultivate their husband's crops, the senior wife made some offensive allusion to the junior and thus caused a quarrel. The husband, who was already working in his garden, took the part of his junior wife and a violent scene ensued, during which she raised her grass skirt and exposed her anus to him. He seized a stick and gave her a sound beating. The whole affair came up in a case before the local chief's deputy, and the husband absolutely declined to live with his offending wife again. The Zande is so tenacious in keeping a wife, as a rule, however unwilling a partner to marriage she may be, that his wish to be divorced from her could only have been due to very strong feelings

on the matter. Her action was considered by all to be horrible and reprehensible in the extreme.

We have other happenings of a similar nature in our notebooks, some of which resulted in the death of unfortunate men at whom their wives exposed themselves. It is indeed strange that those parts of a woman's body which a man sees nightly, and even handles, should be able to cause his death when exposed to him in daylight in the context of a family quarrel. It is also considered equally dangerous to apply the mouth to a woman's vulva, whilst any form of contact with a woman's menstrual blood or with things which she uses in her menstrual periods, is liable to cause serious misfortunes or even death. We only mention these beliefs here as they are often spoken of by the natives in relation to *mangu*, since, being evil, they have an analogy with witchcraft.

A closer analogy is provided by the *aira kolinde* (*ira* = possessor of, *ko* = contraction for *kele*, potent, *linde* = teeth).

Sometimes a baby's upper incisors will appear before its lower ones, and this is regarded as a misfortune, though not a serious one. The child will always be a source of danger to other people's food supplies and, at the same time, runs a risk of incurring death from magic made to protect crops against people suffering from his malady. Consequently, a friend will say to the baby's father, "*wa mi nangbanga ya mo nizelesi wilo na zezele ngwa ka mo he kwo, wilo tuka gi liae ka li he u kpi akpi. Mbiko boro nagberesa gani liae na mbimi pusa ka boro kolinde ta ndu ka liae kindi ni ki hi ahi, ki pi api ni bakere ware, lindiko. zina azina du, ko ukwa dun-duko, ni kpi akpi.*"¹ "As I am not a person to be trifled with, you counter-act your child with magic. If you leave him as he is and he takes my food to eat he will surely die; because a man protects his food with *mbimi pusa* medicine, so that if a *boro kolinole* eats it often he will swell up and lie down swollen up thus, his teeth will go all rotten, he will break up entirely, he will die." (Free translation.) And he will say half to himself, "*ako gine gude lindiru nakuru le kina ku ali. Ira mangu du. Ako oni banda gi mbata liae gbe, gu boro kolinde ka ndu ha li gi bambata liae le.*" "Oh, what a child to have his teeth appearing above. It is a witch. Oh, protect my first-fruits, lest that *boro kolinole* goes to eat them." (Free translation.)

¹ We ask to be excused from giving marginalia to these Zande texts till final publication of our material.



ZANDE BUSH SCENERY.

Men protect their crops both against witchcraft and these *aira kolinde* by placing medicines amongst them at sowing time. I believe that there are also special medicines to injure the *aira kolinde* who partake of the first-fruits of a man's food crops. For it is the eating of first-fruits which does the greater harm. You may dig up some of your ground-nuts, leaving the main crop ungarnered. With these your wife makes a pasty flavouring to accompany morning porridge or the evening meal. Should an *ira kolinde* partake of your meal, unknown to yourself and others, the whole ground-nut crop may be ruined in your garden. Consequently, people trust in protective medicines from fear of which an *ira kolinde* will abstain from eating first-fruits, and which, at the same time, have productive functions causing ground-nuts or maize or eleusine to give forth abundantly. The A-Zande are quite certain that food is often injured in this manner. They say: "*Ka boro kolinde na li bambata liae ka si aunga ya, si ki bauura abauara, si ki kpida akpida. I ki di tande ka vo katakpwa ngbwaiya na ni, si hu ahu gbe.*" "If a *boro kolinde* eats first-fruits of food it will not prosper, it will grow less and die. Men take *tande* medicine to tie round maize stalks so that it will be very fruitful." (Free translation.)

The misfortunes which spring from an *ira kolinde* may also fall on other new things besides first-fruits of food. If you have made a fine new stool or bowl and one of these people comes and admires it and fingers it, then it will later crack and be spoilt. We gathered that injuries of this kind are done without malice by an *ira kolinde*, but he is responsible, since he knows his potency and should avoid eating other people's new food and fingering their new utensils. Moreover, his father should have used medicine to render him innocuous as soon as he perceived the abnormality. They have therefore only themselves to blame if they suffer death from the action of protective magic. We need not go through the whole remaining list of ill-boding things which are feared by a Zande, since these are unnecessary for our subsequent analysis. We will do no more than mention cocks' eggs,¹ abnormal births, and such like unusual experiences. Nor will we do more than draw attention to the fact that there are a number of animals, other than those we have already mentioned, of which the sight and sound brings no good to men,

¹ Cocks not infrequently lay eggs. These are presumably hens which have developed secondary sexual characters of masculinity. Such birds have a wide extension in folklore as bringers of misfortune. Cp. our "A Whistling Maid," etc.

the chief being the jackal (*hwa*). It is well to point out, however, that the Zande often says jokingly of animals that they are *aboro mangu* (witches). Thus they will say of the domesticated cock which crows to welcome the dawn, before men can see its approach, *u nabi uru vuru yo, boro mangu du* (it sees the sun in its stomach, it is a witch).

There are also various animals and birds which it is unlucky to see on certain occasions, or which are lucky in certain respects, for hunting, marriage, etc. Some actions are unlucky at special times, as telling stories before sunset. These touch but lightly on our main theme, the study of witchcraft among the A-Zande, and may be dismissed with a cursory mention. Our object in this section has been rather to show that there are a number of ideas often associated by the Zande with *mangu* than to make a compilation of them for use in our analysis of witchcraft, to which we will now proceed by first asking what part the concept plays in the everyday social and economic life of the people.

III.—RÔLE OF WITCHCRAFT IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

*M*ANGU is ubiquitous. It plays its part in every activity of Zande life, in agricultural, fishing, and hunting pursuits; in domestic life of homesteads as well as in communal life of district and court; it is the essential theme of mental life, in which it forms the background of a vast panorama of magic; its influence is plainly stamped on law and morals, etiquette and religion; it is prominent in such different spheres as technology and language; no niche or corner of Zande culture into which it does not twist itself. If blight seizes the ground-nut crop it is *mangu*; if the bush is burnt vainly in pursuit of game it is *mangu*; if women laboriously ladle out water from a pool and are rewarded by but a few small fish it is *mangu*; if termites do not rise when they are due and a cold, useless, night is wasted in waiting for their flight it is *mangu*; if a wife shows herself sulky and unresponsive to her husband it is *mangu*; if a chief is cold and distant with his subject it is *mangu*; if a magical rite fails to achieve its purpose it is *mangu*; if, in fact, any failure or misfortune falls upon anyone at any time and in relation to any of the manifold activities of his life he believes that it is due to *mangu*. Those acquainted either at first hand or through reading with a normal day-to-

day life of an agricultural African people will understand that there is no end to possible misfortunes arising in routine tasks and relaxations from miscalculation, incompetence, laziness, but mostly from causes over which the native has no control, since he possesses little scientific knowledge. All these are regarded as being due to *mangu* unless there is strong internal evidence and subsequent oracular confirmation that sorcery or one of those species of evil-bringing agents which we have described in the preceding section have been at work. But unless a man had previously had the misfortune of seeing *adandala*, touching his wife's menstrual blood, seeing her anus, or similar experience, he would not attribute any casual misfortune to these causes.

It is strange at first to live amongst the Zande and to listen to their naïve explanation of misfortunes with the most obvious origin as products of witchcraft. An European cannot repress a smile at such crude and childish shelving of responsibility. A boy knocked his foot against a small stump of wood in the centre of a bush path, a daily occurrence in Africa, and suffered considerable pain and inconvenience in consequence. The sore, owing to its position on his toe, was continually receiving dirt and refused to heal. It was *mangu*. I pointed out that it was carelessness and advised him to look out where he was going in future, but he replied that it was quite true witchcraft had nothing to do with the stump of wood being in the path but that he had kept his eyes open, and if he had not been bewitched he would of course have seen the stump. As a conclusive argument for his view he remarked that all sores did not take days to heal, but generally close quickly, since that is the nature of sores and their usual behaviour; why, then, had not his wound closed unless there were *mangu* behind it? This I discovered before long was to be regarded as the general theory of ailments, and that there was little knowledge as to the real causes of disease. Thus, for example, when feeling unfit for several days I consulted native friends whether they thought that my consumption of bananas could have anything to do with my indisposition, but was at once informed that bananas do not cause sickness however many are eaten unless one is bewitched. We shall in a few moments give clear expression to the Zande theory of disease, but it is necessary to show by a couple of examples that it extends equally to other kinds of human loss and misfortune. I shall always remember that shortly after my arrival in their country we were passing through a Government

settlement and noticed that there had been a fire on the previous night in which a hut had been burnt to the ground. The owner of the homestead was overcome with sadness as his hut had contained a complete stock of partly-brewed beer which he had prepared for a mortuary feast. He had gone the night before with a torch of a handful of straw and had raised it high above his head in order to cast its light on the beer so that he might see the condition of the brew, and in so doing had ignited the roof and caused the disaster which lay before our eyes in the morning. This appeared to me to be an act of gross carelessness, but the owner was convinced that he had been the victim of a wanton injury through witchcraft. To give a final example I will add that woodcarving for stools and bowls is a very difficult business in so dry and hot a climate, since the wood frequently splits. Even when the hardest woods are selected they frequently split in process of carving or on completion of the utensil. This was always attributed to *mangu* by the craftsman who regularly used to give me a long harangue upon the spite and jealousy of his neighbours and their hostility towards him. When I used to reply that I thought he was probably mistaken and that as far as I knew people were well-disposed towards him, he used to take up the split stool or bowl and ask me how it was in that case that his work had come to grief. Having given examples of Zande thought in respect to actions of witchcraft, we shall attempt to explain that they are not nearly so foolish as they appear to be at first sight. It is true that when one considers single experiences of the kind mentioned, the whole concept of *mangu* appears to be a childish shelving of human responsibility or a mystical approach to natural events, but when one had been able to witness dozens of similar incidents and to obtain a commentary on them by arguing with the natives, one is able to see that they have a theory of *mangu* which is quite consistent with human responsibility and a clear pragmatic attitude towards happenings of nature. For far from being a dreamy, mystical being, the Zande is a keen husbandman and hunter with a sound knowledge of garden culture, of the bush, and of his fellow men.

From generation to generation the Zande regulates his economic activities according to a transmitted body of knowledge. He knows what are the right crops to succeed the late harvest on its denuded ground ; he knows what time of the day and night the various species of termites will rise ; he understands the habits of animals, where they are to be

found at every time of the year, and at what periods of the day they are most accessible to the hunter ; he knows what woods are the best for carving, for granary supports, or for hut-uprights ; he knows what wild fruits are edible and which of them are poisonous. He has, in fact, a sound working knowledge of the habits of nature in so far as they concern his welfare and interest him. He regards the bush with all its lack of comfort and its hardships and dangers without any scientific interest or sentimental appeal. Only certain aspects of nature have any emotional value which can be observed in customs and beliefs ; such are dangerous animals and reptiles, edible beasts and birds and termites, various medicines for magical rites, trees with economic utility, and so on. In the same way the Zande has no illusions about his neighbours. He understands human nature and accepts men for what they are without trying to gloss over their unpleasant emotions and sentiments with an idealistic varnish. His knowledge of men and nature is incomplete and is not transmitted by any controlled and systematic machinery to future generations, but in the main it is handed over slowly and casually during childhood and early manhood. Still, it serves for the normal problems and tasks of everyday life in social and economic pursuits. Where his knowledge ends he still has a store of magic rites which are based on an extensive knowledge of medicines to fall back upon to assist him in his ventures. But in spite of knowledge and magic there is plenty of scope for error. A man is speared in war and is carried home by his comrades with a gaping spear wound. His wives or friends do what they can for him by washing the wound regularly with warm water, and binding it with leaves and cloth to protect it from exposure. When boys are circumcised, every precaution consistent with the knowledge of their sponsors is taken to prevent any prolonged sickness arising from the operation. Their glands are carefully washed with almost boiling water three times a day and they are covered till the next ablutions. But in either of these instances poisoning may set in, since neither the spear nor the knife which caused the wounds would be clean, and since the natives have no knowledge of antiseptics. Besides using curative measures to the best of their ability, magic is also brought in to ensure successful recovery. The warrior uses his magic before the fight ; the sponsor of the boy will only undertake the responsibility of his trust if the oracles have vouched for a complete recovery from the operation. Moreover,

should sepsis set in, various other magical expedients will be utilised to reinforce practical remedies. It is only when both practical and magical measures fail that the Zande falls back on his belief in *mangu* as the agency of trouble, and makes desperate efforts to counteract or remove its influence and save the patient. Up till the last he hopes that these measures against witchcraft may prove successful. Only when all hope seems to be vanishing does he commence to accept a fatalistic despair and trust in the Supreme Spirit, Mboli. He has done his best through his science and magic; the final issue now rests with Mboli. I have often seen this gradation of hope and belief in connection with ailments. Men have wounds or symptoms of sickness, but they know of remedies which most surely are sufficient to combat the trouble, so long as there is no *mangu* at the back of it they will be well. If there is *mangu* then they must find out who is causing them to get worse and make them cease their activities.

The point which we wish particularly to emphasize is that though a Zande will always place his misfortunes at the door of witchcraft, it must not be thought that he regards every enterprise as potentially successful so long as it is not interfered with by *mangu*. He is fully aware that people who traverse the bush will get cuts and scratches, and you will see how carefully he searches the ground in front of his bare feet whilst you, poor stranger, stumble along admiring the rich variety of the bush, but are, fortunately, provided with boots. His knowledge and absence of adequate protection makes him careful. It is knowledge which each learns for himself from experience in childhood and uses throughout life. However, in spite of all precautions, cuts are sometimes unavoidable, since stumps of wood are often so close to the ground and so covered with dust or ashes that they are invisible to the most accustomed eye, or night conceals stumps and thorns from the late traveller; or a man must pursue game through sharp-edged grasses and tangled thorny undergrowth, where he can no longer keep to his beloved paths, and his attention to minor discomforts is distracted by excitement in the chase. Moreover, there are several different kinds of magic which protect him against minor injuries of this kind. I know of none which are specifically devoted to ward off bush cuts, but Zande magic is often wide-embracing and gives general protection to travellers and huntsmen away from home. If, in spite of practical caution and protective magic, he receives a nasty

cut he will attribute it to the malice of his neighbours who have bewitched him. He will not, however, trouble very much about the matter unless the cut festers or refuses to close. He will then be certain that *mangu* is the cause and will begin to be resentful and possibly he will consult the oracles to find out who is causing such prolonged discomfort and inconvenience.

It is useless to argue with a Zande on the matter, to tell him that he was cut through not looking where he was going, or on account of darkness, and the wound festers because he does not keep it sufficiently clean and rest himself. He replies that other people's wounds get better when they are treated as he is treating his. A stump of wood was the occasion of the wound, but *mangu* was the cause, or at any rate a contributing cause. The A-Zande say that *mangu* was the *umbaga*, a hunting term which is used to designate the man who is the second person, and generally the last, to wound an animal; the owner of the net, the first spearer and the second spearer or *umbaga* being entitled to part of the meat. If *mangu* had not contributed to the accident it would not have taken place or, at any rate, it would not have caused a festering sore.

Such opinions hold in all matters of illness, though the Zande may be well acquainted with the manner in which the infection is picked up. He knows that syphilis, introduced to Zandeland in recent times by traders and soldiers, is caught through sexual intercourse with an infected woman. He knows its symptoms and is careful to search for them in any passing intrigue. A foetid smell at once decides him to keep to the paths of virtue. In preliminary sexual play he unobtrusively examines the girl's skin for primary symptoms, especially in the region of the vulva, and if he finds them he pretends to have been suddenly taken ill and that it is necessary to withdraw to his hut. There seems to be no specific magical preventive, for I think that the Zande is well aware that magic would be of no use against infection through copulation with a syphilitic woman. If he discovers that his temporary lover is infected he escapes as quickly as possible from her embraces. But even here he has a feeling that he would have been fortunate in escaping the disease, in spite of everything, if there were not *mangu* at the back of it trying to injure him by its means. He knows that syphilis is not itself a product of *mangu*, any more than a spear or a stump of wood are, but if there had been no

witchcraft at work he would surely have perceived its symptoms on the woman.

We believe that we have fairly stated the native point of view with regard to sickness and wounds in painting Nature as being neutral, neither specially hostile nor friendly, unless actuated or combined with human power of witchcraft.

We shall have to return to both a more comprehensive statement of his weltanschauung and to a further consideration of mortal sickness, but meanwhile we wish to supplement our account of witchcraft as a human agent, which militates against the proved utility of cultural weapons, transmitted knowledge and magic, by some more concrete examples.

One of the longest and hardest tasks which is ever performed by Zande labour is the carving of the great wooden gongs.¹ These gongs stand some four or five feet high and some six to eight feet long, and are used for dancing and for summoning subjects to the court of their chief for war or labour. Since they are hewn out of a solid tree trunk, often a sternculia, they entail considerable labour. The tree has first to be cut down with an axe, a section has to be measured off from it and cut through. Then through many days of slow labour the feet of the gong appear and its body is hollowed out with infinite patience and much skill. To perform this work it is considered essential for a man to have had previous experience, to understand the right type of wood to use, to know in what order to perform the various stages of excavation, to judge nicely when to leave the work alone for some days, or even weeks, lest too great haste results in the new wood splitting, to tell by sounding the partly-finished instrument to what depth it is desirable to hollow out the sides, what proportion the legs should bear to the trunk, and a number of other technological details. It is greatly feared lest after so much labour the thin wood around the orifice of the gong will split, or lest for some reason or other the gong will fail to give a full resonance. When this occurs it will be attributed by the craftsman to the fact that someone who has committed adultery has approached the gong before the work was finished; whilst others will attribute the failure to lack of skill or to an adultery on the part of the craftsman himself. Thus apart from skill

¹ A brief description of the use of these gongs in Zande dancing is given by the writer in "The Dance," *Africa*, 1929.

and experience there is a negative ritual consisting of an adultery taboo, a breach of which will injure the undertaking. When the work is completed, but before it is used in its first debut at a dance, a woman with a particularly strident voice, loud conversation, and raucous laughter (*lekpelekpe de*) will be called upon to utter a ceremonial cry into the orifice. This makes the drum give forth full cadence and carry over long distances. Thus a man ensures by knowledge and experience, by taboo and quasi-magical rites the success of his labour; but if in spite of his practical and magical equipment the drum is unsatisfactory and he is sure that no adulterer approached it during production, he can only attribute the failure to witchcraft.

The greatest care is taken to ensure, in the first place, that practical efficiency shall be maintained. It is the same in all economic pursuits. Take their hunting in the wet season for example. A large area of bush is marked out into squares by roughly trodden paths. The owner of the hunting area can perceive whether an animal has entered one of his squares by searching for spoor marks along these paths. If it is seen that some beast has entered, but has not left the square since there are no spoor marks leading out of it, then the owner summons his friends and nets are placed along the sides opposite to where the spoor marks enter the square. Where, owing to insufficiency of nets, the square is left open, they station boys to shout and frighten the animal from emerging and getting away in an un-netted section. Men wait silently with their spears in their hands behind the nets, whilst one man proceeds to track the animal and frighten it from the square. In such work the greatest care is needed. One has to know the best place to arrange the nets, where to stand at the back of them, where to station the boys, how to track an animal, to maintain complete silence, when to make a rush to spear the emerging animal, etc. Different animals have different habits, and a different technique must be used for them as well as different kinds of nets. It is essential to know the habits of the bush well to select the best areas in which to mark out game squares. One must know what time of the day is the most suitable to commence operations, when beasts are drowsy and have replaced steady progress across country for sleepy ambling and nibbling in one place. We have so many times watched these proceedings that we fully appreciate the large amount of labour involved, and the small results which often accrue from it. Many visits

to the hunting-square reveal no spoor marks, often the animal has entered and then left the square on the opposite side; even after the nets have been erected it will often escape by an unprotected area, or will break through the nets. Sometimes a wounded animal will escape and will not be caught though followed up for many hours. To aid him in hunting the Zande has various medicines. He places some of these around the square to ward off witchcraft; others he ties on to his nets to increase their efficiency; others he uses to give him success in this kind of hunting; whilst yet others will prevent a wounded animal from escaping him. To give a full account of all these medicines in this place would merely result in a magical catalogue without adding to their significance in the backing which they give to the pragmatic part of hunting activities. We may mention, however, that the Zande trusts in the spirits of his fathers to assist him as well as in magical rites. He murmurs to himself: "*Ako ka Mboli na ngba na mi areme nya ki yera sa kina gi piyo, mi ki himi ru dagba gi dungu aboro le, ako si du ware o. mi nasunga ka ngere kina vuru piyo, ako so atika atoro buba go pati le.*" "Oh, if Mboli is good to me to-day an animal will rush into my net and I will kill it in the midst of all these people. Oh, may it be thus. I wait looking into my net, alas! the spirits of my fathers have deserted me!" (Free translation.)

If he has continual ill-luck he will make an appeal to the spirits, in the early morning, at their shrine in his homestead. Religion as well as magic have their place in prosaic economic labour. But, in spite of such powerful forces in his favour, the Zande often returns home empty-handed, and he will then be sure that he is bewitched, since there is nothing else to account for his failure, for he took every precaution which his knowledge of bushcraft and magic and appeal to Mboli and the ancestral spirits could give him. Remembrance of past successes and forgetfulness of past failures leads him to expect the fruits of his skill and devotion. He has outwitted animals before, and he would have done so now if some enemy had not been working against him, scattering the animals from his hunting area. He knows that the spirit of *mangu* has gone on ahead of him to ward off the beasts or to disperse them when he approaches. It is not a question for doubt. Doubt exists only about who the man is who is doing him an injury by thwarting his endeavours, and this doubt can be cleared by either consulting the oracles *benge*, *iwa*, and *dakpwa*, or by summoning witch-doctors to a séance on the question.

The technique of oracle-magic and witch-doctors we have described elsewhere. In this place it is our wish to place the concept of *mangu* in its right place in the scheme of social and economic activities. It has no intimate relation to practical devices in hunting. The Zande well appreciates the fact that animals are difficult to find, and more difficult to catch. They are cunning and cautious. *Ami nabanda tira be kpiyo wa kina aboro* : "they guard themselves from death just as men do," say the A-Zande. If a man does not place his net properly, or if he makes a movement in concealment which frightens the animal away, this is not *mangu* (witchcraft), it is *munge* (stupidity). The man who makes such an error may say it is *mangu*, but others call it stupidity. In making a wooden gong, if a man allows the full strength of the sun to beat down on the unprotected and unseasoned wood this is stupidity, not witchcraft. If he uses a soft wood for carving a bowl he is a fool, rather than a victim of malice. If he plants ground-nuts as a second crop instead of on virgin soil, people will regard him as being merely stupid, though he himself will, no doubt, think that he is unfortunate and his gardens bewitched. The Zande does not put down to *mangu* what is due to incompetence, ignorance, laziness or stupidity on the part of others, though he may be more tolerant about his own shortcomings. These factors are given their full place in the sequence of failures. But it is when competence, knowledge, industry and skill go unrewarded that he falls back on the concept of *mangu*. A man who cannot use a spear or a gun properly is a victim of his own incompetence, but the man who uses these weapons with skill is a victim of witchcraft if he fails. Nor is witchcraft an excuse for moral lapses. The Zande who puts a lie, adultery or theft down to *mangu*, saying that he has been bewitched, will be told that he is a fool. *Mangu nasanga boro rogo zile te*, "*mangu* does not make a person tell lies"; *mangu nasanga boro rogo böli te*, "*mangu* does not make a man commit adultery", these are well-known doctrines in Zande law and morals.

It will not have escaped the reader who is acquainted with comparative ethnology that the sphere of witchcraft is identical with that of magic in this respect. Where knowledge ends magic enters to fill the gaps.¹ There are many circumstances which primitive man cannot judge with accuracy, for though he has a transmitted body of knowledge

¹ See Malinowski, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

it is limited and insufficient to deal with many unforeseen contingencies, and in these situations his technique and tools are of little use and so must be laid aside to give place to magic. Thus natural forces, winds, lightning, drought, floods, disease, etc., over which he has no scientific control, can only be regulated or influenced by magic. In many societies there is specific magic, in the hands of the experts who inherit it by the rules of kinship, which fills the gaps in human knowledge and industry and which can be placed neatly into a regular chronological scheme of economic activity. Amongst the A-Zande there is little regular use of magic to co-ordinate the various parts of an economic undertaking in this way, for, speaking generally, their magic has no necessary chronological relationship to any special sections of the work, but is performed usually preceding its initiation. Moreover, its productive functions seem to be less prominent in Zande Culture than its protective value against *mangu*. Whereas in many societies magic is used to control natural forces, in Zandeland it is used predominantly to protect cultural undertakings from interference and frustration by witchcraft. Consequently gaps in knowledge which are often filled by traditional magic rites with their fixed place in a scheme of labour, are among the A-Zande filled rather with belief in witchcraft, a feeling that skill is sufficient to success so long as there is no *mangu*. Consequently, we find among the A-Zande a well-developed belief in witchcraft, an elaborate system of oracles and a wide diffusion of magic with protective functions in the place of the more restricted and stereotyped magic of Melanesia and Polynesia. Thus, just as the taboo is negative ritual, often fulfilling the same function as positive rites of magic, so belief in witchcraft is a kind of negative counterpart to productive magic which fulfils a similar rôle. For instead of Nature being swayed to act in favour of man by magic, it is thought to be swayed to act against man by witchcraft, so that whilst the use of magic in one area gives a feeling of confidence in economic enterprise by controlling Nature, in another area it gives a like feeling of confidence by checking the action of witchcraft. In the theory of witchcraft an enterprise is capable of being carried out by man's brains and culture if witchcraft either abstains from activity or can be counteracted by protective medicines. Magic, taboo, and witchcraft thus have a common function in stretching out man's capabilities rather further than they actually reach. They lengthen his arm, so to speak, to perform greater

feats of labour. The concept of luck in our own culture has much the same function. We trust in our skill and industry as far as they serve us, and then we trust to luck. The savage then trusts to his magic to help him, either by producing favourable situations or by removing unfavourable forces.

Of all the misfortunes which trouble the sons of men none are so tragic as mortal disease and its climax, death. Science stands defeated in the face of death; magic admits failure; only religion triumphs in its denial of the validity of the experience. The universality of death; the uncertainty of life; the tragic sense of mortality which envelops both are themes of Zande thought as of all men. Death they know does not distinguish between sexes or ranks, it is no respecter of persons, but comes to one and all alike at an uncertain hour, like a leopard in the night. God (*Mboli*) holds men up for a little and then takes them away again. No one remains in the world for ever. Yet since witchcraft is the cause of death, why is it not possible to stay away the unwelcome visitor? True, the Zande asserts that *mangu* is the cause of death, even when the causes would seem to us most natural, as when a man is speared in battle, or pierced by a buffalo, or slowly sinks in old age. He admits that old age, spears, buffaloes' horns are contributing causes, but the dead would not, in his opinion, have died had not sorcery or witchcraft been employed against him. Nevertheless, there is a general recognition that very old people have lived out their allotted span, and the decrepitude of age needs only a slight drive from *mangu* to finish the struggle. Age and witchcraft combine to put an end to an old man, witchcraft, acting as *umbaga*, second to age. In the situation of death and the first mourning at burial, there is a distinct difference of emphasis placed upon one or other of these two contributing causes of decease, the relatives and older friends of the corpse laying emphasis upon the part played by witchcraft, whilst younger persons not intimately associated with the dead man speak of age as the chief agent. These later will say among themselves *gbinza kumba du, ka ko bira akpi vunu ko ima diga ni li, ko aliti ahe du*, "It is an old dodderer, even if he has died he long ago had his share, he has eaten up everything," and *gu kumba ima tona ka lita ae*, "that fellow has eaten his share." They wonder why so much fuss should be made about the death of an old man who has already lived beyond his time.

There is plenty of room in the earth. "What, friend, is the earth full?" (*enda, sende ahi ahi ?*). Sometimes they frankly say that he died of old age (*ko akpi ti gako gbinza*); whilst older men will assert that it is *mangu* which has laid low their friend. We must not, however, take the scepticism of the young to be a denial of the recognized and traditional doctrine that all deaths are due to either magic or witchcraft and its allied evils, but we must rather regard their expression as a lack of interest, coupled with the feeling that the passing away of the aged is fit and proper and nothing to rouse poignant grief and horror. Though they may say in confidence to each other *i navonga gili gbinza boro te, ko ni ga ga*, "One does not observe the taboos of mourning and vengeance for a doddering old man who has passed away;" nevertheless, full mourning will be observed by all and the mechanism of vengeance will be duly initiated, nor will a grandson make any remark in opposition to this observance of traditional rites and taboos, but will keep any cynical comments for the privacy of his young companions far from the ears of his fathers and uncles. In these short remarks on death we have noted the last and supreme act of evil in a witch's life, for which he pays the penalty for murder, and we have brought to an end our cursory survey of the part played by witchcraft amongst the A-Zande. We commenced this survey with an analysis of the main characteristics of *mangu*; its physiological identity; its hereditary transmission; its methods of carrying out its crimes; its social organization and its metamorphosis after death. We showed its relation to other physiological abnormalities and allied heralds of misfortunes, wild-cats, mutual masturbation amongst women, sight of the female anus, contact with menstrual blood, person with upper incisors appearing prior to lower ones, cocks' eggs, jackals and other beasts and birds. We then explained how *mangu* was held responsible for every misfortune which overtook a man in his health, domestic and communal life, magical and legal enterprises, social activities and economic undertakings; but we laid stress on the fact that his belief in *mangu* does not in any way lessen his caution nor take the place of industry derived from traditional knowledge and pragmatic experience, and that misfortunes due to carelessness and ignorance or incompetence are attributed to these shortcomings. It is only at the point when knowledge ends that belief alike in magic and witchcraft begin to play an important rôle in the machinery of culture. We noted a generic unity in their functions

between magic, witchcraft and luck. We went on to describe how the Zande acts when he is opposed in his undertakings by witchcraft, the various means by which he exposes and combats the menace and defeats its ends. Lastly, we witnessed the final victory of *mangu* and the defeat of man's combined forces of knowledge, magic and religion which are unable to resist approaching death and corruption. From this account arise a number of questions which need to be answered by anyone who is not only interested in a bald account of the savage customs, but also wishes to understand and interpret them in the cultural structure in which they move. It is necessary to set the machinery of culture going to see what they do as well as what they are ; for, in fact, we only understand what they are by observing what they do. We tried in the field to isolate certain problems about the sociology and psychology of witchcraft and to make enquiries and observations *in situ* to solve them. One of these questions : how is it that the Zande attributes to witchcraft the most obvious natural happenings, we have already tried to answer in this section. The further questions which we shall now attempt to define and discuss are what are the mental states which allow of a belief in witchcraft, and what psychological function do they carry out ? What is the place of witchcraft in Zande morals, what is its social significance, and what is its cultural purpose ? Is witchcraft a real or an imaginary phenomenon, is it a conscious or unconscious activity, what are the feelings of a man accused of witchcraft ? and what is the legal status of witchcraft in Zande society ?

Before we can hope to answer these questions, however, we must first observe what the native does in the situation of loss and sickness to discover the witch and cause him to relinquish his hold on his health or fortune ; and we must try to understand why it is that belief in *mangu* does not lead to continual social upheaval and individual tragedies.

IV.—WITCHCRAFT AND SOCIAL CONTROL.

WHENEVER a man suffers any injury or misfortune, such as those we have described, he is more overcome with indignation than fear. When the loss is irreparable and no redemption can be made, he will decide in his own mind who are the persons who are probably injuring him, but beyond this he will not go. If, on the other hand, a misfortune

is yet in its early stages, he will take steps to check it at once, as when he is unsuccessful in hunting or when his brother is ill. This he does by consulting the oracles, which will divulge the name of the witch who is causing all the trouble. It will at once be apparent that such a situation is fraught with grave perils to social equilibrium, for we have a man who is firmly convinced that his neighbour is killing his brother, or ruining his entire season's hunting, out of pure spite, and, naturally, he is an angry man. Moreover, as we shall see in our discussion on the psychology of witches, when the accused are short-tempered men there is always a possibility of an unpleasant scene resulting. Accusation and counter-accusation of serious crime may lead to grave consequences to the community if the machinery through which a witch is identified and notified is not controlled by traditional procedure backed by authority.

We will describe this machinery by taking a typical case in which it is used and following it step by step. But we must first point out to our readers that we are not dealing here with crime which can be brought before a chief in a claim for damages. Unless a witch actually kills someone it is impossible to bring either civil or criminal action against him, as we will explain more fully in the final section of this essay. The procedure to be described here has nothing to do with law in the restricted sense of sanctions supported by courts, but rests upon traditional codes of behaviour with special sanctions of their own.

All A-Zande will, from time to time, consult the oracles about their future health, though at the time they may be quite well. Some men will make a point of doing this every month after the rise of the new moon, on the grounds that prevention is better than cure. For this purpose a man may use any of the oracles, *benge*, *dakpwa*, or *iwa*.¹ Should the oracle tell him that no one is immediately threatening his health, he will commence the new month with confidence, but should the oracle say that he is likely to die in the near future he will return to his homestead in a state of deep depression. I have often seen natives who have received their death sentence shortly before at the mouth of *benge*, and it was sad to observe the deep anxiety which weighed upon them. They, the most cheerful of my friends, always ready for a joke and a smile, would go about in listless apprehension. A man in this state of mind

¹ The use of these oracles is somewhat complicated. We must refer the reader to the Paper dealing with them in SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, 1928.



ZANDE HOMESTEAD IN "GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENT."

will, as soon as he can obtain some *benge* and two or three chickens, repair again into the bush to consult the oracle about who is bewitching him. From this point onwards he will proceed in the same manner as if he were acting on behalf of someone who was actually sick. When a man is bedridden he will get one of his relatives, or a son-in-law, or a blood-brother to consult the oracles on his behalf. The oracles may recommend him to move away from his homestead into the bush where only his own family and his closest relatives will know his abode. His family hastily erect a rough shelter of boughs thrust lightly into the ground in a circle, the heads bent to meet at the top, and the whole covered with unthatched grass. To this he is carried secretly, so that when the witch who is causing his sickness sends the spirit of his *mangu* to continue its ghoulish feast on the spirit of his flesh, it may enter the victim's empty homestead by night, and, being unable to find its owner and ignorant of the direction of his flight, may return unsatisfied and eventually give up the quest.

So great are individual differences in each case that it is impossible to give any very definite chronology of the steps taken, but it is certain that if the illness continues in spite of the precautions taken, the relatives of the sick man will try and find out who is responsible. They will probably commence their enquiries through the *iwa* oracle¹ and then check its verdict with the *benge* oracle. One by one they place the names of people whom they suspect before *iwa*, and, when *iwa* has chosen one of them as the culprit, they ask it whether this is the only man responsible, or whether there are others acting in concert with him. If *iwa* says that this man is acting alone they put his name before *benge*. As we do not wish here to enter into the complicated technicalities of oracle-magic we will suppose that *iwa* chooses the name of one man and that *benge* supports the lesser oracle. The sick man and his relatives now have in their possession the name of the witch. This man was previously suspected, otherwise his name would not have been put before the oracles, and now they are certain that it is he who is bewitching their friend. As the feeling of the sick man and his relations is one of great indignation, and their first impulse is to assault the witch, it is highly important at

¹ The *iwa* is not so greatly relied upon as *benge* and *dahpwa*, and a man accused of witchcraft on the strength of *iwa* alone may fairly say that he is being wantonly insulted. Only in the case of serious illness is it proper (though many persons do it on other occasions) to act on the verdict of *iwa* alone since, in case of severe illness, it is necessary to save time.

this juncture that their actions should be well controlled by traditional procedure. There are two lines of action considered socially commendable. They may make a more or less public accusation of the witch face to face in a manner to be described shortly, or they may make a public declaration in his presence without mentioning any names, so that only they and the witch will know whom is being referred to. This latter method has an advantage where the witch is a person of social standing whom they do not wish to offend, or someone enjoying the respect and esteem of his fellow citizens, whom they do not wish to humiliate. This latter method is known as *kuba*, the meaning of which can only be given by a full description.

We have several times listened to a Zande *de kuba*, and we have experienced nothing in Africa more dramatic in its scene and import. Shortly after sunset when darkness falls, merging the details of garden and of bush into a single undifferentiated line of vegetation, alone giving individuality to banana trees, and enhancing the pallor of dead tree-trunks, which stand like white sentinels near every homestead against the background of night; when men and women sit around the evening fires eating the evening meal, or perhaps the men are smoking and talking while the women prepare to carry fire into sleeping-huts, and children sink after their play into sleep around the embers, then is the time chosen for a *kuba*. Then, or in the early dawn, before the sun has appeared above the horizon but has already suffused the world with light, and men and women emerge shivering from their huts to sit huddled over a fire in the centre of their homesteads, or, cold and miserable, prepare the morning meal. As I am not generally as early a riser as the Zande, it is only in the night scene that I have heard a *kuba*. Suddenly, in the quiet of evening, you hear a cry, "*Hi! hi! hi! hi! hi! hi!*" Immediately you are all excitement, for this is the cry to arouse neighbours when some animal is sighted or when a man has been discovered lurking in the undergrowth with a spear in his hand. But if you think that it is a leopard prowling round on the chance of picking up a sleepy dog, or a criminal crouching in the shadows, you will be at once put at ease by hearing, "*Hi! hi! nya te o! nya te o!*" "*Hi! hi! no animal o! no animal o!*" Alarm is changed to eager attention, men cease talking around the fire, women peer from hut doors and children raise their warm, sleepy bodies, white with ashes, to gaze drowsily in the direction from

which the voice is coming. There, in clear silhouette, stands a man on top of a tall termite-hill, or, maybe, seated in the branches of a tree.

"Hi! hi! hi! hi! nya te o! Mi nidanga areme ko bati iwa yo, iwa ki ya fo re we 'agu aboro naima gumere turunga iyo te, i kina hani mbembedi, kina agu abore ra mi kpolo na yo i naima gumere. Ti du hilisi mi roni ki ya mi ayembanga limoni te, mi akparanga ni ni sa ni te. Ka ni du ni boro tue ni ki gi gi pai mi ape re. Gumere ka ya kpi mi amai ngwa, boro kpi, ya ni ka gberesa limore, ni ki aya we 'mi agumbanga a te.' Ti mi agumba fo rani, ka gumere sungu na kaza kindi ni kina ge¹ kpiyo mi ayugu bara gu boro ayugu ni ni sa ni, aboro ini ni dunduko. Wa ani ara kpolo na oni mi nakangadunga ku aboro yo te, mi nasokotanga aboro te, mi awinga delc aboro te, mi a (iminga) wili boro te, mi adinga ga aboro ahe te ka boro sogare ti ni te. Ako avuru Gbudwe ka sokote oni! Gine oni ye ka ima gumere tini? Ka gumere ni mangi pai ka oni gumba fu kinare, ki ya fo re we 'gumere gbe bape,' ka oni iminga gumere aima te. Wo du pai, mi gumba gbe. Gu boro du na tue i nagumba pai toni ni ki gi e. Fwo gu gumba mi fo roni le mi adoganga ngbware berewe te; mi akpara boro ni sa ni sa bere kinako bangilini. Oni gi e gbe. Ti nyesi."

"Hi! hi! hi! hi! no animal o! no animal o! I went to-day to consult iwa and iwa said to me: 'those men who are killing my relative they are not far off, they are right here nearby, those neighbours of mine, it is they who are killing my relative. It is thus I honour you by telling you that I will not speak his name. I will not choose him out by himself. If he is a man who has ears he will hear what I am saying. Were my relative to die I would make magic, then someone will die and my name will be stained because I kept silence. This is why I am telling you that if my relative continues to be sick unto death, I will surely reveal that man so that everyone will know him. Since I have been your neighbour I have not acted greedily in anyone's homestead; against no man have I borne ill-will; I have not committed adultery with any man's wife; no child of man have I killed; I have not stolen the things of others; I have done none of these things that a man should bear a grudge against me. Oh, servants of Gbudwe, indeed you are men of ill-will! Why are you killing my relative? If he has done any evil you should have told it to me, saying 'your relation has brought

¹ *Ge*. Possibly an error of transcription, meaning doubtful.

a vendetta on himself.' You ought not to kill my relation. It is thus that I have spoken; I have spoken much. That man that has ears, one speaks but a few words and he can hear it. After what I have spoken to you, I will not burden my mouth again. But I will choose out the man by himself and expose him before his face. All of you hear well my words. It is finished."

Those who have listened to this dramatic declaration know the voice which has spoken, who is ill, and all the circumstances of his sickness. As the witch listens he knows that his plot is discovered and that, being a marked man, if he continues to torture his victim his name will be revealed, and that, if he kills him, the death will be avenged. Self-preservation and self-respect will make him stop before it is too late. Moreover, he will be honoured by the deference which has been paid to him by concealment of his identity from the general public, so that he may yield to flattery where he will not yield to fear.

If this effort to get the witch to cease his activities is unsuccessful, the relatives of the sick man will resort to the procedure which is generally used alone without being preceded by a *kuba*, for a *kuba* is only used if they think that it is more convenient and if the *iwa* oracle sanctions its use. The normal procedure is to put the names of all suspects before *iwa* and let it select those guilty of causing sickness. Unless the man is dangerously ill, when they will at once make known *iwa*'s selection, they will place the names chosen by *iwa* before the more reliable oracle *benge*. A red strychnic powder is given to chicken, whilst the names of the suspects are mentioned one by one, and by either killing or sparing these chicken the oracle separates the innocent from among the guilty. Maybe several will be found guilty, maybe only one, but the procedure is the same for many as for one. They cut off a wing from the hen which died to the name of the witch and thrust it on to the end of a little pointed stick, spreading its wings out in the shape of a fan, and take it home with them. One of the relatives will then go with it to a neighbouring chief's deputy, since the chief is not always accessible, and does not wish to be troubled with every little affair of this kind, and they will tell him the name of the man denounced by *benge*. Or, instead of going to him, they may again consult *iwa* about several reliable men of good social position in order to choose one of them to notify the witch of *benge*'s verdict. If

they go to the chief's deputy, the wiser course, he will promise to notify the witch. He calls one of his dependants and sends him with the fowl's wing to the homestead of the witch and tells him to present him with it, to note what happens and to bring back word accordingly. The messenger goes with the wing and lays it on the ground in front of the witch, saying that his master has sent him with it because of the illness of so-and-so. Generally a witch will protest his innocence of intention and his ignorance of the harm that he is doing to his neighbour. He calls for a gourdful of water, and when his wife brings it he takes a draught, swills it round in his mouth, and blows it out in a spray over the wing. He says aloud, so that the messenger can hear his words, that if he is a witch he is unaware of his possession of *mangu*, and that he is not causing injury to others with intent. He addresses the *mangu* in his stomach beseeching it to become inactive. If he makes this appeal from his heart and not in mere pretence with his lips, then the sick man will recover. The messenger returns to his master with news of what he has seen, and the deputy tells the relatives of the sick man that his duty has been performed satisfactorily. The relatives will wait anxiously for some days to find out what effect this ceremony will have. If the sick man shows signs of recovery they will praise *benge* for having revealed so quickly and surely the name of the witch and opened up a road to recovery. If sickness continues they will again consult the oracles to find out whether the witch was only pretending repentance or whether some new aggressor had arisen to trouble their ill friend, and in this case the same formal ceremony of presentation of hen's wings will again take place.

Though chiefs appear in the past to have sometimes taken more drastic steps to ensure their safety, the procedure described above has always been the normal everyday usage of every section of society. It is an usage which maintains generally an orderly outcome to a situation fraught with considerable emotional stress on both sides for the conferring of a hen's wing upon a man often leads, on the part of the *boro mangu*, to concealed anger and permanent estrangement, whilst the relatives on their part feel themselves face to face with what amounts to murder of their friend and kin. The great authority of the *benge* oracle, the use of an intermediary to carry out the more offensive part of the performance, the social standing of a deputy backed up by the political power of a chief, the stereotyped mode of behaviour expected of a witch under the trying

publicity which accompanies his humiliation, are factors which help to tide over this difficult impasse in human relations, whilst at the same time allowing expression of indignation along prescribed channels of conduct. For a man who were to accuse another man wantonly of witchcraft without being able to produce an oracular verdict to back up his statement would be merely laughed at for his pains if he were not beaten into the bargain. A man who went himself to deliver a hen's wing or who sent some unsuitable messenger without first consulting either the oracles or an old man of high social standing would run the risk of initiating a violent scene, and people would say that he got what an ignorant "provincial" deserves. While, on the other hand, the man who showed temper on being presented with a hen's wing in the proper traditional manner would, as we shall show more fully in a later section, not only be considered a boor, but his behaviour would reveal blackness of heart and confirm the worst suspicions. The Zande can always tell you what is the correct behaviour in any situation, the ideal of conduct based on tradition; but people are always doing things the wrong way and troublesome consequences arise. Nevertheless, by a traditional sequence of activities from a preliminary consultation of the *iwa* oracle to a consultation of *benge*, from *benge* to *iwa* once more, from *iwa* to a dramatic declaration in the *kuba*, from the *kuba* to *iwa* again, from *iwa* to *benge*, from *benge* to a formal request to a chief's deputy and the sending of a messenger and the carrying out of a simple ceremony in the homestead of a witch, all is regulated by a well-known sequence of traditional moves and a series of behaviour-patterns which give firm social control over the unruly passions of men under severe emotional stress.

In tracing out the part which the concept of *mangu* plays in Zande social and economic life, and in noting how it is controlled by custom and directed by tradition, it may well occur to us to ask how is it that men can so firmly believe in something which seems to us so remote from reality as to appear almost pathological? Through what mental processes does such a fiction arise, and how is it maintained in culture in spite of the enormous waste which it appears to engender? It is this question to which we shall now turn our attention.

V.—PSYCHOLOGY OF THE BEWITCHED. DREAM LIFE.

GENERALLY our first reaction to witchcraft is to say how absurd that anyone could be so stupid as to believe in such a thing. We may feel that here at least is an aspect of negro life which is beyond the defence even of a sympathetic anthropologist, whilst the undoubted and untold suffering which the concept has caused must of necessity arouse the hostility of administrator and missionary alike. It is difficult to see what value such a gruesome belief can have to balance its bloody consequences. Before saying wherein we think lies its value we will give our own psychological reaction to the concept of witchcraft amongst the A-Zande as we studied it in daily contact with them; for the reaction of a European to some native custom will often help us to understand it better. In few other departments of native life did I find it easier to "think black" than in my study of witchcraft; and whilst I often found it beyond my powers to fall in with other Zande points of view in spite of conscious effort to do so, in the case of *mangu* I found myself quite easily and unconsciously slipping into their way of looking at the matter and lapsing without pretence into their indignation. This showed me that the A-Zande and I were probably reacting from a common psychological basis, and it pointed a way of investigation which was to lead me to a new understanding of witchcraft. The belief in *mangu* is not only a psychological response common to men in all cultures, but in the theory of *mangu* is to be found an explicit and well developed ethical system.

The person dearest and most loved by a Zande is himself. He is extremely, almost morbidly, sensitive, touched to the quick by any unkindness, insult, humiliation or hostility. He is very suspicious, and is always seeing personal insults to himself where none are meant or, at least, where it is very doubtful whether they are meant. We may safely describe his mind so far without risking these facile generalizations about primitive psychology, which are so often indulged in, since we have observed its products through many sunny hours, and since they would be equally true of any people. The Zande is well aware that others take pleasure in his troubles and pain and in his good fortune. He knows that if he is rich the poor will hate him; that if he is noble the common people will be jealous of his birth; that if he is fair the less-favoured will envy his looks; that if he is talented as a hunter, or singer, fighter

or rhetorician he will earn the malice of those less gifted ; that if he is a social and political success his reward will be the spite of his fellows. I need hardly enlarge upon the soundness of the Zande's perception of human motives and sentiments since they form the main theme of our dramatic literature, and every reader will be well acquainted with them both from observation and introspection. The desire of those "in the procession" to keep others there is a democratic sanction both world-wide and of the utmost importance for social cohesion and morality.

We must think of the ordinary Zande leading his day-to-day homestead life with his wives and children. Around him are other homesteads with other families whom he meets continually in his home or theirs. As a variation to the common round of labour, eating, drinking, sleeping, smoking, chatting, doing-nothing-at-all, he will occasionally visit the chief's court to pay his respects and to show that he is not just a dull "provincial;" or he will attend a feast or pay visits to his married sisters or brothers or his wife's parents. A keen but hasty observer would quickly notice what are the main social bonds and the sentiments upon which their social life depends ; but it requires a longer period of residence and much patience to see how the egoistical, emotional life of the individual is adjusted into this social machinery—and its maladjustments. In the daily tasks of life there is plenty of opportunity for friction ; the household must be run by labour, and save where there is sympathy and attachment between husband and wives, and between the wives, which is far from common owing to the type of marriage holding amongst the A-Zande, there is sure, sooner or later, to be disagreement about the division of labour and unrest due to staleness of every-day occupations ; the sexual life of the Zande family is a constant source of friction, one wife using every device to escape the hated embraces of her husband, another desiring to monopolize his sexual services to the disadvantage of his co-wives ; amongst his friends and neighbours the Zande is sure to have secret enemies, some of whom are bachelors suspected of designs on his wives ; whilst others have uttered unguarded words about him which have been reported to him by someone anxious to cause trouble ; at the chief's court he is snubbed by some old courtier, or he has himself gone out of his way to kick some unfortunate man in disfavour who is sure not to forget the injury ; at a dance he thinks one of the songs is meant about himself, or someone purposely cuts in when he is producing a new solo

with intent to spoil his performance ; in all his economic and social pursuits there is opportunity for offence to be given and offence to be taken where none is meant. All the unkind words and little malicious actions or hints which rub and sting are stored up in his memory for future occasions. Sometimes this ill-will between members of the same community breaks out in some dramatic and violent form : there are angry words, a blow is struck, knives are drawn and spears raised ; a crowd collects and there is general confusion. But more often ill-feeling finds an outlet under the surface in scandal and tongue-wagging, in whispers round the evening fire, in the privacy of a hut, or in the presence of a friend on a distant bush path. Sometimes this bitterness of feeling wells up so uncontrollably that it seeks an outlet in the chief's court. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is driven farther under the surface to be released in underground channels of dream (*musuma*) and day-dream (*bi pai*). Fortunately, there is one great outlet provided by the concept of *mangu* for those suffering from a grievance ; fortunately, because of such stuff crimes are made.

When you hear that someone has sent a hen's wing to someone else in the neighbourhood for him to spit upon it, or are present at a consultation of *benge* about some misfortune, you are on the verge of a discovery. You have only to make a few pertinent enquiries and the underground pools of hatred are uncovered before you. Something untoward has happened : the eleusine crop is suffering from drought ; the ground-nut harvest is ruined by mildew ; a speared animal made a successful escape ; the Chief or District Commissioner has shown himself annoyed ; syphilitic sores have begun to appear. If you are fortunate enough to be present at a consultation of the oracle, which will very seldom happen as the A-Zande are very secretive about their magic, you will hear the unfortunate sufferer of pain or loss put one name after another before the oracle asking whether it is so-and-so who is tormenting him. These names reveal much, for though the Zande is fully aware that as a general rule in life his failures will be received by his fellow men with a good deal of inner satisfaction and his successes by envy and backbiting, he makes his selection of names on the grounds of some more definite signs of personal hostility. As he selects each name he does so because of some past incident which he thinks would account for witchcraft being used against him by its bearer. Usually he

commences with someone who lives in an adjoining homestead, since neighbours seldom live in perfect harmony without friction, and, moreover, the range of *mangu* is restricted. The opportunity for adultery and various forms of social unpleasantness, with the excellent opportunity given to witches to carry on their work at close range, were some of the many serious objections which the Zande felt to being herded into crowded Government settlements.¹

It will perhaps be as well if we illustrate the type of reason which is in the mind of the native who consults an oracle for supposing that the man whose name he puts forward for a verdict is likely to be using *mangu* against him, by giving a few cases which we have noted down. Let us start with ourselves. When I went to visit a chief he was usually polite enough to consult the oracles about my welfare before I departed from his homestead. Knowing that I had settled in the territory of the Chief Gangura, and guessing from their own feelings on the matter that it was highly improbable that he would really relish such an intrusion by a Government *protégé*, they usually consulted the oracle to his name to commence with, since, everything being taken into consideration, he would probably be more relieved than anyone else at my decease. In this instance they asked about sorcery, not witchcraft, but the motives for crime are the same in both. Still keeping to our own little entourage, I should hardly like to count the number of hen's wings which my house-boy has presented to my cook since the early days of our acquaintance. These two youths have known each other for so long, and have been for so many years in strained relationship, that it is difficult to attach any one cause for my cook's name being so often given to the oracles, but hostility is undoubtedly kept aflame by continual friction in the kitchen, and by mutual jealousy in relation to myself. Going further afield: shortly after my arrival in Zandeland, the headman of the settlement in which I took up my abode, a charming but ineffectual old man, called Gböndi, was replaced by his chief with a younger and more efficient man named Bage. Shortly afterwards Bage had some misfortune, the nature of which I cannot call to mind, and that evening he sent a messenger to Gböndi with a hen's wing, requesting him to spit on it to cool his *mangu*. Everyone knew that Gböndi had openly resented dismissal from his post and having to obey the newcomer, for there had been a

¹ Settlements were formed for sleeping-sickness reasons.

scene in which angry words had passed between them, so that it was the most natural thing in the world that he should injure Bage with witchcraft if he was a possessor of *mangu*, and Bage would, of course, consult the oracle to his name, first of all, on account of his grievance and known resentment. This occurred on several occasions, and when I suggested that Gbōndi was really quite an inoffensive old man who would do no one any harm, I was told that he was jealous of Bage and that jealous people always wish others harm.

Another instance is that of a young woman whose hens kept on dying. She got a friend to consult *iwa* on her behalf about some women who had helped her to make beer, but had not been asked to partake of it. As a final example we will mention an old man who alleged that he found a boy stealing some of his maize heads. He ran after him and beat him with a stick. About a fortnight later the boy fell sick, and his father, after having consulted *benge*, sent a fowl's wing to the old man to blow water on to it. We have given only a few examples of how a man draws on his wallet of memories for the names of those whom he considers would be likely to injure him, but these are sufficient to emphasize the opinion of the natives that witchcraft is not used haphazardly, nor is a blind weapon which strikes at random, but is a carefully aimed shaft which is directed towards a special objective.

This aspect of *mangu* is brought out even more clearly by the activities of witch-doctors (*abinza* or *avule*), a corporation of men whose main function is to combat *mangu*, expose its possessors and cure its victims. Though these men are generally discreet enough to avoid names wherever possible, it is often necessary to mention those of witches explicitly on occasions. Consequently, they require to have all the latest scandal of the neighbourhood at their finger tips. An attendance at one of their public performances will give one the hint of many a rivalry which had lain hidden from one before. However, we describe the functions of the Zande medicine-man elsewhere, where this aspect of their performances is considered at greater length.¹

We consider it of the greatest importance in the understanding of witchcraft that the import of this section should be clear to the reader. Instead of belief in witchcraft being a pointless superstition we see that

¹ Vide the writer's forthcoming Article, "The Zande Witch-Doctor," in preparation.

it has a sound psychological basis in the egoistic sentiment, and is derived from an acute assessment of man's emotions and motives; we discover that the native will give you clear matter-of-fact reasons for believing that a particular person wishes him ill, and that he will act calmly, by an elaborate sequence of traditional moves, to get his enemy to repent his activities. The witch is your personal enemy in fact, though in theory all men and women with a special type of physiological excrescence alone come into the category of witches. Your personal enemy becomes a witch through your selection of names, and the probability that strychnine will kill a chicken. It is not so much haphazard selection of a witch which creates ill-feeling between neighbours, but it is rather from a source of ill-feeling that accusations of witchcraft spring. The spites, jealousies, scandals, envyings, malices, greeds, which motivate man in his relations with his fellows, and which are the breeding ground of all crime, are repressed because if they were not social life would be impossible. They are repressed by men at the bidding of a variety of sanctions, public opinion, vanity, legal rules, codes of morality, and religious beliefs, etc., which it would take too long to classify and describe. But, as we know, repression does not mean elimination. Jealousy may not lead to violent scenes; malice may not lead to murder; greed may not lead to open insult, spite, backbiting; and envy may have no dramatic surface manifestations, but they maintain their sway on the human mind none the less. Often they seek release in indirect channels, and though sometimes it is easy to trace their course back to the original springs, sometimes it is too tortuous to follow. But in either case we recognize that canalizing of emotion in this manner makes social life possible. We have seen how this is done among the A-Zande by preventing burbling underground torrents of hatred from sudden disruptive outbreaks by cutting out smooth channels of traditional procedure along which they can flow. Belief in *mangu* combines this function with the one, which we have already referred to, of giving confidence, courage and emotional outlet through activity in moments of crisis. It will be at once seen that the identification of witchcraft with enmity opens up several further questions of importance about Zande moral ideas, and we shall consider these after a short digression.

It is well known that emotional activity reveals itself in dreams. If you hate a man you may kill him, but the consequences of such an

action are generally serious, and the desire is repressed. You may, however, kill him in day-dreams or avenge yourself on him in real dreams with impunity, and this is the course often followed. We should expect, therefore, to find that in Zande culture, where hatred is conventionally associated with witchcraft, dream manifestations are also closely related to witchcraft, and this is, in fact, what we do find. It is not our intention, nor have we sufficient material, to make a full and competent study of Zande dream life, but rather to intimate its connection with the concept of *mangu*. We must also admit in this brief survey of the subject that we have no training in, and little knowledge of, psycho-analytical technique. Identification of witchcraft with objects of personal animosity appears in various phases of Zande mental life. It is a theme of day-dreaming, but apart from the fact that the Zande has day-dreams (*bi pai*) and that in these pleasant dramatisations he wreaks vengeance on enemies, we can give little information, though we hope to make further investigations on our final visit to Zandeland. Probably Zande day-dreams are closely bound up in their substance with his beliefs in witchcraft. Many Zande "real" dreams are very simple wish-fulfilments, often stimulated by some sight or by memory of some conversation on the previous day. One of my servants used regularly to dream of seeing a Ford lorry or a steamboat on the night before we departed in one or other of these vehicles. A prisoner dreams that he is being released from captivity. A man dreams that he is cutting up meat which foretells a successful hunt, or that he is copulating with a woman which presages a successful love affair. If the dreamer recognises the girl with whom he is having intercourse he turns over on his bed to lie on the opposite side to the side he lay on during intercourse, since by doing so he sends the dream to her and she will see him and have intercourse with him also. Both will afterwards try and make this dream come true by hinting at it in the presence of the other. A man dreams of roasting an enormous number of termites and he expects to make a good catch of these edible insects in the near future; he sees a spear at his side and sets out in the morning full of hope that if he goes to see his chief he will receive one as a gift; he eats dream honey and he knows that he will soon see the real article; a bachelor dreams that he goes to the homestead of his mother-in-law and that she cooks a hen for him to eat, and he wakes happy at this assurance of an early marriage; a married man sees himself in a

dream with many wives and looks forward to a prosperous polygamous old age, and his prosperity will be confirmed by a dream in which he sees himself rich in eleusine, oil, spears, hens, etc. The Zande has no doubt that dreams foretell the future and have oracular functions (*musuma nasoroka*), and we have seen several instances in which a man relates the dream he has had to some subsequent event.

There are other dreams, springing from more complicated emotions, which have stereotyped interpretations. A dream of someone's death presages that he will die. A dream in which a man sees fish in a stream is said to mean that his sister or some other male or female relative is committing adultery, or it may mean that they are at the time copulating with their wives or husbands to beget children. A dream in which marriage spears are returned to the dreamer causes him anxiety lest he is going to lose his wife. A man dreams that he is drinking beer with his companions who suddenly rise and seize him and accuse him of some offence. The interpretation of this dream is that someone is slandering him (*musuma nayugu gumba limo fu ni*, the dream discloses slander to one).

If dreams of sexual intercourse with a woman are pleasant foretastes of what is to come, the Zande does not apply the same interpretation to those dreams in which he copulates with his mother and sister. Placing his hand on his sleeping-mat and finding it wet with sperm, he is troubled and ashamed, exclaiming to himself, "*Ako musuma awasi le*," "Oh! the dream has done a filthy thing." Thus the Zande will say to someone in disgust, "*Ga fai wa sangbwa musuma boro nirali ni zagba mangi dewilini rogo pa musuma*," "Your affair is like the expression of a dream that a man dreams, in which he undoes the hair of his sister in dream-phantasy." Of such experiences the Zande says that the dream has tricked him, and played him wanton.

Lastly, there are definitely ill-boding dreams which are due to *mangu*. These are generally of a stereotyped form, but a man cannot tell what the danger is which threatens him, nor from whence it comes, unless he has had some previous experience which he can link up with his subsequent dream. Such are dreams of being chased by lions, leopards and elephants, seeing men with animals' heads, the dreamer being seized by enemies, but being unable to call out since his mouth seems to be closed. Falling dreams are very common and are of this type. Often a man keeps

falling for a long period though he never reaches the ground. One man told us that he fell from a huge tree on to the ground, where he saw a homestead occupied by strange men with white faces like Europeans. He knew it was an evil dream but could not say what misfortune it presaged. Sometimes a man will be attacked by snakes; he runs away from one to find another in front of him and they twist themselves around his arms and legs. Often such dreams end in nightmare and sudden terrified awakening. (*Boro nazingi be rami gbaigbai*, a man awakes from sleep in a start.) In dreams men see strange beasts, such as *wangu* the rainbow-snake, and *moma imi*, the water-leopard.

All these dreams, which are children of fear and anxiety and beget the same, are products of witchcraft in the eyes of the A-Zande. It is through *mangu* that men are enabled to appear in strange guises, and it is often in dream images that a man has his first intimation that he is being attacked by *mangu*. He has a nightmare, and in the morning he feels sick and realises that the nightmare was caused by the spirit of *mangu* consuming the spirit of his flesh. For in the opinion of the A-Zande, a dream is a real experience on the spiritual plane. He does not confuse dream happenings with events of waking life, but he considers that the life of the spirit is different and he confesses that he does not understand its nature well. Suffice it that he knows that his spirit will go journeys and will commune with people during sleep. The hours of sleep are therefore an ideal setting for witchcraft activity, for then the spirit of a witch is able to roam about at will and devour the spiritual flesh of its enemies. Sometimes the victim will have no inkling of what happened to him, whilst at other times he will know that he is being bewitched by a dream in which the witch's action is made known to him in a phantasy. This theory of dream life is clearly pointed out by the following Zande text: "*Aboro niya we, mangu nano kina yuru. Gu musumo boro nirali e i nisopo ni na baso wa ta du do ni a, gure Azande ni ya ti gayo we, mangu du niye ka no ro yuru. Ono Azande dunduko i nabera a nga mangu kina o nzunzu bombiko wa i nibafu iwa ko ti boro mangu iwa ki zi azia ko ti ni. Gu boromangu nga guni aboro aini pani dunduko i niya ni nabi mangu abi wa si nandu ka no boro yuru. Boro nikedi manguni aheda ko yo du mo ni yuru si ye ka no ra kpuro yo. Fuo gure si ki ye ka manga ro kina musumo yo. Gu kura a ka si ayenga fuo ro rogo musumo yo wa sa ya, ka mo ainanga a wa sa ya; si hi no ro ano*

*mbata, rago ki ta gira kaza ki nitona no atona ni ba sa. Ka si ndu ka gbia ti ru na ga boro re si ki mangi tiru amanga, ka gu ngara gbe si ki do kura a ado.*¹

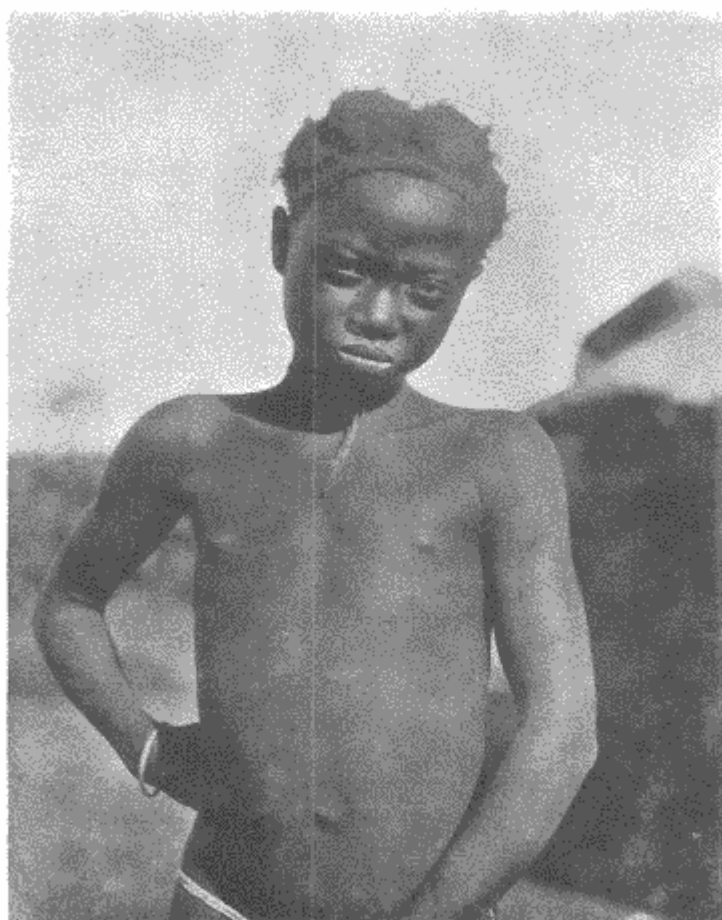
A free translation of this text is as follows: "People say that it is in the night that witchcraft goes about its work. In those dreams which people have, in which they are pierced by a spear or pursued, the A-Zande believe that it is witchcraft which has come to injure them in the night.² But all A-Zande believe that witchcraft itself is present on these occasions because, when they push the *iwa*³ to the name of a witch, *iwa* sticks to it. They say of a witch whom everybody knows to be such, that he can see witchcraft when it is going to attack a man in the night. A man sends his witchcraft by night to seek you out and to attack you in your home-stand. After that it is in a dream that it begins to trouble you. On another occasion it will not come after you in a dream at all, so that you have no knowledge of it. First of all it injures you, then, at daybreak, sickness suddenly comes upon you. If it meets with the witchcraft of another man then they struggle, and if it is very strong then it will drive the other away."

I have never heard that a man dreams that someone is actually eating his flesh, for this appears always to be made known to him in the typical allegorical imagery of dream life, being chased by men or animals, being seized and unable to call for help, falling from a great height, and so on. Generally such dreams are not stamped by circumstances which will enable the dreamer to see who are his enemies. In this case he will go next morning to his blood-brother or some obliging friend and get him to consult the *iwa* oracle to ascertain whether it was indeed as he supposed, that he had been struggling with *mangu* on the previous night

¹ This text was written for me by Reuben (né Mboli-Zingbwahie) trained at, and at one time in the employ of, the Yambio C.M.S. station. When not stated to the contrary, all texts were taken down by myself from the lips of native informants. Though Reuben was not lent to me by the Mission but came into my service after leaving their employ, I take the present opportunity of acknowledging the indirect debt which I owe to the Rev. C. Gore and his predecessors, who for nearly a quarter of a century have laboured to produce not only clerks able to read and write, but also self-reliant boys and girls better able to withstand the shock to which their culture has been subjected than my friends of the bush.

² Though Reuben always wrote texts to dictation to the words of a Zande uninfluenced by European ideas, much of what he has written for me has an impersonal and emancipated tinge.

³ *Iwa* is a rubbing-oracle such as is found in many parts of equatorial Africa. For its use see "Oracle-magic of the Azande," op. cit. There are some fine specimens, brought back by Mr. Torday, now in the British Museum.



A DAUGHTER OF THE NOBLE AVONGARA CLAN.

and, if so, to whom did the spirit of *mangu* belong. When he has discovered the witch's name he will then act in the normal manner to notify him of the verdict of *iwa* and *benge*. Sometimes, however, he can see the faces of the witches in his dream. Thus one of our informants was attacked by a man called Basingbatara and his son. They climbed up the outside of his hut and sat looking at him as he lay on the ground through a hole in the roof (there was no real hole in the roof, only in the dream). The two men who sat watching him were just like baboons with the sole exception of their faces, which were those of the two men whom he knew well. Basingbatara said to his son "you strike him," so the youth struck him with his spear on the top of his head, and the dreamer awoke. As he awoke he saw them running down the roof of the hut towards their homes. My informant was very ill for some weeks after this experience. The advantage of such dreams as these in which the dreamer can recognize the witches is considerable for an ethnologist, for he can often find out roughly the relationship between dreamer and dream actors. In the story told above they were bad, but concealed. Actually the young man who struck our informant with his spear was affianced to his daughter, but there was considerable friction between the two families which, a fair time after the occurrence of the dream, led to an action in the chief's court on account of the young man's brother having made advances to our informant's wife (his younger brother's mother-in-law). In other dreams the dreamer does not see the face of the witch, but he has no doubt in his mind about his identity. These are the most interesting dreams, as the native is able to give you chapter and verse in support of his contention. I will quote one example from memory as the notes which I made at the time are not available. A young man whom I know intimately once told me of a dream which he had had a long time ago in which a witch came to attack him during sleep. He was lying on his bed when he saw the man approach—at least he was man from shoulders to feet—whilst his shoulders were surmounted with an elephant's head and trunk. My young friend was exceedingly frightened and pretended to be asleep, all the while squinting through his eyelashes to see what the man was up to. The witch on his part kept moving round his elephant's head as though looking for him, and then after a while moved once again outside the hut. At once the young man leapt from his bed and out of the hut and flew through the air towards a

near-by tree round which he curled legs and arms. The witch saw him fly past, but did not manage to see where he was going to or locate his body against the tree-trunk. The young man told me without hesitation that he knew who the witch was. When I asked him how he knew when he had not seen his face, he replied that he was well aware that a witch in the neighbourhood was vowing vengeance on him, and that it could only have been this man. His mind was quite made up about the witch's identity, and he told me a long story of how he had offended the man and caused this night visitation. The story has little importance and is rather a complicated one concerning a marriage dispute in which both boy and witch were involved.

What interests one in these dream experiences and their interpretations is their intimate relationship to Zande belief in witchcraft. We have seen that a witch is activated by personal malice, jealousy, etc., and that appreciation of these emotions by the person who arouses them and by the mind which experiences them alike is the basis of belief in *mangu*. We saw how emotions of sorrow, anger, fear and the more complicated sentiments of hatred and envy are given expression along traditional channels provided by belief in witchcraft. They find another outlet in the fantastic imagery of dream experience, and in the interpretation of these dream fantasies the Zande acts upon the same principles as in consulting oracles about sickness or bad luck in hunting. The ill-will of others often manifests itself in dreams.

The picture we wished to paint in this section is of men highly sensitive in their social life to insult, rudeness, unkindness, meanness; who are anxious to please others and to earn the respect of their neighbours; and who brood over slights, jealousies, unfriendliness, and so on. It is from this emotional attitude towards others that the concept of *mangu* springs. But these emotions not only give psychological meaning to belief in witchcraft, but have also their place in native morality.

VI.—THE MORAL ASPECT OF WITCHCRAFT.

WHETHER it is through oracle-consultations or through a séance of witch-doctors, or by listening to scandal we reach the same conclusions. In the first place we see how the belief in witchcraft gives the sufferer, whether in mind, body or estate, an outlet for energetic

action. He is able to act, since his injury is not a blow from Fate, but the machination of his enemy, which can be combated and counteracted. Belief in *mangu* provides the Zande with a defence mechanism against the slings and arrows of fortune. It also enables him to use proper social machinery against his private enemies by means of oracular verdicts and their customary presentation to the witch. In this way he earns social approval, and the witch comes in for social opprobrium and humiliation. For active witchcraft is only sometimes a criminal offence, but is always a moral lapse. It is a child of the heart; its parents are hatred, malice, spite, greed, envy, jealousy, slander, back-biting, meanness. The man who uses *mangu* without committing any offence for which he can be penalized is what we call an "unpleasant fellow," a man whom we avoid. For the Zande holds clear moral opinions about these social vices. Malice, envy, jealousy, slander are bad. Fathers and mothers may be heard to lecture their children against falling into these vices; chiefs will discourse upon them in the court; husbands will admonish their wives upon them. No one denounces these evils more sincerely than a Zande, though the Zande's arguments against them are more pragmatic than most. If you hate your neighbour without due cause you disclose a weak character, and people will despise you and will not wish to associate with you. If you slander your neighbour without cause you will get a bad name, people will say that you are a liar, and the chief will not believe you when you come to make a case before him. If you are greedy you will be an unwelcome guest, and meanness will make you the subject of a hundred subtle allusions in your presence and in the company of your friends, and this will shame you. If you are jealous and envious of others you will not be asked to partake in joint activities, and your reputation will be stained. But the most weighty argument against these moral vices is that they are the soil in which grow acts of witchcraft. Hatred and malice (*sogote*), jealousy (*ngbwaduse*), envy (*kpi boro* = envious man), slander (*gumba limo*), greed (*kangadu*), meanness (*lingilingi pai*), tale-telling (*asomburu* = tale-tellers) are not in themselves witchcraft (*mangu*), but they are the invariable accompaniment of it. These vices are the active drive behind witchcraft, since *mangu* is not itself the cause of crime and of those many anti-social actions for which there is no legal sanction, but the power to perform them and the means by which they are carried

out This is not an opinion to which we have reached ourselves as a deduction from what A-Zande have told us, but is a clear statement which we have heard dozens of times made without any reference to our enquiries. *Sogote nandu mbataiyo mangu nandu fwo ha*, "Malice goes in front and witchcraft goes after it;" *kangadu nandu mbataiyo mangu nandu fwo ha*, "Greed goes on ahead and witchcraft follows after," say the A-Zande, and they speak of other moral failings in the same way, describing them always as proceeding ahead with *mangu* following behind them. It is these evil emotions and sentiments which are the basis and origin of crime. *Sa kpiyo ti kina ho, boro na kpinga gbwa te*, "Death always has a cause, and no man dies without reason." The reason is to be found always in man's lack of charity. Thus the A-Zande say again in a proverb: *i nasoga mbara, mbara ka kpi*, "The elephant died because they hate it"; or, *i nagumba limo, mbara ka kpi*, "Because they speak ill of the elephant behind his back, he dies." "Envy and jealousy kill the strongest of men: A-Zande niya we mangu nga ima ngbwaduse, bombiko ngbwadu boro niimi si ni nano tini. Kina gu boro nga ngbwaduse ni nga boro mangu. Agu aboro kina o ni ini aina ya manguni nandu ka no boro bombiko wa ngbwaduni naima fu gu boro re."¹ "The A-Zande say that witchcraft is jealousy, because it is due to the fact that a man is jealous that he harms others. Those who are well-informed say that witchcraft goes to injure a man because the witch is jealous of him." Greed also is often the cause of a man's death, and men fear to refuse requests lest they are bewitched by an angry man whose solicitations have not been granted. *Gu boro na ho he dededi nga boro mangu*, "A man who is always asking for things," say the A-Zande, "is a witch."

Those also who always speak in a roundabout way instead of straightforward speech are suspected of being witches. Such hints, allusions, double meanings are often made by A-Zande, and people put many meanings into them which were not intended by the speaker. For example, a man sits with some of his neighbours and says, *boro nanyenga zegino te*, "No man remains for ever in the world." One of the old men sitting near-by gives a disapproving grunt at this remark, hearing which the speaker explains that he was talking of an old friend who has just died; but others will probably think that he meant that he wished the death of one of those with whom he was sitting.

¹ Text written by Rueben.

A man who threatens others with misfortunes is certain to be accused of bewitching them should the misfortunes fall. A threatener of this type (*mo kida*) will say to a man *mo atanga gi gana te*; "You will not walk this year," and then some little while afterwards when the threatened man falls sick or has an accident he will remember the words which were spoken to him in passion, and will at once consult the oracles, placing before them the name of the speaker as the first name on his list of suspects.

The trend of implications which rise from the idea of *mangu*, and from the part it plays in psychological and social life, will have long been apparent to the reader. We found that the witch was your personal enemy, the man whose name you chose to place before the oracles because you knew that he would be glad to injure you. You knew that he would be glad to injure you because he hated you for some past slight, or because he was jealous of your good fortune, or because you did not ask him to come and drink beer at your beer party. Hence, hatred, jealousy, greed and resentment give rise to injuries and crimes. For a crime which had no motive would be absurd, and would be difficult to detect, because one would have no evidence of motive to go upon in one's oracle-consultations. "*Cui bono?*" asks the Zande.

But although there is no act of witchcraft without motive in human sentiment and emotion, and although public opinion declares these motives (in others) to be contrary to social well-being, it must be remembered that a man may be jealous, malicious and in other ways socially undesirable, but still not a witch, since he is not endowed with *mangu*. He may be a *boro kikipwë* whose characteristics we have outlined earlier, or merely a disgruntled fellow who is nevertheless incapable of doing his fellow-men an injury however much he would like to do. It is easy enough to find out by consulting *benge* about it. You go into the bush with your *benge* and a couple of chickens and you put a question to the oracle whether this man, whom you know is feeling and speaking against you, is a witch and will injure you, or whether he is simply a spiteful fellow. You caution *benge* not to pay attention to spitefulness and kindred vices, but to concentrate on the question of *mangu*. The oracle is not to give a verdict about mere words or thoughts, for these are of no particular importance since they can cause no definite injury save to the reputation of their creator, but is to make a decision about the definite

use of *mangu*, which may prove fatal. One says to the oracle "*mo ꝑe gumba limo sa ku sa, kina boro tomiteli¹ ni ingi te le boro, ti du neye ka imi re nani iwa zi*," "You follow slander and put it behind you, real witchcraft which is in the entrails of a man, it is that which is going to kill me, *iwa* stick." But, although according to Zande doctrine it is quite possible for a man to be an offensive cad, hateful to everyone, without his being a witch, in actual fact it is highly improbable, since everyone will have cause to feel his enmity and consequently will place his name frequently before the oracles and, naturally enough, they will often declare him to be a witch.

On the other hand, a *boro mangu* need not necessarily be a criminal or even a noxious person. A man may be born with *mangu* which he has inherited from his father, but may never be accused of bewitching anyone with it. Many witches are quite harmless, since their *mangu* is inactive (*gaiyo mangu nazela*, their *mangu* cools, say the A-Zande). A man may be born a witch and yet remain through life a perfectly good citizen. It is only when they are moved by evil motives and ill intent against their neighbours that their *mangu* becomes active (*si na hera*). We may, in fact, sum up the Zande theory of "crime," a surprisingly good theory in our opinion, by saying that "crime" is committed by those who are endowed with an inherited physical trait, but that the motives of "crime" are not to be found in this physical heritage, but in moral shortcomings which lie in the breasts of all men. All men have sometimes the wish to do evil, but only some possess the power. Hate and jealousy, for example, are common to all men, but only in the case of those endowed by *mangu* from their birth do these sentiments lead to "crime."

Such is Zande theory of witchcraft, but it has one flaw, in that witchcraft is not a real, but an imaginary process. It is ascertained through the verdict of oracles, the validity of which is equally imaginary. In consequence of these fictions, the witch comes to be identified with the moral delinquent, for it is mainly about these latter that the Zande consults the oracles and it is, therefore, more often they who are denounced by *benge* as witches. This is a very important point, for it suggests that those whom we call better citizens are seldom accused of witchcraft, and those whom we would call worse citizens are the ones who are thought to be guilty of acts of witchcraft. This we find to be true to fact if one

¹ *Tomileli* is a word used for *mangu* in oracle consultations.

speaks generally. The *boro ina pai* or *boro ilisa*, the gentleman or man of honour amongst the A-Zande is characterised by certain virtues: he is loyal to the chiefs, he is a good son, an efficient master of a homestead, a fair father, a just man in his dealings with his fellows, one true to his bargains, a *zamo* or peacemaker, a man who never commits adultery, one who shows himself generous and courteous to others, one who speaks well of his neighbours, one who does not interfere with the affairs of his friends and is neither envious nor jealous of their fortune. It is not expected of him to love his enemies and show forbearance to those who injure his family and friends nor to display humility, for such a man would be thought of as a nice, quiet, pleasant character, but the Zande admires a more sterner, more impulsive temperament, which will be roused to anger at such offences as witchcraft and adultery when both his courage as a man and the dictates of tradition demand that hatred and contempt should lead to vengeance. But when no open injury has been done to him by his neighbours, but only the greater injury to his pride and ambition by success and happiness of others, he should not be a prey to meaner vices of envy, jealousy and spite. For such sentiments, save when they are redeemed by some cultural rivalry such as between chiefs or singers, are condemned by moral opinion and are the characteristics by which one knows a witch, or at least suspects witchcraft.¹ The man who is always running down his neighbours is probably a witch; the man who displays unusual greed, or who is always asking his friends for gifts without making any return, has the makings of a witch; the man who is always glum and ill-tempered displays the signs of witchcraft; the man who invariably speaks in a roundabout manner and prefers to hint or insinuate with a proverb or look will be under suspicion of *mangu*; all the little signs of an unpleasant companion and of a nasty, spiteful disposition denote a witch amongst the A-Zande. People suffering from physical infirmity or persons who have been mutilated are mostly considered to be spiteful creatures, and our experience of them supports this contention. One soon begins to be able to tell the people in any area in which one lives in Zandeland whom the natives will suspect

¹ These are said to be exterior physical characteristics which sometimes give a witch away to the experienced eye. "i naina ira mangu ti bangilini du ni zamba a, i ki ya ira mangu nga ni; na gu de du na zamba bangilini a." (Text by Rueben.) ("One knows a witch by the red glow of his eyes and one says, 'He is a witch.' It is the same about female witches.")

of witchcraft and those whom they will exonerate from any suspicion, just as one can soon tell in any English community, where one resided for a short time, who has bad reputations as ill-tempered, spiteful, disgruntled individuals, so, amongst this central African community, one comes to recognize those whom the Zande regards with disapproval, and, owing to the qualifications which point to the possession of *mangu* as a witch. Those who lack straightness in their dealings with their fellows, those who are jealous and suspicious, tale-tellers, have the makings of a witch. Such also are slanderers and those who gossip always about the affairs of others with intent to cause trouble; stupid persons who act contrary to custom or perform their labour in a slovenly manner; persons of dirty habits who defecate in the gardens of their neighbours (" *ka ni ko rogo ga kurani ati pa wasiru du*," "It is filthy to defecate on the gardens of another," say the A-Zande); who urinate in the sight of others; who eat without first washing their hands; who eat bad food such as tortoise, dog, toad and the house-rat (*böbilibömbu*); sneaks who will enter into a man's hut without first asking his permission; people who cannot control their greed in the presence of food and beer; people who make offensive remarks to their wives and neighbours and fling insults and curses after them; people who are always sulky; men who are always trying to pick quarrels with their companions without reason; men who commit incest with their sisters or have sexual connection with women who are taboo or habitually commit adultery with the wives of their friends; those who neglect to give first fruits of animal and plant to their fathers or elder brothers, or who have words with their fathers (" *ka poi na bani pa wasiru du*," says the Zande, "It is a vile thing to have words with one's father"); those who are disloyal to the chiefs or disrespectful in their presence; rude, vulgar persons (*aboro bou*), yahoos (*gbaraka-gbaraka aboro*), dense, obstinate fellows (*aboro guza*¹), cheats (*aboro biliki*).

We do not wish to give the impression that people are necessarily thought to be witches because they have the above-mentioned characteristics, but we think that it is correct to say that in the eyes of A-Zande, they are more likely to be associated with a witch than a man free from *mangu*. Moreover, though these characteristics are to some degree

¹ *boro guza nga gu boro wa i naza ka pe pai ka ni abinga ruru e ya.* (A *boro guza* is a man who does not grasp the point of what is being said.)

common to all men, they are found more pronounced in some men than in others, and those who have them in a pronounced form will be those to whose names the oracles are consulted. Least of all do we wish to give the impression of a witch amongst the A-Zande as a sort of pariah cut off from his fellows.

We had certainly expected from our previous reading of books on various African peoples to find witchcraft was not only abhorrent to the natives but that the witch, though not killed to-day owing to white man's rule, was a being so completely ostracised by his fellows that we should have little difficulty in spotting him from his hang-dog expression or exaggerated aggressiveness, as one might spot a criminal. We found this was far from being the case. On the contrary, witches, known for miles round as such, live out their lives like ordinary citizens. Often they are respected fathers and husbands, guests at feasts, welcome visitors to neighbouring homesteads, and sometimes influential members of the inner council at a chief's court. Several of our more intimate acquaintances are notorious witches. One of those whom we know well is our friend Tupoi, of the A-Mazungu clan, a prominent figure at the court of his chief, Gangura. No one would have suspected that Tupoi is held by everyone to be a witch of long standing and great prestige in the witch council, by observing his social activity in the normal life of his household and district. He is not ostracised nor subject to any open unpopularity nor disabilities. But one will sooner or later begin to hear stories about Tupoi and will be surprised that such a quiet old man should have committed several murders and have brought a variety of misfortunes upon his neighbours. It was an open joke that the part of the Government settlement in which he lived was unoccupied because no one liked to take the risk of living too near him. It was considered wise either not to acquaint him with pending economic undertakings or, if it was impossible to prevent him from learning what was going on, to placate him and make him favourable to the undertaking. Thus a hunter would depart after game without letting Tupoi see him or hear about his venture. When anyone in my household went to shoot guinea-fowl he always made a detour to avoid Tupoi's homestead, since they feared that were Tupoi to see him he would send the spirit of his *mangu* to deprive us of our fleshpots. On the other hand, Tupoi was bound to know of collective expeditions, and it was usual before making them to get

him, in company with other old men, so as not to make it too personal, to blow water publicly on to the ground in affirmation of his good-will. In this way one will attempt to get the favour of all the old men in a neighbourhood towards one's hunting, since the aged are generally the worst witches, by a distribution of meat amongst them after a successful hunt. Occasionally the prim surface of our life was broken by a violent outburst against Tupoi. Such a scene occurred a fortnight after we had arrived on our second expedition. Hearing a row going on, we walked out of our hut to see what it was all about and we found Zingbodo, of the Avotombo clan, in a towering rage, shouting out that Tupoi had killed two of his relatives that year and that he would avenge them. The roots of the row were of quite a technical nature, something to do with Government *corvée* work, but feeling became sufficiently embittered for Zingbodo to forget the ordinary decencies and openly to accuse Tupoi of a couple of recent murders. Another scene also had its source in Government labour, as have many quarrels now-a-days. When an old friend of mine, Badogobo, of the A-Kowe clan, remarked to his companions who were cleaning up the Government road around the settlement that he had found the stump of wood over which Tupoi had stumbled and cut himself a few days previously (he had been returning late at night from a beer-feast), he added innocently to his friends that they must clear up the road well as it would never do for so important a man as Tupoi to fall if they could help it. One of Tupoi's sons heard the remark and told his father, who professed to see a double meaning in it and to find a sarcastic nuance in Badogobo's whole behaviour. They made a case before a neighbouring man of social standing who seems to have found Badogobo's remarks innocent enough (which I have Badogobo's assurance was not the case) and gave a decision in his favour. Whereupon Tupoi did a remarkable thing. He went up to Badogobo and spat a huge *sule mangu* (witchcraft-spittle) at his feet. There was general horror at this act and everyone was very concerned for Badogobo, saying, "Alas! Badogobo will not recover. Tupoi has done a terrible thing to him, he has no chance of escaping death."

However, my friend Badogobo did escape death, perhaps because he was a witch himself, for shortly afterwards he was observed by relations of a dying man to spit into a gourd and go towards the bush to hide it, evidently in order to continue his crime.

It will be well to lay emphasis on this point, that the witch in Zande society is not analogous to the criminal in our own. He does not live as a social outcast, he is not always under the shadow of disgrace, and he is not ostracised nor shunned by decent citizens. On the contrary, he lives an ordinary inconspicuous life amongst his fellows. In fact he is often respected because he is a witch since no one wishes to offend him and incur misfortune. We have always been told that such-and-such a well-known witch is invariably asked to beer parties and meals, and is given presents so that he will not injure his neighbours. Our friend Tupoi, for instance, has a weakness for beer, and so great is his greed that he will invariably get news that there is beer on my premises, and that I intend giving a pot or two to my retainers and neighbours, and, though uninvited, he will as invariably make his appearance at the party. I found this so annoying that I strictly forbade beer to be given to him. I was annoyed that I was not obeyed, but on enquiry I was told that no one would be prepared to take the risk of passing the gourd round and leaving out Tupoi, since the man was undoubtedly a witch, and would surely cause grievous misfortune to fall on anyone who thus insulted him. The fear of witchcraft has a socialising influence on the A-Zande. Not only do they try and avoid appearances of greed, jealousy, malice, &c., for fear of being thought witches, but also they do their best to please others by generosity, fairness, politeness and sociability, and so give no cause for offence. Consequently, since witches only injure those against whom they have a grudge, they will escape the misfortunes which arise from the hostility of *aboro mangu*. It was for this reason that no one was prepared to insult Tupoi by not offering him any beer. For this reason also a householder who kills an animal will send presents of meat to all the old men who live near him. For if an old man possessing *mangu* receives no meat he will prevent any more animals from being killed; whereas, if they all receive meat, they will say that he is a good fellow, and express the hope that he will kill again. As the witch wishes to receive more meat he will not interfere with the hunting. For the same reason a man is careful not to offend his wives gratuitously. One among them may be a witch and pay him back. Thus a man distributes meat fairly among all his wives for fear lest one of them, offended at his giving less to her than to his favourites, prevents him from killing any more game.

To understand the full force of the *mangu* concept as a sanction of social virtues, it must be borne in mind that to the Zande anyone may be a witch. *Mangu* is in fact, though not in theory, universal. In fact, everyone possesses *mangu*, though traditional doctrine would at once deny this statement. Thus if you ask a Zande whether everybody is a witch he will tell you that of course the idea is absurd, for only some people are witches; but I think, nevertheless, that were it possible to make a statistical analysis, we should find that only those of good social position escape the presentation of hens' wings, and that most other persons are some time or other throughout their lives accused of being witches. This will help us to see why it is the *boro mangu* is not socially ostracised, and also why people are careful not to give gratuitous offence to anyone. Some people are so often involved in an accusation of witchcraft that their names become well known in the district, whilst others who have only been exposed a few times are forgotten. The conclusion which we reached, after many months in Zande country, was that every Zande is a witch. Although a Zande would not admit the truth of this conclusion (as, for instance, in his own case), he most decidedly holds that you can never tell whether a man is a witch or not, and this admission approximates to our own conclusion, for the Zande does not ask the oracles whether a man is a witch or not, but he only consults them about whether a man is or is not causing him sickness, which is a very different question. For a man might consult the oracles about a neighbour twenty times, and each time they might declare him innocent; but there would still be doubt in the mind of the consulter since it is possible that the man is a witch after all, but has had as yet no cause for activity against his neighbour, or that he is not accused by *benge*, because although he has removed the spirit of his victim's flesh, he has not devoured it.¹ The Zande point of view is that you can never be certain about anyone, and he says that "in consulting oracles about witchcraft no one is left out." Their view-point is best summed up in a very well-known aphorism: *i nangeranga ti boro wa ti бага te*, "One does not see into a man as into an open wool-basket." Since you cannot be sure that anyone is impotent to injure you by witchcraft, better be on the right side by offending no one.

¹ See page 170.

But though a Zande suspects everyone, his suspicions depend considerably on his social status. Chiefs are never accused of *mangu*. Immunity from moral criticism is generally a privilege of leadership. For whilst it is in fact well known that chiefs are often witches, no one would ever say so or present them with a hen's wing. Even to-day, when the power of chiefs has been weakened, the great house of A-Vongara are tacitly left out of the sphere of life dealing with *mangu*, and only those members who have neither power nor position are sometimes accused of *mangu* as an ordinary commoner would be. Moreover, since *mangu* is transmitted in the male line, chiefs could hardly accuse each other of witchcraft. Consequently, they restrict their mutual accusations to the domain of sorcery. It must be remembered also that chiefs do not live the same lives as commoners, and that they do not come into a close contact with them that might arouse hatred and feelings of jealousy or envy. These feelings are, moreover, largely incompatible with rank, because traditional patterns of behaviour between chiefs and commoners maintain too great a social distance between them for petty friction to arise, as it does among equals. The same is true to a lesser degree about those commoners who have been given positions of power and trust by their chiefs. These men largely partake of the same immunity with regard to witchcraft which chiefs enjoy. For though their closer association with chiefs renders them more likely to be accused of *mangu* by their masters, it renders them freer from similar accusations by ordinary commoners. Their immunity in this respect is partly due to their authority, since men do not wish to offend them, and partly due to the fact that their social status raises them out of the atmosphere of petty squabbling which is the breeding ground of *mangu* accusations among ordinary A-Zande. Thus, one will not hear of *sogote* (ill-feeling) between chief and commoner, but between chiefs or between commoners. A commoner of good position is unlikely to be on bad terms with a poorer man, but two commoners of good position are very likely to hate each other, just as two poor men are likely to bear each other malice. Offence is not taken so easily by an inferior or a superior as by an equal. In the same way, various differences in sex, age and status imprint their form on the concept of *mangu*. Women do not as a rule think of men as being their enemies, and in case of ill-health or misfortune they will consult the oracles about members of their own, rather than the opposite,

sex. The reason for this is obvious, that women come much more closely into touch with each other than with men, and are therefore more likely to have cause for ill-will towards one another. In fact, a married woman comes into no contact with men other than her husband and close relatives which would be likely to rouse that animosity which is the driving power behind *mangu*. For similar reasons children in their little misfortunes accuse their playmates and not their elders, since, as a rule, there is not sufficient contact between children and adults who are not closely related to them for hatred to spring up in a child's heart against one much older than himself. The various sanctions which preserve authority in the hands of old men maintain friendly equanimity in situations in which resentment would be caused amongst equals. It is among householders who come into close contact with each other in the *milieu* of social life that there is the greatest opportunity for rivalry and squabbles. It is therefore amongst this class of persons that the greatest witch activity is found. While wives are often accused of killing their husbands, I have never come across an instance where a husband has been accused of bewitching one of his wives, though rare instances may occur. Here again, we must realise that *mangu* acts only with strong motive, and whilst there is often a strong motive for a wife wishing to get rid of her husband and for hating him, the social configuration of the Zande family gives the husband so much power over his wives that he has little need to hate, since he can vent his disfavour more directly by beating his spouses, and he would certainly not wish sickness to fall upon them. Thus, age, sex, social status limit the sphere of *mangu* in a man's entourage. Another important limiting agent is the spacial one. *Mangu* is essentially a symbiotic phenomenon. It is thought not to be able to strike persons at a great distance, but only within a restricted area around their homesteads. The nearer it is when it strikes the more potent it seems to be. It is for this reason, the A-Zande tell us, that they commence to ask the oracles about those who neighbour them when they are sick. But we may see at once that the reason that men dwelling far away do not injure at a distance is due not to the inability of *mangu* to wound at long range, but that men living at a distance would very rarely have cause to dislike and therefore attack those afar off, since they do not come into sufficiently close contact with them in their normal social intercourse. We are most likely to quarrel and hate those



A VICTIM OF WITCHCRAFT STRUCK WITH BLINDNESS.

with whom we come into the closest contact when the contact is not mollified by sentiment of close family ties, or by common interests, or is not buffered by distinctions of age, sex or class. The Zande, like ourselves, has to solve the problem of the porcupines of Schopenhauer's allegory, how to remain close enough together to maintain warmth, and far enough away not to run against one another's spines.

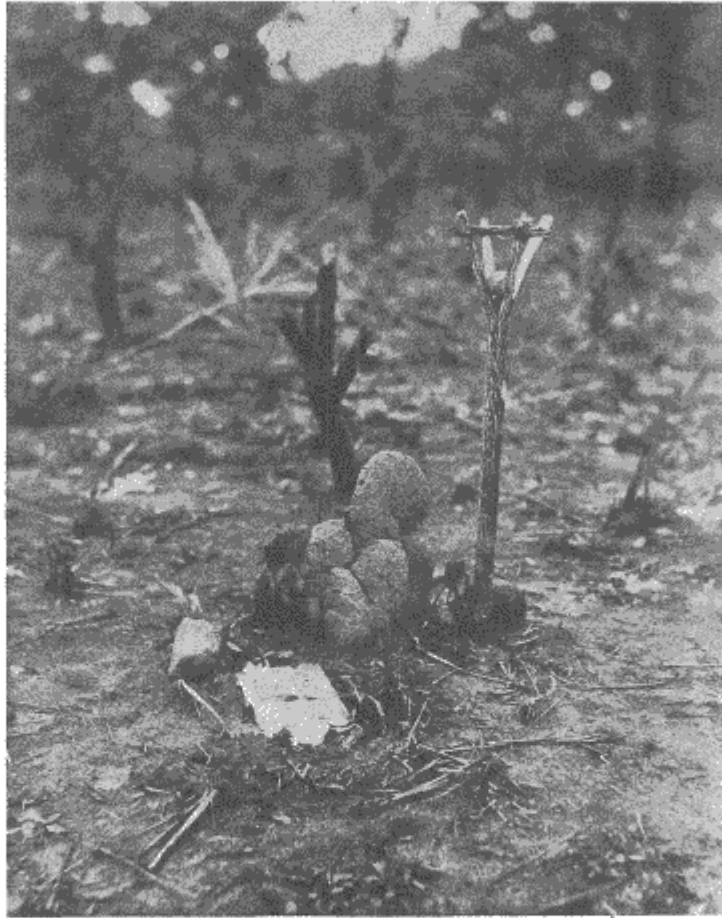
We think that the most interesting aspect of witchcraft in an African community is to see the place a witch occupies in ordinary everyday life, and what are his motives for acting as he does. We have tried to point out in this section of our essay the main facts about the sociology and morality of witchcraft among the A-Zande with the intention of showing the main protagonist, not as a paper individual given to us through terse statements of native doctrine, but as a real live person such as we meet him daily in Africa. We explained that *mangu* was not a haphazard bewitching of people, but was always directed against others, after consideration and even debate, with strong motives. These motives are hatred, greed, malice, jealousy, etc. Such vices are strongly condemned by the Zande, partly because they are objectionable, partly because they cause social disruption, but mainly because they are the drive behind witchcraft. In the first place, the misfortunes of men are due to lack of charity. We pointed out that according to Zande theory a man may bear ill-will towards others without being a witch, and that equally a man may be born a witch without ever feeling sufficient hatred of his fellows to act against them. For their theory holds that a man must needs bear ill-will and be born a witch to do harm. Since all men have feelings of ill-will from time to time they all have the will to harm others, whilst only some have the power as well through their possession of *mangu*. We saw that because it is knowledge of ill-will which directs the oracle-consultations, there is always a strong tendency for those who make themselves most obnoxious to their neighbours to be selected as the witches of a community. With this idea in our minds we examined the character of a good man to see what virtues he possessed, and we compared him with the bad citizen whose characteristics alienate others and cause him to be dubbed a witch.

We expressed surprise that a witch is not a social outcast in this Central African community, and that, apart from a certain amount of scandal associated with his name, his social life did not differ from that

of ordinary citizens. "It takes all sorts to make a world" would, perhaps, express the Zande's attitude. We even noted what an excellent social sanction of good behaviour witches provide since people are afraid of offending them. They are afraid of gratuitously offending anyone, since anyone may be a witch and it is probably due to the wide distribution of witches that they are not ostracised. Probably most people, with the exception of important chiefs and commoner governors are from time to time accused of witchcraft. Practically everyone is a witch, in fact, if not in theory, though only some people have a sustained reputation as such. Finally, we showed how age, sex, social status, and spacial distribution limit the horizon of *mangu* for individuals, and we explained that this was due to the fact that *mangu* is always motivated by hatred, jealousy, and similar feelings, and that these are largely ruled out by wide biological, social, and territorial divisions. But what of the witch himself? So far we have left his opinion and feelings out of the picture and we must now enquire what are his reactions when accused of harming his neighbours.

VII.—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WITCHES—AN AUTOPSY.

ONE of the most interesting questions in relation to witchcraft is the attitude of witches themselves *vis-à-vis* public opinion. Do they consider themselves the helpless victims of an inherited malady which makes them injure others without intending to do so, or do they realise that they are vicious men who wilfully plan the misery and destruction of their fellows? Is a man aware that he is a witch or not? As far as we know, native doctrines about the self-realization of a witch and his responsibility for his actions have never been properly discussed and examined among African peoples. Nor are they easy to investigate. There are, nevertheless, two good lines of enquiry: in the first place, to ask native informants directly to enunciate traditional doctrine on the subject and, in the second place, to observe the behaviour of those accusers and accused of witchcraft in the face of an oracular verdict and in their daily contact with their fellows. We may at once dismiss the possibility of witchcraft being a real practice, and consider it as an imaginary one. If you ask a Zande the straightforward question, does a man know if he has *mangu* in his stomach and when he is injuring people



A ZANDE TUKA (SHRINE FOR THE ANCESTRAL SPIRITS) IN AN ELEUSINE GARDEN. ON THE GROUND ARE MEDICINES AGAINST WITCHCRAFT, AND IN THE SHRINE IS A FOOD OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS.

with it, he will tell you that it is impossible that a man could be a witch without his being aware of the fact and that he, of course, knows when his witchcraft is attacking someone, as he himself sends it on its mission. Neither in my ordinary discussions with natives about *mangu*, nor in situations of native life, have I ever heard it suggested in defence of anyone that he did not know that he was a witch or that he could not help having done another an injury. But those very men, who had so confidently answered my questions with an affirmation of a witch's self-knowledge and responsibility for his actions, would on a different occasion either give even more vehement assertions of their statements, or would supply evidence which entirely contradicted them.

The context of their utterance, whether they had just submitted to some loss or sickness, whether they were quietly seated in my hut discussing cut and dried doctrines and hypothetical questions, whether they had themselves just been denounced by an oracular verdict as witches, or whether an unsupported accusation of witchcraft had just been made against them, pointed their statements and coloured their opinions.

When a man was a loser he was carried away by indignation. Useless then to suggest to him that, perhaps, the man who had caused him pain and loss was totally unaware that he had done so, or even that he had the power to do so. Your informant will not hear of any such exoneration from culpability of the man who has injured him. The witch is malignantly planning his destruction because of hatred and jealousy, and he can give you a detailed history of his relations with the witch which lead from estrangement and animosity to crime and vengeance. In such a situation as this, the doctrine of responsibility of witchcraft is stated without qualifications.

But get the same man one day to come and talk to you in your hut when he has no troubles on his mind and he may be prepared to qualify a little and to admit that a witch may, under certain circumstances, be ignorant of his condition, though he will not be dogmatic and will hasten to inform you that he is only repeating what some people say, since he obviously knows nothing about it at first hand, having no truck himself with witches and witchcraft. He will be careful not to commit himself to definite statements, and to make his remarks quite impersonal in tone lest he makes you suspicious about so much knowledge and begin to wonder whether he is not really an *ira mangu* himself.

When your informant is in such a mood, he will tell you that people say that when a child has *mangu* it may be ignorant of the fact and do no harm with its undeveloped powers. Only when he grows up and the *mangu* enlarges does he begin to use it, at first in small things, and later in murder. The growth of *mangu*, and the association of the witch with other older and more experienced in wrong-doing than himself, lead to consciousness of his condition and actions. It is possible, your informant will admit, that a man born with *mangu* will never become an active witch. It is important in so difficult a field of enquiry to say that Mgr. Lagae's informants support our own.

"Au début," he writes, "on peut ne pas être conscient du fait qu'on a le mauvais œil.¹ Cela tient à ce que le *mango* n'est pas encore suffisamment développé. Il se fortifie avec l'âge et on finit par en prendre conscience. Les Azande prétend qu'il y a parfois lutte intérieure entre le possesseur du mauvais œil et son propre mauvais œil. L'homme de mauvais œil peut au début maîtriser son *mango* et ne pas obéir à ses convoitises néfastes. Mais quand le mauvais œil est devenu vigoureux, on ne peut plus lui résister.²

Though we have never been given a clear commentary embodying the doctrine of a struggle between a man's will and his *mangu* we have made it sufficiently clear in our preceding analysis of the moral aspects of witchcraft that the witch is regarded as a responsible being capable of deciding between good and bad, and that his nefarious actions are particularly reprehensible because they are consciously willed.

But one day your injured native or your mildly interested commentator will be the recipient of a hen's wings with the request that he will leave off bringing sickness or misfortune on a friend. Then, if he is short-tempered, he may show himself angry and embittered at the insult, refuse to have anything to do with the hen's wing, loudly curse the initiators of the outrage, and complain to you that they have done it not because he is really a witch, but out of animosity to bring shame and disgrace upon him. Such scenes we have witnessed more than once but they are rare, being due generally to the character and social position of the accused, or to the history of his earlier relations with those who

¹ Mgr. Lagae uses the term "evil eye" to refer to *mangu*, but there is no marked physiological or linguistic association of witchcraft with the eye among the A-Zande. Lagae does not, however, insist on the aptness of the phrase.

² *Les Azande*. Op. cit., p. 108.

have insulted him. But it is owing to such outbreaks, which have been known to result in serious injuries, that the sensible Zande plays his game with traditional moves.

After having found out from the *benge* oracle who is causing his friend or relative to be sick, he does not himself take the hen's wing to the witch nor does he send his own messenger with it, but instead he takes it, as we explained earlier, to the chief, or one of his district representatives, and lays it at his feet, naming the witch, and requesting that the wing shall be presented to him. The chief or his representative will then despatch a messenger with the wing to put on the ground before the witch and tell him that *benge* has disclosed his name as the man who is causing sickness to so-and-so. In these circumstances, the recipient cannot show temper without insulting his chief or the most important local man of position.

Consequently he will spit water on to the hen's wing with a good grace in the manner which we have already described earlier in this Paper. There is, moreover, a further reason why a display of temper will do him no good, for such is the sign of a hardened witch anxious to injure his neighbour and furious at being found out by *benge* and temporarily frustrated in his designs. The witch who sincerely repents the trouble he has caused will express the deepest regret, and affirm that if indeed it is true that he possesses *mangu* he is ignorant of the fact. He bears no one malice and wishes no one any harm.

"If I possess *mangu* in my stomach," he says, "I am unaware of it, may it become cool. Oh, my *mangu*, become cool. It is thus that I blow out water."

He does this both because it is good form and because it safeguards himself, since if he is really a witch and kills someone, then he himself is sure to fall a victim to vengeance. Hence the A-Zande will often say *vu imi akpinga te*, "the blower of water does not die," because the witch who blows water stops the ravages of his *mangu* before they result in murder, though, as we have been at pains to point out earlier, his action will be of little avail if he merely blows out water from his mouth and has no contrition nor charity in his heart. Even the man who is confident of his innocence of witchcraft will go through this simple ceremony because it is the proper thing for a gentleman to do.

The man who shows ill-temper on these occasions acts boorishly as a stranger or provincial might act. Though he is mortified by the accusation, the man who prides himself on true Mbomu origin¹ and with knowledge of the refined manners of court life, will show complaisance even under such humiliating circumstances. I well remember a distinguished old Zande, who had served both Wando and Gbudwe honourably, giving his son advice in this matter. The youth had been given hen's wings from time to time by a neighbour in token of his witchcraft, and had vigorously protested against what he considered to be insults, based solely on maliciousness. His father told him that whilst, of course, the accusations were absurd, because he had had several members of his family examined by autopsy after death and no *mangu* had ever been found in their stomachs, nevertheless, it did no harm to blow water. It was both a polite thing to do and it showed an absence of ill-feeling which should characterize all good citizens.

He told his son how for years a neighbour of one of his relatives had sent him hen's wings month after month with tiresome regularity. His relative used each time to protest his innocence quietly, blow on the hen's wings, and affirm his good-will. After many years during which this ceremony was constantly performed, the man who had been accused for so long by his neighbour of witchcraft died, and, curiously enough, it was his accuser who was the witch after all, as *benge* declared to the chief.² Hence the old man pointed out to his son it is not necessary to worry too much about receiving hen's wings from a spiteful neighbour, who is as likely as not, merely despatching them to cover his own evil deeds. It is better for an innocent man to comply with good grace.

Generally, however, especially among women and men with a less aggressive temperament, the man accused of possessing *mangu* and of

¹ Since the term A-Zande is often used to refer to different ethnic groups in a loose manner, it may be well to explain here that A-Zande are a nation of different ethnic origins, which speak a common language and have a common culture, in contrast to the *Auro*, which comprises all strangers and those foreigners who have lately been incorporated into the Zande conglomerate and whose language and foreign extraction is still remembered. The A-Vongara are the ruling clan in Zande culture, in which they form a princely class. The A-Mbomu are the clans of original Zande stock which conquered eastwards under the leadership of the A-Vongara.

² It may well be asked how *benge* could for years have denounced a man of being an *ira mangu* when he was not one. There are several reasons for this, which are too lengthy to state here. We have dealt with some of them in the above-mentioned article, "Oracle-magic of the Azande," but we wish to point out here that we collected the material for that Paper during our first five months in Zande country, and that it is in several respects too rigid in interpretation and incomplete in detail, and that, in places, it is incorrect.

using it against a neighbour is surprised and saddened by the revelation and sincere in his expressions of innocence of malicious intent.

Hence he declares that if indeed he is a witch he is ignorant of being one, and is at charity with his neighbours and bears none ill-will. Such an admission, even if it is afterwards privately repudiated, reveals a different mental attitude to that portrayed by an informant stating traditional doctrine or a man carried away by indignation through loss or sickness. For in the case of the accused we perceive a contrary expression of opinion, that a man can possess *mangu* without his knowledge, and can use it to injure others without intent.

The Zande is placed in a quandary, since on the one hand he possesses his system of oracle-magic in which he has the greatest faith, whilst on the other hand he holds the doctrine of individual consciousness and responsibility for witchcraft. Though these two systems of belief are quite compatible when they meet in the atmosphere of an ethnologist's hut, or in any situation in which some other than oneself is the villain, they do not seem to fit so perfectly together under one's own roof.

A man may, sometimes does, get out of the quandary by believing that his accusers have not consulted the oracles at all, but are just trying to disgrace him by a trick, or he sometimes holds, and even expresses the opinion that for some reason the oracles have not given a correct decision; but, as we have seen, the rules of good form do not permit him to say so explicitly, at least in public. Nevertheless, as we have already noted in other aspects of mental life, Zande beliefs are generally proof against sceptical analysis. In this instance his beliefs are saved by the fact that it is possible for a man to possess *mangu* in an inactive form, and in this state it may well be unknown to himself.

As we explained earlier, there is a continual process of suggestion in operation, since the Zande is open to suspect everyone of being a witch. Everyone is in fact potentially a witch, and few who have neither noble blood nor political influence manage to steer so straight a course through life as to escape suspicion of jealousy, spite, envy, greed and malice, and consequently inquisition of the *benge* oracle. The influence of strychnine on chicken is naturally uncertain, but it is probable that, if the consulter of the oracle is tenacious enough to present the name of someone whom he dislikes over a period of several months, the toxic effects will prove fatal.

In consulting oracles the Zande does not consider anyone to be necessarily immune from *mangu*, but, on the contrary, he acts as though everyone was a witch, simply selecting those with whom he is on bad terms for presentation to the judgment of *benge*. In such an atmosphere of uncertainty and general suspicion he finds himself suddenly accused of being a witch, and it is not to be wondered at if he feels a doubt about his own innocence or immunity. We formed the opinion during our stay in Zandeland that most people are in their heart of hearts doubtful whether they may not perhaps possess *mangu*, and that few escape occasional twinges of introspective brooding about this possibility. Our opinion was formed partly by seeing the normal reaction to the presentation of a hen's wing, one of acquiescence in which assurances of goodwill take the place of any denial of possessing *mangu*, and which is marked most strikingly by the sincere anxiety that any harm which they may unconsciously be doing shall be undone for charity, for self-respect and for safety from vengeance. Having formed this opinion, we asked those whom we knew best, with unpardonable rudeness, "Are you a witch?" We expected a prompt unqualified denial, couched in offended tones; but, on the contrary, we used to receive the reply given in a humble, almost hesitating, manner: "Ai, chief, if there is *mangu* in my stomach I know nothing of it. I am no witch, because people have not seen *mangu* in the stomachs of our family." If the stomachs of close members of his family have actually been examined by autopsy, and *mangu* not discovered in them, then he will quote these cases in proof of his immunity, and the very fact that he will do so shows that he considers that objective proof is more valid a basis of innocence than any subjective feelings. However, it was less what my friends said in answer to my rude questions than the tone and manner in which they said it which gave a meaning of honest doubt to their words such as I believe most men feel about the matter. Had I asked them whether they were thieves, the manner and tone of their reply would have caused me much pain for having occasioned so nasty an insult.

Further evidence of the Zande's hankering suspicions about himself were culled from various sources when I gave some weeks of my time to the collection of native texts and to obtaining a commentary on them. Thus, an old man will pray to Mboli at dawn, before he makes his early morning ablutions, saying that he has stolen no man's thing, that he had

committed adultery with no man's wife, that he bears no man ill-will, but desires to live at charity with his neighbours, and he adds, "*Mangu a vura du vule yo ka mi anonga ko ati ko boro ya. Ngbwa manguru¹ zele a zela. Si hare kina fwo anya ko mvoi ye, anya ninado li muro agumeru.*" "Even if I possess *mangu* in my stomach, may I not do harm to any man's gardens. May the mouth of my *mangu* cool (become inactive); let it rather vent its spleen on those animals in the bush which dance on the graves of my relatives." Another instance in which a man gives at least a formal recognition of the possibility of unconsciousness of *mangu* is when he is on the way to visit a sick friend. It is considered, if not necessary, at least polite and friendly, for him to pause near the door of the hut in which the sick man lies and to request the mistress of the homestead to bring him water in a gourd. He takes a draught of water and, after washing his mouth out with it, he blows it in a spray to the ground and says, "*Ako Mboli gi boro na woka le, si du wa u du naimi ni na gau mangu ni bati abata.*" "Oh, *Mboli*, this man who is sick, if it is possible that it is I who am killing him with my *mangu*, let him recover." He does this as a sign of his innocence and lack of ill-will and also to safeguard himself lest unwittingly he is the cause of the sickness so that he will fall a victim to an avenging medicine in the event of the man dying, for if a man is thus doing another an injury without intent, then, if he blows out water in sincerity the sick man will recover, and he himself will not fall a victim to the avenger. *Vu imi nakpi nga te*, "the blower of water does not die," say the A-Zande.

These prayers to *Mboli* to save them from themselves supports the suggestion which we made on the strength of other observations that the A-Zande in many situations of their life are uneasy about their own state. They will unhesitatingly attribute the wickedness of others to malicious intent, but will be more tolerant in judging themselves as good men who might unwittingly do someone an evil. Even if they have *mangu* in their stomachs, they are not like other witches, for they would not consciously injure their neighbours, and they pray to *Mboli* that he will not lead them into temptation, but deliver them from evil.

¹ For those who understand the Zande language, it should be pointed out that in giving a text, the Zande will chop and change between the use of the personal pronoun in direct speech and its use in indirect speech. He sometimes does this in situations of everyday life, but the habit is intensified in the atmosphere of text-giving to a European. Thus, whilst he uses *mi* he then goes on to use the suffixed form *ru*. We should expect *mi* and *re* or *u* and *ru*, but not *mi* and *ru*, or *u* and *re*.

A man's doubt is further emphasised by the fact that when he uses the *iwa* oracle or gets a friend to manipulate it for him, he will ask it about all the people who live near his sick relative to discover who is bewitching him, and in doing so he will often ask about himself. "Is it I who is to blame?" he asks. Although, as we have made clear in our Paper on Zande Oracle-magic, there is no chance of an affirmative answer being given, since *iwa* is manipulated by human hands, nevertheless, the fact that he asks the question shows us clearly that the man is open to doubt about his own condition and prepared to show himself broad-minded by placing his own name before the oracle for adjudication.

But such feeling of doubt about the possession of *mangu* is different from a hardy acknowledgment of witchcraft as was, if one may trust contemporary chroniclers, made by our own witches in Europe both in private and before clerical tribunals. Do we ever find witches in Zandeland who make such confessions? I have never met them, though some of my informants have second-hand information of the kind.

I once asked a well-known witch why he was always being accused of witchcraft, if indeed he were innocent, and in his reply he said that it was because he possessed powerful magic to protect his gardens, and when neighbours came to injure his crop with *mangu* the magic killed them and people accused him of being the cause of their deaths, whereas, in reality, it was their own faults. This statement, I was surprised to learn, was regarded by others as a confession of guilt. It was one of those remarks which the Zande calls a *sanza*, a word with many extensions of meaning which embrace both stereotyped proverbs and all forms of double-meaning, nuisance, hints, subtle allusions, and the like. The man would not, of course, say "Oh, yes, I am a witch, what you say is quite right," but what he did say was simply another way of putting it.

Once a man has got a name as a witch there is little which he says which cannot be interpreted in a way other than he meant it by twisting and turning to discover some hidden meaning. Apart from allusions of this kind in which our informants professed to find acknowledgment of *mangu* we have had no direct admissions. We shall have, therefore, to rely upon second-hand stories.

Such a story is the following, told us by Kisanga about his uncle. His uncle possessed a fine homestead and many wives and was a person of some importance in the district where he lived. Among his wives was

a witch, and twice she had committed murder. On both occasions her husband had paid blood-money to the relatives of the dead. He declared that he had twice redeemed his wife, and that he would not do so again, but would let her pay the penalty with her life, if it recurred. Some time afterwards a fire broke out in his homestead and the oracles declared that this woman was responsible for it and consequently for the injuries caused to one of her co-wives through burns. Her husband was, not unnaturally, deeply chagrined at the idea of paying blood-money for the third time, in the event of the injuries proving fatal, and was loud in his complaints. To these complaints the accused woman gave answer in her remarks, made to a co-wife, which were soon broadcast by gossip. She is alleged to have remarked, "*mi nambu pati ko, gine ya ko ti ni u atumanga re te ka mi a bira manga pai amanga ka ko ahenga re ti ni te, wa mi naunda ko ki niso vura pati ko, ko ininga mi natura bete apai ti ko ku saiyo.*" "I weary myself with him. What does he mean by saying that he will not pay blood-money on my account; even if I did do these things, he cannot desert me when I am helping him by fighting at his side; does he not know that I thwart part of the misfortunes which threaten him?"

In other words, she declared herself to be a witch and claimed the support of her husband on the ground that she protected him from other witches who wished to molest him by fighting their *mangu* with her own. For witches often wage war around a victim.

Another story told us by the same informant relates how one of his father's wives was a witch. His father, Deleakowe, had tried in vain to kill game, exasperated at his lack of success and convinced that it was due to *mangu*, he called in a man to make *gbagbuduma*, the most deadly of all Zande medicines, to either kill the *boro mangu* or to make him stop his interference. Shortly afterwards, one of his wives fell suddenly and violently sick and hinted to him that it was the vengeance of *gbagbuduma* which had fallen upon her and that it would be well to stop its action before it killed her. To these hints Deleakowe merely rubbed his nose and said, "Hm! hm! hm!" without committing himself. The woman went from her hut to collect firewood, springing into the air to reach the higher boughs of dead trees. In seizing one of these, it came away suddenly nearer the bowl of the tree than she had supposed and she and it crashed heavily to the ground together. She was found lying there

paralysed, unable to move and tortured with pains at the back of her head and in her legs and back. The person who found her lying there brought news to Deleakowe and some relatives-in-law of his, who were staying with him at the time, offered to go and carry her in. When Deleakowe saw how helpless she was he sent a messenger after her brother to tell him to come at once as he feared that his sister would die.

Meanwhile the sick woman had admitted to her co-wives that it was the *gbagbuduma* medicine which had caused her misadventure and, when they reported her statement to Deleakowe, he at once sent for the man who had made the medicine and gave him ten spears to counteract it. He came at once and gave the woman an antidote. Her stomach, swollen with sickness, slowly subsided, and after puffing out breath like smoke, she at last recovered and stood up. Shortly afterwards, Deleakowe went out hunting and at once killed a buffalo. This success was rapidly followed by another, an elephant falling into his game pit. This gave corroboration to their suspicions that it was this wife of his who had injured his hunting previously and that she had now withdrawn her *mangu* from his affairs after being thoroughly frightened by her illness. She was regarded by the whole neighbourhood as a witch, and her husband had to compensate the relatives of a murdered man for her crime. She was a frequent recipient of fowls' wings.

We have heard several stories similar to those which we have just related. People have also told us that occasionally a witch will make a frank admittal that he possesses and uses *mangu*. The same informant, whose stories have been quoted above and whom we will confess was not always entirely above making up yarns for our benefit, told us that his father, Deleakowe, had a sister who married a man called Wöndi, of the Avando clan, of foreign extraction. Wöndi apparently admitted quite frankly that he was a *boro mangu* and that he used to consult the oracle *iwa* whether he should eat human flesh on that day or not. He would openly declare that the local witches would beat their drums on that very evening for a conclave in a *gbögu* tree. Consequent on his statements he would always be called in before hunting expeditions to blow water on to spears and nets and, if the hunt was successful, he would be given some liver, his part of the spoil, as a reward for having abstained from molesting the expedition. Another man, personally known to our informant, Kiwe, of the Aböngbura clan,

one of the peoples conquered and subject to the A-Mbomu, admitted that he was a witch. On one occasion he had a more than usually serious row with his wife and had threatened her. Later that day she went to collect bark for firing pots. As she was tearing it off trunks of trees, some wood-dust fell into her eyes and she was rendered blind for the rest of her life.

It is obvious that once a person is suspected of being a witch anything which he says is twisted to give some meaning, which will corroborate suspicion. We do not believe, in spite of native assertions to the contrary, that any Zande has ever openly admitted his guilt in this way. We do not suggest that our informants were lying, but we think that the influence of rumour and the fun of adding to it allowed them to stretch their imaginations a little. There is no doubt, in our opinion, that all such stories as those related above, even those with the most circumstantial evidence, must be classed as current mythology of witchcraft. We have touched many times in our Paper on the current mythology of *mangu* which is, of course, enormous, though little set into the mould of traditional myth.

Stories of how witches admitted their activities, stories of the deaths of famous men through witchcraft, stories of how men were killed by magic through attempting to injure the gardens of others, stories of *mangu* seen as a bright light in the night coming out of someone's homestead, or how such and such a man spat up *mangu*-spittle in front of an enemy, all these stories and many others circle around the idea of witchcraft, giving contemporary support for the contentions and beliefs which form its tradition. As the situations, which give rise to them pass and are forgotten, men cease to remember the stories also, and their places are taken by fresh ones of greater interest to a younger generation. That some people should be believed to admit to being participants in detested practices seems to be one of the essentials to a general belief in their practice.

Our last section deals with a difficult problem, and one in the interpretation of which an observer is likely to err. We summarise our conclusion briefly. In matters of belief the observer must pay special attention to the context of its utterance. He will find that full knowledge and responsibility for his actions on the part of a witch is vehemently asserted by a native who has recently sustained some loss through the supposed machinations of *mangu*; that the vehemence of this assertion

is distinctly toned down by a native who is temporarily an unbiased informant; and that the assertion loses all its decisiveness from the lips of a man who is himself the object of aspersion. But if we look for the traditional doctrine on the subject we shall undoubtedly find it in a general declaration of human responsibility for evil. An adult witch may be in a passive state, or in an undeveloped state of witchcraft, but if his *mangu* is active and developed and he gives way to hatred, greed, jealousy and malice against his neighbour, it is with full and conscious intent that he uses his evil powers against his enemy, and it is without sympathy that he pays the penalty for his crimes.

This doctrine of responsibility is supported by a background of current mythology, which in part contains open boasting of their prowess by witches. Whether it is true, as we believe, that a man reared in Zande tradition and influenced by the suggestion attaching to accusations of witchcraft has secret doubts as to his immunity, or whether we are mistaken in our surmises, there can be no doubt that constant accusations prey upon his mind to an unbearable extent. It is frequent in a polygamous household for most misfortunes to be attributed to witchcraft on the part of one particular wife. This poor woman suffers humiliations from insinuation till she can bear it no longer. She leaves her husband's homestead and journeys to the residence of some distant chief's deputy and asks him to make an oracular test to discover whether she is really a witch or not, and whether she is injuring her husband, or if the accusations made against her are untrue. If *benge* gives an opinion in her favour she will be free for some time at least from continual fear of insult and violence. It is said that women have been known to drink the *benge* themselves to test their innocence, so strongly do they believe in it.

Continual accusations will also cause great shame to an old man who values social esteem and the confidence of his chief. He is deeply hurt by receiving hens' wings and saddened at the disgrace which the publicity brings upon his fair name and the reputations of his family and clan. It is alleged that in the hard, old, days men have been driven in despair to prove their innocence by killing one of their children or close relatives and insisting on a public autopsy on his corpse. I have not, however, found anyone able to give me chapter and verse for such grim incidents of the past. On the other hand, it was a frequent occurrence

and even, I believe, occurs sometimes to-day in dead secret, since the white man disapproves of the practice, for a man to cause an autopsy to be made on the body of a son or other close relative of male sex who has died a natural death. Since *mangu* is transmitted in the male line it follows that a son or any other close relative of a witch will be a witch also. So that if the autopsy reveals no *mangu*, then all the near male relatives of the corpse have permanent and incontrovertible proof which will refute any suggestion that they are witches.¹

The autopsy is performed in public at the edge of the grave just before the corpse is lowered, there being present relatives, relatives-in-law, friends of the bereaved, and a number of old men of standing who usually collect at funerals and sit watching the digging of the grave and other preparations for burial. These old men are often persons of social standing, who have been present at autopsies on previous occasions, and it is their experience which counts in any difference of opinion about the presence or absence of *mangu*. It is one of the obligations of blood-brotherhood amongst these natives to undertake an autopsy. If there is *mangu* they will have to be compensated with some twenty spears, while if no *mangu* is discovered in the stomach of the corpse there is a subsequent ceremony to cleanse the operator and mark his services. This latter ceremony will be described in the second text which we are about to translate.

These texts were taken down from a Zande who had seen three autopsies.² In the first text *mangu* is discovered :—

“One says : My blood-brother in truth, I am greatly wearied by the tongues of men, for people say that I am always using witchcraft. Since it is my son who has died I want someone to open up his stomach to see my *mangu*, because he is my own son.” The blood-brothers reply : “Yes, father, it is well, for it is to perform such actions that we made blood-covenant with you ; we will come to open your son’s stomach.” They take the corpse in the hut, and go with it to place it near the grave. Then a blood-brother takes a knife and slashes the stomach, cutting it between the ribs and the umbilicus.

¹ This immunity does not apply to the whole clan but only to the close relatives of the same sex. The belief in descent of *mangu* in the male line and the implications of this belief are very irregular and illogical.

² We do not give the native text in order not to burden the narrative. We hope that one day all our texts will be published.

He cuts the flesh along the edge of the ribs, and cuts the stomach. He goes and cuts a branch of *doma* wood and splits the end of it, fixes the head of the entrails in it and begins to twine it on to the wood. The men of the court say :

"Ai, that is not a good stomach, we will see *mangu* to-day." They wind it a little, then the cutter says :

"There's *mangu*." The relatives say : "Twist it."

The cutter replies :

"Certainly not, look first of all at this thing, which is like *mangu*."

The men of the court say :

"It is *mangu*."

The onlookers begin to run away shouting :

"It is a thing of misfortune, we will not see it, an evil thing is *mangu* ; we would die from its ill-luck."

The cutter remarks :

"Everyone has run away."

Thus he speaks to the relative of the corpse and he says to him also :

"Give me presents to bury your corpse."

The relatives of the corpse say :

"All right, it is a sad affair, we will give you presents."

They commence to give presents ; to a good blood-brother they give some fifteen, to an exacting one, some twenty, and they take the corpse to bury it.

People say : "You use witchcraft in truth, for we have seen your *mangu*." They become known as men of *mangu*, and they are humiliated by it, for it is a disgrace.

This text needs little commentary. A black excrescence is seen in the entrails, it is identified as *mangu*¹, everyone withdraws in disorder leaving only the relatives of the dead and their blood-brother who has performed the operation. He asks for immediate payment to complete the burial. He is scared and disgusted while they are saddened and ashamed. The text allows us to see the quick drama of the situation without need for footnotes. In the second text, we are present at the

¹ Whilst we were finishing this Paper, we came across an excellent compilation and analysis of the comparative data dealing with various forms of belief and custom analogous to the *mangu*-concept and its associated customs, by Baumann, "*Likundu*. Die Sektion der Zauberkraft," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1929. Baumann gives a map in which the occurrence of the "*Likundu* Vorstellung," in Africa, is plotted out (*likundu* is lingala). As our Paper is a field-work report, we make no use of this article.

death-bed of an old man, long humiliated by suspicion, who wishes to clear his memory and the name of his family by sacrificing his corpse. Here we have a happier end, for the old men who gather round search in vain for any signs of *mangu*.

"When that man to whom they have given hens' wings is approaching death, he speaks thus :

"I have been deeply humiliated, and if I die, do not hesitate to open my stomach."

Therefore, if he dies his relatives come together and have a quiet talk and say :

"This relative of ours is dead, go and prepare *benge*."

They go and prepare *benge*, and then they say to *benge* :

"This relative of ours whose stomach I am about to cut open, I will find *mangu* there, *benge* kill the fowl, I will not find *mangu* there, *benge* spare the hen." If *benge* spares the fowl, they take another one, and say :

"That fowl which survived it survived correctly, so that I shall not see *mangu* to-day, *benge* kill this fowl. It is untrue, I will surely see *mangu*, *benge* spare it."

If *benge* kills the hen,¹ they do nothing more, but if *benge* spares the hen, then they begin to walk over to the corpse. There they speak in low voices, saying that they will certainly cut open the stomach of this, their relative. When evening comes on they call a blood-brother and say to him :

"Oh ! blood-brother of ours, come and cut our stomach, the stomach of our relative."

Then the relatives-in-law take the corpse to go with it to the edge of the grave-shaft, where they lower it to the earth. They say :

"Come, my blood-brother," and to the others : "Friends, you stand over there, what words shall I say to you ? I will not bury my relative with his stomach, but, surely, I will cut it open. My *mangu* is his, if you see *mangu* in his stomach it is mine ; stand aside to see my witchcraft."

They begin to cut it by first slashing the flesh of his stomach and then cutting a branch of *doma* wood, they split it at the top and go to hold the

¹ i.e., the first hen.

entail by the end and begin to draw it on to the wood, every bit of it. When it is finished they give a great ceremonial cry and the relatives of the corpse run quickly in, and strike the entail to see its flesh. They say there is no *mangu* and the men of the court who know *mangu* speak likewise. Then they tell people to put the entail into his stomach—it is over.

Then they begin to carry the cutter of the stomach, and his sons as well if they are present, and run with them to the river-side and wash them. Then they return with him and give him oil to anoint his body. He anoints himself, and then he licks some salt which they give to him. They tell him to return to his home, for they are going to beat eleusine to make beer for him, and that he is to come with his relatives to drink the beer, since he opened their stomach. The head of the homestead, a relative of the corpse, returns home and makes beer and sends a messenger after the cutter of the stomach and tells him to come saying: "Come, the beer is ready, and we will split a gourd with you."

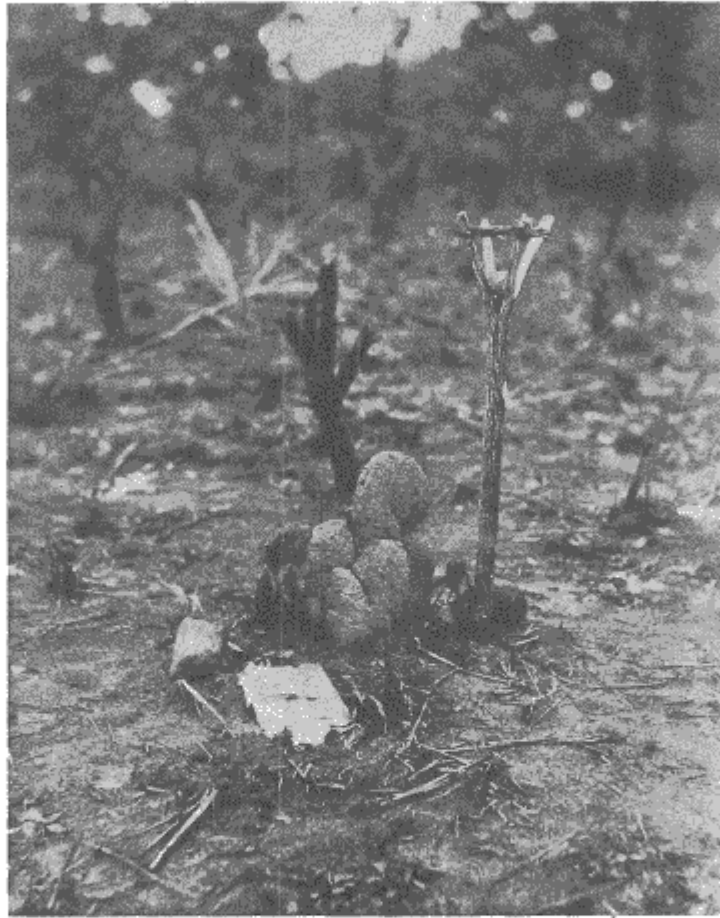
The cutter gets up and goes to the homestead. His relatives come together and the relatives of the corpse come together also. The head of the family comes out with a gourdful of beer and says:

"Let the man who cut the stomach come." When he has come, the head of the family says to him:

"Cutter of the stomach, let those relatives of yours who are here come, we will make a single present, and let them make a single present, and let us split the gourd." When they have split the gourd they start at once to exchange presents. When this man has made his present, then that man comes with his also. When the exchange is approaching an end they cook porridge, and boil a fowl and make the cutter a present of a pot of beer. He then washes himself well, and they give him oil and he anoints his body with it. He then comes back to his relatives and says:

"Let them bring out his beer." They bring it out and give him porridge also, and they begin to drink beer. It is finished."

This ceremony provides further evidence that men are not sure, under stress of repeated accusations, of their immunity from *mangu*. They are prepared to put their condition to a practical test but, being nervous about the result of the test, they prefer to ask *benge* first whether



A ZANDE TUKA (SHRINE FOR THE ANCESTRAL SPIRITS) IN AN ELEUSINE GARDEN. ON THE GROUND ARE MEDICINES AGAINST WITCHCRAFT, AND IN THE SHRINE IS A FOOD OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS.

it will prove successful.¹ We are uncertain about extra-family opinion being brought to bear on the relatives in their desire for an autopsy. In the past, however, economic considerations undoubtedly played a part in the determination of the relatives of a dead witch to insist upon an autopsy. These economic considerations spring from the Zande system of criminal law which we will now pass in review, as far as it concerns our subject.

VIII.—WITCHCRAFT AND NATIVE LAW.

WE have tried to make it clear that amongst the A-Zande there are two requirements to an act of witchcraft, the possession of *mangu* and an evil disposition. But any act of witchcraft, though it is a moral offence, is not a crime unless it is homicidal. The only other act of witchcraft for which an injured man could get compensation in the past was, so I have been told, for the destruction of his eleusine crop, the staple crop grown by the A-Zande.

Death is invariably regarded as due either to *mangu* or sorcery or licit magic. Sorcery is an exceptional cause of death for, unless there is some special reason which makes the Zande suppose that sorcery has been employed against the deceased, he will first consult the oracle with regard to the possibility of his relative having been murdered by a neighbour's *mangu*, and it would be unusual if *benge* did not decide against one of these. It is well known that many men and women die as a result of some kind of licit magic which has been brought into operation either through theft, adultery, or witchcraft on the part of the deceased. In these cases the man has simply fallen a victim to his own criminal activities. Though the Zande asserts that it is proper to consult the oracle whether the man died from licit magic, we doubt, both from the general tone of informants and our experience of actual cases, whether the relatives of a dead man take this course save in the last resort, which resort seldom arises owing to the complex mechanism of oracle-consultations.

We hope that such complexities will become clearer as we describe the methods of obtaining vengeance or compensation for the death of a relative. Difficulty arises, however, from the fact that there are two

¹ Those who saw their own father's or mother's *mangu* must have been sure of their possession of it also.

quite distinct methods of vengeance, in the past a witch either being speared or wergild being accepted, whilst to-day magic is employed against him, and these two methods overlap since magic was also used in the old days as well as the spear. We shall describe these two ways of bringing the witch-murderer to justice as briefly as possible, since a full account more properly belongs to a study of death, burial, the mechanism of vengeance and mortuary ceremonies in relation to the family and kindred.

When a man died in the days of Chief Gbudwe (died 1905) it was assumed that he had been murdered by *mangu*. Sorcery was very little known and unless *benge* systematically rejected all the names placed before it under suspicion of *mangu* it was not usually taken into account. It would have been thought highly improper also to suggest that one's dead had been killed, as a result of his own misdeeds, by another's magic, and the relatives would only come to this point of view if *benge* absolutely refused to compromise anyone on the score of witchcraft or sorcery. The older relatives of the dead would gather together for a discussion about the murder and through the oracle's directions would choose one of their number to wear a special loin string and to observe the taboos of mourning. Having selected the names of those who were regarded with most suspicion, those who were known to have some special grudge against the dead, the man chosen to observe the taboos would go, accompanied by several old relatives, into the bush to ask *benge* about these selected persons. When *benge* had killed a hen in condemnation of someone and had then failed to kill another hen, thus corroborating its previous verdict, they asked the oracle again whether this man was the only person responsible for the murder, or whether there was another who had co-operated in the crime. If *benge* replied that there was no other person, they sent a messenger to the court of their chief to place secretly before him the wings of the hen which had died. The chief would give the wing to his special oracle-consulter (*ba pula benge*) and tell him to consult the oracle about the affair. After a wait of some days in the chief's court, the messenger would be called aside into the bush by the chief's oracle-consulter who had previously informed the chief as to the results of his enquiries. Here the messenger would be informed whether the chief's *benge* had given the same verdict as that of the relatives of the dead man. If it had not corroborated the previous verdict, they would have to start

all over again and find another man whom *benge* accused and then again place the matter before the chief. If, on the other hand, the chief's *benge* supported theirs, they could at once take proceedings against the murderer. The whole affair was kept as secret as possible so that the condemned man should receive no warning. The older men of the family of the deceased met together and discussed what steps should now be taken, for they could either spear the murderer or they could accept compensation from him. Various considerations would make them decide on one or other of these two courses, but there is little doubt that, as a general rule, compensation was accepted and that actual blood-revenge was exceptional.

Although such was the normal procedure of men acquainted with court life, members of good A-Mbomu families of original Zande stock, it seems that others, especially "provincials," little versed in the ways of court life, and mainly composed of people belonging to one or other of the many foreign tribes subject to the A-Mbomu, in this part of Zandeland mainly Abarambo, preferred to use magic to accomplish revenge. By using magic they avoided the responsibility and knowledge of court procedure which the other method entailed. The medicine used to kill the witch responsible for the death of a relative was *gbagbuduma*, of which there are several kinds. This medicine, which is said to have been of Barambo and not of Mbomu origin, was apparently coming into use amongst all classes of the population some time before Gbudwe's death and the European occupation of his kingdom. This far-sighted monarch definitely encouraged the new method of revenge as against the older method. He appears to have done so on the grounds that it saved a great deal of bloodshed by spearing, and the unsatisfactory system of compensation by women and spears. Moreover, the Zande used to perform autopsies, as we have noted earlier, and if no *mangu* was found in the stomach of a man who during his lifetime had paid compensation for several murders, which he had evidently not the power to commit, his relatives were naturally enough anxious to get their spears and women back again.¹ This continual bickering which arose from the employment of a post-mortem examination of the bodies of men and women who had paid blood-money as witches, or on the body of a close relative of the same

¹ In our previous Paper in *Sudan Notes and Records* on "Zande Oracle-magic" we have not properly explained how *benge* can make errors of this kind. We did not properly understand the problem when our article was written.

sex, seriously annoyed Gbudwe who would not hear of any autopsy being made upon anyone whom his *benge* had previously declared to be guilty of witchcraft. It would be going too far to suggest that Gbudwe can have suspected that *gbagbuduma* medicine did not really kill people at all, whereas the spear most certainly did; but he was obviously aware of the great advantages of the newer method, and it is well known that he favoured its introduction as being more favourable to the peace and contentment of his realm. We thus see how great a function was being fulfilled by *gbagbuduma*, in that by means of this magical fiction real executions were being displaced by imaginary ones, and the social unrest caused by payments of spears, and women were slowly giving way to a perfectly innocuous system of magic. We regret that we have not yet received sufficiently clear accounts nor sufficiently unanimous opinion as to how large a section of the population used the *gbagbuduma* method before Gbudwe's death, but it is certain that the older system of blood-revenge was adhered to by members of the court and the great A-Mbomu clans. It was probably not till English conquest and administration of the country twenty-four years ago that the use of magic for avenging death became predominant amongst the A-Zande. The new rulers would not hear of either blood-vengeance nor compensation for crimes which they considered to be purely imaginary. This is still one of the most serious complaints against the English Government, though the Zande is charitable enough to put down their prohibition of vengeance and compensation for murder by witchcraft to ignorance of their laws and the meaning of *mangu* than to lack of sympathy. Fortunately, in this crisis the Zande, faced with the overthrow of his most cherished institutions and with the break up of his moral traditions, had a circuitous means of attaining his end which, though dilatory in the extreme and unable to give the same satisfaction as direct vengeance, was yet a fairly efficient weapon which fulfilled many of the functions of the old blood-feud. He was left in peace to perform his acts of vengeance through magic by the white man's Government.

We have already in another essay given a short account of *gbagbuduma* in its relation to sorcery, but we shall not have to repeat our account much if we sketch its rôle as avenger of witchcraft. To-day when a Zande dies his relatives consult *benge* about who is to wear a mourning string and observe taboos of death. When this has been decided, all

other relatives than the man chosen are freed from prohibitions. The chosen man will accompany a magician (chosen by *benge* from a number of those skilled in making *gbagbuduma* magic with different medicines) and together they will perform a number of rites to ensure revenge. When someone who lived near their dead relative or one who was known to bear him ill-will dies, they repair to the bush to consult *benge* whether this man has been killed by their magic. If *benge* replies that this is so, they will then ask whether this man alone was responsible for the murder or whether there was another witch acting with him (*umbaga*). If there was an *umbaga*, then it will be necessary to continue to observe ritual prohibitions till he also is killed. But if *benge* says that the man was acting alone, then vengeance is completed and it only remains to reward the magician whose medicines were responsible for so successful issue and to destroy the magic (*buguza ngwa*) to end the taboos. It will be observed how simple and fool-proof is this system of vengeance, since one does not have to find out the murderer to begin with and then make magic and wait for him to die, but one lets him die first and then identifies him. Consequently, though one may have to wait for several years, ultimate failure is exceedingly improbable, because on the death of anyone whom they think might have been responsible for the murder, the relatives consult the oracles, and sooner or later it is likely that on one of these occasions the strychnic properties of *benge* will kill a chicken and so end their efforts in a successful issue. It is equally clear that, in the past, murder cases must have approximated in number to adultery cases in their chief's court, since for every death someone was held responsible and was forced to make compensation of a woman and twenty spears to the nearest kin of the dead man or was speared in vengeance. The social disturbance caused through this older system must have been considerable, but it is difficult to get more than a short dry account of extinct customs from native informants. It appears, as we should expect from our analysis of the social position of witches in Zandeland, that as soon as compensation had been paid there was no more open ill-feeling between the relatives of the witch and the relatives of his victim. To-day vengeance is carried out and honour satisfied by a socially innocuous system of magical rites.

We must remark, in conclusion, since it may have occurred to an acute reader, why it is that, in spite of witches being killed by magic in

revenge for their murders, others still go on murdering. Many witches desist when they are discovered causing sickness, and they blow water to cure the sick man and save themselves at the same time. But many are adamant in evil and only blow water formally without real contrition. Most of these will pay the penalty for murder by their own deaths, but some very clever old witches who are responsible for a whole series of crimes manage to escape, and one may meet them in many a Zande homestead. They escape because, after plotting a crime, they trick their associates. All the witches engaged on the crime will take away part of the spirit of the victim's flesh, from which they make a ghoulish meal. The cunning old witch, however, merely hides his portion and does not consume it. Hence it is that the originator of the crime escapes while his accomplices perish from magic.

IX.—SUMMARY.

A SUMMARY to this Paper is the more necessary since we have had to touch on so many sociological and psychological problems, and since we have had to explore so many avenues of Zande life, their language, their domestic and public occupations and their economic undertakings. Moreover, our work among them is as yet incomplete and many problems still await solution. In this preliminary account, we have, however, been able to describe the main facts about witchcraft with what we believe to be fair accuracy and completeness, and to suggest several approaches to the study of African witchcraft, which we hope will be of assistance to future explorers in the still little known field of African cultures. As a restricted contribution to the study of one culture we have attempted to explain the meaning of the word *mangu* as a linguistic symbol among the A-Zande of the Nile-Uelle Divide.

We found that the central meaning of this word is some kind of abdominal excrescence. It is an inherited, and not an acquired, characteristic which is transmitted along the lines of sex dichotomy, and its inheritance is in accordance with Zande ideas of procreation and their escatalogical beliefs. We explained how its activities were more general by night than by day, and how it could be sometimes seen as a bright light on its nocturnal visits, and we pointed out that it is the spirit of the *mangu* which eats the spirit of the victim's flesh, neither participant

taking part in the drama corporeally. We touched upon the social organization of witchcraft, its hierarchy, its rules and debates in congress. We saw that *mangu* has its genetic growth both biologically, by increase in physical size, and socially, in training and experience.

We then briefly described several allied departments of Zande thought, their belief in the evil effects of abnormalities of the bile tract, of wild-cats, of lesbian practices amongst women, exposure of the female anus in the sight of a man, contact with menstrual blood, the inauspiciousness of persons whose upper incisors break through before the lower teeth, of jackals, owls, bats, and other unlucky beasts and birds.

From a brief and condensed description we isolated a number of problems which we considered essential to an understanding of the rôle which the concept of *mangu* plays in Zande culture. First, we asked what is its function in the practical everyday economic and social life of the natives, and we came to the conclusion that belief in witchcraft does not in any way cause the Zande to lessen his caution, knowledge and industry, but that it fills the wastes where his traditional knowledge and accumulated pragmatic experience cannot enter, and consequently, it gives him confidence to face the unknown by the self-assurance that he can counteract forces actuated by no unalterable natural laws but by humanly controlled mechanism, which are arrayed against him. The Zande does not deny nor shut his eyes to natural causation, but he sees the hand of witchcraft in the occasions of its incidence. He knows that if a man hangs himself from a tree he will die, but he is also aware that a man would not do so unless motivated by *mangu*. We noted that witchcraft is in many respects a negative counterpart to magic, having many similar cultural functions, and that it has these in common also with the concept of luck in our more highly developed civilization.

We described what a native does in situations of loss and sickness, and the means by which his belief in witchcraft is prevented from causing continual social upheaval. We took a typical instance of ill-health, and showed how the relatives of a sick man identify the witch and notify him of their discovery in order to persuade him to desist from molesting further their friend. We saw how each step in the traditional procedure is regulated by custom, and allows social control by canalising human passions into a sequence of well-ordered activities instead of allowing unregulated reaction to emotional stress free and disastrous play.

In trying to unearth the emotional roots of belief in *mangu* we followed a line of enquiry which took us principally to hidden spots in the bush where oracles are consulted. We noted how, at these, a man selects from among his neighbours certain persons whose names he places before an oracle as suspects of witchcraft. These suspects are his personal enemies who are jealous of him or dislike him for some reason or other, the antipathy being generally mutual. We thus unearthed an underground stream of malice and backbiting, envy and hatred, greed and jealousy, which runs with ceaseless turmoil beneath the calm surface of native life. Sometimes, this seething stream will be suddenly forced up, and its troubled waters can be observed in a case before the chief, or in some violent scene at a dance or funeral. But its less dramatic surface display may easily be mistaken, and it takes some digging to identify witchcraft with this undercurrent of native life. Hence it comes to light that the witch is your personal enemy. Hatred, suppressed by social rules and norms, unsanctioned in unruly sporadic outbursts, unsupported by legal tradition, is allowed an outlet for its overflow through channels cut out and directed by culture. It is not so much belief in witchcraft which causes ill-feeling as ill-feeling which gives birth to belief in witchcraft. The same emotional drive which produces the concept of *mangu* seeks an outlet in various channels, e.g., through dreams and day-dreams. We gave a brief account of Zande dreams and showed how enmities give rise to dream phantasies, and how the Zande interprets these in terms of witchcraft.

Our next section placed the *mangu*-concept in a general setting of morality as the A-Zande understand it. It appears that witchcraft is only employed by persons who have a strong motive such as jealousy, envy, greed, malice, etc. The Zande recognises these failings as moral shortcomings which no man entirely escapes, but his chief objection to them is that they are the drive behind *mangu*. We showed how it is that those who are most at variance with tradition and most objectionable to their neighbours, the bad citizens of a community, tend to be identified with witches. In this way the idea of *mangu* embraces every aspect of native life and gains considerable importance as a social sanction. But in spite of his powers a witch is not in any way treated as a social outcast. Their powers even gain them respect in a limited degree, and the fear which they inspire leads people to treat them well. As there is no telling

who are and who are not witches, the Zande is careful to act well towards all men in order to take no chances. Here, again, *mangu* acts as a social sanction. We noted that an individual's witchcraft horizon is limited by differences in age, sex, social status and spacial distribution.

We then turned to perhaps the most difficult problem connected with witchcraft, the psychology of a witch. Witchcraft is, undoubtedly, not a real, but an imaginary practice amongst the A-Zande. When an enquirer asks a Zande whether a man consciously bewitches another he will receive a clear assertion of the traditional doctrine on the subject, that an *ira mangu* is fully responsible for his actions. This assertion, most stressed by informants who have lately suffered as a result of *mangu*, is slightly modified by impartial commentators and is even contradicted by persons actually accused of witchcraft. We think that the ordinary Zande is often doubtful about his immunity from *mangu*, and we saw this doubt and the desire of a man to clear himself and family from suspicion in various phases of Zande life, especially in our account of an autopsy.

Our final section dealt with the legal aspects of *mangu*, wherein we saw that witchcraft is not normally an offence, for which compensation for loss can be obtained, but only in cases of death is vengeance allowed through the legal machinery of a chief's oracles. A witch may at any time fall a victim to protective magic when engaged in injuring the property or prospects of others, but it is only when he has killed someone that he is legally answerable for his crimes, and that the relatives of the dead can exact vengeance or indemnity.¹

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Ian Hogbin for reading through the proofs of this essay and for offering several suggestions.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. P. Cann,

WHILE passing through the river ports of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river ports—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk seen on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is keenly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that meet his eye: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the Rais and sailors on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the *buing* or foreigner with his hated camera and amazing dress and incredible customs.

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gaze on such interesting sights?

The writer is 'on trek' at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by village life that he has fallen to the use of the pen in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

Awaking long before dawn one finds that smoke fires amongst the cattle have been kept up assiduously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a beast where necessary to get more benefit from the smoke.

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where flies are known to be less troublesome, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the *luaks* in which they have passed the night, safe from

the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night.

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

NOTES.

The Fung Kakar.

By H. R. PALMER, C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor, Northern Provinces,
Nigeria.

REFERRING to Mr. Jackson's letter (SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. XI, p. 231) on the *Kakar* of the Fung, though I have no direct knowledge of the object in question, which Mr. MacMichael spells *Kukur*, it would seem possible that certain data, which at first sight might not seem relevant to the kingdom of Senaar, may throw some light on the matter.

In Kanuri the abstract noun denoting "kingship" is *Karmai*, a word which is apparently made up of the adjective *kar* or *kur*, meaning great, and the word for possessor or King, which is *Mai* (Mek) or *Me*. The word *Karmai* has either passed into Hausa, or been inherited by Hausa from common linguistic ancestry, as *girma* = "greatness" or "nobility."

In a *mahram* of Burnu, which is attributed to a date of about A.D. 1085, the *Mai* is spoken of as "King Karkarma son of Tigiram" (or Takaramma).

Tigiram is, I believe, still the title for the "Queen Mother" among certain Zaghawi tribes of Wadai, while Karkarma denotes the "possessor of" (*ma*) "greatness" (*karkar*). In the days of Ibn Batuta (1350) a chief in the Asben region who was evidently a Zaghawi tribal chief, is called the "Takarkari Sultan," while the Bulala rulers of Fitri in the 16th century had the title "Ibn Gargar," which is equivalent to the Kanuri form "Karkarma," since K and G are interchangeable in the Chad region.

It is evident then, that the modern Kanuri adjective *kura* or *hori* = "great," represents an old and widely used Berber word *kur*, *kar*, *ker* or *kir*, which denoted greatness or royalty.

Yacubi, A.D. 891, writes of the Sudan:

"The first kingdom is that of the Zaghawa, who frequent a country called Kanem . . . They have no kings of cities. . . . Their king is called Kakura."

In this case there can be little doubt that the Kākura was installed in a low stool, just as is the Tuareg tribal chief, called Amanokel, at the present day.

The word *karkar* is probably then simply a reduplicated form of *kar*, the equivalent of the modern *karmai*; i.e., the abstract quality of greatness.

The first syllable of Yacubis' Kā-kara or Kā-kura, on the other hand, is most probably a noun meaning "ancestral spirit," the *kaka* (grandparent) of the Hausas and Kanuri, and other Sudanese tribes.

It is easy to see that *ka-kura* ("ancestral spirit") used of the king or chief's person, would be a term equally applicable to his throne or residence. This, I suggest, is the meaning of the term *kakar* or *kukur*, used for the throne in the case of the Fung, and that to this is analogous the meaning of the western place names Kukawa, Kaukau, Gao-Gao, Gaogha, etc., about which there has been so much discussion. These names have by some been derived from the name of the *Adansonia Digitata*, Baobab or Tebeldi tree, which is called *Kuka* all over the central Sudan, and is a feature of the oldest towns, when it would seem far more likely that the name of the tree itself comes from the fact that it was, and still is, looked upon as the residence or "throne" of the spirits of departed kings.

It is pertinent to observe in this connection that in the Kanuri Girgams, or Songs of the Kings, the term which denotes the burial place or resting place of the spirit of each monarch is *kargo* or *kāgu* (sometimes pronounced *kāku*), and also that in Kanuri the word for a "twin" is *kāku*.

Further, when the Saifawa Bornu dynasty were expelled from Kanem, about 1386-1400, it would seem as if one or more temporary capitals were called Kukawa. Thus an emissary who came from Othman Idrisimi to the court of Al Zahir Barkuk in 1391-1392 is, on the authority of the *Ta'rif* of Al'Omari, stated to have said that "their capital is the town of Kākā."¹

It would seem possible that the Egyptian *Ka* travelled west, and was in the plural known as Kaukau, or Gaugau, and that hence places where there were royal tombs were called Kaukau or Gaugau, i.e.,

¹ "Masalik el Absār," p. 40. Gaudefroy Demombynes. Paris, 1927.

Capital Cities.¹ In the Kano Chronicle "the name of the place sacred to their god was Kakua or Kagua,"² a name which is equivalent to the modern place name Kukawa.

It is also probably not a mere coincidence that there is so close a resemblance between the name of the modern title of the Tuareg tribal chief, *Amanokel*, and the title *Mangil* at Sennar, while the name of the Church at Alwa, *Manbali*, seems rather to suggest that it once may have been the temple of Amanbel or Baal-Aman, and that the Fung takia, or two-horned cap, was not unconnected with the worship of "Corniger Ammon."

Tagia is the ordinary Hausu common name for cap.

NOTE.

The word *kakar* (pl. *kukāra*) is of common occurrence in Sudan Arabic as the name of a low wooden stool, a piece of furniture found in most native households. M. Ch. Kuentz, in a review of Hillelson's Sudan Arabic vocabulary ("Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris," tome XXIX (1928-29) suggests that it is derived from a Beḡa word *kankar*. It is, of course, possible that a word meaning "kingship," "royal throne," may have lost caste to the extent of becoming the name of a common utensil, especially as a similar semantic development may be traced in the word *kursī* = chair (see Lane s.v. "a throne . . . the place (or seat) of the king, and of the learned man; and hence, as used in the Qur II, 256, it is explained as signifying *dominion* . . . and the power of God . . .).

The meaning "throne" is also inherent in the popular riddle, the answer to which is "the sun and the moon." (*Malikēn foḡ kakar, kân da ghāb, dāk haḍar*).

It may be suggested at the same time that the immediate origin of the word, as of others appertaining to the ceremonial of the Fung Kingdom, should be sought in the so-called Fung (or Hameḡ) language, which is still spoken in the southern part of the Fung Province.—ED.

¹ For a discussion of Kankau = Karkar, see "Masalik el Absâr," by Gaudefroy Demombynes. Geuthner, 1927, p. 57.

² "Sudanese Memoirs." Vol. III, p. 97—Lagos Government Press.

Oracle Magic of the Azande.

By Lieut.-Colonel A. L. HADOW, D.S.O.

WITH reference to the article "Oracle Magic of the Azande," published in Vol. XI of 1928 of SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, the following note may be of interest, especially with reference to the note on page 45 :—

"In 1906-1907 I was Inspector at Tambura and Zumgumbia, in the Southern Bahr-el-Ghazal. In 1908-1909 I was Inspector at Meridi. I soon realized that *benge* was the chief factor in Zande life, and had to be reckoned with. On one occasion I discussed *benge* with the then young Chief Zumgumbia. His reply was: "You don't understand our *benge*, and I don't understand your writing."

When a man was denounced as a "witch" he was always described as having the witchcraft in his stomach, "*sahr fil batn*."

At Meridi I had talks with the Chief Yango on this subject, and he described to me in detail what was meant by finding the witchcraft in the stomach of a man, and how, when a man was put to death as a witch, they always cut him open to prove the correctness of the diagnosis by seeing if the witchcraft was there. From the detailed description I came to the conclusion that the witchcraft appeared to be represented by the vermiform appendix!

Shortly afterwards a prisoner happened to die at Meridi, and as far as I can remember he had been involved in a case in which he had been denounced as a witch.

Chief Yango also happened to come into Meridi that morning, so I took him to the hospital and we had the dead prisoner cut open.

It was easy to arrange this as post-mortems were often done.

When the abdominal organs were displayed, Yango at once pointed to the vermiform appendix and declared the man "*sahar*."

I replied that every man had an appendix, including Yango and myself. I remember well his absolute look of horror, as if I had spoken blasphemy. He declared that only witches had this organ, which was the *sahr*, and that he had seen many men cut open who had not got it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

In the interesting article "Some Authors of the Southern Sudan," a gallant name was unmentioned—that of Romolo Gessi Pasha. His letters were published in English in 1892 under the title "Seven Years in the Sudan."

He was an Italian, of Ravenna, who had been an interpreter with the British Army in the Crimea and joined Gordon in the Sudan in 1874. In that year he saved Kodok from the Shilluk whom slave-raids goaded to attack it, and in the same year he reconnoitred Meshra el Req. He circumnavigated the Albert Nyanza in 1876, and in 1878 was sent by Gordon to Bahr-el-Ghazal Province to suppress the slave-traders' rebellion which was then led by Suleiman Zubeir. It had been smouldering since 1869, when the latter's father had practically shaken off Government control. He landed at Shambe in September, and moved his force and its belongings to Rumbek by November, a feat which the initiated will best appreciate. Singlehanded, as far as European assistance went, and starting with but 300 "regulars" and two guns, often cut off by Sudd from the north, he fought his way to the western end of the Province and met Gordon again in Darfur in June, 1879, having fought a series of pitched battles west of Wau on the Raga road, between December and March. He was often short of ammunition, and used to have his Remington cartridges opened and the charge reduced by half in order to build up a stock of powder for his muzzle-loaders, which shows how hard-pressed he must have been. He mentions the Zande warriors eating the dead after these battles.

He finished off the rebellion by shooting Suleiman, who had surrendered. Over 10,000 slaves were released from Suleiman's party and a whole population, or the remains of it, freed from a dreadful scourge at a time when Gordon wrote, "Seven-eighths of the population of the Sudan are slaves." Not the least of Gessi's triumph was over the climate and the treachery of his subordinates, most of whom were tarred with the slavers' brush.

Gessi governed the Province till 1880, when on his way down to Khartoum he had the ghastly experience of being blocked in the Sudd for six weeks and lost over 100 men from his boat from starvation and disease. He relates that the survivors could not even reach solid ground to bury those who died. This was the culmination of the hardships he endured—always without a companion—and he died at Suez in 1881 on his way home. He was at any rate spared the knowledge of his work undone, for his successor, Lupton Bey, died a prisoner in Omdurman in 1888.

G. W. T.

REVIEWS.

LES AZANDE ON NIAM-NIAM. Par Mgr. C. R. LAGAE, O.P. (Bibliothèque-Congo, XVIII.) (Bruxelles : Vromant & Co., 1926. 224 pp. Fr. 25.00.)

THERE have been many writers on the Azande. The earliest were travellers, mostly Germans : Heuglin, Petherick, Emin, Schweinfurth, Junker. Colonial Administrators have made later and fuller contributions to our knowledge of this people : de Calonne-Beaufaict in the Congo, Brock at Meridi, Anderson, Larken at Yambio and Tembura, Philipps at Tembura. The monograph by de Calonne described the Azande almost entirely from an historical point of view and comprised hypothetical historical reconstructions, derived from native traditions, rather than an account of their customs and institutions. The same can be said even more of the monograph by Hutereau, "Histoire des peuplades de l'Uele et de l'Ubangi."

The most accurate and painstaking work has undoubtedly been that of the two Dominican missionaries, Lagae and Van den Plas. Together, they published their invaluable grammar and dictionary prefaced by an excellent historical sketch by Van den Plas. But death and illness have too often cut short the work of Zande students. De Calonne died a terrible death in the Congo, and all the careful notes which he is believed to have collected on Zande customs were lost for ever. We possess only the notes on the history of the Uelle and Arumini, edited posthumously by Col. Bertrand. Hutereau lost his life in the war 1914-18 and his book also was edited after his death. Van den Plas had collected notes for a treatise on Zande law when he died of influenza on leave in Belgium. These were handed over on his death to Father Lotair, who was beginning a systematic study of Zande social organization, and intended to work up and publish Van den Plas's notes on Zande law, when he was struck down by blindness. In the face of so many misfortunes we may feel doubly thankful that Mgr. Lagae has been spared to write his scholarly account of the Azande.

It is not easy for one who is himself making a study of Zande society to estimate fairly the work of another. There is a temptation for a reviewer so placed either to try to minimize the work of another or, by wishing to avoid falling into this snare, to give the work more praise than

is due. The reviewer had no knowledge of Mgr. Lagae's book till many weeks after his return from five months' work in Zandeland (the published date is 1926, but Belgian publications are notoriously unreliable), and when he discovered it he found very little which his own notebooks did not contain. But this was due to the fact that he had already benefited very considerably from those parts of the book (on Divination, Religion, Origin of Chiefs, Animism) which had appeared separately some years earlier in "CONGO" and SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS. These have been embodied, mostly without alteration, in "Les Azande."

In this book Mgr. Lagae has shown himself to be a shrewd careful and patient student of native customs, and what he says about the Azande may be relied upon as a considered opinion based on research, and not the careless and unchecked jottings of a casual observer. If we feel aggrieved it is because the author has been too economical. We would have wished more from so acute an observer and so restrained a scholar.

We should not feel justified, however, in prosecuting our own researches into Zande culture did we feel that Mgr. Lagae's book was adequate. Nor would science possess such a keen interest for us were it not permitted, even pleasant, to hunt our colleagues persistently, though without malice, through the pages of the scientific journals. The criticism which we shall make of this book is applicable to most monographs on African peoples, more especially those written by missionaries.

The author makes entirely a static study of Zande society. He shows us the main outlines of its structure and gives us dissections of various institutions and customs, but we cannot, in his account, see the functioning of a living society. He is a sure guide to the anatomy of native institutions, but he leaves us there without showing us how they work in the everyday life of the people. Customs seem to exist on paper and to be cut off from the realities of life; and even on paper we see only the surface, the consistent and formulated doctrines and opinions which in all societies hang like a curtain before the drama of life. We know that behind the dry description of customs there is being played out the drama, but only those well placed ever get an occasional glimpse of an actor in the wings. Hence the fact that ethnological accounts are not generally read—for do not let it be thought that ethnologists

conscientiously sit down to read them from cover to cover—whilst novels and the drama have a sustained interest for all.

Let us take Lagae's treatment of Zande chieftainship for an example. Of all the peoples in the Sudan, the Shilluk and the Azande alone have a well-developed political system. The Azande—but not the Shilluk—embarked on a successful conquest of vast regions and, more wonderful still, were able to assimilate a large number of different races and to absorb a score of different languages and cultures quite foreign to their own. Their success in this ambitious experiment was due to their remarkable political structure with its well-developed leadership. A study of the Azande Empire—of the Pax Zandea, as Bertrand aptly calls it—is a study of the relations between the class of nobles on the one side and the commoners on the other. Lagae does not show us what this relationship comprised, what functions the chiefs performed, the complex system of give and take in economic exchange between chief and commoners, the attitude of men to authority, upon what this depends and by what means it is buttressed. Nor does he suggest what is the psychology of leadership as shown in the mutual attitude of chief and commoner to one another. True, he gives the traditional stories about the origin of the noble class of the *Avongara* and appends a scholarly discussion on the etymology of this word, but myth and tradition are only a mirror held up to reflect the life of the present. He presents us with the morphology of chieftainship, the rules of succession, the legal doctrines about rights and privileges, the procedure of the courts; but all these, essential though they are and invaluable for the study of social forms, do not show us how men, bundles of instincts, innate tendencies, emotional dispositions and sentiments, fit into the framework.

The relation of chief to commoner is largely an economic one, but in this book all economic aspects of Zande society are given the go-by. We do not expect an elaborate account of technology, of how huts are constructed and pots are made, etc., but any book on the social organization of the Azande might be expected to contain a fuller description of one of the primary functions of all societies—the economic one. Food has to be grown, collected or captured; huts have to be built for shelter and have occasionally to be repaired; the daily cooking, collection of firewood, sweeping of the homestead, drawing of water, and the hundred-and-one other tasks essential to the maintenance of the family have to be

performed ; pots, bowls, knives and other utensils of home life have to be procured ; and so on. All these acts of labour require organization and leadership, incentives and palliatives, and they all entail some system of distribution, consumption and ownership.

The author cannot be expected, nor would claim, to have been acquainted with all the problems which confront the armchair ethnologist, but his failure to give the under-current of native life as well as its surface appearance is certainly due in part to a faulty method of enquiry.

For the book reveals all the vices and virtues of the method used in collecting its material. This method, which would indeed have been obvious from the text had not Mgr. Lagae frankly told his readers about it, was to get a number of mission boys to write texts on a variety of subjects. This gives the teacher maybe ten, maybe fifty accounts of some native custom or institution. If one transcribes into one's notebooks only what is consistent and common to all the texts, and leaves out all that is inconsistent or appears only in individual essays, one will have a document of native sociology which is sound and accurate as far as it goes. But it does not go far. It is always one-sided and often bizarre, for, in the first place, all the informants are young boys ; in the second place they give only a superficial account of some custom which does not allow the reader any scope for understanding its true proportions and functions ; in the third place they find writing so inadequate a means of expression that they cut down their knowledge to suit their medium with all the consequences of this condensation ; in the fourth place the Mission school-room is such an artificial atmosphere that the native is not only hopelessly bored, but when asked to give an account of some institution he is no more able to do so than would an English boy who were asked in the school-room to give an account of English family life. In both cases we would get only a few conventional remarks. Institutions flourish in their bush life and not in the notebooks of semi-literate boys. In the fifth place the Mission Station necessarily banishes frankness and honesty between the ethnologist and his informants in some spheres of culture. These boys are fully aware that the missionary likes some things and dislikes others, and that he must shape his information accordingly. They also know that they are often safe in lying about any custom or belief without any chance of being found out. Consequently, they colour their descriptions with tints borrowed from a foreign culture. In making

enquiries of a certain type this has disastrous consequences and gives a pronounced bias to their descriptions. So much so is this the case that it is usually quite obvious whether an account of native beliefs has been written by a Protestant or a Catholic. This is only in part due to the different outlook of the missionaries, since it is also due to the fact that the converts speak in the same language as they have been taught. The jargon of the Mission Station enters in an insidious form into the notebooks of the man of science. Thus whilst Mgr. Lagae, being an unusually good enquirer into native beliefs, has written an excellent account of Zande religion, there can be little doubt that it is to a considerable degree coloured by the Catholic bias of his informants. Though he assures us "Les idées que j'exposerai, reflètent la pensée de l'indigène de la brousse, soustrait à l'influence de l'Européen," we cannot help feeling that such an exposition could not have come from the study of a Nonconformist Mission-house. The anthropologist has his own pitfalls to guard against, but in an estimation of native religious beliefs he is less prone to error than the missionary observer. The diffused culture of Europe is often very difficult to detect. The reviewer well remembers how he obtained a remarkable creation myth from a Zande and how it was not till weeks afterwards that he discovered that it was a native version of the first chapter of Genesis, so different was it from its original.

However, it would be ungracious to dwell for long on the shortcomings of Mgr. Lagae's book. Though we consider that there are errors in the interpretation of many Zande customs, the account is singularly free from errors of fact. One of the most noteworthy and praiseworthy features of the book is its accuracy. Colonial administrators will find that they will gain an understanding of the Azande from this monograph which could only be acquired otherwise by years of labour. The missionary will appreciate its sympathetic treatment of just those aspects of Zande thought which most closely touch his work, and will approve its cultured and humane conception of the rôle of evangelization as "une action moralisatrice." The student of ethnology will pay homage to the caution and control which makes the book a valuable contribution to his science, for pedantry is the badge of all our tribe. The Africanist especially will be glad to have a trustworthy account of the most important people of one of the least known areas of the continent.

E. E. E.-P.

THE SPIKED WHEEL-TRAP AND ITS DISTRIBUTION. By K. G. LINDBLOM
(Riksmuseets Ethnografiska Avdelning. Smärre Meddelanden, N: r 5.)
(Stockholm, 1928. Kr. 2.25.)

PROFESSOR LINDBLOM, author of a well-known monograph on the Akamba, and one of the best all-round authorities on African Ethnology, has lately written a series of brochures in English on various subjects relating to African Technology. No. 5 of this series is well worth the attention of those interested in the ethnology of the Sudan, since it deals with the "Spiked Wheel-Trap," which is found mainly amongst the tribes of the Nile and its tributaries. Its distribution is not restricted to Africa but is, in the main, an African one. It is found to some extent to the west of the Continent, but the greater number of its localities are recorded from the area of the Nile watershed and the Great Lakes. It has been noted amongst the Bantu only in a few tribes who share their frontiers with Nilotic or Nilo-Hamitic neighbours.

"Thus we find that in Africa the spiked wheel-trap is confined to Hamitic, Niloto-Hamitic, and Nilotic peoples, and certain Negro tribes in the Sudan . . . As regards the origin of this trap in Africa, its distribution there seems to me to indicate its having disseminated from the Hamitic people of the north (prehistoric evidence is at hand of its occurrence in Egypt)" . . . (pp. 17, 18).

The author considers that it is more likely that the trap spread from this Hamitic homeland than that it has an Arab origin, as suggested by Von Luschan, especially as there seems to be no evidence of its use in Arabia.

The following tribes and localities in East Africa use the spiked wheel-trap: Ancient Egypt, Ababde, Arabs of Dongola, Arabs of the Bayuda steppe (Kababish?), Baggara, Hamran, Beni Amer, the neighbourhood of Gallabat, Galla, Elgumi, Turkana, Suk, Ndorobo, Nandi, Bantu in Kitosh, Lango, Karamojo, Acholi, Shuli, Bari, Nuer, Banyoro, Baganda, Kiziba.

It is not unlikely that the wheel-trap is found amongst other peoples in the Sudan than those mentioned by Lindblom, and it may be hoped that readers of SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS will be on the look out for it. Moreover, the descriptions which we possess for the tribes mentioned above are generally terse and inadequate, and even the exact locality

or tribe are sometimes doubtful, so that we could well do with fuller and more accurate accounts. In order that everyone may know how to recognize the spiked wheel-trap when they see it, Lindblom's description is here quoted.

"The trap consists of a strong hoop made out of withies or creepers, or, to speak more correctly, of two hoops, bound tightly together, and between them are driven a number of pointed wooden spikes set closely together . . . the points of which . . . meet in the centre of the hoop, or again there may be a small open space in the centre. To make the whole contraption more rigid it is usual to lash the spikes to the hoop. When sinews or leather thongs are used for this purpose, they are in places rubbed in with hyæna dung (such is Nuer practice), in order to prevent that voracious beast from eating the straps Traps of this description are, in the first place, used for antelopes, but in some parts (especially Uganda, the White Nile area), also for larger game, such as elephant, buffalo, giraffe and rhinoceros. They are set in places where animals come to drink, or in game paths, and, according to my personal observations . . . generally several of them at the same time In the ground is dug a hole of a size to fit the trap, the dimensions of which depend on the class of animal for which it is intended, and the trap is placed over it. Around its edges is usually laid a running noose made of strips of hide, the other end of which is fastened round the foot of a tree, or to a block of wood which is usually buried in the ground. The trap is then carefully masked by covering over with earth or sand, etc. When an animal puts its foot through the hoop, the latter attaches itself to the leg by means of spikes, at least long enough to enable the noose to tighten up about it In cases where no noose is used, by the clinging of the hoop to the leg of the animal—whereby its stout spikes penetrate deeply and cause sharp pain—the latter is materially hampered in its efforts at escaping from the pursuing hunter." (pp. 1, 2.)

It would also be valuable if observers in the Sudan would either confirm or refute the statements of Russegger, Stuhlmann and Emin, who state (if they are rightly understood) that in the Bayuda steppe, amongst the Alur of the White Nile and amongst the Shuli, respectively, such traps are used to ensnare birds, especially bustards (pp. 11, 12). As considerable weight is needed to set this type of trap in action, it must

be made less resistant and of more pliable material when intended for birds than when intended for animals.

This little brochure is well worth buying by those who are interested in methods of game-trapping in the Sudan. It contains thirty pages, including a map of the distribution of the spiked wheel-trap in Africa, and six pages of plates. It costs Kr. 2.25.

Unfortunately the author does not seem to have been adequately supplied with books from the Swedish public libraries, since he says that he could not obtain Seligman's article on the Kababish ("Harvard African Studies"), nor does he seem to have been able to obtain SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, since he quotes Jackson's article on the Nuer by the reference to it in Millais' book, "Far away up the Nile." Consequently, he has missed some references to the spiked wheel-trap. For instance, there are two traps in the Ethnographical Museum of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt, figured and described in the Catalogue of this Collection by E. S. Thomas. One of these is from Beni Salim (Selim) (Baggara Tribe), Gebelin, and was presented to the Museum by Dr. Walter Innes Bey, and the other, presented by Purdy Bey in 1876, is from Dar Fertit, Darfur. There are probably other omissions.

E. E. E-P.

"THE BARI." By C. G. and B. Z. SELIGMAN. "Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute." 1928. pp. 409-479.

THE information given in this paper is mainly derived from the data collected by the authors during their expedition to the Southern Sudan in 1921-2, but it is extensively supplemented by an unpublished account of the Bari written some twenty years ago by Mr. Ernest Haddon, by additional observations and valuable texts from Mr. G. O. Whitehead, and by the material collected on the spot by Mr. J. H. Driberg who possessed some knowledge of the Bari language. A certain amount of valuable material has been culled from the writings of earlier visitors to Bariland, especially those by Emin Pascha, and a valuable account of rain-making by Mr. Spire. In spite of the number of cooks the soup has not been spoiled. As we might expect from the pens of Prof. and Mrs. Seligman we have clear account, harmoniously welded together and characterised by their usual acute weighing of evidence. There is no attempt to hide the many gaps in their account, but these are pointed

out to us in a fair challenge to fill them. The paper consists of a discussion on the racial, linguistic and cultural position of the Bari, an account of their social organization in domestic and communal life, and a description of magic and religion with special attention to rain-making.

We wish to make only a few references to details in the paper. The authors select two cultural characters of the Bari-speaking tribes as specially betokening western influence: the existence of ancestor figures, and the use of rain-stones. Inquiries made by the authors, by Mr. Haddon, and by the Venerable Archdeacon Shaw, failed to produce any evidence of ancestor figures amongst the Shir or the Bari of the eastern bank of the Nile. Similar enquiry by the reviewer among the Bari of the western bank also drew a blank. The authors think, therefore, that the figures recorded by Junker and Mounteney-Jephson, and those in the Miani collection at Venice, and those presented by Emin Pascha and Martin Hansal to the Vienna and Miramare museums respectively, came from the west bank, and not from the Bari proper but from the Bari-speaking tribes. We have no doubt that the suggestion of the authors is correct, but we are more sceptical about the significance of the figures. Are they really ancestor figures? As far as we remember—we are open to correction—the earliest entries in the museum catalogues at Vienna describe these figures as dolls. There is an intense desire of museum authorities to look upon all human figures as ancestor figures. We do not think that in this instance the evidence is as yet sufficiently strong to support such an opinion. It is true that among the Bongo similar figures are undoubtedly related to death and mortuary ceremonial, but among other western tribes they may have no such connotation. The authors tell us that wooden figures are common among the Zande. This is true enough to-day, since they are made for a foreign market of political officers, missionaries, traders, anthropologists, etc., but we have never found any evidence of their use in the old kingdom of Gbudwe (roughly corresponding to the Yambio District and the western half of Meridi District), and it is only by hearsay that we have heard of their existence in the old kingdom of Tembura. A Beli ("Jur") told us that when he resided near Tembura, as a boy captive, he saw such a figure which had been made at Tembura's orders in memory of his mother (I think it was his mother, but it may have been his father, or both). In a discussion with this man and some Azande who were present we came to

the conclusion that this was the work of Apambia and not of Azande. The two men who carve human figures from wood in the Yambio district to-day, both named Tembura, appear to have started their craft on their own initiative. They do not claim to have learnt it from anyone, but attribute their abilities to God (Mboli). We must suppose that the wooden grave-figures used by the Bor ("Bellanda") have been learnt from the Bongo, since they are not found among other branches of the Shilluk nation. Human figures used to be carved by the Gberi ("Jurs"), and we were told that they still are made by the Lori ("Jurs") but they are, as far as we know, not to be found among the main section of the Rumbek "Jurs," the Beli-Sopi group. Among the Gberi and Lori they do not seem to have the status of ancestor figures but to be related to song-making and courtship. We do not feel at all certain about their uses, but our enquiries did not lead us to connect them with ritual symbolism such as is associated with ancestor figures. Obviously, the whole question is one for further research, but whatever these figures really represent they certainly provide decisive evidence of a western cultural drift towards and across the Nile.

As the authors point out, rain-stones are further evidence of the same drift. These are used among all the Bari-speaking tribes of which we have any knowledge. They are also found among Lokoia, Lango (of the Sudan), Acholi, Madi and Lugbware. They are not found among the Dinka nor among the Bari-Masai linguistic sub-group to the east. On the other hand, they are found among the hill Nuba of Southern Kordofan. Rain-stones form the nucleus of an act of rain-making among all these peoples, and their use is associated everywhere with physical traits characterised by predominant mesaticephaly. We have since recorded the use of rain-stones among the Bongo, Mittu, and Rumbek "Jurs" generally, a record which fits in perfectly with Professor and Mrs. Seligman's conclusions about a western cultural drift which has profoundly influenced Bari culture and physique.

We may add further evidence of this cultural drift towards the east by drawing attention to the extension of the notched stakes which the Bari place over their graves (pp. 458-9). Stakes very similar to these are to be found among the Morokodo and Nyamusa (but not among the Moro themselves), the Avokaiya, the Bongo and the Rumbek "Jurs" (in a very simple form). Often they represent a tally of the larger and

fiercer beasts killed by the dead during his lifetime. What do the notches symbolise in Bari culture?

The probability is that detailed research will show us that such cultural traits as rain-stones, wooden images, notched stakes, and so on, have drifted westwards, but that when taken over by new peoples their content of meaning has changed. In their new cultural home they become associated with new elements of culture. They are not just taken over whole from one tribe to another, but shed many of their old connotations and gain new ones in the process of transference.

The authors tell us that the Bari are not only a cultural, but also an ethnic complex. This has left its mark upon their institutions of government and classes. They possess an extremely complicated division of social status, which must have proved exceedingly hard to investigate. From the account before us, we are certainly tempted to see a correlation between the submerged classes and a non-Nilotic people or peoples. We doubt whether it will be possible, however, in the present state of the Bari, ever to get sufficient physical, historical and linguistic information to solve the riddle about what group of people the non-Nilotic element among the Bari belong to.

In these few notes we have not attempted to review the main part of the paper, with which we are not competent to deal. It is a very important contribution to our knowledge of the Southern Sudan, increasing our debt to Prof. and Mrs. Seligman for our information about this little-known area and giving further zest to the anticipation with which we await their forthcoming treatise on the Pagan Tribes of the Sudan. Finally, may we express the hope that Mr. Whitehead will some day write a monograph on the Bari.

E. E. E.-P.

BERNATZIK: *ZWISCHEN WEISSEM NIL UND BELGISCH-KONGO*, 1929, £4 5s. (Verlag von L. W. Seidel & Sohn in Wien.)

HERR BERNATZIK went by boat down the Nile to Shambe and thence to Amadi. He returned to Khartoum. He has now written a gigantic book describing and illustrating his tour. Whilst his photographs are truly remarkable, what he says is either consistently inaccurate or simply not worth saying. He spoke none of the native languages and practically no Arabic at all. Nevertheless, he does not hesitate to give a fanciful account of conversations with natives and a

fantastic picture of native life. Typical of the book as a whole is the imaginary account which he has given of the reviewer, whom he met at Amadi, and who takes this opportunity to repudiate in their entirety the opinions, statements and actions which the author attributes to him. The author's account in this place is in keeping with the fictional character of his entire description. We cannot think why Bernard Struck should have consented to write an accompanying linguistic synopsis in a book which has so little to commend it. Still less do we understand what his chronological sequence of the Nilotic languages is based on.

E. E. E.-P.

NUER-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By RAY HUFFMAN. Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), Berlin, 1929. 63 pp.

THIS vocabulary of Nuer words and the grammatical notes which are given at the end of the book are very welcome to those who find themselves in Nuer country. It will certainly prove of great value to them in learning Nuer, and is a step forward in the effort to stabilise the languages of the Southern Sudan for administrative and educational purposes. It is the first concrete result of the 1928 Conference at Rejaf, and presages good results all along the linguistic front. The compilation has been written in the phonetic script recommended at the Conference, and it is extraordinary how quickly one gets used to the novel characters. It would have been far more useful if an English-Nuer vocabulary had accompanied it. The reviewer is one of those who likes to start learning a new language by looking up a dictionary for native alternatives to 'cismah eh? gib shai, imshi, etc. This is impossible in Miss Huffman's book unless one is prepared to read through the whole dictionary whenever one wants to find a word, and few have time for that. Nevertheless, the book will prove a great assistance. Professor Westermann's excellent short vocabulary and grammar of Nuer is less complete and is inaccessible to most people since, though written in English, it is buried in a German scientific periodical. There are, obviously, many words which find no place in the compilation, and there are many words included which ought not to have been, but Miss Huffman is fully conscious of deficiencies and, since she possesses this essential quality of a worker in Africa, we look forward in confident anticipation to a pruned and completed vocabulary, to a full grammar in the place of a few notes, and to the collection of folk tales which she suggests she has in store for us. Though we anticipate more, we thank Miss Huffman for what we have received.

E. E. E.-P.