

Sudan Notes and Records.

Vol. XVI, 1933.

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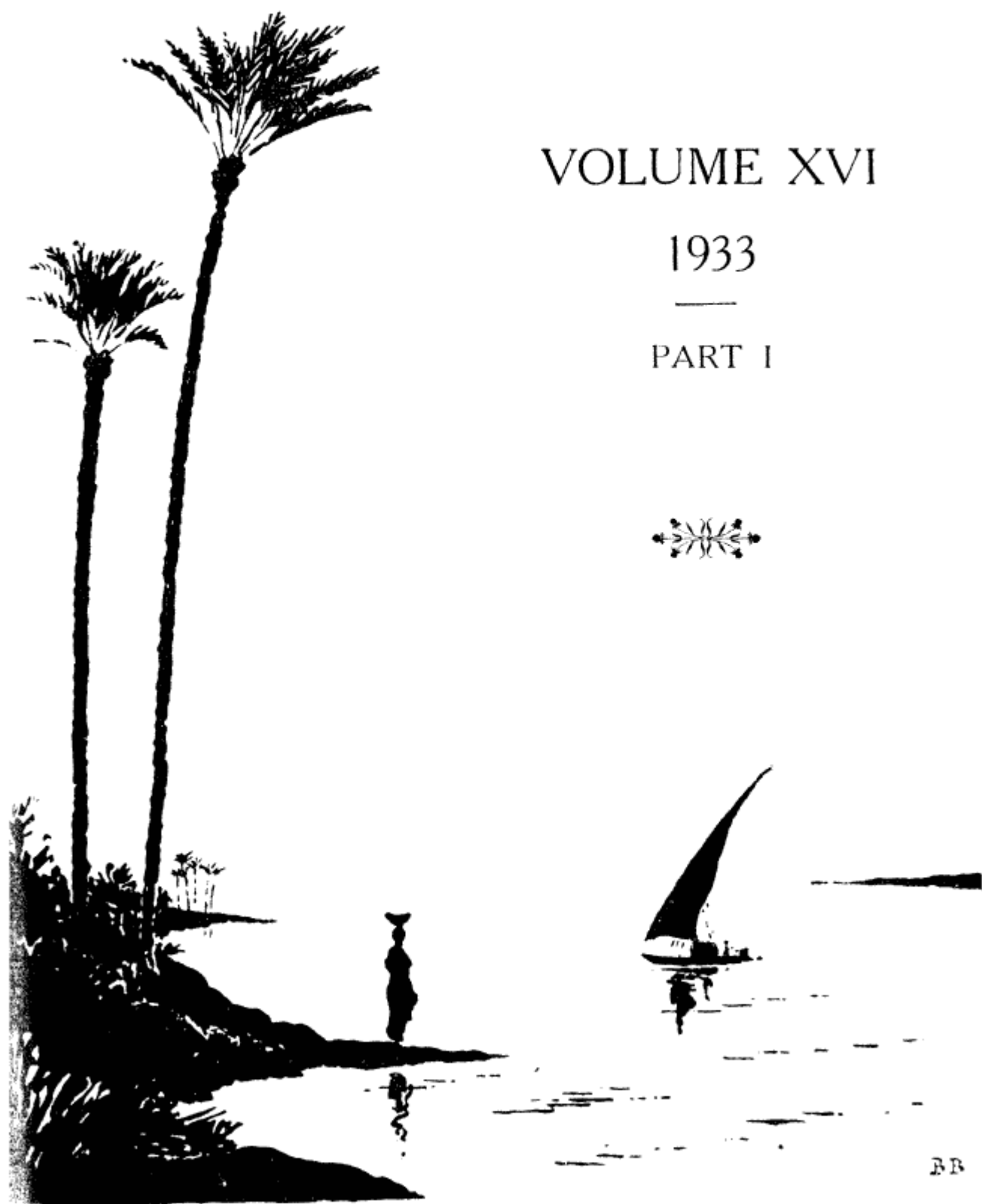
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VOLUME XVI

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PART I



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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

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Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

adopted by the Editors of *Sudan Notes and Records*.

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

VOWELS.

fatḥa	a,	lengthened	ā
kasra	i,	"	ī
ḍamma	u,	"	ū

DIPHTHONGS.

اِيّ —ai (as in aisle).
اُوّ —au (as in mauser).

The *Ḥ* of the article always remains *Ḥ*.

The silent *ʿ* (ʿ) is omitted.

NOTES.

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

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

e.g. beled, Moḥammed, bēt (or beit), /ōsh.

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

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XVI

Part I

1933

THE NUER : TRIBE AND CLAN.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

(PLATES I—VIII.)

I—Introductory remarks—Fieldwork conditions—Homogeneity of Nuer nation—Its place in the Nilotic conglomerate of peoples.

II—Tribal system—Common territory—Common name and sentiment—Etymology of tribal names—Regulation of disputes between tribesmen—Combination of tribesmen for common warfare—Tribal segmentation—*Cieng*, *gol*, and *dor*.

III—Clan system—Etymology of clan names—Nature of lineages—Major and minor lineages—Lineages of JINACA and GAT GAN KIIR—Family of Nuer clans—Difference between kinship groups and political aggregates—Clan segmentation.

IV—The clan a diffused, the tribe a localised group—Partial localisation of clans—*Diel* (clan aristocracies)—*Rul* (strangers)—*Jaang* (Dinka)—Adopted Dinka and Dinka immigrants—Ngok Dinka—Other Dinka tribes—Linguistic use of terms *Diel*, *rul*, *jaang*—Summary.

V—The clan an exogamous group—Source of error in the word *cieng*—Marriage into the mother's clan—Range of exogamy among the kindred—Position of adopted Dinka and their descendants.

VI—Clan totemism—Symbolic spears—Honorific clan titles—Clan traditions—*Mar* and *buth*.

VII—Regulation of public life—*Gaat twot* (elders)—Age-sets—*Kuaar muon*—Land expert—Leopard-skin chief—Blood feuds—Civil disputes—Incest—Rain-making.

VIII—*Wut ok* (cattle expert)—*Gac*—Prophets—Ngundeng—Magicians.

IX—Summary.

NOTE.—Clans and clan lineages are printed in capitals to distinguish them from tribes and tribal sections.

I.

THIS paper is based on a report read before the British Association in August, 1931. Some sections of the original paper have, however, been enlarged, while others have been deleted. Part of my data has been recorded in Prof. and Mrs. Seligman's book, *The Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. It deliberately omits more than the briefest reference

to many processes of Nuer social life, in particular their economic life, the life of family and kin, their ritual, and their age-sets. It attempts to define the form and functions of larger groups than family or kin, namely, the clan, the tribe, and the nation. I have, consequently, used my data in a preliminary manner and for illustrative purposes rather than tried to present a final and detailed account.

Nothing but the briefest notes on Nuer customs existed before Jackson wrote his account of their life in *Sudan Notes and Records* in 1923 and very little has since been added to the facts which he collected. In spite of serious handicaps Jackson wrote an excellent general survey of Nuer social organisation. It is with a full appreciation of his pioneer work that I write this paper to supplement and, I hope, in some particulars, to clarify his account. It is largely due to the complexity of the facts that Jackson's account of them is sometimes unintelligible, but confusion has also arisen from his hazy notions about ethnological terms. To-day several of us are trying to follow the route mapped out by Jackson and to explore new territory, and it will greatly facilitate collation of our researches if we all use the same terms to describe the same features of Nuer social organisation. Special attention has, therefore, been devoted to terminology, since nothing but muddle can result from use of native words like *cieng*, which symbolises a number of different social groups, for though it is generally clear from the context about which group a Nuer is speaking the same clarity cannot be carried into a sociological account. In such a situation it is inevitable that one should abandon native terminology and use English symbols instead. I believe that this usage will not only make for scientific accuracy, but will also facilitate administration.

I do not regard my work among the Nuer as finished, and I hope to complete it when circumstances are more favourable. I spent three and a half months in Nuer country in 1930 and five months in 1931. From the point of view of an anthropological field worker whose time is limited the conditions of work were depressing. The whole of my first trip and a large part of my second trip were occupied with an attempt to master the language sufficiently to make enquiries through it. Only those who have tried to learn a difficult language without the aid of

a single interpreter and without adequate grammar or dictionary¹ will fully understand the limitations which these conditions impose upon research. The Nuer would at any time have been a difficult job to tackle and the task was undoubtedly rendered more difficult by events of preceding years which had led to warfare with the Government and military control with consequent disillusionment and resentment. What work I was able to accomplish was made possible by the encouragement and assistance of Mr. A. G. Pawson, Governor of the Upper Nile Province, and Capts. A. H. A. Alban and H. A. Romilly and Mr. J. F. Tierney, and I wish to make special acknowledgment to the staff of the American Mission at Nasser who gave me hospitality and generously placed their time and knowledge at my disposal. Their co-operation was invaluable. I was mainly resident among the Lou Nuer to the east of the Nile, but I also visited the Lek Nuer on the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Jekany who stretch westwards along the Sobat from the frontiers of Abyssinia. I have seen the Nuer of these regions during the dry season and the commencement of the rains but have not stayed among them during the rainy season. I was also restricted to a few cattle camps owing to lack of transport, so that spacially my acquaintance with the Nuer was confined to a very small area as temporally it was confined to a single

¹ At the time two long Nuer-English vocabularies existed, *A Nuer-English Vocabulary*, compiled by the late C. H. Stigand, Cambridge University Press, 1923, and *Nuer-English Dictionary*, by Ray Huffman, Dietrich Riemer, Berlin, 1929. Since my return from Nuerland Miss Huffman has published an English-Nuer vocabulary (*English-Nuer Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 1931.) An earlier, but smaller, English-Nuer vocabulary has been compiled by Prof. Diedrich Westermann, and his account of Nuer phonetics and grammar are still all we possess on these subjects. It includes a number of native texts. ("The Nuer Language," by Diedrich Westermann. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*. Berlin, 1912, pp. 84-141.) The oldest lists of words are those compiled by Brun-Rollet ("Vocabularen der Dinka-, Nuehr- und Schilluk-Sprachen." *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1862) and by Marno (*Kleine Vocabularen der Fungi-, Tabi, Bertat- und Nuehr-Sprache*. *Reisen im Gebeite des blauen und weissen Nil*. Wien, 1874.)

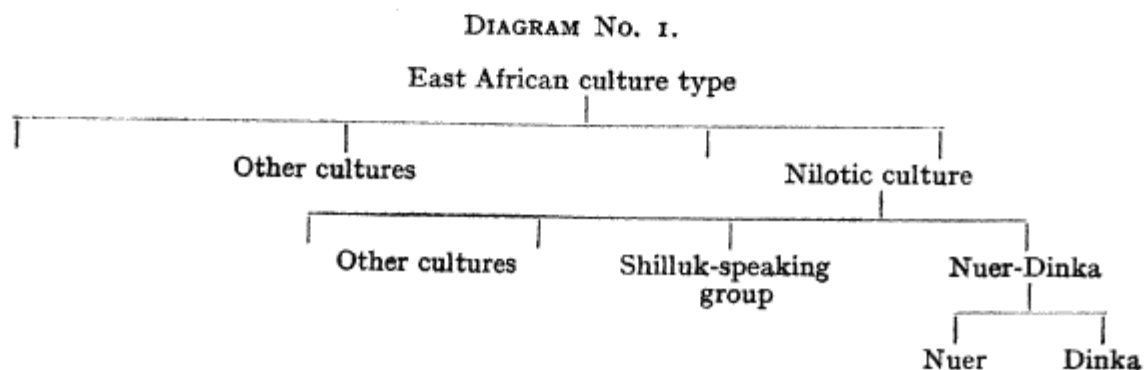
The following accounts of Nuer customs exist: Major C. H. Stigand, "Warrior Classes of the Nuers," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918, pp. 116-118. Major C. H. Stigand, "The Story of Kir and the White Spear," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. II, 1919, pp. 224-226. Capt. V. H. Fergusson, "The Nuong Nuer," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. IV, 1921, pp. 146-155. H. C. Jackson, "The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VI, 1923, pp. 59-107 and 123-189. P. Coriat, "The Gawair Nuer"—terminal essay in Jackson's combined account of *The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province* (his two papers in *Sudan Notes and Records*), El Hadara Printing Press, Khartoum, no date. Capt. V. H. Fergusson, "Nuer Beast Tales," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII, 1924, pp. 105-112. Ray Huffman, *Nuer Customs and Folk-Lore*, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 105. Pater Crazzolaro, "Die Gar-Zeremonie bei den Nuer," *Africa*, Vol. V., 1932, pp. 28-39. Miss Soule, *Some Nuer Terms in Relation to the Human Body*, Book I, Parts 1 and 2, the American Mission, Nasser, Sudan, October, 1931.

As far as I am aware this list, together with reports by a number of early travellers, completes the literature on the Nuer.

season of the year. Illness prevented a final visit to Lek country in the early part of the rains. I mention these facts because it is essential that conditions of research should be understood if its results are to be rightly evaluated. In a final account I shall describe more fully the methods of research which I employed to meet these conditions.

The population of the Nuer to the east of the Nile is given by Jackson as about 320,000, and an estimate made in 1928 puts their total population on both sides of the Nile at 430,000. They form a homogeneous nation. All are pastoralists, though they make keen use of what opportunities their unruly climate allows them to cultivate the soil, and they are tireless in pursuit of game and fish. With slight regional differences their material culture is everywhere the same. Everywhere one sees the same kind of cattle byres and huts, milking vessels and other technical necessities of stock-raising, household utensils and ornaments, etc. Dialectical differences in their language are slight throughout the entire area, and in spite of local variation there is a common mythology and ritual. Likewise there are no appreciable differences in social organisation in the different countries of Nuerland. The Nuer, therefore, may be spoken of as a homogeneous nation which, with the Dinka nation, form a sub-group of the larger Nilotic conglomerate.

The Nuer belong to an East African culture type, the limits of which are at present ill defined both geographically and in terms of culture. Within this heterogeneous complex they form in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan a unit of related cultures with the Shilluk (including the Anuak, Bor, and other peoples which speak dialects of the Shilluk tongue) and Dinka nations of the Nile valley. Shilluk culture is so divergent from the other two that we may speak of Nuer-Dinka culture in contrast to it. Thus we may construct the following diagram:—



Nuer¹ and Dinka customs and languages are far too similar for any doubt to arise about their common origin, but in the present state of our knowledge even a tentative reconstruction of their historical relations with each other which led to the formation of two distinct cultures is out of the question. Our knowledge of neither is adequate, and probably never will be adequate, to solve historical problems of this kind. Moreover, it is not yet certain whether the many Dinka tribes differ from each other sufficiently for some of them to approach the Nuer in their culture more closely than they approach other members of their own conglomerate, though, personally, I hold this to be highly improbable. The Atwot are a peculiar case, for they speak a dialect of Nuer but are alleged to approximate more closely to some of the Dinka tribes in other elements of their culture. On the other hand, the Jekany tribes, who to-day have a typically Nuer culture, appear to be of Dinka origin. Even were we in possession of more knowledge about both nations we should still have to face the insuperable difficulty that not only have Dinka and Nuer almost certainly a common cultural origin but that there has also been continuous contact between them which has led to extensive borrowing by the Nuer from the Dinka, and possibly the process has been mutual, so that one cannot know for sure whether a similar trait in the two cultures is due to their common cultural origin or to later borrowing.

Moreover, any attempt to differentiate between the two peoples by a comparison between their physical characters is equally dangerous until a very large number of individuals whose ancestry is well known have been measured. I have little doubt myself that there are physical differences between Nuer and Dinka, though both are undoubtedly of the same race. But we have to remember that there has been absorption of Dinka on a gigantic scale by Nuer invasions during the first half of the 19th century. At that time most of the country east of the Nile was occupied by Dinka tribes who were dispersed and largely absorbed by the Nuer who crossed the Nile in waves from their home on the west bank. To such an extent were Dinka assimilated to Nuer that I consider it safe to say that not more than 50 per cent. of the Nuer to the east of the Nile are of pure descent, and though on the west bank the process

¹ I use the word "Nuer" but with a protest. They call themselves "Nath" (*sing-ran*), and if ever a more ambitious account of them is written this term will be used.

of expansion and absorption has not been so extensive it has, nevertheless, been considerable. Both Nuer and Dinka myths recognise their common ancestry. It will soon be possible to see how closely their cultures approach one another to-day, but I reserve this comparison until the data is more abundant.

The Nuer have not been greatly affected by foreign influences owing to their geographical environment. Slight regional differences in environment exist, but their country is throughout hard on man and beast since it consists of an enormous plain which for the greater part of the year is either a parched desert or a swamp. These circumstances make the Nuer difficult to approach and their relations with the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan have, on the whole, been broken and unsatisfactory and culminated a few years ago in open warfare on both banks of the Nile. Subsequently, a more deliberate policy and more systematic control were established for the whole area. At an early period the Nuer came into contact with Arabs, but, though this contact was closer in some parts of Nuerland than in others, I do not believe it anywhere deeply affected their culture.

Sketch map No. I shows the position of the Nuer in relation to the Shilluk and Dinka. The Nuer themselves speak of those tribes which inhabit the country to the west of the Bahr-el-Gebel as "homeland Nuer" (*Nath cieng*) and of those tribes which inhabit the country to the east of the Bahr-el-Gebel as "bush Nuer" (*Nath doar*), and it is convenient to make this distinction also by speaking of these two divisions as Western Nuer and Eastern Nuer respectively.

II.

Nuerland is divided into a number of territorial sections, the occupants of which form political units of the Nuer nation. These territorial sections I will call countries and the political units which occupy them I will call tribes. Thus, the Lou country is a territorial division of Nuerland and the Lou tribe is a political division of the Nuer nation. These tribes are shown on the accompanying sketch map No. II.

The published estimates of population of Nuer tribes will give some idea of their numerical importance.

EASTERN NUER.								Population.	
Tribe.									
Thing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,000 ¹	...
Lou	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70,000 ¹	...
Lak	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30,000 ¹	...
Gaawär	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50,000 ¹	...
Jekany (Gaajok, Gaajak, Gaagwang)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	160,000 ¹	...
Total for Eastern Nuer								320,000 ¹	...
									100,000 ²
									(+Thiang 40,000) ²
									30,000 ²
									200,000 ²
									370,000 ²

There is no doubt that many of these estimates are excessive. The latest figures, and doubtless the most accurate ones, have not yet been published, but I have been privileged to see some of them. They place the Thiang at 7,750, the Lou at 19,025,³ the Lak at about 18,000, the Gaawär at 18,000. There is a probability, therefore, that the Eastern Nuer do not exceed 200,000-300,000 in total number.

Jackson does not furnish figures for the Western Nuer. Those given in the Rejaf Conference Report present a total population of 60,000 for all tribes. The only tribal figures I have seen are based partly on tribal affinity and partly on areas of administration. They are :—

WESTERN NUER.								Population.	
Tribe.									
Dok	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11,063	(1927)
Jagei	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,195	(1927)
Nuong	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,421	(1927-1929)
Bul	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,924	
Lek (one section)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,353	
Lek (another section + two sections of Jekany)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,120	
Kilual (+ some Jekany)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,953	(1927)
Jekany (one section)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,031	(1927)
Total								53,060	

I am fairly certain that not every one of the names given on the map represents a tribe in the sense in which I am using the term. The exact nature of these political divisions will be known only as a result of further research. A tribe is defined as the largest political unit within the nation and it has four characteristics : (1) it has a territorial basis, (2) its members have a common name and sentiment, (3) it regulates disputes between its members, (4) it unites for war against other tribes or segments of other nations.

¹ Is an estimate given by Jackson (*op. cit.*) in 1923.

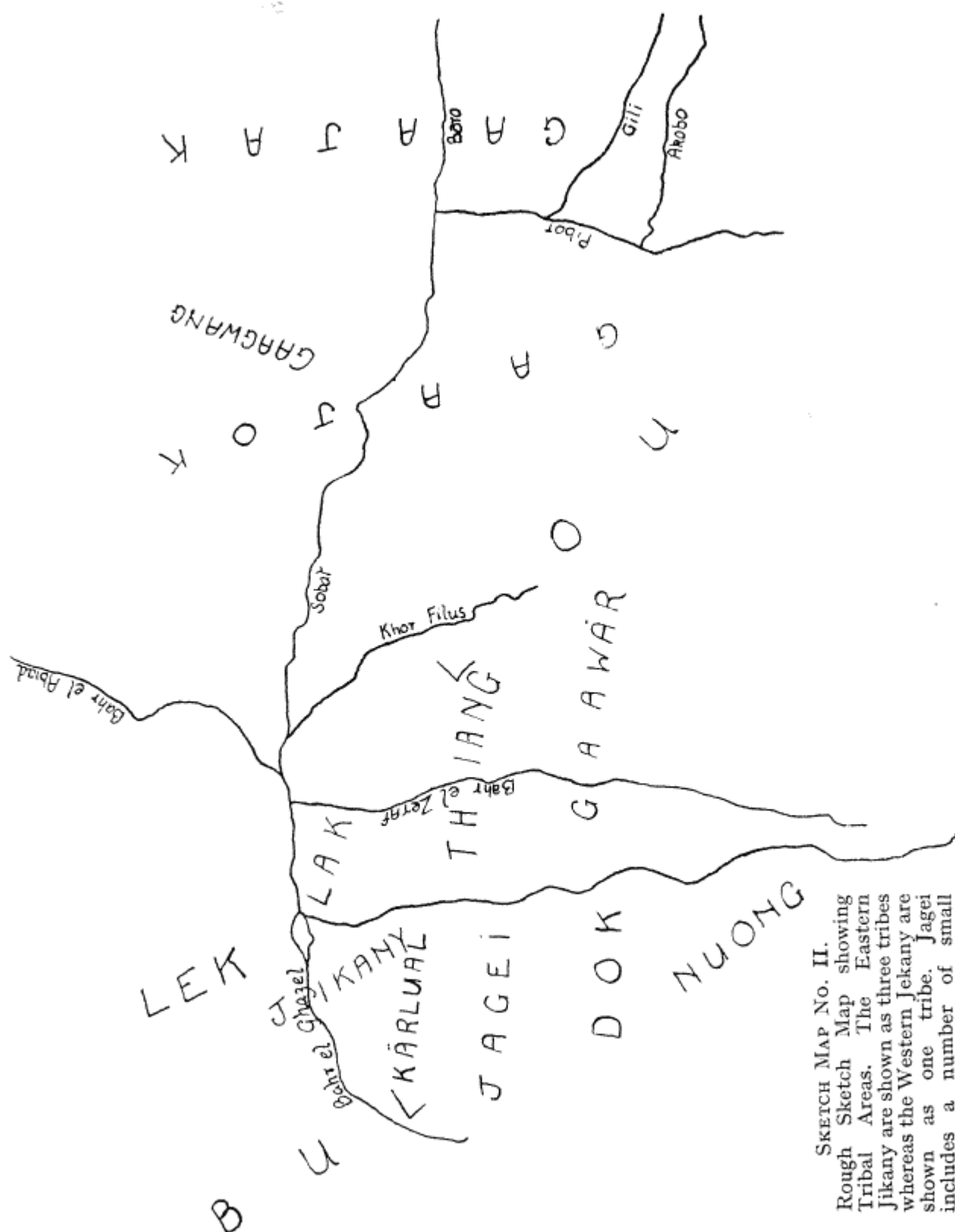
² Is an estimate given in the *Report of the Rejaf Language Conference*, in 1928.

³ The wide discrepancy between the latest and earlier estimates for the Lou is possibly due in part to inclusion in the earlier figures of the Ngok Dinka and those Dinka who have since been transferred to Dinkaland by the Government.

(1) The territory of each tribe is clearly marked off from those of its neighbours. Each tribe has its permanent villages and its fields of economic exploitation. The Lou, for instance, have their tribal grazing grounds, hunting areas, wells and lakes and rivers for dry season occupation and for fishing. The Gaajok also have their grazing grounds, etc., and if the Lou infringe on these there is sure to be fighting unless some arrangement has been reached between the tribal sections concerned.

(2) Each tribe has not only its territory, but its members have a common name and sentiment. Thus Lek, Lou, Lak, Gaawär, etc., are the names by which the country and its occupants are known. Lou country is known as *rol looka* (genitive of lou) and Lek country is known as *rol legni* (genitive of lek), and an inhabitant of these two countries is spoken of as *ran looka* and *ran legni* respectively.

I am unable always to give the etymology of these tribal names. Some of them are clan names like Gaajok and Gaawär, since the tribe is named after its dominant clan. I will speak later of the meaning of clan names. Other tribes have stories accounting for their names, but these are in the nature of popular etymology and are sometimes contradictory. Thus the Lou and Rengyan tribes have aristocracies sprung from a common ancestor, Denac, and are said to be so called because there was a fight between the herd bulls of the two lineages. A *tut ma lou* (mouse-coloured bull) represented the lineage which migrated to Lou country and a *tut ma reng yan* (bull with fawn markings) represented the lineage which remained behind in Rengyan country (part of the country marked Jagei in the sketch map). Hence the two countries and the tribesmen who occupy them are called after those two bulls. I have heard a similar story accounting for the split which took place between the lineages which give their names to Lek and Kärlual countries. Here again the bulls of the two lineages had a fight, that occupying Lek country being represented by a *tut ma lek* (bull with giraffe-like markings) and that occupying Kärlual country being represented by a *tut ma kär lual* (bull with brown markings). Another man told me that when the original occupiers of Lek country entered it they discovered a pool crowded with a species of fish which they caught to satisfy their hunger, and that, as this species of fish is known as *lek*, the country and tribe were called after them. Jekany is another tribal name of which the meaning is far from clear. Jackson (p. 75) recounts that when Kir



SKETCH MAP No. II.
Rough Sketch Map showing
Tribal Areas. The Eastern
Jikany are shown as three tribes
whereas the Western Jekany are
shown as one tribe. Jagei
includes a number of small
tribes, Rengyan, Bõr, Lang etc.

fled from the Dinka who had brought him up they said “*achilo kang* (someone, the stranger) has gone. This phrase became corrupted into the word Jekaing, by which name the descendants of Kir are now known.” This is an unlikely explanation, for one reason because the terminal phoneme in Jekany is *ny* and not *ng*, and for another reason, because *ji* is obviously a prefix meaning “people,” as in JINACA, the people of Nac, or JIKUL, the people of Kul.¹ By analogy one may suppose that Jikany are the people of Kany, but it is very doubtful if Kany can be regarded as a proper name and equated with Kir, who was the founder of the dominant clan in this tribe and who, we might expect, would furnish the proper name after which the tribe would be called if they were called after a man. One may, nevertheless, I believe, ask a descendant of Kir “*Labi Kany?*” (“Are you a Kany?”) in the same way as one may ask a descendant of Nac “*Labi Nac?*” (“Are you a Nac?”). Some people explain the term Jikany by saying that it is derived from a word meaning palm trees on account of a connection between palm trees and Kir who lived near them or who was found in a gourd on them or at their feet.

There can be no doubt that tribesmen have an emotional feeling about their country and hence towards its other occupants. This sentiment arises from common action in warfare, common name, common traditions, common regulation of public life, common territory, and above all from the fact that in each tribe one clan is predominant and forms the iron girders of kinship around which the political structure of the tribe is built up. Except in occasional periods of solidarity, however, when the tribe acts together as a military unit, the sentiments which bind its members together are extremely weak. Thus we find lengthy feuds going on between one section and another within the tribe itself.

(3) Nevertheless, machinery, even though it is cumbrous and not always very effective, exists by which feuds can be prevented or settled sooner or later when they take place between segments of the same tribe, whereas if a member of one tribe kills a member of another tribe there is no definite social machinery for controlling the situation which will arise as a result of the homicide. At the same time it is necessary to point out that the degree of control over retaliation for homicide varies

¹ In reading proofs I notice that I have written Jikany and Jekany equally but have not thought it worth while to alter. This is also the case with Jimac and Jemac.

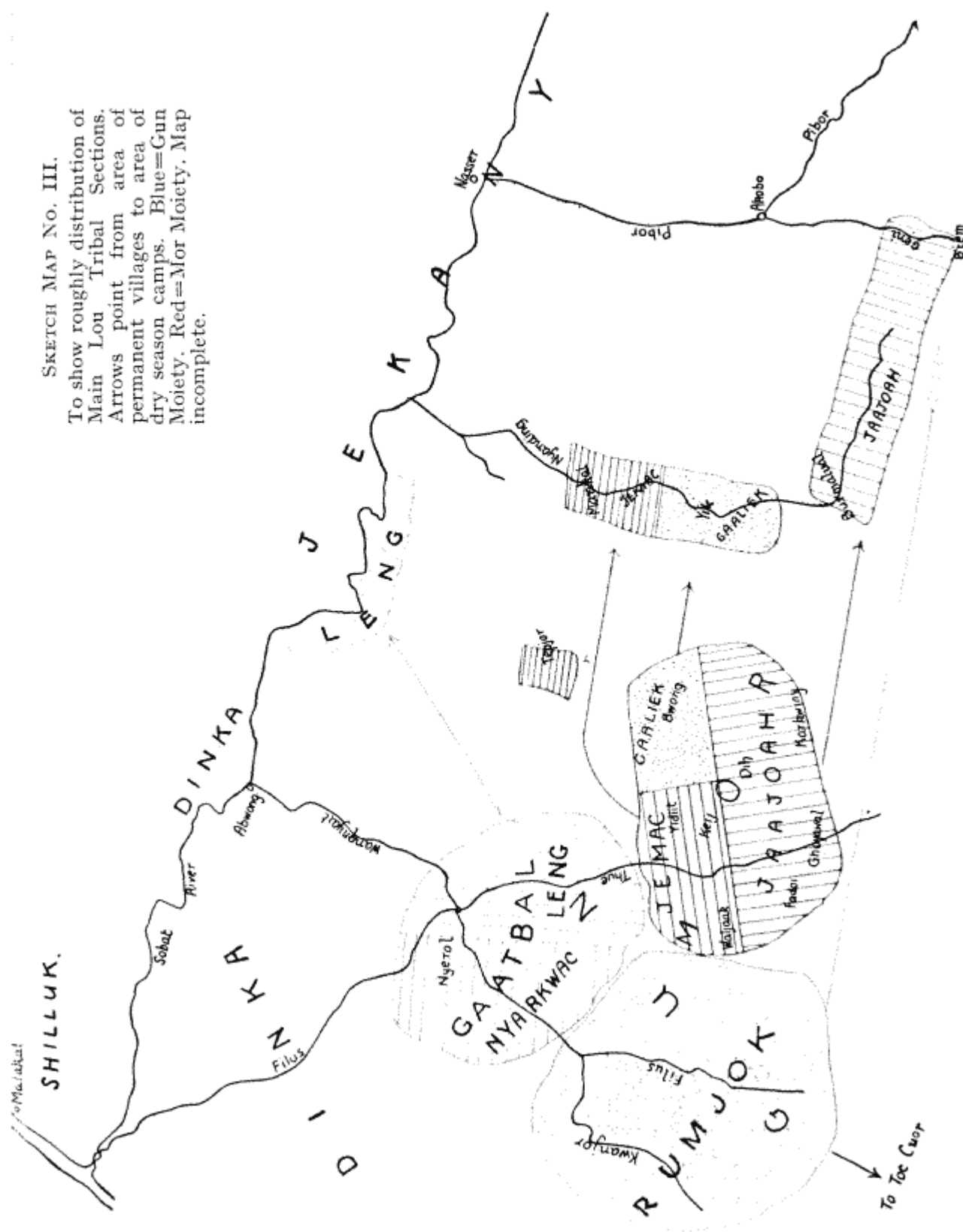
considerably within the tribe itself according to the size of the section concerned. The smaller the sections involved the greater the control, the larger the sections involved the smaller the control. Thus it is easier to settle a dispute between two villages of the Leng tertiary section of the Lou tribe than between one village of the Leng tertiary section and another village of the Nyarkwac tertiary section (*see* sketch map No. III). This is due to closer local cohesion in the first case than in the second and to closer relationship among the dominant clan element throughout the Leng section than between this element and the corresponding element in the Nyarkwac section. In the same way the Nuer say that there is more likelihood of settling a dispute between fighting factions of Gaatbal and Rumjok secondary tribal sections (*see* sketch map No. III) than between Gaatbal and Jemac secondary tribal sections, since Gaatbal and Rumjok both form part of the same primary tribal section of Gun while Jemac forms part of a different primary tribal section, the Mor. In this case also the dominant elements of Gaatbal and Rumjok sections belong to the same clan while the dominant element of Jemac section belongs to a different clan (*see* diagram No. V). Doubtless this is a statement of general tendency or principle and is, in actual practice, subject to many exceptions due to the special circumstances of the dispute and the genealogical relationship of the parties involved in it.

In kindly criticism¹ of the paper which I read before the British Association Mr. Coriat takes exception to my regarding settlement of disputes among tribesmen as a characteristic of tribal organisation. He points out that "in the past acts of homicide as between members of different Nuer tribes were dealt with by leopard skin chiefs in the same way as with members of tribal groups." I do not wish to pit my slight experience of the Nuer against the great knowledge and long experience of Mr. Coriat. Doubtless many homicide cases between members of different tribes were settled by leopard-skin chiefs. Among all peoples there is a wide divergence between theories of social life and actual social practice. I can only urge that I was constantly told as a legal rule or principle by the Nuer themselves, however little this may accord with actual practice, that among all Lou tribesmen there was *cut* (compensation for homicide) whereas there was no *cut* between Lou

¹ Privately circulated.

SKETCH MAP NO. III.

To show roughly distribution of Main Lou Tribal Sections. Arrows point from area of permanent villages to area of dry season camps. Blue=Gun Moiety. Red=Mor Moiety. Map incomplete.



and Gaawär or between Lou and Gaajok. In Gaajok country I was also repeatedly informed that there was *cut* between all Gaajok tribesmen, but no *cut* between them and Gaagwang or Gaajak tribesmen. It is true that tribes are not water-tight compartments. People moved all over Nuerland with remarkable freedom and there are strong social bonds uniting people with members of tribes other than their own, particularly the bonds of marriage (there has always been interchange of daughters between Lou and Gaajok, for instance) and the bonds of clanship (the dominant elements in Gaajok and Gaajak tribes, for example, belong to the same clan since they are all descended from the same ancestor, Kir. Also lineages of the same clan are scattered far and wide among a dozen different tribes, but still recognise their kinship in spite of their territorial disintegration). Nevertheless, the declarations of Nuer on this point must have some significance, and I consider it well to record my own impressions from their verbal statements, together with Mr. Coriat's criticism. The point is important, but not overwhelmingly so. What is of greater significance is that each tribe has its own tribal officials who regulate disputes among tribesmen in so far as their ritual functions allow them to do so. The Lou leopard-skin chiefs regulate disputes among Lou tribesmen and Gaajok leopard-skin chiefs regulate disputes among Gaajok tribesmen. In virtue of his sacred character a leopard-skin chief (or land expert) can perform his ritual functions irrespective of tribal boundaries, but in the nature of things one does not summon a leopard-skin chief from Gaajok country to function in Lou country, but each district of Lou country has its regular experts who perform whatever services are required of them by fellow tribesmen of their section.

(4) Tribesmen unite for defensive and offensive warfare against other tribes and segments of other nations. Messengers summoned Lou tribesmen from all over the tribal area for a combined raid on the Dinka and those who wished to take part in the raid answered the summons. In such expeditions there was a truce to disputes within the tribe itself and temporary tribal solidarity was attained. Mr. Coriat points out to me, with some justice, that "it is incorrect to state that the tribe is the largest political unit within the nation. Their history can show many instances where two or more tribes have combined in common offence and defence. As an example, Lou and Jekany against the Anuak,

Garweir and Lou against the Dinka. In fact, the tribes combined in their first conquests of the Dinka." I was aware of these combinations, but I preferred to regard them as alliances between two political units. In the same way in Europe, nations, the largest political units of our culture, combine together for purposes of warfare, but they do not lose their political autonomy by doing so. The comparison goes no further. Here again I wish to make it clear that I do not regard Nuer tribes as cohesive, clearly defined, water-tight, political groups. They are surely not. There are constant feuds between segments of the same tribe ; there is constant marriage, fraternisation, and recognition of common kinship, between members of different tribes. Moreover, the tribe, as is explained more fully later, comprises within its boundaries a number of fairly cohesive segments cut off from each other territorially and these segments are united to one another by slender links which frequently snap so that new tribes are formed by fission. When tribes allied for warfare, each organised itself separately, so far as I could gather. Thus, when Lou united with Gaajok and Gaajak each organised its fighting force under its own leaders and magicians.

In my opinion, the Nuer tribes may be said to have had these political functions even if they carried them out very inadequately, and it is in this belief that I have spoken of the Lou as a tribe which includes two primary sections, the Gun and the Mor, but I have classed the eastern Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang as three separate tribes rather than as three sections of a Jekany tribe. I admit that the Nuer tribes did not carry out their functions in the clear-cut manner which we find among the tribes of many other African nations, e.g., the Azande. The Nuer tribe is a very fluid affair. It is not a constant and static group, but it is variable and dynamic. The way in which it has segmented is sufficient evidence of this. Fission takes place as a result of slow but continual social changes, the tendency being always that as the tribe gets larger it loses solidarity accordingly, so that it is not always possible to say with certainty when a tribe, in the sense in which I have used the term, is a single tribe with two moieties or whether it would not be more correct to speak of two separate tribes. I do not want to be guilty of the despicable offence of word-polishing. Those who wish to speak of the Gun and Mor moieties of the Lou tribe as two tribes or of the Gaajok and Gaajak tribes as two primary sections of one Jekany tribe are free to do so.

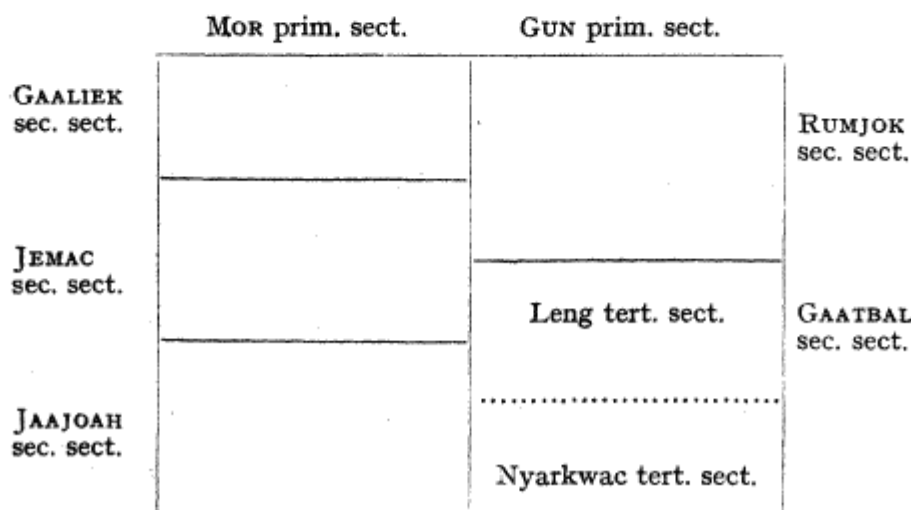
Little harm is done whichever way we speak of them so long as we clearly define what we refer to at the outset. The point to remember is that "tribe" among the Nuer is a relative term and that what we speak of as a tribe to-day may not be one in our sense to-morrow. I have even been told (by Cuol, the Government interpreter at Nasser) that there was no *cut* between Yol and Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok tribe. He told me that there used to be blood-compensation between these two sections till so many people on either side were killed that it ceased to function. It is clear, if this is the case, that "tribe" must be relative, and to some degree an arbitrary and *ad hoc* term. The only difference between the nomenclature used in this paper and that usually employed is that I shall regard the three divisions of what is generally called the Eastern Jekany tribe, the Gaajak, Gaajok, and Gaagwang, as separate tribes. In doing this I fully realise the arbitrariness of the usage.

This continual process of segmentation in the tribe is due to the weakening of these bonds upon which the solidarity of primitive groups depends, communal life and kinship. The difficulty of pasturing and watering cattle during the dry season necessitates a sparse population to a large area. The more populous a group becomes the greater becomes this economic problem which can only be solved by its members going further and further afield to exploit more distant pastures and water supplies. This has undoubtedly been one of the causes of Nuer expansion during the last century. The result is that members of a group become less and less into contact with one another the larger it grows and the social and political solidarity of the group is consequently loosened. Thus, the tribe has the minimum of cohesion, while the small village group which lives together in dry and wet seasons is a closely knit community. The cohesion of other territorial groups between the village and the tribe varies in rough proportion to their size. As will be explained later, widening of spacial distance goes hand in hand with widening of distance in blood relationship. For even the bonds of kinship loosen when kin ceases to be localised and begin to spread over a large area, because if kin are to function as economic, social and ceremonial agents they must live together. How else can they pasture their herds in the same plains? How else can they attend the same weddings and mortuary ceremonies? How else can they act together

as a blood-revenge group? Moreover, as will be seen later, Nuer kinship groups are always being diluted by assimilation of unrelated elements, and the tendency is for community of living to supplant community of blood as the functioning element in Nuer society.

We have to bear in mind that segmentation is taking place all the time with every kind of territorial group, from the smallest to the largest, within the tribe, just as it happens to the tribe itself. I shall speak of the largest segments into which a tribe is divided as primary tribal sections, though when these are two in number, as often happens, we may speak of them as tribal moieties, e.g., the Lou tribe is split into moieties of Gun and Mor and, according to Jackson, the Thiang tribe is split into moieties of Ria and Bang. The Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang, which to-day have the status of separate tribes among the Jekany on the East bank of the Nile, were once primary sections of the Jekany tribe as they probably still are in its western homeland. Now, just as the Lou tribe is split into two primary tribal sections, Gun and Mor, so these sections are split into what I shall call secondary tribal sections, e.g., Gun is divided into secondary tribal sections of Rumjok and Gaatbal, while Mor is divided into secondary tribal sections of Gaaliek, Jaajoah, and Jemac. Each of these secondary tribal sections is split into further divisions which I will call tertiary tribal sections, e.g., the Gaatbal secondary tribal section is split into two tertiary tribal sections, the Leng and Nyarkwac. This may be shown diagrammatically (capitals do not here denote clans) :—

DIAGRAM NO. II.
LOU TRIBE.



In the same manner diagram No. III shows the primary sections of the Gaagwang tribe and the primary and secondary sections of the Gaajak and Gaajok tribes. These are presented as accurately as my knowledge permits, but anyone acquainted with the difficulties of unravelling the complex system of Nuer tribal divisions will not be surprised if he discovers sections which he knows under different names or others which he may think should not have been omitted. I do not know for sure what are the secondary tribal sections of the Gaagwang tribe.

DIAGRAM NO. III.
EASTERN JEKANY TRIBES.

	GAAJOK tribe.	GAAGWANG tribe.	GAAJAK tribe.	
LAANG prim. sect.	Thiur sec. sect.	GAATCIKA prim. sect.	nyayan sec. sect.	GAAGWONG prim. sect.
	Dwong sec. sect.		cany sec. sect.	
	Kwith sec. sect.		wau sec. sect.	
WANGKAC prim. sect.	Minyääł sec. sect.	NYINGEE prim. sect.	köng sec. sect. ¹	RENG prim. sect.
	Wang sec. sect.		col sec. sect.	
	Nyathol sec. sect.		dhilleak sec. sect.	
YOL prim. sect.	Pwot sec. sect.	NYAANG prim. sect.	tar sec. sect.	THIANG prim. sect.
	Kwal sec. sect.		kang sec. sect.	
	Yiic sec. sect.		long sec. sect.	
	Cam sec. sect.			
	Kwul sec. sect.			

Each of these tribal sections possesses the characters of the tribe itself, but more intensified. Each has its name, but the smaller the segment the stronger the sentiment associated with it. Each has a territorial basis, but the smaller the segment the more compact the territory, the more contiguous its members. Just as the tribe itself is crystallised around a clan so each segment is crystallised around a lineage of the clan and the smaller the segment the closer the relationship between members of this kinship nucleus. As I have said before, the smaller the area the greater the social cohesion.

Each of these segments is a political group and an economic group. As a political group it unites for warfare. The principle of unity is as

¹ Also called Tiek and Yaar.

follows (*see* diagram No. II). Leng tertiary tribal section may fight Nyarkwac tertiary tribal section, and in fact there has been a long feud between the two, but, in theory, according to my informants, if there is a row between Gaatbal secondary tribal section and Rumjok secondary tribal section, Leng and Nyarkwac will unite against the common enemy Rumjok which recruits from the several segments into which it is divided. On the other hand, if there is a fight between the Mor and Gun primary tribal sections, Rumjok and Gaatbal will unite against the combined Mor sections of Gaaliek, Jemac, and Jaajoah. This division of forces is based on the double principle of social cohesion, territorial contiguity and kinship. The Mor sections all live in one part of Lou country and the Gun sections all live in another part of Lou country (*see* sketch map No. III). The dominant lineages of the Mor sections are related closely to each other, while the dominant lineages of the Gun sections are also on their side closely related. However, I was told that in a row of this kind between Gun and Mor primary sections every effort would be made to turn the combat into a harmless armed demonstration (like so much of Nuer combativeness) rather than a regular pitched battle. My informants said that if no one were killed in the preliminary skirmishes the older men would get together and arrange for compensation to be paid for the offence which occasioned the rupture—generally a dispute about the ownership of cattle.

When a raid into Dinka country was organised Mor and Gun would both contribute warriors to the expedition, since both sections belong to the same tribe and since their dominant lineages are united by kinship bonds.

A similar principle was supposed to operate among the Jekany (*see* diagram No. III). Thus Minyää, Wang and Nyathuol would combine against Yol. Also Thiur, Dwong and Kwith sections would unite for purposes of warfare. The primary tribal sections were frequently at strife with one another, and in these feuds we again see how closeness of contiguity and kinship are the deciding factors in the combinations. Thus my informants said that Wangkac and Yol will unite for war against another section since the ancestors of the dominant lineages of both sections were sons of the same mother (Nyalieth, wife of Ken, son of Majok). According to this principle Wangkac, Laang and Yol ought to combine against the Gaajak tribe.

However this may have been in theory, in practice these tribal sections were largely autonomous groups and acted as such in their enmities and alliances. At one time they would be fighting among themselves and at other times they would combine against a third party, though the combinations were not as regular and simple as they were explained to me and as I have stated them on paper. I am extremely ignorant about the history of feuds among sections of the Lou and Jekany tribes and I record here the slight data I possess on the subject. I have already referred to the feud between sections Leng and Nyarkwac of the Lou tribe. This springs out of an earlier feud between sections Thiang and Yol which once formed sub-sections of Nyarkwac. The ancestors of the dominant lineages in the Leng and Yol sections were brothers, whereas the ancestor of the dominant lineage of the Thiang section stood to these brothers in the relation of sister's son. For a long while the Yol and Thiang sections lived peaceably together, but about thirty or so years ago a feud broke out between them and the Thiang section fled, defeated, to seek protection among the Leng section. The Yol sent messengers to the Leng telling them that they were not to receive their enemies or give them a home in their country. The Leng section replied that the ancestor of the LENG lineage was the maternal uncle of the ancestor of the THIANG lineage and that they could not refuse asylum to their sister's sons. This attitude involved Yol (Nyarkwac) in a second feud, this time with a combination of Leng and Thiang.

In Gaajok country the Yol primary tribal section joined the Gaagwang tribe (who seem to have identified themselves so much with the Gaajok tribe that we may almost speak of them as a single tribe separated from the Gaajak by the wide Macar swamps) against several (if not all) sections of the Gaajak tribe. I have a note that Yol fought Nyayan while Gaagwang fought Reng and Kang sections.

It appears that about half a century or more ago the Laang and Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok tribe were involved in a long feud and that there was warfare between the Yol and Wangkac sections. In the course of this warfare Yol were assisted by their allies the Gaagwang tribe and together they defeated the Wangkac so heavily that they moved to the far south along the Pibor river in the neighbourhood of Beirland. Here they say that they were attacked by "Turuk" and fled north again

to the site of their old homes but were then too exhausted to resume their feud with the Yol section.

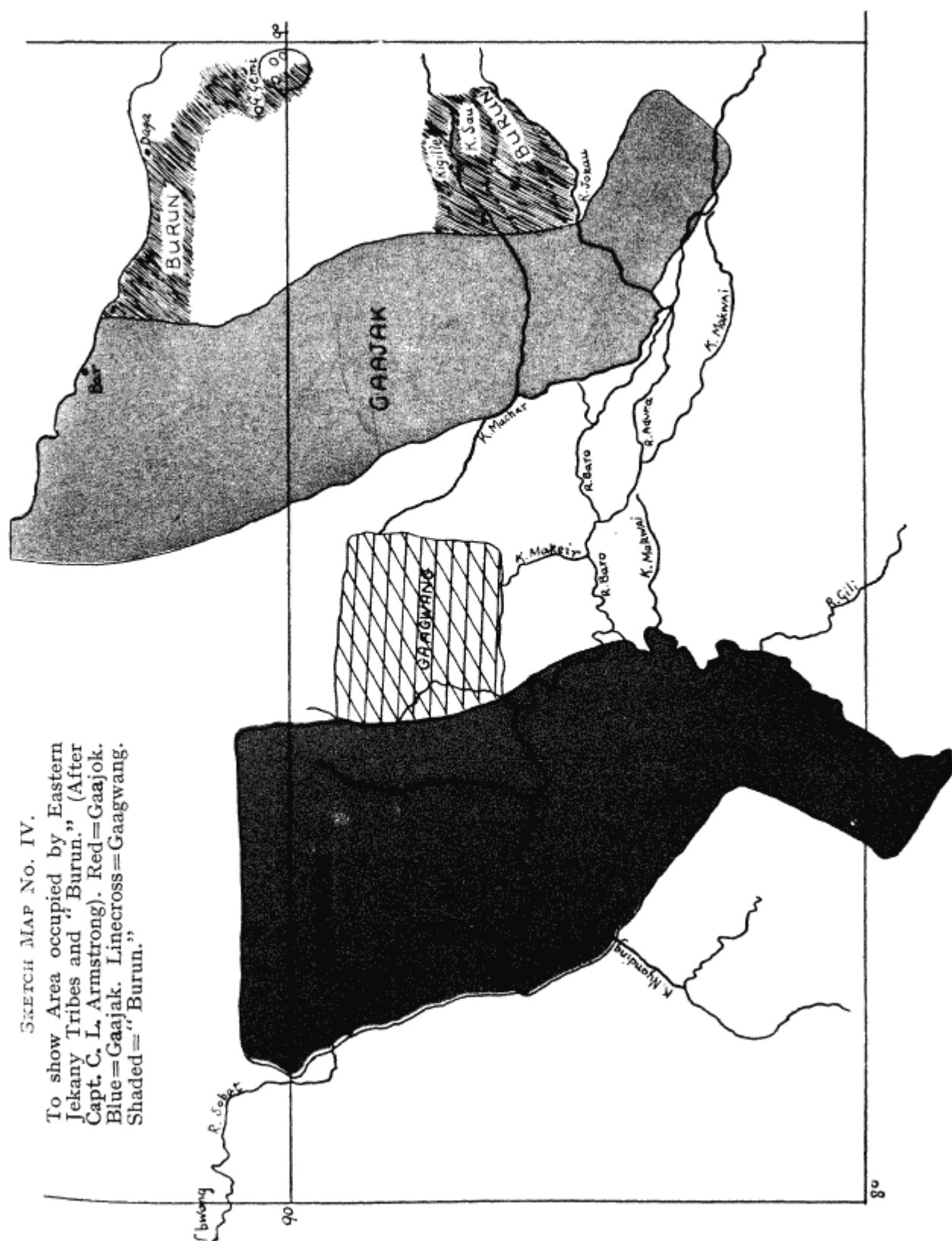
Another recent feud in Lou country was, I believe, that between Falkir and Nyajekany tertiary sections of Rumjok primary section, and there have been others between various sections of the Mor moiety, particularly between two sections of the Jimac¹.

The commonest occasions of feuds are probably related to economic activities. One section pastures its cattle on grazing grounds over which another section has rights of ownership—rights, as we shall see later, which derive from clan heritage and are divided among the chief lineages of the clan; or men of one section attempt to water their cattle at the wells of their neighbours; or there is conflict over fishing rights. For a tribe is an economic group and so is each of its sections. This is shown in map No. V, for which, together with map No. IV, I am indebted to the industry of Mr. C. L. Armstrong. The curved lines show areas of permanent villages of the Gaagwang tribe and the main sections of the Gaajok and Gaajak tribes, while the straight lines show the area of their dry season encampments. Map No. III was drawn up by myself after questioning Lou tribesmen and is intended to give an idea of the areas of the dry and wet season occupation of the Lou, but I was unable to visit more than a fraction of the area in person. It is, therefore, not likely to be so accurate as Mr. C. L. Armstrong's map of distribution. Both maps show the annual movement of the sections from their permanent villages to their annual watering places and pastures in the dry season. The whole of Nuer life follows the rhythm of the seasons. I will describe this rhythmic movement as briefly as possible as I hope to write a separate paper on Nuer economic life. The major parts of Jekany and Lou countries are huge, flat, treeless plains of cotton soil. Where there is a slight rise in the plain the spot is selected as the site of a permanent village consisting of well-built huts and cattle byres. Where there is a dip in the plain we find rivers, pools and swamps. The Sobat river begins to fall about December when the rains decline and as it falls it drains the streams into which it has emptied its waters earlier

¹ I take this opportunity to add a footnote to explain that I have not been consistent in my use of Nuer spellings for tribal sections and clan lineages. Thus a clan lineage may be called after a man called Kwe, but his descendants will be *gaat kwith* and his village *cieng kwith*. A clan is called after a man *yi* and becomes *cieng yie*, or after *yoal* and becomes *cieng yol*. I fear that I have sometimes used the nominative and sometimes the genitive cases. Hence on Map No. V *Yoal* and *Wangkeac* may be read as *Yol* and *Wangkac*.

SKETCH MAP No. IV.

To show Area occupied by Eastern
Jekany Tribes and "Burun." (After
Capt. C. L. Armstrong). Red = Gaajak.
Blue = Gaajak. Linecross = Gaagwang.
Shaded = "Burun."



in the year. At about this time the younger men of the tribe take the cattle out of the villages while the older men and the women reap the harvest. When the harvest is completed they burn the grass around the various pools which they intend to make their dry season quarters. As these rain-water pools dry up, the various household groups and groups of households which have been quartered near them begin to concentrate around larger pools in river beds or near a river bed in which it is known that wells can be dug or along the banks of the Sobat itself. Here they spend the remainder of the dry season. The Sobat begins to rise again about May and further drainage ceases. In June the rains commence and a double process of irrigation occurs. The Sobat runs out along what, on a map, appear to be its tributaries, but are more accurately its channels of overflow, while at the source end of these streams the rains begin to collect and run towards the Sobat, so that the two waters, the outgoing river water and the incoming rain water, meet. As soon as the rains commence, part of the occupants of the dry season camps return to their villages to sow the crops and as soon as it is seen that the rains have set in for good, they are followed by the young men who drive the cattle as quickly as possible to the villages where they will spend the height of the wet season.

Year by year this ebb and flow from village to dry season camps and back again goes on, but, though it is repeated each year, the time of movement, the density of concentration around water supplies, and even the place of concentration, vary according to the severity of the season. Thus, the Lou will remain as long as possible around their area of permanent villages and will concentrate around large pools like Tepjor, Nyerol, Muot Dit, Muot Tot, Fading, rather than migrate to the Sobat, Nyanding and Geni rivers, and the Dinka marshes, though I think that they generally find their way to these localities before the dry season is over.

A permanent village may consist of a group of huts and byres on an isolated *dabba*, but those I have seen generally comprise a slightly raised area of ground of a few hundred square yards dotted with strings of homesteads. A village may cover an area of several square miles without intermission of dwellings. I regret that I am not able to give any clear idea of the social distribution of these villages since I have only lived with the Nuer in their dry season camps save for a short stay at

Pakur village (Lek tribe) on my introduction to Nuerland when I was quite unable to make any maps of social distribution upon which I have the slightest reliance. Under these circumstances I shall speak somewhat loosely of districts and villages, meaning by district an area occupied by secondary and tertiary tribal sections such as the Leng and the Nyajekany of the Lou tribe and the Minyaal and Thiur sections of Gaajok, and by villages I shall mean a part of a district which is well demarcated through the proximity of its homesteads and hamlets, each being more or less joined to its neighbours by cultivated grounds, and through the wide gaps which divide it from other similarly occupied parts of the district, gaps filled by forest, bush or swamp. The precision of these terms and the size of the group to which they refer are very variable. My ignorance of Nuer country, over which I was unable to travel more than a few miles, prevents me from presenting a map of such distributions. I speak, to make it clearer to those on the spot, of such places as Muot Dit, Kurmayom (Lou), Pakur (Lek), Panyam (Dok) as villages, but I am by no means certain that among the Western Nuer and in the eastern Jekany countries villages of this kind are so well defined by geographical isolation.

Those cattle camps which I have seen vary in size from a cluster of windcreens protecting some 80 persons to a number of clusters protecting some two to three thousand persons. What information I possess on this dry season distribution will be written up under the heading of Nuer kinship and at the present I only wish to notice that there is a greater degree of solidarity, spacial and moral, in the dry season when the inhabitants of a district are living around a single water supply and when dissensions are subdued than in the wet season when they are scattered in their different villages and when the pulse of life beats stronger, largely owing to increased food supplies which follow from harvesting, and quarrels are considered seasonable.

By hamlets I mean groups of homesteads which often enough form a separate cluster on a village plain and which are occupied by a man and his brothers and other persons united to them by marriage or other social links. I do not suggest that these hamlets are always very distinct. By homesteads I mean the dwellings of a single man and his wives and children and cattle. These consist of a single cattle byre and kraal and a number of sleeping and cooking huts grouped around it. It is often convenient to speak of a joint homestead to denote several homesteads,

generally manned by a man and his brothers or married sons, with a common kraal or contiguous kraals. Up till the present I have refrained as far as possible from the use of Nuer words when referring to their political and territorial segments. Especially have I avoided the term *cieng* (*shieng*), which has been the source of much confusion. I will now speak briefly of these native terms and explain their meanings, as far as my knowledge of the Nuer language goes, in relation to the ethnological expressions I have employed in this essay.

The word *cieng* means "home." When you ask a Nuer where is his home, you ask him what is his *cieng*. Hence the word may have a large number of different meanings which vary with the situations in which it is spoken. If you meet an Englishman in Germany and you ask him where is his home, he will reply that his home is in England. If you meet him in London and ask him the same question he will tell you that his home is in Oxfordshire, whereas if you meet him in that county he will tell you the name of the town or village in which he lives. If you ask him where is his home in the town or village where he lives he will mention a particular street or house. So it is with the Nuer. If you meet a Nuer outside Nuerland he will tell you that he comes from *cieng Nath* (Nuerland, the home of the Nuer). If you meet him east of the Nile he may tell you that he comes from *Nath cieng* (the homeland Nuer, or the Nuer who live to the west of the Nile, in contrast to the *Nath doar* (Bush Nuer), or the Nuer to the east of the Nile). These are, however, particular uses of the word *cieng*, which usually refers to much smaller territorial units. I cannot recollect a Nuer speaking of his country (tribal area) as a *cieng*, though I see no reason why he should not do so. Normally he calls his country his *rol*. It is of the tribal sections that he uses the word *cieng*, and if you ask him where is his *cieng* he presumes you want to know the name of his village or district. Hence he tells you the name of the village where he lives, e.g., *cieng Minyää* (Jekany) or *cieng Dumien* (Lou) or *cieng Pakur* (Lek), the villages of Minyää or Dumien or Pakur, or he may mention under the same term larger districts such as *cieng Leng* or *cieng Wangkeac*, the districts of Leng and Wangkeac. In different contexts he may speak of even larger areas as *cieng*, e.g., the tertiary tribal section of Gaatbal as *cieng Gaatbal* (Lou). On the other hand he may use *cieng* when speaking of smaller units than the village, such as the hamlet and

homestead. *Ciengda* (my home), in the singular, generally means "my homestead" where I live with my family, whereas *ciengdan* (our home) means usually "our hamlet" or "our village." Thus a man will say "*wa ciengdan*" ("I am going (to our) home") in reference to his village, such as the village of Pakur (Lek), but if he is already in the village of Pakur and says "*wa ciengdan*" ("I am going (to our) home") he means that he is returning to the hamlet where he and his relatives live in a particular section of the village. If he is in the hamlet and says "*wa ciengda*" ("I am going (to my) home") he means that he is going to his hut or cattle byre. I remember making a mistake in this way when I used to say "*wa ciengdan*," meaning that I was off to my tent, for which the Nuer would good-humouredly rebuke me, saying, "Isn't this, our camp, your home?" whereas when I said "*wa ciengda*," in the singular, it passed without the criticism which the Nuer unfailingly bring to bear on any error in grammar or pronunciation. *Cieng* thus means homestead, village, district, tribal sections, homeland and even "home" in an unspecified sense, e.g., it may be said in a story *nyaang ce wa cieng* (the crocodile went home) or *jicieng* (villagers), etc., etc.; for this reason I use the word as little as possible.

There is a further reason for avoiding its use, and though I shall have occasion when speaking of the Nuer clan system to mention it more fully I will refer to it in this place. The *cieng*, in the sense of homestead, is called after the man who lives there, e.g., the homestead occupied by Rainen is called *cieng* Rainen. When Rainen is dead and his sons and nephews live together in a hamlet they will call the hamlet after him and it will be said that they live in *cieng* Rainen. If Rainen was an important enough man and founded a strong enough lineage, the whole village where his descendants and strangers who have intermarried with them live will then become known as *cieng* Rainen. In course of time his descendants will have multiplied and will occupy a district or a large tribal area which will come to be known as *cieng* Rainen. Hence it comes about that many of the tribal sections I have mentioned as examples for the use of *cieng* are called after persons, e.g., Minyää, Dumien, Wangkeac, Gaatbal. As will be explained more clearly later a lineage thus becomes identified in speech with the territory which it occupies—the district occupied by the major lineage of WANGKEAC, for example, being known as *cieng* Wangkeac. The Nuer then talks

about the district and the lineage which lives there as interchangeable terms and speaks of *cieng* WANGKEAC in the sense of the WANGKEAC lineage. This leads a European into depths of confusion since the WANGKEAC lineage and the people who live in the village of Wangkeac are by no means the same thing. I shall have occasion to plumb these depths of confusion, into which I have myself been long plunged, in the following sections.

Cieng, in the singular, e.g., *ciengda* (my homestead), is the same as *gol* in the singular, e.g., *golla* (my homestead), and *cieng* in the plural, e.g., *ciengdan* (our hamlet), which means the same as *gol* in the plural, e.g., *gollan* (our hamlet). The literal meaning of *gol* is the large dung fire which occupies the centre of every cattle byre. During the wet season this is kept continually alight and serves to keep mosquitoes away from the cattle and the young men who sleep on a platform above it, while during the daytime people sit around it and chat. In the dry season the *gol* is a huge heap of ashes enclosed by a windscreen and around it sleep the inmates of the windscreen and there also they spend a large part of the day watching their cattle, drinking milk, sleeping and smoking. This dung fire signifies the home and especially symbolises the household from the point of view of its male occupants since women have their own cooking fires. *Jigoalla* (the people of my *gol*) are the people of my household, especially the menfolk of my household. *Gol* Cam or *gol* Pec is the homestead or windscreen of Cam or Pec and hence means the household of Cam or Pec. *Ran gol* Cam is a member of Cam's household and *jigoal* Pec is the household of Pec, i.e., the people who habitually live in his homestead and make use of his cattle byre.

The only other Nuer word I will draw attention to in this place is *dor*. I think that the most comprehensive meaning of *dor* is what is not actual homestead. The word generally means "bush" in contrast to *cieng* (home), e.g., "*wa dor*" ("I am going into the bush" almost "I am going out") is the opposite to "*wa cieng*" ("I am going home"). Different parts of the bush can be designated by some conspicuous landmark as the *dor* of such and such a thing. The word is noticed in this place because it is often used to refer to the unoccupied land lying around a homestead or hamlet which is used for sowing maize or on which goats and sheep and calves graze. In this sense *doran* (our *dor*) has much the same meaning as *ciengdan* (our *cieng*), though the former word seems

rather more inclusive. But both are used to refer to "our home," "our hamlet," "our village." Thus Pakur (Lek tribe) village is divided up into a number of hamlets, and one may speak of each hamlet with the unoccupied land around it which divides it off from neighbouring hamlets as a *dor* and designate it by some landmark, e.g., *dor ngop* (the part of the village which lies near the *gameiza* (fig-tree)), *dor wich kwer* (the part of the village which lies around a sandy eminence) and *dor thok ruop* (the part of the village which borders the forest). As we have already noticed, such territorial expressions become identified with the people who occupy the territory, so in this case we may speak of CUOL *ngop* and CUOL *wich kwer*, the section of the CUOL lineage who live near the *Gameiza* tree and the section of the CUOL lineage who live near the sandy eminence.

I mention these three Nuer words, *cieng*, *gol*, and *dor*, because they are so frequently heard on Nuer lips and to explain that my reason for using them so seldom in the text is that they refer to so many different things according to the context in which they are spoken.

III.

I have spoken of the clan as forming the iron girders upon which the political structure of the tribe is built up; I have spoken of each tribe having a dominant element within it; I have mentioned that the territorial groups of Nuer country integrate themselves around a kinship nucleus and that their cohesion depends upon this nucleus as much as upon communal life or locality; I have remarked that as the ties of kinship become more and more distantly stretched they weaken and that they weaken also by the dilution of kinship with other elements and that both these processes are reflected in the manner in which tribal groups segment. These assertions need explanation. It is very difficult to analyse Nuer society without repetition because when we speak of the tribe we are also speaking of political aggregates which crystallise around some clans. Yet it is imperative to keep these two groups, the tribe and the clan, distinct if endless confusion is to be avoided. Much of the confusion of Jackson's account is due to the fact that he did not clearly differentiate between them.

Herein lies a great difficulty. The Nuer tribe always has a name derived from the name of the country which it occupies, e.g., one may

speak of Lou tribesmen as *ji looka* (people of Lou), or of Lek tribesmen as *ji legni* (people of Lek) ; but generally this name is also the name of the clan, for a country is often called after its first occupants and owners, e.g., Gaawär is the name of the tribal territory of the tribesmen who occupy it, and presumably, for I have not been there, of the clansmen who form the dominant element in the tribal territory. GAAJAK and GAAGWANG are clan lineages who have given their names to the countries where they live. To eliminate this difficulty I have throughout written tribes and tribal sections in small letters and clans and clan lineages in capitals. Hence if I say that a man is a Gaawär I mean that he is a man inhabiting Gaawär country, i.e., a member of the Gaawär tribe, whereas if I say that a man is a GAAWÄR I mean that he is a descendant in the male line from Wär, i.e., a member of the GAAWÄR clan. I will give two more examples to make this point quite clear. If you ask a Lou man what is his *cieng*, you are asking him where he lives, what is his homestead, village or district. Suppose that he replies that his *cieng* is *cieng* Pual, you can ask him what his *cieng* forms part of, and he will tell you that it is part of *cieng* Leng, giving the name of a tertiary tribal section. If you continue to interrogate him he will inform you that *cieng* Leng forms part of *cieng* Gaatbal, a secondary tribal section, and he will explain that *cieng* Gaatbal is a division of the Gun primary tribal section which is a moiety of the Lou tribe. But he has told you nothing about his clan relationship. He may or may not be a member of the PUAL clan lineage which forms a part of the LENG lineage, which forms part of the GAATBAL lineage, which forms part of the clan of JINACA or GAAT GAN NACA, the people of Nac or the children of the children of Nac. In the same way, if a Jekany man tells you that he belongs to *cieng* Kwith of the Gaatjok, it does not follow that he is descended from Kwe (Kwith) who is descended from Kun (whose bullock name was majok), but he merely means that he lives in a tribal section occupied by the KWITH lineage which forms part of the tribe occupied by the GAAJOK who are a principal lineage of the GAAT GAN KIIR, the children of the children of Kir. I shall shortly explain the meaning of these lineages.

Owing to the fact that the Nuer have no word for clan, as we understand the group, and that they have no stereotyped modes of referring to clansmen, we are in some difficulty in writing about them. The

ordinary words for clansmen are composed of the names of the founder with a prefix of *gaat* (children) or *gaat gan* (children of children) or *ji* (people), e.g.,

gaat Wär (GAAWÄR), the children of Wär.

gaat gan Kiir, the children of the children of Kir.

ji Diet, the people of Dit.

My main difficulty arises from my ignorance about the names by which the dominant clans, the *tut* or *diel*, in many tribes are called (e.g., I do not know the names of the founders, nor can I trace the descent of the dominant elements, in such tribes as the Dok, Lek, Nyuong, Jagei, Lak, Bul, etc.). In the case of the Lek and the Dok tribes, which I visited on my first trip to Nuerland, I had unfortunately not formulated the problem of clan descent clearly enough to direct enquiry into it, since I was still shaking myself free from the shackles which a wrongly conceived notion of the *cieng* had fastened upon me. Hence it is rather by analogy than research that I conclude that the *diel* of the Gaawär tribe are the GAAWÄR clan. Often it would seem that the birth name of the founder of a clan or lineage has not been chosen as the title of his descendants, but that they have called themselves after his bullock name. Thus, while one of the major lineages of the JINACA is called GAATBAL after their ancestor Bal, his brother Dak's lineage is called RUMJOK after his bullock name. It is possible that the third brother, Nyaang, is really a bullock name and that his birth name was Liek or Lik, since these descendants are known as GAALIEK (*gaat* Liek—children of Liek or Lik). The lineage of the GAAJAK among the Jekany is doubtless called after the bullock name of their ancestor Mathiang, though this, too, has the appearance of a bullock name (*ma jak* is a bullock with a brown rump, *ma thiang* is a bullock coloured like the thiang). The Lou lineage of NYARKWAC is called after the bullock name of its founder Bang, his bullock being spotted like a leopard (*kwac*) and noted for the manner in which it strutted about sedately (*thak me jale nyarnyar*). MACOK, another Lou lineage, though not a *diel* lineage, is so called because the favourite bullock of its founder was so restless that it had to have its legs bound with cord (*cok*). It is not possible, however, to say with certainty that because a lineage has a bullock name that this was necessarily the bullock name of its founder. It may have been his proper birth name, or it may have been the name of a cow which suckled him, or it may have

been the name of a bullock which formed part of the bride-wealth with which his mother was married. Thus I have heard a Nuer suggest that Thiang was *thak me ca kwen man* (the bullock by which his (the lineage founder) mother was married). It is seldom that the Nuer are certain about the origin of such names. The question is, however, one of philological rather than sociological importance. Often I can offer no explanation of the meaning of a lineage cognomen, e.g., the lineages of GAAGWANG and GAAGWONG (*gaat gwang* and *gaat gwong*) among the Jekany. Miss Huffman gives *gwong* for hedgehog and *guong* for guinea fowl and *gwang* for axillary or sound of fish in water, but none of these meanings give a clue to the origin of the lineage names. Jackson (pp. 75-76) suggests the origin of the name Gwang by reference to the Kir cycle of myths and his account of Nuer names in general will give an idea of the innumerable incidents which determine the birth names of Nuer (pp. 171-173). Of Gwang he writes :—

“ On the death of Kir, Madjok was appointed by his father as head of the tribe and given the hereditary leopard skin, without which no case of killing can be tried. Matiung and Kunjokjak decided privately not to accept Madjok as their chieftain, but to deprive him of the guardianship of the sacred spear. . . . When this agreement was come to Madjok was outside looking after the cattle, but on his return he at once divined that something was wrong. He spoke to his relations and was greeted with the remark that he was from henceforth of no more account and had been deprived of the leopard skin and sacred spear. . . . His wife shortly afterwards gave birth to a boy named Gwang, i.e., the secret plot.” (pp. 75-76.)

I cannot corroborate this tale, but it is a good example of the way in which a Nuer gets his birth name, which then becomes the cognomen of his lineage. It will be noticed in my paper that sometimes lineages are called after women and this is generally evident from the feminine prefix *nya*. I defer discussion on this feature till a paper on Nuer kinship in which setting it will be more easily explained.

What exactly is meant by lineage and clan? One thing is fairly certain, namely, that the Nuer does not think in group abstractions called clans. In fact, as far as I am aware, he has no word meaning clan and you cannot ask a man an equivalent of “ What is your clan ? ”

as you can ask a Zande, for example, " *Ngbwatungaro nga da?* " You get at his clan by degrees, if you get at it at all, by asking a man what is his *thok mac* or *thok dwiel* (the hearth of his fire or the entrance to his hut). In my experience the latter expression is the more common and I will use it here. The reader will observe that it is analogous in its literal and extended meanings to the Arabic *khashm el bet*. A man's *thok dwiel* are all those persons of either sex who can trace their descent through males exclusively to a common ancestor. *Thok dwiel* is, therefore, a relative term since its extension depends on the particular person who is selected as the point of departure. Thus if we begin with the father then the *thok dwiel* will include only sons and daughters, but if we take the grandfather as our point of departure it will include all his sons and daughters and the children of his sons. A larger and larger number of agnates (persons related through the male line exclusively) will be included in the term *thok dwiel* the higher up the line of ascent we take the point of departure. Now the Nuer does not generally, if ever, refer to the group of father and children as a *thok dwiel*. These people, together with the mothers, form so obviously a family and household (*gol*). *Thok dwiel* of a man means essentially his father's kinsman and the only question is how far back the Nuer goes up the line of ascent before he hits on an ancestor whose descendants in the male line he includes in his notion of kin. The answer to this question is complicated since there is no invariable rule in the matter and since the notion of kin is relative, more people being included in some contexts than in others by the same speaker.

Thus in diagram No. IV W, X, Y, and Z are four sons of S and they sleep in their father's kraal and form part of his family and household (*gol*). Many years later we return to their country and we find that S is long since dead and that his sons, W, X, Y, and Z, have each a family of their own. We may now speak of W, X, Y, and Z, with their sons and daughters as forming a *thok dwiel*, which would be called after S, their common ascendant. In the terminology employed in this paper we would speak of the lineage of S since we are using the term lineage to denote the unilateral group of agnatic kin which the Nuer calls his *thok dwiel*. If you ask any member of this line of descent from S what is his lineage, he will reply that he belongs to the house (*cieng*) of S. Here again it is necessary to re-emphasise that in saying that he belongs

to *cieng* S, he is using the term for "house" or "home" or "village" in the sense of "lineage" or "genealogical relationship through the father." Hence the fact that a man tells you that he belongs to *cieng* S does not prove that he is descended from S since it may merely imply, as explained earlier in this essay, that he is now living in the same village as the descendants of S. If you wish to make quite certain whether he means that he is descended from S or is merely a member of the locality of his descendants it is advisable to ask subsidiary questions to establish his descent beyond all doubt. Thus, if a man tells you that he is a member of *cieng* S in answer to your question, "What is your *thok dwiel*?" you can then ask him whether the line of descent through males from S is his true lineage (*thok dwillun pany*) or whether his family are of different descent and have simply aggregated themselves to the lineage from S. You try to establish his real origin (*kwackien*—their reeds or clan origins).

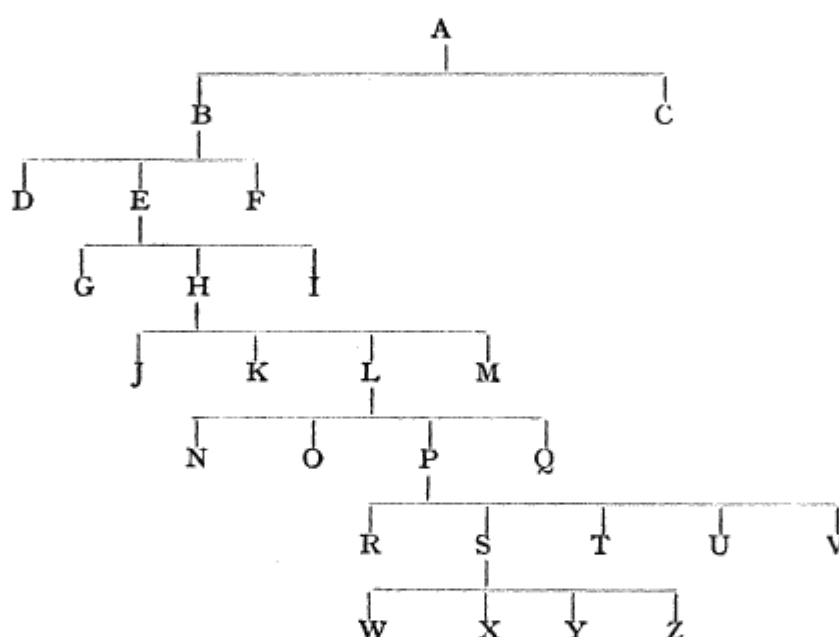
Hence one's questions take something like the following order:—

<i>Codu coal edi</i> ?	...	...	What is your name?
<i>Coda coal e Nhial</i>	...	...	Ny name is Nhial.
<i>e jin ram cieng nga</i> ?	...	...	What is your village?
<i>ghan ran cieng Muot Dit</i>	...	...	I come from Muot Dit village.
<i>wecdun e wec nga</i> ?	...	...	Which is your cattle camp?
<i>wecda e wec Titcuong</i>	...	...	My camp is the camp of Titcuong.
<i>e jin gat nga</i> ?	...	...	Who is your father?
<i>ghan gat Titcuong</i>	...	...	My father is Titcuong.
<i>thok dwillun e mith</i> ?	...	...	Which is your lineage?
<i>thok dwillan e Cieng Rue</i>	...	...	Our lineage is the RUE lineage.
<i>Cieng Rue babbien coaledi</i> ?	...	...	What is the lineage of which the RUE lineage forms part?
<i>babbien e cieng Nyajekany</i>	...	...	They form a lineage of the NYAJEKANY lineage.
<i>Cieng Rue e thok dwillun pany</i> ?	...	...	Is the RUE lineage your real lineage?

In the sense in which we speak of "the S lineage" (the lineage from S), his brothers R, T, U, and V, and their descendants are excluded from it. On the other hand, R, T, U, and V, and their descendants are all of the same lineage as S if we take as our point of departure for denominating the lineage an ancestor higher up the line of ascent than S. In point of fact our Nuer (let us suppose he is a son of Z) would be unlikely to give

his lineage from S since S is only his grandfather. He might do so, but he would be more likely to choose someone higher up in ascent. Thus, if he says that he is a member of the lineage of P then he counts in his lineage all the descendants of R, S, T, U, and V, through the male line (i.e., themselves, their sons and daughters and their sons' sons and daughters). If he says that he is a member of the *thok dwiel* of L then he includes all the descendants of N, O, P, and Q, through the male line, in his lineage.

DIAGRAM NO. IV.



(All the persons represented on this diagram are males.)

Seen diagrammatically this seems a very simple exposition, but it is hard to understand when one is living among the Nuer. This is chiefly due to the fact that the Nuer make use of a word like *cieng* or *thok dwiel* to describe a number of things which we need to distinguish more precisely by use of varied terminology, but it is also due to difficulty in grasping the intricacies of the Nuer genealogical system. Nuer usages are easier to understand if English terms are employed to describe social groups instead of native terms and if the essential characters of the lineage are constantly borne in mind. A lineage is a group of agnates, i.e., everyone descended through the male line from a given individual. A man cannot, therefore, be a member of his mother's lineage.¹ A woman

¹ Except when a woman founds a line of descent, a feature not dealt with in this paper. Even then descent is traced through males to the ancestress of the lineage.

is a member of her father's lineage, but her children are of her husband's lineage, hence a woman and her children belong to different lineages—*mulier est finis familiæ*. A lineage, moreover, is not a loose group of people with mutual but undifferentiated relationship, each member extending to all the other members a vague preferential treatment, as is the case with many African clans, but it is a compact group of persons the relationship of any one of whom is different to each other member of the lineage. The exact genealogical position of each member of a lineage in respect to each other member is easily traceable in the network of its genealogical system. Thus, two men, whom we will call A and B, are any two members of the same lineage, but A is not simply B's fellow clansman, his lineal peer, but is related to him by a succession of steps which can be followed by anyone familiar with the ascent of both, i.e., A is perhaps B's father's father's father's brother's son's son's son. We must remember, besides, about the Nuer lineages that many of their members appear by adoption and not by birth and it will be explained later how Dinka captives are incorporated into Nuer lineages by adoption. Lastly, we have to stress the fact that a lineage is always a relative term since it depends upon how far up the line of ascent the ancestor, from whom all members of the lineage are descended, is chosen. Hence, two lineages which are separate and opposite in relation to each other are single and composite in relation to a third. Every male Nuer is (1) a member of his father's lineage, and (2) the potential founder of a lineage of his own. In fact, however, not every Nuer reaches the dignity of being regarded after his death as the founder of their lineage by his descendants and they will not necessarily call their village after his name. Here and there in a group of brothers and cousins one man or one line of descent proves dominant and gives his name to the village in which they all live. The descendants of his brothers and cousins as well as quite unrelated people who have come to live in that village now speak of themselves as members of *cieng* so-and-so and owing to the tendency, which I have already noticed, for the kin who live together to become identified with the village in which they live, all villagers tend to speak as though they have a common lineage even when their claims are quite fictitious. In the case of descendants of brothers of the man after whom the village is called there is, however, a definite merging of the kin into one lineage. In this situation the brothers are regarded

as though they were equivalent. Many collateral lines are lost by this process of merging in which they come to regard one of their ancestors as though he was the common ancestor of them all.

I shall refer in this paper to major lineages and minor lineages. A certain degree of latitude must attach to these expressions since it is impossible, owing to their variations, to use them with complete precision. By minor lineage I mean the ancestor to whom the Nuer refers in answer to your question, what is his *thok dwiel*, i.e., the first descendant in their common line of descent to whom a large number of families refer as their common ancestor and whose name is the name after which their village or district is called. Thus a large number of families in the Lou tribe will tell you, if you ask them what is the name of their *thok dwiel*, that they are members of a *cieng* PUAL (in this sense meaning that they are members of the PUAL lineage). Some of the families may sometimes speak of themselves as members of a lineage called after some ascendant nearer to them than Pual, but this is generally because in the special context in which they are speaking they are contrasting their section of PUAL lineage with another section. On the whole, the normal designation for all these families is *cieng* PUAL and the first emphasis placed upon any ancestor by present-day Nuer of these families is placed upon Pual. By major lineage I mean a larger lineage of which a minor lineage forms only one line of descent among other lines of descent from the same ancestor. Thus Pual is not only the founder and highest ascendant of the lineage called after him, but he is himself the descendant of another lineage. Having discovered that your informant is really a member of PUAL lineage (see diagrams Nos. V and VII) and is not merely a man of different descent living among them in their village you can ask him what is the *bab* of *cieng* PUAL, i.e., what is the greater lineage from which the PUAL lineage springs. Your informant will reply that the PUAL lineage forms a section of the GAATBAL lineage and this is what I shall call the major lineage. You can continue to question your informant along these lines by asking him what is the *bab* (the greater lineage) to which the major lineage of the GAATBAL belongs, what is the trunk, as it were, out of which this branch grows. In this particular case your informant will tell you that the GAATBAL are children of Denac, the founder of the clan of the JINACA, but in other cases, your informant may give you a further major lineage before he reaches the clan or main trunk

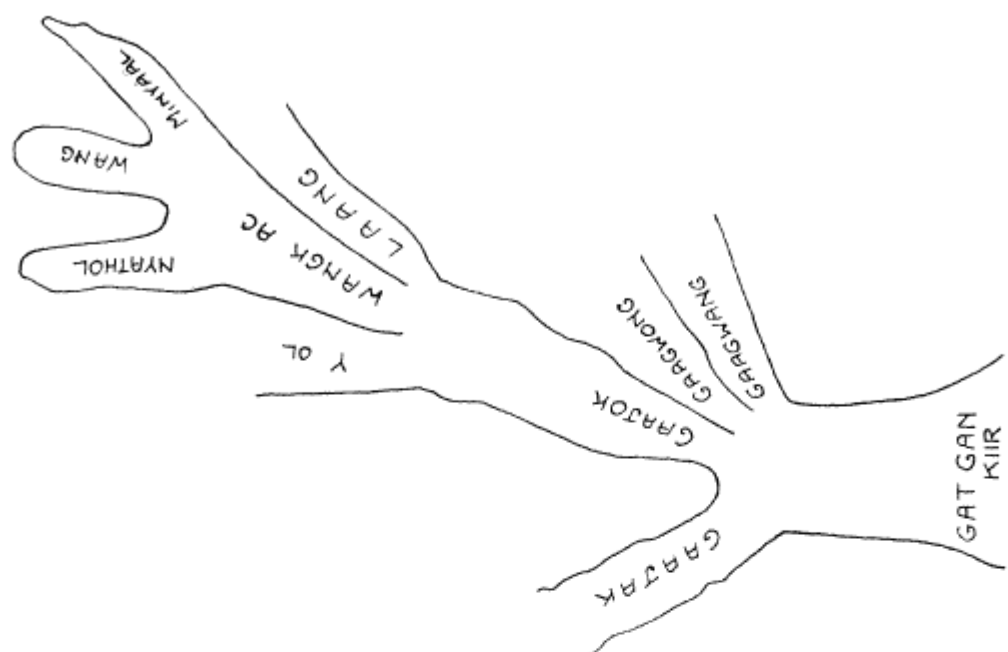


Diagram No. VI.

TREE OF DESCENT OF GAAT GAN KIIR LINEAGE.

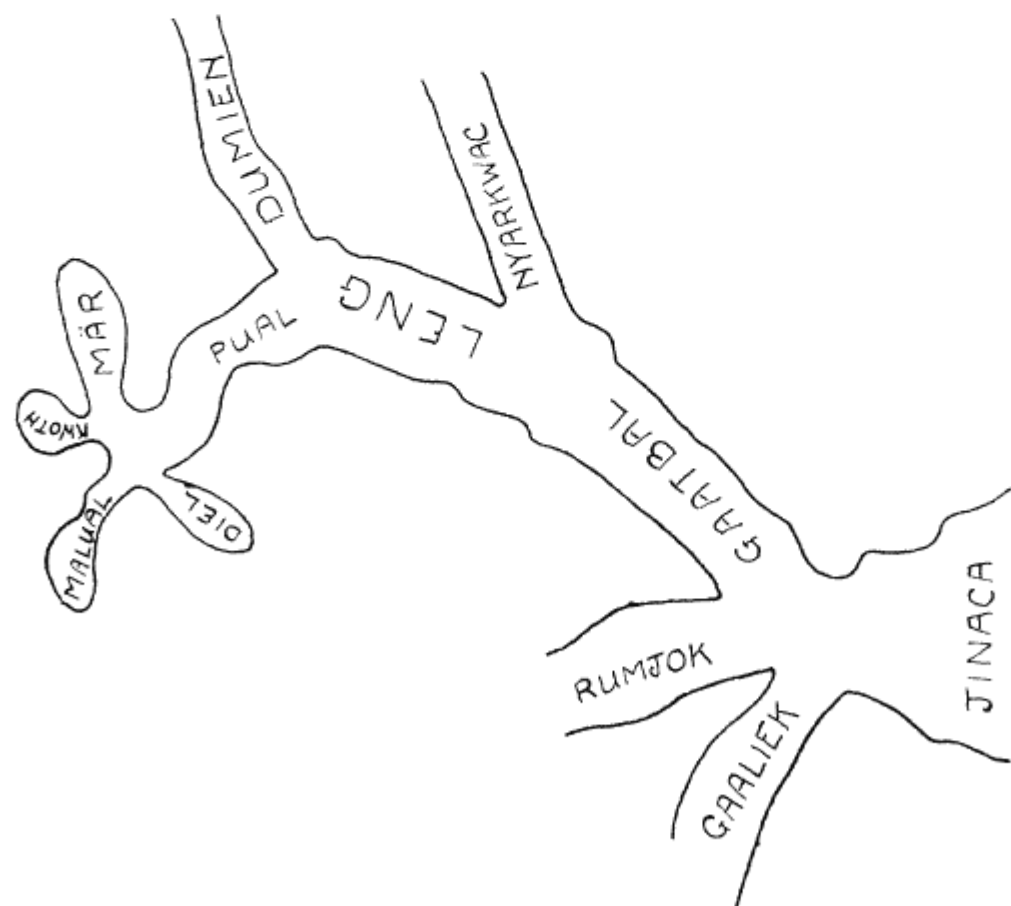


Diagram No. V.

TREE OF DESCENT OF GAATNACA LINEAGE.

from which the different lineages branch out. Similarly, he might have given you a smaller minor lineage before giving you *cieng* PUAL in answer to your first question, what is his *thok dwiel*; .e.g, he might have said that he was a member of the KWOOTH or MALUAL lineages (shown in the accompanying tree, diagram No. V). Each lineage is a branch in relation to the twigs which shoot out from it, but is a twig of the larger branch from which it sprang. The following two trees of descent are appended to illustrate graphically the Nuer system of lineages. One represents a JINACA (Lou tribe) lineage and the other a GAT GAN KIIR (Jekany tribes) lineage. In each diagram only one line of descent is shown from the roots to the twigs, from the clan ancestor to the families of to-day, but the other main branches and boughs, the other major and minor lineages, are indicated where they leave the stem.

These trees and genealogical tables may be compared with the maps (Nos. III, IV, and V) which show the distribution of tribal sections among the Lou tribe and the Eastern Jekany tribes.

The descendants of Nyaang, son of Denac, form the nucleus of the Gaaliek primary section; the descendants of Bal, sons of Denac, form the nucleus of the Gaatbal primary section; the descendants of Dak, son of Denac, form the nucleus of the Rumjok primary section. The only sections shown on the map which are not accounted for in the genealogical tree and table are the Jaajoak and Jimac sections which have clan nuclei of foreign origin.

We must guard against thinking that because most of the Lou primary sections are called after sons of Denac that they are solely composed of these lineages. This would be a serious error, as in all probability true descendants from Denac in these sections are in a small minority. Large foreign lineages are included in the areas designated by a title taken from any of the sons of Denac (e.g., the THIANG lineage in the Gaatbal primary section) and there are innumerable families of stranger (Nuer) and Dinka descent clustered around families of true GAATNACA origin. Thus, if one visits the villages or cattle camps owned by minor lineages which spring from the GAALIEK major lineage, the lineages of LÖNGNGUÄR, NYAANEN, KUOOK, one will find them occupied by a relatively small number of members of these lineages while most of the residents will be found to have sprung from other Nuer and Dinka clans.

The descendants of Majok Kiir form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaajok tribe; the descendants of Mathiang Kiir and Kun Kiir form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaajak tribe; the descendants of Gwang Majok and Nyang Mathiang form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaagwang tribe. Thus, on map No. V, these lineages are shown as tribal sections, i.e., they have given their names to the tribal sections which have aggregated to them. Here the three main lineages descended from Majok, LAANG, YOL, and WANGKAC, are shown as Laang, Yol, and Wangkac. None of the foreign lineages is of sufficient magnitude to be shown separately, but it must not be supposed for this reason that the descendants of Majok form anything but a fragment of the Gaajok tribe. In the same way the Gaagwang tribe comprises all sorts of foreign elements besides the descendants of Nyang Mathiang¹ and Gwang Majok. The same applies to the Gaajak tribe. As far as my information goes the GAA(T)GWONG lineage are completely united in tribal life with the GAA(T)JAK lineage and so are classified as forming part of the same Gaatjak tribe. In the map the primary sections of Lony, Kang and Tar are all called after descendants of Mathiang and the primary sections of Nyayan, Cany and Wau are all called after descendants of Kun. Hence, in map V, the only section not accounted for in diagram No. VIII is the primary section of Reng,² the nucleus of whom are of mixed foreign origin.

The clan is the largest lineage which consider themselves as one for purposes of exogamy. This is the minimum definition of a clan. In theory the clan preserves the same form as the smaller lineages which comprise it because it is supposed to be possible to trace the exact genealogical relationship of any member of the clan to any other member of it. Doubtless this can generally be done by a panel of competent genealogists, but most Nuer tend to confusion in the upper stages of ascent and either miss out or misplace names between the ancestor of their clan and the founder of their minor lineage. In consequence of this confusion which is associated with the social functions of clan and lineages there is a tendency for clansmen who do not also belong to the same minor lineage to have an undifferentiated relationship to one another, recognising their kinship to one another through common membership of a social group rather than by genealogical relationship. Hence they tend to recognise

¹ Nyang was the biological son of Mathiang, but as he was born of one of Kir's wives he is strictly a son of Kir.

² I believe that Reng is the bullock-name of Gying, the founder of the most important clan lineage in the Reng primary section of the Gaajak tribe. One of the secondary sections of this tribe is called Dhilleak which is, I think, a bullock-name of Bicuk, son of Gying.

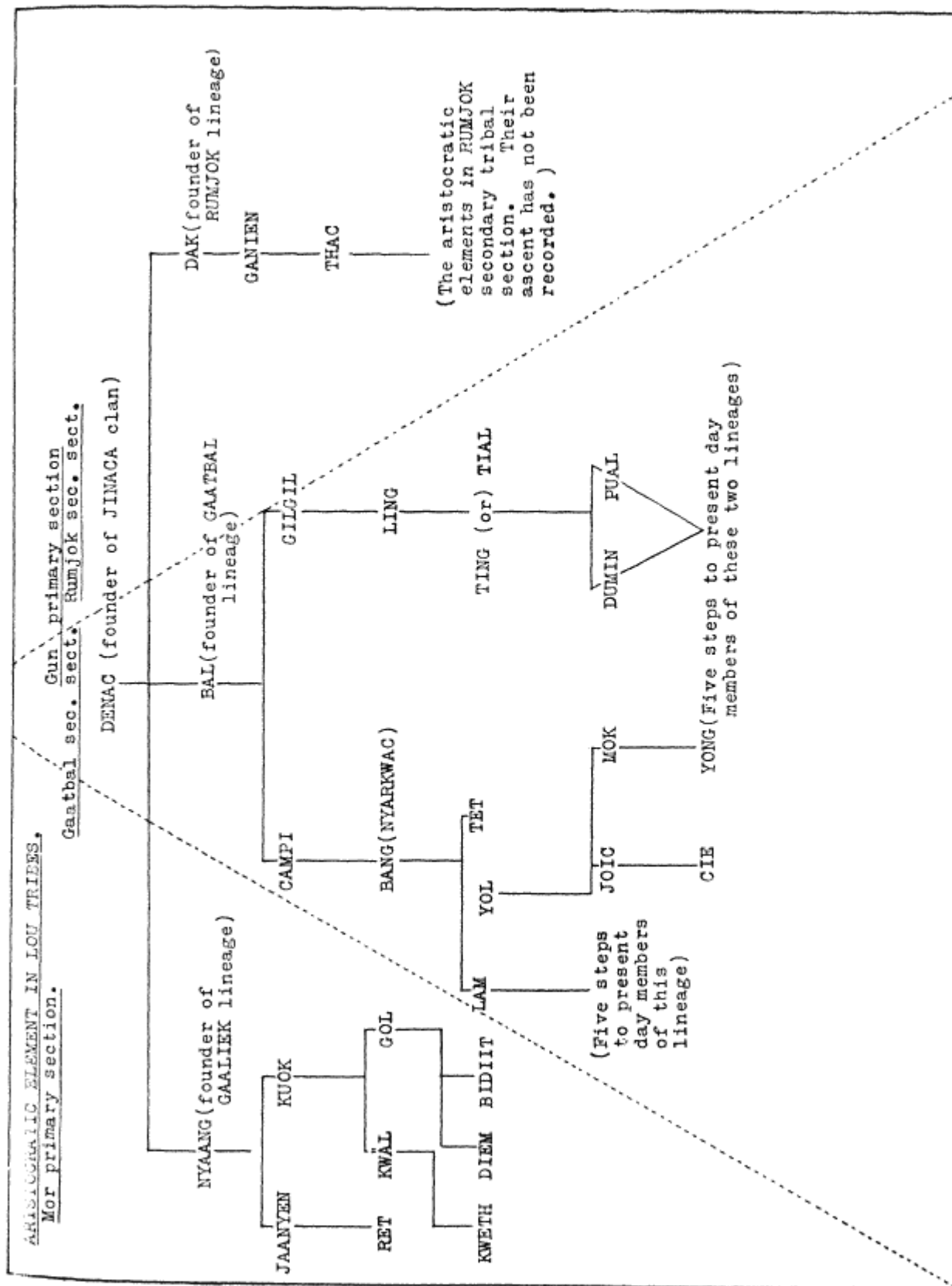


Diagram No. VII.

their common kinship by a common sentiment towards the clan name and ritual symbols and by the prohibition of marriage between their families. But when they belong to the same minor lineage they recognise their kinship by awareness of the exact relationship in which they stand to one another in the genealogical system. Nevertheless any competent Nuer genealogist can, if pressed, produce a good table of genealogical ascent to the founder of his clan with the result that it is possible, even in such a huge clan as the GAT GAN KIIR of the Jekany tribes, to place every single clansman and clanswoman on a single genealogical chart showing their genealogical descent from Kir and, therefore, the genealogical relationship of any clansman to any other clansman. Such a chart would not be likely to embody a correct genealogy, but it would be recognised by the Nuer as being substantially correct.

Consequently one cannot say that relationship ends with the clan or that it is the largest of Nuer lineages, but we have to define it as the largest exogamous lineage. For the common ancestor of most Nuer clans is the same person. Jackson has given a very good account of the way in which the Nuer clans are part of a related system which I propose to call the Family of Nuer Clans. It is necessary to say that it is not at all clear from Jackson's or other accounts, including my own notes, how this family of clans are inter-related. It is particularly a problem which requires detailed research among the "Homeland Nuer" to the west of the Nile. One of the reasons why it is difficult to draw more than an approximate tree of the Family of Nuer Clans is the confusion which has always existed between the tribe and the clan, with the inevitable result that when we are told that Lou or Lak are sons of such-and-such an ancestor we are helpless, since tribesmen of Lou and Lak form political aggregates of composite ancestry and cannot possibly have common ancestors. What is meant is that the dominant clan element of the tribe are the sons of the such-and-such an ancestor, but as his tree of descent is not given it is difficult to proceed upon such a supposition.

I will condense here the main discoveries of Mr. Jackson in this field, together with the writings of the late Capt. Fergusson and notes taken by myself. There figure in all accounts certain mythical persons who link the ancestors of the Nuer clans to Kwoth, God, who made them and from whom they are directly descended. In this essay the first persons we need notice are Gee and Ghaak, two brothers who are possibly to be

regarded as historical personages. According to Jackson's account, from A'ak (his spelling for Ghaak) are sprung Nuong, Dok, Jaluk, Qwei (Beiq (Gad) Quaish)¹ (spellings in this paper are Nyuong, Dok, Jaluk, Kwe, Beegh, Gaatkwa, for these tribes) and from Ga'a (Jackson's spelling of Gee) are sprung Bor,² Lang,² Raiyung,³ Wott,² Ror,² Bull, Leiq,³ Lak,³ Tiung,³ Lau,³ Keirlual³ (spellings in this paper are Bör, Läng, Rengyan, Wot, Ror, Bul, Lek, Lak, Thiang, Lou, Kärlual, for these tribes). All the Nuer clans, with few exceptions, fit into this family. It is not at all clear, however, from Jackson's account who are the ancestors of many of the clans he lists, since he speaks of tribes as though they were clans. And, indeed, the Nuer himself often speaks in the same manner, identifying linguistically the tribe with the dominant clan element of the area in which it lives. Thus they may speak of Lou as being descended from Denac when what they mean is that the dominant clan of Lou country are descendants from Denac. It is, therefore, impossible at present to draw up a genealogical table which will show the descent of all the Nuer clans who spring from Gee and his brother. On the eastern side of the Nile, among the Lou, at any rate, one only hears of Gee and not of his brother. In this tribe people speak as though you were either a pure Nuer descended ultimately from Gee or a Dinka or a descendant of Wār or Kir.

Kir, the founder of the GAT GAN KIIR, who form the nucleus of the Jikany tribes, was, according to all accounts, found in a gourd by the Ngok Dinka and was brought up by them. He later married three daughters of Gee by whom he gave birth to the major lineages of his clan, the GAAJOK, the three GAAJAK, and the GAAGWONG. The GAT GAN KIIR clan is, therefore, attached through its mothers to the lineage of Gee.

All accounts equally agree in saying that Wār, the ancestor of the GAAWÄR clan, who are, presumably, the dominant element in the Gaawär tribe, fell down from heaven. Jackson says that he was brought up by A'ak and that his descendants are considered to have attached themselves to the Ghaak division of the Nuer nation.

¹ Jackson says that Beiq and Quaish belong to A'ak, but he does not give A'ak as their ancestor in the following paragraph nor in his genealogical tables, *id.* pp. 72 and 79.

² All born of the same mother. All west bank tribes.

³ Najh, Reill and Tiung are three sons of one mother. Najh is the ancestor of Raiyung and Lau and Reill the ancestor of Keirlual, Leiq and Lak.

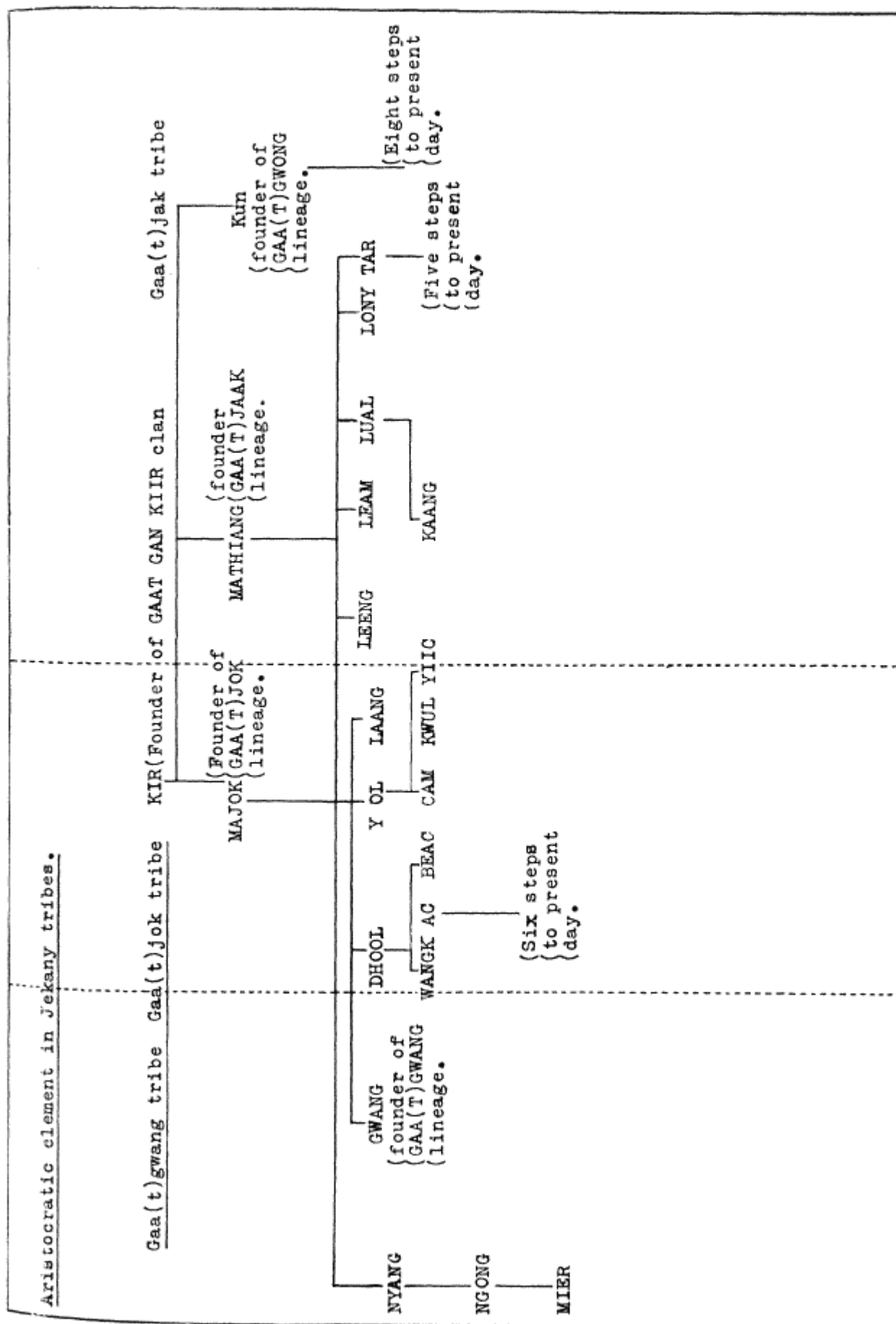


Diagram No. VIII

The ancestor of the JIKUL clan is also said to have fallen down from heaven, and Jackson says that he was fostered by Gee to whose division his descendants considered themselves attached. Nowhere do they form a dominant clan element in a tribe but are scattered among many tribes.

The late Capt. Fergusson speaks of these two national divisions as Ghraark and Gair. On the western bank Ghraark are Nuong, Adok, and Gwai ; and Gair are Bul, Lake, Jakaing, Bur, Naijh, Wad, and Lung.¹

Considering the confusion which has existed between clan and tribe, Jackson's classification into the Gee and Ghaak² groups cannot be regarded as exact though it may well be conventional. I was given a somewhat similar division myself by a man from the west bank of the Nile. But it appears at first sight that there are two pertinent criticisms of the classification. In the first place several clans are obviously missing, e.g., JIDIET and JIMEM. In the second place it is doubtful what line of descent is reckoned when speaking of a tribe as descended from Gee or Ghaak, e.g., the Lak tribe apparently comprises two main lineages, *gaat twot* Dok, children of Dok aristocrats, and *gaat nya* Legni, children of Lek aristocrats through the female line and of doubtful parentage through the male line. Whilst, even if this is correct, they would both belong to the Gee group of clans in a conventional grouping it is of some importance to know their exact mode of descent.³ Under the circumstances we can only make a conventional classification which is a mixture of clan and tribal units and wait till further research elucidates the true state of affairs. It is possible that the Family of Nuer Clans is correctly described in confused and hazy terms, since it may well be conceived by the Nuer without logical system. For it may be pointed out that errors are often not the fault of observers like Jackson or myself but are due to the hazy notions which the Nuer themselves have about their ancestry, at any rate on collateral lines. Thus one well-informed man told me that the aristocratic lineages of Lou, Rengyan, and Thiang tribes are all descended from Denac by his three

¹ Unpublished Government report.

² Besides A'ak (Jackson) and Ghraark I have heard the name Gwea, and one old man said that there were three brothers, Gee, Ghaak, and Gwea—Ghaak producing the aristocratic lineages in Kwe, Jaluk, Beegh countries, and Gwea producing the aristocratic lineages in Dok, Nyuong, Gaaktwac, and Rol countries.

³ One informant, Tut, said that the Gaawär tribe count as belonging to the Ghaak group and the Lak tribe as belonging to the Gee group, though it is difficult to know exactly what he meant.

sons Bany (bull(ock) name *ma lou*), Yini (bull(ock) name *ma rengyan*) and Thiang, a genealogy which differs from those already given in this paper. Only detailed research by several observers in different areas can finally solve the problems, for solutions cannot be deduced satisfactorily from our present data.

In our account of the tribe we explained how a continual process of fission is going on and how when we speak of a tribe we are using a relative term, since it is difficult to know whether we should speak of a single tribe with moieties or of two separate tribes. Exactly the same process of segmentation is going on within the clan, since a tribe is a political aggregation round a clan or clan lineage. Thus the clan, like its political superstructure the tribe, is also going through a constant process of integration and segmentation. Division into lineages here corresponds with territorial division into tribal sections. Our statement that the larger the territorial area covered by a tribe or a tribal segment the weaker its cohesion finds its kinship counterpart in the tendency for the solidarity of a lineage to weaken the more it expands. Weakening bonds of kinship re-enforce spacial division in destroying communal interests in tribal life just as spacial division re-enforces widening kinship breaches in undermining community of blood. For example, the division of the Lou into two moieties of Mor and Gun is not simply a political and spacial division but is also a kinship cleavage between the descendants of three sons of Denac, Nyang, Dak and Bal, or to state the position in other terms, the division between the sons of Nyang, Dak, and Bal is not simply a creation of genealogical distance but also of political and spacial distance.

The clan itself has practically no social cohesion ; a major lineage has greater cohesion than the clan of which it forms part but less cohesion than one of the minor lineages into which it is divided. A minor lineage has great solidarity as has the village or district which represents the minor lineage with its political aggregate clustered around it. Here close ties of blood are backed up by community of daily life. Thus the GAT NACA display little communal feeling in their social behaviour, the major lineage of GAATBAL on the contrary, owing to their symbiosis, their common political and economic interests, and their close kinship bonds, show a much stronger tendency to regard themselves as a distinct social group.

A minor lineage like the PUAL lineage of the GAATBAL are a community really well knit by common residence and blood who lead a common economic, political and social life. If one takes a smaller lineage still, like the MÄR lineage (see diagram No. V), one reaches the strongest unilateral unit in Nuer society, a unit whose members herd their cattle by communal arrangements; who build their huts contiguously and cultivate gardens side by side; who act as a blood revenge group in case of the homicide of one of their kin; who assist one another in providing cattle for marriage or homicide payments; who act as assistants at all important ceremonies; and who in general co-operate as a mutual assistance society for all purposes of social insurance. At least this is how I understand the relative cohesion of clan segments, though I feel that there is a leaning towards theoretical conclusions not adequately supported by a strong foundation of facts in my presentation.

The difference between kinship groups and political groups and their interwoven structures may now be demonstrated by a simple diagram though our definitions of groups are too elastic to permit an exact correlation between kinship and political units.

DIAGRAM No. IX.

Clan + aggregate of strangers		= Tribe.
Major Clan lineage + aggregate of strangers	=	{ Primary tribal section.
Minor " " " "	=	{ Secondary tribal section.
		{ Tertiary tribal section.

We have the same difficulty in deciding in some cases whether to speak of two clans or of one clan with two major lineages as we had in deciding whether to speak of two tribes or one tribe with two moieties. Thus the JINACA are descended from Denac or Nac. So also are the RENGYAN and perhaps also the THIANG¹. All these people are therefore JINACA, the people of NAC. Are we, therefore, to speak of them as one clan or as three clans? In other words, can a man of the Lou JINACA marry a woman from the Rengyan JINACA? At present I have no means of deciding this question since Lou and Rengyan are so far apart that normally the question of intermarriage would not arise. It is impossible even to express an opinion on the matter until we know something about the genealogies of the Rengyan JINACA. If they belong to the same major lineages as the Lou JINACA, namely the lineages of GAALIEK, RUMJOK and GAATBAL, we

¹ I write RENGYAN and THIANG in capitals, though correctly speaking I suppose we should write the JINACA of Rengyan and Thiang tribes.

may safely regard them as one clan. This is possibly the case, since the Lou JINACA left their homes in Rengyan to conquer their present tribal area. On the other hand they may represent a distinct line of descent from Denac. There is not the same certainty as there is for the history of the children of Kir, a part of whom journeyed from their home on the Bahr-el-Ghazel to the tribal areas of the Eastern Jikany. The GAAJOK, GAAJAK, GAAGWONG and GAAGWANG major lineages are found both among the Eastern Jikany and the Western Jikany, and they still belong to one clan, since a man of the Eastern GAAJOK lineage may not marry a woman of the Western GAAJAK or GAAGWONG lineages. It is possible that in time the GAAJOK lineage of the GAT GAN KIIR clan will split away from the GAAJAK lineage and that two separate clans will be formed by fission. The Nuer themselves speak as though this may happen since they say that a GAAJOK man may "not yet" marry a GAAJAK woman. "*Ngote thieka*," "they are still close" (in relationship), say the Nuer, suggesting that it will one day be possible, a suggestion in keeping with their acceptance of a scheme of clans all ultimately descended from Gee. I have found that informants lay great stress on the fact that Gee bisected a bullock and thus enabled the clans descended from him to intermarry whereas Kir did not perform similar ritual, with the result that intermarriage between the clans descended from him is prohibited. Nevertheless I cannot produce a sure example of clans splitting into two or more exogamous lineages. Even when political fission takes place as between the Gaajok and the Gaajak the clan maintains its unity, and a GAAJOK man and a GAAJAK man are still members of a single exogamous clan.

IV.

All tribesmen live in the same country. A man may emigrate to another country, but if he settles there he and his children become members of the tribe among whom he has settled. When we speak of the Lou and Rengyan we speak of the people who live in Lou and Rengyan countries. Clansmen on the other hand do not all live in the same country, the great majority of them may do so but not all of them. Thus probably the majority of JINACA live in Lou country and Rengyan country, but by no means all of them live there. Many JINACA live scattered among other tribes. Moreover the number of JINACA clansmen who live

in Lou country and Rengyan country forms only a small proportion of the total population of Lou and Rengyan tribesmen. Again, Gaajok country contains a dominant element of GAT GAN KIIR clansmen of GAAJOK lineage, but they are dominant in the Gaajok tribe on account of their traditional ownership of the country and not on account of numerical superiority, for they probably compose only a small minority of the tribe. Also not all the GAAJOK live in Gaajok country in the Eastern Jekany area, since a large part of the lineage live in the Gaajok primary tribal section of the Jekany tribe to the west of the Nile and smaller lineages of the GAAJOK are scattered throughout most, if not all, Nuer tribes. The GAAJOK form an excellent illustration of this difference between clan and tribe, since the GAAJOK of the Eastern Jekany and the GAAJOK of the Western Jekany cannot obviously be fellow tribesmen on account of the vast area which separates their countries and since they never act together in any collective undertaking. On the other hand they are equally descended from Majok the son of Kir and hence are all members of the same lineage of the same clan. For this reason they are all brothers and sisters and forbidden to intermarry.

But though the clan is not a territorial group nevertheless many clans are largely localised. Thus the descendants of Mathiang are mainly living in the two countries of Eastern and Western Gaajak. The descendants of Nac are mainly living in Lou and Rengyan countries, and the descendants of Wār are, I presume, mainly living in Gaawār country. But this by no means holds for all clans. There is no tribal area in which the JIMEM mainly live or in which they have the position of owners of the soil, but they are scattered far and wide throughout the length and breadth of Nuerland. The same is true of the KIEK, JIDIET, BEEK and JIKUL, and a number of other clans.

When a clan is mainly localised in one tribal area it forms an aristocratic element there. The JINACA of Lou country lived originally with the JINACA of Rengyan country, but they split off from them and conquered Lou country from the Dinka. Here they were the first occupants, or more correctly the strongest element among the first occupants, and became "owners" of the country. Any other clansmen who came to live in Lou tribal area had to attach themselves on to the JINACA. The GAT GAN KIIR clan moved from their homeland to the west of the Nile and conquered the land, which they own to-day, on the eastern side of the

Nile, from the Dinka, and settled there as lords of the country. I think that it will probably be correct to say that every Nuer tribal area has its *diel* (sing-*dil*) clan owners, aristocrats, dominant element, but that not every clan has an area in which they are *diel*. There are possibly countries on the west bank of the Nile in which more than one clan rank as *diel*. Though it has not been recorded that such a system exists among the Dinka it is worth mentioning that the Nuer tell one that the Dinka also speak of *diel* in their various tribes, e.g., they talk of *dil thoini* and *dil luaica*, members of the clans which own Thoc and Luac tribal areas respectively.

The great point to remember about Nuer *diel* is that a man is a *dil* only in the country owned by his clan. Thus a member of the JINACA or GAATNACA is a *dil looka*, that is to say, that he is a *dil* in Lou country but nowhere else. If he moves to Gaajok country he ceases to be a *dil* and becomes instead a *rul* or stranger. He may still call himself a *gat dila looka*, a Lou aristocrat, but he does not count as a *dil*, aristocrat, in Jekany countries. In the same way a *dil Jekany* is a direct descendant in the male line from Kir, but when such a man crosses Lou country he becomes a *rul* or stranger. *Dil* therefore means a member of the clan which owns the country in which he lives. Hence members of a clan such as the JIMEM or JIKUL which have no tribal territory of which they can call themselves masters are nowhere *diel*. One may nevertheless speak of a *dil JIMEM* in the sense of a "real" or "pure" member of this clan in contrast to Dinka who have attached themselves to it.

I do not wish to be misunderstood when I speak of a tribal aristocracy based on a clan predominance in a tribal area. The Nuer are intensely democratic and the idea of one man lording it over the others is abhorrent to them. However there is a prestige in being a *dil* of the country in which you live. Your clan are owners of the country, its village sites, its pastures, its fishing pools and wells, and other people live there by virtue of marriage or adoption into your lineage or because they are prepared to recognise your hereditary status and to join your local group on the understanding that they are strangers and on sufferance. It is the spear-name of your clan which is shouted when the tribe makes war. In some tribes the advantage of being an aristocrat are more concrete. Among the Eastern Jekany tribes the blood-money which is paid for a slain *dil* is apparently higher than for any other Nuer who may be killed in the same

countries. There is some doubt about the exact organisation of blood-cattle (*cut*) in old times. This uncertainty is partly accounted for by the undoubted elasticity of assessment, for we should make a mistake in supposing that the number of cattle paid over in compensation for homicide was invariably the same or that there was a rigid definition of social status. It is also partly accounted for by the fact that the *cut* was not identical in every Nuer tribe. The evidence seems to show that the greatest differentiation in assessment of blood-cattle between different classes in the community was to be found on the periphery of Nuer culture, among the Eastern Jekany, where the greatest absorption of foreigners has taken place. There I was given the following table of assessment for a late (probably post-European) period in their history :—

Gat dila Jikany (a member of the GAT GAN KIIR clan),

15 cows and 5 bullocks (20).

Gat Geeka (a member of any pure Nuer clan),

12 cows and 5 bullocks (17).

Jaang dila (a Dinka who has permanently settled in Nuer country and has attached himself to a Nuer social group),

11 cows and 5 bullocks (16).

Jaang (a Dinka, pure and simple, who has not yet become a permanent member of Nuer society),

8 cows and 2 bullocks (10).

In the old days it appears that 40 cattle was the regular payment for homicide in the case of a member of the dominant clan in Jikany countries, and for this pre-European period I was given the following table :—

GAT GAN KIIR 40 cattle.

Gat Geeka 40 cattle.

Jaang buthni (an adopted Dinka) 20 cattle.

Jaang (Dinka—unadopted) ... 6 cattle.

There is one main discrepancy between the first and second tables. In the second a pure Nuer of any clan is classed as the same for purposes of blood-cattle as a member of the GAT GAN KIIR clan, while in the first he is classed lower. I was never able to make up my mind which of these two estimates—I have been given others which differ slightly from both—was the correct one since, while members of the GAT GAN KIIR clan in Jikany country assured me that payment for killing a member of any other Nuer clan in their country was less than for killing a member of their

own clan, members of these other clans, who here count as *rul* or strangers, assured me that payments in both cases were equal. Assurances on both sides were clearly coloured by recent practice which has been based on government rulings at different times and by what regulations they hoped the Government would institute in the future. On the whole I consider that there was probably a differentiation between members of the dominant clan and members of other clans, but that the differentiation was not rigid and depended upon the special circumstances of each case, when length of residence in the country, marriage alliances with members of the dominant clan, and so on, were taken into consideration.

Quite definitely, however, there was a clear difference made between Nuer and Dinka in the assessment of blood-cattle compensation. This difference is found all over Nuer country, though there seems to have been difference of opinion in different parts of Nuerland about what constitutes a Dinka for purposes of homicide payments. Among the Lou the practice was to class members of the dominant clan, the JINACA, and members of the other Nuer clans together and make 40 cattle (32 cows and 8 bullocks) the regular payment for both. The son of a Dinka born in Lou country was considered to have become a Nuer (*caa Nath*) and his death was also compensated for by 40 cattle; but a captured Dinka or visiting Dinka or a Dinka who had taken up his abode in the country was reckoned as a *Jaang* and was compensated by only 6 cattle (4 cows and 2 bullocks). A Dinka even when given *buth* appears to have counted as *Jaang* and not as *Nath*, but his children were reckoned as Nuer for homicide purposes. Two informants told me that in Jagei country on the west bank of the Nile compensation for homicide was reckoned as follows:—

- Gat dila* (member of the dominant clan in the tribe),
34 cows and 6 bullocks (40).
- Rul* who has built his cattle-byre,
34 cows and 6 bullocks (40).
- Rul* and *Jaang* who have not built their cattle-byre,
6 cows and 4 bullocks (10).

The point of stressing the building of a cattle-byre was that a man who built one, whether a Nuer stranger or a Dinka, had obviously come to stay and became a permanent member of your social group and a member of your village. He became "your man" (*randu*), who owed you a kind of allegiance and who relied on your protection. Hence he is assessed on

the same footing as an ordinary resident born into the community. On the other hand I was told by some Eastern Jekany Nuer at Nasser that once a Dinka always a Dinka was the rule, and that the children and grandchildren of Dinkas never counted as equal to pure Nuer in blood-cattle assessment. I regard this statement, however, as being, in all probability, too rigidly formulated.

The second element in a Nuer village are the *rul*. A *rul* is a stranger, one who is not a member of the *diel*, one who has no place in the lineage of the dominant clan. Such people may be more numerous than the clan itself but they have not the same hereditary status in the tribe. Sometimes their lineages compose powerful tribal sections and in these sections they form a dominant lineage of their own. They are linked by sociological ties, often mythological in form, to the *diel* of the tribe. Thus the powerful sections of Reng and Köng of the Gaajak tribe are not *diel* but *rul*. The Reng section is united to the genealogy of Kir by the supposition that Reng the founder of some of its lineages (COL and DHILLEAK) was equivalent to *gat manlen* (mother's sister's son) to Kir, his mother being a sister to the Ngok Dinka woman who nursed Kir and brought him up, while the founder of another lineage of this section, the KÖNG, was a man called Tik, who is described in the Kir myths as having given him supernatural assistance and saved his life from avengers. The JEMAC and JAAJOAH clans, which give their names to two secondary tribal sections¹ of the Lou tribe, are not of the dominant Lou clan, the JINACA, but are nuclei of two large segments which, together with the Gaaliek section, comprise the Mor moiety. Here again there is a myth which unites them to the *diel* of the tribe. Denac (Nac) is said to have had four sons, Yin, Dak, Bal and Bany, by one wife, and Nyaang and two brothers, who are nameless, by another wife. Nyaang's two brothers were killed by a strange monster, which figures often in Nuer mythology, and is known as a *let*. When the sons of Denac went fishing the four full brothers went on their own and Nyaang by himself, for he would not accompany his brothers. Consequently when he caught a fish someone would come and steal it from him as he was all by himself. When he came home he would not sit on the ground facing his father as the other sons did but sat apart by himself with his back to his father and gazing in the opposite direction. When his father asked him what was the matter with him, he replied that he was thinking of his two

¹ In the Jemac section are included the important JAAGWETH lineage who are supposed to be distantly related to the JEMAC.

brothers whom the *let* had eaten. His father said to him, "Never mind, take your two sisters and let them be your brothers." So in future when Nyaang went fishing he went with his sisters Nyabil and Fadwai. Nyaang is the founder of the GAALIEK lineage, Nyabil of the JEMAC lineage, Fadwei of the JAAJOAH lineage. Whenever we find large sections living as *rul* in a tribe we may expect to discover that bonds have been created between them and the *diel* by myths of the kind cited above. This mythological patent gives them a status in the tribe which is nearly equal to that of the *diel* and amounts to adoption into their kinship framework. This is often accomplished in Nuer society through the kinship value of the mother's line, for although lineages are, for purposes of descent, reckoned widest through the male line and comprise only agnates in respect to the inheritance of certain clan heirlooms, nevertheless descent through the female line has powerful recognition and there is a tendency for the kinship group to take the form of an association of cognates, of men and their sons and daughters and the children of sons and daughters. When strangers come to live in the village of *diel* and marry into their families there is always a drive towards matrilocal conditions, and descent through the mother is stressed so that the lineage of the strangers' sons is traced to the mother and through her linked to the clan of *diel*. We have already cited a good example of this process in the case of the JEMAC and JAAJOAH clans who trace their descent to the name of their ancestresses while the names of their husbands have been forgotten. Nevertheless, in spite of this, they form separate exogamous groups since they cannot be members of the clan of their ancestresses. They are *gaat nyal*, children of daughters, in contrast to *gaat twot*, children of "bulls" or children of sons. However, in some respects the original daughter who gave birth to the stranger's lineage is treated as though she had been a son, as the myth about Nyaang explicitly states, so that the lineage which springs from her still grows on her own genealogical tree. In this way there is always a tendency to translate bonds of contiguity into bonds of kinship.

Not all strangers form such important lineages as the THIANG, JEMAC, JAAJOAH (Lou tribe), GAAT TIEK, GAAT REANG (Gaajak tribe). Many *rul* are members of small lineages of strangers living in the midst of other small foreign lineages all of which are aggregated around a nucleus of *gaat twot*. Thus in Lou country, among the Lou aristocratic element, the

JINACA, one finds many members of such clans as the JIMEM, JUAK, KIEK, KWERMONG, in every section. These clans have no longer a *wec* (a home) of their own. Thus there is a story that the JIMEM once had a big *wec* but when some of them were absent their food was eaten by their brothers. This led to a quarrel, which resulted in the dispersal of the clan, and now, like the other clans mentioned above, they have no central homeland. There is, however, said to be a small JIMEM pocket near Lek country.

In the migration of the Nuer eastwards across the Nile there does not appear to have been any systematic colonisation, if we except the Jekany occupation of Dinkaland. Parties of warriors would raid the nearest Dinka homesteads and carry off their boys and girls and cattle. These warriors at first returned home with their spoil but later a portion of them settled down with their wives and families and built homesteads to the east of the Nile, where they were still in touch with their relatives across the river. Slowly there was a drift further and further eastwards, and whilst the bulk of the conquering warriors belonged to one clan originally there followed a steady infiltration from other clans whose members attached themselves to the original conquerors and settled among them. Also it must be presumed that before the Nuer crossed the Nile and conquered the Dinka country, which lay to the east of that river, some clans were already nuclei of political aggregation from other clans and from Dinka not unlike the aggregations which we find of the west bank of the Nile to-day. At the present time, moreover, families move freely about the country and attach themselves to new local groups into which they marry. Especially does this seem to be the case among the Western Nuer where there is a perfect jumble of small clan lineages. The link between newcomers and the lineages among which they settle is not so much the link of marriage as of descent, since the birth of a child unites the two families of husband and wife by a genealogical link and the sons of the wife become children of the husband's lineage and sister's children of the wife's lineage.

The manner in which lineages split up was well described to me by a Dok man. Members of a lineage give birth to children and they become numerous and spread over the countryside, wandering here and there and everywhere (*cike dak piny*). Then their close relationship (*mar*) ends (*ci mar thuk*). They go and live in the midst of other clans who are

distantly related to them (*cike uth ko ji bothna okien*). Here they dwell as friends (*wane ngac kö rö*) and slowly forge new relationship by intermarriage (*ca mar mat e ken*).

I believe that there is another Nuer word which means the same as *rul*, namely, *yian*. Thus one speaks of strangers living in the village of *diel* as *yiankien*, "their strangers dwelling in their midst." They are strangers because they have no hereditary status in the *wec* save through their mothers. Nevertheless *rul* and *yian* are objectionable terms by which to address strangers and would not be used without danger of strong words following. In speech they are assimilated to the dominant lineages and in this way the homogeneity and cohesion of the local group is asserted. One does not make a division between people who live with one, share one's cattle camp and village, help one in feuds, and quarter their herds in common pastures. Hence even if a man is a *rul* (or a *yian*) one does not make allusion to the fact in his presence. Still less does one make allusion to a man's Dinka or other non-Nuer parentage by calling him by the offensive term *jaang*. These strangers are accepted as equal members of the *wec*.

One of my informants, Jok, explained modes of Nuer aggregation very clearly. No *dil* (or *tut*) dwells in a social milieu entirely composed of fellow *diel* (*gaat twot*), for the usual tendency is for *diel* to split up and for the segments to seek political autonomy on their own and found their own social conglomerate in which they will form the aristocratic nucleus. Hence a *wec* has its nucleus of *diel*, and around this nucleus are gathered a host of *rul*, who are often the husbands of daughters and sisters of *diel* who have not left the village of their fathers and brothers on their marriages but whose husbands have built their homesteads in their wives' localities. It is important to bear in mind that these girls cannot marry a *dil* or *tut* but are compelled by exogamous rules to marry into the classes of *rul* and *jaang*. Their children often grow up in the village of their maternal grandfather and his lineage are regarded as their kinsmen while their father's lineage are comparative strangers, and for this reason they tend to trace their descent through their mother rather than through their father and thus hitch on to the genealogical system of the *diel*.

Hence there is always a tendency towards fusion between two lineages who form part of the same tribal section. This is not simply due to the fact that there is often a real or mythological relationship between

the ancestor of one lineage and the ancestress of the other (as with the JINACA and the JIMAC), but is owing also to the fact that their two sections continue to intermarry all the way down their line of descent, since the marriage of a man of lineage A into lineage B does not prevent his cousin marrying into lineage B also. In course of time the two lineages become so intermarried that it is impossible for them to continue to intermarry without breaking exogamous rules. Thus I was told that the GAALIEK lineage (*diel*) and the JEMAC lineage (*rul*) in the Mor moiety of the Lou tribe had reached a stage when a GAALIEK man could no longer marry a JEMAC woman, though he might marry a descendant of a JIMAC woman two or three generations removed.

As we shall see later, captured Dinka are adopted into Nuer families, and as they have no cattle they necessarily depend for sustenance and marriage upon the family of their adoption. They forge descent through the men who have adopted them and their lineage becomes grafted on to the genealogical tree of descent of their foster fathers so that their children count for most purposes as *gaat twot*. Often *rul* and *jaang* who are poor will come and live near a generous man of whom it is said "He is poor and has nothing because he has given everything away"—a great compliment. Such dependants will be provided with marriage-cattle by their patrons and they will bring their wives to the *wec* of the man who has befriended them, and here their children will be brought up as children of the *wec* and count almost as *gaat twot* since they were born through the cattle of a *tut*.

A lineage of *diel* split up as a result of internal dissension and also because a man of personality likes to found his own independent settlement where he will be an important person rather than remain a younger brother in a group of influential elder relatives. This, Jok told me, is a reason why the Nuer are dissatisfied with the present arrangements made by the Government, which have as their object the creation of local "chiefs" whose position tends to become formalised, permanent, and hereditary. To them this is a rigid interpretation of political power based on a territorial rather than personal basis which stabilises the control of a single man or lineage in a country where every Nuer carries his baton in his knapsack. It does not follow that a man must be a *dil* to gain influence among his fellow villagers. He may be a *tut* of some other lineage than the dominant lineage of his tribe who has been able to

establish himself and his near kin as the social leaders of the locality in which they live. Also I believe that the common view expressed by Europeans that the Nuer leopard-chiefs were once powerful political chiefs whose power has lately been undermined by Arab influence and the development of lines of influential prophets and that their power must be re-established is based on a one-sided appreciation of the facts (see section No. VII).

We have seen that two elements in a Nuer village are the *diel wec* and the *rul wec*. The third element in a Nuer village is the Dinka *jaang wec* and this falls into two types, captured Dinka and Dinka who have come to live among the Nuer of their own free will. Boys and girls captured in war—for adults are usually put to the spear, only very small boys and unmarried maidens being carried off to Nuerland—are brought up as children of their captor's household and treated as his own sons and daughters. Two of my informants, Jok and Tutrial, gave me a very clear summary of the position of a captured Dinka. Their captor in no way distinguishes them and his own sons and daughters, and neither he nor any of his family would refer to them as *Jaang* (Dinka), which is a term of deep contempt and insult. They do precisely no more and no less work than any other member of the household and are in no manner degraded or humiliated. In answer to my questions whether a captured Dinka would not be expected to do more hoeing or tending of the cattle than children of the family, my informant's reply was decisively clear "You ask me whether he would not work harder than the sons, well, is he not a son?"

When I asked Tutrial whether you would not address your captive as "*Jaang*," he replied with some impatience at my denseness "Are you likely to do such a thing? Now listen, be quiet and I will tell you. When you marry a woman with cattle and sleep in the same hut with her does anyone come and ask you why you sleep so late in the day? Now when you go out to capture a Dinka your foot is pierced by thorns—you have got to be stalwart for that; you are ravished by hunger—you have got to be stalwart for that; you have spears thrown at you—you have got to be stalwart for that too; now I ask you when you have got your Dinka are you likely to call him a *Jaang*? Did you not win him because you were strong?"

Were a man of another village or of a different kin to call him by the title of *Jaang* it would be a serious matter because the sons of the man who had captured him would resent the remark. To them he is *demar*, my brother, and they will quarrel with anyone who calls him *Jaang* and there may be bloodshed. They will ask "Who is a *Jaang*? Did your father seize him or did ours?"

Just as a captured Dinka suffers from few disabilities owing to his birth so he enjoys most of the privileges of a free-born Nuer. The man who has adopted him will give him cattle with which to marry a wife, and he will be thus enabled to marry according to the same rules of priority as if he were a real son. If he is older than a real son of the family he will marry before him. A and B are real sons of X, and C is an adopted Dinka whose age comes in between the ages of A and B. The order of marriage will be A, C, B. When A and B's daughters are married, C, the Dinka, will receive the cattle of a *gwanlen* (paternal uncle) just as if he were an ordinary brother to A and B.

Dinka who have been taken in war and brought up by a Nuer family will eventually be formally adopted and given *buth* (*ca lath buthni*, he is given relationship). One youth, Wan, told me that the man who brought up a captured Dinka would give him *buth* (relationship), but two other informants, Tutrial and Jok, disputed this statement, saying "He will not do so because the Dinka is his son, so why should he?" The son of this man, or more likely his brother's son (*gat gwanlen*) will, however, invite his Dinka boy, when grown-up and initiated into manhood, to come and tether a bullock in his kraal and kill it. The bullock is first of all invoked by the owner of the kraal and he addresses the spirits of his clan and tells them that this man is now a member of his family. This ceremony is regarded as being very much the affair of the spirits who guard your clan and your own special lineage. It is your duty to let them know if you are adopting a new member into your kin because all members of your kin are under their care. Another informant said that the bullock is killed at the entrance to the sponsor's byre and that the Dinka's body is smeared with the undigested contents of its stomach while the spirits of the clan are asked to accept him into it. After this ceremony the Dinka becomes a member of your lineage, he becomes a relation of yours (*gwan buthni ka ji*) and the spirits of your lineage will go to him and be his spirits also. After the bullock has been invoked it

is sacrificed and cut up and the son of the house and his Dinka "brother" each take half the skin and the *juak*, and the Dinka takes the neck. On all future occasions when animals are killed by his relative by adoption he will be able to claim his share of the meat on the grounds of relationship (see Section No. VI). It seems that, whilst before this ceremony of being given relationship he was treated in all respects as a member of the family, he did not count as a member of the lineage, at any rate for purposes of division of meat, which goes only to relatives of the owner. He will now regard himself as a "member of the clan" of his "father." *Caa Juak tem*, they have cut through the scrotum, he is now a member of their clan.

We may, at any rate for the moment, speak of these captured Dinka who go through a ceremony of adoption into the lineage of their captor as becoming affiliated to Nuer clans in the framework of which they trace their descent and for which they receive the various ritual emblems which mark a clansman. It is almost impossible, without a prolonged stay in a Nuer cattle-camp, to discover who are and who are not of pure Nuer origin. I have for weeks considered a man to be of pure descent, that is to say by direct filiation of blood, when in reality he comes from the stock of a captured Dinka. Such a man who had a Dinka grandfather who was adopted into a Nuer lineage regards himself as being just as much a member of the lineage as the grandson of the man who gave his grandfather *buth* and is so regarded by other members of his lineage and by everybody else. Thus when a man gives you his genealogy as A, son of B, son of C, son of D, son of E, and another man gives you his genealogy as X, son of Y, son of Z, son of Q, son of E, you naturally imagine that D and Q were two sons of E and that they have founded separate lines of descent, one of which has produced A and the other of which has produced X. There is no means of knowing that in point of fact Q was a Dinka captured by E and given *buth* by his son D unless someone tells you the true state of affairs as a piece of information which he thinks will be of interest to you, a most unlikely happening in Nuerland. Moreover, you cannot very well go about asking people whether their grandfathers were captured Dinka and if you did they would be very unlikely to tell you. You can, of course, always ask other people but the only people who are likely to be fully acquainted with a man's ancestry are members of the same lineage and they in all probability will not tell you. The consequences of wholesale adoption of Dinka into

Nuer lineages belongs more to a study of kinship than to the plan of the present paper. Its importance may be gauged by the fact that probably some 75 per cent. of the Lou tribe are of Dinka descent, belonging either to families sprung from a man who has been *lath butni*, given relationship, in a Nuer lineage, or to the families which have retained their full status as independent Dinka lineages.

This is the second type of Dinka domiciled among the Nuer to whom I made reference earlier. In the old days, and still to-day, Dinka frequently came to live among Nuer of their own accord and were always well received and allowed to settle and become members of the village community. There are a number of reasons which may have influenced a Dinka in taking this step. Along the Nuer-Dinka border intermarriage was frequent and Dinka would come to live near their married sisters and perhaps settle there and bring up a family who are Nuer in everything but descent. In the same way if a Nuer captured a Dinka girl and brought her up and gave her in marriage he might expect a visit from her brother, who would perhaps settle in his sister's village, in which case his brother-in-law would certainly give him one or two cows to start a herd. Many Dinka families came into Lou country to escape hunger and the other attendant miseries to which they had been reduced by constant Nuer raiding which left them cattleless.¹ Moreover there must have been a very large element of the original Dinka owners of country to the east of the Nile absorbed into the social system of their Nuer conquerors. They cannot all have been dispersed, and the probability is that what happened during the Nuer invasions was similar to what was happening along the Nuer-Dinka border right up to the present day when raiding and intermarriage occupied long lulls between waves of fresh invasion.

¹ I was told that it sometimes happened that a poor Dinka would come and live with a rich Nuer and would help to herd his cattle and cultivate his gardens so that the Nuer, being gratified, would give him a blind or lame daughter whom no one wanted to marry. This is apparently considered a proper marriage, since the Dinka presents his wife with a skirt (*yet*). My informants said that, of course, no one would give a nice girl to a Dinka in this way.

(To be continued.)

DAVID REUBENI, AN EARLY VISITOR TO SENNAR.

By S. Hillelson.

An unexpected account of an early visit to the Funğ kingdom of Sennar is found in the travels of the Jewish adventurer David Reubeni who was the guest of King 'Amarah in 1523. I am indebted to Professor Paul Borchardt of Munich for drawing my attention to this document.

David Reubeni was an Oriental Jew who arrived in Italy in the year 1524, and not only created some stir amongst his co-religionists but gained the ear of Pope Clement VII and of the Portuguese Court. He gave out that he was the brother of a King Joseph who ruled an independent and warlike community of Jews somewhere in Arabia and that he had been entrusted with the mission to enlist the interest of the Christian powers with a view to combined action against the Moslem infidels. This was the age of Portuguese activity in the Red Sea and in Abyssinia, it was also the age of the expansion of the Ottoman Turks who had but recently conquered Egypt, and it appears that, for a time at any rate, David's pretensions were taken seriously. He was at the Court of John III of Portugal in 1525, and is later heard of at Venice and Bologna and at Ratisbon, where he proposed an alliance against the Turks to the Emperor Charles V. Meanwhile he had formed an association with a certain Solomon Molcho, an involuntary convert to Christianity who had reverted to Judaism and who dreamed Messianic dreams. Both David Reubeni and Molcho attracted the attention of the Inquisition, and Molcho suffered death by fire in 1532. David Reubeni was imprisoned in Spain and died in prison some time after 1535.

References to his activities are found in contemporary Hebrew writers and in Portuguese sources, but the most interesting document on his career is the volume purporting to be his own story of his wanderings. This was preserved in a unique MS. at the Bodleian Library, whence it disappeared some time after 1867, and it has been twice edited from a transcript of the original MS.¹

Graetz, the historian of the Jews, suspends judgment as to whether David Reubeni was "an impostor or a daring fanatical dreamer, or whether he intended to play a part in a Messianic movement or in politics, or merely that of an adventurer." The learned editor of the Oxford edition asserts with certainty that the Hebrew style of David's "diary" is that of a German Jew, and adds that David might have been such, although a native of Egypt who knew Arabic as his mother tongue. To the present writer the loose structure and careless style of the "diary" suggests the possibility of its being the exact transcript of an oral narrative, perhaps given in another language and taken down in Hebrew by a German Jew. It is noteworthy that the method of writing Arabic names sometimes suggests the phonetic habits of a German Jew rather than of one familiar with Arabic.

Whatever view may be taken of David's character and of his truthfulness in the matter of his political mission, the value and interest of his references to Sennar

¹ (a) *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles, etc.* Edited by A. Neubauer. Oxford, 1887.

(b) *Der Reisebericht des David Reubeni.* . . . By Eduard Biberfeld. Berlin, 1892 (incomplete).

and Nubia are obvious, and it cannot be doubted that they are based on first-hand knowledge. Wherever names and other details can be recognised and checked they are surprisingly accurate, and in 1523 such information was not obtainable from books. We may therefore regard it as a fact that this adventurous traveller visited the places he mentions, and verisimilitude is added to the story by the appropriateness of his disguise as a Meccan sherif, a title which could not fail to secure protection and honour in the newly islamized kingdom of Sennar.

In the following translation of the early chapters of the "diary" certain longueurs have been abbreviated, but the passages of historical and geographical interest are given in full. Both the Hebrew text and Biberfeld's German translation have been consulted.

I, David, am the son of King Solomon (blessings on his memory) and my brother King Joseph who is older than I am rules his kingdom in the desert of Khabor, where he is king over 300,000 people of Gad, Reuben and the half-tribe of Manasseh. I set forth from the court of my brother the king and the seventy elders his counsellors, for they had instructed me first of all to proceed to Rome to stand before the Pope (may his glory be exalted).

So I left them and journeyed from the desert of Khabor by way of Harrah, a distance of ten days until I reached Jeddah, where I fell grievously ill . . . ; meanwhile I heard of a ship that was going to the land of Kush,¹ and though I was still sick in bed I called the master of the vessel to me. Now I had an aged servant, a deaf and dumb man who was attending to me and cooked my food and was in charge of my possessions and looked after all my needs ; so the servant and I embarked on this vessel to cross the Red Sea, and I was still sick while we travelled on the Red Sea for three days and three nights, and on the fourth day we reached the town of Suakin in the land of Kush. I hired a house in this town and stayed there for two months. . . .

Then I heard that a large number of merchants were about to start for 'Asha² in the land of Kush, the kingdom of Sheba, so I summoned their chief who was a descendant of the prophet of the Ishmaelites, a man named 'Omar Abu Kamil, and acquired two camels in order to travel with them. Thus I started from Suakin with my servant and all my gear, and we travelled with Abu Kamil and a caravan of over 3,000 camels belonging to the merchants, and I fasted every day. I travelled through vast deserts and through forests in which there was good vegetation and

¹ David frequently uses Biblical names. Kush = Ethiopia, Sheba = Soba, etc.

² 'Asha or 'Asa cannot be identified ; Biberfeld suggests Massawa, which is improbable.

many trees and excellent grazing, and over rivers and mountains, a journey lasting two months until we reached the beginning of the Kingdom of Kush.

The name of the king was 'Amarah¹ and he dwells by the river Nile. This king is black and his rule extends over black people and white. This river over which he rules is the "river of Egypt" and his kingdom is of Sheba. Now I travelled over all his kingdom and stayed in the king's city at the "head" of the river Nile, the name of the city being Lam'ul². I stayed with him for ten months, during which time Abu Kamil was in attendance on me. Now the king used to travel about his domains, month by month from station to station, and I travelled with the king, and I had attendants who were descendants of their prophet, more than sixty men riding on horses who treated me with great respect, and their chief was called Abu Kamil.

During the whole time I stayed in the land of Kush with the king I used to fast every day whether resting or travelling and I prayed day and night, for I feared lest I should stand in the "seat of the scornful" I used to go straight from the house of the king to my house, for at every travelling-stage they erected for me a wooden house near the king's.

Now this king has innumerable servants amongst whom there are captains of war and governors of the cities of the kingdom, and officers to administer their law. Whoever commits a fault, be it great or small, is slain, and every day they hold courts of justice. The king has many horses and captains who ride on them, and fine camels, and innumerable herds of cattle and sheep, he also has gold dust. Special officers travel ahead of him to erect wooden houses³ for the king and all his officers and servants, and whenever we arrived at a halting stage everything was found arranged, from the beginning to the end (of the journey); and after departure they burn all the houses.

¹ According to the received chronology (see the Sennar Chronicle as quoted in Mac-Michael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Vol. II, p. 358 ff.), 'Amara Dunqas (also spelled Dunkas) the founder of the Funğ dynasty, reigned from A.H. 910 to 940, which corresponds to A.D. 1504-1533. David's visit is dated 1523.

² One is tempted to identify Lam'ul or Lem'ul with Lul or Lulu, a place several times mentioned as the original seat of the Funğ. (cp. L. F. Nalder, *Funğ origins*, S.N.R. Vol. XIV (1931), p. 64). On two occasions the name occurs in the MS. in the form of La'ul. According to David, Lam'ul was on the Blue Nile, eight days' journey to the south of Sennar.

³ No doubt grass huts are intended.

In this country there are places full of vegetation, and forests, and deserts and mountains. This king with whom I dwelt has slaves, male and female, most of whom are naked: the queen and the concubines and the ladies of the court and the slave girls and maid servants wear golden armlets and bracelets and anklets, and they cover their nakedness with a handwrought chain of gold, a yard in width, which goes round the loins and is locked in front and behind; the rest of the body is naked, but all women wear gold nose-rings. Thus they travel with the king and even in the rain they sit naked exposed to the rain, men and animals, and they sleep on the ground for they have no houses; and every one of them, men and women, lights a fire in front of him to keep him warm. They eat elephants, wolves, leopards, dogs, camels, mice, frogs, snakes and even human flesh.

The king used to summon me daily, and he said to me: "What is it you desire of me, my lord, son of our prophet? If you desire slaves or camels or horses, take them." And I replied: "I desire nothing of you. Only I have heard of the splendour of your kingdom and I brought you this present in affection and good-will; see I give you a silk garment and 700 ducats and I desire nothing of you." I also said: "I love you and I give you my blessing and the blessing of my fathers, and the blessing of the prophet Mohammed, and I give you forgiveness of sins, and I give you strength and a dwelling in paradise for yourself and your sons and your daughters and all the people of your household, and in another year you shall come to us in the city of Mecca, the place of the forgiveness of sins."

Thereafter the king sent to my house four virgin slave girls and four slaves, all of them naked. The messenger said: "Our Lord the king sends you a thousand greetings; take then these slave boys and girls as a present from our lord the king"; So he left them standing before me naked and I gave them garments to cover their nakedness. In this night my evil genius¹ stood at my right hand to tempt me with one of the beautiful slave girls and I had already conducted her to my bed, when my good angel¹ prevailed and said to me: "Remember whence you came and whither you are going, and what this deed is that you are about to do. God Almighty is offended by an evil deed like this; remember your Creator and he will remember you; but if you sin this night God

¹ The *yeşer har-ra'* and *yeşer hat-tōb* are familiar conceptions of Jewish ethics.

will raise up enemies against you who will lay you low, and you will be unable to carry out your sacred mission." Blessed be the Lord who saved me from this sin. I prayed and wept and turned to Him all night on my couch and did not sleep until the morning. And in the morning I took all the slaves and led them to the king's wife and said to her : "The king has given me these slaves as a present, now I present them to you as a gift of good-will, I desire nothing in return and I give you forgiveness of sins and a good place in paradise." When the king heard of this matter he summoned me and asked why I had not accepted his gift. I replied : " From you I accepted it but I gave it to the queen in affection and goodwill."

Then the king honoured me greatly, as likewise he honoured the descendants of the prophet living in the land of Kush, and amongst them their chief Abu Kamil, whom he honoured on account of his friendship with me, and thus he treated all his servants. The king and all his servants loved me and respected me and looked upon me as if I were an angel of the Lord, and they were in awe of me because I fasted every day and prayed day and night and spoke little before them, and when they addressed me I replied briefly. And when I rode on my horse to go anywhere, the king gave orders that the chief servants of his kingdom should go with me all the way.

After ten months' stay with 'Amarah, David's departure was hastened by the arrival of a third " Meccan sherif " who at first proposed to enter into a partnership with David and Abu Kamil for the purpose of exploiting the credulity of the King and sharing in the gifts. He pretended to possess a book brought " from the house of the Prophet " and supposed to possess great religious virtue, which he intended to present to the king, and both David and Abu Kamil certified to the authenticity of the book and of the sherif. The latter, nevertheless, for reasons not revealed to us, denounced David as an impostor and a Jew. The King appears to have accepted David's denial and David found an advocate in the queen. Nevertheless, he now resolved to leave the court, and obtained from the king two horses and a guide to take him to " Obadiah, the officer in charge of the king's treasure "—with instructions that the latter should send him on to " Abu Kamil."

There is some confusion in this part of the narrative due either to the imperfect transmission of the text or to David's lack of skill in telling a story. The Hebrew name Obadiah is obviously out of place, and it may be fanciful to see in it a corruption of 'Abdullah (Ġammā'), chief vassal and wazir of 'Amarah Dunqas. " Abu Kamil " is now supposed to reside at Soba, although we have never been told that he had left the court. The narrative proceeds as follows :—

Thereafter in the morning I departed from Lam'ul with my aged companion and the servant of the king, leaving the residence of the king

on the sources of the Nile. We crossed many rivers, and there were many grazing grounds of elephants, and elephants in plenty. There is also a river of mud where horses sink in the mud up to their bellies and many people and horses perish in this manner. But we crossed this river on horseback, and blessed be the Lord who saved us, amen. We travelled a distance of eight days until we reached Sennar¹, the place of Obadiah, the afore mentioned officer, and the king's messenger transmitted to him the instructions of the king, and Obadiah summoned me and said: "What does our Lord desire? Whatever you command I shall do and give in friendship and goodwill." I replied: "The only thing I desire is that you shall buy three good camels at my expense and two waterskins of cowhide to carry water on the camel." Then he gave me a slave to accompany me to Abu Kamil; and in the morning I set forth from Sennar with my slave and the messenger, and we travelled for five days along the Nile until we reached the town of Soba², which is in ruins; there they have wooden dwellings. Abu Kamil met me and said: "How is it that you came away from the king without a present of slaves? I know the king loves you and honours you, and now you have come away without taking anything from the king. Therefore you shall remain in my house while I go up to the king to ask for a gift on your behalf. To this I agreed."

¹ Mr. A. J. Arkell writes as follows on the route from Lam'ul to Sennar:—

"The distance David would make in eight days depends largely on the time of the year and the state of the rivers. The "river of mud" does not suggest the Dinder to me, because wherever I know it, it has a sandy bed. Apparently Lam'ul was on the Blue Nile and it sounds to me as if it was somewhere between Singa and Roseires. The rivers crossed would be the large khors which run into the Nile, and which would be like rivers in the rains. Elephant are met with to-day regularly between Singa and Roseires, and were no doubt more plentiful in the past. Also presumably in 1523 the roads were not so good, and it would presumably be slow going through forest all the way south of Sennar. To-day one could easily get from Sennar to Fazoghli on horseback in eight days, but in the rains through thick forest one might not get much further than Singa. I do not think Lam'ul can be Alamale about latitude 9° at the extreme south of the Blue Nile on Bruce's map (in Murray's *Life and Writings*, etc.), as it is too far. I wondered whether it might be Abu Rimal west of Roseires (marked on the maps as Abu Rumad) which I have never seen, and where there are said to be many traces of ancient habitations. Then about 80 miles from Sennar on the west bank there is a hill marked El Abal on the map which might be an arabicized form of Labal or Lamal (and near it is a village called 'Amara). Nearer Sennar, also on the west bank between Karkoj and Singa, are Lembwa and Lemna. . . . My own opinion so far is that Lam'ul was probably somewhere on the Blue Nile within 50 miles south of Singa, Sennar being on the west bank, David probably travelled along the west bank; there are numerous khors which would seem like rivers in the rains, notably the big one which cuts off Singa as an island, and runs into the Nile between Sennar and Singa near Eneikliba."

² The distance from Sennar to Soba is about 165 miles. This is much quicker travelling than is assumed by Mr. Arkell in the preceding note, but the route lies through open country.

During this night David saw a dream vision of his father who commanded him to depart at once as he would certainly die if he were to wait for Abu Kamil's return. Accordingly he obtained Abu Kamil's consent to his immediate departure.

In the morning I started from Soba, the place of Abu Kamil, who sent his brother to accompany me, and I travelled a distance of ten days to the kingdom of Al Ġa'l¹, which belongs to the kingdom of Soba and is under the rule of 'Amarah. The king of Al Ġa'l was called Abu 'Aqrab, and Abu Kamil's brother informed him of the king's order to convey me (whom he called our Lord the Son of the Prophet) and to give me everything for the road. I stayed with this king three days and thereafter travelled with my old servant until I reached the mountain of Ataqqi², where I met a great chief called 'Abd el Wahhab; this man desired me to travel by the short desert road to the city of Dongola; I stayed in his house six days and on the sixth day there arrived messengers from King 'Amarah, one of whom called out to 'Abd el Wahhab from the river bank while we were standing at another place of the bank (the river being the Nile); he said: "Tell our Lord not to depart, for the king regrets the evil he has done to him and asks his forgiveness; the king is sending him slaves and camels, therefore ask him to await the arrival of the king's messengers with the gifts. So 'Abd el Wahhab called me and said: "I have good news for you, for the king is sending a large gift after you." As I heard his words I said: "Do me a great kindness and set forth with me on the road this very night, and let this be a remembrance between us." And I gave him twenty ducats and clothes. Thereupon he filled for us six water skins and loaded them on three camels, and, accompanied by my servant and 'Abd el Wahhab, I travelled for ten days through the desert. I now had two servants, the old one and one whom I had bought. So I reached the town of Dongola, situated at a distance of half a day from (text corrupt) the land at the beginning of deserts; this is the end of 'Amarah's kingdom. We met a large party of horsemen and I besought 'Abd el Wahhab to speak to the chief of the horsemen to discover what the country was like. 'Abd el Wahhab rode off on his camel and

¹ This may well be the earliest reference to the well-known Ġa'liyin tribe, whose traditional *dar* extends from the Shabluka cataract to the Atbara.

The name Abu 'Aqrab does not occur in the Ġa'li pedigrees cited by MacMichael; the eponymous ancestor of the Sa'dab (the royal house of the Ġa'liyin) lived at the end of the sixteenth century, i.e., a few generations after David Reubeni, and tribal history does not recollect any earlier kings.

² Ataqqi cannot be identified. From the northern end of the Ġa'liyin country there are several desert routes to Dongola province, e.g., from Aliab to Merowi.

hurried to meet them, and these horsemen told 'Abd el Wahhab that they were looking for runaway slaves ; he replied that we had seen none, and he asked them concerning the country whether it was good or bad. They replied : " The country is good, but last night certain sons of King 'Amarah arrived with 200 men and we have heard that the king's son is sick and the king is looking for a physician to treat him." When 'Abd el Wahhab returned to me and reported their speech I said to him : " If you will deal kindly with me you will have a large reward from God and from me ; it is not good for me to stay in this land while the sons of the king are here, for it is not my desire to see them ; so if I have found favour in your eyes conduct me to Al Mamah¹, which is five days' journey from this place at the end of the kingdom of Soba on the river Nile, and there the people are enemies of the king. He replied that he would do as I had bidden him, and if I desired he would accompany me to Egypt. Then I prostrated myself before the God of Heaven and Earth as I heard the words of this man. Then I travelled with that man on the edge of the desert, where there is much sand, so that we were travelling on the sand as upon mountains. I fasted three successive days until I reached the country of the king's enemies ; then I came to the river and there I found a Moslem sheykh (lit. an Ishmaelite elder), an Egyptian who was living with his wife and children in that place which is called Al Khabir.¹ This sheykh kissed my hand as he met me and said : " Come, you blessed one of God, our Lord and son of our Lord, do me the favour of coming to my house that I may acquire a blessing. I have straw and fodder and a place for a night's lodging. So I went with this sheykh, whose name was 'Umman, and he welcomed me and my servant. I asked him to convey me to Egypt soon, and he replied : " The way by which you came from Lam'ul is a good way but I know that this way on which you desire to go now is not good for going to Egypt. If you travel by the river route you will be killed, even if the prophet were with you they would kill him. Therefore remain in my house at peace until we see that the way is secure and then you shall go with the travellers. Thereafter I dismissed 'Abd el Wahhab and he returned to his country. And when I heard the words of the sheykh I gave 'Abd el Wahhab ten ducats and he went to his home.

¹ Al Mamah presumably was near the northern limit of what is now Dongola province, and Al Khabir may conceivably be the modern Hafir.

At this place there came to me five young men of the two tribes¹ and presented me with two lion cubs, which I accepted in order to take them to Egypt. They returned to their country, and I with my servant remained in the sheykh's house. The worthy sheykh said to me : " Your camels are very weak and unfit to travel in this desert ; it is necessary to feed them up for two or three months that they may grow fat and become capable of journeying in this desert, where there are stages of three days during which they will find no vegetation nor grazing nor any food, only water to drink wherever it is found, until you reach Girgeh, which is near Cairo on the Nile." So I asked the sheykh to advise me what I was to do concerning the journey and whether he knew of any men travelling to Egypt who would escort me, and I asked him to purchase for me good camels to convey me in this desert. The sheykh did according to my request and I bought from him a good *naqa* for 20 ducats ; he also bought for me two strong camels for 70 ducats, to which I further added my camels in exchange. Thereafter the people of that town and its surroundings came to me bringing gifts of wheat, barley, lambs and calves as tithes and they filled the house of the sheykh with these gifts. But I took for myself only what was wanted to feed the camels and the rest I gave to the sheykh and to the poor. Thereafter the sheykh informed me that a party of Ishmaelite merchants intended to travel by the desert route on the next day ; this was on the 17th of the month of Marheshwan, and there were also others due to start on the first day of Kislev. I asked the sheykh to summon the leaders of the party and I told them that I wished to go to Egypt with them by way of the great desert. They replied : " We are your servants and we shall acquire merit if you travel with us ; therefore settle all your affairs to-night so as to be ready to-morrow, and they advised me to carry full water-skins on the camels. I slept that night and in the morning asked the sheykh to prepare all that was necessary for me ; he replied that he would do so but that he was waiting for my slave who had left the house and failed to return. They went

¹ David's fantastic statements about the lost tribes are based on legends current at the time. In a later passage (p. 179 of Neubauer's edition) he writes as follows : " We are kings, even as our fathers have been, from the destruction of the temple to this day, in the desert of Khabor, and we rule the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh in the desert of Khabor. As for the other nine and a half tribes they are in Ethiopia (Kush) and they have kings ruling over them. Those nearest to us are Simeon and Benjamin, who dwell on the Nile above the kingdom of Soba, between the two rivers, the White River and the Black River, which is the Nile. Their's is a good and vast country and they have a king named Baruch, who has four sons. Like our people in the desert of Khabor they number 300,000, and we and they hold common counsel."

after the slave and searched for him but could not find him, and I asked the merchants to wait until noon that I might find the slave. But when noon had come and the slave had not returned I gave them permission to depart and they went their way. I stayed on with the sheykh for many days and never left the house, even when kings and notables came to visit me I did not stir from my place. Some time after the merchants had left Al Khabir I asked the sheykh to go with me to King Muhammad¹, and leaving my old servant and all my baggage in the house we went to that king. We found him attended by many servants, and he was drinking date wine and eating lamb's flesh without bread. He rejoiced at my coming and said: "This day is blessed because of the coming of our Lord the son of our Lord the prophet, I desire you to stay in my house, and if you agree, great honour shall be done to you." I replied: "May He bless you whose name is blessed. I pray for you and I give you absolution and forgiveness of all your sins; now I ask of you to-day to send people to search for my runaway slave, for I know that he is in your kingdom, and God will reward you for this kindness that you do to me. The king replied that he himself would go forth with all his commanders to look for the slave, and he sent all his attendants throughout the city and outside of it, mounted on camels, all hastening to search for the slave. I returned to the house of the sheykh and spent the day in prayer until the evening. Then the king brought the fugitive and said: "Because of my love for you do not beat the slave this time." After the king had gone I put irons on the man's neck and feet. And after I had rested seven days in the sheykh's house certain men arrived, naked and wounded from head to foot; they belonged to the party of merchants who had started on 17th Marheshwan, and they related that after they had travelled three days they were attacked on the fourth day by a large party of "men of blood" who did great slaughter and carried off all the camels and other booty and the slaves, nor did they know who beside them remained alive of the party. After two days two other men arrived, and three more in the evening, and every day still more, all members of that party and all stripped naked. So I gave them clothes to cover their nakedness and gifts amounting in value to 50 ducats.

Thus I remained in the sheykh's house and these despoiled people attended me and ate at my table until the 14th day of the month of

¹ Muhammad must have been a Nubian kinglet of the Baṭn el Ḥaḡar.

Kislev ; then I set forth with my slave and accompanied by many people I travelled in the great desert. All the time I fasted and prayed to God in my resting and my setting forth and my travelling, and I imposed on myself a vow neither to eat nor to drink except at intervals of three days and nights and not to eat between watering-places ; for in this desert the nearest distance between watering-places is three days' journey, and sometimes it is a journey of four or five days and nights ; we drank only the water carried on the camels until we reached the Rif at the town of Girgeh after 45 days ; we had with us a man acquainted with the way who guided us through the desert like a pilot on the sea, leading the way in the desert by a star at night, and by his knowledge during the day, for this desert resembles the ocean. This guide asked me to stay in his house until he would find me means to travel to Cairo ; his name was Shalom in Hebrew and Salam in Arabic, and his house was at the end of the town a mile distant. I went there and he gave me lodging and a bed and one of his servants to attend to my needs and those of my servants. This place was on the river Nile ; I stayed with this man for twenty days and I sold my camels for 100 pieces of gold ; then I embarked on a small boat and travelled down the Nile until I reached the gates of Cairo. There I was delayed by Moslem Turks, who searched all my belongings and my chests, in order to take customs dues (lit. a tithe), and they charged me twenty florins on account of the slaves, for no one is allowed to enter the gates of Cairo with Kushite slaves unless he pay a duty of 20 florins for each.

When the Turks saw my two lion cubs they coveted them as a gift, saying that they would exempt me from customs dues and the duty on slaves, and other expenses. So I gave them the two cubs to save further expense and they paid me great respect ; for they were greatly pleased and said they intended to send the lion cubs to the Turkish king.

Thereafter I entered Cairo on the first day of the month of Adar in the year 5283 (=A.D. 1523) at the setting of the sun."

After going to press my attention was drawn to an interesting paper entitled "David Reubeni in the light of history," by Dr. A. Z. Eshkoli, which appeared in Vol. V of the Hebrew periodical "Zion," published at Jerusalem. The author very properly arrives at the conclusion that David Reubeni's story of the lost tribes and of his political mission can have no foundation in fact, and he shows convincingly that many of its elements are derived from literary sources. It would be outside the scope of this journal to pursue this argument, however great its general interest,

but it should be pointed out that the value of David's narrative as a first-hand source for a little-known period of the history of the Sudan remains unaffected. Dr. Eshkoli assumes that the country which Reubeni claims to describe in the early part of his diary is Abyssinia, and he identifies Sheba-Soba with Shoa, the Kingdom of Ga'l with the Galla country, King 'Amarah with "King of the Amharans," and Dongola with the Danakil country on the Red Sea coast.

The geographical and historical inconsistencies involved in these identifications lead him to the conclusion that David never visited the countries in which he claims to have travelled between Suakin and Egypt, but that he made use of a vague and inaccurate knowledge of Abyssinia derived from hearsay and travellers' tales. There can be no question, I think, that Dr. Eshkoli's identifications are out of place, the route Suakin—Lam'ul (La'ul)—Sennar—Soba—Dar el Ga'l—Dongola has no inherent improbability, and if allowance be made for exaggerations and minor inaccuracies, nothing in the narrative is inconsistent with what we know from other sources of the state of the Sudan in the first half of the 16th century. The authenticity of this part of the narrative seems to be definitely proved by the mention of King 'Amarah, the founder of the Funğ dynasty, and by the reference to the Ga'liyin tribe; and the statement that the town of Soba was in ruins is a striking confirmation of the native tradition that the founders of the Funğ kingdom destroyed the Christian capital of that name. It is true that minor difficulties remain: we may find it hard to believe that King 'Amarah's subjects feasted on human flesh, and place-names like Mamah and Ataqqi remain unidentified. Yet, in the light of the facts, there can be no doubt that we are here dealing with first-hand evidence, and that David Reubeni, adventurer and impostor though he was, either himself visited the Sudan or had access to authentic information. A minor point may be mentioned in connection with the statement that the people of 'Amarah's country "eat elephants, wolves, leopards, etc." Here the word "leopards" (*nemarim*) is the editor's emendation for "ants" (*nemalim*), which he regards as quite inappropriate. Those acquainted with the diet of negroid races will have no difficulty in restoring the original reading of the manuscript.

NOTES ON AN ARAB STELLAR CALENDAR.

By T. R. H. Owen.

THE following notes have been obtained from the Northern District of the White Nile Province, but I believe that the system applies—possibly with considerable local variations of detail, nomenclature, etc.—over a large part of the northern Sudan, and especially in the west.

The year is properly divided into four seasons—the *Seyf*, the *Kharif*, the *Rabi'* and the *Shita*. Other terms for various seasons are, of course, often used colloquially, but are not recognised for the purposes of the calendar; the often heard term *darat* merely refers to the time of the rain-crop harvest, loosely covering the period from October to early December; similarly the *rushash* refers to the time from early May to the middle of July, during which one may get "sprinklings," or even good early rains, but before the *batn el kharif*, the real bulk of the rains, sets in.

Of the four official seasons, the *Rabi'* is worth noting, since it corresponds to no actual season in this country. The traditional translation I conceive to be "spring," a term one would hesitate to apply to the months from mid September to mid December in the Sudan. I believe, however, that in many parts of Arabia these months bring early rains and something approaching vernal conditions, and the most probable explanation seems that the whole calendar system, far from being evolved in the Sudan, had its origin in Arabia, came over with the Arabs thence, and has not been adapted to make it fit with local seasonal conditions.

The system is as follows:—Each of the four seasons consists of seven 'eynas, each 'eyna covering just over thirteen complete days, so that each season has $91\frac{1}{2}$ days—which is interesting as showing that the 365 day solar year is known and recognised in spite of the current lunar calendar.

An 'eyna is said to *dakhal*, i.e., to begin, when the star governing it is visible just above sunrise in the earliest morning, until 13 days later the next one takes its place and it has climbed higher up the sky.

The 'eynas and seasons, as set out by those who know (called '*arrāfīn* or *ḥassābīn*, and there are generally several in any tribe) are as given below. I have been able to identify a lot of their stars with certainty, but there are still a number about which I cannot be sure.

'EYNAS OF THE SEYF (about March 10th–June 10th).

El Farq el muqaddam	...	Alpha and Beta Pegasi, the western side of the square.
El Farq el muta 'akhkhir	...	Alferatz and the other eastern corner of the square of Pegasus.
El Hüt	...	The middle stars of Andromeda.
El Nath	...	Aries—the ram.
El Buteyni	...	Algol and Alpha Persei.
El Turayya	...	The Pleiades.
El Beraya	...	The Hyades, or that part of Taurus containing the red star <i>debaran</i> by which name the 'eyna is often known.

'EYNAS OF THE KHARIF (about June 10th–Sept. 10th).

El Han'a	...	Also called <i>El 'isi el 'atshan</i> , Orion's shoulders, the stars Bellatrix and Betelgeusae.
El Hak'a	...	or <i>El 'isi el rawyan</i> , Rigel and Orion's other foot.
El Durā'	...	Procyon or Canis minor to the west and the two feet of Gemini to the rising just ahead of Sirius.
El Natra	...	Cancer.
El Tarfa	...	The tip of Leo's nose, or "the sickle," as it is often known. Often also called <i>El Ramsha</i> , "the blinker."
El Ġubha	...	Regulus, the big first magnitude star of Leo's chest.
El Kheyrāzān	...	The two stars that make Leo's hind quarters, with Denebola, his tail star.

'EYNAS OF THE RABI' (about Sept. 10th–Dec. 10th).

El Sarfa	...	The fuzzy part of Coma Berenices.
El 'Ewa	...	The middle belt of three stars in Virgo.
El Sumāk	...	Arcturus.
El Ghafar	...	The two main stars of Libra, "the scales."
El Zabanān	...	Part of the Serpent in the constellation of Ophiouchus, the "Serpent Holder."
El Iklil	...	The row of stars that make Scorpio's claws (?).
El Qalb	...	Antares, the red star that is the heart of Scorpio.

'EYNAS OF THE SHITA (about Dec. 10th–March 10th).

El Shōla	...	The star above the curve in Scorpio's tail.
El Bulda	...	The red star, or sting in Scorpio's tail.
El Na' āim	...	Altair, and the constellation of the Eagle, often known as <i>'el saqr el țair</i> .
Sa'd el Dābiḥ	...	Vega in the constellation Lyra, or by some given as the little constellation Capricornus, the he-goat.
„ el Bula'	...	The middle stars that make the wings of Cygnus, the swan.
„ el Su'ūd	...	<i>Deneb</i> , the tail star of Cygnus.
„ el Akhbiya	...	The small stars of Pegasus just west of the square.

Not every Arab knows all these; a large number of them are distinguished and known only by the *'arrāf*, who generally prides himself on his astronomical talent. But if these are of academic interest only, nearly everyone is well acquainted with the stars in their courses as far as they directly affect his livelihood—namely, the 'eynas which bring the rains.

These are the 'eynas from the *Durā'* in the early Kharif to the *Sumāk* in the Rabi'. One frequently hears that so and so sowed his crop *ma' a*

el durā', i.e., very early, or that such and such an event happened *fil ramsha*, etc. These 'eynas are supposed to represent the parts of *El Asad*, and do in point of fact centre round our own constellation of Leo just as the constellations of the Rabi' are said to belong to *El 'Aqrab* and again coincide with our Scorpio; while the '*eyna el Nath* (*naṭaḥ* to butt) is our zodiacal sign the Ram. It can hardly be coincidence that the same constellations are given the same names both in Arabic and European speech, but which took over the other's nomenclature and when I have no notion.

El Durā' is the Lion's forepaws spread out, the *natra* his mouth, the *ṭarṣa* or *ramsha* his eyes, the *ḡubha* his forehead, the *kheyrazān* his neck, the *ṣarṣa* his flank, the '*ewa* his rump, and the *sumāk* his tail.

The *sumāk*, as stated, is Arcturus; Arcturus is just preceded in its rising by the tail-star of the Great Bear or '*anqarīb* the star which is a key to the season; the three tail-stars of the Bear are known as *banāt el 'anqarīb*, houris attendant on the Sultan's bedchamber, and the tip one is called '*oreyḡ*. She is the fattest and comeliest of the three maidens, and is visible at sundown throughout the kharif; and based on her there is a set of little doggerel rhymes which serve, like the gender-rules, to keep straight the less instructive who do not know how to distinguish the '*eynas*, and to inform them whereabouts in the kharif they are. The key is this—at the entry of the kharif (about June 10th) '*oreyḡ* drops below the horizon when the moon is at its zenith on its ninth night; next lunar month (28 days) and two '*eynas* (26 days) later, it drops when the moon is at its zenith on the seventh night and so on till the *sumāk* itself, when this star '*oreyḡ* barely appears at sunset, on the first day of the moon, before sinking—to be seen no more for some time. (The theory of all this I leave to astronomical experts, but it seems to be an empirical fact.) From this is made the following timetable:—

(1) *In nazalat (or dakhalat) fi tis'a.*

Hāmila māsika el nis'a.

"When ('*oreyḡ*) goes down on the ninth day it is like a pregnant woman, gripping the rope that aids her in childbirth" (i.e., very early about June 15th—rains just on the point of coming).

(2) *In dakhalat fi sab'a.*

El khala immala, sherib el ḍab'a.

Wal 'Arab yagūm taba'.

" When she goes down on the seventh day, the wilderness is watered, the beasts drink and the Arab gets up and follows (the grass)."

(3) *In dakhalat fi khamisa.*

El leyl wal nahār dāmsa.

" When she goes down on the fifth day, night and day are black (with rain clouds)," i.e., it is about the end of August, *ḡubha* and *kheyrazān* 'eynas, the best bit of the kharif.

(4) *In dakhalat fi talāta.*

El na'ām bayyadat, el wizzīn kāka.

" When she goes down on the third day, the ostrich has done her laying and the geese cackle (in the rahads)," i.e., nearing the end of the kharif, say September 20th.

(5) *In dakhalat fi wāḥid.*

Tagannib shahid.

" When she goes down in one day, it's all over, you have only got to sit down and watch (the resulting crop, if any)."

These doggerels are universally known and quoted.

Of the 'eynas of the kharif the *ḡubha* is considered the best ; this is 'izzat el kharif, the " zenith of the kharif," and they say " *el shaqq, in mā kasarāt-hu el ḡubha, ma byinkasar* " " if the *ḡubha* does not wash out the cracks in the soil, nothing will." The *ḡubha* as far as I can reckon is from about August 15th to 28th ; in the White Nile Province at least the rainfall figures for the last five years show the fortnight of heaviest average rains to be that between August 7th to 21st, i.e., covering half of the period.

Next to the *ḡubha*, the one before it, the *ramsha* or *ṭarfa*, is valued most ; " *El ṭarfa bakkāya wal ḡubha nadāya* "—" the *ṭarfa* drops its tears, and the *ḡubha* its dews." Dews, often the accompaniment of good rains, are naturally regarded as a fortunate sign, " *sanat el nawādi, basharat el bawādi* "—" year of dews, year of good luck to the nomad."

The other seasons are not so well known ; once the *sumāk* has come and the rains are done with and the river falling, interest in the 'eynas flags ; the *sumāk* marks the turning of the year, the change of the wind and coming of the winter.

Yā ḡā el sumāk.

Yā maṭar kafāk.

Yā baḥr bi gafāk.

"The *sumāk* is come; enough of the rain; the river's turned its back."

Whereas Leo is supposed to govern the kharif, Scorpio (*el 'aqrab*) governs the *rabi'* and the first part of winter. The cold weather that comes in December and later is the only other subject of much interest, coming with the *shola* and later *'eynas*. Whence we hear—

Ṣagaṭ el shōl

ḥama el 'aḡūz el bōl

(Because it is so cold by night he cannot go out of his house.)

Ṣagaṭ sa'd el dābiḥ

ḥama el kelb el nābiḥ.

"The cold of *sa'd el dābiḥ* will keep a dog from barking."

Sa'd el su'ūd

maṭar wa ru'ūd.

Because in some years at this time (about February 15th) rumbling of thunder and even odd drops of rain occur.

The *'eynas* are regarded also of varying omen for the holding of functions—especially marriages; no one cares to marry during the *shōl*, the *natra* and the *buṭeyni*—children of such a marriage are supposed to be born dead or defective. The *durā'* and the *ḥūt* on the other hand are extremely lucky *'eynas* and are the favourite periods for such celebrations; the *turayya*, the 'Pleiades,' also is credited with inducing startling prolificness in the wife, and it is a frequent jibe against the Hassania, with their rabbit-like propensities, that they take their wives only during the *turayya*.

But as a whole the general interest in and knowledge of the *'eynas* flags when the kharif is over, until once more Sirius ushers in the rains.

STUDIES ON THE NILE PERCH OR AIGLE (*LATES NILOTICA*) AT SENNAR.

By F. E. Kenchington.

THE building of the Sennar dam in 1925, resulting in the appearance just below it of numbers of Nile perch and affording some of the best sport on the Nile, focussed attention on this species so excellent for sport and for the table. Speculation and loose discussion arose as to this phenomenon, the life history and possible effects of the dam on its survival and numbers.

It was soon roundly asserted that the numbers of Nile perch far downstream had rapidly and markedly decreased whence, it was alleged, the assemblage at Sennar. Angling at the dam was considered to be rapidly depleting the stock and the dam itself to be preventing an assumed salmon-like spawning migration to the upper waters. These conjectures received, in the writer's opinion, a much too ready acceptance, acceptance even to preliminary plans and estimates for an expensive fish ladder, without proper enquiry into the basic facts of life history, habits and season of spawning, the leaping abilities of the species and so on. The writer, as a spare time interest, has endeavoured, through four fishing seasons, to probe a little into the problem.

The writer has never seen an *aigle* spontaneously leap, or, in fact, ever do more than just come clear of the water when held in play on a line. Certainly fish of some sort may be seen leaping against the dam face, but such spontaneously leaping fish as the writer has been able to approach closely enough for a positive identification have been all *barbus* or *labeo* species, never a *lates*. This is a matter on which the casual observer not familiar with the species, and seeing from a distance or from above, might obviously leap to erroneous conclusions.

Without authenticated knowledge of breeding seasons and habits, any measures by engineering, or by regulations, so taken in ignorance, are quite as likely to be without any effect or to be harmful instead of working the desired benefit to the species, however praiseworthy in intention.

Because the *aigle* is a clean, strong silvery fish lusty in play, and at home in the rough waters, some have loosely dubbed him "Nile Salmon," whereas he is most certainly a perch, or more correctly, a bass. This

misnomer has doubtless occasioned much of the confused and loose thinking, as some have credited the species at once and without proof with breeding habits similar to the salmon and trout, and involving a migration upstream to the spawning beds. Such a migration appears on first principles, and having regard to the life histories of related species, biologically improbable.

Before coming to the observations it is of interest to note that from antiquity the species has been highly regarded on the Nile. The ancient Egyptians venerated and worshipped it, portrayed it on tomb and temple walls, mummified and ceremoniously interred it. In the Grecian Ptolemy dynasty it was named *Latis* (whence the modern Linnean specific name) and the city of Esneh, the centre of its worship, was then called Latopolis. Numerous mummied specimens and burials have been described (Fayoum, Esneh, Thebes and Upper Egypt), notably one small specimen enclosed in a bronze case modelled to represent it. Mural paintings are found at Medum and tombs in Deir El Gebrawi. Græco-Egyptian coins of Latopolis bore its image.

The Observations.

One has to record a very wide range of variability between individuals in shape, conformation and pigmentation. They range from the cod-like to the bream-like in shape, from a clear silver to a dark colour, closely blotched and mottled with sepia giving almost a bronzed-steel appearance. Sometimes the lower jaw is underhung resembling almost the "hook-jaw" of male salmon. The eyes are brightly luminous, lambent with a glow in some cases clear ruby, in others, a striking amber. It is remarkable that none of these features are secondary sex characters such as in other species commonly serve to mark, at a glance, males from females. The species, one would suggest, is in a most plastic condition of variability—possibly a number of sub-races are being thrown off, or strains have not yet fused to a uniformity; or possibly the individual can be strongly moulded by his environment. Sex, state and condition are readily observed on opening the abdomen. While one associates a marked loss of condition with spawning, unlike the salmon, this species loses condition before spawning, during the later stages of maturing the sex cells, and not as spent fish simply.

To judge by the fish examined, a proportion between 20 and 30 per cent. of both sexes do not spawn in a given year. This raises questions

one cannot yet answer. What is the spawning rhythm, how activated, controlled or inhibited? A very notable fish of 102½ lbs., which held the Sennar record for a couple of years, was a female taken in January, 1931, with sex-organs in the quiescent and non-spawning condition.

The species, unlike the salmon, does not spawn fasting, and the process seems a protracted one broken by intervals for feeding. The season for spawning has been quite definitely determined as from late December to mid-May, during the whole of which period individuals are regularly taken both dead ripe and newly spent. With the writer's limitations as to time, gear and resources available, he was not able to see the actual spawning in progress, or to determine its place and manner. He considers it probable that the ova are deposited in deep or in fast-moving water, possibly in holes or pans of the rocky bottom. A type of damage to the stoutly webbed fins, and to those fins most in contact with the bottom (caudal, anal and pelvic), was observed from time to time in the spawning season and only in dead ripe, in actually extruding, and in spent fish, which suggests attrition by rocks or sharp gravel, probably in strong water, as so to damage the stout fin spines and membranes postulates considerable force. Three years of close observation have failed to reveal *aigle* in their spawning activities in the waters near the shore, or in the fordable shallows. Several attempts to keep *aigle* alive in cement tanks failed, all within 36 hours, due, it is considered, to insufficient oxygenation, as live *aigle* have been kept alive almost as long wrapped in wet sacks and laid under a running tap.

As is usual in fishes, females are larger than males, the average weight of the former being 26.3 lbs., of the latter 17.5 lbs. No male of over 37 lbs. has been found, while females up to 110½ lbs. have been examined. It would be interesting to have parallel observations from White Nile, or Sobat, where the *aigle* run up to 200 lbs. and more. Females and males are taken in very equal proportion.

The ripe ova measure 0.4 to 0.7 mm. in diameter and are spherical, with a thin but tough envelope. They are white owing to their creamy yolk contents and contain much oil in clear globules. They are of such a type and density as probably to sink after fertilisation if not immediately heavier than water. The appearance of the ripe ovary suggests an arrangement in orderly rows and skeins and may mean that they are laid in strings about submerged objects, as with the common perch. They seem small

in relation to the scale of the adult fish. Rough spawn counts were made and gave an average of about $3\frac{1}{4}$ thousand ova per gramme of ripe ovary, and about 12 grammes of ovary per pound live weight. Fish spawn first at 7 to 8 lbs. Fish over 200 lbs. are recorded, presumably females. Hence one computes that females, according to their size, produce from 273,000 to 7,800,000 ova.

These observations have neither explained the crowding of the *aigle* at the dam nor decided for or against the hypothetical migration by it affected, but their general tenour is against its likelihood.

The Distribution of the Species.

The geographical distribution of the species argues strongly against any such urgent and circumscribed migration for spawning to the hill-burns of Abyssinia or redds in the Mountains of the Moon. The species belongs to the whole Nile river system—brackish Lake Menzaleh at Mediterranean level, Lake Tsana at 6,000 feet elevation, Lake No, the great lakes of East Africa, all tributaries of the Blue and White Nile, even the stagnant landlocked pools left by the winter drying of those seasonable tributaries on the east bank, rivers Atbara, Dinder, Rahad and Settit.

Further, it abounds in all parts of the Niger, Congo, Senegal and Lake Chad systems of rivers.

At Sennar the capture of an *aigle* 50 lbs. or more has been always very noteworthy, though it is somewhat unreliably reported that fish between 100 and 400 lbs. weight have at rare intervals been killed in engineering operations. Authenticated *aigle* of 200 lbs. and over indicate that the White Nile, Main Nile and the east bank tributaries alike all afford conditions more favourable to large growth than does the Blue Nile.

The writer considers that the *aigle* gather in the rapids and tail pools of the dam because at the prevailing local temperatures that stretch of water has been turned into the *grand type* of local haunt preferred by the species during the months of small flow.

It calls for explanation why the season for catching *aigle* is at Sennar November to May inclusive, at Khartoum the two periods April–May and September–November, and at Assuan April to June. Having some acquaintance with a number of the major local haunts of the species from Roseires to Assuan; having considered the yearly run of temperatures, the season of the flood, and sundry common factors, the writer has arrived at a hypothesis which satisfactorily integrates all the observations and

explains why the *aigle* gather where and when they do. Lack of space prevents the presentation of the data or the adequate development of the case which may be briefly stated as below.

When flood is over flow is small, and the deeper, stiller pools have little movement to restore aeration. When, further, the water temperature rises above a critical temperature in the neighbourhood of 72°F. at this season the content of dissolved oxygen in the water falls below the level comfortable to active-living fish. These crowd from the stagnant reaches into the places of faster flow, foam, and higher oxygenation as the trout and salmon in parallel circumstances crowd up into the stickles and rapids at the heads of pools in hot summers and low water. This effect works more through the trout-like species *Hydrocyon* and *Alestes*, on which the *aigle* preys, than directly on the *aigle*, which can support life in the land-locked Dinder pools, although there present probably not from free choice. The larger the fish the less sensitive, and the hotter the water must be before he with his larger prey seeks the rapids. Here be it noted that the average weight of the individual as landed at Sennar increases steadily from November to April.

Effect of the Dam on Aigle Population.

As to the alleged sudden diminution of the *aigle* population at points far downstream of Sennar since the construction of the dam, the writer does not believe it to be a fact. In spite of careful and protracted enquiries in every promising direction, no ponderable evidence has been forthcoming in its support. In the absence of much active and recorded fishing it is so easy in retrospect mentally to "telescope" the catches and "runs" of a number of seasons, so without conscious self-deception to delude oneself that long past years were far more productive than in fact they were, the more so when the judgment is inevitably coloured with envious comparison of the long season and crowded pools at Sennar. Certain it is that there is now far less angling at Khartoum and other downstream angling places than before, anglers tending to save their fire for short trips on local leave or public holidays to fish the more certain Sennar waters, instead of fishing with the old patience the always leaner local waters. Whatever the case, no valid facts, figures, or weights, authenticating the alleged have been produced.

Were such rapid and marked decline a fact, some clear evidence thereof should be observable after 8 years in the records kept of the

angling at Sennar, which is not the case. Enquiry has also been made at a notable place some 4 miles downstream, a noteworthy angling place before the dam was made, still well fished by native long-liners and net-men, and abounding in fish as indicated by the number and size of the crocodiles.

To consider first this latter place, it has been left by anglers since the dam was made although still definitely worth fishing. During 1930-31, that season of records at the dam, the natives had notable catches there also and considered it the best season in living memory. They did not consider the dam had at all adversely affected their fishing, numbers had perhaps increased a little, and they attached far more importance to the crocodiles which had been less shot-up of late. During that winter they were daily to be met crossing the dam with from one to four donkeys laden with fish, amongst them *aigle* averaging daily about 20 fish, ranging from 1½ to 60 lbs. each. One concludes that the dam has occasioned no notable deterioration in the *aigle* population of that reach, and this one net accounts for more *aigle* in a month than a whole year's angling at the dam.

In regard to the alleged overfishing at the dam, a careful tabulation of the records show that 57 per cent. of the *aigle* landed are returned alive. The average yearly kill runs between 270 and 300 fish. A 10 lb. size limit has from the first been officially decreed and, on the whole, well honoured. Residents mostly adopt a voluntary 15 lb. limit (unless in the case of mortally injured fish). Since it has been realised that the very large fish, which are coarser eating, are also females, the habit is growing of retaining one small fish for table use and returning alive the larger ones after rapid weighing or measuring.

Finally the system of sluice opening latterly adopted, together with the removal of a footbridge enabling the fishing of the centre channels, now renders the better swims in mid-stream practically unfishable. Thus from the 1931-32 season there has occurred a marked drop in the *effective* fishing of the water which may well cause a drop in results. This should be attributed to its proper causes and not to a decline in the fish. The fish are certainly becoming more educated to angling, and one's tackle, bait and methods need more careful choice than was the case some years ago. It is interesting to note that since the discovery of the appropriate fishing methods in 1931, a number of very large *aigle* have been taken in

the main canal from the dam in a stretch which is yearly emptied of water for two or three months. These fish can only have passed downstream through the sluices.

Analysis of Angling Records at the Dam.

The native head-ghillie is officially provided with a fish book in which anglers are required to enter their catches with accurate weights, both those retained and those put back alive. As statistical material these records are not without shortcomings, as in practice one cannot rely upon all anglers for strict accuracy either in weighing or in entering. Some persist in regarding it as a "brag book" for recording only their big fish, omitting the small ones. Such, one knows, was the regular practice in the first two years of the records. The records were begun only after the fishery had been in existence three years, which is unfortunate. One has jotted notes of the few outstanding fish taken before that time, which comprise some half dozen 50-pounders, two 60-pounders and a poorly authenticated fish of seventy odd pounds during the three years. The amount of angling has varied quite a lot from year to year, but when one allows for this, by averaging catches by the rod-entry (one rod fishing *either* on one evening *or* on one morning "rise"), the varying skill of the anglers being assumed to balance from year to year, one finds in these records of nearly six seasons no evidence of any steady trend nor sudden striking decline. There is much fluctuation year by year, but still negligible compared with, say, a 5 years' record from the game book of a typical salmon river. It is clear that our records have not yet run long enough for us to have a really reliable yearly average. One will expect, eventually, to find a population-cycle with an orderly succession of good and bad years every so often. In view of the failure to enter small fish in the first two years and the prevention of equally effective midstream fishing from 1931 onwards, the results presented in the subjoined table, as averaged by the rod-entry, reveal a satisfactory steadiness from year to year. Considering the "specimen" fish (50 lbs. and over), it is noteworthy that the 7th season (1930-31, 14 specimen fish, record 102½ lbs.) and 9th (1932-33, 19 specimen fish, records 110½ and 112½ lbs., have been so outstanding.

The seasons have been analysed also by the months. The typical course of the season is that in the first month (Nov.-Dec.) fish caught are numerous and mostly small. The average size rises month by month so

that April fish average 7 lbs. heavier than December. Numbers landed per rod session after the opening month show a sharp drop for a month or so corresponding to the peak of the spawning season, and thereafter rise again to a steady level rather below that of the opening month, and so remain till the season closes.

In conclusion, the writer considers the case of a fish ladder, its necessity, even its possible usefulness to the *aigle*, is all to make. In fact, experiments at Sennar have shown that a weir of 18 inches, even when notched to form a more or less smooth "slope" of water, is an impassable barrier to the *aigle*. When the weirs were not across this little artificial stream, *aigle* were found to have wriggled up it some distance to a deeper pool. Ample reason for their presence there was provided by the numerous small fry, as in the local waters generally, at that time, bait was unusually scarce and hard to get. The construction of a fish ladder would be neither simple nor cheap owing to the difficulties of the site and the 60-foot difference in level. It would involve much heavy masonry from expensive foundations and in the end it is most unlikely that the *aigle* will be able to utilise it.

Limitations of space prevent the full presentation of the data on which the writer bases the opinions expressed in this paper, but he is prepared to furnish further details, figures, tabulations, upon enquiry by anyone interested in this matter in more detail. The writer acknowledges his indebtedness for information, answers to questionnaire, loan of books and various assistances to a number of Sudan Government officials, amongst whom it may not be invidious to particularize Messrs. R. V. Bardsley, R. Cottam, G. E. Pennington, O. W. Snow, W. Crawford, F. O. Corfield, and Judge C. Halford.

TABLE I.
ANALYSIS OF RECORDS IN SENNAR FISHING BOOK (*lates nilotica*).

Season.	Total Number of Rod Entries.	Total Number of Fish Landed.	Average Number of Fish per Rod Entry.	Average Weight per Fish (whole season).	Gross Weight Fish Landed in Season.	Specimen Fish.
1927-28 ...	66	142	2.15	21.5 lbs.	3,000 lbs.	4
1928-29 ...	115	277	2.41	20.8 "	5,768½ "	4
1929-30 ...	159	600	3.78	10.4 "	6,200 "	1
1930-31 ...	259	711	2.74	19.5 "	13,892½ "	14
1931-32 ...	187	443	2.37	15.8 "	7,020 "	4
1932-33* ...	47	—	—	—	—	19

* NOTE.—Record incomplete as season not completed at time of writing (February, 1933).

TABLE II.
SENNAR FISHING BOOK—CATCHES OF *LATES NILOTICA*—
ANALYSED BY THE MONTH.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF FISH LANDED PER ROD PER SESSION.

Season ...	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-32.	Month's Average.
October ...	—	—	—	3.60	—	3.60
November ...	—	3.18	—	2.43	4.00	2.82
December ...	2.33	5.00	5.30	2.02	3.44	3.18
January ...	2.00	2.06	3.58	3.77	1.51	2.79
February ...	.89	2.65	3.19	3.50	2.23	2.93
March ...	3.20	1.80	3.20	2.00	2.00	2.22
April ...	1.14	1.67	3.32	1.75	1.88	2.00
May ...	—	—	3.50	—	—	3.50

AVERAGE WEIGHT OF FISH LANDED EACH MONTH. SPECIMEN FISH (50 lbs. & over).

Season	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-32.	Mth. Avge.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-32.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.					
Oct.	—	—	—	13.3	—	13.3	—	—	—	—	—
Nov.	—	18.6	—	14.0	10.8	14.3	—	—	—	—	—
Dec.	16.4	18.5	7.9	17.1	14.1	13.7	—	2	—	2	—
Jan.	21.2	22.5	10.1	21.6	17.8	16.3	—	2	—	9	1
Feb.	24.4	23.3	12.4	21.1	14.24	19.0	—	—	—	10	—
Mar.	24.7	21.6	11.6	21.6	20.0	19.8	4	—	—	3	1
April	29.4	18.5	15.0	21.5	29.2	21.0	—	—	1	—	2
May	—	—	11.6	—	—	11.6	—	—	—	—	—

NOTES.

A fragment from Christian Nubia.

(PLATE IX.)

IN volume XIII, Parts III and IV (1927) of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot has discussed five Greek inscriptions found in the Sudan dating from the time of the Christian kingdom of Old Dongola.

The number of such inscriptions found so far south in Christian Nubia is, he remarks, very small, and the following "gravestone" recently recovered by Mr. J. K. K. Morrison at El Arak may be of interest.

This "stone" is not of the usual grey marble or local sandstone but of a hard burnt clay of a pale pinkish colour with a whitish and fairly smooth finish. It has a rounded top and a raised border and has obviously been cast as a tombstone. It is 12 inches in breadth, but unfortunately the bottom has been broken off, 9½ inches only remaining.

The lettering of the inscription appears to have been made while the clay was still soft, but in spite of this it is on the whole well executed and legible. The spelling is good and the Greek itself compares favourably with the best of the inscriptions treated by Mr. Crowfoot.

An interesting and unusual feature is the way in which the lines of the inscription are divided from each other by an impressed line on the stone.

The inscription itself runs :—

(1) On the raised border—

—αυσσεσ [?] καὶ ἀναστάσεις τὴν σὴν δούλην σοῦ καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμψωμεν τη—

(2) On the body of the stone—

$A + \Omega$

ὁ θεὸς τῶν πάντων καὶ πασῆς σαρκὸς ὁ τὸν θάνατον κατ ἀργήσας
καὶ τὸν Ἀδὴν καταπατήσας καὶ ζωῇ τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος ἀναπαῦσον
τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν [δ]ούλην σοῦ Μάριαν Ταῖνις <ρια> ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ
καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τόπῳ φωτιῷ ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως ἔνθα
ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στε[να]γμὸς πᾶν ἀμάρτημα παραυτοῦ [πρα]χθέν
ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοια[ν]

[συγχώρησον]

and may be translated :—

- (1) and Thou wilt raise up Thine handmaiden and to Thee shall we send forth the glory.
- (2) God of spirits and of all flesh, who hast brought death to nought and trampled upon Hell, and hast blessed the world with life, give rest to the soul of Thine handmaiden Mary Tainis (?) in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in a place of light, in a place of refreshment, from which grief and pain and lamentation have fled away. (Forgive) every sin committed in this world in word or deed or thought.

The wording of this epitaph is taken from the Byzantine prayers for the dead and corresponds very closely to the second of those dealt with by Mr. Crowfoot. Two points of difference, however, in the form call for remark. First, the inscription is headed by the well-known Christian formula, Alpha and Omega, and secondly, the doxology is written round the raised border.

The fracture of the stone has left us with an apparently unintelligible group of letters *αυσσεσ* on the extreme left of the border and has deleted letters in lines 9 and 10, but these latter fortunately are easily supplied. At the bottom, too, the verb of recommendation has been cut off, but there is almost enough left to understand *συγχώρησον*, though perhaps we ought to introduce *ἀνες* and/or *ἀφες* and take *συγχώρησον* with a subsequent sentence.

The loss of the bottom part of the stone is most unfortunate as it is not only very probable that it would have given us more information about Mary, but it would almost certainly have given the date of her death.

In the inscription itself the letters after the name *Μάριαν* are, so far as I can judge, meaningless. I take it, therefore, that *Ταϊνις* is a name, but of the "word" *ρια* which appears as it were in inverted commas, I am unable to offer an explanation.

Probably the most interesting point about this inscription is where it was found, beside Jebel Deiga in El Arak, some twenty miles downstream from Merowe on the right bank of the Nile, a place where so far as I am aware no traces of Christian occupation have hitherto been found.

The stony hills of the desert here come down close to the river and there are the remains of an old fort (?) with broad walls of packed stones similar to, but on a much smaller scale than, those at Kajabi opposite



Merowe. On the hills behind there are the ruins of what appear to have been grain stores, where the husks of the dura are still to be found. At these are a number of large bricks made of the same clay as that on which the inscription is carved.

The Deiga site commands the road on this bank of the Nile, where it must pass along the narrow strip between the hills and the river. It is said to have been a stronghold of the Shaigia when they revolted from the Fung domination. And perhaps the existence of this gravestone and the fort suggest that at an earlier period it was an outpost of the kingdom of Dongola.

There is also a local report of an old tomb containing "many skeletons," but this I have not had the opportunity to investigate.

On the other hand I could not find any traces of the typical Christian pottery which is fairly common at Ghazali and Kajabi and other Christian sites in the Dongola Province.

H. B. NICHOLSON.

Pygmies on the Bahr el Ghazal.

By the Rev. P. CRAZZOLARA.

IN August, 1931, I accidentally heard of the existence of a pygmy tribe in this area and I have since taken every opportunity to make enquiries from all sorts and conditions of men about these people who are known to the Nuer as Thoony.

1. They are said to be found to the west of Lake No all over the Bahr el Ghazal system and on the Bahr el Arab. It is characteristic of the areas in which they live that they have no other inhabitants and they favour river courses surrounded by broad swamps. The favourite haunts of the Thoony are in places overgrown with tall papyrus, where they can build their small grass huts without attracting the attention of the neighbouring tribes, who avoid these impenetrable thickets from fear of ambushes. Such areas inhabited by Thoony exist on the Thihih river, which flows through the ill-omened grass-plain of Toor in the country of the Gaajaang-Jikaany and enters the Bahr el Ghazal about 20 miles to the west of Lake No. Others are on the banks of the river

Logh in Keloal (Thog Loh) and still further west on the Bar Maloal—all full of sudd—and there are other areas as well ; those mentioned here are the most important ones in our vicinity.

It would appear, however, that there are no Thoony on the Bahr el Gebel and in the area to the east of it. They seem to be identical with the Nyikaya or Man Nyikango of the Shilluk, who are regarded as legendary beings and of whom it is said that they have not been seen in the Shilluk country since the arrival of the white man.

2. Although it may be taken as established that people called Thoony exist in the Nuer area, there are yet some Nuer who do not even know of them by name—others have vaguely heard of them and know of a dangerous “ medicine ” (*wääl*) to which the name is also applied ; a still more numerous class of Nuer know of the Thoony by hearsay but class them as animals (*lei*), while others again inconsistently describe them as *lei* yet maintain that they are human, and not animals in the real sense of the word. As proofs of their human character they adduce their human hands and feet, their faces which are black like those of the Nuer, their ample growth of human hair, the breasts of the women, and the human loincloth—*yad*—of the latter ; they are further described as being conspicuously short of stature with strong arms and legs, and strong broad chests and shoulders which particularly impress the Nuer. They generally carry a kind of dagger or rather knife which also serves as a tool ; they have no other weapons, but they use small earthenware cooking pots.

3. The Thoony's lack of weapons accounts for their precarious hidden existence, and it is surprising that they have succeeded in preserving their existence to the present day. They are supposed to carry in their entrails a powerful and much sought-after “ medicine ” ; they have the stature of children and possess no weapons ; the surrounding Nuer and Dinka are savage warriors with no respect for human life, unless the vengeance of the victim's relatives is to be feared. In these circumstances the only hope which the Thoony can possibly have of surviving is by leading this mole-like existence in inaccessible hiding places. It would be impossible for them to live as cultivators or pastoralists, and in order to have some freedom of movement they are bound to seek dwelling-places as remote as possible from the settlements of other human beings. The ideal conditions for them are found in large thick forests, such as

exist on the Bahr el Arab (Ganne and Coolpi of the Nuer ; Kiir of the western Dinka) and its tributaries, and this is the area in which the Thoony are said to be numerous. The disadvantage, from their point of view, of river courses and swampy riverain areas is this, that the swamps dry up during the dry season, and that the long grass is burnt up ; at this time the Nuer go down to the rivers to fish and the riverain areas become the grazing grounds of their herds. At this season of the year (February to May) opportunities may occur of meeting the Thoony in the vicinity of their hiding places, and for the Thoony it is no doubt a time of unrest and anxiety.

4. A fair number of Nuer are said to have had accidental meetings with the Thoony, but such encounters are quite exceptional. Several Nuer have told me of occasions on which Nuer and Thoony finding themselves face to face stood facing each other and taking stock from a safe distance, but the Thoony are always on their guard. Nuer women and children when meeting a Thoony, think of nothing but flight, but to a man the idea would instantly occur of murdering the Thoony in order to obtain the medicine.

The Thoony, suspicious of such intentions, disappear in the thick papyrus, where it is dangerous to stalk them, for here they are in their own element, moving on the surface and under water as skilful swimmers and divers. The imagination of the Nuer moreover surrounds them with superstitious fears which, no doubt, afford a measure of protection to the Thoony ; amongst other things it is believed by the Nuer that any fat protruding from a wound inflicted on a Thoony inevitably brings about the death of the attacker. The Thoony also may prove dangerous to a Nuer caught unawares and especially to children. It is generally believed that any Nuer captured by the Thoony is eaten. But more frequently they content themselves with sheep and goats, which they steal from the dry-season grazing grounds for the sake of the meat and skins.

5. Living in complete isolation and without any contact with the surrounding tribes, so that not a single word of their language has ever become known, it is not unnatural that they are regarded by the Nuer as *lei*, beings that live in the wilderness like animals.

It is fairly certain that the Thoony are identical with a being known to the Shilluk as Nyikaya or Man Nyikango, who is said occasionally to snatch unguarded children and carry them off to the river. A Shilluk

whom I met here at Yoinyang hunting hippopotamus told me that certain of his fellow tribesmen during their hunting expeditions on the Bahr el Ghazal kill Nyikaya for the sake of the well-known medicine, while others venerate her as an ancestress (*reth*). It is said that the Thoony medicine is traded by the Arabs of the Nuba Mountains and of Kordofan ; it would be interesting to know whether such a substance exists and whence it comes. In existing circumstances it would be extremely difficult to establish contact with the Thoony and to study their mode of life.

REVIEWS.

AT HOME WITH THE SAVAGE.

By J. H. DRIBERG.

(George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. Price 7/6.)

THE mere sound of the word "anthropology," with its associations with tedious museums and ponderous tomes, must have deterred many from any attempt to study a subject which they would have found not only profitable but intensely interesting. But any feeling that it is a dry subject will be allayed by this book, which, forcibly written, is intended to give the general reader, the "enthusiastic amateur," a line of approach to social anthropology. The author's tilt at the "arm-chair" anthropologist may seem rather unkind, for it is he, after all, who has had the learning and the opportunity to sort out the mass of material and produce the general principles for our guidance. But it does not diminish the value or interest of the book.

In an early chapter Mr. Driberg explains very clearly what anthropology is trying to do and where its practical value lies, pointing out that its aim is no longer the acquisition of facts, but their interpretation; that the question is no longer "what do they do?" but "why do they do it?" The fact that the wife almost invariably eats apart from her husband appears a mere oddity until it is realised that being of another clan her food prohibitions may be different, or that being a woman, her diet may be quite different from the man's. Very great friction was caused in the past by the reluctance of some tribes to sell their cattle. It was apparently one of the main sources of the trouble between Baker and the Bari. But when it is noticed that the same tribes never eat their cattle themselves except ceremonially (except after natural death) it will be realised that this is not mere pig-headedness or hostility, but due perhaps to their regarding cattle as wealth which is entailed and not the absolute property of the actual holder at all. A knowledge of tribal structure and its underlying reasons must be indispensable to any successful development of indirect rule amongst the Africans and, as Mr. Driberg says, "it is a happy coincidence that a recognition by governments that the old way was not the best has found anthropology prepared to take a hand in the problem."

Sections on human nature and environment introduce a series of chapters which, starting with the individual, lead us through the family and the clan to the tribe and the emergence of the nation. The chapter on the individual is most apposite, it is an aspect of which we are apt to lose sight, to think of the average man as merely one of a crowd, with few emotions or affections ; until, perhaps, we come across a case of a man accidentally killing his wife with a blow of the bare hand and going straight out into the darkness and hanging himself on the first tree.

As is, perhaps, inevitable in a book of this size, the author's treatment might, to the unwary, make the successive steps of evolution too logical and easy. This is particularly true of the emergence of tribal consciousness, the general absence of which is apt to be not only a great practical difficulty but extremely puzzling. The clan may once have been a disruptive element as long as it remained—as it presumably was—a self-conscious territorial unit. But in most Sudan tribes that stage is long past and the clan, thoroughly dispersed and without a recognised head, has become little more than a complicated table of affinity ; but still tribal consciousness shows little signs of emergence, and one wonders what the agent is that can crystallise the solution : and whether indeed such a development is inherent in the African tribal system at all and whether it is not in all cases the conscious creation of some gifted individual, some African Mussolini, such as Dingiswayo. At all events, this stage in the process does not seem to be such a foregone conclusion as Mr. Driberg might lead us to suppose.

His concluding chapters deal with religion and magic, economic life, law and education. The history of magic and superstition in Europe seem to support Mr. Driberg's contention that it is completely unnecessary to postulate for the savage a different kind of " introvert " mentality to account for his belief in magic. It is possible to agree with the author that the savage has a rudimentary body of empirical science : but it is purely empirical and is based on no ideas of cause and effect : with the result that he does not live in an ordered universe, but in a tiny corner of a dimly perceived world subject to the capricious interference of unseen spirits to deal with which he is driven back on witchcraft and magic. It would be interesting to know how many people die annually in the Sudan as a result of witchcraft. It is a universal and widespread evil in the eradication of which elementary science and biology could play a leading part.

One point of practical importance which Mr. Driberg might have mentioned, but does not, is music. African music has been considerably studied of late and one is tempted to ask what practical value this can have, until, remembering our own reactions to Arab music, we are led to wonder how African converts react to English hymns. There is one case in the Sudan where the advice of an expert as to what hymn tunes were most likely to catch the African fancy was productive of immediate success.

On education, in general, we may sympathise with Mr. Driberg's plea that "it is worth a little patience to discover how education may be imparted more rationally than in the past and in such a way as to be as little destructive as possible."

L. F. N.

LYAUTEY.

By ANDRÉ MAUROIS.

THE life of Marshal Lyautey cannot fail to be of interest to all those whose work lies in North Africa.

That it is written by M. André Maurois is sufficient guarantee of the literary qualities of the book, and, although any attempt to write the life of a still-living public figure is apt to be unsatisfactory, there is a completeness about the work of Lyautey which largely nullifies any objections on that score.

The result is a living picture of one of the most romantic of modern Frenchmen and a vivid account of the events which led up to the making of modern Morocco.

It is however in Lyautey's capacity as an administrator that the chief interest to us lies.

The main influences in his development were the circumstances of his birth, his artistic and literary leanings and the fate which sent him to serve under Galliéni in Indo-China and Madagascar. His birth and political ideas made him an aristocrat in a world of democrats, whilst his love of books and independence of mind made for him the life of a peace time soldier one of tedium and irritation.

It was not until he was forty years of age that he went to Indo-China, where he found a field of action suited to his restless spirit and the man who could inspire him.

Two years later he was called by his old chief, Galliéni, to assist in the pacification of Madagascar, and thence he went to the frontiers of Algeria. It was in the latter place that he first came into contact with the Moors and learnt on the one hand how to handle the tribesmen and on the other the bureaucratic ministries of Paris.

He was therefore well fitted for the task of rescuing Morocco from anarchy when events in 1912 paved the way for France to undertake that work. He was appointed Resident-General in May of that year, an office which he held continuously, except for a short period as War Minister in 1917, until 1925. That he succeeded no one who has visited Morocco will dispute.

It is true that he had certain things greatly in his favour. The French Government gave him a very free hand, and he had absolute authority over both military and civil affairs. Further, by refusing to be tied by red tape of any kind, he picked his subordinates as he pleased and thus surrounded himself with a cadre of officers and officials fired with his own ideas.

Against these advantages must be set the fact that for five years he had to contend with war conditions, when the country was denuded of effective troops and the future of the French Colonial Empire hung in the balance.

His policy was primarily based on what he described as "*la valeur absolue de la stabilité du pouvoir*." Having made certain first of this firm basis, he gave the Moroccans the largest possible measure of personal liberty whilst providing them with as many material benefits as circumstances allowed.

He was fond of quoting from Montesquieu on the methods of Alexander the Great: "*Il respecta les traditions anciennes et il voulut tout conquérir pour tout conserver*," and acted accordingly.

His aim, so different to French policy elsewhere, was to make a better Morocco rather than a "*département*" of France. The real power he kept firmly in his own hands, but to all outward appearances it remained with the Sherifian authorities. It was in fact "*native administration*" on the grand scale and the result was a country developed but unspoilt.

The two main elements in Moroccan political life are the townsmen of the larger cities of Fez, Rabat and others, and the tribesmen.

The former Lyautey won to his side by the provision of security and opportunities for trade. Their towns were left untouched except for the welcome introduction of water supplies and electric lighting.

His tribal policy was a combination of political penetration backed with power. He knew the value of going slow and the futility of over-reaching himself. No new territory was included in the administered zone before "the plum was ripe to be picked," and to him a military disaster due to premature measures was worse than a crime. So successful was he that in spite of the withdrawal of nearly all his troops in 1914 he was able not only to maintain what territory he had absorbed but also to continue a forward policy.

With the coming of peace the good work proceeded with renewed vigour until 1924. Lyautey was now in his seventieth year of age and on the point of retiring to a well-earned rest. But events proved too strong for him, for the administration he had built up with such care had, in 1924-5, to face the terrific test of the Riff invasion.

This is no place to enter into the rights and wrongs of this war. Suffice it is to say that some competent observers consider that the French, by advancing their posts prematurely, provoked the Riffi attack. If this is so, it may be that Lyautey's hand was losing its cunning. More likely, however, the clash was inevitable after the defeat of the Spaniards at Anual.

The Marshal remained at his post and it is probable that only his name and hold enabled the country to weather the storm.

When the crisis had been successfully passed he retired and the task of completing the campaign was entrusted to Marshal Pétain.

The outbreak of the Riff war had seriously affected Lyautey's popularity in France, and his return was unhonoured and unsung. It must have been a bitter blow to the Marshal, who was not above liking his work appreciated, but France was occupied with other affairs, and the Riff war was raising awkward questions internally. This eclipse, however, was only temporary, and France has since shown the regard in which she holds him.

In considering Lyautey critically as an administrator certain positive achievements stand out. First and foremost he rescued Morocco from anarchy and gave her material prosperity. He accomplished this with

a minimum disturbance of native life and preserved all that was picturesque in manners and local custom. These achievements alone place him in the highest rank of colonial administrators.

There is, however, one aspect of his administration which is of special interest to us, and that is the ultimate aim of his work.

British efforts in similar circumstances are professedly directed towards teaching our people to adapt their institutions to modern conditions in the hope that one day they may be able to look after their affairs as junior partners in an all-embracing Empire.

In surveying Lyautey's work there is nothing to suggest that he had any such aim as regards Morocco's relation to France. To him, one feels, it would have appeared incongruous and illogical gradually to hand over the real power—that belonged to France—and impossible to envisage a time when Moroccan institutions would be able to take over the actual as opposed to the apparent responsibility of government. The façade of his rule was of an Eastern pattern, the policy behind it that of a realist and a Frenchman.

He built up his administration with the creative passion of an artist and was, one suspects, sufficiently an egotist to feel pleased that the picture would, when complete, bear the signature of Lyautey.

It is tempting to compare him with our own great proconsuls, and two names seem to rank with his, namely, Cromer and Robert Sandeman. Both Cromer and Lyautey restored stability and prosperity to ancient lands of North Africa. Both marked the close of a phase of European Imperialism. But temperamentally they had little in common. One can hardly imagine, for instance, the passionate Frenchman carefully picking his way through the diplomatic entanglements which beset Lord Cromer. Lyautey required a clean canvas on which to paint his conceptions and, having that advantage, his task was so much the easier.

With Sir Robert Sandeman he shared that instinctive capacity for controlling wild tribes, and his "*politique du sourire*" was essentially the same as Sandeman's "*policy of goodwill*."

With Lord Kitchener also, Lyautey has something in common. Both were called to be War Ministers of their respective countries at the height of a national crisis. Both found themselves ill at ease in a world of cabinets and committees, and the latter returned after a few months in Paris to the more congenial atmosphere of Morocco.

Lyautey has been described as "the Royalist who gave an Empire to the Republic." What France will do eventually with the gift and what effect the withdrawal of the master hand will have time alone will show.

Such speculations need not, however, deter us from recognizing the greatness of his actual achievement, and we whose work lies in a similar field may with advantage pause awhile to admire his large degree of success in rebuilding Morocco whilst spoiling nothing in the process.

J. A. de C. H.

THE PAGAN TRIBES OF THE NILOTIC SUDAN.

By C. G. and BRENDA SELIGMAN.

London (Routledge), 1932.

THE publication of this work is a notable event, and of particular significance to readers of this journal. The authors, who have been so intimately associated with anthropological study in the Sudan, need no introduction, and their work is the fruit of labours pursued during a period of more than twenty-five years, in the course of which they undertook three expeditions to the country. The result is a most happy combination of survey work in the field with an exhaustive study of the literature of the subject; the labours, often unpublished, of other workers in the field have been most judiciously used and generously acknowledged, and, above all, there is an ample store of ripe scholarship which gives coherence to the array of observed and recorded facts.

It is not the intention of this brief note to do more than bring the publication of the book to the notice of our readers, and to congratulate the authors on the completion of their *magnum opus*. Everyone interested in the studies with which this journal is particularly associated, will read it and ponder over it, and those approaching the subject for the first time, whether as political officers or missionaries in the Southern Sudan, or as students of African culture, are to be congratulated on having their path made smooth, where their predecessors had to wander in a trackless wilderness of unrelated facts and doubtful theories.

If it has to be admitted that even now there remain serious lacunæ in our knowledge of the pagan tribes of the Sudan, the fault does not

lie with the authors, whose fieldwork, obviously, could not cover the whole of the vast area. The chapters on Darfur and the South-Western Bahr-el-Ghazal, for instance, reveal the nakedness of the land notwithstanding the fact that every scrap of published material has been made use of. It is to be hoped that Professor Seligman's book will stimulate those who have the opportunity, to fill in the gaps, and they will find in it an admirable model of the methods of anthropological study.

Even in the Nilotic area, where much has been written and where Professor Seligman's fieldwork has been most intensive, the field is not exhausted, and those who live in greater intimacy with the tribes than is possible during a brief expedition devoted to survey work, will, without doubt, find much material for comment and amplification, and perhaps for criticism on points of detail. The editors of this journal will welcome contributions on such lines. For the present it may be truly said that Professor and Mrs. Seligman have brought together, in an attractive and readable form, all that they have themselves discovered and that they have been able to learn from others, but there are sources of unrecorded knowledge which have not yet been tapped.

A felicitous introduction by Sir H. A. MacMichael pays a well-deserved tribute to the authors, and lays stress on the value of anthropological study to all those concerned in one way or another with the welfare of the primitive tribes of the Sudan.

S. H.

Sudan Notes and Records.

Vol. XVI, 1933.

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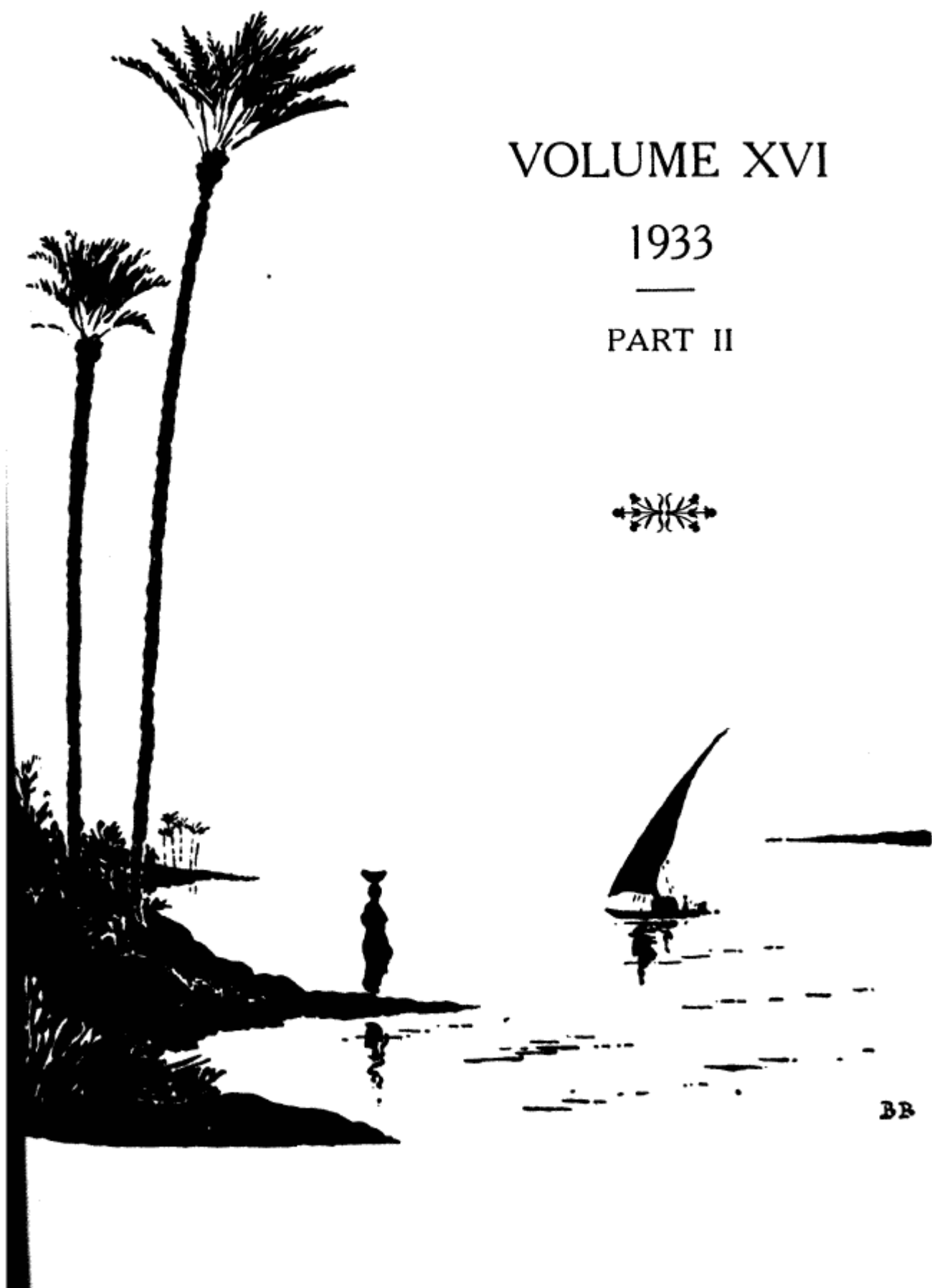
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Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

adopted by the Editors of *Sudan Notes and Records*.

{ at beginning of word omit, hamza elsewhere ?	ا	dh (coll. d)	غ	gh
	ب	ر	ف	f
	ت	ز	ق	q (coll. g)
	ث	س	ك	k
ج	j or ġ	ش	ل	l
ح	h	ص	م	m
خ	kh	ض	ن	n
د	d	ط	ه	h
		ظ	و	w
		ع	ي	y

VOWELS.

fatḥa	a,	lengthened	ā
kasra	i,	"	ī
ḍamma	u,	"	ū

DIPHTHONGS.

اِي	—ai (as in aisle).
اُو	—au (as in mauser).

The *ḥ* of the article always remains *ḥ*.

The silent *ṣ* (ص) is omitted.

NOTES.

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

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

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

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

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XVI.

Part II.

1933

THE BAGGARA TRIBES OF DARFUR.

By G. D. Lampen.

(I) BUSINESS.

THE Baggara tribes live along a narrow strip of country mainly lying between the 10th and 13th parallels from the White Nile across Kordofan, Darfur and French Chad Colony. Here the special conditions suitable to nomadic cattle owners are found ; water on or near the surface during the whole year, hard soil plains bearing saline grasses (*ta'im*), and sandhills on which to escape from the fly when the mud plains are in flood.

I am here concerned only with the customs of the Baggara tribes of Darfur ; the Rizeigat, Habbania, Fellata, Ta'aishi and Beni Helba, and various smaller tribes such as Tergam, Messiria and Khuzam. All these tribes are mainly nomadic, though most have sections which are more sedentary and may live the whole year on one well, or move to a summer camp or *donkuch*¹ only a few hundred yards away from their village to which they return in the rains. These are gently despised by the true nomads as *Nas Kuzi* or villagers.

The Baggara tribes, excepting the Fellata, are largely intermingled with black blood, due to their proximity to the black tribes of the Bahr el Ghazal. One sees a small proportion of light brown skins, but most of them are very dark. They are not insensitive to the possession of negro colour and features, and accordingly they pitch the scale of colours low. No freeman is black (*aswad*) ; the darkest is *azrag* ; a very dark brown is *akhdar* or *ahmar*, while *asfar* and *abiad* are applied to persons whose colour is still to our mind dark rather than light. It is noteworthy that the Arabs seem to recognise no shades of colour outside this scale from dark to light.²

¹ The *donkuch* is distinct from the *ferig*. The latter is, primarily, a cattle camp. The *donkuch*, like the *ferig*, is a temporary camp, but has no or only a few cattle, and here the poorer men spend the summer.

² Some sections are noticeably lighter in colour than others. When I, perhaps rather tactlessly, asked why, I was told " God made the black mud and the red sand." None the less, the reasons which lead to certain sections maintaining their purity of stock are usually worth investigating.

The length of the women's hair never approaches that of the purer bred northern Arabs and it is considered long if it reaches her shoulders. The broad nostril or bridgeless nose are mildly mocked at, but all negro features are so common that the prejudice cannot be very deep.

In spite of this admixture of blood the man or woman of Baggara stock is usually distinguishable from the negroid. They have maintained a great deal of the Arab's independent spirit and his bearing. They have replaced, if I am not mistaken, by a robustness of mind and body the purer Arab's wiriness and acuteness, and have a somewhat kindlier sense of humour. There is more jollity and sturdiness in their talk and games; and physically they have at least gained more regular teeth.

Their beards seldom grow to any length, though carefully tended with a small comb, which hangs from the man's rosary. Their heads are all shaved now, but this practice seems to date only from the Mahdia. The Nazir of the Rizeigat, who is only 37, can remember men with long hair which was plaited at the back and tied into horns at each side of the head. Some left a single pigtail. No *tagia* (skull cap) was then worn, but a short 'imma of red colour, and on the body a single shirt with no drawers.

No one now wears long hair, but the small boys are still often left with a pigtail (*daboga*) until they become adults. The universal dress is the shirt (*jibba*) and drawers. The *tob* is never seen on men unless in the house or at night. Many still wear native cotton (*dammur*) which sells at 15 P.T. a *tob* in the markets, and is now made only by the negroid Gimr and Masalat tribes (though the Baggara men used to weave in the Mahdia), but most clothes are now of machine-made cloth, *wazn 'ashra* being the most popular brand. Coloured or striped clothes are not in favour unless of a plain blue, and this is worn as a *jibba* or as drawers, but blue upper and lower garments are never worn together. A skull cap is always worn, and an 'imma by the wealthier, with a scarf over the shoulders. The more prosperous wear *markub* shoes, but the majority wear a plain sandal, a flat pointed sole with a thong between the big and second toes divided over the instep and meeting the sole again on each side.¹

¹ The best leather for sandals in the North of Darfur is male oryx hide; and in the South, roan (the cheek being favoured), giraffe or, above all, buffalo, provide good shoe leather.

The rifle is much scarcer here than in the North, and the sword is hardly ever seen. The universal arm is the long spear, ten feet in length, but some carry a quiver of short spears on their horse. The elephant hunters who take much pride in their spears often carry a head of great breadth detached in a leather case.

Amulets on neck, arms or waist, and a knife in a small case which contains a pair of pincers and a bodkin, complete the man's dress.

The Baggari's means of livelihood is almost entirely from two sources, his cattle, and, in a far lesser degree, hunting.

It is impossible to have any understanding of these tribes without taking into account their dependence on and love of their herds. The better and wealthier the cattle owner the less he cultivates. The Fellata, who are the best cattle masters, and the Rizeigat, hardly cultivate at all. They plant a scanty crop when they come up from the river in the early rains, which they leave in charge of old women while the main body goes off north with the cattle. Many of these cultivations get only one weeding and all are small in extent.¹ The Habbania and Beni Helba cultivate rather more seriously, but all count on buying from other tribes for a large part of their supply. Their horses are to them of infinitely less value than their cattle, and they are regarded chiefly as a luxurious means of conveyance for which ready money or cattle can be obtained easily. I have asked how many cows will keep a man and his wife, and usually am told that no number seems enough when you have acquired them, but 20 cows will suffice. This is certainly not excessive when we consider that a cow in milk will only give one to two pints in the summer, and as the bulls run with the herd the cows soon come in calf again. The majority of Darfur Baggara have less than 20 head of cattle, very few have more than 100 and none more than 400, though I have heard of an old Rizeigi who, before the bad cattle plagues of recent years, had 970. Out of the milk the Baggari must feed himself and his wife, and supplement his scanty grain stock. He will certainly have to sell a young bull or two (which may fetch L.E. 1½ to L.E. 3 in El Obeid or Nahud), for he requires clothing, sugar and tea, and money for taxes, and it is not considered seemly to call on his wife to provide any cash for these

¹ Usually planted on the site of a ferig for the manure, and called *jubraha*. The less mobile members of the ferig (the *tegalia*) spend all the rains and autumn guarding this grain.

ends from her *bukhsa* (or churn), nor can he find hire for his bulls as the camel owner can.

The cattle are not of a very good type, having been collected from various sources both in the East and the West, since the tribes returned 30 years ago without animals from Omdurman. The favourite colours are white, especially among the Fellata, and red. Black is everywhere disliked. The cows cannot as a rule be milked without their calves being there to suck, and if a cow loses her calf a tiresome process of inflating her is resorted to before she gives milk.¹ The men usually milk squatting without a stool, while the calf is tied to the dam's foreleg. The froth of the fresh milk is a delicacy and is often gathered upon the fingers to be sucked down immediately after milking. When the ferig is on the move the small calves are muzzled, and these rope nets are always to be seen tied on to a native bed. Calves that are weaned have a thorn twig tied on their muzzle to make the cows reject them, but the Fellata (supposedly by use of a charm carried by the herdsman in a small gourd) let their calves run unmuzzled with the dams and they never suck before milking time. The bulls always run with the herds, and as several owners may share in a ferig there may be half a dozen bulls in a herd. Those intended for sale are castrated as *teniat* (3-year-olds) by having their testicles beaten two years before they are sold as *kelaliat* (5-year-olds). Every big herd has one ox who leads the herd on trek, selected for his fine size and horns, and known as *aši el bagar*.

Cows are all known by their names, often from their colour, but other common names are *seseban*, *soleig*, *surra*, *um kharig*, *ghazala*, *ardu* (broken pendulous horns), *kundum* (polled), *gelha* (long straight horns), *shaina*, *kahla*, *damri*, *kubba* (short pointed horns), *fudda*, *sheikha*, *wogala*, *el kaduk*. The cows with the four faults which are to be avoided in purchasing cattle are the *naffāra*, refusing her calf, *teruk*, little milk, *hammala*, a lagger, and *tereifia*, who goes away to the flank on grazing. The two latter are liable to be lost or killed by lion.

Plagues take great toll of the cattle. Rinderpest reappears every few years, and bovine pleuro-pneumonia more rarely. The poor man may be reduced to going to earn money by manual labour in the East to

¹ A common term of abuse for Baggara is *naffakhin el bagar*, cow-inflaters; but the Darfur Messiria, who live on Gebel Nitaiga which provides grindstones for the South, are always greeted at the horse-shows with "You've sold your home for a grindstone."

restart his herd, but their patience seems invincible, though loss of cattle usually means temporary bankruptcy, as the Baggari puts all his savings into cattle (except for his wife's ornaments) and acquires cattle as an end in themselves, as a miser collects gold.

The ferigs themselves vary in appearance according to the tribe and the time of year. All the houses are round-topped, with an oval-shaped floor plan. In the summer the houses are usually built of grass and laid on the ground and are sometimes eight or ten yards long. In the rains they are always built of palm leaf mats and raised on a platform laid on forked stakes which are usually two feet off the ground, but the Beni Helba and Ta'aishi make them as high as six feet off the ground, and this they say raises them above mosquitoes. The more nomadic people carry many of the stakes with them, while others cut where they settle.

Most ferigs, if large enough, are planned in an oval with the cattle in the centre, in a thorn zariba to protect them from lion. The cattle have fires lit for them to keep off the fly as the rains increase.

In the summer, water is the chief consideration in choosing a site for a ferig, as the Baggara will not expend much trouble in drawing from a well. Hence most ferigs are on the river or on the few big *rahads* with water. As soon as the rains come most ferigs on the river go to the *burru*, as they call the area south of the river, where there is water and green grass, but cannot spend much more than sixty days there on account of the increasing rains, and still more because the grass there is *masikh* or saltless. There are very few salt licks, but one finds small mounds called *umm keddada* licked out by cattle. Cattle on the *goz* eat clothes and bones, and I have seen them stamp out a fire to eat the charcoal for salt. The cattle then come across to the flat *nag'as*, north of the river, for the salt grass (*ta'im*), and go up on the Northern *goz* as the plains flood. By autumn, when the rains cease, the cattle again are *muḥaimat* or in want of salt and come down to the plains.

The Fellata, who are wholly concerned with their cattle, carry the minimum of furniture with them, and it is difficult in their ferigs to get an angareb, which all the Arabs carry. Nor do the Fellata take fowls or sheep with them. Often their ferigs are bachelors' ferigs, the women waiting behind till the ferig settles down for the summer. For these a few mats and bowls with an axe and spears seem to form the whole property of the camp.

The Arabs' leather bull trappings, though seldom worn in full, are elaborate. The purely ornamental pieces, the horns (*gurun*), anklets (*hijul*), neckpiece (*labab* and *gilada*), forehead-piece (*nunia*), are trimmed with shells and ostrich feathers. The side panels (*shalil*), back-piece (*tafura*), double pillow (*wasaid*), bolsters (*hagaib*), and back pad (*dabaia* and *tafar*) complete the furniture. All are of hide with small cowrie shells stitched on in places, and hung with bells. The various pillows are usually filled with grain, and the whole weight is so great that a bull can only support it for a short time on state occasions. But for ordinary moves the bulls are an untidy mass of poles, skins, butter gourds and baskets with an angareb across the top, and perhaps a calf or a litter of puppies beside the rider. The saddle is of twisted straw ropes and balanced, being kept in place by no girth.

The graziers are usually tiny boys and girls furnished with a small gourd filled with water. It is a wonder they are not more often eaten by lion. The cattle, if in open country free from lion, are often driven out to graze at night or in the early morning (*el bar 'amajan*, they say) before being milked. The milk is usually put straight on the fire and warmed up, and most of it poured into the gourd churns wherein the women make their butter.

The men spend the day sitting on their angarebs under the biggest tree near the ferig. Their excursions from the ferig will be to a mejlis held to settle some dispute, to search for fresh grazing or to hunt or fish, or to visit friends.

The two animals chiefly hunted are the elephant and the giraffe. The latter is still found in considerable numbers in Southern Darfur, but stays in rough ground and among thick trees which render pursuit a matter of difficulty. The hunter has to strip off as many clothes as possible and resign himself to having what remains torn into shreds: he is more likely than not to take a bad toss when his horse goes over the cracked ground in summer or the bog in the rains.¹ Given favourable circumstances a hunter claims to be able to ride down a giraffe in half an hour. He tries to drive the animal, when exhausted, among trees where he can dismount and stab it with his long spear with some protection when the giraffe attacks him, which it does by striking with its

¹ Kalaka (Dar Habbania) is always either sodden or cracked. *Kalaka kan lanat inkhagat wa kan yibiset inshaggat*, they say.

forelegs as a boxer. The meat will, as a rule, fetch ten rials in the case of a male, but the skin is of little use except for making thongs and sandals, as it is too heavy for a hide sack (*gurfa*). The horses' training consists in being fed on grain only for a period before starting on giraffe hunting.

I fear that no sporting spirit enters into their hunting. The main object is meat and money and to a much lesser degree the kudos which attaches to a successful hunter. Sports which involve a risk and bring no profit seem to them childish and foolhardy.

Elephant hunting is a far more serious business than giraffe hunting. It is a matter of several weeks and of a large party. The leader (or '*ugulla*') is usually a Baggari with his horse, and his party (the *gora*) are unmounted Mandala or manumitted slaves who live on the river. These parties go very far afield, and I met one—Habbani—who had taken a party of seven, all mounted, for thirty-five days out and thirty-five days' return through uninhabited tracts of French territory. They lost all their horses from tsetse, and brought back no ivory.

The method of attack seems to be for the rider to leave his *gora* in ambush and chase the herd of elephant. He selects a bull and tries to round him off towards the *gora*. If he bolts, the rider pricks him with his spear and induces him to chase him, keeping about ten yards ahead. The aim is to get him more or less exhausted up to the *gora*. If he stops, a hunter who has a quiet horse can get down and tackle him alone, but usually they are not willing to do this without the *gora*. The aim of the *gora* is to stab the elephant as near the anus as possible. There is a scale for sharing the spoils according to the part taken in the attack; the rider takes the thigh meat (*derub el shok*); of the rest, the '*agid*' or Q.M.S. of the *gora* takes two rials per elephant, and the testicles; the first to spear, known as the *gadad*, takes 3 rials and the heart; the *howat*, or the second spear, takes the liver and 2 rials; while the third is rewarded only with 1 rial and the tail. Apart from these bonuses the proceeds are divided up, half among all the *gora* and the other half to the rider. There are dues also to the local tribal head, which reduce the profits; and if a horse is loaned to the *rukab*, the owner will ask for a half share of the rider's proceeds.¹ The big bulls now rarely come into

¹ I knew of a case where three elephant killed in French Territory fetched 50 rials. The local Sultan took 10, the *gora* 20; while the leader had to share 20 with the man whose horse he borrowed.

Darfur or into the Bahr el Ghazel in the Baggara hunting areas, though small elephant come to Goz Dango every rains, where I have seen numerous fresh tracks as late as January.

There are other sources of income for the poorer man. Wild honey is found in considerable quantities, though none of the Baggara, except the Beni Helba, make any attempt to preserve the brood comb, and too often cut down the tree in which the swarm is and eat honey and grubs.

Fishing is a more considerable industry. The most profitable and deadly method is by poison. The trees used are the *dumbuzzi*,¹ the *muhageri* and the *atorr*. The wood is cut into chips and laid in small piles of equal size. These are counted up as the basis on which the fish are divided. If the wood has been used previously, the pile only counts as a half, and if used twice before as a third. After this has been thrown into the water the fish come up dead and dying to the surface in half a day, and swim round in circles until they die. These fish have a bitter taste however and, consequently, this method is not usually employed until the river threatens to come down in flood and carry away the fish in the pools. The normal fishing is of a more interesting nature.

A pool is planted with stakes on which are hung bundles of fish hooks (*chelbani*) in the hope that fish may get foul hooked on them. The fishermen attack the pool from one end, those in advance stabbing with harpoons (*merti*) which have loose barbed heads attached to the haft by a string. Others have a sickle-shaped weapon (*konjata*) with which they dive under the water and strike at the fish. If, as sometimes happens, they strike one of their neighbours, a roar of laughter follows and everyone cries: "*Sheelaaa! Katalaaa!* Take him away; he's dead." Some have barbed spears with fast heads (*kokab*). Following the spear-men are older men with wicker-work baskets with no bottom and a hole at the top (*um kabbasa*). These are plunged down on to the sand and the fisherman feels through the top to see what he has caught. The far end of the pool is usually closed by a net (*gairay*) in which the fugitives are caught. Every fisherman has a string attached to his waist with a club on it with which he kills his fish before threading it on to the string.

¹ A tree, not unlike the young *tebeldi*, which seems however to grow to no great height and has a pink flower. *Adenium hongkal*.

The men all fish stripped, save for a rag round their waists and between their legs called the *tafaira*.

A few of the Rizeigat fish by throwing a spear from a dug-out canoe at the fish as they rise, but it is only in the eastern part of dar Rizeigat that water is found on long enough stretches to make this a profitable method.¹

Camps are formed for fishing, usually by Mandala, who dry the fish and pack it into sugar-loaf shapes called *mandeechi*. These cowless fishermen are known as *Jekaka* (in dar Rizeigat as *Derkaka*).

When considering the means of livelihood of the Baggara one must take some account of the natural crops and foods found by them in their land.

Even the sedentary Baggara regularly rely on certain wild crops. *Koraib* grows in marshes in the rains and is collected in a basket (*şoşal*) which is edged with a scythe-like bark and swung among the *koraib* ears which it cuts off and collects. Other marsh foods are the long-stalked *um fakhaia* and *surma* and *um chibeti* or wild rice. Hameid fruit is a bitter sweet about the size of a small plum. The *doleib* palm fruit is chewed and the *dom* palm nut beaten into flour, while the rind produces a mildly sweet honey. *Faiu* is a long root which grows in the rains and is eaten raw. *Kordali* shrub and *um bichi* root are eaten in famine. *Jughan*, *ardeib*, *nabak* (or *sidr*) and *hejlij* trees all yield an edible fruit. Ant hill stores of grain are a valuable reserve in bad years.

The hunter naturally relies far more on wild foods. Wild honey will keep him alive for weeks, he claims, and he can usually find it through the honey bird *kraima*.² The *um semaina*³ ant of the large ant hill is eaten, and *talh* gum; *sahab* twigs make a sort of tea, and with these supplements to whatever meat or fish he can obtain he can support life. Crocodile's eggs, if found fresh, are almost a luxury. But the relish to the Arab in all wild food is that he has wasted no money in acquiring it.

¹ Perhaps this method comes from the Western Dinkas who adjoin the Eastern Rizeigat.

² The most common expression is *kraima kaddaba*, Kraima's a liar, and she often leads hunters to concealed lion or buffalo instead of to honey, but she at least finds honey often enough to deserve attention when she calls. Apparently only the female acts thus and the male sometimes tries to prevent her.

³ These ant hills provided a very important item of food in the hard time of the Mahdia, and the first to find one stuck his spear in it, a stake which was never violated.

(2) HOME LIFE. .

No Baggari man or woman remains unmarried. Such a state would seem to them infamous. The ugliest and most deformed women, unless physically incapacitated for marriage, will be given to some relative. Problems of heredity do not worry the Baggara, and if a woman can bear children some one can be found to marry her. A young man with responsible relatives will probably be married first to one of his relatives, his cousin. No prejudice exists against marriage of first cousins, and centuries of such marriages can hardly be said to have produced deterioration in the breed apparent to the eye of the lay observer. There is in fact a strong prejudice in favour of cousins' marriages. The dowry required is small, but this is probably rather the result of the favour with which they are regarded than the cause of it. The liking for such unions is due to the known character of both parties, to the control which can be exercised over the pair in case of quarrels, to the fact that the children remain in the joint family in the case of a divorce, and especially because a young wife will not be taken to strangers. Marriage into a strange family almost always leads to trouble for the husband. The wife's relatives are unwilling to let her be moved to live with strangers until after long and tiresome negotiations. The mother-in-law will certainly incite her daughter to ask incessantly for more ornaments and dress. The bride hankers after her relatives, and if she returns to them it may be difficult to get her home again. The Arabs say that the relationship between brother and sister is closer than that between husband and wife, and this is probably true. The wife counts on being divorced with some certainty if she does not bear a child to her husband, and possibly even if she does, and in these circumstances considers blood relationship is more stable than that of marriage. There is no doubt that the lightness which the Baggara allege against their women is largely due to their knowledge that they will be divorced. The girl has small choice as to her first husband, but a large freedom in theory, and complete freedom in practice, to choose her second; so long therefore as she considers herself in danger of divorce, i.e., until she has a child, she is looking out for a suitable successor. Her romances tend to start with married life.

The marriage is completed in several stages which may occupy a year or more. The *fatha*, or religious ceremony, when two or three sheep

must be slaughtered, sugar and tea provided, a marriage portion ('*agud*'), not the dowry, definitely assigned and some clothes provided for the wife. After this ceremony the woman is lawfully a wife, but the husband may do no more than visit her in her mother's house. After the *fatha*, the dowry known as the *mal* or *makal* is paid, which is divided among the bride's relatives, excluding her father and her elder brothers. There only remains the problem of getting the mother-in-law's consent to consummate the marriage, and to this end various clothes and ornaments for which she has bargained have to be provided. The most usual articles constituting the *bei'a* (or bridal present) are *waraga fadda*, the silver chain headdress, anklets and bracelets of silver, and an amber necklace. These presents are hardly ever paid without much haggling, but such is the mother's hold over her daughter that few would venture to enforce their legal rights to their wife while the mother-in-law was unsatisfied. Mothers-in-law are usually mistrusted and blamed for alienating the wives' affections to new and more wealthy suitors on most occasions when this occurs.

The consummation of the marriage is the great festival in a woman's life. For subsequent marriages, when she is no longer a virgin, she will not have any such rejoicings. The bride's mother builds a special and large house in her own *ferig* or village. Friends are invited and a feast made. The bride remains in her mother's or sister's house and the husband in another village until the evening. In the evening the young men bring in the bridegroom on a horse; he is wrapped up heavily in clothes and wears a sprig of *hejlij*; meanwhile the bride is brought out of her house and carried round the bridal house on an *angareb* in a clockwise direction and taken in by the door which is always faced east. The house is supported by two posts, one of *gufl* and one of *hejlij*. The woman's *angareb* is put by the *gufl* post and the man's by the *hejlij*, after he also has been carried round the house. As soon as he is set down he goes to the woman and cuts her *rahat* or waist thong. That night all the friends, men and women, spend the evening with them in the house or dancing outside, and it is only on the second night that they are left, with their *wazir* and *wazira* sleeping near by, to consummate the marriage. Whether the marriage is consummated or not the pair spend seven days in the house built for them (never leaving it except at night), before they move to the husband's house, to which he will take her straight

away if he is of strong enough character to overcome the mother-in-law's wishes.¹

I have said that a woman has little choice, save by protesting, in her first marriage, but apart from that the Baggara women have considerable freedom in their normal life both before and after marriage. Dances are continuous throughout the year, and all women attend and take part, the only restriction being against the presence, after sunset, of such as have strict husbands or fathers. Unmarried girls in many families are not forbidden to have admirers, who arrange with the mother that the small house shall be left empty of the parents on a certain night, when they come and embrace the object of their affections. The father turns a blind eye on these flirtations unless he thinks his daughter is in danger of losing her virginity, when he may warn her, but otherwise she is not reproached. The divorcée may have relations with whom she wishes, without blame, so long as she is seen to be getting some value in presents for her favours.

The universal woman's dress is the blue *tob* or native woven dammur, one piece worn as a skirt and the other, usually discarded for work, as a robe. More expensive garments are the white cotton *Khat el Istiwa*, red patterned silk (*garmasis*) and white silk *hammam tar*, but brightly coloured town robes are not favoured. The small girls wear a strip of cloth between their legs tucked over a waist thong before and behind (*kunfus*) and sometimes a bead belt (*tila*), and the elder girls a belt of silver ornaments and beads (*hom*). The headdresses of silver are usually made of small chains connecting a small hat-shaped piece on top to a brow band with pendant chains.

The women are usually very tiny. They sometimes make themselves very unattractive-looking with large streaks of blue *kohl* on eyes and lips, while they put blobs of gum and butter on the ends of their locks which they call *rambal*.

In the *ferig* all women move without hindrance and with faces uncovered, indeed with no more clothing than a skirt. There are strict rules of women's conduct to men, but the intercourse between them is infinitely freer than in towns. No woman, however, would think of walking ahead of her husband or of any other man accompanying her, nor will a woman eat or drink in front of men, or even with her husband

¹ I describe the procedure in Dar Habbania.

until she has lived with him for some time. If he wishes for her company to meals soon after marriage he must "buy her mouth" with a rial or two. Fathers often refrain from attending a dance, where their daughters are performing, from some feeling of reticence.

The Baggara, like all Arabs, are scrupulous in their demeanour to their seniors. Boys never delay to do their fathers' or even their elder brothers' bidding. No one ever steps on a carpet or mat spread in front of an elder if they can help it, and then only in bare feet. If a man sends his wife to greet his elder relative he will not accompany her himself.

Salutations are made by proffering the shoulder or the forearm to the touch, and in the case of women and children always the shoulder. Hand-shaking only takes place between equals, though the hand is often offered to us as a result of their observation of our custom. Nor is it good manners to remain standing before a seated person: the petitioner who wishes to address the seated sheikh squats on the ground before him.

The men in the *ferig* spend idle days in general. The small children graze, the women build the houses and do the housework, grind, churn and cook. The men, young and old, usually spend their time sitting in the shade of a tree outside the *ferig*. When new pasturage is needed the young man will go out to see the country round, they will milk when the cows come in or build a *zariba* for them and bring wood for smoke fires. The old men consult and settle the family disputes, but most of the day is whiled away in desultory conversation, while an odd man may sew his clothes, sewing even of the women's garments always being done by the men, or patch a sandal or shave his friends' heads with a small spear-shaped razor. The woman, meanwhile, early in the morning churns the milk which she will have heated and cooled off the previous day. The churn is a large gourd suspended on a tripod and given a vigorous shake backwards and forward till the butter appears. Then she goes to the well with her *burma* and returns to make the midday meal. After lunch she may plait in straw and later beat out some grain for grinding. At late afternoon she goes again to the well and comes back to tie up the calves which have been grazing near the *ferig* before the cows come in. She has to collect wood for her cooking-fire and make the supper. The men have no work of any severity unless they are on a well, when they must dig and clear their wells and draw for the cattle. This is not a very serious labour in the south as no one would remain on a well of more than

12 feet in depth if he had any large number of cattle, but in the summer, when the shallow wells give little water, they may have to draw enough to fill the troughs once by night in order to let the wells replenish by morning for the second filling.

While the men sit outside the *ferig* in the shade, the women will be in or near their houses, which are usually shadeless, as a thickly wooded spot is not favoured for the camp on account of the cover it affords for lion or leopard. The small oval, matted house raised on stakes gives little outside shade and is cramped and stuffy within, but usually the woman builds herself a small grass shed beside it. Beside the bull trappings, her furniture is scanty; a cooking pot, her gourd churn, a woven basket or two, gourd bowls and a tiny stool may well comprise everything. The more prized tea things are rather her husband's property than hers, as she will probably never drink tea in a properly regulated home unless he sends her the pot with the third or fourth filling.

Tea drinking is the gastronomic luxury of the Baggara, and indeed is regarded by the elder men as a vice, as it certainly uses up money which they consider should be put into cattle, or at least spent on clothes or a wife. Coffee remains unpopular or unknown, as it was when the Ta'aishi first met it in the Mahdia, and being asked his opinion of it said "*Zareiga wa murra wa hamia wa shwaya wa ta'isa wa maknusa wa ana ma badurha*"—Black and bitter, and hot and scanty, and nasty and bad, and I don't like it. A sugar loaf is always bought with a sufficient amount of tea (a *tumna*) for 15 P.T. Most men cannot afford to drink regularly, and when they do they invariably invite friends to drink with them. A small teapot, holding about three-quarters of a pint, is used. A round brass tray (*sufra*) and small glasses of various shapes are used. Every variation in marking or shape of these is named: *fazzan* has seven *hurab* or vertical cuttings in the glass, *um kadaym* six, *sulb el melika* is waisted, *sag Savile* (Savile's calf) is smooth and tapering, *hizam Said Ali* and *um haggi* have a white band. Most of them cost 1 P.T. apiece. A glassful of tea is placed in the tiny pot, which is then filled up to the lid with sugar, and boiling water poured on. The tea is mixed by being poured into a glass and returned to the pot after being tasted by the dispenser. Fresh sugar is added in succeeding brews for which the pot is placed on the embers, but three drinkings out of one glassful of tea is considered the limit. The guest, on completing his third glass, turns it

upside down as he returns it to his host saying, "*Allah yekhlaf lak bil baraka.*" Some Arabs become such slaves to tea drinking that they suffer from headaches if they do not drink in the morning.

The break in the round of the women's lives is in the dance and the market. The dancing, except on special occasions such as marriages or festivals, always takes place after dusk. It is unlike the decorous slow and rather melancholy northern Arabs' dance, consisting of jumping and violent shakings of the body or head and stamping, interspersed with the more courteous and stately movements. The market is at least as important a recreation as the dance. It is usually on Friday, and it is here rare to find any religious significance attached to this day, though in the rains it is not usual to weed on Fridays or Mondays. Best clothes and jewelry are worn and immense distances are covered in order to reach the *sug*. It is not uncommon for parties to sleep on the way to or from the market, and a walk of two or three hours each way, carrying milk or butter, is not considered a hardship.

The markets' transactions are mainly conducted by barter. The women sit in irregular rows and every now and then one rises with a small part of her produce in a gourd bowl and tours the market looking for exchange. Butter, red pepper, *darraba* or *weika* vegetable, honey, onions, grain, flour are the usual articles of barter in ordinary times, but in times of scarcity one sees *hemaid* or *hejlij* tree fruit, *nabak* and *dom* fruit made into a paste or a honey, and *dolaib* fruit. The men bring dried fish and meat, large quantities of grain on bulls, honey and liquid butter and hides. The grain is sold at a fixed price of a *tarifa* or a *piastre* a gourd, the gourd varying by size according to the cost of the grain. Small merchants set up flimsy grass shelters in which they sell sugar, tea and clothing.

Of course the market's chief attraction is as a meeting-place where the women can gossip, see their friends and relations and be admired; new fashions can be seen there, strange Hausa snake-charmers and root-mongers; and no one feels they have wasted a day at the market because they have failed to buy or sell.

3. RECREATIONS AND OPINIONS.

The Baggari certainly lives a hard life in the sense that he has few comforts. Most of the tribe live on the verge of hunger and only the rich can afford regularly those two luxuries which are almost necessities,

tea and meat. He is indifferently equipped to face rain or cold. He suffers from many illnesses incidental to the swamps on which he lives, and can find few alleviations to them while they last, save rest in the shade. Against this we may set one great relief which these people have, their lethargy and absence of any set programme of work, which allows them to rest when health or weather are unpropitious, and spares them many of the sufferings to which Europeans are exposed by pressure of work. Their lethargy is amazing at times. A man will not travel five miles for a certain cure from a doctor, will not repair his house in the autumn when grass is plentiful, but waits till the following rains threaten to destroy it and then finds it difficult to collect materials, in short, will neglect on countless occasions to make easy arrangements because of some small labour involved and, subsequently, be put to far greater trouble. But, on the whole, his idleness must be a protection which makes his life far more tolerable.

But it is a mistake to think that this idleness is accompanied by freedom from care. Nomad life exposes a Baggari to public opinion in a way that is difficult for us to understand, and if anxiety about his cattle and about his family may be given a prominent place among the worries which beset him, still more oppressive to many of them is public opinion. Where all are malicious and few have given no cause for offence, where there are no walls or fence within which to retire from the world, one of the most common causes of a Baggari's brooding is what may be said maliciously of some domestic misfortune or some ambitious move which he is anxious to conceal.

To compensate for these trials he has a few bodily and some more refined pleasures. Tea drinking has to them some of the ceremony and literary associations of wine drinking with us. The scrupulous making, serving and drinking of the tea is something quite apart from their ordinary table manners. The young sing songs in praise of tea, and the society of Barmecides, though not so common as among the Eastern Baggara, is known here also. The Barmecides (*Baramka*) are the generous tea drinkers; they appoint a Nazir and the women a Melika who enforce certain rules of tea drinking and impose fines for infringements. No one may drink uncovered, no one may place his cup on the ground, everyone must salute the Nazir or Melika before drinking. Fines are spent on purchases of sugar and tea. Those who are stingy in providing tea

for their friends are outside the society and are known as *Kamakla*, and there are further groups of outcasts, jocularly referred to as *Baṭahia*, who sit on the edge of the circle hoping to be asked to join in; *Zubartia* who come up after the feast and collect the dregs; and the unfortunate who never gets a taste at all is known as *Minnak el Nabi Nahi*. Sometimes the rules of these societies are extended to cover other offences, such as one of their male members courting a girl of slave origin, and so forth; but such authority is not welcomed by the tribal Nazirs, who often break up these clubs.

Scents are also greatly relished by the Baggara, and besides the purchasable merchants' scents such as *ṣuratia*, *maḥlabia*, *sandalia*, they derive a number of scents from trees and shrubs—*abu lailay*, *darot*, *kap-sinda*, *bahur*.

Of their amorous pleasures I have said something previously. Their code is an easy one, and no one need deny himself the pleasures attached to one of the more amiable of their vices, but it is a mistake to suppose the Baggari Arab is perpetually addicted to venery. His excursions into this realm are much rarer than is supposed and he is capable of considerable periods of continency.

The Barmecides society is akin to another Baggara joke. One day in dar Habbania, sitting with some elders of a *ferig*, I saw a grown man curiously clothed capering like a child. I was told he was Sheikh of the Tayata or fools. He had a written *sulṭa* or authority from the Nazir to fine fools not more than one *tarifa*. He had four clans under him, among which he divided all fools. I give the more numerous clans subject to the Rizeigat Sheikh of the Tayata, who fined up to 20 P.T.

Ṭayaṭ	...	...	the common fool.
Faṭ	...	...	tale teller.
Ginaṭ	...	...	sodomite.
Tairiṭup	...	...	busy-body.
Khaṣi	...	...	impotent.
Abu um faṣai	...	...	the sparrow. A hen-pecked man.
El ḥanfushi	...	...	the swaggerer and bluffer.
Koteri	...	...	carries spear, sword, knife, javelins, a rifle, and when he has to fight must drop all but one.
Zani	...	...	adulterer.

Sarig	...	...	robber.
Kaḍib	...	...	liar.
Ghashim	...	...	awkward.

The four ancestors of the tribe are :—

Hufluk	indecenty	} half meaningless terms of abuse.
Zutch	vagabond	
Ghufl	idiot	
Qufukh	hermaphrodite	

who sprang from *Zubbar* (womaniser) and his wife *Taḥalang* (a term applied to a dumpy, swaggering woman). With *Zubbar* the line closes as his parents were *awlad ḥaram wa wiliduh b'ḥaram*.

The chief offences which come under review of the sheikh are those of pure folly or of submission to women. One sheikh had got his position because he loaded up his bull in the low-lintelled *Baggara* hut with his baby girl on top, who was carried off by the door when the bull emerged and broke her arm. After being interviewed by the *Nazir* and receiving his *sulta* he mounted his horse face to tail and was confirmed in his title. Common offences are to walk behind or pray after your wife, and for a man to marry a woman with grown up sons and support them, or to run after a divorced wife. The *Nazir* of the *Rizeigat* was recently fined for taking a known thief as a donkey boy, who disappeared with the donkey.

There are numerous sheikhs and sheikhas of the fool family whose titles are too ordinary or unsavoury to be entered here.

But the *Baggari* has no need to fall back on such well-worn jokes to savour his conversation, which is usually entertaining. A people with active intelligence and a rich language, but no books or newspapers, they have developed the art of conversation to a high level. It is rarely dull to listen to, and the variations of vocabulary and *Baggara* phrase colour it. 'Speakers are not oppressed by self-consciousness and are obviously proud of their command over the language. Anyone used to riverain Arabs' talk would notice at once the number of onomatopœic sounds and the number of strange words used. Speakers talk vehemently and with gestures, lengthening out the emphatic word amazingly to emphasise it. Many particles are thrown into the conversation—*bau, dung, tchat, kurr, nyum, rutt*.

Much of their conversation consists of hunting stories and a good deal of reminiscence, often malicious, about persons in the tribe. It would be impossible to give samples in an article such as this. They relish any malicious gossip, particularly that reflecting on anyone's courage; the jokes that appeal to them are usually those concerning anyone being placed in acute discomfort; Ali Dinar's cruel tricks seem to them amusing.¹

At the same time they are very kindly, especially to children, whom I have never seen actively ill-used, and compassionate to sickness or tiredness. The most urgent appeal is dropped if the plea is made that one is tired. Nor do they actively ill-treat domestic animals though they use them inconsiderately. Their patience, bred partly of their lethargy and partly of their fatalism, is amazing. A man will wait for days at a rendezvous for his partner, and will bear the loss of his cattle through plague without a murmur. They never show the annoyance with inanimate objects which we do, and their swearing is nearly always emphatic and rarely abusive. Surprise or impatience may be registered by an appeal to Abdel Gadir el Gailani² or the head of the clan, ya Abel Muallim, ya Wad Godi, ya Hatu, but abuse is more usually expressed by some cutting remark than by cursing.

The women's tongues are greatly feared, as if they sing against a man's courage he will probably leave the country to be quit of this intolerable nuisance. I have seen a boy almost in despair because the women, quite unjustly, accused him of having run away from robbers and left his brother to be plundered. I have known three Nazirs give extravagant bribes to one of these *hakkāmas* who threatened to sing against their meanness. The man who earns praise from them is called *kelb el hakkāma* and prides himself on the notice he receives. Of a higher grade is the man singer, the *boshani* or *gerdagi*, who is listened to with rapt attention as he praises the principal men or families in the tribe.

Practically every man and woman in the tribe gets a nickname, which often supplants the real name, especially in the cases of Mohammeds and Fatmas. *Simsim Shetta, Marad Yomain, Abu Shenab, Um Dahab*

¹ Such as firing at his subject chiefs with blank cartridge while they were sitting in audience before him.

² The name of this preacher of Baghdad is commonly on Baggara lips, though not one in a hundred know anything of him.

are examples of the more complicated names which sometimes expand into verses such as *El Tor El Natal El Tairan, El Kelb El Sawag Sakit*.¹ The simpler nicknames which often usurp the real names are such as Bunni, Gini, Mekana, Bukhsa, and for women : Miad, Bedin, Arjun.² More direct is the friendly method of calling a man by the name of his first-born child, male or female, deceased or alive, e.g., Abu Fatima, Abu Ali.

To their children they are always kind and I have never seen an Arab child struck by its parents. The father will take little notice of his child in public but this by no means reflects coldness of disposition. The mothers, in playing with their children, use rhymes not unlike those used in the nursery at home. For instance :—

“ *Um batah
Kisra bela milah
El kheil sarihat ke
Wa el bagar sarihat ke
Wa el ghanam sarihat ke
Wa el gumal sarihat ke
Um geraidim maṭar ṭaradha dakhelet ke* ”—

“ Clap hands, bread and no gravy
The horses graze here, and the cows here, and the sheep
here, and the camels here, and the moth got caught by the
rain and came in here,”

culminating in tickling under the armpits, is very reminiscent of : “ This little pig went to market.”

The children have their own little jokes,³ which tend to a broadness which cannot be allowed a place here.

Serious games are played by all slightly older children, but these have been described before ; *dali* or draughts, *kara* with pebbles dropped in holes until a certain total wins the hole, *um tiberu* or throwing a spear through a quoit trundled along the ground, twirling a pointed stick of bone in the air and seeing how it falls, are the Baggara games. Traditional

¹ The bull which saw the other bulls off (applied to the present Nazir of the Habania). The dog who went to market aimlessly (of a well-known wastrel).

² Coffee-coloured, guinea, machine, gourd. Period of time, overweening, dolaib fruit.

³ Such as making small circles in the sand and attaching to each some quality or property and getting a blindfold child to call out names as each circle is pointed at in turn.

riddles, which are often rather epigrams, amuse them, however often repeated. A skin on the ground, corn thrown on it and a cock pecking it up. The cock is death, and the corn is human beings. Another is : Two skins and a hundred sinews ; the answer is—a native bed, which is composed of leather thongs which would number a hundred and where they cross it has an upper and a lower skin.

The older men do not find recreation in games except during Ramadan. At other times one rarely sees an elderly man playing games except a hunter, and he more usually turns to divining in the sand. Divination has been more than once fully described. It admits of almost endless combinations and the masters of the art have a prolonged consultation over the final scheme, while the seeker after the future presses his thumb into the sand to ensure the fortune being true or lucky, I know not which.¹

The old men's recreation is conversation. Sometimes tribal history, often personal reminiscence, and for ever gossip and scandal. It would be interesting to know what they think of and say of us. When you become more intimate with the people you hear a number of opinions of the English which can be pieced into a rather rough picture. Ingilterra is to nearly every Baggari a woman, not a country. Is this a relic of the tradition of the great white Queen ? Our women, of whom they see few up here, are an enigma to them. The respect paid by us to women is rather nauseating to a Baggari. They have the peculiar notion that every white woman carries a revolver ; also that at marriage she is put in the scales and the dowry corresponds to her weight in gold. A few have the idea that we have no marriage, perhaps a natural enough notion to a fanatic sectary to whom all outside the law is an abomination. A peculiar belief which seems to be widely spread among the Fugara here is that the English have connection with the Arabs in their origins, surely a belief to delight all Anglo-Israelites.

The English are still commonly described and addressed as Turks, and even the more enlightened natives confuse us with Egyptians and believe we live in Egypt and that the Khawagas are our *Mandala* or freed slaves.

¹ The hunter is ever on the look-out for omens. A hawk flying from right to left across the path is favourable, from left to right the reverse. This they say is because the hand with which you eat moves from right to left when carrying food to the mouth. Ground horn-bills are unlucky unless made to fly so that the white of their wings can be seen.

For genuine opinions of us I would cite the views of two men, a Habbani and a Rizeigi, whom I knew intimately. The Habbani rather reluctantly told me what seemed blame-worthy to them in our conduct.

- (1) Our treatment of women, which seems to them weak, and even unpleasant, as when we eat with them or let them precede us.
- (2) Our close-fitting small clothes. A ruler should wear ample clothes and appear imposing.
- (3) Our failure to pray.
- (4) That we do not recognise property in slaves, which is Bolshevism to them.
- (5) That we do not remit sentences, which shows us lacking in mercy.

The Rizeigi said that we were *aşbur*, *argal* and *asfi* (more patient, brave and pure) than the Arabs, but that we indulged in childishness such as games, which seem to the Arabs undignified and foolish, as is all exertion taken without fear of punishment or hope of reward.

THE BISHARIN.

By G. E. R. Sandars.

FOR the last century and a half at least the Bisharin have been a tribe of some reputation and considerable wealth if one may judge by the impressions of travellers who passed through their country, and yet, although this was the tribe with which they came most into contact on their way from Assuan to Berber or Kassala or wherever they might be going, none of these travellers, so far as I have been able to ascertain, made any attempt to record the history of the tribe. This is a particularly unfortunate omission because, according to my information, the tribal history was fairly well preserved, and there are even said to have been written records up till the Mahdia. Now even verbal tradition is very scarce. In the tribe itself there are only one or two old men who can even pretend to remember past history and, as they have never had the opportunity of meeting to compare notes, their versions do not tally and there is little corroborative evidence which will substantiate one version rather than another. The Amara claim to know something of Bisharin history, but their accounts usually show traces of having been distorted to support some Amara claim and are not by any means reliable. The historical part of the following description of the tribe is therefore mainly guesswork, and the most that can be said of it is that it is one possible explanation of how the tribe reached its present state. Much useful information about the northern sections of the tribe was collected by Mr. Miller and Mr. Madden and has been used here.

In this note no attempt has been made to describe details of tribal custom or the workings of tribal law since Bisharin practice in these respects does not differ in essentials from that of other Bega tribes.

The early history of the Bega and the chronology of the Mohammedan infiltration is taken mainly from MacMichael's "History of the Arabs in the Sudan."

(I) PRESENT DAY TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND AREAS.

Before examining the history of the tribe some description is needed of the country which it now occupies, and of the principal divisions of the tribe, since frequent reference will have to be made to them by name. The

area occupied by the tribe amounts to some 48,000 square miles of hill and plain : this is divided into the following four principal regions which are shown on the accompanying map :—

(a) The Gwineb : this is the eastern face of the hills and the coastal plain ; it includes the hills up to the watershed between the khors which flow direct into the sea and those which reach it via Wadi Diib on the western side of the hills or flow into the Nile. The coastal plain produces excellent grass after rain but, owing to the fact that many kinds found there have a bitter taste, animals must be used to it before they can thrive on it. The whole of the Gwineb gets its chief rain between November and February, though there may be some rain between July and October. The Gwineb hills have a luxurious tree vegetation in their valleys which depends on the almost constant mist in which they are shrouded during the winter months.

(b) The Atbai : this comprises all the country from the coastal plain watershed roughly to Wadi Gabgaba, and from the Egyptian frontier as far down as Wadi Amur ; it includes the gentle slope down of the hills on their western side to the plains, with a gradually diminishing tree vegetation until, when the plains are reached, there is nothing but stunted acacia. In the North, between Wadi Kiau and the Allagi, masses of small hills, containing practically no vegetation at all, encroach far into the plain ; in the South there are isolated larger hills in the plain gradually getting scarcer the further one goes West. The plain itself is firm sand or pebbly desert with innumerable drainage channels producing excellent grass grazing after rain, which falls between July and October. Water is plentiful in the hill valleys but not so easily obtainable in the plains, where the principal wells are nearly all built in the middle of rock outcrops.

(c) The Tamarab. This is a roughly triangular area bounded on the North by Wadi Amur, on the West by the Kassala—Berber Province boundary and the East bank of the River Atbara as far upstream as Mushra Mitateb some 30 miles North of Goz Regeb, and on the East by a line from Mushra Mitateb through Musmar to Sarara Well in Wadi Amur. The Tamarab is all plain of the same general character as the Atbai plain, but there is a curved range of sand dunes running from Garafab Well through Obak and Ogrein to Yastiai and eventually to Shagwanib. These dunes in addition to producing good

camel grass after rains, also act as dams and afford a certain number of cultivation basins which, when flooded, yield very good crops. The Tamarab being further South than the Atbai, gets more rain than it.

(d) The River. This always refers among the Bisharin to the Atbara and the triangular area south-west of it, bounded by a line running from Gersi on the Atbara to Um Shadida Wells and thence east to Goz Regeb. The river itself has tree grazing of an inferior kind on both banks; it is in flood roughly from June to October, after which there is island and sometimes overflow cultivation: there are also a certain number of sagias. Corn stalks provide good grazing between January and March. To the south-west, after a small belt of sand dunes near the river, the ground is perfectly flat, affording excellent grass grazing after the autumn rains: stunted acacias are the only trees found here. There are no natural features except a series of flat cotton-soil wadis on the Butana boundary flowing east and north-east and petering out almost as soon as they enter Bisharin country. They produce very good crops of grain when they are watered.

As the characteristics, and to some extent the history, of the Bisharin occupying the River area differ somewhat from those of the rest of the tribe, they are grouped together and referred to as the Atbara Sections.

Excluding certain foreign or semi-foreign elements which became fused with the Atbara Bisharin, probably during the eighteenth century (see sections 5 and 6), the tribe is divided into two principal divisions, the Um Ali and the Um Nagi: the origin of these divisions will be mentioned later:—

(a) The Um Ali consist of the Aliab, Amrab, Hamadorab and Shantirab Sections: they occupy the north-eastern part of the tribal area from the coast to Long. 33 E. and from the Egyptian boundary as far south as Lat. 21. The Hamadorab and Shantirab occupy the coastal plain and the hills and the Aliab most of the country to the west of the hills, including the Western slopes of the hills themselves north of W. Diib. The Amrab have only a small area between Wadis Onib and Kiau.

(b) The Um Nagi live partly in the Atbai and partly on the river. The Atbai Um Nagi consist of the Eiraiab, Nafaab Mansurab and Adeloyab, who occupy the west and south of the Atbai and the Tamarab roughly as far south as the line Obak-Ariab. The Atbara

Um Nagi consist of the Hamadab, Ibrahimab, Wailaliab, Batran, Garab, Mashbolab and Madakir. The last three and the Adeloyab are strictly speaking not Um Nagi sections, but small remnants of collateral branches of the tribe which has been amalgamated with the Um Nagi. The Atbara Um Nagi occupy the southern half of the Tamarab, into which the Amarar have encroached in the Musmar neighbourhood, and the river. There is also a section known as the Hannar, who are in origin half Bisharin and half Amarar: they are included with the Atbai Um Nagi and occupy the coastal plain around Dongonab and a small area near J. Deirurba.

(2) ORIGIN OF THE TRIBE.

The Bisharin, together with the Amarar, the Morghumab, the Kumeilab and the Kamalab, all of whom are now referred to as Bega or Semi-Bega tribes, claim descent from Kahil the ancestor of the Kawahla. It is, however, generally accepted that they are a branch of the Hamitic stock, who under the name of Bega or Blemmyes have inhabited the Nubian desert for at least the last 4,000 years and who are akin to or derived from the predynastic Egyptians. It is not proposed to go into all the arguments in support of this view, which is now generally admitted to be correct; the most convincing evidence is first their undoubtedly Hamitic language, secondly the conclusions drawn by Seligman from his anthropometrical tests (*vide* Journ. Anthr. Inst., 1913, XLIII, 595), and thirdly the fact that all these tribes call themselves Bega (they distinguish themselves from the Buga who lived before them, but the two words are obviously the same). We hear of these Bega between 50 B.C. and 500 A.D. as alternately attacking the Roman power in Egypt and being subdued by it, at one time paying tribute, at another being subsidised by Rome to keep the peace.

After the Mohammedan faith had become generally accepted in their area it became incumbent on all the Bega tribes to connect themselves genealogically with the Prophet, as most of the Arabs had already done, and some very curious alterations in family trees have resulted. At first sight the Bisharin claim to relationship with Kahil seems to be merely the usual attempt to link the tribe with the Mohammedan aristocracy. The more so when it is found that Bega opinions differ as to who was Kahil's forbear, the Bisharin following the normal Kawahla tradition

that it was Zubeir Ibn Awwam, others saying that it was Walid Ibn Mughaira. There is, however, some evidence that the claim is not so far fetched as it at first appears.

The tribal tradition of the Bisharin, which is supported by such other Bega as know anything about it, is that the tribe started life on J. Elba, a prominent mountain about 15 miles west of Halaib. J. Elba is only 10 miles from Aidhab (shown on present day maps under the name of Suakin El Gadim), which was the centre of Bega power in the North from the middle of the ninth to its destruction in the 15th century. Its present remains show that it can never have been much more than a glorified fishing village and pilgrim station without a permanent water supply, but it appears to have been a Bega centre before it became the chief pilgrim station for Upper Egypt, viz., ca. 1050 A.D. The name of Aidhab is still known to the Bisharin and they still occupy the country round it. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Bisharin are a branch of the Bega who were living in the country round Aidhab when it was flourishing. Now Ibn Batuta, in the description of a journey which he made from Suakin to Aidhab in 1348, mentions that he passed encampments of Bega and Awlad Kahil on the coast, and that the Awlad Kahil understood the Bega language (Ibn Batuta II, 161, *vide* MacMichael, "Arabs in the Sudan," II, 2, XLIX). There is further corroborative evidence in the fact that both the Kawahla pedigrees found among the effects of the Nazir of the Kordofan Kawahla in 1909 (MacMichael *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 148 and 151) show Bishar, from whom the Bisharin take their name, as one of the sons of Kahil, and in the fact that the Bisharin tree agrees with them in ascribing to Kahil thirteen sons. Four of the sons are the same in all three pedigrees. The details of the pedigrees cannot be expected to be accurate after this lapse of time: the Kordofan ones, for instance, make Bishar the son of Kahil, the Bisharin say that he was descended and several generations removed from Azrak, Kahil's son by a Bahasna woman from Mecca, but the fact that they all do mention Bishar is striking.

The questions when and how did the Bisharin come into existence as a separate tribe is difficult to answer. So little is known of the pre-Arab organisation of the Bega that it is impossible to say whether it was a tribal one or not. Bega kings are mentioned and dimly remembered in the tribal mind, and there are certain sections in the Bisharin who are

believed to be relics of older once-powerful tribes. But the tribe itself naturally believes that it emerged after the coming of the Arabs. The first big settlement of Arabs in the Bega country, excluding possibly small colonies around Assuan, was by Rabi'a and Guhayna in 869 A.D., though there was obviously contact between the Arabs in Egypt and the Bega living between Kus and Aidhab before this, because we hear of a refusal by the Bega to pay tribute and an Arab punitive expedition in 854 which deported Ali Baba, the Bega king; that his name was Ali Baba suggests Arab contacts of some standing, unless, indeed, Ali Baba is an Arabic transliteration of the Bega name Olbab. The big immigration of 869 led to the re-opening of the Allagi mines by El Omari Ibn Abdel Rahman in 870 and probably to the opening of other mines. Even before this, however, small parties of Arabs seem to have penetrated a long way south into the Bega country. Arab tombstones found in 1932 show that they were within 40 miles of Sinkat by 842. By 970 we know they were on the coast south of Tokar (*vide* Crowfoot's article in SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. XIII, p. 288). The nature of their settlements, however, both in the Allagi and near Sinkat indicates that they were not on friendly terms with the Bega during this first period of incursion. In 1058, according to Makrizi, Aidhab began to be used as a pilgrim station and to be administered in some way by Egypt. About 1180 we hear of the Imam of Aidhab petitioning the Sultan for a transfer, and when Ibn Batuta passed through Aidhab in 1326, Aidhab was definitely under Egypt and one-third of its revenue was taken by Egypt; at one time, according to El Idrisi, there were actually two governors in Aidhab, one appointed by Egypt and the other by the Bega. Clearly after the first incursion of the Rabi'a in 869 there was much peaceful penetration, and Arabs and Bega must have continued living together in harmonious relationship from somewhere about 950 A.D. until the middle of the fifteenth century. It was no doubt this inter-mixture with Arabs over a period of nearly 400 years which is responsible for the tremendous infusion of Koranic Arabic roots into the Bega language and probably for the Semitic grammatical forms now found alongside the older Hamitic forms. An account of the Northern Bega country at this period is to be found in MacMichael, *op. cit.*, II, 1, XV. According to Ibn Selim the Bega had split up into a number of tribes by about 1000 A.D. All that can be deduced from the above is that Arabs and Bega were living together

in the Bega country from about 950 A.D. until the middle of the fifteenth century ; that amongst others the kawahla were living in that part of the Bega country which is the traditional home of the Bisharin ; that it appears likely that general inter-marriage between these Bega and the Kawahla over a period of years, rather than any definite alliance between the leading families, explains the traditional connection between the Bisharin and the Kawahla ; and that the Bisharin themselves emerged as a tribe at some time during this period.

(3) EARLY HISTORY OF THE TRIBE.

Nothing beyond tradition exists to cover the period from the formation of the tribe until a part of them emigrated to the Atbara. After Bishar, who is really only a figure-head, for no legendary exploits attach to his name, the line is uncertain, but the next important figure, and the first about whom something is definitely remembered, is Kuka. According to one version of the story Kuka was the son of Bishar and he had a brother Kilban and a sister Fatma ; Kilban was a nonentity and his name survives only in the Kilban, a moribund section now divided between Amarar and Bisharin. Kuka, himself was a Kadi or holy man, who spent his summers near J. Elba and his winters at the mouth of the Allagi ; he is placed in this version as a contemporary of Abu Zaid El Hillali) i.e., circ. 1050-1100 A.D.). He appears originally to have been engaged on the trade route between Aidhab and the Nile, through country inhabited by Kamalab and Morghumab (they have undoubtedly been introduced into the story on the strength of their own claims to have come from that part of the world—see Section 4). His radius of travel grew with his fame as a kadi, and he eventually died and was buried at Kukilai in W. Eikidi near Ariab. According to this version of the story, Kuka had seven sons whose lines are for the most part almost extinct now, but whose descendants are still known as the "Genna Kuka." His sister (Fatma) used to go with him on his trading expeditions and did much of the buying and selling herself. She was eventually discovered to be pregnant by an unknown merchant and fled to the Ababda country in the North to hide her shame. There she gave birth to a son whom she called Anakw. Anakw was of a ruddy countenance and grew to be a tall and finely-built man. When he reached manhood he armed himself with a sword, shield and chain mail and descended on horseback and

seized the Allagi district, whence he carried off first Um Ali and then Um Nagi to be his wives. Linant de Bellefonds heard a different version of the story from the Hamadorab in 1833. The Bisharin, they said, were descended on the female side from an Arab tribe called the Assadites and on the male side from another called the Kawahla. Kuka, son of Bishara, of the Assadite tribe, came to Elba from the other side of the Red Sea with his wife. A ship full of Turkish merchants on their way to Arabia some time later took shelter from a storm at Abu Ramad, which is a few miles north of Aidhab, and is the well from which Aidhab got its water. They met Kuka's wife and carried her off to Suakin. Not long afterwards they were forced to put in for water near Elba and Kuka's wife, who was by that time pregnant by the captain of the Turkish ship, escaped. She was pursued by the Turkish captain and crew, who followed her to Elba and entered a cave where they thought she was hiding. A rock fall imprisoned them all in the cave and they died. Kuka's wife later gave birth to Anakw, from whom were descended the Hamadorab, Shantirab and Amarar. Kuka had three other sons by her who became the ancestors of the Southern Bisharin tribes. Kuka, himself, later disappeared on Elba and was believed to have been turned to stone. In Bellefonds' day this stone was jealously guarded, and in spite of all his efforts he could never get anybody to show it to him. The story of Kuka's stone is not now known among the Hamadorab, and it is obvious that Bellefonds himself was not clear about the details; it is unlikely that anybody would have told him that the Amarar were descended from Anakw, and the beginning of the story is very confused.

The Bisharin themselves say that Bishar's grandson (Hasaballa) had four sons, Kuka, Madkur, Shebal and Salih. Madkur and Shebal are the ancestors of the Madakir and the Mashbolab, and Salih is the ancestor of the Garab and Adeloyab. Kuka himself had seven sons, six of whom gave their name to tribes which have dwindled until they are now amalgamated with other Bisharin sections; the seventh, named Balig, had two sons—Ali and Kadabob. Ali had five sons, the progenitors of tribes which are now defunct; among them was Kilban who has been mentioned above. Kadabob's son was Anakw, who is dated by the Bisharin themselves as a contemporary of Merwan Ibn Hakam, who lived from about 700 to 750 A.D. This name has survived in tribal history, as has that of king Batlus (Ptolemy?), but no importance can

be attached to it or to that of Abu Zaid El Hillali mentioned above in fixing the dates of Anakw or Kuka.

As to which of the three stories is the right one we have no means of telling. The first two are typical Bega stories, paralleled by the Amarar story of the marriage of Miriam b. El Sheib to El Agib Abdulla of the Fung; the second by its introduction of a Turk is reminiscent of the legend of the Hadendowa origin. Is the Turk story possibly a vague recollection of Renaud de Chatillon's expedition of 1183 A.D., or even of the exploits of some Chinese junk trading with Egypt, such as we know frequently put in at Aidhab? All that can be said is that the fact that certain tribes are still referred to as the "Genna Kuka," in contradistinction to the Anakwiabab, indicates that a story of a rape by a foreigner was the original one, and that lately the tribe has changed it to eliminate the bar sinister in their tree.

Whatever version of the Anakw story we follow we find general agreement that Anakw was the founder of the three principal divisions of the tribe: the Um Ali, Um Nagi and Hannar, who to this day refer to themselves collectively as the Anakwiabab as distinct from all other smaller Bisharin sections such as the Madakir. Anakw had three wives, but history does not disclose from what tribes they came except in the case of Fatma Bint Hannar who was of the Gwilai Sil'ab; this tribe is always described as being one of the old pre-Muslim Bega tribes; it is now absorbed in the Amarar; hence the Amarar claim a half-Amarar origin for the Hannar, although it is very doubtful whether the Amarar had emerged as a tribe at all in Anakw's day. His three wives were:—

(a) Um Ali, who bore him two sons, Ali and Hamad. Ali had three sons: Mansur, from whose son Ali the Aliab take their name, Amir and Shantir, the last two being the progenitors of the Amrab and Shantirab. Hamad's son, Ali Hassai, was naturally referred to as Hamador, and from him the Hamadorab derive their name.

The Hamadorab are closely connected with the Amarar and use the Kanferib, which is the Gwilai brand on their camels, and there is another version of their ancestry given by the Amarar. According to this version, Talha Onur Fanaw, the grandson of Omar Hassai, who was the founder of the Omar Hassayab section of the Amarar, seduced Fatma Bint Gwilai (also of the Amarar). She fled from K. Oreir, the legendary home of the Amarar, and took refuge with Um Ali, who was

living at that time in K. Gerar, near J. Bawati. There she died in giving birth to a son who was called Hamad. Hamad was suckled by Um Ali who used to croon over him "Hamadoro-yu," "Hamad is my son"; hence he was nicknamed Hamador. Though this story is more picturesque than the other version, it seems probable that it arose owing to a confusion between Omar Hassai and Ali Hassai to explain the Amaran connection with the Hamadorab.

(b) Um Nagi, who also bore two sons, Negib and Isa. Nagib's son (Mansur) gave the Mansurab their name. Isa had four sons—Omran, Nafi, Mohammed Eirab and Mohammedit; the last three were the progenitors respectively of the Nafaab, Eiraiab and Mohammeditab, the last being an almost extinct family now living with the Eiraiab. Omran had a son named Hamad, who in turn had three sons—Omran, Ibrahim and Weilali, from whom are descended the Hamadab, Ibrahimab and Weilaliab. The Batran are a section of the Weilaliab descended from a son of Weilali. According to another version, Hamad, Nafi and Eirab were the sons of Isa, and Hamad's son Omran produced two children—Hamad and Nasr. Nasr's daughter Nasritor married one of the Amaran Kurbab and so gave her name to the Nasr Omran section of the Kurbab; and Hamad had three sons—Batran, Hamid and Mohamed Ibrahim—who gave their name respectively to the Batran, Hamadab and Ibrahimab sections. According to this last version, Weilali was the bastard son of a Bani Amer Nabtabia, who fled to Hamad the younger in her disgrace. The first version is that told by the Bisharin themselves and is probably right, since (a) Omran Wad Isa has survived in a great number of Bisharin legends, and (b) the present distribution of Batran and Weilaliab lands suggests that they are especially closely related.

(c) Fatma Bint Hannar of the Gwilai Sil'ab, by whom he had three sons, Gwilai, the ancestor of the Hannar proper. Balig, from whom are descended the Balkab, now a sub-section of the Hannar; and Berkat, whose line has dwindled to one man at present living with the Hadendowa.

The tribal pedigrees up to this point give us nothing of any historical value and cannot really be said to do more than account for the divisions of the tribe. It is, however, perhaps worth mentioning that in the three generations after Kuka there are more Bega names than in any other part of the pedigree; Kuka, itself, may possibly be an old Bega name, though I have never heard of its use at the present time.

(4) THE MIGRATION SOUTH.

Tribal tradition is unanimous that the whole tribe originally came from the neighbourhood of J. Elba, and that the Atbara sections established themselves in their present position by force of arms. This move is the first episode in the tribal history which it is worth while trying to fix as an historical event.

As it is closely bound up with the history of two small tribes, the Kamalab and Morghumab, who are now included in the Atbara Bisharin omodia, a short account of these two tribes must be introduced. The Kamalab and the Morghumab, like the Bisharin, claim descent from Kahil; the Kamalab and the Kumeilab (of Berber and Tokar) are said to be descended from one of his wives, while the Morghumab are, by common tribal tradition, acknowledged to be descended from another wife who also bore Amar the ancestor of the Amarar. The Kamalab and the Kumeilab use the same camel brands and are almost certainly branches of the same tribe. The Morghumab connection with the Amarar has only tradition to support it, and it is quite certain that for at least the last 150 years they have been much more intimately connected with the Kamalab. At the present time the Kamalab number some 600 persons and the Morghumab slightly less. As regards their origin and early history the accounts do not agree. One story says that the Morghumab were Arabs who came over in the 13th century and settled around Um Hatab with the Aliab/Jaalin, whereas the Kamalab were an indigenous tribe inhabiting the hills near Suakin; another story says that both tribes came in by way of Egypt, leaving the neighbourhood of Kenah in the 14th century, they then settled in the Atbai and occupied the plain west of Ariab and gradually moved down as far as the east bank of the Atbara. The latter account has the greater traditional support, but there is no doubt that they crossed the river earlier than the Kamalab and lived under the ægis of the Aliab/Jaalin for a considerable period in the Um Shadida neighbourhood, where their cultivations are inextricably mixed with those of the Aliab.

The story of the Bisharin arrival on the Atbara starts with a war between the Kamalab and the Morghumab against the Messellemia on the west bank, caused, it is said, by the murder of a Kamalabi, who was looking for camels in the Messellemia country. The Kamalab and the

Morghumab succeeded in driving the Messellemia from the west bank and occupied it from Gerri to Khashm el Girba. The Messellemia then turned for support to the Batahin who occupied the Butana. The Batahin joined them and desultory fighting followed, in which the Kamalab and Morghumab got the worst of the exchange. Probably there were old feuds between the Morghumab and the Batahin, since they must have been neighbours for some time; at any rate the story is that it was the Morghumab chief, Wad El Mileihawi, who approached the Bisharin. Hamad wad Omran wad Isa was then sheikh of the Bisharin, and apparently his fame as a warrior had reached the river from the Ariab area, where he and his Bisharin were living at the time. Wad El Mileihawi went North and approached Hamad with a noose round his neck and begged for help. When he saw that there were only the usual Bisharin four or five tents with Hamad Omran, he was bitterly disappointed, and after explaining the object of his visit, regretted that reports of the Bisharin appeared to have been exaggerated and prepared to leave. No doubt he had extolled the merits of the river lands in comparison with the arid spaces round Ariab; and Hamad was unwilling to pass this slur on his tribe's numbers and the opportunity of visiting the Morghumab country. He summoned the tribe and, to prove their strength, produced two camel-loads of tobacco; he ordered them to smoke; when every man had filled his pipe there was no tobacco left and Wad El Mileihawi reconsidered his decision to leave. When he did so he was accompanied by Hamad and his Bisharin, who met the Messellemia and Batahin at Mushra Banagir on the West bank and defeated them. Hamad then occupied Baluk, where his section, the Hamadab, have lived ever since. The Batahin and Messellemia were finally driven back to a line south of the present Bisharin Butana boundary. Hamad then allotted to the Hamadab and their sister section, the Ibrahimab, the west bank of the river and the wadis on the Butana border west of Goz Regeb, and the other Bisharin sections were settled along the east bank of the river and in the country between it and Musmar. The occupation of the west bank was not carried out without opposition from the Kamalab. What the terms were on which the Bisharin agreed to come down is not known, but it appears that the Kamalab were under the impression that they would occupy only the east bank, and when the Bisharin started settling on the west bank there was a good deal of

fighting between the two tribes, culminating in a big battle near Shigil, at which seventy on each side are said to have fallen. After this battle a boundary was drawn up between them by Suleiman Mohammadein of the Nefidab.

Now, although it is held by the Bisharin that Hamad Omran himself led his sections of the tribe from Elba to the Atbara, this story shows that the actual expedition to the river was made from somewhere near Ariab. Apart from this several facts indicate that certain sections had left Elba at a much earlier period and settled in the country now occupied by the Atbai Um Nagi. First there is distribution of the Atbai Um Nagi sections in the country north and west of Ariab ; they settled so long ago that nothing is remembered of their coming. Secondly, there is the story of Kuka's burial in K. Eikidi, just north of Ariab ; and thirdly, there is a fairly widespread tradition that some of the Bisharin sections such as Madakir and Mashbolab, who are not true Um Nagi sections, were on or near the Atbara before Hamad Omran came. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that Hamad Omran's sections were amongst those who had moved from J. Elba at an early date and settled in the Southern Atbai. Whether this earlier movement took the form of a definite migration or whether, as is more probable, it was a gradual drift southwards we do not know. Nor have we any information as to when the movement started. The fact that the Bisharin themselves do not remember the exact details of the move to the Atbara does not, however, discount the story that it was Hamad Omran who led them there, for this story is well supported by Morghumab and Kamalab tradition and is well known to the Aliab/Jaalin and the Shukria.

With regard to the date at which Hamad Omran reached the Atbara there is, in the first place, a good deal of confusion as to the interval between the Kamalab war with the Messellemia and the Morghumab war with the Batahin. Both the Aliab/Jaalin and the Morghumab say that the Kamalab-Messellemia war was much earlier than the other. This note has been compiled without any knowledge of the Messellemia and Batahin versions of the story, and in assuming, as it does above, that they followed closely on one another, it relies on the information that the Kamalab-Messellemia war took place in the time of Sheikh Gamra of the Kamalab, who may be assumed from the pedigree of the tribe, to have been born round about 1730 ; if so, he would be a contemporary of the sheikhs who

took part in the other war with the Batahin, and the interval between them cannot have been very great.

For the dating of this second war there is rather more evidence :—

(a) The tribal pedigree places Hamad Omran seven generations above the present Nazir Ahmed Karar. If we can take it that tribal memory is fairly accurate as far back as this, which seems a not unreasonable supposition, he would have been born about 1720 or 1730, and the expedition might well have taken place sometime between 1760 and 1770.

(b) It is probable that these turbulent conditions along the Atbara were contemporaneous with the break up of the Fung Power which, according to the Sennar History (MacMichael *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 367 and 368) took place round about 1770.

(c) A Morghumab woman named Shaghaba, who figures in the legend as the author of a very famous tribal song which caused the breaking of friendly relations between Morghumab and Batahin, is said to have been a contemporary of sheikh Mohammed, a forbear of the Aliab/Jaalin sheikh figuring in their pedigree about 1740 to 1800, and to have died in the time when Agib Abdulla was mangil of the Fung; he died in 1779 (MacMichael Vol. I, p. 246). Bireir the Batahin sheikh mentioned in her song must also have lived about this time, for his son Ali Bireir was a noted brigand in the early days of the Turkish Government.

(d) Suliman Mohammedin, the Nefidab sheikh, who finally made a boundary between the Bisharin and Kamalab, which must have happened some years after the defeat of the Batahin, appears from the Nefidab pedigree to have lived roughly from 1710 to 1770.

This is by no means conclusive evidence, but, such as it is, it supports a date somewhere between 1760 and 1770 for the occupation of the Atbara area by Hamad Omran. It is at least interesting to find that the Bisharin, Morghumab Nefidab and Aliab/Jaalin pedigrees, all given by different persons, agree so closely as to the generation in which these events happened.

When the Bisharin reached the Atbara they found in addition to the Kamalab and Morghumab, and a few small Bisharin sections, who have already been mentioned, various small remnants of tribes, all of which appear to have accepted Bisharin suzerainty and to have intermarried

with them. Of these the most considerable were the Nefidab, who at present number 300 persons and who then probably numbered a good deal more. They claim Ashraf origin and relationship with the Khuffab of Berber Province and the Nefeilab Ashraf of Tokar district and Eritrea. They are said to have been brought from Arabia by their sheikh Idris Musa, who lived eight generations ago, and whose tomb at Um Sar on the east bank of the Atbara is still the most important shrine on the river. When the Bisharin arrived, the Nefidab appear to have been settled along the east bank of the river in small groups from Abu el Kheil to Telaa el Dow, not owning any particular stretch of land, but living as holy men among the tribes who occupied the river area. From the beginning they appear to have made friends with the Bisharin, and at the present day they have settlements on both sides of the river. They live indiscriminately in the mat tents of the Bega or in mud villages, and are the most orderly and law-abiding community on the Atbara.

5. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Burckhardt, who travelled from Assuan to Damer and thence along the Atbara to Goz Regeb in 1813, gives some vivid accounts of the general characteristics of the Bisharin in the period just before the Turkish occupation. Treacherous, cruel, avaricious and revengeful are the words he uses of them; their men were drunkards and their women had none of the customary Arab modesty. On the Atbara one of their most lucrative pursuits was the pilfering of Tukruni pilgrims on their way between the Nile and Kassala. Burckhardt probably took a gloomy view of the character of the people through whom he passed on his exhausting journey, but the tribe itself is not proud of its history at this period. Unfortunately, Burckhardt, as a traveller, was more interested in the customs of the people he met than in their history or organisation. Of the tribes in the Atbai we only learn that they and the Atbabda grazed amicably together on both sides of the present Egyptian boundary, and that there was bitter hostility between Bisharin and Hadarba, who are presumably the old semi-Bega Hadareb from whom Ras Hadarba, near Halaib, is said to take its name. There is rather more information about the Atbara section of the tribe. He says that the Hamadab were at this time the strongest Bisharin tribe, and that their chief was paramount on the Atbara, thereby confirming tribal tradition; he does not mention

the chief's name, but it was probably Mohammed Esni, the grandson of the Hamad Omran who brought the tribe to the river. The Atbara Bisharin at this time possessed large flocks and herds, and were already cultivators of the river islands as far as its junction with the Mogren. Burckhardt speaks of the Mogren as a river, and it is not clear whether he means that the Bisharin extended as far as the present Mogren of the Nile or whether he means some particular Wadi whose name he has got wrong. The Bisharin themselves claim that at this time they did own all the land as far as the Mogren of the Nile, at least, on the east bank of the Atbara. On the other hand, their southern boundary on the river seems to have been further north than at present. So far as it can be worked out from Burckhardt's itinerary, which gives no names of mashras, the Bisharin met the Hadendowa somewhere near Galaa Rikad, which is about 25 miles north of the present boundary. There was continual fighting at this time between Bisharin and Hadendowa and Bisharin and Shukria, and Burckhardt mentions that the Bisharin chief and some of his relatives kept horses and wore coats of mail. Obviously, at that time they were numerically stronger than they are now. The Beni Kurb, for example, are referred to as a section comparable with the Hamadab ; there is now not a single survivor of them.

From the tribal history we learn that at the beginning of the century, or even possibly before that, two sections, one small and one considerably larger, came in under Bisharin suzerainty.

The larger of these was the Abdel Karimab, a Jaalin section closely related to the Merafab. Three of their sections, the Tawil Shawir and Abras, who to-day number about 100 persons, definitely joined the Bisharin very soon after they arrived on the Atbara. There is a conflict of tradition about the other four sections of the tribe. They, themselves, say that they never left the Merafab and that they owed allegiance at this time to Mahmud el Agami, the Merafab sheikh, whereas the Bisharin say that the whole tribe came in under them. Probably the Abdel Karimab version is the correct one, but the Turkish Government later grouped all the Abdel Karimab with the Bisharin for tribute purposes, and after the Mahdia, in which the Merafab sections stayed with the Merafab and the three others with the Bisharin, the whole tribe was again grouped with the Atbara Bisharin and continued so until 1924, when the boundary between Berber and Kassala provinces split the tribe.

The Tawil, Shawir and Abras (the latter have been for many years under the Bisharin Garab sheikh) remained with the Bisharin, with whom they still are. The Abdel Karimab are riverain cultivators, they have few animals, their camel brands are the Khutam of the Merafab and the Ogal of Kahil (the Bisharin brand). Whatever be the truth of their subjection to the Bisharin there is no doubt that the Tawil, Shawir and Abras sections have been more closely connected with them than the others, and they are the only sections which have intermarried with Bisharin and other tribes living upstream of them.

The other section, which joined the Bisharin about this time, was the Sheketiab or Bedawab. They number at present about 150 persons and live near Um Bashim on the east bank. They claim descent from the Bedu of Arabia in a rather vague way, but, according to neighbouring tribes, they are really Jaalin in origin, and on their own story they came to the Merafab and joined them at an early date. The fact that they are purely cultivators and have no camel brands of their own, using those of the Hamadorab or Batran, does not seem to fit in with their own version of their origin. One of the daughters of Shikeit, according to the story, married Rahma Abu Fiteiga, the sheikh of the Merafab; her grandson married a daughter of Hamad Omran wad Isa of the Bisharin, and his sons were given land on the river by Hamad Omran. Since then the descendants of this family have lived with the Bisharin, but the main bulk of the tribe are still with the Merafab.

Linant de Bellefonds, writing probably in 1833, says that the Hamadab were the principal Bisharin section and recognised as such by the Northern Bisharin near Elba. Their sheikh at this time, according to him, was Ahmed Wad Ahmed, whom he had visited sometime previously at Baluk. Bellefonds was not particularly good at catching names and Ahmed Wad Ahmed is obviously wrong; probably Hamad wad Mohammed Esni was the sheikh to whom he referred, the three names Ahmed, Hamad and Mohammed being almost indistinguishable in their Bisharin pronunciation. It is to be inferred from his narrative that the paramount sheikh had little to do with the northern sections; he may have been looked up to and consulted by them in the same way as was Karar Ahmed during the present Government. It is inconceivable that he had any real hold on the northern Um Ali sections, though it is possible that he retained influence over the Atbai Um Nagi, since communication

between them and the Atbara sections must have been much closer when the Wailaliab and Batran were still living near Obak. Linant de Bellefonds mentions that the Atbara sections were at this time under allegiance to the Turkish Government and paying tribute to it.

It must have been shortly after this time that the sheikhship passed from the hands of the Hamadab to those of the Ibrahimab. The story is told thus: At some time, probably between 1835 and 1840, an Ibrahimabi named Basher (known as Basher the elder) organised a band of horsemen from the Ibrahimab and Hamadab and took to a life of pillage along the Atbara. He was eventually killed in his sleep by the Batran from whom he had stolen animals; suspicion of treachery attached to the Abdel Karimab in whose houses he was staying at the time. His brother, Mohammed Abu Isa, wishing to revenge his death, applied to the Government at Berber for troops; he returned with a body of soldiers and, giving out that the Government had made him official sheikh of the tribe, induced a number of the Batran and Abdel Karimab to attend a congratulatory feast. The Turkish troops surrounded the place and massacred them. According to the Bisharin this was the first occasion on which the Turks took cognisance of Bisharin affairs, and it was as the result of this intervention that they were put on to tribute, but this does not agree with Bellefonds' account. Although the Ibrahimab claim that they obtained the sheikhship by their own efforts, the story just quoted makes it fairly certain that they did not, and as it is said that Ahmed Pasha Gazzar was Governor-General at the time of these events, it is reasonable to suppose that Mohammed Abu Isa made use of his troops when he was on the way to the Kassala expedition of 1842.

Mohammed Abu Isa was then appointed sheikh by the Turks and was in due course succeeded by his son Ali and his grandson Mohammed. Their influence certainly did not extend beyond the Atbara sections of the tribe. After the appointment of Mohammed Abu Isa it is quite certain that the Atbara Bisharin paid tribute at Berber or Damer. Baker, who visited them in 1861, describes the difficulty of tax-gathering among them in words which apply with almost equal force to-day. "Taxes are gathered," he says, "by parties of soldiers who take the opportunity of visiting them during the drought, at which time they can be certainly found near the river, but at any other season it would be as easy to collect tribute from the gazelles of the desert as from the wandering

Bisharin." Later a Turkish post was established at Gimmeiza, about 30 miles downstream of Adarama. The Bisharin tribute list, compiled by Col. Stewart in 1883, shows that at that time the Abdel Karimab and Kamalab paid with the Bisharin, whose sheikh at that time was Basher Musa (known as Basher the younger, grandson of Basher the elder, who has been mentioned before), and that the main body of the Morghumab were included in the Jaalin district of Ahmed Suliman, only a few being on the Bisharin tribute list. Even at this comparatively recent date it is clear that the Atbara Bisharin were vastly more numerous than they are at present; the names of no less than eleven sections now extinct appear in the list, including the Beni Kurb, referred to at the beginning of this section, who ranked third of all the Bisharin sections in point of wealth. The general prosperity of the tribe at this time can be appreciated by any one visiting the Atbara and noting the number of old sagia sites. The sixty which are worked at the present day represent at the very most a quarter or perhaps a third of the ones which are no longer worked.

Of conditions in the Atbai during the greater part of the century we know practically nothing. Linant de Bellefonds, however, gives a very good description of the Northern Atbai sections as he found them in 1833. They were not at this time under any effective government control; they hated the Turkish Government and no attempt had been made to subjugate them. Their relations with the Ababda were on the whole friendly, and there was a good deal of intermarriage; there were also the usual affrays and cattle-lifting episodes. He mentions the following divisions of the tribe:—

Shantirab	}	Sub-sections of the present Aliab.
Kawatil		
MeleKab		
Balgab		
Amrab	}	Now united as tribe.
Hamadorab		
Gumhatab		
Hannar	}	Sub-sections of the present Um Nagi.
Mansurab		
Eiraiab		

Not all of these had sheikhs; the Balgab probably acknowledged the Kawatil sheikh and the Hamadorab are expressly mentioned as a collection

of brigands living on J. Elba and owing allegiance to nobody. The most prosperous of these sections were the Hamadorab and Shantirab of Elba ; their very rich grazing enabled them to raise first-class animals, and the ibex skins of J. Elba were much sought after in the Sudan and Egypt. Traders from Jeddah frequently put in to the numerous anchorages near the mountain and provided a ready market.

In their mode of life and habits they appear to have been very little removed from the present-day except that they were more lawless. They grew no grain themselves and bought practically all their requirements at one or other of the markets in Upper Egypt. The men carried much the same armament as they do at present ; the women, however, had not yet been introduced to the veil and were generally clothed only in a skirt and leather girdle. Bellefonds was impressed by the fecklessness of the whole tribe and by the combination of cunning treachery and high chivalry which he observed among them, and comments on the laxity of their morals. The beauty of the Balgab women surpassed that of the rest of the tribe and was only exceeded by the easiness of their virtue ; their reputation in both respects has not changed since then. One feature of their life, which is missing to-day, was a periodical visitation of missionaries from Jeddah to teach the Koran.

After Bellefonds' visit and the ephemeral attempt on the Allagi gold mines which resulted from it, we hear nothing certain of the Atbai. At a later date, apparently, the Turkish Government made some attempt at administration, but it seems to have been confined to patrols sent out from Berber to collect tribute ; there is no information as to whether the tribute was paid regularly ; during the later period of the Turkish administration there was a nominal tribute list, but it is safe to infer from the very small sums assessed on the remote sections that collection was problematic. The tribe itself says that these sections were hardly ever visited and, when they were, the Turks took all they could lay hands on to make up. According to the Bisharin it was the Turkish Government which settled the Ababda along the trade route from Abu Hamad to Assuan and made them responsible for the safety of merchants and goods on the road ; in this way the Ababda acquired Murrat and other wells which originally belonged to the Um Nagi Bisharin. The Ababda, themselves, say that they were brought in for this purpose by the Fung kings seven generations ago, and the Turkish Government merely confirmed them in

their office ; their story is probably the correct one, because they were definitely occupying Murrat and the trade route in 1833. It is certainly safe to say that the northern sections of the Bisharin continued to lead an independent existence, and were little affected by the Turkish occupation, with which they refused, for as long as possible, to have anything to do.

One important event which took place early on in the Turkish days should be mentioned here, that was the emergence of the Amara tribe. Whatever may have been their origin, it seems fairly clear that it was under Hamad Hassai (1790-1850 ?), the great grandfather of the present Nazir, that they consolidated their position in the khors on the western slopes of the hills north of Ariab and, by intermarriage with Bisharin and Hadendowa, secured a footing on the plains and especially in the area between Khor Arab and the Atbara. No doubt the change of sheikhship from Hamadab to Ibrahimab on the river, accomplished as it was by the aid of Turkish troops, was not welcomed by the Bisharin ; the northern sections probably felt that they owed nothing to an Ibrahimab sheikh, and what intercourse they had had with the river ceased. The head of the Amara wedge therefore arrived in the gap thus made at precisely the right moment, widened it by judiciously offering protection to and ultimately absorbing the dwindling and rather isolated khor Arab sections, and mitigated against any real reunion between the Atbai and the Atbara for some seventy years.

6. THE MAHDIA.

As might be expected there was no strong feeling for or against the Mahdi among the Atbai sections. After the fall of Khartoum and the establishment of a Mahdist force at Berber, the inland sections had to accept their régime. The Aliab for a short time joined the cause, and the Um Nagi sections were kept more or less under Mahdist control by the establishment of posts at Kiau, Abu Dueim and Ariab, while some of their sheikhs were held as hostages at Berber. The Aliab changed sides some time before 1889, and the only sheikhs who seem to have taken any active part in the Mahdia were Tita Gibrin of the Shantirab and Musa Tahir of the Hannar, both of whom joined Osman Digna on the Atbara, the Hamadorab and the bulk of the Shantirab seem to have held aloof from Mahdism, and they presumably felt that, being on the coast, they were remote from raids starting from the Nile, and also to some extent

under the protection of visiting warships from Suakin. The Mahdists, on their part, can have had little ambition to undertake expedition into the Atbai and contented themselves with raids on the western sections for camels. One such raid was met by a mixed force of Amara-Bisharin near J. Deirurba and killed to a man; another was cut up by the Aliab in W. Nesari. The only serious expedition was one which fell upon Halaib (guided, it was said, by Amrab treachery) in 1889 and destroyed the village and the Hamadorab in it. Turning north the Mahdist troops went on to the Aliab country, where they were met and defeated by a mixed force of Aliab and Ababda/Gibrin at Meisa Well; the breastworks of this engagement are still visible. The immediate result of the sack of Halaib was the building and garrisoning of a more permanent fort there by Holled-Smith the following year. After 1889 the Um Ali sections maintained a friendly neutrality, and some of the Aliab were present as friendly irregulars at the captures of Abu Hamad and Berber.

Conditions on the Atbara were very different. The Nefidab, in virtue of their religious position, assumed the leadership, and Abu Abda, their sheikh, appears to have been made Amir about the time of the fall of Khartoum; he was joined by practically all the Atbara Bisharin, the Kamalab, the Morghumab and the Hannar under Tahir Gwilai. His only active support of the Mahdist movement was an expedition of no importance against Hussein Khalifa of the Ababda at Berber. He died in 1890 and was succeeded by his cousin Ali Abu Sabib. When Osman Digna arrived at Adarama in 1891, Ali Abu Sabib joined him at the order of the Khalifa. Basher, the younger, was at this time still nominally sheikh of the Bisharin, and one of Osman Digna's first acts was to depose him and put the Ibrahimab under the Abdel Karimab sheikh; the reason which he gave for this was that it was a punishment for the section which had been responsible for bringing the Turks to the Atbara; another reason may possibly have been his friendship with Karar Ahmed, the successor of the Hamadab sheikhs, who seems to have been on good terms with Osman Digna from the beginning and finally to have become his adviser on Atbara River politics. Osman Digna's treatment of the Ibrahimab naturally estranged them, and is said to have alienated a large proportion of the Bisharin. Some few of them left the neighbourhood it is true, but those who remained on their lands on the Atbara had no choice but to follow Osman Digna. All the Atbara Bisharin must therefore

be classed as his supporters, although most of them were retained only by the presence of Amarar and Hadendowa at Adarama. Their chief role seems to have been raiding camels from the surrounding tribes to supply the Adarama force with transport. When the Amir Mahmud arrived on the Atbara in 1898 he and Osman Digna found it difficult to agree either on the general plan of action to be followed or on the tactics to be employed when the English troops finally approached them at Nakheila. Osman Digna therefore advised his troops to disperse, and practically the whole of Ali Abu Sabib's contingent deserted just before the battle of Mahmud's zariba.

On the whole, the Mahdia passed the Bisharin over lightly. There were none of those divisions of allegiance which caused such lasting splits in the Hadendowa and Amarar, although, no doubt, the fact that the Atbara sections were with Osman Digna and the Atbai ones on the side of Government did finally dissolve the tie of sheikhship which formerly held them together in name if not in fact. The Hamadorab feeling against the Amrab for their alleged part in the sack of Halaib has never been strong and is now dead. The Hannar, in virtue of Tahir Gwilai's position as Amir, had a brief rise in importance, which they used to grab land wherever they could and to which they occasionally refer as the time "when they led the Bisharin." Their pretensions in both these directions are generally discredited by now, and the only notable effect of the Mahdia on the Atbara seems to have been the break-away of the Abdel Karimab; this caused some heart burning, because their land had come to be regarded as Bisharin by the tribe; this claim, as has been pointed out in section 5, is somewhat nebulous.

7. RECENT HISTORY.

After the establishment of the present Government the Atbai and Atbara sections remained for the most part isolated from one another, partly because of the Amarar wedge, mentioned in section 5, and partly because they fell under different systems of administration. The state of tribal disintegration in the north is shown by the fact that in 1901 the Aliab and Hamadorab/Ashshab actuated mainly by financial considerations, asked to be allowed to join the Ababda, with whom they are considerably intermarried, while the attitude of Government is reflected in the bandying of Halaib post between the Suakin and

Berber administrations, at one time using it to administer the northern sections, at another forbidding it to have anything to do with them. About 1906 there was a tentative proposal to make Batran Nasrai, the then sheikh of the Amrab, sheikh of all the Atbai sections, but the proposal does not seem to have been put seriously to the tribe, and the five Atbai sections led an independent existence under their own sheikhs, administered only by tribute-collecting patrols, from 1902 until 1922. In 1923 the Atbai was transferred to the Red Sea Province in order that a uniform administration might be afforded to them and the Amrar, whose customs and country were similar. During the early years of the Government Karar Ahmed, the father of the present Nazir, acquired by his personality a considerable influence over the sheikhs of the Atbai sections, but his death in 1912 wrecked any hopes there may have been of unifying the tribe. After his death Abdel Azim Bey of the Ababda in Berber was used as the link between Government and the Bisharin, and he, too, attained some influence over them. Meanwhile, Amrar influence had been spreading in the Musmar area; although this was responsible for a certain amount of administrative difficulties it was almost certainly one of the causes which was finally responsible for the formation of the present Bisharin Nazirate. It took a long time for the tribe to realise the advantages of combining, and as late as 1927 the northern sections could not make up their minds to elect a Nazir. When Government, at the end of 1928, did it for them by appointing Ahmed Karar, the Hamadab sheikh, Nazir of the tribe there was no opposition, and the sheikhs in secret probably heaved a sigh of relief at having a difficult decision taken out of their hands.

On the Atbara the proximity of Damer and the system of registered land introduced and rendered possible and necessary a much more direct system of administration. The Atbara sections were again united under a Hamadab sheikh, Hamid Omran, who had been captured by the British while fighting for Osman Digna and held first as prisoner and later as intelligence agent in Suakin. With them were grouped all those other tribes which had been with them before the Mahdia. Hamid Omran was dismissed in 1904, largely through the instrumentality of Karar Ahmed, who emphasised to the tribe his conduct as an agent at Suakin. He was succeeded by Karar Ahmed. Karar was a man of very outstanding personality, and there was continual trouble between him and the

Egyptian Mamur stationed at Adarama ; but for this fact he would probably have been given more and earlier recognition than he was. In 1912 he petitioned the Governor-General for the sheikhship of the whole Bisharin tribe, but died before Government could make up its mind. His cousin, Hamid Omran, who had been Omda previously, supported his application, though he had hitherto been hostile to Karar owing to the circumstances of his own dismissal, and after Karar's death applied twice for the Nazirate himself, once in 1914 and again in 1924. Government, however, would have nothing to do with his representations, and since Karar's eldest son Ahmed was only thirteen years old on his father's death, another cousin of Karar, Mahmud Sheraf el Din, was made Omda until Ahmed Karar came of age to take on the duties himself, which he did in 1924. With the transfer of the Atbai sections to Red Sea Province in 1923 there disappeared, temporarily, all idea of a united Bisharin, and in 1924 the Atbara Omodia was transferred from Damer district to the Butana District of Kassala Province. When the policy of native administration began to be implemented in 1927 it appeared at first sight almost hopeless on tribal and geographical grounds to re-unite the whole tribe, and the attitude of the northern sections made the problem no easier. Ultimately, however, the matter, as has been said above, was more or less settled by Government in the appointment of Ahmed Karar as Nazir of the whole tribe and of his brother, Mahmud Karar, as Omda of the Atbara sections.

It should be mentioned in connection with the very recent history of the tribe that during the present Government there has been a general tendency on the part of all sections to establish small settlements in the Atbara area ; this tendency probably received its initial impetus during the Mahdia when about half of the Hannar section joined Osman Digna ; they have remained there ever since. There had also been a scarcely noticeable drift southwards on the part of the Atbai sections in the Atbai itself. The Aliab are gradually encroaching on the northern boundary of the Eiraiab country, and the Mansurab on the Batran and Weilaliab country near Obak. The only real migration during the present Government, and that a small one, has been the settlement of part of the Hamadgaiab section of the Amrab at Obak, in consequence of a blood feud in the tribe which arose about 1915. As a result of this movement the Hamadgaiab have established a marketing connection with Berber.

8. GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE TRIBE AT THE PRESENT TIME.

The tribe are all in varying degree nomadic and all live in the matting tents normally used by the Hamitic tribes of the Red Sea coast. All except the non-Bisharin elements of the Atbara Omodia speak the same language tu-Bedawi and have in general the same customs and methods of primitive justice as the Hadendowa and Amarar tribes. Sharia law, as interpreted by uneducated but honest tribal Kadis, is the canon applied to all cases which cannot be settled by the more gentlemanly method of give-and-take tribal compromise. Though not particularly religious themselves, they are extremely credulous of anyone who has acquired a reputation of holiness, however spurious, and incline to regard him as a divinely appointed arbiter of their affairs. They are certainly not fanatical in their religion, and such of them as have ever thought about the sect they follow can be classified as Shadiliya, Gadoria or Mirghania ; the vast bulk of the tribe, however, pay no attention to this question.

As is to be expected in a tribe of 15,000 persons, including nearly 3,000 non-Bisharin, scattered over an area of roughly 50,000 square miles, the different sections vary considerably in the nature of their subsistence, the distance of their wanderings and the degree of their intelligence and adaptability.

First of all the word nomadic needs explanation ; nothing like a general move, such as takes place in the case of the big tribes of Kordofan or the Butana, is to be understood ; scarcity of grazing precludes this. One or two or perhaps at the most half a dozen houses move together towards where they have heard there is rain ; on the way, very often, news of rain in another direction splits even these up. For a whole section to go in one direction would be to risk annihilation of all the flocks. The man at Halaib, for instance, who hears of rain at Abu Dueim accepts a big risk when he decides to move there, because, owing to the great intervening distance without water or adequate grazing he may lose animals on the way or may become isolated there and unable to return for several years owing to the dying-off of the scanty vegetation in between the two places. Occasionally when there have been exceptionally heavy rains on the sea coast or in the Atbai plains there may be said to take place a general movement northwards or southwards of the Atbai

Bisharin. If it is a move to the sea coast, in all probability all sections except the Um Nagi, whose camels are not trained to the salt water and bitter grasses of the sea shore, will take part in it. If it is so to the Atbai plains every section will probably be represented in the movement, but only those families will move who have accustomed themselves to spending the autumn on the plains ; the Shantirab for instance almost all cling to their hills. There is also a seasonal movement of the Atbara sections away from the river during the autumn rains, both northwards to the dune grazing between the river and the Port Sudan Railway and southwards towards the Butana.

Starting from the north, the general characteristics of the various sections of the tribe are roughly as follows : The Aliab and Hamadorab both have considerable connection with Egypt, the former having a colony of about a hundred permanently living at Assuan, the latter a smaller settlement at Daraw. Both sections are intermarried with the Ashabab Ababda who live just north of the administrative boundary, one section of the Hamadorab, the Ashshab take their name from the camel brand of the Ashabab and are actually half Ababda. In fact, during the first years of this Government both the Aliab and the Hamadorab/Ashshab asked to be allowed to join the Ababda. The Aliab country is particularly wild and their chief wealth consists of camels ; they are the possessors of the most famous Bega breed, the Kileiwow ; they are intensely nomadic, ranging from Egypt to the Atbara and from the coast to the river. Neither they nor the Hamadorab do any cultivation though the Hamadorab own a small cultivable strip of W. Diib. The Hamadorab, also own large herds of camels of which the best breed is the Banagir ; they also own a very good type of white sheep. Their country is much richer than that of the Aliab and contains the very fertile valleys in and around J. Elba and, as a whole, they are not nearly so nomadic as the Aliab though they reach the Nile and the Atbara on occasions. Contact with the Government through Halaib post during and since the Mahdia has made them more civilised than their neighbours, and a number of them have served in the Egyptian police and coast guard service. The natural market of both these sections is Assuan or Daraw where, in addition to animals, they all sell a certain amount of charcoal. Latterly the Hamadorab have begun to use Port Sudan as well as the Egyptian markets, but not to any considerable extent.

Next come the Shantirab who are hardly nomadic at all ; they live in the seclusion of their massive hills, which contain rich tree grazing, and hardly emerge at all ; they are the wildest and least intelligent of all the Bisharin sections, and for some years their sheikhs eluded all attempts by Government to get in touch with them. The establishment of Salala post in their country in 1925 has brought them more in touch with Government, but they are still a boorish clan. They own large herds of sheep, their camels are not of a high standard however. They also own and cultivate a rugged stretch of W. Diib between Khor Mafdeib and K. Adarkwan. The Amrab who live to the west of them have a particularly barren and uninspiring country round K. Onib and are in consequence fairly nomadic, reaching the coast and the Nile as far south as Berber ; not many of them get as far as the Atbara but there are a few always to be found there. Their natural market is Assuan, which is used even by the section which has settled at Obak. The Amrab cultivate with the Shantirab in W. Diib and with Um Nagi in Obak, Oklis and W. Amur. A feature of their country is the number of tanneries met with, and they do a small export trade in tanned hides to Egypt ; the tanning is of poor quality because sunt is not found in their country and sellim has to be used instead. After the Amrab come the Atbai Um Nagi sections, who inhabit the enormous and very sparsely watered plains between the hills and the river. They again are extremely nomadic in a north and south direction, but with the exception of the Hannar section, who are settled near Dongonab, they do not move east of the western edge of the hills ; many of them spend much of their time on the Atbara. Their wealth consists of camels and sheep with a few goats, and they own and cultivate a number of wadis to the east of Abu Hamad and between W. Amur and Obak ; it is, however, only very rarely that any of them get watered. They are on good terms with the Rubatab of Berber Province, who are generally found cultivating with them. Their principal contact with the world outside is through Berber and Abu Hamad and they are, of course, neighbours of the Meleikab Ababda, who were settled either by the late Fung or early Turkish Government on the trade route from Abu Hamad to Egypt ; they are more arabicised than the rest of the Atbai Bisharin, owing to their contact with the Nile.

The tribal organisation of all these northern sections is very loose, as is only natural in a society which is constantly moving about in small

groups or separated off into families by steep hills or impassable waterless desert during the summer months. These circumstances tend to emphasise and perpetuate the authority of heads of families and to keep alive traditions of patriarchal government. With the exception of the Aliab and Um Nagi the main divisions or *bedanas* of the tribe seem to have existed for at least the last hundred and fifty years. Their sheikhs were known and recognised, as were those of the sections into which the Aliab and Um Nagi were at that time divided, but though they represented their tribes in disputes, their influence does not seem to have been very great; they had little authority except as leaders in time of war; disputes might or might not have been settled by them according to the individual personality concerned. They certainly were not the universal administrators of justice within their tribes; the remoteness of the scene of dispute and the Bega habit of referring quarrels to any person of known integrity in the neighbourhood, even though he may come from a different tribe, prevented this. Heads of the families concerned are the first court of arbitration in the case of most disputes, and when they cannot settle the matter they can generally agree on somebody to whom it can be referred. While the *bedana*, as a unit, has some tribal tradition behind it, the subdivision of it, known as the *hissa*, has none, and is a quite arbitrary grouping of families instituted by the present Government to facilitate tribute collection, a function in which it has not been noticeably successful.

Last, comes the Atbara Omodia, which differs from the others in that all the Bisharin in it are bi-lingual, and it is the only part of the tribal area in which there are any permanent villages. Halaib and Dongonab are only clusters of merchants' booths which have sprung up round Government posts. The Omodia is a composite one, and its character is complex, and can best be dealt with by separating its chief elements.

(a) The semi-nomadic cultivators.—These are the true Bisharin sections, together with the Nefidab, Sheketiab and part of the Kamalab, who are primarily cultivators of the islands in the river and the wadis east and west of it, but who also own a few camels and cattle and a large number of sheep with which they migrate every year in the rains for a short distance away from the river. The Hamadab and Ibrahimab sections of the Bisharin and the Nefidab, Sheketiab and Kamalab move southwards towards the Butana, the rest of the Bisharin northwards to

the dunes round Yastiai and the lower part of K. Arab. They never get more than a hundred miles from the river on these moves. They are thus to be found on the river from October to February and away from it between June and October; the rest of the year is spent between five and twenty miles from the river, but near enough to water from it.

(b) The animal owners.—These are the Morghumab and about half the Kamalab; they have little contact with the river and do not cultivate there. Their chief interest is in their herds of camels and flocks of sheep, which they pasture around the well centres of Um Shadida on what is claimed as Bisharin country, but in which many tribes have acquired rights to water and pasturage. Their cultivation is confined to the Butana wadis.

(c) The riverain population.—In addition to the Jaalin Fadlab, who have a village at Abaka and a sheikh to themselves, there are some 300 to 400 other Jaalin settled with the Hamadab, Ibrahimab and Weilaliab along the river. They are principally from the Shakwalab section of the Jaalin. Their interests are purely agricultural and they have built for themselves typical Jaalin villages, notably Shebabit, where there are also settled some Rubatab cultivators. Naturally, they own small flocks and herds, but their chief preoccupation is the tilling of the islands and banks of the river. Possibly the Nefidab ought to be included in this category rather in that of semi-nomad cultivators; they are practically sedentary and have permanent mud villages in some places. The small section of Abdel Karimab (Jaalin) who are still within the boundaries of the Atbara Bisharin also fall within this class. Except for Nefidab and Abdel Karimab all these sedentaries cultivate by permission of the sections with whom they are living and normally pay rent to them. They also, by permission of the Bisharin, collect and market the dom nuts of the Atbara forests which the Bisharin have not at present the inclination to do themselves.

In their relations with Government the Bisharin cause little trouble. Active resistance is unknown and, since they possess no rifles, unlikely. Passive resistance is unusual, but has been known to occur; a certain reluctance to make vast journeys to sell animals and further journeys to pay the proceeds to a Government which rarely appears on the scene, and then only to enforce payment of its tribute, is very understandable. So also is the inclination to disappear when Government uniforms appear

on the horizon, since there is always the possibility that they are the precursors of trouble and immediate escape may mean that the trouble will blow over. Anything in the nature of organised resistance, either active or passive, is inconceivable. Nor are they particularly turbulent among themselves; numerous small fights occur over women, camels and land, but large-scale affrays are rare, and the elders of the tribe can usually be relied on to keep the parties to a fight apart from one another until an arrangement has been made for settling the damages. Camel theft within the tribe is, considering all the circumstances, comparatively rare, and stealing from other tribes is on the decrease.

To sum up, the general picture of the tribe is that of a loosely coherent patriarchal society wandering in small groups over the plains in search of grass or settled by families round the wells in the mountain valleys, which, on the whole, leads a peaceable and law-abiding existence and which has evolved in the course of time a machinery for settling its own affairs adapted to its environment and needs and based largely on the universal Bega axioms of procrastination and forbearance. Of the individuals it may be said that they are intensely conservative of past traditions and in most cases stubborn to a degree, but at the same time they have a considerable sense of loyalty and obedience to the elders of the tribe. Naturally, under modern conditions of safe conduct their contacts with the outside world have recently increased considerably, but in spite of this they appear to have accepted modifications only in externals such as dress and ornaments. Fluctuations in animal prices and the passing of the days of brigandage have forced the northern sections to cultivate where they can, but there are still some sections in which it is regarded as beneath the dignity of a man to till the soil. They have at present no use for education, and medical attention is only grudgingly accepted, a hot needle or a text being considered far more efficacious than a purge. In all essentials of their life they have steadily refused to be influenced by modern ideas and, as far as can be seen, having once altered whatever their original mode of life may have been to bring it into line with what they conceived to be Mohammedan practice, they have preserved it practically unaltered until the present time.

THE RED SEA COAST IN 1540.

By B. Kennedy Cooke.

Taken from :—

A New General Collection of VOYAGES and TRAVELS consisting of the most esteemed RELATIONS, which have been hitherto published in any LANGUAGE, comprehending everything remarkable in its Kind, in EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AMERICA. Thomas Astley. MDCCXLV.

THIS particular relation is "The Voyage of Don Stefano de Gama from Goa to Suez, in 1540, with intent to burn the Turkish Gallies in that Port." Written by Don Juan de Castro, then a Captain in the Fleet : afterwards Governor and Viceroy of India.

The outline of the voyage was given in an article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, dated January, 1923. The expedition consisted of 80 ships of sundry sorts and sizes and 2,000 men. But it proved a cumbersome command to handle, especially in the contrary winds encountered in the Red Sea ; and 65 vessels were sent back to Massawa from Atakea. The fifteen that went on to Suez were galleys, which could be fairly easily rowed ; and into them crowded Don Stefano and every Portuguese who could by any means get himself on board. Unfortunately, it was all in vain. They took a year and half to reach Suez from Goa, and their rather unnecessary depredations *en route*, such as the sacking and burning of Suakin and Kosseir, caused the inhabitants to send timely warning to the Turks. In consequence, Don Stefano found the Turkish fleet drawn up high and dry on the beach, and when he landed to attack it he was beaten back by superior numbers to his ships.

After this failure he sailed back and rejoined the rest of the fleet at Massawa. Here a good many of the Portuguese landed and went inland to "help" the King of Abyssinia. They built castles, Gondar among them, made themselves very much at home, endeavoured without much success to convert the "Abeshin" to the Church of Rome, and generally outstayed their welcome. Don Juan de Castro has something to say of the Nile. He speaks of cataracts, crocodiles, and the annual rise and fall of the river. He relates how Prester John made an attempt to turn the river Nile by another channel into the sea, which so amazed the

warlike Soldan of Babylon that he sent ambassadors, "and gave the Abeshins a free pass through his country ; and at this Day they pay none when they go to visit Jerusalem and Mount Sinai."

In fact, Don Juan seems to have been more interested in geography and history than in the expedition and its object. For example, he mentions the crossing of the Red Sea, and states that the Egyptian casualties were 600,000. He decides for Tor as the site of the episode, not Suez, since at the latter place the mounted Egyptians would have gone overland. "For in all Miracles there is a Shew of Reason." He diligently took observations with "the instrument," though he apologises in advance for possible inaccuracies due to the rocking of his ship and climatic conditions generally. He complains of "Clouds of dust like clouds of smoke blown out to sea. Frolicksome fiery winds drove the ships about, and sudden calms." Then, during the calm, would come "such hot Flurries from the E. & E.N.E. that they scorched like Flames of Fire."

Here is his account of Suakin.

"Swaken is one of the richest cities of the East standing on the Coast of the Abeshi. It equals, if not exceeds, the most eminent Places in Goodness and Security of the Port ; Facility in lading and unlading Ships, Traffic with remote Countries ; strength and advantageous Situation of the Town."

(On this passage Astley has two footnotes, to say (1) that he supposes Swaken to be the Port Aspi of Ptolemy, and (2) that since the Turkish Conquests its trade has declined.)

Don Juan continues :—

"The Harbour is sheltered by Nature from all winds, and the water so smooth and still that the Tides are scarce perceptible. It is able to contain 200 ships, and Galleys without number ! The road hath in all places five or six fathom, and in some seven. The Bottom is Mud and may be seen, except where it is ten or twelve Fathom deep. The ships come up close to the shore, quite round the city, and may be laden by laying a Plank from them to the Merchants' warehouses ; to the Doors of which the Galleys are fastened, with their Beaks stretching over the streets, which serve as Bridges."

For commerce he knows no city with which to compare it, save Lisbon. "For it trades with both Peninsulas of the Indies, particularly

Kambaya, Tanasarin, Pegu, and Malaka, within the Arabian Gulph, to Juddah, Kairo, and Alexandria; besides what it carries on with Ethiopia and the Land of the Abeshins, from whence it hath vast Quantities of Gold and Ivory.

“For strength, the City seems naturally well secured, by the many shoals, Islands, Rocks, Sandbanks, and intricate channels, that lie for sixteen leagues about it; which makes the approach by Sea very dangerous and terrible to Navigators: yet the inhabitants have not taken the less care to defend it by Art. The situation of the City is in this manner. In the midst of a circular Nook stands a flat Island, almost perfectly round, and level with the water, about a Mile in Compass. In this Space there is not a Foot of Ground, but what is taken up with Houses; so that all the Island is a City, and all the City an Island. This is Swaken.

“On the East, South-East, and South-West, its Distance from land is not over a Bow-shot. The Road for ships lies round about the City to the Distance of a great crossbow-shot; having everywhere six or seven Fathom water; so that ships may cast anchor at pleasure, in a mud Bottom. This road is encompassed with a great shoal, and that by others, which render it almost inaccessible by sea.

“In the North, or the North-West side, lie other three Islands: two of them, which stand furthest in, are but small; but the third, next the Channel is about as large as the City. Between this island and the Coast, on the North side of the Nook, runs a great and long channel; where a numerous Fleet may ride in seven Fathom water, out of all danger of being hurt or seen from the City, except their Masts. At Sun-rise it is full sea and gradually ebbs till that Star comes to the Meridian, when it is dead low water: after that the Tide begins to rise, and at sun-set is full in. At this time the water does not rise in the City, above one Quarter of a yard; and along the Coast, the most that it riseth, is a yard and a half, and, in some high Places, less than three Quarters.” But (apparently this is a comment by Astley) when the Author made this observation they were Neap Tides.

Behind Suakin Don Juan identified Ptolemy's Mountain of Satyrs, but gives no description of it nor of the grounds for his identification. He also found “Footprints of vast flocks of Pianets” (?).

On March 19th (but this must be an error for 9th) they left Suakin before sunset and anchored for the night in the mouth of the channel. Here they noticed "a surprising Quantity of Dew." Thence they departed on the 10th, after a "whirlwind of Sand," sailing northwards.

After trouble with rocks, flats and shoals, much rowing and many suspicious glances at a long shoal on their right (? Towertit), they reached, on the 17th, "A very good Harbour called Dradate, ten leagues¹ from Swaken; the coast between lying North by West and South by East; the land near the shore is all very low; but, three leagues within, there are very great and high Mountains. Tradate (*sic*) justly merits to be ranked among the most eminent Ports; it lies in the Altitude of Nineteen Degrees, Fifty Minutes². The entry hath, in Breadth, about a small Falcon Shot, but within runs gradually narrowing; yet the depth of water at the Way is twenty Fathom, the Ground Ouze. About a quarter of a league inwards there are several wells, affording the best and greatest Quantity of water known in all these Coasts." There can be no doubt, I think, that we have here a reference to Port Sudan and the wells of Khor Mog.

They stayed two days, sailed on the 19th, and on the 21st arrived at Doroo (Mersa Darur), "a very fair and great Bay, fifteen leagues and a half beyond Swaken. On the South Side it thrusteth a very large and bare point into the Sea, where is built a great and round Tower, resembling a Pillar." Astley, in a footnote, says that this is Ptolemy's promontory of Diogenes. The account continues: "The Bay is full of Islands, Creeks, and Nooks, where many Vessels may take shelter unperceived; the Mouth is closed up round with a dry shoal lying about a mile off at Sea: only, opposite to the Cape it leaves a narrow Entry, in which is found six Fathom water; and, advancing gradually the depth diminishes till you come into three Fathom which is the shallowest: the Ground is very hard Clay, and the course into it East by North. A cannon shot from this Bay is a well with Plenty of water, but very brackish."

They sailed the next day, and arrived at Fushaa Bay (Mersa Fijja)³

¹ A league has been taken for purposes of identification of places mentioned as roughly equivalent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

² The Red Sea Chart gives latitude of Port Sudan as $19^{\circ} 37'$. Don Juan is usually about $10'-15'$ too far north.

³ The Red Sea Chart calls this Mersa Fijab. The description of Don Juan and the name he gives fit it better than Mersa Arus, which is close beside it.

remarkable for "a high and sharp Pike." ⁴Fushaa was $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Doroo, and situated in latitude $20^{\circ} 15'$.⁵ "The mouth made by two very low points, North by East and South by West, one and a half leagues asunder. As no great Sea enters, it is a good Harbour, with an Ouzy Bottom." The mouth was 10-12 fathoms in depth, diminishing within to 5. Along the south coast of the bay were nine little islands in a row, and others were scattered elsewhere. All were small, low and encompassed with shoals. There was no fresh water to be found here.

On the 25th they came to "a very capacious Harbour called Arekea" (Mersa Arakia), four leagues from Fushaa. This was the "strongest and most defensible Haven" seen, and was 22 leagues from Swaken. "In the Midst entry lies an Island, a Crossbow shot in length and breadth. On the South side runs out a Shoal and Bank, which hinders passage that way. The Channel on the North side is a crossbow shot over, and Fifteen Fathom deep; running North West and South East, the length of a Caliver shot." You must sail carefully in the middle, as the sides are shallow and full of rocks. After the Channel, the coast winds on both sides and widens, forming a large and safe Port, $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues long, and half a league broad. "When the Pike⁶ bears West South West, you are then up with the Port." Here again they found no water, but stayed nevertheless eight days. Then, as has been said, Don Stefano de Gama sent most of his fleet back to Massawa, and sailed on the 30th himself with fifteen galleys, taking Don Juan de Castro with him. The latter notes that up to Arekea the coast is very flat and low to the mountains; but thereafter full of hills close to the sea.

On the 30th they came to Salaka (Salak) 26 leagues from Suakin, from which point the coast began to wind very much. Don Juan's description also becomes tortuous and difficult to follow. It appears that they sailed through 17 leagues full of rocks and shoals "to a Shoal (presumably Shab Kimmeri)" by which they anchored. No directions are given except that navigation here "must be left entirely to chance and the care of a skilful Pilot." On their way they passed Ras El Deraier (south point of Ras Ruwaya), and a point beyond it (east point of Ras Ruwaiya, alias Abu Shagera), on which were Thirteen little Heaps "or Elevations of stone, which the Moorish Pilot said were graves. It

⁴ J. Gumadereb.

⁵ Actual latitude, $20^{\circ} 3'$.

⁶ Mentioned in the description of Fushaa. See Note ⁴.

is the most noted point on all these Coasts ; because all that sail from Masua and Swaken to Jeda, Alkossèi, and Tor, must of necessity fetch it up." Between Salaka and Ras el Deraier lie three islands, the biggest is Magarzaum (Makawar or Maghersum), about 2 leagues long, very high, and waterless. It is 3 leagues south of Ras el Deraier. The second is called Almanti (? Mayatib) and lies well out at sea. It also is high and waterless. The name of the third is not given (? Tiflah)⁷ but it is described as very low and all of sand, 4 leagues from Salaka.

When they reached their shoal is not stated, but they loosed from it on the 2nd of April, and sailed 4 leagues to Farate—"a very large and fair River" (Mersa Halaka, or Dhol-Lawa).⁸ Its latitude is given as 21° 40'. On each side of the Channel is a low point of land a Caliver shot apart. From each point a shoal runs out, and between the two is the entrance of the river ; 30 fathoms deep, shallowing to 18.

A league on from here is Kilfit (Mersa Delwein : Abu Emma on chart) "a fair harbour secure from the winds," 12 fathoms deep. There are two very low points at the entrance a mile apart. The circumference of the whole port is about 3 leagues. The coast is rocky, and between here and Farate is a range of mountains with one conspicuous peak (? J. Abu Imama).

⁷ TEILA on Red Sea Chart.

⁸ The Chart calls Mersa Halaka Mersa Delwein.

There are certain difficulties about the identification of these places from FARATE to KOMOL. For example :—

- (i) Don Juan has somewhat underestimated the distances (if my identification is right) between FARATE and KILFIT and between KILFIT and MOAMAA.
- (ii) Mersa Shinab might equally with Mersa Halaka be described as "a great and fair river" (FARATE).
- (iii) The chart-name for Mersa Delwein (Abu Emma) bears a striking resemblance to Don Juan's "MOAMAA."

As against this, and in favour of the identification in the text :—

- (i) If FARATE=Mersa Shinab, RAS EL JEDID (calculated on distance) would have to be Mersa Marob. Whereas the description of RAS EL JEDID, "round like a cauldron," exactly fits Mersa Um Beila, but no other Mersa in the neighbourhood ; and C. Elba, immediately north of Um Beila, is sometimes marked Ras el Jedid on old maps.
- (ii) The "mountains with conspicuous peak" between FARATE and KILFIT *must* be J. Abu Imama. It is very conspicuous, which none of the other hills near the coast in this neighbourhood are.
- (iii) Mersa Halaka is considered a more important harbour than Mersa Shinab. The fact that it has an alternative (*Arabic*) name possibly indicates that it has been of some importance for some time. It seems likely, therefore, that it would be the first port of call for Don Juan, guided by a Red Sea pilot, after passing Ras el Ruwaya. Furthermore, the description of the entrance of FARATE fits it.

N.B.—KOMOL may be either side of the large island at Halaib. The distance given fits the north side better. There is nothing else in the neighbourhood resembling a harbour at all. Suakin el Qaedim has only a break in the reef ; and if Don Juan had been there, he would have had something to say of the remains.

On April 3rd they rowed 9 leagues to Ras el Jedid (Mersa um Beila under C. Elba), of which Don Juan notes carefully that it is an arabic name meaning "New Head." They passed on their way, 2 leagues beyond Kilfit, Moamaa, "a very good harbour" (Mersa Wasia). Ras el Jadid is "a small but very pleasant harbour about two miles in Compass, fifty-seven leagues from Swaken. It is shaped like a great Cauldron, and round as the Arch of a Circle." Its entrance is 18 fathoms deep, and inside it is 13. "Its Ground (bottom of the harbour) is very clear." Half a league inland is a well of brackish water.

Here Don Juan found vegetation to interest him. "In the harbour of Ras el Jedid were Trees whose Trunk and Branches resembled those of the Cork-tree, being covered with a kind of Bark or Cork. In all other respects they differed; for the leaves were very large, thick, and green, and crossed with very large veins. The Bud resembled the Mallow, for the Trees were then in Flower, only this was very white, and when it blooms is like the white cockle. If you cut a Bough or leaf of this Tree, Milk streams out as from the Teat of a Goat." (? *Calotropis Procera*.)

"Within the land there grows some Caper, whose leaves are eaten by the Moors." In all this coast Don Juan saw no other trees except "a Grove a little beyond Masua in marshy grounds near the Sea side (mangroves, presumably): they are said to be appropriated to the Joints."

They stayed at Ras el Jedid till April 6th, and on the 4th had a thunderstorm and hail. By observations Don Juan proved the compass variation to be "One and a Quarter Degrees North East, and the latitude of Ras el Jedid port 22°." ⁹ Great care was taken over these observations, but "they must needs have erred somewhat, because the intense heat of the sun has cracked an Ivory Plate in the middle (of the instrument), and made a slit wide enough to thrust in a Portegue of Gold."

On the 7th they came to Komol (Halaib, or near it) 11 leagues from Ras el Jedid. Here the mountains ended. A point south of Kamol is identified with Ptolemy's Starta island; and another north of that port with Ptolemy's Priamoto. Though small, the port is very secure. "The land surrounding it is flat and pleasant, inhabited by Bedwis (of whom more anon); and numerous people, much like the wild Arabs."

⁹ Exactly right for Mersa Um Beila.

The narrative again becomes obscure at this point, but on a date not stated they reached Ras el Auf. Don Juan identified this with Ptolemy's Berenice, and gives its latitude as 24° . Astley, however, disagrees with him on both points.¹⁰

On the way they sighted Sermojite (St. John's island, or Zeberjid), "the first place from which both Coasts may be seen;" and, later on, a white rock,¹¹ which they at first mistook for a ship under full sail, "by which all mariners are deceived." Of Ras el Auf Don Juan says:—"On the very front of the point of it stands a great temple without any other building near it. Ras el Auf is very famous among Navigators; for, being once past it, they reckon all trouble and Danger over." But in spite of this comfortable tradition they had "Thunder and Hailstorms, & a shifting wind through the whole Compass" as far as Shwaiet (? Mokawar or Emerald Isle). This is an island two miles from the shore, "a caliver shot in length, and near as much broad. The land of it is very low; and in the middle appeared a large green Bush." Here also was a larger number of birds than they had seen before.

Somewhere north of Ras el Jedid (exactly where is not clear, but probably near J. Elba) Don Juan becomes happier about the vegetation. "There are many very great and high Trees with spreading Tops." They were the first he had seen which seemed domestic & proper to the land; for those beforementioned beyond Masua are the kind grown in Marshes and by the sea & river." But further north again the trees were "wild, without either Boughs or Fruit; and the leaves seemed naked & dry."

So they went laboriously on to Kosseir (their somewhat wanton destruction of which spoilt their last chance of reaching Suez before the Turks were warned), of which Don Juan says: "The Port is the worst in all the coast, and the only place where there was no fish." The water was "like sea water" and the town was in "a miserable situation." Thence on to Tor, where there were twelve Palm trees, and Christian communities, and hermits on the hills: "A pleasant place." And at long last to Suez and a very unpleasant battle.

¹⁰ Astley seems to be quite wrong and Don Juan right. The actual latitude of Berenice is $23^{\circ} 56'$ on the Chart. Ras Benas, east of Berenice, is marked Ras el Auf on some old maps. It is not perfectly clear whether Don Juan went to Berenice itself or Ras Benas, or is describing the two together.

¹¹ See Red Sea Chart, Sheet 2, Latitude $23^{\circ} 42'$, where a similar description of it is given.

In conclusion, this is what Don Juan has to say of the inhabitants of what is now the Sudan coast :—

“ The land from Swaken to Ras el Auf is inhabited by Badwis ; and so is the land from thence to Suez which belongs to Egypt. The Badwis are wild men, amongst whom is no civil society, not truth, nor Civility. They worship Mohammed, and are very bad Moors. They are given to stealth and Rapine above all other people. They eat raw Flesh and drink milk : their Habits are mean and filthy. They are exceedingly swift and nimble. They fight both on Foot and on horse back ; their weapons are Darts. They are never at Peace with their neighbours, but continually at war with every Body. They have no King or great Lord over them, but are divided into Tribes and Parties, over each of which there is a Sheykh. They build no Towns, nor other fixed Habitations ; their Custom being to wander from one place to another with their cattle. They abhor laws and Ordinances so much that they will not have the Suits or Differences that arise amongst them judged by any Custom ; but are content that their Sheykh do determine them as he list. Many of them dwell in caves and holes, but the greater Part make use of tents. Their colour is very black ; their language the Arabic.” To which Astley adds this sinister postscript : “ The rest of their Customs & ways of Living are omitted.”

THE BELANDA, NDOGO, BAI AND SERE IN THE BAHR-EL-GHAZAL.

By Rev. Father Stephen Santandrea.

(PLATES I—II.)

IN SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. 14, 1931, there appeared two interesting articles dealing with tribes of Wau District. As I have been studying about the same subject these two years, and co-worked with Dr. Tucker in compiling his notes, I think it well worth while adding something to what the two distinguished scholars have written ; whenever my opinions differ from theirs, I shall state it plainly and bring reasons thereof. No wonder they could not inquire as deeply on the subject as they would have done, for none of them had the chance of living in the midst of the tribes they are writing about. I hope readers will not mind my English, which remains very poor in spite of careful corrections.

THE BELANDA AND THEIR NAMES.¹

BELANDA is a very broad term applied, as it seems, by the Arabs to a group of people living between the Bongo and Golo (north) and the Azande (south). In SUDAN NOTES, p. 16, foot-note 2, Belanda is said to be a Bongo name signifying hill-dwellers. I asked local Bongos about that, but they told me that they call the Belanda *Berlanda*. *Landa* means stone in Bongo, and might be easily used for mountain ; but neither *be* nor *ber*—according to my Bongo friends—may signify *people*, for it means *name (be)* or a *swamp (ber)*.

Abare, the name with which the Azande call these people, has usually the same broad meaning of the word Belanda. But, even to the superficial observer, it will clearly appear that the Belanda should at least be divided into two big groups, i.e., people having a Luo (Jur)-like language, and people having a Ndogo-like language. I think it very important that both the nicknames and the original names of these two groups should be fixed up, inasmuch as E.P. and N.T. themselves differ both in the choice

¹ To avoid misunderstandings, I must make known that I am calling the Basiri=Sere ; the Ndogo-like people living once near Kayango=Bai (or Bâre). I shall refer to my notes on the Belanda, which I sent to Dr. Tucker, as my Ns. I shall refer to E. E. Evans-Pritchard's article as E.P. and to Dr. A. N. Tucker's as N.T. We call Bussere the river that flows into the river Jur near Wau (south) and river Numantina its big tributary on the right which rises not far from Tombora (otherwise spelled : Tembura) north-east, in chief Bakir's territory.

of such names and in determining their spelling. Regarding the choice of the Belanda's original names, I quite agree with Dr. Tucker ; our common inquiries came to this conclusion :—

The Luo-like speaking Belanda claim BOR as their real name.

The Ndogo-like speaking Belanda claim BIRI as their real name. The reasons on which our opinion is founded are given briefly by N.T. at pp. 56 and 57, and need not be repeated. Regarding their nicknames, i.e., the names with which they are commonly called by other tribes, chiefly by the Azande, I agree again with Dr. Tucker :—

The Luo-like Belanda are called MVE-RODI.

The Ndogo-like Belanda are called MVE-GUMBA (or MVE-GAMBA, the former being the commonest pronunciation south of the river Bo, the latter north of the river Bo).

To strengthen this opinion, I may just bring a single reason, i.e., no Bor, out of the lot questioned by me, ever objected at being called a *Bor* ; as well as no Biri objected at being called a *Biri*. Things stand somewhat different as far as their nicknames are concerned ; for all the Bor acknowledge to be known to several tribes (Azande and Ndogo) as Mve-Rodi, and have no objection to such a name ; whereas many Biri do not want to be called Mve-Gumba (or Mve-Gamba, or Gumba, Gamba). I heard some of them say : “ We are not Gamba, but Biri ; there are some Gambas near our homes but, although they speak the same language as ours, they belong to another tribe (clan). “ These people, by the way, belong to the clan Fener. So when I asked Biri boys from near Dem-Zubeir (chief Khamsur) if they were Gamba, they denied, and one of them added : “ I know an old Gamba woman, and heard some old Gamba men speak Gamba, but I could not understand them.” From all this we can gather that the nickname (Mve)—Gumba or Gamba is improperly applied to all the Biri ; it may likely be the name of a particular clan of the same tribe, speaking an allied, but not the same, dialect (see N.T., p. 57). But as far as the spelling of the above-mentioned names is concerned, I must say that I have changed a little my opinion. When Dr. Tucker was here in Wau, we made our inquiries rather in a hurry ; now, having made deeper investigations both in Wau and Tombora districts, I think the spelling should be altered as hereafter :—

Original names : BOR (unchanged) and BVIRI.

Nicknames : MBVE RODI and MBVE GAMBA (or GUMBA).

Such spellings, though not the original ones, would do, in my opinion, for all tribes. The following list may help :—

The Bviri pronounce it Viri (bi-labial *v*, almost a prolonged *v*).

The Ndogo pronounce it Bviri.

The Bai and Sere pronounce it Biri.

The last one is the commonest pronunciation among neighbouring tribes. It seems that the Ndogo pronunciation *Bviri* could link them all up, and do for all as well. Again :—

The Bviri pronounce (m) Nve Rodi—(*n* being preceded by a slight *m*).

The Ndogo pronounce Mbve Rodi.

The Bai, Sere and Azande pronounce Mbe Rodi.

Again the Ndogo pronunciation *Mbve*, as said above, could link up all different pronunciations and do for all. It is worth noting that many tribes (Ndogo and Sere) use these nicknames, but omit the prefix *Mbve*.

A FEW REMARKS ON E. P.'s ARTICLE.

In February, 1931, I was shown a duplicated copy of E. P.'s article, which the well-known ethnologist had sent round for criticism, previous to publication in the SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS. I sent the author a few remarks on the same, which I am afraid did not reach him. I therefore think I am doing him good service by forwarding them again, modified though according to my recent studies.

(1) We read in E.P., p. 26 :—"Unfortunately we know nothing at all about the culture of the Basiri and the Ndogo at present . . ." I must say that there is a rather copious literature on the Ndogo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal in our monthly magazine "La Nigrizia"—but of course in Italian, and scattered in a number of issues of the same. So, unfortunately, it cannot be made use of here, on the spur of the moment.

(2) There is also a small literature (at least with regard to languages) in English. Mr. N. B. Hunter (former Res. Insp. of Educ. in South Prov.), must have received the translation of a small English dictionary (200 words) into the following languages :—

(a) Bor translation from Raffili Mission.

(b) Bai (or Bâre) translation from Mboro Mission.

(c) Bviri (or Bâre) translation from Mboro Mission (besides Golo and Jur translations).

Besides that I have translated, on my own account, Mr. Hunter's 200

words into Bviri, and a lot of them into Bai and Sere. I have written with the help of boys and old people a very simple Catechism in Bviri, of which I keep typewritten copies. A schoolboy of ours has translated for me a sort of manual of conversation into Bviri. I also sent Mr. Hunter the Bongo translation of the 200 words ; I quote it here just to assure that this language has nothing in common with that of the tribes herewith concerned.

(3) In E.P., p. 27, there appears a quotation from the report of the Rejaf Conference that runs like this: “. . . Bàre and Biri are dialects of Ndogo, but Shaire and Faroghe are distinct.” No doubt that Faroghe is distinct, but if Shaire means here, as I suppose, Sere, i.e., Basiri—I should think that the assertion is not right, and shall prove it at the end of this simple essay.

(4) I should call what E.P. calls the *Basiri Group*—the *Ndogo Group* instead, the Ndogo language prevailing among those tribes, at least in the Bahr-el-Ghazal. So we shall have the Ndogo Group made up of four languages closely related to one another: 1, Ndogo; 2, Sere; 3, Bviri; 4, Bai (or Bàre).

(5) I should think Veri and Mberidi to be either slang or quite regional pronunciations for Viri and Mbe Rodi; I might be wrong though.

(6) With regard to the Bor—in my opinion there is no difference between Mberodi and Bor, being just two names for the same tribe, as said above. It must be borne in mind that Mbe (or better, Mbve) is a common prefix in the Ndogo Group, signifying “owner, the one who . . .”, as the Zande “ba, ira,” and the Arabic “abu.” So *Basiri* might have been formed in a similar way by the Azande, ba-Sere (altered into ba-Siri).

I am much afraid that Kamum (see p. 24) might be a misspelling or misunderstanding for Kunam, i.e., in Bor—the people of the water (river)—(see N.T. 56, as from my Ns.). So are called Tuyugi's people by the rest of the Bor. I have heard this name from lots of all sorts of Belanda and from Tuyugi himself. Tuyugi's clan is Bai (see N.T., p. 56).

Kpaile's and Bazia's clan, as far as I heard from Bazia himself, should be corrected from FuJiga into Fazuga. They are also nicknamed Fakozo, i.e., drunkards, for they are supposed to be hard drinkers of merissa.

(7) As regards the different migrations of the Bor southward, I would sum them up like this : A Luo population, the Bor, came long ago to live between the river Bo and the river Sueh. The first pockets settled maybe along the river Sueh, and the others chiefly on the rocky hills between the two rivers, so they nicknamed each other in turn Jo Ugot=people of the mountain, and Jo Kunam=people of the river (water). Some more pockets came maybe less than 100 years ago, who seem to have become the ruling caste. So Chief Bazia, Gitan and some very old men tell the story:—

Once upon a time a Dembo (a Jur-like tribe south of Aweil) man had a lot of male children, a fighting band who would always cause trouble to their neighbours. So this man left his country with all his family and went southward, up to the hills where the Bor (a related tribe) lived. Owing to his bravery, he became in course of time chief of the ill-united Bor. He was thus, according to this tradition, the ancestor of the Bor's chiefs. The fact, if true, has a close parallel in the history of the Avungara ; it is explained more easily, for these Dembo people were akin to the Bor, and easily forgot their proper dialect. Chief Gitan says he heard, when a boy, people talk Dembo, but was unable to understand it.

By this time the Bviri drifted towards the same country, coming from east-north-east, and came into contact with the Bor. Although they belonged to a quite different group, they lived henceforth on very friendly terms with them. But here the ethnologist is faced with a rather puzzling problem. How is it that now the tribal type of the Belanda is unique ? Physical likeness can be explained by their mixing up and freely intermarrying, as it happened to the Ndogo and Golo who have become now much like each other, still maintaining their proper languages, as well as the two different tribes of Belanda.

(8) I have a few remarks on E.P.'s Dictionaries of the Ndogo Group language.

(a) The Ndogo Dictionary is quite a good one. Fr. Ribero has written a good, though small, Ndogo grammar with attached dictionary. I only noticed two misprints : drum is Quo, otherwise spelled Kpo ; nose is Ngo, phonetically zo.

(b) I should think the Sere (Basiri) dictionary is too much "Zande." Perhaps that Zande boy mixed up a little the two languages, or it may

be that the Sere living in Zande country are dropping little by little their language. Herewith some instances : instead of zege (hyena=Zande language), the Sere here say (m)nvu. Bahu (hyena=Zande language), the Sere here say siringini.

(c) With regard to the Mbegumba dictionary, I have got my own 200 words dictionary, which differs somewhat from E.P.'s. The Bviri (Mbegumba) are spread over a wide area, and their language differs somewhat according to places. Here it has been influenced by Ndogo, at Raffili by the Bor ; in Zande country the Bviri are picking up a lot of Zande words, of course. But now the bulk of the Bviri are living alone under Chief Baggari's rule, and coming back, it seems, to their old language and customs.

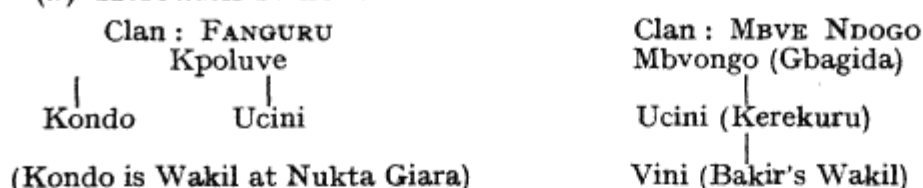
A FEW REMARKS ON N.T.'S ARTICLE.

(a) Referring to the descendants of old Golo chiefs (p. 53), it must be noted that Ufa Abushaka's son, Abbakar, is now a sub-chief ruling all the Golo.

(b) Clan : Alaranga (p. 56) must be a misprint for Afaranga.

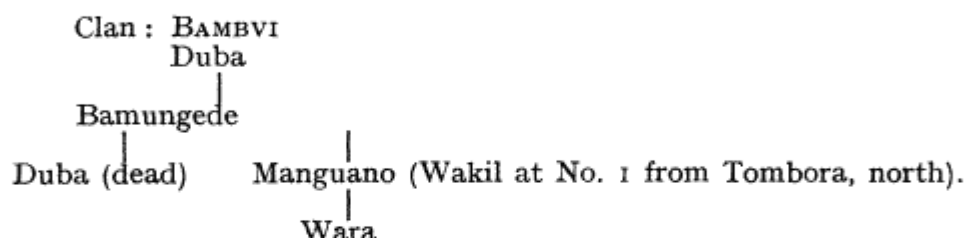
(c) I do not quite agree with the description of the Zande invasion in the Belanda territory (p. 54). Many Bor, the Kunam, lived also along the river Sueh under Tuyugi's rule. Besides that the whole country lying north of Yubu was thickly populated by Bviri, as I could gather from very old folk at Yubu source, and from old chief Tuyugi himself, who must be now about eighty-seven years old. Very likely Bamungede was not the first Bviri chief to be subdued by the Azande. Tuyugi says that Bamungede was not much older than he, and lived in friendly intercourse with his father ; in turn they assisted each other in their important " Ngbangas." The southern boundary between them was the river Ngoni, phonetically spelled Noni, which flows south of Nukta Mangimangi (No. 4 from Tombora, north). As stated in N.T., several clans of Bviri lived far away near the sources of the river Bussere, but when they surrendered to the Azande they came to live in the Tombora district. Old chief Ugali (now sub-chief to Baggari), whom I could question lately, told me that they were obliged to leave their old homes owing to the raids of the Khartoumers, and seek salvation in surrendering to the Azande. Thus they settled along the river Ngoni.

(d) Herewith some additions and corrections to N.T.'s Chiefs lines :



(Kondo is Wakil at Nukta Giara)

The Fanguru lived in the environs of the actual Tombora. The Mbve Ndogo lived and still live not far from the sources of the river Numantina. A chief, named Udangala, had settled where is now Mupoi. I could not get any news about his clan. On p. 57 is given Bamungede's line. From further inquiries I gathered that it should be corrected as hereafter :—



To add to clan : Bai (Bor) "Jaga's father was : Bunyan Bango."

(e) In order to make this account on the Belanda as full as possible, I shall add two sketch maps, one to show the likely position of the different clans at the time of the Zande invasion, and another to show their actual position. Both maps will help also to understand better the following notes on kindred tribes. In the second map will be noticed the tribal confusion at Bakir's, such as is seldom found elsewhere, except, perhaps, in Wau environs. Numerous Bviri, many Ndogos, several Sere and Bor live there mixed up with the ruling Azande ; even some Bai may be found, together with a small group of Golo.

Ethnologists are hindered in their inquiries by this maze of tribes and the ignorance of the natives about their own origin. The Mbve Ndogo, a Bviri clan, are often taken as Ndogo ; Bai affirm to be Ndogo, whereas they are not.

THE SERE

(also spelled : "Shere ?" "Shaire" ; "Basiri.")

Whatever their old name may have been, these people claim now-a-days Sere as their real name. It may be noted from a linguistic point of view that the *r* in the word *Sere* is more properly a *flapped l* ; and the ending *e* is a weak *i* and could therefore be spelled also *i* (Seri)—but the

pronunciation Sere seems more common. Akin tribes (Ndogo and Bviri) call them Sere as well ; Arabic-speaking people name them Shere ; and the Azande Basiri. In my opinion it is probably a compound word of *ba* (=Mbve) and Seri, easily corrupted into Siri. I may be wrong though.

Their original country lies between the rivers Boku and Kere, though some of them were, and are still, settled on the left of the river Boku. But near the sources of this river they were driven away by the Apambia.

The Zande chief Ikpiro, sent some of his people to conquer the Sere, but a tradition says they were utterly defeated ; their leaders were caught and torn to pieces and burnt. I never heard of the Sere having been cannibals. But now Ikpiro himself came along ; he laid waste their land, killed numbers of old people, and made women and young slaves. The Sere combatants moved northward, but they were nevertheless soon surrounded by the Azande. The Sere took to their stony hills, and hid in the caves thereof. Their foes heaped up straw and wood all around them, and so the " flower " of the Sere were either burnt alive or pierced through when trying to flee. Most of the Sere remained in their old country under Zande rule (Ikpiro, then Zemoi, and at present Gubere, Zemoi's brother), where they occupy a territory about 100 Km. wide all round.¹

Some of the Sere fled to the Bahr-el-Ghazal ; their old home in F.E.A. was a place called Ndedegumbva, or else : Ndedekumbva. A place called like that is recorded in some explorers' maps.

After they had fled from the Azande they settled on the left side of the river Kpango (also spelled Pango ; Pongo), south of the road Wau-Dem Zubeir, not far from the sources : their boundary north was the little stream Ngoku. Near there, on the other side of the Kpango, there lived a kindred tribe, small in number, the Bai (or Bäre), with whom they lived henceforth on very good terms. They were much harassed by Zubeir, and old ex-chief Farajalla Zubeir told me that Kaki, the chief of the Bai, was killed in their country, near the Ngoku. Again the Azande pressed them eastward. Later on Karamalla waged war on them, and it was at that time that the not numerous Sere community split into two : some took to the Azande, and settled under Tombora's rule, and some followed Karamalla. Among the former there were chiefs Dessi and Rihan

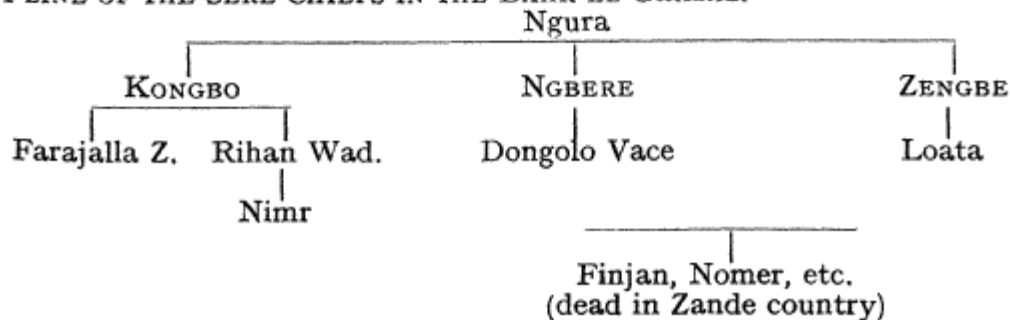
¹ I got most of the above information from a missionary of the A.I.S. who lived for years in Sere country (French Equatorial Africa).

Wademoyo ; among the latter there was Rihan's elder brother, Farajalla Zubeir. Some of these people settled definitely in the environs of Wau, but their leaders and a lot of young folk were brought over to Khartoum.

Dessi and Wademoyo were made members of what we may call " Tombora's Parliament " ; later on Dessi fell in disgrace with him and was killed. Wademoyo was much afraid to follow him on the scaffold, but he could prove that he belonged to a different clan from Dessi's, and was spared. When the Sudan Government settled definitely in the Bahr-el-Ghazal numbers of Sere came back from the north, among whom Zubeir Farajalla. Other bands of Sere poured down from Tombora, when they heard of their old leaders' coming. Some were prevented to do so by their local chiefs, in spite of Government orders ; among whom Rihan Wademoyo ; by this time he was living at Tombora's court, where he had been made a sort of chief counsellor. Farajalla, being afraid lest his brother was not sure of his life at Tombora's, got a written order from local British authority, and went to fetch his brother. At Wau Rihan was soon made a sort of Wakil-counsellor of Guma Kayango. Later on he was appointed to rule the Sere that had come from Zande country and settled on the left of the river Bussere, south-west of the Bviri : a line going straight south from Mboro Mission, will reach the river Bussere at the very place where the Sere had settled. From there they were brought on to the Belanda Circular Road (which goes from Wau to Mboro). Lately he was ordered to join the other Sere on the left of the river Kpango, under Chief Bandas Vito Umbili. His elder brother Zubeir was for years a chief of little importance in Wau ; he died in 1931. Rihan's son, Nimr, has been made lately a Wakil.

The Sere settlement in the environs of Wau, made up chiefly of those that had come from Khartoum, is going to disappear this year (1932) to join their countrymen living near the Kpango.

A LINE OF THE SERE CHIEFS IN THE BAHR-EL-GHAZAL.



MAP 1.—EXPLANATORY NOTES.

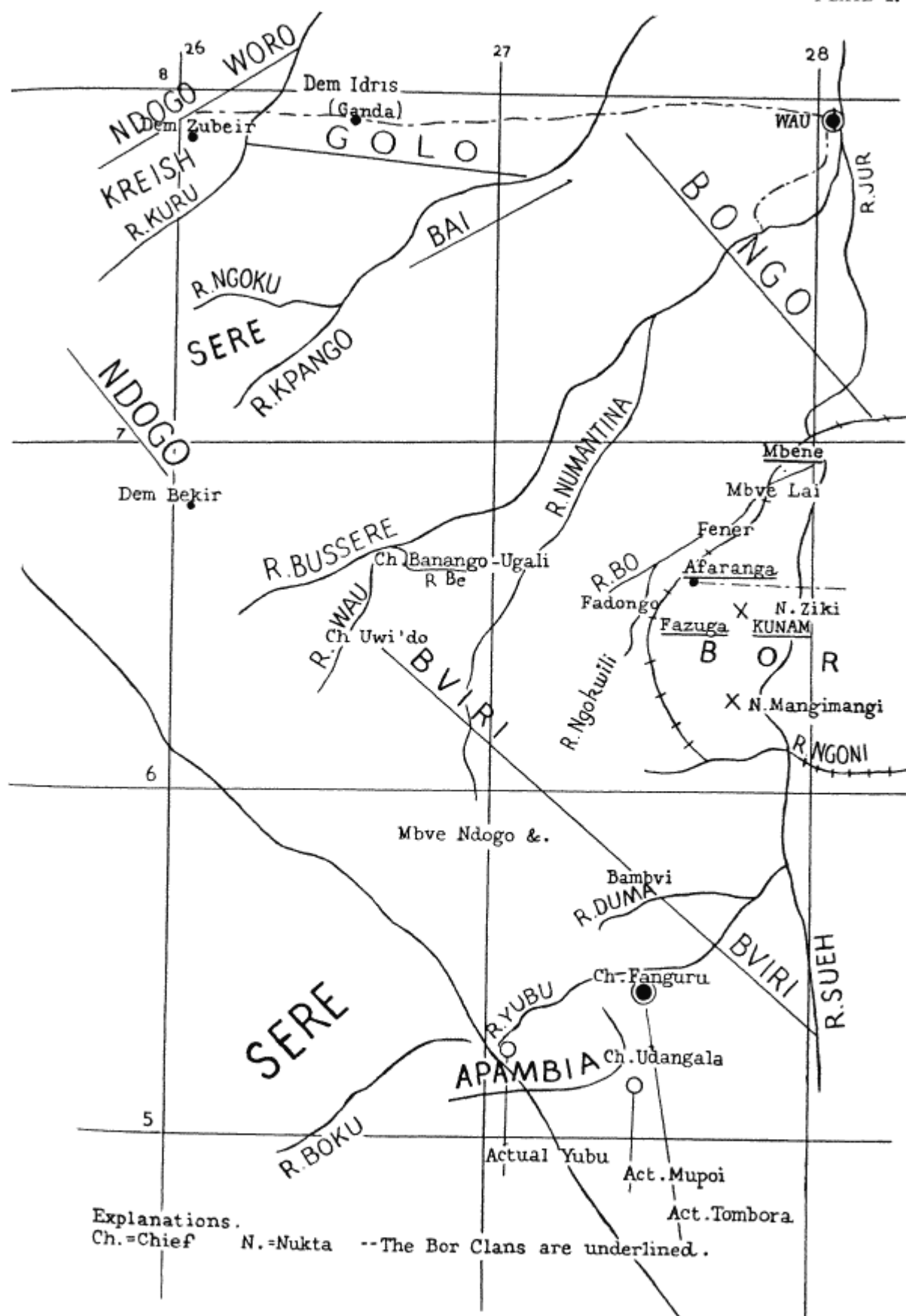
Distribution of Belanda clans. From South to North. Chief Udangala, near actual Mupoi. Chief Kpoluve (clan Fanguru), near actual Tombora, North. Clan Bambvi, great chief Bamungede, on the river Duma (Nukta No. 2 from Tombora, north). A little north of actual Yubu, up to the sources of the river Numantina, Wau, Bussere-lots of Bviri, among whom the clan Mbve Ndogo (Chief Mbvongo, named in Zande Gbagida). At this place, the Sere joined from south-west, the Bor from north-east, the Ndogo, Golo, Bai and from the north. East and north-east of actual Tombora, up to the river Sueh other Belanda, for the most part Bviri; very likely they dwelled on both sides of the Sueh. North the little river Ngoni, just south of actual Nukta Mangimangi, marked the boundary between the Bviri and Bor, north of it, along (and likely on both sides of the Sueh) there lived the Bor Kunam, ruled by the clan Bai, chief Ujiboko, whose tomb is still found on mount Tebi, not far from Mangimangi; he was succeeded by his son, named Tuyugi, or better Tiyugi, north-west, at about the same latitude as Nukta Mabu (No. 6), the Fazuga, chief Banguru. A little way north, the Afaranga, on Mount Sara (Chief Gula). Lastly, on the river Bo, clan Mbeme, bounded south by the stream Ngombara.

Along the river Bo, down stream, there lived the following Bviri clans: The Mbve Lai, on the right of the Ngombara; the Fener; then the Fadongo. Farther west, on a small tributary of the river Bussere named Bé, Chief Banango, and later on his son, Ugali; south of them, on the stream Ngosilungo, chief Uwido.

Ugali is now a sub-chief under Chief Baggari; Uwido's grandson, Gbaji Darnas or Barnas is now likewise a sub-chief.

MAP 2.—EXPLANATORY NOTES.

In the former Tombora district. North of Yubu there starts a road that goes northward, all round, touches the sources of the river Numantina and turns south to issue near Tombora. Its northernmost tract is at the same latitude as Mangimangi, and a little road joined once to this Nukta. Along this road there live numbers of Bviri, mixed with Bor, Ndogo, Sere, Bai, Golo—all ruled over, up to 1931, by Chief Bakir, Renzi's brother. Another side-road goes east-north-east from Tombora up to the river Sueh, along which the Belanda had settled, mostly Bviri; but now they



MAP I. TO SHOW THE PROBABLE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BELANDA AND OTHER TRIBES AT THE TIME OF THE ZANDE INVASION.

were ordered to move on to the main road to the river Bo. From the first Nukta, north of Tombora, also along the main road, most of the inhabitants are Belanda, the Bor being perhaps the majority. North of the river Bo, on the main road to Wau, are lined the Bor : first the Kunam; then the Fazuga; then the Mbeme of chief Ayio; then the Afaranga; then Chief Arum's Mbeme, once living on the road Wau-Tonj (cp. Dr. Tucker's Article). A few Bviri (here called Gamba) are mixed with the Kunam; a great many among the Fazuga; a number of them are found also amidst the Mbeme and Afaranga. North of Arum's there are Zemoi's people: a few Bor, many Azande, a number of Bviri, who all fled from Zande country with their chief Gedi, Zemoi's father (Tombora's brother).

Referring to the language—among the Kunam Bor is spoken almost exclusively; among the Mbeme Bviri is understood and spoken by many; among the Fazuga Bviri is as common as Bor—chief Bazia's children speak it, when young, oftener than Bor. Among the Afaranga Bviri is widely spread chiefly among young folk and women; at Gedi only Bviri is usually spoken (besides Zande). North of Gedi there are the Bongo. North of them, close to Wau, another pocket of Bviri ruled by Wakil Morjan of the Mbve Lai clan. The so-called Belanda Circular road going round from Wau to Mboro is peopled exclusively by Bviri, all under chief Baggari, distributed thus: Nukta No. 1 from Wau: clan Fener; No. 2 chief Baggari, clan Fadongo; No. 3 sub-chief Ugali (see above); between 3 and 4 sub-chief Gbaji Darnas (see above); No. 4 sub-chief Farajalla Ukodo, clan Famungo; No. 5 sub-chief Ngisa. Between the river Kuru and Dem Zubeir there is a numerous settlement of Bviri, under Chief Khamsur (Gbaji Darnas' cousin). All these Bviri, i.e., Baggari's and Khamsur's people—left the Zande country under the lead of the once famous Chief Ndokili; Khamsur's people abandoned him, and lastly Ndokili was deposed.

THE NDOGO GROUP LANGUAGES.

A fuller study on this subject may be made in the future; but I do not see the reason why an initial insight into this difficult problem should not be attempted at present. My present effort might be an impulse to somebody else to attempt deeper and more accurate studies. As I know no language outside the Bahr-el-Ghazal, except a

little Arabic, I am unable to link this group to any language of other provinces.

The Ndogo group languages are quite different from Golo and Banda (these two languages seem akin to each other), and from Bongo as well. Again they differ from Kreich (which should be re-named *Gbaya*) and Zande, but show some occasional affinities with them: incidentally a few words are common with, or similar to, Zande and Gbaya, but they may have been merely borrowed from one another, e.g., "ass" in Gbaya is "keshè"; in Ndogo "kece."

The words "ngbanga (court, suit), ngbaya (maize) are common to Ndogo and Zande; they were probably borrowed by the former. The preposition "ti" (on, and) is the same in both languages. To state the place where one is living, one just mentions the proper name of that place: this is a common rule to both languages. But whenever the proper place is a Chief's name (or another person's name: Doctor's and Father's) the Azande put before such a name the preposition "ku"—the Ndogo similarly put the like preposition "kuti," e.g., They are at Tombora: i ku Tombora yo (Zande). They are at Mboro: ndu kuti Mboro (Ndogo).

It is surprising to find an intercourse of "bad words" between these two languages. In fact, Lagaë¹ puts "kongoni" as a foreign word: it is Ndogo, and means exactly as in Zande "syphilis." "Bangbaya," which is given by Lagaë as an archaic word, seems to me related to the same word in Ndogo; in Zande it means "ami, concubine," and in Ndogo "impurity."

Referring to other languages, I have noticed that all the Ndogo group language have a word for cow, "modu" (*d* with the glottal stop). The same word is "ca" or "sha" in Bongo, whereas in Golo it is "modo," very likely borrowed from Ndogo. Again "ass" is "kece" in Ndogo; "kese" in Bviri, Sere; "keshe" in Gbaya (Kreich); "akaca" or "akasha" in Bogo; "keshè" in Golo, like in Gbaya.

Both these words are missing in Zande. This seems to me a proof that the Azande originated in a different country from the above-mentioned tribes, i.e., a country where neither cows nor asses were found. Sere, as spoken in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, is not at all pure, but I cannot possibly compare it with the likely purer Sere of French East Africa.

¹ Mgr. C. R. Lagaë and V. H. Vanden Plas-La Langue des Azande. Vol. 3.

Here it is undoubtedly much influenced both by Zande and Ndogo. I may quote here some Zande words which form now part of the Sere Dictionary: mara (iron), vuga (sacrifice), paranga (a youth), although pronounced after the Sere fashion: pfaranga. The word "ngbu" (hyena) seems to have been borrowed from Golo.

The Golo in their turn have likely borrowed some words from Ndogo: e.g., "nju" (to drink); "modu" (cow), altered though into "modo." The Bviri have taken a good few words from Zande, which are now used also by those who know no Zande at all; such as the names: "ngbagida" (a wheel), "kiti" (Lagaë says it is a word of foreign origin for the Azande themselves); the adjectives: "rengbe" (enough, and); —the possessive particle "nga" (though not very often used). Closer relations exist of course between Bviri and Bor; although they are tribes from quite different stocks, they have been living together for long years as if they formed a single tribe; in fact even now lots of Bviri are mixed up with the Bor, and a good few Bor live amidst the Bviri. This fact caused a number of Bor words to enter the Bviri dictionary; I have no doubt that the same happened to Bor. But even now-a-days the bulk of the Bviri dictionary is still quite similar to Ndogo and Sere, and, when spoken, sounds almost exactly like Ndogo. Above all their grammatical structure shows the closest affinity. A few instances may be brought forward that leave no doubt on the matter.

Translators are always faced with great difficulty when translating passive sentences into native language, such as: Zande or Jur, whereas in the Ndogo group language it is quite easy. Passive and impersonal sentences as well are formed by putting "a" before the verb, e.g., in the "Our Father": "Thy will be done" is translated "a baka (be done) go co milo" in Ndogo; in Bviri is translated in a similar way: "a ma la so ndon."

The pronouns which play such an important part in a language have the same characteristics in both languages. There are two plurals, first person: one to denote "we all," another to denote: "we, the speakers." They are respectively: ndo, ze in Ndogo; randa, ra in Bviri. The prepositions are very much the same in both languages; in both they are closely attached to the object when this is a pronoun, so as to form a single inseparable syllable, e.g., "to you" in Ndogo is "jo," in Bviri "jon."

The possessive case is formed by means of a special particle ; but when the thing possessed is either a part of the body, or something inseparably joined to the possessor (as : one's name), the possessive particle is dropped : the same happens in both languages, e.g., in Ndogo the possessive particle is "mi." So they say : "kece milo" (your ass), "nji mo" (his cultivation). But they say : "ko" (his leg), "reo" (his name)—in Ndogo. In Bviri : 'ba ndon = your house ; le no = your name—for the possessive particle is "ndi."

I have said above that Banda and Golo are related to each other, though both are quite different from Gbaya (Kreich) ; so I am told by reliable persons.

I had some doubt whether there might be any relation between Bongo and the above-mentioned language. Lately I could compare a Golo dictionary of 200 words with my Bongo vocabulary and notes on this language—and am now able to state that there is no link between them—except a few words occasionally borrowed from one another, e.g., "kungu" = a road—is common to Golo and Bongo. By-the-way it may be noted here that some Bongo words have been taken up also by the Bor, e.g., "sa or : ca" from the Bongo "sha or : ca" = a cow ; "akasa or : akaca" from the Bongo "akasha or akaca"—for both pronunciations are heard in the two languages.

ADDITIONS.

(a) Herewith some more Zande words which have long since entered the Ndogo vocabulary : kurungba (or kurumba)=a boat ; kurungbu (or kurumbu) = a food bowl.

(b) Just lately I was able to make a comparative study on Bviri on Bor—the result of which is shown in the two following lists of words ; the first is formed of words likely derived from Bor into Bviri ; the second—vice versa.

<i>English</i>	<i>Bor</i>	<i>Bviri</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Bor</i>	<i>Bviri</i>
people	nyoko	nako	once on a time	con(son)	soni
lion	debor	'diver	hyena	utuon	utoni
sand	nyi-kuyo	vo-kuyo	tomb	lèl	leli
hill	got	gote	bamboo	kaw	kaw
<i>English</i>	<i>Bviri</i>	<i>Bor</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Bviri</i>	<i>Bor</i>
all	kpi	kpi	corn bin	gala	gala
small	njite	njite	short	ndo	ndokpo
quickly	fela	felafela	early	'ur-ve	ke-turu-fur

The prefix that indicates the plural in both languages is "ka"—it seems to have passed from Bviri into Bor, for all the languages of the Shilluk group make the plural in a quite different way, whereas all the Ndogo group languages make it by means of a prefix: "ka" in Bviri and "nda" in Ndogo.

(c) Referring to the history of the Bor—it must be borne in mind that likely before the Zande invasion, certainly afterwards—the Bor and Bviri (but chiefly the former) had widely spread also beyond the right side of the river Sueh. Towards the year 1900 they had settled also near the road Yambio-Tonj—coming into contact with the Bongo. A Bongo chief settled among them, whose son, Dorobo, dwelt in Bor country up to the year 1930, when he was ordered to join the other Bongo at Daniaka (Nukta 1 from Wau, south). At the time of the Zande invasion they were helping one another. Up to the year 1920 the Bor kept on living on the right of the river Sueh; the people living at Raffili Mission, near the Bo post, would say that it took only a day-and-a-half walk to reach from there the first houses of their countrymen of the Yambio district. Very likely the group of Amberodi and Ambegumba visited by E. P. are those about whom they were speaking.

Still, now those Bor and Bviri are often coming to Raffili (and vice-versa) to visit their countrymen and relatives—chiefly on cases of death. Just lately Jaber (a sort of Wakil of old, whose name is found in big maps) died of a disease caught in his long walk back from Yambio district during the rainy season, through the bush.

PHONETICS OF THE NDOGO GROUP LANGUAGES.

A phonetical comparative study on these languages shows most clearly their common original stock, and gives the clue to retrace it; it shows moreover a set of fixed rules governing the development of their different characteristics. I will give here just a hint on the matter, which may be the starting point for further enquiries. I shall deal chiefly with Ndogo and Bviri, with which I am sufficiently acquainted; but, whenever possible, I shall give also the corresponding words in Sere and Bai.

1—LABIAL CONSONANTS.

(p) In Ndogo there is no *p* as in English and Italian; *p* is pronounced "pf," though "f" is just slurred over. In Bviri "pf" becomes "f,"

somewhat prolonged like a repeated "f." In Sere it remains "pf." The Bai either pronounce it "f" or simply "p"; the latter is more frequent.

(b) —as ditto. The Ndogo pronounce it "bv," though "v" is just slurred over. The Bviri turn it into a sort of prolonged "v"; probably to be termed a "bi-labial v." The Bai pronounce it simply "b"—the common pronunciation among other tribes. The Sere pronounce "bv" "vv"—a voiced labio-dental flapped consonant, which is pronounced by thrusting one's lower lip under the upper teeth. It is quite an unusual sound, which Dr. Tucker himself had never met with in his vast linguistical studies; even in the system of the International Phonetic Association there is not yet a proper written letter to represent such a sound. It is kept in Bai; but not in Bviri; they usually change it into "w." By-the-way it may be noted here that such a sound is found, though seldom, in Gbaya (Kreich).

(*'b*)—i.e. "b" with the glottal stop. It is found in all the Ndogo group languages, but varies in strength, reaching its climax in Ndogo, and its minimum in Bviri.

(*mbv*)—So it is pronounced by the Ndogo, whereas the Bviri pronounce it "(m)nve," a slight "m" being heard before a much clearer "n." The same for the Sere. The Bai pronounce it simply "mb"—this being by far the commonest pronunciation among foreign tribes (and Azande).

2—ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS

are pronounced very much the same in all the four languages.

(1) A slight difference occurs with regard to 'd, i.e., *d* with the glottal stop. As said above—it reaches its utmost strength in Ndogo, whereas it is pronounced very slightly in Bviri. It may be doubted whether in Bviri 'd becomes *d*—i.e., a retroflex consonant like in Gbaya (Kreich).

(2) *r* is often turned into *l* in Bviri.

(3) *flapped l* is found only in Sere; the very *r* of the word Sere as pronounced by the Sere, is not a real *r*, but a *flapped l*. For lack of type, I shall write *r* underlined (*r*). Such a sound is very common also in Gbaya.

5—POST ALVEOLAR AND PALATAL CONSONANTS.

(*j*)—is found in Ndogo, although it is slightly verging to "z," chiefly when preceded by "n," as in: "nje, njo." This must be the reason why

several writers on Ndogo History and Travellers have used the spelling "z" instead of "j." It is wrong though, for the real "z" is found in Ndogo, too, pronounced, of course, quite differently from j. j—is heard in Bviri, too, but it sounds somewhat different. Here again it is often misspelled "z," but the proper, "z," too, is found in Bviri. The Bviri themselves, scattered as they are over a wide area, vary in their pronunciation; some do pronounce it French "j."

(c)—may be said to be the predominant sound in Ndogo. The Bviri cannot pronounce it properly, but use "s" in its stead. It surprised me, though, to hear some Bviri in Zande country pronounce "c" almost exactly as in Ndogo, inasmuch as the Azande themselves are deprived of such a sound.

6—VELAR CONSONANTS.

(kp)—is very strong in Bviri, as well as in Sere. In Ndogo it has a quite peculiar pronunciation, which Father Ribero spells in his Grammar "qw." It should be noted, though, that two sounds are represented by this single group of letters. When found in monosyllables or at the beginning of words, it sounds almost "kw," as in "kwo" (drum), "kwo'du" (old man). In polysyllables, when not at the beginning, it sounds nearly "kp," very weak, though, as in "mekpi" (bitter, sour). The name Kpango (a local river) could also be spelled Kwango.

Vowels.—A long vowel at the end of a Ndogo word corresponds in Bviri to the same vowel followed by *r* and a vowel like the preceding one.

N.B.—"h" is found only in Sere, but in a very few words, as in "ho" (a rope). Besides that in Sere there is also the so-called "weak e" i.e., an "e" verging to "i." It is commonly spelled "e," as in: Sere. Some Sere, in fact, pronounce: Seri.

A list of words is given hereafter to illustrate what I have been saying above. It will show the variations existing among the four languages being governed by set rules, which—in the hands of a linguistic expert—may prove the clue to further discoveries.

<i>English</i>	<i>Ndogo</i>	<i>Bviri</i>	<i>Bai</i>	<i>Sere</i>
father	bvu	vu ⁽¹⁾	bu	va ⁽¹⁾
save	vvala	wala	—	—
to throw	vva	wa	—	—
merissa	pfe	fe	pe	pfe

(1) = bi-labial v.

English.	Ndogo.	Bviri	Bai	Sere
potatoes	pfogolo	fogolo	pogolo	—
drum	kwoo	kporo	kwoo	kporo
thorn	kwere	kpele	kpele	kperi ⁽²⁾
before	kuro	kulo	—	—
sun	ri	li	li	ri ⁽²⁾
dog	bvoo	voro ⁽¹⁾	boo	voro ⁽¹⁾
basket	kee	kere	kee	kere
oil	bvaa	vara ⁽¹⁾	baa	vara ⁽¹⁾
boy	vvi	wi	vvi	wi
owner	mbve	(m)nve	mbe	(m)nve
moon	pfi	fi	pi	pfi
to speak	bvele	vele ⁽¹⁾	bele	—
old man	kwo'du	kpou'du	—	—
leopard	moro	molo	molo	moro
mosquito	roro	lolo	lolo	roro
arrow	giri	gili	gili	gili
hoe	kaa	kara	kaa	kara
stone	'dii	'diri	—	—

Out of these four languages—the two most closely related to each other are—*re Bviri and Bai*.

As far as somatic likeness is concerned, the Bviri are of a blacker colour, owing to their mixing freely with the Bor, a Shilluk clan. Next come the Ndogo, who freely intermarry with the Golo, a tribe of a somewhat darker complexion. Then the Bai; then the Sere, who look very much like the Azande—both for their light colour and broad complexion, though usually taller than the Azande.

CONCLUSIONS.

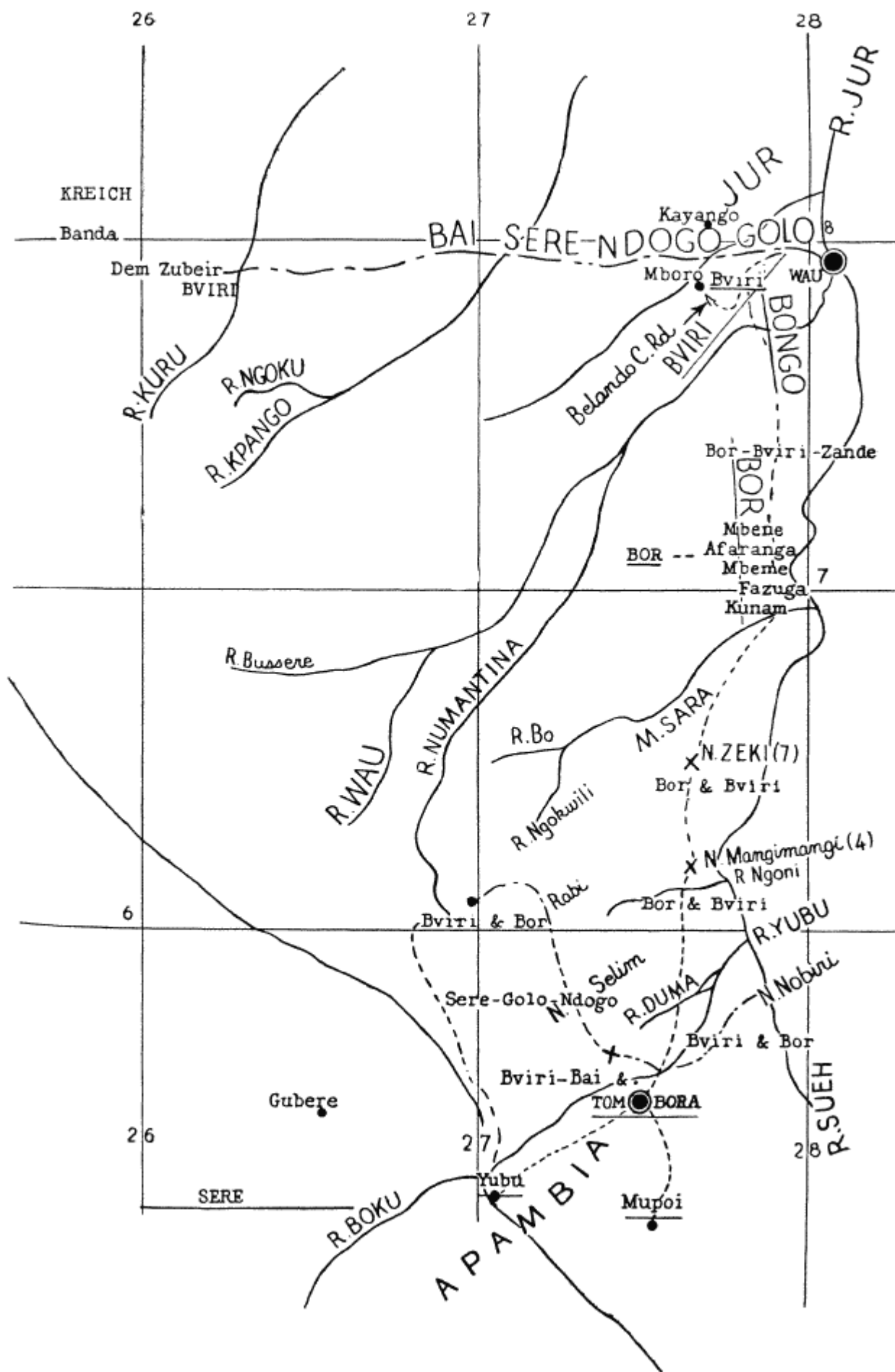
(1) Referring to the Belanda, it was made clear long since that they are split into two main branches, from quite different stocks. It seems to me important that both their names and nicknames should be fixed. I suggest the following: real names: Bor and Bviri; nicknames: Mbve Radi and Mbve Gamba (or: Mbve Gumba—the prefix Mbve may be dropped).

(2) There are in the Bahr-el-Ghazal four languages strictly related to one another, which I should call the Ndogo group languages: i.e., Ndogo, Bviri, Sere, and Bai (or: Baɛ, or: Bari—the *e* being a weak *e*).

(3) There are fixed rules governing the development of their variations; which may prove a valuable starting point for further inquiries, to find out the main stock they are derived from.

(¹) = bi-labial v.

(²) the *r* is a flapped l.



MAP II. TO SHOW PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF BELANDA CLANS AND OTHER TRIBES ON THE WEST OF THE R. JUR.

FINAL REMARKS.

(a) In future I shall try to investigate the customs of the four tribes ; this may throw some more light on their origin and history.

(b) I strongly feel that no full study can be made either on their language or origins, if one does not push on his investigations into French East Africa, for all these tribes very likely came from there. There the bulk of the Sere are still found and I suspect that a number of Ndogo and Bviri still live there. On Major Casati's map (the famous traveller) the Biri are marked along the northern course of the River Warra. Are not those people the Bviri we have been dealing with ?

BARI NOTES.

By J. N. Richardson.

(PLATE III.)

I.

A BARI ADVENTURESS.

ABOUT the year 1870 there was born into the world a Bari girl, named Kedeng, who was to become famous in Bari circles and eventually to be killed by the Dervishes.

She came of no particular family and when young showed no signs of any particular degree. In the ordinary course of events she married an insignificant Bari and after a few years bore a child, who died a few days after birth. Kedeng had had a difficult delivery and, soon after the death of her child, got very ill, and the neighbours despaired of her life, and after a few days she apparently succumbed. The neighbours started the usual rites and banged drums around her head and made all the usual noises, when to their bewilderment the corpse opened its eyes. Kedeng soon recovered consciousness and then told the astonished gathering that she had been dead, but that the Bari God had told her that she was to live again and become a Bunit (i.e. Witch doctor). Needless to say the whole village believed her and before long her story was known throughout the Bari district.

She lived on the west bank of the Nile, twelve miles south of Rejaf, at the mouth of Khor Kaia. Her friends were not slow to benefit themselves and they built her a house near the river bank. The ground in front of the house was cleared for visitors and the front part of the house had a kind of verandah. The lady rarely appeared outside, but a trusted servant kept guard in the verandah.

She claimed that she could cure diseases and make sterile women bear children, but her greatest claim was that she could defeat the Turk, and that having done that she would make cattle come up from the earth.

Her outward emblem of power was a small branch of the Teiriet tree, which was smoked over a fire to make it black. She got all the local chiefs to her side by presenting each with a wand, telling them that they could cure all sick persons by shaking the wand over the patients' heads and

slightly tapping them. Chief Ibrahim Gaddum, the father of the present President of the Bari Chiefs' Court had one of her wands for many years. She gave the chiefs however no power over sterile women. These had to go to her house accompanied by their husbands and a sheep. They had then to crawl over the open space in front of the house and persuade the servant to let them enter. The servant examined the gift and if he considered it sufficient for the benefits that the couple hoped to get from his mistress, he showed them in, when Kedeng greeted them, heard their story and gave the woman medicine.

Her power over chiefs was immense, and, when she realised it, she gave out that she expected to see the chiefs every month or so, and that on their visit she would expect presents of ivory. She intimated that should they find these visits impossible, she would certainly cause disease to their people. The result was that every month or so the chiefs called on her with ivory, going through the same process as ordinary people in their approach to her and having to satisfy the door-keeper.

The ivory at one time looked like being a very lucrative business, but it proved her undoing. The Dervish raiders were never far off, and she persuaded the chiefs to believe that not only were these ivory presents a good insurance against disease, but a certain way of securing the ivory, for she said if you keep it yourselves the Turks will take it from you, whereas if it is kept near me, you know well that I can defeat these people and the ivory will be safe. This contented the chiefs and resulted in many people of all classes storing their ivory with Kedeng. The ivory was kept in the river bank just below her house and opened for all to see.

Arabi Dafalla was however in the district for ivory and slaves. Wherever he went the people told him that they had no tusks for they had deposited them with Kedeng. This piece of information they gladly gave him, thinking that he might be foolish enough to attack the lady and so be utterly destroyed.

Arabi unfortunately had no such beliefs and determined to get the ivory. Kedeng was warned of the coming attack. She served out black sticks to all her immediate followers, numbering about 40, telling them that on the sight of the enemy, they were to run towards them, shake their sticks at them and cry out to the Dervish God, and promised that the rifles of the Turk would then not go off, while the Turks themselves would fall to the ground.

Her followers carried out their part, but she failed in hers, for when the men first shook their wands at the coming enemy, a shot rang out and their faith was gone, and they fled. Half escaped into the hills, half were captured and taken to Omdurman as slaves, including the lady's husband, while Kedeng was captured and taken to Rejaf handcuffed. The Dervishes soon found the ivory store and in it many hundreds of frasulas. They burnt her house and returned triumphant to Rejaf.

The next day Arabi Dafalla summoned all the local Bari and had Kedeng up for trial as a witch. He asked whether she possessed such powers and she did not deny it. Arabi then told her that in that case a blow on the head would do her no harm and told her to squat on the ground. This she did, and one Mukhtar gave her a blow with a heavy stick on the back of the neck and she died in a few minutes. The body was handed over to the Bari for burial and they buried her about 200 yards east of the Rejaf stone Guri.

Thus at the age of not more than 25 years ended her career, which lasted certainly less than two years and which seems to have been of only very local interest.

My informer, one Morbe Lokaje, was however without doubt very much impressed with the stories about her. He had seen her end as a boy in Rejaf and was evidently very amused at the thought of how the Bari chiefs had been deceived by a woman. These chiefs, realizing that they had been deceived, were delighted by her death and for a while the Dervishes were quite popular and the ivory trade began again.

II.

JUBA.

THE town of Juba is one of the few towns in Africa, which has been planned and built without any necessity of paying compensation to original inhabitants and without the handicap of having to make a new town fit in with the old town or village. It is therefore all the more interesting to record that there was a Juba in existence before the present town, now boasting of first class roads, water laid on, a modern hotel and hospital and important aerodromes.

Although Juba has been built for two years, the local population, belonging to the Bari tribe, still take little interest and have to be persuaded to supply the inhabitants with eggs and fowls etc., while there is no suggestion that any want to move their villages nearer to Juba, so as to be near at hand for the market. The writer asked one of the fathers of the Italian Catholic Mission at Rejaf East why this was so, pointing out that the Bari had had a lot of labour in building Juba, and it seemed odd that they apparently did not intend to better their condition by selling their wares. The father smiled and told me that there was a very good reason, which the Bari give more or less as follows :—

“ Years ago the white man came to Gondokoro and built his wharf, offices and houses, while later barracks appeared with English officers and an English District Commissioner ; where is that now ?

The white man also built the station of Lado, with its wharf and offices, where are they now ?

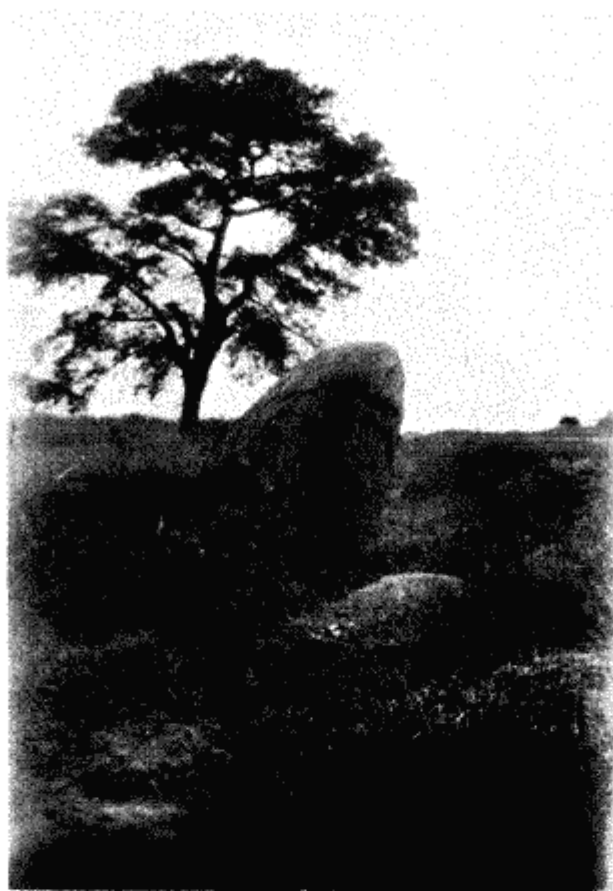
Later he put up even better houses and offices and shops at Rejaf to last for all time. This time we really thought it looked permanent, but where is it now ?

At the same time Mongalla was built with barracks for hundreds of soldiers, very big offices of stone, lots of houses for officials, beautiful roads all around, while they even planted trees, and it certainly looked to last for ever, but where is it now ? almost covered with grass.

Then they started on Juba, and indeed it has got all the appearance of permanency, but what are we to say ? All the others looked the same to us, and where are they now ? On the other hand our small villages are on the same sites as they always were and what will cause them to change ? It is better from our villages to watch Juba grow up and fall down again, and not to take any more notice of it than we did of Gondokoro, Lado, Rejaf and Mongalla.”

One cannot say that the Bari are to be blamed for their attitude, and it is said that the same is adopted by Indians as regards the new Delhi.

Actually the village of Juba, before the building started, contained some 36 homes under a certain Magara as headman, to whom I am indebted for most of the following details, and was situated on the present site of the Customs and Railway and Steamers shops.



PITA AND KAKU.



BERUMI.

Juba was originally owned by the Nyori *dunyet* or clan, of whom one Lako sold it to one Logono of the Bekat Monabur *dunyet*, who came from Wornnyako, a place on the Belinian road near Khor Wonga. The price is unknown, but the boundaries were *North* Khor Lerekwot, *South* Khor La'Buliet, *West*, the hill Korok, *East* the Nile, but included three islands (1) Lueh, where the Government garden now is; (2) Kuru'Nago (or for short Kurgu), opposite the petrol wharf, so called because it is hard work to hoe the soil; (3) Tindu, where the old man Magara now lives.

Magara states he is the son of Logono and considers himself head of the community, and used to be headman, but one, Jada Longye, now acts. Both belong to the Bekat Monabur *dunyet*. Soon after the Bekat had bought Juba from the Nyori, they had a certain amount of trouble with disease etc., and attributed it to the fact that the local deity was not satisfied, so the Nyori Monyekak (or Lord of the land) was installed, or rather persuaded to return, i.e., Lako. He died in Owen Pasha's time, leaving two sons, Jada and Lado, who have been brought up in Magara's house and are now men.

The local deity is personified in the rock, called Pita, which sticks out in the ditch on the north side of the road, which goes east of the petrol store. When Magara showed it to me, he walked up to it, saluted it with an up and down wave of the arm, saying Yakanye Pita (my grandmother); a yard to the west of Pita is a small rock, called Kaku. Pita is said to be the mother of Kaku, a daughter, the father being the hill Korok.

In times of difficulty, such as disease, famine or threat of extinction, especially from their neighbours, Nyarjwa, the Monyekak would summon all the Jubans to the rocks, called Berumi, which is now just inside the petrol site. The people would bring a bull and the Monyekak would mount Pita and face east, i.e., the direction of Belinian, from which they came, and call on the Gnun (or God) to help them. This help being assured, the bull was slaughtered at Berumi, all the people got as much meat as they could and ran off to the dancing place, which is or was further to the west. Here they prepared themselves for a fight or rejoiced that they were delivered from evil.

Nyarjwa were the traditional enemies of Juba; they occupied the land to the west of Juba and belonged to the Le clan and had many relations near Gondokoro, which is not far from Wornnyako, and having

no riverland themselves were probably jealous of Juba. The Nyarjwa Monyekak lived to the west of Korok.

Magara cannot remember when the last "service" (Putet) was held ; it was certainly in Lako's time, i.e., Owen Pasha. Pita's importance has naturally been very much lessened by the influence of Missions and the people now take little notice of her.

Before mounting Pita, the Monyekak used to wipe her over with simsim oil, etc.

There are two small rocks a yard east of Pita ; these are not children, but part of Pita and were presumably used as a step.

When the Government told them that they would have to clear out of Juba, they wanted to go to the islands, but were dissuaded on account of the difficulty of crossing. The Jubans have therefore descended to the depth of the "Malakiah," but it is hoped that Pita and Kaku will remain for ever.

NOTES.

A Roman Coin of the Emperor Diocletian at El Obeid.

AFTER seeing my note on a Roman coin found at Sennar (S.N. and R., Vol. XV., p. 271), my friend, Mr. Hulbert of El Obeid, sent me a small bronze coin, diameter '7 to '75 of an inch, which was given him by one of his clerks about 1921, and is believed to have been found there in 1916, when an old burial ground was disturbed by workmen digging the foundations of buildings erected by Messrs. James Laing.

Mr. J. Allan, the Keeper of Coins at the British Museum, to whom I submitted the coin, writes that it is one of the emperor Diocletian (284—308 A.D.) struck at Alexandria.

The legend on the obverse gives the names of the emperor Gaius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus in Greek.

On the reverse is a figure of the goddess Homonoia (=the Roman Concordia) with the date L E (= 5th year of the reign).

The fact that this coin was struck in Alexandria adds, in my opinion, somewhat to the probability that it was genuinely introduced into the Sudan as currency, and is not a recent introduction by some member of the present merchant community of El Obeid.

The authentic discovery of coins of the emperor Diocletian in the neighbourhood of El Obeid would be valuable archæological evidence in support of the contention that the Nobatae or Nuba lived in the Western desert and came originally from Kordofan (see Budge "The Egyptian Sudan," Vol. II., pp. 176 and 417, and Hillelson "Nubian Origins," S.N. and R., Vol. XIII, pp. 137 and ff). Procopius (quoted by Mac-Michael, "History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I-II, XXV) relates that Diocletian paid the Nobatae as well as the Blemmyes a sort of Dane-geld; and it is tempting to speculate that the coin in question may have been part of that Dane-geld. At any rate I think that one may fairly conclude that if it has been at El Obeid since the beginning of the fourth century A.D., the indication is that, if El Obeid was not then in the country of the Nobatae, the inhabitants at least had trade relations with that people, since they presumably were the furthest tribe to the South-West then in actual touch with the Romans in Egypt.

A. J. ARKELL.

Tebeldis.

IN 1925 Mr. Struvé and I measured five Tebeldi trees in Malakal and have sent you the measurements, which are recorded on pp. 239 and 240 of that year's edition of SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

On the principle of "Keep the torch burning, hand it on," I have again measured them after an interval of seven years, and I attach the result, together with the previous measurements, for comparison.

The trees are now from 19 to 22 years old.

In 1925 the girth measurements were made just below the first branches, this year the girth was measured as near as possible at the same place.

Trees A, B, and C only get rain water, the other two are inside the garden, which gets watered in the dry season.

E. G. CORYTON.

TEBELDI TREES—MALAKAL.

Tree.	Height.		Height to First Branches. 1925.	Girth.	
	1925.	1932.		1925.	1932.
A	ft. 20	ft. in. 26-3	ft. in. 4-4	ft. in. 2-10½	ft. in. 6-0
B	16	23-6	5-8	3-1	4-10
C	22	31-10	5-2	6-7	9-10
D	18	26-9	6-9	2-10	5-9
E	20	30-0	6-8	3-4	5-4