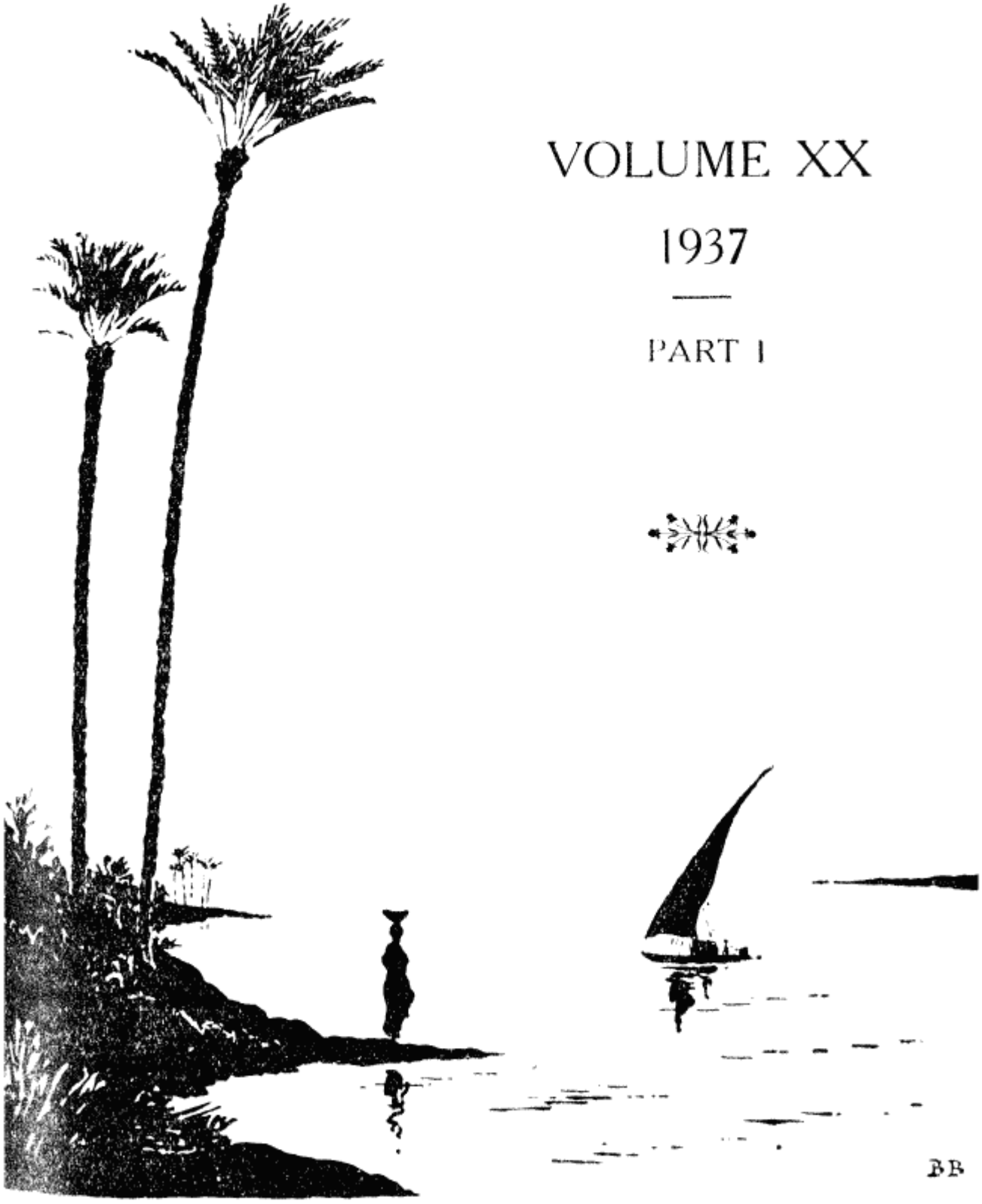
SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS



VOLUME XX

1937

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Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

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

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

VOWELS.

fat*h*a	a,	lengthened	ā
kasra	i,	„	ī
*ḍ*amma	u,	„	ū

DIPHTHONGS.

َي —ai (as in aisle).

َو —au (as in mauser).

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ة) 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, Mo*ḥ*ammed, bēt (or beit), *ḥ*ōsh.

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

EDITORIAL.

The Index to Volumes I–XIX of *Sudan Notes and Records* has now been completed in draft by Mr. F. Addison, and it will be printed and issued to subscribers as soon as possible after the contents of the present volume have been added.

A word of explanation about the date of publication of this journal may be welcomed. Material is usually submitted by contributors in the early part of the year, but some of the longer articles are not in final shape for publication until the leave season. That is explained by the fact that both contributors and Committee are hard-working officials with little leisure in the winter months. The printing and proof-reading are done in England, and after that there is still a considerable amount of work to be done by the printers before the numbers are in final form for issue. *Sudan Notes and Records*, as its name implies, is in no sense a topical magazine and we feel sure that subscribers would rather receive a full measure of carefully prepared material at the end of the year than a volume from which important contributions have been omitted in order to secure publication on an arbitrarily fixed date.

ERRATA IN VOLUME XIV. Part II, 1936.

NUBA FERTILITY STONES.

P. 314. Note (2). For "sword and shield" read "spear and shield."

Plate XV (opposite p. 314). For "Figure I" read "Figure II," and vice versa.

Plate XVI. For "Figure (5)" read "Figure (6)," and vice versa.

THE GENTLE SAVAGE.

P. 356. Owing to a typing error, Mr. Richard Wyndham's book "The Gentle Savage" was reviewed under the title "The Savage Sudan."

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XX Part I 1937

THE HISTORY OF KASSALA AND THE PROVINCE OF TAKA.

By D. C. Cumming.

CHAPTER I.

1.

THE hills of the desert are usually bare and rocky, rising blatantly from the plain : Jebel Kassala carries this blatancy to a grotesque completeness. Although the sheer mounds of granite of which it is made up rise in splendid confusion to a height of 2,000 feet, there is no tapering peak to lighten its mass, no green vegetation to relieve its colour and seldom a cloud in the sky to cool its sides. At sunset Jebel Kassala may claim some admiration, by moonlight it has an archaic dignity, but at noon, when the outline of the rock is diffuse in the heat, it is little more than a repulsive geological phenomenon.

The hill stands like a massive western outpost to the mountain system of northern Abyssinia, for only fifteen miles of plain separate it from the first of the foothills of Eritrea which line the eastern horizon. To the west the plain stretches drearily for forty miles to the Atbara and thence another hundred miles to the Nile.

At the western foot of the hill is the River Gash, a broad river of sand for the greater part of the year, but a silt-laden flood from July to October. From its source south of Asmara, the Gash flows south, then, twenty miles from Kassala, it turns north and, after passing under the western face of the hill, divides into two branches, of which the western one is now dry and choked by the silt of modern irrigation schemes. At this point the general direction of the river is towards the junction of the Atbara and the Nile and it is probable that, in the past, it was a tributary of those rivers. But now, lacking the momentum to carry it across the intervening plain, it splits up into a number of channels which die on a bed

of their own silt. In effect, the river spreads out into a delta from which there is no escape for its waters except by absorption in the soil or evaporation by the sun. Refreshed annually by the flood of the river and the silt it leaves behind, the delta is prodigiously fertile.

In this landscape, between the hill and the river, the town of Kassala has been placed. At first sight there is little to distinguish it from the other marketing and administrative centres of the Northern Sudan, except that it is hotter and dustier than most of them. The fawn-coloured dust pervades everything. At present it has a population of various races of between 20,000 and 30,000 souls; the market consists of a collection of mud-built shops; the fort is built round a derelict factory, its tall brick chimney a monument to a rash commercial enterprise, and the Government buildings and houses are of faded brick, patently the work of amateur architects supported by attenuated funds. On the west side of the Gash is the station for the railway going to Port Sudan on the Red Sea.

But in 1865 an observant Frenchman detected in it " une certaine originalité parmi toutes ces villes maussades que le génie administratif des conquerants a semées sur le sol nubien." The originality is still there. It is largely due to the freakish hill, but there is also an ever-present sense of being on a frontier, for the jagged hills which line the eastern horizon mark the frontier of Italian Eritrea. Beyond it the rivers flow to the Red Sea instead of to the Nile; the country changes from plain to hills and then mountains; the people, through various stages, from Arab to Abyssinian. The impression is confirmed by the mixture of races in the streets; shock-headed Beja; Arabs, both of the Sudan and Arabia; negroid West Africans and Sudanese; Yemenis, Abyssinians, Somalis, Indians and a few Europeans

Kassala has played a not unimportant part in the history of north-east Africa. During the first sixty years of its life, it was successively occupied by Egypto-Turks, the followers of the Mahdi, Italian and Anglo-Egyptian forces. It has seen military rebellions, plagues, sieges and famines, and through it have passed some remarkable European adventurers. It is the purpose of this study to narrate the historical events which have occurred in or around Kassala, to recall the influences, some of them remote, which have affected its history and to commemorate some of the colourful personalities who have stirred its dust.

2.

The town of Kassala was founded by the Egyptian Governor-General of the Sudan in 1840, and became the capital of the province of Taka, meaning the country in and around the Gash delta.[1] But the Egyptians had been in the Sudan for twenty years before that date and it is to the days before 1820 that we must return to see the neighbourhood as it was before it had felt the effect of outside influence.

The Gash delta is populated by the nomad race of Beja, which covers roughly the whole of the hill country from the Nile and the Atbara to the Red Sea coast between Egypt and Abyssinia. The Beja in their purest form are to be found in the hills that border the west side of the Red Sea, but the closer they approach to Abyssinia the less their racial integrity becomes. In the delta of the Gash were, and still are, the Hadendoa, Melitkinab and Seegolab tribes, all of them speaking the ancient Beja speech of To-Bedawi. At the neck of the delta and round Jebel Kassala, the Halenga tribe had settled after descending from the hills of Eritrea so long ago that they are generally acknowledged by the Beja to have brought the Gash with them. Although all of them now speak To-Bedawi, their native language was an Abyssinian dialect, which the Beni Amer tribe, living chiefly in Eritrea, still speak.

From time immemorial the Beja have been free nomads. They may be seen in the bas-reliefs of the ancient Egyptian temples and are mentioned by the ancient historians as a menace to the security of the Egyptian, then the Greek and then the Roman garrisons of Nubia. They had not always been independent in the political sense, but although it is easy to deprive a nomad of his political independence in the widest meaning of the term, it does not follow that his personal freedom is curtailed or that his nomad institutions are upset. Before the Egyptian occupation, the Beja formed part of the empire of the black Sultan of the Fung, but their individual freedom was not seriously threatened. In fact, in the years immediately preceding the arrival of the Egyptians

[1] The word Taka is no longer used and there seems to be some doubt, even among the Beja, as to the original application of the word. It was probably applied only to the Gash delta until the Egyptians adopted it as the name of the eastern province of the Sudan. Kassala was its capital and its boundaries expanded until they included the country between, approximately, the present Port Sudan railway line, in the north; a line running about twenty miles from the Red Sea coast as far as Massawa, in the east; a line running from Massawa south of Agordat to Kashm-el-Girba, in the south; and the Atbara as far as Goz Regab and thence north to the railway line, in the west.

in the Sudan, the Beja were probably at the peak of both their independence and freedom for, on the one hand, the Fung Sultans were mere puppets in the hands of their still blacker Hameg viziers, and, on the other, Abyssinia was so torn by civil war that the Beja had no reason to fear molestation from that direction. What is now Italian Eritrea was then a northern dependency of Abyssinia with the exception that the port of Massawa belonged to Turkey and formed part of the Pashalik of Mecca.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that this freedom meant that the Beja tribes were enjoying a period of primitive bliss, for life was cheap and the tribes occupied themselves with internecine fights and the pursuance of tribal blood feuds.

Dr. Burkhardt visited the interior of their country about this time and gave a most unedifying account of the Hadendoa he met.[1] " Where no feelings of generosity exist, the baser passions easily find access. The people of Taka are as noted by their bad faith as for their inhospitality ; they live in continual broils with each other, which are not terminated by open hostility, but by a warfare of treachery, wherein each man endeavours to surprise and destroy his enemy by secret contrivances. . . . Treachery is not considered here as criminal or disgraceful, and the Hadendoa is not ashamed to boast of his bad faith, whenever it has led to the attainment of his object."

But by 1826 the time had come for the Beja to meet the influences which had been gradually approaching them from their remote source in the modern European world. It was unfortunate for them that these influences should have been conveyed through the medium of the Turko-Egyptians in so unassimilated and distorted a form as to be almost completely shorn of any virtues they might have originally have possessed. Who were these Egyptian invaders and what brought them to the Sudan ? What did they find on their arrival ?

3.

The earliest cultures in the Sudan were transmitted from Egypt. In the 9th century B.C. an independent state was founded in Dongola, which later moved south to Meroe, near Shendi, and which survived until it was overthrown by the Abyssinians about A.D. 350. But in the 6th century both Abyssinia and the people of the Nile valley were converted

[1] Burkhardt, J. L., " Travels in Nubia," London, 1819, p. 395. He visited the Gash delta in 1814 on his way from Shendi to Suakin.

to Christianity, and Soba, on the Blue Nile a few miles south of Khartoum, became the capital of a new kingdom. This state survived for 700 years, although from the 7th century onwards it was the prey of the Muslim Arabs who had overrun Egypt and were rapidly settling in the steppes of the Sudan. Finally it was obliterated in about 1504 A.D. by the Fung invasion from the south.

For nearly 2,000 years the Sudan had benefited by the transmission of culture from Egypt, but the invasion of the Arabs effectively put an end to it. The Arab in his nomad state is too busy with the everyday problem of physical survival to find time for assimilating and transmitting the type of culture which grows among a settled people and which had flourished for centuries in the Nile valley. But if the Arabs cut off the Sudan from Egypt, they nevertheless gave some form to its savage races, for they not only introduced Islam but also married into the families of the ruling chiefs and taught them to build up states with some recognisable political structure. A line of kingdoms sprang up across the breadth of Africa between the desert and the equatorial swamps, and of these, by the 18th century, only Abyssinia remained unconverted to Islam. But none of them was overwhelmed by Arabian forms and fashions and all had in common the fact that they thrived on the crudest form of barbaric tyranny. The flow of their primitive culture was across the continent, along the pilgrim route, rather than along the valley of the Nile.

We are concerned here with the territory of the kingdom of the Fung which stretched across the two Niles and was ruled by a Sultan living at Sennar. To the east of it was Abyssinia and to the west the kingdom of Darfur as far as the western watershed of the Nile. The Sultan's " empire " was extensive but loosely administered, and at its peak spread up the Nile to Dongola, to the west over Kordofan and to the east as far as the Red Sea. Taka was included in it and the manner of its inclusion is probably typical of other places.

A feud existed between rival factions of the Halenga tribe living in the neighbourhood of Jebel Kassala. Early in the 18th century one faction invited the support of the powerful Fung feudal lord living at Halfayat el Muluk, close to modern Khartoum North. With the support he received he gained complete control of the Halenga and soon enhanced his prestige by repulsing an Abyssinian raid. Then he married a Fung " princess " and was appointed overlord of Taka. This entitled him to

the right to be addressed as " mangil " by the people and to the insignia of his office. How much control he had over the other Beja tribes it is difficult to estimate, but he was undoubtedly the paramount chief in the eyes of the Fung Sultans. The chiefs of the Hadendoa and the Beni Amer tribes later gained the recognition of the Fung, but, although they possessed the insignia, it is denied that they ever reached the dignity of being addressed as " mangil."

Towards the end of the 18th century the power of the Fung began to decline. The real power fell into the hands of Viziers from another tribe and the Sultan of Darfur seized the western provinces of the empire. So, in 1819, when Mohammed Ali Pasha, the Turkish Viceroy of Egypt, decided to invade the Sudan, there was no organised power in the Sudan capable of resisting him.

4.

While the Sudan was reaching the extreme of disorganisation in 1819, Egypt was experiencing a strong revival in her fortunes. But to understand fully the Egypt that ruled the Sudan during the last century, we must return to about the year 1798 for a cursory examination of the conditions under which the early Egyptian rulers of the Sudan were brought up.

Since the invasion of the Ottoman Turks in 1517, the country had been passing through a period of historical obscurity. Not even the names of the rulers are known with certainty. Suffice it to say that Egypt was a province of Turkey in which the power fluctuated between the functionaries of the Porte and the descendants of white slaves, the Mameluks, who had ruled the country for 400 years before the arrival of the Ottomans. It was an era during which the country was reduced to a state of chaos. The privileged classes of Turks, Albanians, Rumelians and Circassians, dependent on unscrupulous cunning for the maintenance of their privileges, combined in their persons every kind of civic and personal vice and brutality. The indigenous cultivators were their prey. It is unpleasant to contemplate their lot, even when one allows that long acquaintance with the vagaries of rulers they did not know and a river they could not control must have atrophied all sense of domestic stability in the minds of the " fellahin." A blight had fallen on the country which killed the little that remained of the ancient arts and crafts and left a sullen people struggling for existence.

Then, in the year 1798, there came a sudden and unexpected change in the fortunes of the country, for Napoleon Bonaparte decided that Egypt was of strategical importance to him. He was not content with a mere military occupation, but set out to make Egypt a French colony and included in his expedition a faculty of 176 *savants* representative of the intellectual civilisation of the West. Seldom can a renaissance have been thrust on a country in such compact form. Napoleon himself was still under thirty and presented to a distracted country an inspiring example of the merits of autocracy. The *savants* that accompanied him practised the speculative modern sciences in contrast to the transmission of the traditional authorities of early Islam on which the teaching in the University of El Azhar was founded.

Napoleon's plans went awry, but, if he achieved nothing for himself, he at least gave Egypt the opportunity of improving herself. Out of the turmoil that followed his departure, and the departure of the British who had thwarted his plans, there emerged a powerful autocrat who terrorised the country into a state of stability and made fast the ties with Europe which Napoleon had offered. Mohammed Ali Pasha, although he started his career as an illiterate Albanian soldier and although he was born a foreigner and spoke a foreign language, raised Egypt by the sheer force of his character and native wit from the slough into which she had fallen. If fortune had been with him the power he created in Egypt might have superseded the Turkish empire, but his plans fell foul of the powers of Europe. Whether it was better for his neighbours that they did so it is difficult to determine, but it must be remembered that Mohammed Ali Pasha's administrative capacity was at that time unique in Egypt. He won military victories, he laid the foundations of modern education, he undertook public works on a large scale, and he improved the state of public security out of all recognition, but he failed completely to instil into the Egyptians, whether Turkish or indigenous, the sense of public service that alone could perpetuate the work he had done. Considering the inheritance of the material at his disposal it was inevitable that this should be so during his lifetime, but it resulted in some unhappy experiences for the races subjected to his rule.

One of Mohammed Ali Pasha's early embarrassments was the Mameluk community he had overcome in establishing his authority as the representative of the Sultan of Turkey. Although they were com-

paratively few in number, and, for the time being, completely overawed, they had a long record of successful *coups d'état* to their credit. His solution of the problem was simple and characteristic, for he decoyed as many of them as possible into the Citadel at Cairo and treacherously opened fire on them until they were exterminated.[1] But this did not end his difficulties, for the Mameluks who had absented themselves from this holocaust fled to Upper Egypt, where their presence among the traditionally fickle populace of those parts was most undesirable. Moreover, the Mameluks and foreign mercenaries—Albanians, Turks and Kurds—represented the only thoroughly warlike people in the country; if they were to be exterminated some more effective substitute than the "fellahin" must be found.

Herein lay two of the reasons for Mohammed Ali Pasha's invasion of the Sudan. He was obliged to follow the Mameluks up the Nile if they were to be completely exterminated, but this became incidental to the execution of the campaign. More cogent reasons were his recognition of the Sudan as a reservoir of servile but war-like man-power from which he could recruit a new army and because he could keep his turbulent mercenaries occupied at a safe distance in the work of enslaving them.[2] The necessity for this became even more apparent when, in 1815, he attempted to Europeanise the organisation of his army, only to precipitate a revolt among his Albanian and Turkish troops.[3] There were also the stories of gold deposits in the Blue Nile to attract him[4] and a reason concerning which he instructed his biographer to say "c'est un secret que le vice-roy a emporté comme tant d'autres secrets dans la tombe."[5] One cannot believe that Mohammed Ali's ambitions stopped at the foot of the Abyssinian escarpment.

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[1] Dehérain, H., "Le Soudan Egyptien sous Mehemet Ali," Paris, 1898, p. 37.

[2] Mengin, "Histoire de l'Egypte sous Mehemet Ali," Paris, 1839, II, p. 184.

[3] Caillaud, F., "Voyage á Méroé, etc.," Paris, 1826, III, p. 271; and Dodwell, H., "The Founder of Modern Egypt," Cambridge, 1921, p. 63.

[4] Dehérain, *loc. cit.*, p. 27.

[5] Peney, Dr. A., "Mémoires sur l'Ethnographie du Soudan Egyptien," Revue d'Ethnographie, Paris, Tome I, p. 398. In a despatch dated November 20th, 1820 (F.O. 78, Vol. 96), from H. Salt, H.B.M. Consul-General in Egypt, Mohammed Ali Pasha is reported to have said that his purpose in conquering the Sudan was to obtain information about the course of the Blue and White Niles and thereby to solve a problem that had baffled so many great men. Sabry ("L'Empire Egyptien sous Mohammed Ali," Paris, 1930, p. 67) makes use of this, with reference to Peney's "secret" to remark, a little ingenuously: "Nous sommes heureux de prouver que ce secret, comme tout d'autres, avait été simplement confié aux archives."

5.

The Egyptian expedition set out in June, 1820. The main body, under Ismail Pasha, the Viceroy's twenty-one-year-old son, followed the Nile to Sennar and the remainder, under Mohammed Bey el Stambouli, usually known as the Defterdar, went south-west across the Bayuda Desert, to conquer Kordofan.

Ismail Pasha had a curious mixture of warriors under his command, about 4,000 men altogether. There were Turkish and Albanian musketeers dressed in voluminous red trousers and short blue jackets, each followed by his slave and donkey carrying either his pipe or musket according to the requirements of the moment: Greek mercenaries in their skirted tunics and long hose; Kurdish cavalry in tall conical hats; Bedouin irregulars in helmets and chain-mail and 300 artillerymen under the command of two renegade Americans.

This motley force, the cavalry arm of which was considered in Europe to be the most effective in the world, had little difficulty in overcoming the feeble resistance of the Arab tribes along the Nile. Even at the eleventh hour the Sultan of the Fung was unable to exert his authority sufficiently to present a united front to the invaders and in June, 1821, he tamely capitulated. Ismail Pasha was then appointed Governor ot the Sudan and the Fung Sultan was given the title of Sheikh Bilad el Sudan, after he had handed over 16,000 head of cattle and all the royal slaves to the number of nearly 8,000.

In the meantime the Defterdar had overthrown the representative of the Sultan of Darfur in Kordofan in a campaign accompanied by appalling atrocities. For a year the country was scoured for slaves for the armies of Egypt. No less than 40,000 had been ordered, but only a fraction of these ever arrived at Assuan, where a training camp for them had been established by a veteran of Napoleon's Grande Armée.[1] The unfortunate ones that were pressed into service were drafted to the army operating in Greece, where they died in large numbers from exposure during the winter.

Then, in November, 1822, a calamity befel the Sudan, for Ismail Pasha, while returning to Egypt, was assassinated at Shendi by Mek Nimr of the Jaalin tribe. At once instructions were sent to the Defterdar

[1] This was the celebrated Colonel Seve to whom reference is made in most of the books of the period on Egypt. See Sabry, *loc. cit.*, p. 88 and index.

to quell the threatened rising and revenge the death of Ismail. He had distinguished himself in Kordofan by his inhuman cruelties and he now marched to the Nile on a task well suited to his abilities. It was in the course of his bloody progress that he introduced the tribes of Taka to their future rulers.[1]

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CHAPTER II.

I.

Taka escaped the attentions of the original Egyptian invaders of 1820, for Sennar was their goal and they did not deviate from the direct route along the Nile. An expedition to the east was indeed suggested to Ismail Pasha when he reached Shendi, but the Beja had a warlike reputation in Egypt and he decided against it. The tribes, he said, were not sufficiently submissive and he saw dangers in the enterprise.[2] Nor were the Beja molested immediately after the occupation, when the country was being scoured for slaves. Perhaps they owed this respite to the fact that the Egyptians were finding that the Arabs provided unsatisfactory slave material. Some of the Arab women who reached the harems of Egypt were so intransigent that they had to be returned to the Sudan in the interest of domestic peace.

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[1] An account of the Defterdar may be found in Sir G. Wilkinson's " Modern Egypt and Thebes," London, 1843, Vol. I, p. 199. He is also said to have compiled some important reports on the Sudan, its products and trade and the customs of the people. These were sent to Egypt together with a map, which he made himself. See Dr. Frederic Bonola Bey, " L'Egypte et la Geographie," Cairo, 1899, p. 17.

[2] Caillaud, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 105.

But it was not in the character of the Defterdar to be deterred by a reputation and, in 1823, in the course of his revengeful progress and after harrying the villagers of the Blue Nile and Gedaref, he marched north to Taka. There he was opposed by a confederation of Beja and, after a hot engagement in which the Beja experienced the power of gunfire for the first time, he decimated the tribes that opposed him.[1] The Defterdar then withdrew, leaving behind him no permanent post or administrator to consolidate his authority in the place. Shortly afterwards he returned to Egypt and died.

Little is known of events in Taka between the years 1820 and 1840 and what little documentary evidence exists is both fragmentary and contradictory. Nor are the native historians of assistance : to them the invaders were all Turks and evil-doers, and to seek detailed information concerning their persons and their actions is in their eyes an idle pursuit unless it be to give the vague traditions a pragmatic significance.

All that we may tentatively record is that the Beja of Taka upheld their reputation for bravery and skill in warfare when they attacked the Defterdar at Sabderat in 1823. They do not seem to have been molested again after his withdrawal until 1832 when Khurshid Pasha, then Governor-General, raided them. He raided them a second time in about 1836, but met with a reverse. Then further raids by Arab irregulars seem to have been made until, in 1840, the place was finally occupied by the army of Ahmed Pasha Abu 'Udan.

Throughout this period it was the Halenga tribe that brought trouble on the country. They were again divided and, just as the Awad family had solicited the support of the Fung, so now a mendicant called Mohammed Eila had invited the Egyptians to assist him and had become their official representative. In return he was charged with the collection of a tribute which, when it was not paid, gave cause for further visitations. He thereby alienated not only the Awad faction of the Halenga but also his Hadendoa neighbours, and throughout he appears as a traitor to the cause of Beja independence. On the other hand Mohammed Din, the sheikh of the Hadendoa who had helped to resist the Defterdar and inflicted the reverse on Khurshid Pasha, is the heroic leader of the opposition.

[1] MacMichael, " History of the Arabs," Vol. II, p. 391. The battle was fought at Sabderat a few miles east of Kassala. The anecdote in Le Jean's " Voyage aux deux Nils," p. 10, presumably refers to this incident. Also Werne, F., " African Wanderings," 1852, p. 217.

2.

In June, 1838, Ahmed Pasha Abu 'Udan—he of the ears—was appointed Governor-General of the Sudan. He had previously served in Khartoum in command of the 8th Regiment, but a quarrel with Khurshid Pasha—the Governor-General he was now relieving—had caused his recall to Egypt. Ahmed Pasha had also been Minister of War in Cairo and it might appear, from his credentials, that Mohammed Ali Pasha had paid the Sudan the compliment of appointing an official of high rank and wide experience to rule over it.

But Ahmed Pasha Abu 'Udan had other, more colourful, posts and experiences to his credit. In origin he was a white Circassian slave purchased in Egypt by a relative of Mohammed Ali Pasha's first wife. After serving this master as valet and barber he was given a commission in the army that fought in the Hejaz and Greece. His qualities gained him rapid promotion and he enhanced his reputation by carrying to Cairo the news of the victory over the Ottoman Turks in record time, but at the cost of a broken bloodvessel.[1]

In person he was a handsome man of light complexion and staring blue eyes. In character he was typical of the men to be found in high office in Egypt at that time: a brutal and energetic adventurer possessing a rude ability, which in warfare disregarded the niceties of the military art, but which was adequate for gaining his ends among a backward people.

His ends in regard to Taka were stated concisely to Ferdinand Werne, a German who accompanied him to Taka and who has left us a record of the expedition.[2] " I need money, much money—want it most badly," he said. So an expedition was organised to raid Taka, and Werne, with the rank of Bimbashi, accompanied it as an engineer, although he was a lawyer by profession.

Events had taken an adverse turn for the Pasha at the moment and he took Werne into his confidence. " I have had letters; first Darfur,

[1] See Werne, F., " Expedition to Discover the Sources of the White Nile," London, 1849, p. 32, for this description of Ahmed Pasha.

[2] Werne, F., " African Wanderings," London, 1852, supplies most of the material for this chapter. This is a translation of the original " Feldzug von Sennar nach Taka, Basa und Bani Amer," Stuttgart, 1851. Werne also wrote the account of Selim Captan's voyage to the Upper Nile mentioned above and " Reis durch Sennar, nach Mandera, Nasub, Gheli," Berlin, 1852. This is reviewed at length by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. II, p. 68.

and now Taka, will pay no tribute, nor have they done so since Khurshid Pasha was in the *Chaaba* (the forests where he was defeated); and so nothing comes in to the *chasne* (public purse). . . . So come along with me, and on the journey we all will recover our healths (he had also been ill of fever); yonder there are woods and waters, and many high hills, as in Germany and Circassia."[1] If this destination was the Gash delta his hopes revealed a lack of knowledge equalled only by his ignorance of Abyssinia, which he hoped to annex. Werne admits that he suggested to the Pasha that he should make himself the independent Sultan of Nigritia, but he also warned him that an attack on Abyssinia would bring about the intervention of England. The Pasha, however, knew that it was unlikely that he would survive to return to Egypt and he thought that he might surprise Abyssinia before steps could be taken to stop him.[2]

In March, 1840,[3] the expedition set out from El Damer to cross the neck of land between the Nile and the river Atbara. Thence it followed this river to Goz Regab and so the Gash. The motley army is vividly described by Werne and may be assumed to have been typical of the forces that ruled the Sudan for Egypt during the early part of the occupation.

> " It was, indeed, a most varied scene: the Turkish cavalry, in their national dress of every hue and colour, with yellow and green standards and small kettle-drums; the cavalry of the Schaigies and Mograbin Arabs on horses, dromedaries, and on foot; the Sheikhs and Moluk (little kings), with their little arm-bearers behind them on the same camels, with spears, lances, swords and shields of leather; the numerous asses and camels, the former led by the halter by almost every second infantry soldier, so that the owners might ride in turn; drums, trumpets, and all kinds of deafening music. . . . The Turks, the greater number of whom were Circassians, the Kurds, Arnaouts, or Albanians, who an hour before could hardly put one leg before another, were now changed men; the instant they were in

[1] Werne, F., " African Wanderings " and " Expedition, etc.," p. 44, where Werne states that, if the Taka expedition had been a greater success, Ahmed Pasha would have gone on to Abyssinia. Mohammed Ali Pasha was, at this time, contemplating the conquest of Darfur and Ahmed Pasha was making preparations for it, while doing all he could to stop it because Hassan Pasha, son of Mohammed Ali, was to take command. See Dehérain, p. 100.

[2] Werne, *loc. cit.*, p. 8.

[3] Werne, " African Wanderings," p. 12.

their saddles they were galloping like madmen round the Pasha, and thrashing their horses with as little compassion as if they had been intoxicated with opium."[1]

The spear-head of the army was the Albanian corps or Bashi-Bazouks. These wild mountaineers, who were employed whenever there was difficult or sanguinary work of suppression to be done, were feared alike by the people and their Egyptian rulers.[2] They were revolting in their cruelty and independent in their attitude. Their officers were of their own race and, as we have seen, many of them were sent to the Sudan to be kept employed or, better still, to succumb to malaria. Ahmed Pasha disliked them for their haughty independence and never tired of asserting that the blacks were better soldiers, but it is clear that by the time he undertook the conquest of Taka the Bashi-Bazouks, many of whom had been twenty years in the Sudan, were becoming a very be-draggled corps. Werne's description of them, however, gives some idea of the fear they must have inspired among the Beja, who were not only unused to foreigners in person but also to the firearms they carried.

"Their characters are in true keeping with their debauched and brutally savage features. Their dress and equipment perfect the harshness of their appearance; they wear dirty, ragged tarbushes dragged down low over the eyes, or carelessly hanging on one side of the head, the bull-like neck and brown breast ever bared, a jacket, always at first of a yellow colour, but now from age, holes, and dirt, colourless; and under it a gay vest of many hues; the once white Albanian or Grecian shirt with large wide sleeves, but now black or brown, as washing it never knew. This shirt falls like a tunic over their short breeches; their leggings, generally fastened with innumerable buttons, are of a different colour from their jackets, usually bright red or green, and the naked foot is thrust into old slippers. Over an old torn scarf or shawl is worn a leather girdle in which are carried their armaments, all valuables, and deadly weapons of every kind; at the back hang two small leather pouches for powder and ball, along with a small flask holding oil for their arms; during war they carry a long musket and with it, in spite of its short and awkward stock, they take sure and deadly aim."[3]

[1] Werne, *loc. cit.*, p. 27.
[2] Lepsius, R., "Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and Sinai," London, 1853, p. 198.
[3] Werne, *loc. cit.*, p. 116.

The Maghrabi cavalry—Tunisians and Moroccans—400 strong, were equally effective, but less emancipated. They were led by a bankrupt Tripolitan merchant.

This was the army that pitched its camp by the wells on the western fringe of the Gash delta not far from modern Aroma. Already the Pasha's difficulties were apparent, for the Beja disappeared before him with the mirage. Mohammed Din, the powerful sheikh of the Hadendoa, had sent his son to meet the Pasha at Goz Regab on the Atbara. He had been dismissed with instructions to his father to busy himself in collecting tribute and to meet the army when it arrived in the Gash delta. But now there was no sign of Mohammed Din and already the Hadendoa braves had begun to kill isolated soldiers and steal commissariat animals. The weather was hot, the dust intolerable and the water scanty. Moreover, the troops who had heard stories of previous Beja successes, became so nervous that the band was ordered to play during the night to give them confidence.

A few days later, however, Sheikh Mohammed Din, on the advice of the other native chiefs, sought an interview with the Pasha. Werne describes him as " of middle size, black-brown like all his race ; at first sight his face says little, but more closely examined, one sees in it much cunning : his head, bald on the crown, is uncovered ; his dress Arab, but his trousers of fine red cloth." But he was impressed by his regal bearing and by the respect he commanded from his tribesmen.[1]

The Pasha, after receiving him coldly at first, finally presented him with a dress of honour consisting of a red shawl, a tarbush, an under dress and a purple mantle with gold buttons and tassels. The omission of the usual ceremonial sword was considered to be sinister. He was then ordered to collect tribute in the form of a poll-tax of 25 piastres for each male person and one-tenth of the beasts and produce. Inevitably the payment of a cash tribute presented a problem in a community which traded by barter or through the medium of lengths of cloth. But the sheikh set out on his hopeless task.

His absence, in the opinion of the Pasha, was prolonged and meanwhile the commissariat animals continued to disappear. He reappeared at length with 200 cattle and 200 sheep, but no money. Again he was dismissed, accompanied this time by Arab irregulars, and again he returned

[1] Werne, *loc. cit.*, p. 55.

empty-handed, so the Pasha detained his son Musa as a hostage and declared that he would have him educated in Cairo. Another wait ensued, during which the Pasha remarked that the Beja were like children and required patience—" this, he says, is why he has observed the greatest moderation and kindness towards them," Werne explains. The Pasha passed his time with dice, an Abyssinian girl and the band of the 8th Regiment. But when Sheikh Mohammed Din returned with only 300 cows, compared with 3,000 cows and 950 purses of gold extorted by Khurshid Pasha on his two expeditions, his patience failed him and he put Mohammed Din, together with two Seegolab sheikhs, into chains. Any hope the Pasha may have had of collecting a fraction of the tribute he demanded had gone.[1]

In the meantime Sheikh Mohammed Eila of the Halenga, true to his rôle of traitor, suggested to the Pasha that the most effective way of coercing the tribes of the Gash delta would be to dam the Gash in the neighbourhood of Jebel Kassala and thus prevent the water from reaching the delta.[2] The proposal was bound to appeal to a man of Ahmed Pasha's intelligence and, as the approach of the rains necessitated the abandonment of his stronghold at Aroma, he ordered the Hadendoa to collect 6,000 ardebs of grain at Kassala and set out in that direction.

The army plodded through the hideous countryside in the dust and heat of summer ; stumbled over the furrows of the parched cultivations and cut their way through the bush of the western channel of the Gash. The bald-headed vultures watched expectantly overhead and the gazelle fled in front, but the cavalry were threatened with a thousand blows each if they broke formation to give chase. The Pasha feared a sudden attack by Beja swordsmen while his army was entangled in the undergrowth, and Werne was reminded of the " fatal defeat of Khurshid Pasha, in which he lost two guns, to recover which a whole battalion, save one or two men, were sacrificed."[3] But in the middle of the column, riding a donkey, was Sheikh Mohamed Din, covered with chains, with the other prisoners following on foot. Possibly it was his presence in the Egyptian force that deterred the Beja from attempting an ambush and permitted the Egyptians to pitch their camp at Debbab unmolested.

[1] Werne, *loc. cit.*, p. 120.
[2] Werne, *loc. cit.*, p. 213.
[3] Werne, *loc. cit.*, p. 176.

The army rested five days at Debbab and it was June before it reached its destination and settled down at the foot of the northern end of Jebel Kassala.

The construction of the dam across the Gash was taken in hand at once under the direction of Werne, assisted by Mohammed Eila, who had previously attempted to build one himself.[1] They selected for their project the place where Jebel Kassala approaches closest to the Gash, and, if we are to believe Werne, it was a most ambitious affair. One cannot, however, avoid the conclusion that a dam nearly a mile long which took only a month to build must have been of very light construction.

Luckily the more practical plan of diverting the water down a branch of the river running towards the Atbara was not carried out. The dam was sited at an angle across the stream and was 1,220 metres long, or 1,613 metres if the retaining bank built by the Halenga was added.

It consisted of two rows of dom-palm logs sunk into the bed of the river with fibre mats filled with earth blocking the space between them. The mats were collected from the Halenga in lieu of tribute and 4,000 axes were used to fell the palms.

The fate of the dam is obscure because Werne is our only first-hand authority and his account is no doubt influenced by his vanity as an amateur engineer. He states that the dam succeeded in holding back some water, but that the Hadendoa overcame the guard of 200 men and breached it.

Ahmed Pasha, more secure in his palisaded camp at Kassala than he had been in the Gash, now began to send out marauding expeditions against the neighbouring tribes. Each raid returned with its quota of cattle and slaves. The slaves, chiefly from the negroid Baria and Baza tribes living in the Abyssinian foothills south-east of Kassala, were branded with a star on their shoulders and recruited into the army.

As for the Hadendoa, they continued to resist, for there was no sign of the release of Sheikh Mohammed Din. At length they ambushed a party of Bashi-Bazouks in the Gash and killed twenty-five of them. Ahmed Pasha sent one of his Circassian companions to take reprisals and he duly returned with a collection of human ears and whole herds of cattle. The Hadendoa immediately retaliated by attacking Goz Regab,

[1] Werne, *loc. cit.*, p. 214, for description of the dam.

killing twenty merchants and robbing the grain stores. Hassan Eff then made another raid, with a battalion of slaves taken from the officials, and returned with 2,900 cattle and 7,000 sheep. Finally the Pasha himself marched out to Debbab with a large force, while the river was still in flood and conditions could hardly have been worse. Two miles beyond Debbab the Beja made a half-hearted attack on the force and were easily repulsed by the fire of the musketeers from a square formation.

3.

In this way the town of Kassala was founded. It would be wrong to say that the Egyptians had overawed the Beja, but they had taken decisive steps to include Taka in their empire. A *Kashef* was stationed at Kassala[1] to supervise the collection of the tribute and the encampment was moved to the site of the present town to shorten the distance from the wells in the Gash. But the area was not yet raised to the dignity of a province.

Ahmed Pasha Abu 'Udan returned to Khartoum after the rains were over. He can be credited with at least four constructive acts before his death : the introduction of palm trees into Khartoum from Dongola ; the completion of the Khartoum Mosque ; the building of an indigo factory, as private venture, at Shambat ; and the admission of natives of the Sudan into Government service. In the meantime, his position was being undermined by the intrigues of his wife, a daughter of Mohammed Ali Pasha, who disapproved of his methods. For a time he managed to thwart her by intercepting her correspondence and by refusing to allow her to return to Cairo. But at length Mohammed Ali became suspicious, although Ahmed Pasha stinted himself to keep his master well supplied with money and slaves, and an order arrived for his return to Egypt. Abu 'Udan disregarded it and a corps of 400 Albanians had to be sent all the way from Cairo to bring him by force. Finally he cheated them, by dying of fever (hastened, it is said, by poison) before they arrived, and was buried in Khartoum, where his tomb still stands on the east side of Victoria Avenue.

The news from Taka was that Sheikh Mohammed Din had died in captivity and that the Hadendoa were in revolt once more.

[1] This was Omar Kashef Kurkatli, a Circassian who built the first buildings in the Kara quarter of Kassala.

CHAPTER III.

1.

Ahmed Pasha Abu 'Udan's conquest of Kassala was far from complete. No decisive battle had been fought and, after the final engagement in the Gash delta during the rainy season, he had been obliged to retreat to Kassala again. Moreover, only a part of the Beja tribes of the delta had been involved, and there was further trouble over the payment of tribute. Before long the situation became bad enough to induce Ahmed Pasha's successor Ahmed Pasha el Menekli, to undertake an expedition to Kassala immediately after his arrival in the Sudan in 1844. We know little of the circumstances of this expedition, but from the gruesome stories that still circulate among the tribes and the fact that this Ahmed Pasha was given the nickname of the Butcher (*El Gazzar*), there can be no doubt that he far excelled the " moderation " Abu 'Udan considered he had shown.

Scores of Beja were wantonly slaughtered and mutilated, wells were filled in, cattle maimed or driven away in herds. Men were killed for the Pasha's amusement and one of his officers admitted that he practised swordsmanship by trying to cut captives in half with one blow. Even the jealously guarded Beja women were handed to Bashi-Bazouks and when the Pasha returned to Khartoum he took with him forty of the tribal notables to be hanged in the market-place. The resistance of the tribes was broken and for forty years they never again attempted to dispute the occupation of their country.[1]

Between the years 1844 and 1863, when Ismail Pasha began to rule Egypt, the government did little more in Taka than complete Kassala as a fortress and overawe the local tribes. It cannot have been long before the Egyptians realised that the acquisition of the province carried with it few immediate benefits. The Beja tribesmen were far from

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[1] Lepsius, R., " Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and Sinai." Translated by J. B. Horner, London, 1853, pp. 186, 196, 199 *et seq.* Lepsius met Ahmed Pasha's expedition at Shendi on its way back to Khartoum. He was told by European witnesses that forty-one sheikhs had been driven off from the Gash with forked sticks on their necks, but of these twelve had already been shot on the road. The most distinguished of the sheikhs taken to Khartoum was Musa el Fagir of the Melitkinab. Lepsius ascertained from an Halenga sheikh called Mohammed Hamad that the following tribes or sub-tribes had been concerned in the rebellion: Mitkinab, Halenga, Kalolei, Mohammedab, Sobeh (*sic*) Seegalab and Hadendoa.

Dr. Peney, who served for many years as the head of the medical service in the Sudan, accompanied the expedition, but I have been unable to find that he left any record of it.

wealthy, and what little they possessed they were prepared to defend either with the sword or by playing hide-and-seek in the tangle of hills to the north and east of the Gash. Moreover, these lean and independent nomads were of small value either as slaves or conscripts, and it is not surprising to find that by 1852 the Egyptians were beginning to push eastwards once more in search of those elusive rewards that they, and others, felt must exist somewhere in this vast segment of Africa. They had certainly not revealed themselves in the plains of the Sudan ; the legendary mineral wealth of Fazogli and Beni Shangul had failed to fulfil its promise, and although there was land, including the Gash delta, with obvious agricultural potentialities, there was no question of its being fit for development by Egyptian colonists and the Government had neither the means, skill nor ability to develop it commercially either for its own benefit or the benefit of the inhabitants. The administration was essentially military, particularly so in Taka, and had the meagrest economic significance apart from the introduction of a more or less standardised currency, and the protection of a few foreign exporters of produce.

But to complete the picture let us glance at some aspects of the administration of the Sudan between 1844 and 1863, taking note of the intentions of its rulers and difficulties they had to contend with. This may not be strictly relevant to the history of Taka, but it contains certain points of general interest.

If the officials in the Sudan were disillusioned, Mohammed Ali Pasha continued to hope that El-Dorado would ultimately be discovered in the basin of the Nile. But Mohammed Ali's ventures depended for their success almost entirely on the amount of personal attention he was able to devote to them and he was aware that much of his work, even in Egypt, would die with him. How little then can he have expected of his representatives in the Sudan. He himself had a natural genius for government, but there was no educational system in Egypt at that time to turn out men of affairs capable of maintaining the kind of administration he had planned ; what educational system there was bred only theologians and ecclesiastical lawyers. Mohammed Ali's administration of the Sudan must therefore be counted as one of his least successful enterprises.

Some of the contemporary European accounts of conditions in Egypt during this period seem to have been inaccurate, and they certainly gave

Palmerston the mistaken impression that the Viceroy was nothing more than a savage tyrant. Accounts, on the other hand, of the wretched condition of the Sudan must have been substantially true, although they contained generalisations which were not applicable to all parts of the country. The tribes which felt the initial impact of the conquest undoubtedly suffered severely, but later, during the slave-hunting period, the sedentary blacks suffered much more than the pastoral Arabs.

This was no credit to the administration but was merely due to the fact that the Arabs were inaccessible and intransigent.

Although Mohammed Ali's representatives might enjoy considerable freedom of action in his absence they were not spared his invective. A Governor who neglected to send in the taxes received the following communication: "From this it clearly appears that you are a negligent blockhead and affords another proof that you are an ass." If the money is not immediately paid in, "be assured I will tear thee in pieces."[1] On a failure to send the requisite number of conscripts, he wrote: "And thou—ass that thou art!—what art thou doing?. . . For want of better men I have placed thee in office and made thee a Governor, and then! dost thou neglect thy duty in this way and delay it so long? . . . In the instant thou receivest this order put thy brains in thy head and send the rest of the men." . . . .[2]

But the Pasha could also write in a more sober vein, and he was astute enough to recognise that undue harshness was impolitic. When, in 1821, Ismail Pasha sent him a bag of ears, shorn from the Shaigia after a battle in Dongola, he replied: "J'ai bien reçu votre lettre en même temps que les oreilles des Chaïguiés. Et bien, cher fils, tous les gouvernements n'ignorent cependant pas que c'est par la justice seule qu'on peut s'attacher les cœurs des populations et que, pour conquérir un pays, il faut user de tact et d'esprit politique car aucun Gouvernement n'a su mener à bien son œuvre et accomplir sa tâche avec succès sans la justice, condition indispensable pour servir toute grande cause. Il eût été préférable que vous eussiez cherché à gagner la population des Chaïguiés par les ménagements et par la douceur au lieu d'exiger la remise des chevaux et des armes, et de provoquer ainsi la haine et la révolte. . . .[3]

[1] Dodwell, *loc. cit.*, p. 199.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Sabry, "L'Empire Egyptien . . .," p. 69.

Khorshid Pasha (Governor-General from 1826–1839) was one of his better representatives and he tried to do something towards repairing the havoc caused by the Defterdar. He made an extensive tour of inspection shortly after his arrival in the country and then held a meeting of the principal officials to study the causes of its maladministration and to find remedies for them. His recommendations, together with a full report on the country, were sent to Cairo, where the papers are said to lie unedited in the archives of the citadel.[1]

Perhaps it was this report that inspired Mohammed Ali to order eight of the most notable village head-men of Lower Egypt, with a hundred and ten other persons, to go to the Sudan to teach the natives Egyptian methods of cultivation.[2] But when he himself, at the age of seventy, visited the country in 1838—partly to inspect the place and partly to disembarrass himself of political difficulties at home—there was little evidence that his plans for the development of the country were being realised. Methods of cultivation were primitive, so experiments in the cultivation of sugar-cane, cotton and indigo were ordered and a number of Egyptians who had been trained as engineers were offered grants of 100 feddans of land tax-free for five years, on condition that they employed and trained a number of young Sudanese on their land. At the same time the Pasha exhorted the chiefs to seek and promote improvement: "If you follow the example of others," he said, "you too will rise from the level of beasts to that of men; you will acquire wealth and learn to enjoy pleasures which your ignorance does not allow you even to imagine."[3] And, we are told, "Les auditeurs émerveillés, surpris et confus, la prièrent par un mouvement spontané de les emmener en Egypte pour qu'ils s'y instruisent ses arts . . . . . Les Cheiks étaient dans l'enchantement; tous demandèrent à faire partir leurs enfants pour l'Egypte."[4]

The outcome of this ingenuous effort to develop the Sudan was that in about 1840 one or two factories were established at Soba, a few miles south of Khartoum, including a soap and brandy factory managed by one Bauer, a native of Würzberg, and a sugar and indigo factory managed by an Egyptian. Others were built at Kamlin and at Tamaniat, about

[1] Sabry, "L'Empire Egyptien . . .," p. 421.
[2] Dodwell, p. 53.
[3] Ibid., p. 54.
[4] Sabry, p. 425.

twenty miles north of Khartoum, where between five and six hundred of Ahmed Abu' Udan's serfs were employed in the manufacture of indigo.[1]

Mohammed Ali Pasha died, at the age of 80, in 1849. From 1847 Egypt had been virtually ruled by his warlike son, Ibrahim, but Ibrahim died in November, 1848, only a few weeks after he had read the *hatti sharif* conferring on him, on account of his father's senility, the government of the country. Abbas I, son of Toussoun, son of Mohammed Ali, succeeded and died, a debauched fanatic, in 1854, after undoing much of his grandfather's work. Saïd, Mohammed Ali's youngest son, succeeded him. His father put him in the navy, with some liberally minded French professors as tutors, where he came into close contact with humble people he would normally never have met, and thus acquired an unusual sympathy for the lot of the "fellahin." But he became too fat for the navy and was generally considered a little unbalanced, doubtless because his ideas were too liberal for his station in life. The real trouble was that he lacked the ability to put his plans into practice.[2]

His actions when he became Khedive—one cannot call them achievements—are worth recording. He prohibited the importation of slaves into Egypt, abolished corporal punishment, and by the land law of 1858 secured to the fellahin an acknowledgment of freehold as against the crown. Nor was he a mere social ideologist, for he gave de Lesseps, in the face of Palmerston's opposition, the concession for the construction of the Suez Canal, introduced railways into Egypt and gave concessions to both the Eastern Telegraph Company and the Bank of Egypt. Little did he know of the trouble he was storing up for his country by his innocent dealings with the first of the horde of European company promoters which was to follow them. Finally, in 1862, Saïd Pasha started Egypt on her path to virtual bankruptcy by contracting a loan of £1,200,000 with the Bank of Saxe-Meiningen. When he was told that the loan had

[1] Lepsius, *loc. cit.*, pp. 163, 190.

[2] Brehier, L., "L'Egypte de 1798 à 1900," Paris, 1900, p. 154.
"Le Gargantua, dit E. About, qui en a tracé une sorte de caricature, était un de ces colosses débonnaires, bons vivants, gros plaisants, grands mangeurs et buveurs mirifiques . . . Sa main était de taille à souffleter les éléphants ; sa face large, haute en couleur, hérissée d'une barbe a tous crins, exprimait la bonté, la franchise, la générosité, le courage, mais tout cela quelque peu barbouillé de cynisme. Il avait le malheur de mépriser les hommes sans exception, en sorte qu'il ne se respectait pas toujours assez lui-même." And, concedes the Frenchman of 1900, "tres tolérant, il confia son fils à une gouvernante anglaise et nomma un chrétien gouverneur du Soudan." The former presumably called for the greater tolerance.

been subscribed five times over, he is said to have replied : " If fifteen millions have been subscribed, why not take them all ? It would be such a pity to disappoint anybody."[1]

Saïd Pasha took an interest in the affairs of the Sudan that might be expected from a man with his taste for righting wrong. He began, a little unfortunately, by spending £50,000 on preparations for Comte d'Escayrac de Lauture's expedition to discover the sources of the Nile, although it never left Egypt, and by sending Prince Halim Pasha there on a tour of inspection. Shortly afterwards, however, he undertook the arduous journey himself and arrived in Khartoum on the 16th January, 1857 At first what he saw of it made him determine to abandon the administration of the country altogether, but he changed his mind, and ten days after his arrival in Khartoum issued the first of a series of four orders to the Governors, beginning : " Vous avez appris ce que chérit mon cœur et ce qui m'a préoccupé pour la prospérité du pays et pour le bien-être des populations ; vous connaissez aussi l'etude que je viens de faire pour l'appréciation de ce qui peut développer leur fortune, leur éviter des peines, les mettre à l'abri des vexations, afin qu'elles puissent arriver au comble de la prospérité, en éloignant d'elles l'injustice et l'abus du pouvoir."[2] His orders were not uniformly wise or practical. For instance, he made his control of the administration of the Sudan even less practicable by dividing it into five independent provinces, each answerable to Cairo. Then he proclaimed that the slave-trade was abolished and put an isolated military post on the Sobat for the purpose of stopping it. Taxation was standardised and provincial advisory councils appointed to advise on its assessment and collection. Communications with Egypt were to be speeded up by establishing post-stations every five hours along the route to Korosko for the relay of the mail, and M. Mougel submitted, on his invitation, plans for a railway from Wadi Halfa to Khartoum which were impossibly expensive.[3]

The villainous Beys of the Sudan must have been both amazed and amused at his orders. Six years later a Governor-General was again appointed.

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[1] Dicey, E., " The Story of the Khedivate," London, 1902, p. 24.

[2] Abbate, Dr., " De L'Afrique Centrale ou Voyage de S.A. Mohammed-Saïd-Pacha dans les Provinces du Soudan," Paris, 1858, p. 29.

[3] Ibid., pp. 29-46.

There were hardly any indigenous Egyptians among the rulers of the Sudan at that time. This, however, was not believed to account for the state of affairs that existed, for the Turks, said a contemporary traveller, "always stole more decently than the Arabs." But the lack of any proper administrative staff was pronounced. Werne's description of Ahmed Pasha Abu 'Udan, who was credited with the reorganisation of the machinery of the government, at work during the Kassala expedition is probably a fair account of the central government of those days.[1]

"In one small room many Coptish clerks are easily lodged, and seldom less than five are reckoning up large sums or drawing up most important reports in a space where no European clerk would find room to perform the most trifling duty. . . . As an instance, the Pascha . . . . is not only military but also civil Governor of all Bellad-Sudan; all business and other state matters, without exception, must fall on him, must be cared for by him, and letters and orders sent regarding them. Daily there arrives a dromedary courier (*hagahn*) with the post (*posta*), and his *jarre* (leather sack) is full of letters for the Pascha, who reads all of them, and generally answers most; among them are those from the different ministers in Cairo and Alexandria, which usually require direct answers, or contain certain orders, which again must be promulgated in all provinces. Then came reports from the extensive province of Kordofan, from the districts of Dongola, Berber, Chartoum, Sennaar, Faszogl: from the Kaschefs of Kataref, Sauachinn, Atisch, Karreri, Wollet Mèdine, Schendy, Gos Rajeb, Rosseres: then there is the correspondence with the Sheiks of the different Arab tribes who are tributaries, as the Kababish Arabs on the left bank of the White Nile . . . .; the Mograbins, Bischari, Schukarie, Batahanie, the tribe of Abu Ginn in Atisch, of the Dabaina, Homrahn, Baghara, Fungh, Hammech, and others. And how many secretaries and clerks has the Pascha for all this? In all, five! Mallem Challil, with two copyists; Sheik Effendi, as journal keeper; and Mustapha Effendi, as conductor of the Turkish correspondence; and even these have at times an idle day. Much simplified, certainly, is the writing; inasmuch as the Pascha only gives out dictatorial orders, that must be obeyed without further remonstrance or petitioning . . . ."

Mallem Challil, the Chief Clerk, had an unenviable lot ". . . during the day, he is summoned at least twenty times to his master; during the

[1] Werne, "African Wanderings," p. 197.

whole time he is in the presence, often three or four hours, he must ever stand, and at night, when His Excellency cannot sleep, and coffee taken four or five times does not succeed in soothing him, some thought will come perchance into his head, and the unfortunate secretary is at once sent for to write it down. . . . From all this, Challil is silent, melancholy, and drinks, in the evening (his day's work over), to keep up his strength, six or eight fingan or small coffee cups of araki, as this, he fancies, more quickly cheers him than wine. . . . He has now been seven years absent from Cairo, all the time with the Pascha, and his wife and children are still in that city, as the Pascha will not permit her to join him, that his secrets may be better kept."[1]

Finally there was the supreme difficulty of distance and of the wide dispersal of the populace, in itself sufficiently pronounced to upset the ideas of governmental control possessed by rulers from any country with a comparatively dense population.

It is not easy to describe the Government's policy at this period towards the administration of the tribes, for although there is evidence that certain principles were recognised, they were inevitably subordinated to local expediency.

The hereditary rulers were, in theory, allowed to continue in the exercise of their traditional authority, so long as they did not fall foul of the local government, but there were many claimants to chieftainship who were ready to sacrifice the patriarchal attributes of the office for the favour of the Turks. At the best the two were not easily reconcilable, although some representatives of the great sheikhly families succeeded in satisfying the requirements of both, even though they were obliged to do so at the expense of other tribes. For instance, when the Pasha carried out a punitive expedition, the principal sheikhs often accompanied him and supplied irregular troops to assist in the chastisement of their neighbours. Yet tribal spirit and discipline persisted in spite of the Turks, for as long as there was no efficient and benevolent government, the principal *raison d'être* of the tribal system—self-preservation—remained. On the other hand one observer, commenting on the condition of the people in Berber, remarked that: "Their former chiefs and meliks are now sinking fast to the wretched level of the peasants. Stripped of their patrimonial wealth and estates, and shut out from their other

[1] Werne, "African Wanderings," p. 188.

sources of gain—commerce and exactions—they are now forced to pay court to the Turkish governors, to obtain or preserve a scanty pension which is almost their only means of subsistence. The chiefs have suffered more than the peasants from the domination of the Pasha, who has followed the usual policy of all conquerors, by systematically aiming 'to cut off the highest of the poppy heads.'"[1] This was probably true of the leaders of the sedentary tribes, but not equally true among the nomads.

So much for the better intentions and difficulties of the Government. It is notable that any credit that is due goes to those who proposed reforms for an administration that was assumed to be rotten. Unfortunately the reforms were uniformly chimerical. To the heterogeneous brigands who were in charge of the immediate task of ruling the Sudan the populace were mostly "slaves," the country repellent and the climate deadly. Their chief aim was to leave it as quickly as possible, unless under its baleful influence they had lost even the initiative to return home. What then could be more appropriate than that they should have given thought to reaping some compensatory reward for their exile? It should be remembered, however, that they merely reflected the degree of civilisation then reached in the countries of their origin and that, although we may describe their shortcomings in our own terms, they should be judged by the standards they themselves had been set.

2.

The ruler of Taka from about 1845 to 1860 was one Elias Bey, a renegade Cretan who constructed much of the town and completed the surrounding wall,[2] begun when Ahmed Pasha el Menekli visited the place. After a chequered career, in the course of which he appears to have been either dismissed or relegated to a subordinate post on more than one occasion, he died in Kassala—some say he committed suicide—just as an investigation into the disappearance of 5,000 dollars was about to be opened. In 1860 Ali Bey, an amiable person, was Governor,[3] and

[1] Hookins, G. A., "Travels in Ethiopia," London, 1835, p. 58.

[2] "The fortifications of the town, although useless against cannon, are considered by the Arabs as impregnable. The walls are of solid mud and sun-baked bricks, carefully loopholed for musketry, while a deep fosse, by which it is surrounded, is a safeguard against a sudden surprise." Baker, Sir S. W., "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia," London, 1883, p. 51.

[3] "M. de Beurmann parle de l'administration d'Ali Bey comme devait en parler un voyageur qui n'avait pas assez vécu avec les mudirs du vice-roi pour distinguer contre l'honnêteté relative et le cynisme absolu." Lejean, G., "Voyage aux Deux Nils," Paris, 1865, p. 136.

he was followed about three years later by Ibrahim Bey el Mahallawi, who gained notoriety by leading a punitive expedition into the Gash, after which he is reputed to have hanged 200 recalcitrant Beja in Kassala market; and yet when Sir Samuel Baker visited Kassala in 1861 he commented, in the manner of a Victorian imperialist, that: "Although the Egyptians are hard masters, and do not worry themselves about the well-being of the conquered races, it must be remembered that, prior to the annexation, all the tribes were at war among themselves. There was neither government nor law: thus the whole country was closed to Europeans. At present, there is no more danger in travelling in Upper Egypt than in crossing Hyde Park after dark, provided the traveller be just and courteous. At the time of my visit to Cassala in 1861, the Arab tribes were separately governed by their own chiefs or sheiks, who were responsible to the Egyptian authorities for the taxes due from their people. . . . The iron hand of despotism has produced a marvellous change among the Arabs, who are rendered utterly powerless by the system of government adopted by the Egyptians; unfortunately, this harsh system has the effect of paralysing all industry."[1]

It was unfortunate also that the concentration of the Turks on the maintenance of public security was related to their own safety, and the safety of other foreigners, rather than to the suppression of inter-tribal feuds. The tribes continued to fight among themselves and, after they had shed each other's blood, one side or the other might enlist the assistance of the Government to take punitive action against their enemies and thereby increase the destruction. At first the Halengi, Mohammed Eila, was the most favoured sheikh in Taka, but he met his end at the hands of the Seegolab when he went with Elias Bey to divide their tribute. The Government sent out a force, accompanied by the whole of the Halenga, which took merciless revenge.

Kassala was by 1860 becoming a considerable market as well as a fortress. A mud fortification with seven bastions surrounded the town: within it were the produce merchants and craftsmen, and without, opposite the eastern gate, the meat and vegetable markets. An Egyptian was the chief merchant, but most of the others were Jaalin who traded in the celebrated "durra" grown in the Gash delta. Otherwise there appears

[1] Baker, *ibid.*, p. 62.

to have been little to export, although as early as 1861 Malem Georgis, a Greek merchant of Kassala, had begun to cultivate cotton alongside his ferry at Ghurashi on the Atbara.

In short, the first twenty years of Egyptian rule in Taka amounted to little more than a military occupation which benefited neither the Egyptians nor the local inhabitants. After the Beja had learnt that they could not turn out the invaders it remained for them to avoid the Government whenever possible by keeping to a nomadic life in the hills. In the Gash, there was a Government post at Fillic (close to the modern well centre at Eigir), and sheikhs were charged with the collection of tribute. The Beja, however, suffered less from the occupation than the sedentaries of the Nile and the west, for Egypt was still pre-occupied with the possibility of adding even more useless possessions to her already unprofitable empire in the eastern Sudan.

CHAPTER IV.

1.

The occupation of Kassala had wider implications than the upset of the indigenous nomads; but to appreciate its true significance some knowledge is necessary of contemporary Egyptian, British and Abyssinian history.[1]

At the beginning of the century, as we have already seen, Egypt was a chaotic province in a Turkish empire that was rotten to the core. But after Mohammed Ali had gained, in 1804, the nomination of the Porte as Viceroy of Egypt, he rapidly changed the country into one aggressive and coherent unit in the Turkish empire. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that he was not content to confine his activities to Egypt nor to acquiese in his subservience to the Porte.

For the first twenty years of his rule he continued to pay lip service to the Sultan and, at the same time, to seek the support of either England or France against the day when he would declare his independence; without it he dared not take the final step which he knew would remove the one sound prop supporting the tottering edifice of the Turkish empire. Unfortunately for him, however, European policy in the eastern Mediterranean had been based for so many years on the unity of that empire

[1] Detailed references to the established facts and interpretations of the history contained in this chapter are unnecessary. See Dodwell, "The Founder of Modern Egypt", the relevant articles in the Encyclopædia Britannica and the "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. X, xvii.

that none of the Powers could contemplate its disintegration with equanimity.

But Mohammed Ali's ambitions did not lie in Europe. He told Salt, the British Consul-General, that "Syria and Damascus and Arabia are, in fact, at my disposition. . . . If your Government support me, as I hope, if it will acknowledge me, when occasion arises, as an independent prince, I shall be satisfied."[1] But his proposal for forming a Muslim kingdom embracing these countries, and therefore controlling the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, was inopportune. The true importance of the short overland route to India was beginning to be recognised and England had to consider seriously any support she might be asked to give to a man who proposed to upset the long established *status quo* along it.

Palmerston, who became Foreign Secretary in 1830, confirmed the view that the Turkish empire must be preserved and that the surest way of preserving it was to keep Mohammed Ali in his position as its main support. He was suspicious of him: "His real design," he wrote, "is to establish an Arabian kingdom, including all the countries of which Arabic is the language. There might be no harm in such a thing in itself; but as it would necessarily imply the dismemberment of Turkey, we could not agree to it. Besides, Turkey is as good an occupier of the road to India as an active Arabian sovereign would be."[2] So long as Palmerston adhered to this view there was little more for Mohammed Ali to do, and the end was finally reached in 1841, when a combined British, Austrian and Russian fleet forced the Egyptian out of Syria and when, under the threats of the British admiral who appeared with a squadron at Alexandria, Mohammed Ali accepted the terms of the Powers. His position was defined in two proclamations issued by the Porte. Henceforward, in return for an annual tribute of £16,000, the government of the Pashalik of Egypt was to be hereditary in Mohammed Ali's family, but his influence was to be confined in Egypt, Sinai, the Sudan and certain places on the Arabian side of the Red Sea; his army was limited to 18,000 and a fleet forbidden. As a political force in international affairs Mohammed Ali's career was ended. He was an old man and his mind was weakening; for the rest of his days he was not even able to make the most of the possessions left to him.

[1] Dodwell, p. 88.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 123.

2.

Throughout Mohammed Ali's career it is clear that the realisation of his ambitions would depend largely on his ability to reconcile them with the British interests they affected. From the beginning of the century the Government and merchants of India had become more and more aware of the value of the short overland route to England either by way of the Red Sea and Egypt or the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia, but for many years the uncertainty of public security in these Turkish provinces had limited its usefulness. When Mohammed Ali came into power that, at least, was assured in the countries under his control and, as the use of the route increased, particularly after the steamship " Hugh Lindsay " had sailed up the Red Sea in 1830, the issues became clearer. Mohammed Ali wished to be allowed to form his Arab kingdom, possibly to revive the old Khalifate of Cairo, and then in return for her support, to guarantee the protection of the overland route. Palmerston, on the other hand, distrusted Mohammed Ali, but had boundless confidence in the power of his own country, and he decided that the protection of the route must be carried out directly by British arms. In the pursuance of this policy Aden was occupied and a careful watch was kept on the encroachment of other powers along the shores of the Red Sea.

British policy towards Abyssinia was also coloured by our interests in India. In 1805 Lord Valentia had visited the larger ports of the Red Sea and drawn attention to the value of our trade between Bombay and Massawa, the main entrepot for Abyssinian trade. Mr. H. Salt, who accompanied Lord Valentia, was sent by the British Government to report on Abyssinia and conclude a treaty of friendship with the Abyssinian feudal lord in the immediate hinterland of Massawa. This he did and the British Government began to take a greater interest in the internal affairs of the country.[1]

The first hint of future complications arose when Ibrahim Pasha, Mohammed Ali's eldest son and most successful general, was appointed

[1] See Annesley, G. A. (Earl of Mountnorris), " Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, 1802–06," 3 vols., London, 1809. H. Salt (later Consul-General in Egypt) was artist to the expedition and in 1809 took a letter from George III to the king of Abyssinia. See Salt, H., " A Voyage to Abyssinia," etc., 1809–10, London, 1814. Two members of the expedition (Mr. Coffin and Nathaniel Pearce, an insubordinate able seaman) remained in the country. See Pearce, N., " Life and Adventures," London, 1831, and Bibliography of Budge's " A History of Abyssinia," London, 1928, for their MSS. in British Museum.

Wali of the Hejaz and Abyssinia after he had overcome the Wahabbis of Arabia in 1818. Abyssinia was included in the title because, in the 16th century, Sultan Selim I had taken over the posts of the Red Sea including Massawa and collected customs dues in them. The Turks had never penetrated far into the interior and had never reached the Abyssinian plateau, nor had they ever been in continual occupation of Massawa itself, but it was normal oriental diplomacy that they should include in their empire, as a part of the Pashalik of Mecca, a country which they considered they could occupy if they ever wished to do so. Their claim appeared slightly ludicrous at the time because in 1797 they were paying the Ras of Tigre (the northern province of Abyssinia) half the customs receipts of the port for the protection of their own garrison.

A more imminent cause for fearing Turkish interference in Abyssinia became evident when Mohammed Ali undertook his Sudan campaign in 1820. Salt, who was then Consul-General in Cairo, interviewed Mohammed Ali Pasha in order to find out what the limits of the expedition were to be. He found that the Pasha was quite prepared to invade Abyssinia, after occupying Sennar, although he appeared to have no conception of the size of the task as compared with that of quelling the tribes of the Nile valley. Salt informed him, however, that any aggression against Abyssinia would displease the British Government, for, he said, Abyssinia was, to a certain extent, under British protection. He also mentioned that Abyssinia was the only country in Africa that had preserved its Christianity and that none of the European nations could disregard an unprovoked attack on it.[1] To this Mohammed Ali immediately replied (for he then thought the interests of Egypt and England were mutually reconcilable), that, if the conquest of Abyssinia were unwelcome to England, he would abandon the idea even though success were certain and the reward great.

In the years that followed Mohammed Ali was too involved in his Syrian and Morean campaigns to have the time or money to take much interest in the further expansion in Africa, but in 1838 he still found it necessary to placate England by dismissing the Governor-General of the Sudan for carrying out a raid into Abyssinia from the frontier post at Gallabat as far as the royal town of Gondar.[2] In the same year Mohammed

[1] Sabry, " L'Empire Egyptien, etc.," p. 67.
[2] Mengin, p. 98, *et al.*

Ali Pasha himself, although over seventy years of age, undertook the arduous journey to the Sudan and followed the Blue Nile south of Sennar towards the Abyssinian frontier.[1] With him was the Ahmed Pasha who, in 1840, founded Kassala, and one may be sure that the question of invading Abyssinia was discussed and that the occupation of Kassala was one of the results of the discussion. It should be remembered that in 1840 it was already clear that the Powers would not allow Mohammed Ali to build up an independent kingdom in the Levant, and it followed that Mohammed Ali's ambitions must in future be directed towards expansion in Africa. Moreover, the prevailing uncertainty was such that Ahmed Pasha had visions of an independent kingdom of Nigritia, embracing Abyssinia, and with himself as its ruler. That the Egyptians did not take immediate and vigorous action was due to Mohammed Ali's failing health, the limitation of his army, and his financial exhaustion.

3.

There can be little doubt that if Mohammed Ali had spent on the conquest of Abyssinia the energy and money he wasted on his campaigns in the Levant, he could have added it to his empire, for during the first half of the century Abyssinia was in a turmoil. The Negus was a puppet in the hands of his feudal lords and the whole country was so wasted by civil warfare that its vulnerability to foreign invasion was obvious. Unless a ruler could be found strong enough to organise its defences by overawing these feudal lords, there was little hope for the maintenance of its independence. Its vulnerability was most evident between 1840 and 1850, but, luckily for Abyssinia, the European nations had not yet fully developed their African policies and Egypt was exhausted.

In the meantime, a man of comparatively humble birth but exceptional ability was emerging in Abyssinia, who, by the force of his personality and his prowess in warfare, was winning a commanding position for himself. Kassa, later the Emperor Theodore,[2] lost his father when he was young, but he received a good clerical education in a monastery and military experience under the guidance of one of the minor feudal lords in the western part of the country. Under him Kassa fought

[1] See Mengin, F., "Histoire sommaire de l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed Ali," Paris, 1839, III, p. 481. This is M. Jomard's translation from the Turkish of the official account of the tour. Sabry, p. 422, alleges that it is inaccurate and retranslates parts of it.

[2] See Budge, "History of Ethiopia," II, p. 492.

against the Egyptians, who, at that time, were continually coming into collision with the Abyssinians among the western foothills, and he gradually collected round him a band of adventurous young men which soon developed into a formidable army.

As his power grew and his following increased, Ras Ali of Amhara, who claimed the title of Negus Negasti (King of Kings) tried, unsuccessfully, to crush him. Ras Ali's mother also sent an army against him, but it encountered Musa Pasha Hamdi, the local Egyptian leader, who scattered it by artillery fire and captured the queen's daughter Tawabatch. Then Kassa appeared and also attacked the queen's army, capturing the queen herself. But when he heard that Tawabatch was in the hands of the Egyptians he turned on them and rescued her.[1]

Kassa's power was still further enhanced by his marriage to this same Princess Tawabatch in 1847. By 1853 he was master of all central Abyssinia and in 1854 he was crowned " King of Kings " with the name of Theodore. It was his ambition to restore Abyssinia to the position she had held under the greatest of her ancient kings and he was fanatically determined to repulse any aggression by the Turks.

4.

These were the conditions to which the newly founded town of Kassala was heir. Ahmed Pasha Abu 'Udan looked on it as a stepping-stone to his own usurpation of Abyssinia ; Mohammed Ali Pasha as an important strategical point for a similar purpose. But Theodore was ready to resist any encroachment on his country with a large and fierce army or even to invade the Sudan himself, while England was ready to interfere to protect her own interests. Whatever else might happen, it was certain that blood would be spilt.

It should be remembered that the Turkish Empire, like the other Asiatic empires, suffered from the most elastic of boundaries. With regard to Abyssinia we have seen that the whole country was claimed on the strength of their precarious occupation of Massawa, and Theodore, not to be outdone, claimed the whole of the Sudan as far as the junction of the Nile and the Atbara on the strength of some long-forgotten raid in that direction. Apart from these widely divergent views as to the position of the boundary, the nomads who lived on the frontier between

[1] Budge, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 487.

the areas actually occupied by each side gave cause for constant friction. Nomads have little respect for boundaries even if they know where they are, for they are obliged to follow the grass on which their existence depends. It often happened, therefore, that a tribe on which the Egyptians imposed the payment of a tribute might move beyond the sphere of Egyptian occupation before it was paid; and the Egyptians who gave chase, for the purpose of extracting it, usually claimed sovereignty not only over the tribe, but also over whatever land the tribe happened to be occupying. Frequently a tribe may be forced to pay a tribute to both sides.

If the nomads were the principal cause of border friction, there were other causes also. The Jaalin followers of Mek Nimr, who had assassinated Ismail Pasha in 1822, had established themselves on the river Setit in an uninhabited area claimed by both Abyssinians and Egyptians. There they had sought Abyssinian protection and Mek Nimr's son had married the daughter of the local chief and had been given the Abyssinian feudal rank of Dejazmatch. In this remote stronghold they were conveniently placed for raiding the tribes of the Sudan, while the Egyptians were timorously eager for the opportunity of getting even with them. Finally there were the local Egyptian commanders, irresponsible and far from higher control, who considered that they would gain divine merit by harrying the infidel Abyssinians, apart from any mundane profit that might be incidental to it. Their methods were cruel to a degree, but no worse than those employed by the Abyssinians.

So, from every point of view, the prospect along the Abyssinian frontier was threatening, and, for the first twenty-five years of its existence, Kassala was little more than a jumping-off place for the Egyptian forces.

CHAPTER V.

1.

There were three points from which Egyptian troops could harass Abyssinia: Gallabat in the west, Kassala in the north-west, and Massawa in the north-east. Each of these places could hold a concentration of troops and from each there was access to the Abyssinian plateau.

At Gallabat friction was set up as soon as the Egyptians occupied the place in 1832, for the large settlement of negroids from Darfur and Wadai which had sprung up there was claimed by both the Egyptians

and the Abyssinians.[1] Although operations on a large scale were prohibited by Mohammed Ali Pasha's agreement with England, the local Egyptian commander was not deterred from raiding the neighbourhood for Abyssinian slaves, and the local Abyssinian barons were always ready to enrich themselves at the expense of the Muslim nomads.

The first serious conflict occurred in 1838, when a party of Egyptian soldiers bent on the collection of taxes from the tribes of Gallabat came into a collision with an Abyssinian force executing a similar mission. The Egyptians attacked the Abyssinians outside Gallabat to prevent their taking the town, but they were outnumbered and repulsed. Khurshid Pasha, the Governor-General, at once despatched a regiment of regular troops and a thousand irregular cavalry to avenge the defeat. The neighbourhood of Gallabat was soon cleared of Abyssinians, the country ravaged, churches defiled, and women enslaved, while the powerless Negus Sahlé Dengal hid himself in his house.[2]

There was, however, the powerful feudal Ras Kamfu of Kwara in the neighbourhood, who, hearing that Khurshid Pasha had threatened to destroy all the twenty-two churches of Gondar, collected a strong army and followed the Egyptians to Gallabat. At Abu Kalambu, Ras Kamfu brought them to battle and cruelly revenged the raid on Gondar by killing about a thousand Egyptians and mutilating many others. The incident was the cause of much of the bitterness that marked the subsequent relations between the two countries. Not only had each taken slaves and practised mutilation, but the defiling of the churches had accentuated the religious differences between them. Moreover, Kassa, the future Emperor Theodore, was with his uncle, Ras Kamfu, throughout the campaign, and became the implacable enemy of all Egyptians and Muslims.

The incident did not, however, end with the defeat of the Turks. Ras Oubie of Tigre, the most powerful chief in the country, complained of the Egyptian infringement of Abyssinian territory to the French and

[1] Lejean, " Voyage aux Deux Nils," p. 143, *loc. cit.*, p. 129, for an account of the negroid settlement at Gallabat.

[2] Mengin, p. 98, Madden, p. 104. Blue Book : Abyssinia, 1854, June 30th, p. 49, states that Gondar was sacked. This is not corroborated by either the Sudan account (MacMichael, II, p. 398) or the Abyssinian account (Budge, " A History of Ethiopia," II, p. 482). Khurshid Pasha merely threatened to attack Gondar (Lejean, " Voyage aux Deux Nils," p. 133).

British Consuls in Cairo. Pressure was brought to bear on Mohammed Ali Pasha and Khurshid was recalled to Egypt, where an inquiry was held which resulted in his dismissal.[1]

For twenty years the bickering and frontier clashes continued in the Gallabat area, although no major operations were undertaken, but when Theodore became Ras of Kwara he adopted a more aggressive attitude. The Egyptians, however, did not respond for their frontier garrisons were depleted, and it is significant that Mek Nimr's Jaalin and other Sudan fugitives could live on the Setit unpunished for their frequent raids on the neighbouring tribes.

In 1862, however, Musa Pasha Hamdi, soon after his appointment as Governor-General, came into conflict with the Emperor Theodore. Musa Pasha had wide experience of the Sudan and had earned for himself an evil reputation by his inhuman treatment of the Beja during Ahmed Pasha el Gazzar's campaign of 1844. The immediate *casus belli* at Gallabat was a letter sent by Theodore to the Sheikh of the Takarir who represented the Egyptian Government there. " In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, there is one God. To my son Sheikh Shouma of Gallabat : from the King of Kings of Ethiopia : Theodore. How are you ? Thanks be to God I am well. I have destroyed all the kings of Bechir, seizing captives and animals, and now I shall come after the rains to Metemma (Gallabat). Have a care, therefore, that you prohibit the export of all maize and honey, for I shall need them for my army."[2]

This was sent to Khartoum and Musa Pasha at once began to reinforce his army by the usual method of raiding the savage tribes of the Nuba Mountains and the Upper Nile. At length he was able to leave Khartoum for Gallabat with 3,000 regular infantry and 5,000 irregulars, but, as it turned out, the nomads under Egyptian rule suffered more from his expedition than Abyssinians, for Theodore, declining to descend from the hills to give battle, wrote that he and his army of 40,000 were unable to leave the vicinity of Lake Tsana because it was Lent and they must eat fish. Musa Pasha waited for them until an epidemic of smallpox forced him to disband his army. He himself moved north, attacked and burnt Mai Gubba, the headquarters of Mek Nimr's Jaalin on the Setit, and then returned to Khartoum by way of Kassala.[3]

[1] Madden, p. 135. The arrival of 2,000 Abyssinian slaves in Cairo started an anti-slavery campaign in the French and British press.
[2] Lejean, " Voyage aux Deux Nils," p. 130.
[3] Lejean, *ibid.*

The Jaalin of Mek Nimr had by now become little more than bandits along the frontier. At first they had formed a large settlement under the protection of the powerful Ras Oubie of Tigre, but in 1829 Khurshid Pasha had issued a pardon to all the Jaalin except Mek Nimr and his family and most of them returned to the Nile. Mek Nimr himself died in 1845 and the leadership passed to his son Omara, who pursued his banditry with energy. In 1850 he even raided the vicinity of Kassala with a large force of Abyssinians and followed this up by claiming Suk Abu Sin (Gedaref) as part of the Ras of Tigre's territory. His existence was, however, precarious, for both the Abyssinians, under whom he held a military rank, and the neighbouring nomads were continually plotting to betray him to one side or the other. His participation in the civil wars of Abyssinia also reduced his following. But during the visit of Saïd Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, to the Sudan, a pardon was given to all Mek Nimr's family in the hope that it would help to make the Abyssinian border more settled. Unfortunately, before the news reached Omara he had seized the Egyptian post at Doka, on the road between Gallabat and Gedaref, and started to collect customs dues on the produce passing through it. The matter was brought to the notice of both the French and British authorities with the result that Omara was repudiated by Theodore and outlawed by the Egyptians.

Omara had to leave Doka, and in 1861 he was wounded when his village of Mai Gubba was attacked by an Egyptian force. He died of his wounds and the rest of the Nimrab were harried during Musa Pasha Hamdi's expedition to Gallabat. Finally the remnant were allowed to return to Shendi after another of Nimr's sons, Hassan, had visited the Khedive in Cairo to intercede on their behalf.[1]

2.

The activities of the Egyptians to the east of Kassala had a more definite objective.

As soon as they arrived in Kassala they began to raid the tribes and imposed a tribute on the Beni Amer tribe inhabiting the valley of the river Baraka. But the Beja nomads were small game; they were difficult to find, unsuitable slave material and poor in animals. Beyond the Baraka,

[1] Robinson, A. E., "Nimr, the last King of Shendi," S.N.R., Vol. VIII, 1925.

however, was a much more promising country. The high plateau which forms part of modern Eritrea north of the Mareb (Gash) was an appendage of Tigre cut off from the main part of the province by the valley of the Mareb. The southern part of the plateau is called Hamasein and drains into the Mareb, and the northern part, drained by the Ainseba, a tributary of the Baraka, is generally known as Bogos, although the name is wrongly applied.

This tongue of Christian high-land was surrounded on three sides by Muslim tribes who, in the pursuit of religious merit, preyed upon it continually.[1] The inhabitants were nominally under the protection of the Ras of Tigre, although this implied little more than the necessity for paying tribute to him: they had to devise their own means of defence by keeping to their hills. But the boys and girls who tended the flocks were frequently stolen and sold into slavery. As many as fifty-three were sold in Massawa in 1842.

The Egyptians in Kassala did not extend their raids to Bogos until 1850, after they had reached an amicable understanding with the intervening Beni Amer, who, although they had sometimes paid tribute, had hitherto been considered too dangerous to coerce. But in 1848, as the result of a tax-gathering patrol, one of the leading Beni Amer sheikhs killed fifty of his escort and fled to the Ras of Tigre for protection. The Egyptians retaliated by capturing the chief of the Beni Amer, who had been hiding from them since the occupation of Kassala. On this occasion, however, they used some tact in dealing with a Beja chief, and instead of imprisoning him and alienating his tribe, they confirmed him in his office and thereby won his friendship and the support of his tribe.[2]

As soon as Elias Bey, Governor of Taka, had come to an agreement with the Beni Amer he planned a joint raid with them into Bogos. The raiding party reached a point a few miles short of Senheit, but the Bilein had been warned of his approach and drove their cattle into the hills. All that Elias Bey found were some empty houses, which he burnt, and some old women, whom he killed. Then, with thirty boys and girls he had picked up during his march, he returned to Kassala.

In 1854 another and larger raid was carried out. Without any warning Khursau Bey, Elias's successor as Governor at Kassala, set out

[1] Lejean, Ibid., p. 145.
[2] Plowden, W. C., "Travels in Abyssinian and the Galla Country," London, 1868, p. 19.

with a body of regular troops supported by a host of Beja braves whom he had invited to accompany him. He approached the plateau by two different passes and took the Bilein by surprise. They tried to put up a resistance, but fifty men were soon killed and the rest scattered. Then he pillaged the countryside, burning the large village of Mogara to the ground and driving off three hundred and eighty persons, mostly women and children, together with some sixty herds of cattle. But Khursau Bey was unaware of the presence of a young Lazarist missionary, Giovanni Stella, who had arrived in Bogos earlier in the year, and had begun to do excellent work among the terrified population. Stella was absent when the raid occurred, but he returned on the following day and at once decided to go to Kassala himself to protest to the Governor. Khursau Bey, however, refused to either listen to him or to admit that Stella had any right to take upon himself the rôle of spokesman for the Bilein. The Christians, he said, were rebels whom the Egyptian Government had every right and intention to suppress.[1]

Stella then returned to Senheit, where he met Mr. W. C. Plowden, the British Consul at Massawa, who was touring the district, and Plowden decided to go to Kassala himself to inquire into the matter in spite of the fact that there was doubt as to whether his instructions as Consul entitled him to do this. He arrived there in April, 1854, and, not unnaturally, received no satisfaction. "The Bey," he wrote, "appears to be a man fanatic in his creed, and who still hopes to propagate that creed by the sword. In conversation, he, like the Governor of Massawa, broaches the idea that Abyssinia is the property of his master, the Pasha of Egypt. On what this absurdity is founded I do not know; the Abyssinians have more right to Yemen, which they once possessed, than the Turks can have to a country in which they never set foot."[2]

Plowden then returned to Massawa and later to Alexandria, bearing an appeal for redress to Queen Victoria. The French Consul-General added his support and the matter was referred to their respective Governments. The upshot was that Khursau Bey was ordered to set free the captives he had taken and then return to Cairo, where, in 1856, he was

[1] Junker (Dr. W.), "Travels in Africa during the Years 1875–78." Translated by A. H. Keane, London, 1890, p. 105.

[2] "F.O. Correspondence respecting Abyssinia, 1846–68," No. 160.

imprisoned on a further charge of tampering with Plowden's correspondence.[1] All the captives were returned, except a dozen that had already been sold and despatched to Jedda and another dozen that were hidden in the harems of the officials at Kassala. The Egyptian Government were also obliged to pay £700 compensation to the Bilein for the animals stolen.

This incident, together with the writings of Stella, Plowden and Munzinger, a young Swiss traveller, gave Bogos some recognition in Europe. The place was enthusiastically depicted as an African Eden populated by the docile subjects of the missionary societies. A number of tourists went there and finally the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg undertook the journey to Senheit, where they stayed with Father Stella. There they were also joined by Major Cameron, Plowden's successor as Consul at Massawa.

Plowden, shortly after the Bogos incident, had gone to Abyssinia and had left Her Majesty's service for that of the Emperor Theodore. In this capacity he, and another Englishman called Bell, exercised a beneficial restraint on the Emperor, who, in spite of the many benefits he had bestowed on his country, had developed into a dangerous megalomaniac. Unfortunately both Plowden and Bell were killed in civil warfare, and the Emperor was able to carry out his cruellist and wildest fancies untrammelled by sober advice. Massacre after massacre took place until his name was a byword throughout the country. While he himself dreamed grandiose schemes for the expansion of his empire, the outlying tribes threw off their allegiance.

Cameron did not arrive in Massawa until February, 1862, two years after Plowden's death, but he set out almost at once to visit the Emperor and handed him presents and a letter from Queen Victoria, in which the Emperor was thanked for ransoming Plowden's body. His reception was cordial, and in November, 1862, the Emperor decided to send letters to both Queen Victoria and the Emperor Napoleon. Cameron, however, carried his letter only as far as Hamasein and then forwarded it via Aden, so that it did not arrive in London until the following February. The letter itself is interesting, not only on account of the important part it played in causing the Magdala campaign, but also for the light it throws on Theodore's relations with his Egyptian neighbours :—

> In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God in Trinity, chosen by God, King of Kings, Theodore of

[1] "F.O. Correspondence respecting Abyssinia, 1846-68," No. 160, dated 7.2.56.

Ethiopia, to Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of England. I hope Your Majesty is in good health. By the power of God I am well. My fathers the Emperors, having forgotten the Creator, He handed over their kingdom to the Gallas and the Turks. But God created me, lifted me out of the dust, and restored the Empire to my rule. He endowed me with power, and enabled me to stand in the place of my fathers. By this power I drove away the Gallas. But for the Turks, I have told them to leave the land of my ancestors. They refuse. I am now going to wrestle with them. Mr. Plowden, and my late Grand Chamberlain, the Englishman, Bell, used to tell me that there is a great Christian Queen who loves all Christians. When they said to me this, " We are able to make you known to her and to establish friendship between you," then in those times I was very glad. I gave them my love, thinking I had found your Majesty's good will. All men are subject to death, and my enemies, thinking to injure me, killed these my friends. But by the power of God I have exterminated these enemies; not leaving one alive, though they were of my own family, that I may get, by the power of God, your friendship.

I was prevented by the Turks occupying the sea-coast from sending you an Embassy, when I was in difficulty. Consul Cameron arrived with a letter and presents of friendship. By the power of God I was very happy hearing of your welfare, and being assured of your amity I have received your presents and thank you much.

I fear that if I send ambassadors with presents of amity by Consul Cameron, they may be arrested by the Turks.

And now I wish that you may arrange for the safe passage of my ambassadors everywhere on the road.

I wish to have an answer to this letter by Consul Cameron, and that he may conduct my Embassy to England. See how the Islam oppress the Christians.[1]

No reply was sent to this letter, and Theodore, considering that he

[1] For this letter and events, in the reign of Theodore, see Budge, " A History of Ethiopia," p. 492 *et seq.*

was being slighted in this and other ways by the European powers, began to persecute the Europeans living in Abyssinia.[1]

Major Cameron, in the meantime, had, by a series of erratic decisions, done much to aggravate the situation. When he met the Duke of Saxe-Coburg at Senheit he also met Father Stella, who was still seeking full redress for Khursau Bey's raid on Bogos of eight years ago. Stella told him that the Barea under Egyptian protection had already stolen many beasts from the Bogos and were threatening further aggression, and Cameron decided to emulate his predecessor by going to Kassala to deal direct with the Governor there. Subsequently there was a good deal of argument as to whether he was justified in doing this under the terms of his consular instructions, although Cameron was only following Plowden's precedent, yet in view of Theodore's maniacal hatred of all Muslims it was at least a diplomatic error to have chosen this particular time for negotiating with them. Cameron subsequently explained that he was ill and wished to return to Egypt via Kassala and the Nile (his return via Massawa would appear to have been a less exacting journey), and that he had heard that the Governor-General of the Sudan, Musa Pasha Hamdi, returning from his Gallabat expedition, was present in Kassala. But by the time Cameron arrived there Musa Pasha had left, and Cameron, having received no satisfaction from the Governor, decided to go south to Gallabat instead of north to Egypt. At Gallabat his health became worse and he decided to enter Abyssinia to receive treatment from the missionaries there.

On his arrival at Theodore's court in August, 1863, he found that he was blamed for creating the dangerous situation that existed. No reply had been received from the British Government to Theodore's letter, and his visit to the Sudan was considered by Theodore to have been undertaken for the purpose of intriguing with the Egyptians against the interests of Abyssinia. Moreover, it was alleged that Cameron had brought contempt on Abyssinia by laughing at a display by Abyssinian dancing girls which the Governor of Kassala had arranged for his diversion while he was staying there. A few months afterwards Mr. Kerans brought

[1] See Tilly and Gaselee, " The Foreign Office," London, 1933, pp. 218–219. It was alleged that an Asst. Under Secretary had failed to show the letter to a superior. An inquiry was held (see F.O. Gen. No. 2, 1799–1867) after which it appeared that Lord John Russell had minuted on the letter that no answer was required. *The Times* remarked that this was the first occasion on which Lord John had lost the opportunity to write a despatch.

despatches for Cameron, which Theodore seized and, finding that instead of a reply to his letter there was a letter ordering Cameron to return to Massawa and to cease from meddling in Abyssinian affairs, he added both Cameron and Kerans to his European prisoners.

Cameron's arrest created a profound sensation in England and a belated reply signed by Queen Victoria was sent to Theodore's letter by the hand of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam,[1] the assistant political agent at Aden. Theodore informed him that if he wanted to see him he must come by way of Gallabat. This Rassam did, visiting Kassala en route, and Theodore promptly arrested the whole party and transported all his prisoners to his fortress at Magdala. In England agitation for the rescue of the prisoners began.

In July, 1867, the British Government decided to send an expedition, and the military arrangements were entrusted to Sir Robert Napier with an army of 4,000 British and 800 Indian native troops. A detailed account of the events that ensued is irrelevant: suffice it to say that Theodore, deserted by his people, could offer only the feeblest opposition to the invaders, and as the British troops were storming the fortress of Magdala, he blew his brains out. The prisoners were released, and in the House of Commons Disraeli could point to "the Standard of St. George hoisted upon the mountains of Rasselors."[2]

The part played by Egypt and Kassala in these events was inconsiderable, but the Magdala campaign had a profound effect on subsequent Egyptian policy in the Eastern Sudan.

As it had been decided to send an expedition to Magdala, the question of the route it should follow arose. The route from Zulla, south of Massawa, by way of the Senafi Pass was chosen and was almost exactly the line of advance of the main Italian armies in the 1936 campaign. Sir Samuel Baker, however, suggested fruitlessly the much more ambitious, if rather fantastic, plan of three converging attacks to be delivered

[1] Lord Chelmsford, speaking in the House of Lords on 23rd May, 1865, said: "the person who was unfortunately chosen by the F.O. was Mr. Rassam, who was believed to be an Armenian . . . and who might have been well entrusetd with any other mission than this." Seventy years after the sneer has lost its sting. If Rassam was a misfit in company with the gloomy conquerors of Magdala, he was a vastly more entertaining narrator of the events.

[2] See the following books on the Magdala campaign:—
Markham, C. R., "A History of the Abyssinian Expedition," London, 1869.
Holland, T. J., and Hozier, H. M., "Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia," London, 1870.

by British troops from Massawa, Indian troops from Kassala and Egyptian troops from Gallabat. Admittedly it would be expensive, but, as he explained, the cost could be collected from the Abyssinians after England had occupied the country.[1]

The next step was the diplomatic formality of obtaining permission from Egypt to land troops at Massawa or in vicinity. It was explained that the object of the expedition was to release the prisoners and punish Theodore for their imprisonment, that the expedition had no designs of conquest and would leave the country as soon as these objects were effected. After an abortive effort on the part of the Khedive to intervene in the Abyssinian affair as an intermediary, the approval of the Porte was obtained.

The Magdala campaign marked the opening of a new era in the Eastern Sudan.[2]

(To be continued)

[1] Hotten, J. C., " Abyssinia and its People," London, 1868, p. 307.

[2] Holland and Hozier, Vol. I, p. 40.

A SURVEY OF NUBIAN ORIGINS

By L. P. Kirwan.

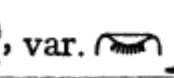
VARIOUS contributions to the *Sudan Notes and Records* within recent years have been concerned with the vexed question of Nubian Origins, among them an excellent summary of the linguistic evidence, based on the work of Professor Zyhlarz[1]. The following remarks, disjointed as they are, may perhaps be of some interest as an attempt to review the subject from an historical point of view.

Unlike the Blemmyes or Beja, no certain mention of the Nubians, as distinct from the Ethiopians, occurs in the known demotic documents of the Ptolemaic period. The passage from the works of the geographer Eratosthenes—quoted by Strabo—which contains the first reference to the Nubae (*Νοῦβαι*) has often been cited, but it may be worth while to reconsider once more its implications.

> " The parts on the left side of the course of the Nile, in Libya, are inhabited by Nubae, a large tribe who, beginning at Meroe, extend as far as the bends of the river, and are not subject to the Ethiopians but are divided into several separate kingdoms."[2]

The Nubae, then, were not subject to the Meroites like the Blemmyes and thus may have been an intrusive race of foreign origin. At the time when Eratosthenes was writing (about 200 B.C.) they appear to have occupied Upper Nubia west of the Nile from Meroe northwards as far as " the bends of the river," perhaps the two great bends taken by the Nile at Abu Ḥamed and at Debba, not far from the site of the ancient Napata.

Before tracing the migrations of the Nubae, it may be of some interest to consider the possible derivation of the name, Nubae, and its connection with the modern forms, Nubian, Nubia.

One possible derivation may be from the hieroglyphic,  , var.  nb.[3] " gold," which appears in Coptic as ⲛⲟⲩⲃ;

[1] S. Hillelson, " Nubian Origins." A review of Zyhlarz, " Zur Stellung des Dârfûr-Nubischen." *Sudan Notes and Records*, XIII, 137–148. See also Hillelson, " Nûba," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Fasc. 51 (1935), 1015–22.

[2] Strabo, *Geography*, XVII, 1, 2; trans. in Loeb edition.

[3] For the hieroglyphic word for " gold," see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 492.

in the old Christian Nubian texts as ⲛⲁⲃ ; in the present Fadîja-Mahâss dialect of Nubian as nab[1] ; it may be traced perhaps in the Coptic and Arabic versions for Nubian, ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁ[2] and Nûba (نوبة). The mines of Nubia were famous in ancient times as the chief source of Egypt's gold, and the control of the Nubian gold-mines was one of the principal reasons for the continued efforts of the Pharaohs of the Middle and New Empires to extend the boundaries of Egypt towards the south.

On the other hand, the ancient Egyptian name for the city of Napata, which was probably within the territory of the Nubae, was Np.t ; pronounced Nâpi or Nûpe, the *t* for the feminine ending not being sounded. The form Np.t has a curious, if accidental, resemblance to Nubae[3]. The few Greek and Latin authors (Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny) who mention the city of Napata, treat the name as a plural, *τα Νάπατα*, which bears a striking resemblance to the forms Nobatae, Nobades, etc., a people who ruled over Northern Nubia in the sixth century A.D. The name Nubia as applied to the country of the Nubians seems to have been of western and comparatively modern origin. Nubia and Nubianus[4] occur in later mediæval Latin, but in Coptic and Arabic, Nubia, that is Lower Nubia, was known as ⲛⲟⲃⲁⲧⲓⲁ or ⲛⲱⲃⲁⲁⲓⲁ and Nûba.[5]

To resume, then ; by the first century B.C. the Nubae may have advanced further north, for they are numbered by Strabo among the tribes who inhabited the country to the north of Meroe and south of Syene (Aswân)[6]. Pliny the elder, writing towards the middle of the first century A.D. says :

> " The island of Semberritæ on the Nile obeys a queen.
> Eight days further north are the Ethiopian Nubei.
> Their city of Tenupsis is on the Nile."[7]

The name of a city Panubs, which may be the same as Tenupsis, occurs frequently on Egyptian and Ethiopian monuments of the Græco-Roman period. Panubs () seems to have been

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[1] *cf.* Griffith, *Nubian Texts of the Christian Period*, 69. Berlin, 1913.
[2] *cf.* Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 451.
[3] For the occurrence of " Napata " on Egyptian monuments, see Griffith, in *Liverpool Annals*, IX, 78.
[4] Murray, *New English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1908, under " Nubia."
[5] See Kirwan, "The Topography of the Christian Nubian Kingdoms," in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, XXI, 57 ff.
[6] Strabo, *Geography*, XVII, I, 53 ; ed. Loeb.
[7] *Hist. Nat.*, VI, 35 ; ed. Janus, Leipzig, 1870.

the eighth of the thirteen autonomous districts into which Nubia was divided. Authorities, however, disagree as to its situation, some placing it in Lower Nubia, others further south near Napata[1]. If the island of Semberritæ is, as has been suggested[2], the country enclosed between Kassala and Kallabat (namely, the "Island of Meroe" formed by the Atbara and the Blue and White Niles), the region of Kerma-Napata would appear the most likely. According to Eratosthenes, the Automoloi or Sembritae were subjects of the Kingdom of Meroe.[3] The Nubae, then, may have still been in the neighbourhood of Napata and it seems unlikely that they had, as yet, reached as far as the Second Cataract.

The writers of the second and third centuries who mention the Nubae are not very helpful. Ptolemæus (*c.* 150 A.D.) speaks of them as living on the Nile, on the west bank, and in the island of Meroe,[4] while Agathemerus, who wrote an abridgment of Ptolemy's Geography in the third century, places them on either side of the Nile, but gives no further information.[5]

When next we hear of the Nubae in history they appear, it seems, under a new guise as the Nôbâ of the great inscription of the Axumite king, Aeizanas. During the first three centuries after Christ, the kings of Axûm had been steadily expanding their boundaries towards the north. At an early date, their raids had extended as far as Meroe and at least one Axumite governor "set up a throne" (namely held a "Durbar") to celebrate his victory and to receive tribute from the neighbouring tribes.[6] In the fourth century, the kingdom of Axûm reached the height of its power and the triumphs of the famous Aeizanas, the first Christian king of Abyssinia, are known to us through inscriptions in Greek, Ethiopic and Sabæan.[7]

The longest of these inscriptions is one in Ethiopic,[8] which records a series of victories against the Meroites and the Nôbâ. The relevant

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[1] Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géographiques*, II, 38.
[2] MacMichael, *History of the Arabs*, I, 43.
[3] In Strabo, *Geography*, XVII, I, 53. Artemidorus, more than a hundred years later, records that the Sembritæ were ruled by a queen to whom "Meroe also is subject."
[4] *Geography*, ed. Müller, IV, 748-783.
[5] In *Geographi Græci Minores*, II, 41. Ed. Müller, Paris, 1855-1866.
[6] Sayce in *P.S.B.A.*, 1909, 189.
[7] See Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum Expedition*, IV, 33. The inscription given below is translated by Budge from Littmann's version. The date is, after Littmann, *c.* 350 A.D.
[8] Littmann, *op. cit.*, No. 11; translated in Budge, *History of Ethiopia*, 255-258.

passages are given below.

1. By the power of the Lord of Heaven, Who in heaven and upon earth is mightier than everything which exists,
2. Êzânâ, the son of 'Ella 'Amîdâ, a native of Halen, king of Aksûm and of
3. Hemêr (Himyâr), and of Raydân, and of Saba, and of Salhên, and of Seyâmô, and of Begâ, and of
4. Kâsû (the Meroites), King of Kings, the son of 'Ella 'Amîdâ, who is invincible to the enemy.
5. By the might of the Lord of Heaven, Who hath made me Lord, Who to all eternity, the Perfect One,
6. reigns, Who is invincible to the enemy, no enemy shall stand before me, and after me no enemy shall follow.
7. By the might of the Lord of all, I made war upon Nôbâ, for the peoples had rebelled and
8. had made a boast of it. And "they (the Axumites) will not cross the river Takkâzê (Atbara)," said the peoples
9. of Nôbâ. And they were in the habit of attacking the peoples of Mangurtô, and Khasâ, and Bâryâ, and the blacks,
10. and of making war upon the Red peoples. And twice and thrice had they broken their solemn oaths, and had
11. killed their neighbours mercilessly, and they had stripped bare and stolen the properties of our deputies and messengers which I had
12. sent to them to inquire into their thefts, and had stolen from them
13. their weapons of defence. And as I had sent warnings to them and they would not harken to me, and they refused to cease from their evil deeds,
14. and then betook themselves to flight, I made war upon them. And I rose in the might of the Lord of the
15. Land, and I fought with them on the Takkâzê (Atbara), at the ford of Kemalkê. Thereupon they took flight, and would not
16. make a stand. And I followed after the fugitives for twenty and three days,
17. killing some and making prisoners others, and capturing spoil wherever I tarried. Prisoners and

18. spoil my people who had marched into the country brought back to me. Meanwhile I burnt their towns, both those built of bricks and those
19. built of reeds, and my soldiers carried off its food, and its copper, and its iron, and its
20. brass, and they destroyed the statues of their houses (i.e. temples), and the treasuries of food, and the cotton trees, and
21. cast them into the River Sêdâ (Nile).
28. And I came to Kâsû (Meroe) and I fought a battle and made prisoners of its people at
29. the junction of the rivers Sêdâ and Takkâzê. And the day after I arrived I sent out
30. to raid the country, the army Mahazâ, and the army Harâ, and Damawa, and Falha and Serâ
31. upstream of Sêdâ (i.e. towards the modern Khartoum), and the cities built of bricks and those of reeds. The names of the cities
32. built of bricks were 'Alwâ (near Khartoum) and Darô. And they killed, and captured prisoners, and cast people into the water. . . .
34. . . . And after that I sent the army of Halên, and the army of Laken
35. . . . down the Sêdâ (i.e. north of the junction of the Nile with the Atbara) against the towns of the Nôbâ which are made of reeds—4
36. towns—Negus—I. The towns built of bricks which the Nôbâ had taken
37. were Tabîtô—I—and Fertôtî—I. And my peoples arrived at the frontier of the Red Nôbâ and they returned safe and sound,
38. having captured prisoners and slain the Nôbâ and taken spoil from them by the might of the Lord of Heaven.
39. And I planted a throne in that country at the place where the Rivers Sêdâ and Takkâzê join. . . .

Line 8 indicates that the Nôbâ were occupying at least a part of the Island of Meroe. Having defeated the Nôbâ on the Atbara, Aeizanas seems to have marched westwards against their towns, both those built of bricks and those built of reeds, which lay along the banks of the Nile (l. 18–21). At length, he came to Meroe itself (l. 28), fighting a battle

near the junction of the Nile and the Atbara (l. 29) and ultimately setting up a "throne" (l. 39) at that point, or, if the passage is taken less literally, actually in the capital itself.

It is to be noticed that the Nôbâ are clearly differentiated from their neighbours, the Meroites. At the same time, the reference (l. 10) to the breaking of "solemn oaths" seems to indicate that some sort of treaty of peace existed between the two peoples. The towns of the Nôbâ were settlements of grass huts (tukuls), but they were in possession also of certain towns built of bricks, captured by them from the Meroites (ll. 35, 36).

At some time, then, before the arrival of Aeizanas, about 350 A.D., this primitive people, living in grass huts, advanced on the Island of Meroe from the south, or more probably, as we shall see, from the south-west. Seizing several of the Meroitic towns, but apparently not Meroe itself, they seem to have settled down side by side with the original inhabitants, cultivating the cotton tree (l. 20) and (possibly adopting the religion of their neighbours)[1] building temples to house the statues of their gods after the manner of the Meroites.

Far to the north of them were a related people, the Red Nôbâ, who, sprung from the same stock, had advanced north at an earlier date and had perhaps intermarried with the fairer-skinned inhabitants whom they met there. These Red Nôbâ, who may have inhabited the region to the north of Napata (ll. 35, 37), are possibly the Nubae of Strabo who were occupying the country there during the first century A.D.

Allowing for a characteristic exaggeration in the numbers of slain and captured recorded in the inscription, the victory seems to have been a decisive one. As far as the capital itself was concerned, its results seem to have been far-reaching. The development of the southern Meroitic province, hitherto enriched and strongly influenced by commercial and cultural contact with the Hellenistic civilisation of Egypt and the Mediterranean, was henceforth to be linked, as the archæological evidence clearly indicates, with the south rather than with the north.

Another effect of the Axumite invasion of the Island of Meroe may have been that the Nôbâ, no longer masters of that country, were gradually forced to migrate northwards towards the territory of their kinsmen.

[1] *Cf.* Junker in *Mitt. Kairo*, 3, 155 ff.

It may be that the disastrous fires which seems to have overtaken such important Meroitic towns as Sanam (Napata) and Kawa (the ancient Gematon)[1], bringing their occupation to an abrupt end in the second half of the fourth century, were the work of the predatory Nôbâ ; it is a little unlikely that the army of Aeizanas reached thus far to the north.

From the first to the fourth century the fortunes of the Meroitic kingdom had been, with one exception, steadily on the wane.[2] This was due in part to the successive attacks of the Nôbâ and the Axumites, but also to the gradual slackening in the once prosperous trade with Egypt, a result of the economic decline in that country which set in with the reign of Commodus and which steadily increased from bad to worse until Egypt was rescued from the financial morass by the timely reforms of Diocletian.

But there was, in addition, a third element which contributed to the decay of the Meroitic kingdom, both in the south and in the north. The Blemmyes or Beja, nomad tribes of the Eastern Desert and once allies of the Meroites,[3] now no longer acknowledged their allegiance to a decaying power and swarmed down on the rich homesteads of Meroitic Nubia and the Roman frontier province.

A papyrus, datable to the latter half of the reign of Theodosius II (*c.* 425–450), contains an appeal from Appion, Bishop of Syene and Elephantine, to the Emperor, in which the former pleads that the military commander of the frontier may be instructed to place troops at his disposal for the protection of his churches on the island of Philæ, against the combined attacks of the Blemmyes (*Βλέννες*) and the *Ἄννουβάδες*.[4]

This is the first *contemporary* document to mention the *Ἄννουβάδες*. What other documents are there, of fifth-century date, which record their presence in or about Lower Nubia ?

The historian Priscus (he is a reliable authority since he was himself in Egypt at the time), in his account of the campaigns of the general Maximinus, gives the text of a treaty made in 451 A.D., between the

[1] See Kirwan, " Preliminary Report of the Oxford University Excavations at Kawa," in *J.E.A.*, XXII, 210.

[2] Reisner in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, XXI, 22.

[3] *Cf.* Eratosthenes in Strabo, *Geography*, XVII, I, 2 ; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, 261, 297. Ed. Bekker, Leipzig, 1855.

[4] Wilcken in *Archiv. für Pap.* I, 396 ff ; Mitteis-Wilcken, *Chrestomatie der Papyruskunde*, 1912, No. 6. *Βλέννες* for *Βλέμμυες*.

Romans and the Blemmyes and Noubades (*Νουβάδες*) at Philæ[1]. Secondly, in the " Histories of the Monks in the Egyptian Deserts," by Paphnutius—a collection of tales in Coptic which seem to refer to Lower Nubia in the first half of the fifth century—there is mention of a tribe called Anouba (ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁ).

The identity of these ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁ and the *Ἀννουβάδες* seems obvious, the Greek form showing signs of Coptic influence.[2]

Finally, there is the well-known inscription of Silko in the Temple of Kalâbsha, which may be provisionally dated to the second half of the fifth century.

Here, Silko, who calls himself " King of the Noubades and of all the Ethiopians "—which may in itself indicate a southern origin for the Noubades—claims to have driven the Blemmyes northwards from Ibrîm (*Πρίμ*)[3] to Shellâl (*Τελήλις*),[4] which was then the frontier of Roman Egypt. The inference is, therefore, that the kingdom of the Noubades lay to the south of Ibrîm and that, presumably, it touched the southern frontier of the Blemmyes at that point.

We have, then, towards the middle of the fifth century A.D., a people called Anouba or Noubades who inhabited the southern half of Lower Nubia south of the modern Kasr Ibrîm. How is their sudden appearance in Lower Nubia to be explained? Dr. Zyhlarz is of the opinion[5] that the Nôbâ of the inscription of Aeizanas, whom he calls Group B, remained in possession of the Island of Meroe after the fall of the capital and that in the following centuries they were united to their northern kinsmen on the conversion of Nubia to Christianity. An alternative view is that, after the Axumite invasion, the Nôbâ, or some of them, drifted or were driven northwards towards the country of the Red Nôbâ, founding a joint kingdom with them about the beginning of

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[1] Priscus, *Fragmenta*, ed. Niebuhr, 153-154.

[2] There is, therefore, no reason for the correction made by Wilcken (*Archiv.* I, 400), *Ἀννουβάδων* for *Των Νουβάδων*. The ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁ are also mentioned, with the Blemmyes, as visitors to the Monastery of Shenute in the first half of the fifth century. See Chassinat in *Mém. Inst. fr.*, XXIII, 83, 84.

[3] The true Nubian and Coptic form. *Cf.* Griffith in *J.E.A.*, XX, 8. For the date of the Silko inscription, see Kirwan, " Studies in the later history of Nubia," in *Liverpool Annals*, XXIV (Nos. 1-2), 69-105.

[4] In Meroitic, Salâle; see Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions* II, 30.

[5] " Zur Stellung des Dârfûr-Nubischen," in *W.K.Z.M.*, XXXV, 209.

the fifth century A.D. Such an hypothesis might explain the appearance of the Anouba or Noubades in Lower Nubia about that time.

At first, the Noubades allied with the Blemmyes in their attacks on the towns in Nubia and the Roman frontier province. As far as Nubia is concerned, the comparative poverty of the Meroitic settlements of the fourth century seems to show that the inhabitants were hardly in a position to offer effective resistance to either of these tribes. With Silko's victory,[1] however, the Noubades gained complete mastery of the country. And so it is that Procopius, writing about 545 A.D., relates[2] that the country immediately to the south of the First Cataract was then in the hands of the Nobatae, while the Syriac writer, John, Bishop of Ephesus, in his account of the conversion of Nubia to Christianity, states that when the first missionary, Julian, arrived he found Lower Nubia inhabited by the Nobatae (Syriac, Nâbadôs).[3] Both authorities place the Blemmyes in the Eastern Desert to which they had been driven by Silko after their temporary dominion over Lower Nubia between Shellal and Ibrîm.

In mediæval documents, the northernmost of the Christian Nubian kingdoms was known in Coptic as Nobatia or Nobadia, with its capital, according to the Arab geographers, at Faras, where the considerable Christian remains bear out the literary evidence.[4]

The kingdom of Nobatia has been shown to have extended from the First Cataract at least as far south as 'Akasheh in the Baṭn el-Ḥagar,[5] possibly as far as Abû Fâṭma, near the head of the Third Cataract.[6] Now there can be little doubt that Nobatia was used in Coptic to designate the country of the Nobatæ and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the extent of mediæval Nobatia represented approximately the extent of the sixth century kingdom of the Nobatae.

So much, then—or rather so little—for the literary sources. It may now be of some interest to examine the results of recent archæological and anthropological research in Nubia with regard to the problem of Nubian origins.

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[1] For text, see Gauthier, *Temple de Kalâbsha*, 204-5.
[2] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, I, XIX, 27-36; ed. Haury.
[3] *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 6 ff. Trans. from the Syriac by Payne-Smith, 1860.
[4] See Kirwan in *J.E.A.*, XXI, 60.
[5] Monneret de Villard, "I vescovi giacobiti della Nubia," in *Mélanges Maspero*, II, 57 ff.
[6] Kirwan, *op. cit.*, 60.

The latest recognisable pagan culture in Lower Nubia was, at the time of its discovery and for want of a more precise definition, termed by Dr. Reisner " X-group."[1] Since 1907 a great many X-group sites have been excavated as far south as Firḳa,[2] about one hundred miles above Wâdî Ḥalfa. As far as cemeteries are concerned, by far the most important of these sites, both in size and richness, were the great cemeteries at Ḳostol and Balâña, lying on opposite banks of the Nile a few miles north of Faras, discovered by the Archæological Survey of Nubia in 1930.[3] For here was the royal burial ground of the Nubian kings and queens of the fifth and sixth centuries and probably also the site of the ancient capital of Northern Nubia (Nobatia) at that time. A quantity of closely datable objects, imported from Egypt and the Mediterranean, as well as a large number of Greek graffiti on imported wine-jars, make it possible to define the chronological limits of the Balâña and Ḳostol cemeteries with some degree of certainty and the date assigned—fifth and sixth century A.D.—can now, perhaps, be taken to include all the known X-group settlements so far excavated.

It was obvious from the start that the X-group cemeteries exhibited a " new and distinctly non-Egyptian type of grave,"[4] and the general characteristics of the cemeteries excavated between 1907 and 1910 by the Archæological Survey of Nubia have been well summed up by Firth.

> " The X-group people present a system of burial of a somewhat primitive kind which is, however, susceptible to influence by the customs of the peoples among whom they found themselves. . . ."[5]

And in a later report,

> " There is certainly a general relationship with the Meroitic civilisation but the pottery is more primitive and less influenced by artistic effort than that of the Meroitic graves. . . . The steady increase in the amount of X-group material southwards, and its Ethiopian character, are certainly in favour of its representing a late Ethiopian culture, pushed into the Roman area

[1] Reisner, *Report of the Archæological Survey of Nubia, 1907-8*, 345.
[2] Kirwan, " Preliminary Report of the Oxford University Excavations, 1934–5," in *J.E.A.*, XXI, 192 ff.
[3] Emery, " Preliminary Report, Arch. Survey of Nubia, 1930–31," in *Annales du Service*, XXXIII, 38 ff.
[4] Reisner, *loc. cit.*
[5] Firth, *Report of the Arch. Survey of Nubia, 1908-9*, 36.

> from that direction . . . . The X-group people were Sudanese in type and culture, and the pottery has many similarities with the latest Meroitic pottery. . . ."[1]

Firth's acute analysis, based on the comparatively small amount of X-group material then available for study, has been amply borne out by the excavations at Balâña, Ḳostol, and Firḳa in recent years. Culturally, the predominating strain is Meroitic, and where other influences are visible these may be attributed, on the one hand, to the negroid Sudan, on the other to the contemporary civilisation of Byzantine Egypt. The archæologists of the Survey of Nubia have had, throughout, the inestimable advantage of collaboration with one or more trained anthropologists—notably the late Sir Grafton Elliot Smith—and the results of their researches are of the first importance for the study of Nubian origins. The following extracts from the Anatomical Reports give the general conclusions arrived at from an examination of the X-group skulls excavated between 1907 and 1911.

> "The X-group people were strongly negroid aliens who had suddenly made their way north into Nubia, bringing with them a mode of burial and a type of pottery which Dr. Reisner has declared to be distinctly non-Egyptian . . . .[2] The feature which immediately caught the eye in these skulls was the strikingly negroid facial aspect . . . .[3]
>
> "The frequency of injuries, especially of the skull, suggests that their journey north (of the X-group people) had not been of an altogether peaceful nature; but the presence of an equal number of women exhibiting the distinctive physical characteristics of the group does not favour the hypothesis that these X-group people were members of a purely military raiding party. These facts, taken in conjunction with the whole circumstances of the orderly burials of these people over a widespread tract of country, suggest that there was an immigration into Nubia of this well-defined tribe of negroes as settlers, and not merely as soldiers, even if they had to fight for their foot-hold in the country."[4]

[1] Firth, *op. cit.*, 40-41.
[2] Elliot Smith and Derry, *Arch. Survey of Nubia, Anatomical Report*, Bulletin 5, 12.
[3] *Op. cit.*, Bulletin, 3, 34
[4] Bulletin, 5, 12.

A notable feature of the cemeteries at Balâña and Ḳostol was the burial, with the owner of the tomb, of his courtiers, slaves, and concubines as well as his horses, camels and other domestic animals. It was soon established[1] that both human beings and animals had been sacrificed at the time of the funeral, the former by strangulation, cutting of the throat, and possibly by interment alive[2]; the latter, as a rule, by an axe-blow on the skull, penetrating to the brain. Such ritual sacrifice or *Suttee* has a long history in the Sudan, occurring both in the Middle Kingdom tombs at Kerma and in the Meroitic pyramids at Begrawîya.[3]

The presence of these multiple burials at Ḳostol greatly complicated the task of the anthropologist in his endeavour to ascertain the racial characteristics of the owners of the larger tombs, presumably the ruling class, as distinct from the sacrificed slaves. For not one of the tombs at Ḳostol had escaped the attention of the ancient plunderers. Consequently only those tombs or burial chambers containing single burials could be safely relied on for the required results. An examination of eight skulls from such burials calls forth the following remarks from Dr. Batrawi :

> " The series of single burials from Ḳostol exhibits a strong negroid tendency. . . . Although the number of this series of single burials is only eight, the strongly negroid nature of the series is definitely shown in the Table . . . . Nevertheless there are some significant differences which at once suggest the probability of mixture in the make-up of the X-group chieftains. . . "[4]

Speaking generally of the X-group skulls, he says :[5]

> " Comparing the whole X-group series with other Nubian series, both males and females, the closest relation is to be found with the Meroitic series. The differences between the corresponding figures of the two series are by no means considerable and can be accounted for by the presence of a greater number of small negroid individuals in the X-group material. . . . It seems

[1] Batrawi, *Archæological Survey of Nubia, 1929–34. Report on the Human Remains*, 179 ff.
[2] Kirwan in *J.E.A.*, XXI, 194.
[3] Reisner, *Kerma*, 70 ff ; Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, V, 181.
[4] Batrawi, *op. cit.*, 175.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 176, 177.

> plain that the X-group community was composed mainly of two strongly negroid groups and the hybrids resulting from their interbreeding. One group conformed to a type which was prevailing among the men; the chieftains and warriors were chosen from this strong, tall group. The other group conformed to a small, strongly negroid type which was prevailing among the women. . . . The remains of the undoubted human sacrifices in the tombs of the princes contained skulls conforming to all types of the community. . . . It has been observed, however, that there is a strong probability of mixture in the make-up of the X-group chieftains and also of the Meroitic population."

Dr. Batrawi considers that the tall, strong type is most closely represented to-day " by some Half-Hamites and Nilotes (Abyssinians, Masai, and Shilluks)," while Professor Wood-Jones, referring[1] to a rather similar series of tall negroids, discovered in 1907, likewise compares them with the present Dinkas and Shilluks of the Upper Nile.

As the late Professor Griffith has said, " There is no real transition to the X-group, which comes in abruptly."[2] The differences between the X-group and Meroitic series of skulls, remarked above, suggest that the racial characteristics of the earlier inhabitants of Lower Nubia became increasingly negroid through the sudden introduction of a considerable number of strongly negroid people who settled down there and intermarried with the indigenous inhabitants. It is tempting to identify this intrusive negroid group with the Nôbâ-Noubades who are first heard of in the neighbourhood of Lower Nubia early in the fifth century A.D. After the defeat of the Blemmyes by Silko, King of the Noubades, perhaps in the second half of the fifth century A.D., the former were ousted from their short supremacy in the territory from Shellal to Ibrîm. Thence onwards the Noubades or Nobatae dominated the Nile valley between the First and Third Cataracts, founding there the Kingdom of Nobatia with its capital first at Balâña within the nome of Faras, later, with the introduction of Christianity, at Faras itself. X-group sites have been excavated as far north almost as the First Cataract, and south of the Second Cataract, by far the most important site being at Balâña.

[1] Elliot Smith and Derry, *Report on the Human Remains*, 81; for the date of these graves, see Junker, *Ermenne*, 82.

[2] Griffith, in *Liverpool Annals*, XII, 70.

Certain primitive African traits in the X-group culture might be accounted for by the markedly negroid character of the occupants of the graves. What then of the strong Meroitic influence perceptible in the X-group remains? This has been explained[1] by the suggestion that the Nôbâ, before their migration to the north, may themselves have been influenced by the civilisation of their neighbours at Meroe. But it may be argued that the Meroitic contribution to the X-group culture is of too fundamental a kind to have been the result of a superficial contact between the Nôbâ and the Meroites, with whom they had little cultural affinity, during what was probably but a short period of time. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that the Meroitic culture in Northern Nubia vanished with the fall of Meroe itself. Culturally, the X-group period may perhaps be regarded as the final phase in the history of the Northern Meroitic province, during which Nubia was strongly influenced by the contemporary civilisation of Byzantine Egypt. The negroid Noubades made little contribution to the X-group culture, and where signs of a cultural decline are perceptible, as in the disappearance of the native Meroitic script and the absence of the delicate and elaborately painted pottery, the finest product of the Meroitic artist, this decline may have been due to the primitive and illiterate ruling class and to the gradual process of decay which set in with Netekamon. Worshipping the ancient Meroitic gods and still practising the savage ritual sacrifices of their forbears, the Nubian kings, the Mek or *βασιλίσκος* such as Silko, flaunting their jewelled and silver crowns, set up a state on the Byzantine model, using Greek as their written language, importing *objets d'art* from the workshops of Alexandria and Antioch, and later, with the introduction of Christianity, aping almost to the point of mimicry the elaborate ceremonial of the Byzantine court.[2]

Reverting to the relationship between the Barabra tongue and the languages spoken by certain Nûba tribes of southern Kordofan, Professor Zyhlarz has suggested that Nubian was introduced into the Nile valley from Southern Kordofan by the Nubae in the third century B.C. If this be so, then it might be supposed, in view of the apparently fundamental differences in the structures of the Meroitic and Nubian languages,[3] that

[1] Junker in *Mitt. Kairo* 3, 155 ff.
[2] *Cf.* titles in Griffith, *Christian Documents from Nubia*, 15 ff. British Academy, 1928.
[3] Griffith in *Liverpool Annals*, XIII, 53.

they existed side by side in the Island of Meroe, Nubian as a spoken language, the Meroitic cursive script showing signs of having been specially contrived for hieratic and official usage. An alternative view might be that Nubian was introduced from the same direction by the Nôbâ of the fourth century A.D.—it is curious how few Meroitic words are traceable in Nubian—and that the written language was developed, replacing Greek, with the union of the Nubian kingdoms and the severance of relations with Egypt after the Arab invasions in the seventh century.

Finally, we come to the migration of those Nubae, a branch of Zyhlarz's Group A, some of whom are said to have reached as far as the Oasis of Kharga. This theory is based on a statement of Procopius who, writing about the middle of the sixth century A.D., relates[1] that, on the withdrawal of the Roman legions from the Dodekaschoenus (the land of the twelve schoenoi, extending from Shellal to Maḥarraqa), the Nobatae "who formerly dwelt about the city of Oasis" were persuaded by Diocletian to take possession of this area, "that they would no longer harass the country about Oasis at least . . . and would probably beat off the Blemmyes and other barbarians." It is worth noting that there is a curious error[2] in Dr. Zyhlarz's historical sketch, reproduced by Hillelson,[3] where the former attributes the above passage to the fourth-century historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who, in fact, refers only to the Blemmyes and makes no mention of the Nobatae.

Despite Procopius' acknowledged reliability as an historian of contemporary affairs, this statement with regard to the introduction of the Nobatae should be viewed with caution. Procopius is here the sole authority and one both distant and far from contemporary; the date of the passage is, therefore, of importance. No mention of the Nobatae occurs in any known inscriptions or texts of the third century. Mamertinus, for instance, writing at the end of the third century, speaks of Blemmyes[4] but not of the Nobatae. It is quite clear that Procopius, in his account, believes that the Nobatae who inhabited Lower Nubia in his time were the descendants of those Nobatae said to have been introduced there by Diocletian. Yet it seems probable, from the evidence of the inscription

[1] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, I, xix, 27 ff. Ed. Haury.
[2] Zyhlarz, *op. cit.*, 205. He refers to Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV, 4, 3.
[3] *Sudan Notes and Records*, XIII, 139.
[4] *Claudii Mamertini Genethliacus Maximianus Aug., ap. panegyr. veter.*; ed. De la Baume, Paris (1676), 138. Delivered in 291 A.D.

of Silko and from other considerations, that the later Nobatae came down the Nile from the south, and, moreover, until Silko's victory in the fifth century, occupied precisely that part of Nubia which was outside the Dodekaschoenus and to the south of it.

Perhaps Procopius had in mind some tribe of the western desert such as the Mazikes,[1] frequent plunderers of the Kharga Oasis, to whom he misapplied the name Nobatae. Knowing the latter to be the overlords of Lower Nubia at the time that he was writing, to have considered them descendants of the tribe introduced by Diocletian might have seemed, in the absence of definite information as to their origin, a very plausible explanation.

At any rate, the tribe from Kharga—Nobatae or some other tribe—must rapidly have been absorbed by the Romano-Nubian population in the Dodekaschoenus, for the burials to which one would naturally look for distinctive racial features show no sign of any intrusive foreign element.

[1] They raided Kharga in *c.* A.D. 436, nearly capturing the exiled heresiarch, Nestorius. *Cf.* Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.* I, 7. *Cf.* J. Maspero, *Organisation milit. de l'Égypte byzant*, 13, n. 3.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF A SUBALTERN ON THE NILE IN THE EIGHTIES AND NINETIES.

By Major-General B. R. Mitford, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

(*Concluded*).

1889.

THE Nile was rising very rapidly, and there were shoals of small fish, the size of whitebait, close to the bank. So some of the prisoners were turned into the water to catch them with their *tōbs* : two men to a *tōb*, trawling upstream. The fry were not at all bad eating, though rather bony.

We remained at Bellana until the end of June Every night there was a good deal of firing on both sides, on several occasions parties of 20 or 30 dervishes concealing themselves behind palm trees in close vicinity to our houses and firing at our loop-holes Every third day I went on patrol in the " Abu Klea," either from 4 a.m. to 6 p.m., or from 6 p.m. until 5 a.m., either north or south. Lloyd arrived out from England on the 12th and took over command : then he shared the patrolling with me. The Italian Military attaché, Count Carlo Samminiatelli Zaberella, arrived up on the 22nd, and was attached to Headquarters.

The troops were steadily employed all this time improving their defences and clearing the ground. There was always the possibility that Nejumi would stake all his chances on one great blow, putting all his force in to wipe out the troops he had against him, as by now he must have learnt that reinforcements were on the way. Nejumi's intention had been to rest one day only in his present camp ; but he remained 18, possibly to let Makin en Nur join him with his 500 men. This emir made a very rapid march from Matuka, and arrived at the Dem at 5 a.m. on the 25th. This reinforcement in no way made up for the losses suffered during the long halt in men, animals, and supplies : not a night passed but some 10 to 20 men were killed about our houses, and a like number of prisoners taken : the gunboats on patrol also did execution. Their foraging parties now went far afield, and were encountered as far south as the Kanisa at Serra and beyond Masmas to the north.

At 8 a.m. on 15th the Sirdar arrived from the north: I took him in the "Abu Klea" as far south as Addendan, and then returned. In the evening he rode round the position held by IXth, Xth, XIIIth.

On 20th the 2nd Battalion from Cairo occupied part of Toski village: and next day the 1st Battalion arrived at Bellana.

On 24th I put a half company on Addendan Island, and took an emir, Osman Khairy, near the Kanisa at Serra. On 26th Rundle put a couple of Krupps on the island, and shelled the Dem intermittently during the night.

I was on patrol south all night of 27th, and, as dawn on 28th was breaking, heard the "Dubdubah" of the *nogara*; when it got lighter one could see much movement in the Dem, all loading up and preparing to move. At 6.30 a.m. the camp followers and luggage left the Dem and marched northwards: the fighting men were drawn up in several lines on parade. All were clear of their camp by 8.15 a.m.

The *nogara* was heard all night on the march eastwards of Abu Simbal. At sunrise on 29th they halted until 10 a.m. and then moved on another three miles. Beech with 20 cavalry, accompanied by Count Samminiatelli, patrolled to the old Dem, which was in a horrible condition, many dead bodies of men and animals lying unburied. Over 200 recent graves were counted. As Count Samminiatelli was looking at some chain armour three or four men rose up from a heap of rubbish and came for him with spears. He drew his sword and accounted for the leading man, and some troopers, coming to his assistance, wounded and brought in the others. That evening we sent a patrol of half a company towards north-west of the Dem: they came on two mounted emirs with their banners and 20 footmen within 100 yards: the dervishes promptly charged, but, on the horsemen falling, the footmen turned away; but 10 in all were killed.

The next afternoon I accompanied Hunter to see the Dem: the stench there was now appalling.

On 31st D'Aguilar, on his march up from Assuan with one squadron and two H.A. guns, had an engagement with a party of the enemy in the village of Aniba, five miles north of Masmas. He had cleared most of them out of the village, but about a dozen were determinedly holding a house, and could not be dislodged: so, disposing a party under his captain to

intercept them as they emerged, D'Aguilar brought up a gun to within a 100 yards to breach the wall, so as to effect an entrance. After a couple of rounds a gap was made in the wall, and the two shells had made a similar gap in the far wall. So while D'Aguilar, revolver in hand, entered by one gap, his captain, also revolver in hand, entered by the other ; the room was full of smoke, and each of them vaguely realising that someone was in front of them, fired and luckily missed : then on closing they recognised each other and no harm was done. The dervishes were in an adjoining room, and on hearing the gunshots opened the yard door and bolted, but did not get away.

On August 1st the IXth left Bellana at dawn in the "Abu Klea" and reached Toski at 8 a.m., where we were sent to the extreme north of the village, the XIIIth being next to us. One squadron, XXth Hussars, arrived in the evening.

Next morning at dawn I went on patrol north. No one in Aniba, but Masmas had between 40 and 50 men with half a dozen camels busy collecting dates. Landed at the south end and advanced through the village, driving them out : in doing so had a couple of men wounded, and killed 10 of them : they got their camels away behind the sand dunes as soon as the " Abu Klea " came alongside. This took over two hours.

3rd August : at dawn the mounted troops went out to reconnoitre the Dem, reports had come in during the night that Nejumi intended to march that day, and this the Sirdar was determined to prevent : the desert to the west of Toski was an open plain with a few isolated hills, while to the north commenced a more broken and hilly country eminently suited for the tactics of the enemy. Another point was that it was hoped to keep them in their present Dem until the British force, now on their way, would arrive. The M.I. and the Royal Irish Rifles reached Korosko to-day.

The Sirdar accompanied the reconnaissance : about 6 miles out west, the scouts had a view of the enemy's camp, in which there was much movement and preparations for a march. Sighting the cavalry, their riflemen advanced on them rapidly, and soon caused them to retire to successive positions. The two H.A. guns and the IXth. Xth and XIIIth were ordered out. Lloyd was with the reconnaissance, and, as we expected to have a quiet day, I had had a Battalion parade (the first for six weeks) at 5 a.m. and had not dismissed until 7 a.m.

I received the order about 8.15 a.m. and we were marching out by 8.30 : at 9.45 a.m. we arrived on the scene and lined a low rocky ridge, from which we fired volleys into the leading swarm of the advancing enemy at 900 yards range. I noticed some of the volleys seemed very weak, so watched the muzzles and spotted that no smoke appeared on the word "Atesh," so, seizing one man by the ear, asked him why he had not fired. He said, "No, Bimbashi, not yet, it is far : let us wait until we can see the whites of their eyes : the day will be long, and we shall want all our cartridges before it is finished." I had to quickly explain that we must prevent the foe going north.

The mounted troops now were holding several hills some 1,200 yards to our right front. The Xth soon arrived, and took the place of the IXth, who prolonged their line to the right to the end of the ridge : the XIIIth came up on left of the Xth. The 1st, 2nd and XIth arrived a little later and were in reserve behind the left of XIIIth.

About 10.30 the IXth were directed on a hill about 500 yards to their right front : they advanced towards it in two lines, each of two companies, 100 yards between each. When the front line was about 250 yards from their objective, some 250 spearmen charged down from behind the hill into the open and were all shot down : when the line passed through them, several of the supposed dead jumped up, and came for our men with sword and spear. There were still some 60 riflemen on the hill, who held their ground until the IXth reached the dead ground at base of the hill, and then made off to their next position. A company of the 2nd Battalion joined in the capture of the hill.

A general advance was now ordered towards a ridge with several knolls along it. Two of the knolls on the right were assaulted and taken by the IXth and Xth. The XIIIth were held up opposite a knoll on the left : Hunter brought up the 1st Battalion to their assistance, and with them came to close quarters with the defenders of the hill, who held their ground to the last : Hunter received a spear-wound in the arm. The enemy, though driven off this ridge, were not going to leave us in undisputed possession. They were able to collect in the unobserved ground at their side of the hill. After a short pause came a determined rush, only stopped within a few yards of our line : two more pauses, and two more rushes, and they abandoned hope of regaining the position. The

ground they had traversed in these desperate attacks was strewn with bodies, spears, swords and banners.

There was still another position to be taken, also on a rocky ridge. The line was re-formed and advanced on it : the 2nd and XIth on the left, wheeling round half right, enfiladed the ridge, while the IXth and Xth on the right and the XIIIth on the left charged and cleared the hill. The enemy retreated sullenly towards some hills to the south-west, 2,000 yards away : the two H.A. guns galloped forward and fired into them at close range, and the cavalry charged through them : they continued the pursuit for a couple of miles.

Whilst the fight had been in progress, the followers had been arranging a camp behind the hills occupied as their last position. Nejumi had been wounded early in the fight ; yet a horseman seen rallying the men retiring from the first position was said to have been he : also that he was again wounded, this time severely, and was borne out of the fight. Among the enemy, when in full retreat, was noticed a camel carrying something which was imagined to be a gun, accompanied by an escort of some 30 or 40 men. The cavalry, on coming up, had a sharp encounter with this escort before they seized the camel, on which they found, not a gun, but a dead body. Macdonald of the XIth, passing, ordered that the camel and body should be sent in to Toski, rightly opining that it must be the body of some important emir. At Toski the dervish prisoners, on seeing the corpse, exclaimed, " Wallahi ! Abdurrahman ! " but did not evince any grief. On the "Abu Klea " we had an Egyptian telegraph employé (for repairs, or for tapping the wire when on patrol, in order to send or receive messages) who was very clever with his pencil, so, while Nejumi's body was lying on the river-bank, he drew for me a half life-size of his head, an excellent likeness. Several people wanted copies of it, so the next time I was in Cairo I had the drawing photographed : one of the photographs was reproduced in Father Ohrwalder's book. Nejumi was buried outside Toski village, at the north end.

The IXth followed on after the cavalry, and got about a mile south of the new Dem, when at 2 p.m. they were halted, and ordered to return to Toski : they were back there at 4 p.m., tired and thirsty.

During that night one saw dogs from Toski east swimming the river to get to the dead bodies on the battlefield. At Argin fight the bodies were all quite close to the river, yet no one ever saw dogs crossing

the river, while at Toski they had a much greater distance to travel.

On 4th, at 4.30 a.m., the IXth embarked on the "Abu Klea" with its two gyassas and barge and left an hour later with the Sirdar on board. The " Metemmeh," with Colonel Wodehouse and staff accompanying us, both gunboats reaching Abu Simbal at noon. Here it was expected we should meet the cavalry, who, under Colonel Kitchener, had left Toski soon after dawn to make a reconnaissance over the ground covered by the retreating dervishes. But the line the main body took was some miles from the river, and they came in at Bellana : small parties were seen shepherding in stragglers, men and women, down to the river, where they were collected and eventually sent over to the other bank : in so doing many lives were saved which otherwise would have been lost from thirst.

We were back at Toski at 4 p.m., and then loading up with our stores, left again for the south at 6.30 p.m. Steamed all night, and, heavily laden as we were, had great difficulty at times to make headway against the current.

At early dawn on 5th we came up with the " Metemmeh " stuck hard and fast, so had to cast off barge and gyassas, and tug her off : this took over an hour, so we did not reach our old quarters in Bellana village until 1.30 p.m.

Lloyd and I, on going to our room in the Omda's house, were disgusted to find it occupied by a young and delicate-featured Baggara girl, who might have been good-looking but for the pustules of small-pox all over her face. She was haughty, and not in the least perturbed at the presence of Turks, and would give no account of herself : that may have been because she was hungry and feeling ill : but after some weak porridge with plenty of condensed milk in it, we gleaned that during the march to Toski she had been sent back on a camel accompanied by two slaves, man and woman : on finding Bellana empty they had taken up their quarters there and had been living on half-ripe dates. The slaves had bolted when they saw the "Abu Klea " coming alongside the bank. We sent her over to the other side, and made a smudge fire in the room to disinfect it.

Inspecting the guards that evening I noticed a man, who was looking rather queer, had a hole in his jersey near the right breast, with some specks of blood round it. When I asked him what it was, he replied in a

matter-of-fact way, " I was wounded the day before yesterday, but now am quite strong." I fell him out and had him stripped, and found an enormous hole in his back where the bullet had passed out. He had been shot through the lungs. He had lain quiet at Toski all the day before, but had not felt any pain. He quickly recovered.

We were back in Halfa early on 8th, having a great reception from the villagers on the way up, who were really thankful to think that, for the time being, at all events, they could cultivate in peace, without fear of raids from over the frontier.

Towards the end of July Saleh Bey Khalifa had asked permission to collect some of his men and turn his cousin Hassan Khalifa out of Murat. He was given leave, and on 29th rode into Murat and drove out his cousin, killing three men. He went on to Abu Hamed and reconnoitred that place : returning to Murat he went to Ongat, but Bahr Karrar and his men had fled to Berber.

Bishir Bey, too, had at the same time demonstrated towards Gebel Messa, south of Abrak, where the Emir Baghdadi had his headquarters. Bishir's approach forced him to move southwards into the Bisharin country : those Arabs were only too glad to join in the hunt, and had a succesful fight with them at Bir Abu Dueim. Baghdadi eventually reached Abu Hamed, having lost half his force by thirst during his retirement.

Shortly after Hassan Khalifa got back to Abu Hamed, he was, by Abdullahi's orders sent in chains, to Omdurman, and lodged in the Saier. I never learnt what happened to him afterwards.

About this time died the well-known Mohamed el Kheir, who commanded at Berber : he was the Mahdi's first teacher.

On the 10th the Sirdar and staff arrived at 8.30 a.m. : on landing Sir Francis was handed a telegram from the War Office, London, informing him that he had been promoted Major-General. He received most cordial congratulations.

That afternoon one Abu Yezid, who had been taken prisoner at Toski, was shot at Dabrosa in front of the inhabitants. He was a railway employé who had gone over to the dervishes 18 months before : he and one Hassan el Gazzar, who had kept a small store at Dabrosa until he also deserted, had acted as guides to Makin en Nur in the raid on Dabrosa in July, 1888.

Next morning there was a divisional parade, inspection of lines, a reception, and then the Sirdar and staff left for the north.

Sillem with the 3rd Battalion now occupied Sarras: during their occupation of that place the dervishes had built over 4,000 huts. The villages along the river bank, and on the islands, had disappeared, and few palm trees were now to be seen. The sagias had been demolished to supply material for building or for fuel; the water-channels alone showed where there had been cultivation, now the sand had drifted over the ground; the river bank was now a waste.

Notwithstanding that the enemy had established a force at Suarda, more for reconnoitring purposes than for resistance, refugees from the districts of Sukkot and Mahass began to troop into Halfa; their numbers came to over 4,000. They were allotted a tract of land on the east side of the long-disused canal at Debeira; when the Nile fell they were turned on to clear it out, and in the following year had successfully brought several hundred feddans into cultivation.

Some of us rode down the other bank one afternoon to inspect Nejumi's Dem at Argin. There was still a certain amount of stuff lying about, and we came on the headless body of either a Jaali or a Dongolowi kneeling upright with his arms tied behind him at the elbows with a strip of ox-hide: his head was lying on the ground a couple of yards away and had been severed from the body with a very clean cut. Both body and head were mummified, and they had not been touched by either animal or bird, though other bodies in the Dem had been partially devoured. I never heard if this man had been identified. We had heard from prisoners, soon after July 2nd, that Nejumi had executed some men for disobedience.

On 17th I went down with Colonel Wodehouse to Assuan in his *dahabiah*. Inspected the 8th Battalion, a very fine lot of men, and then drifted down to Darraw to see Ahmed Bey Khalifa. Returning to Assuan, Bishir Bey, just back from Abrak and Gebel Messa, appeared early on 21st, and was on the boat most of the day.

When Colonel Wodehouse had completed the civil work connected with the frontier Mudiria we went to Cairo, where he received on 2nd September, at Boulac Dacrour Station, a great ovation from all E.A. officers in Cairo, with the Cavalry band; in the evening he was entertained

at dinner at the Turf Club. Two days later he left for England on leave and I returned to Halfa.

The ordinary life in garrison felt very flat now: so many officers, among them Lloyd to finish his broken period, had gone on leave, that we could not get up a game of polo. Luckily one had a lot to do, so the time passed. One day Hunter took me and a dozen troopers to find the desert or "Es Suddud" road that the dervishes had used of late when raiding north of Halfa. Going up the Khor Musa Pasha we struck it five miles out, and after following some way, turned towards the river down a rough rocky khor, which turned out to be the Khor Bagdoli, which debouches on the river opposite Matuka. A few days later I went out on a camel and sketched this road as far south as Sarras.

On 8th October received orders to hold the battalion in readiness to proceed to Cairo for a special parade: as this was all the official notice I received I could not answer all the wild surmises that were suggested. As a matter of fact, Colonel Hunter had told me privately the week before that H.R.H. The Prince of Wales was coming shortly on a visit to H.H. The Khedive, and that it was on the cards that the IXth would be sent to Cairo for his inspection.

We left at noon on the 10th in the "Teb" and "Tamai," 650 all ranks. Reached North End, Assuan, at 3.30 p.m. next day, and the boats started to drift down at 7 p.m. Each company had a *dahabiah*, and I had a small one for myself, buglers and details.

The boats kept fairly well in company all the way, and we reached Kasr en Nil at 1.15 p.m. on 22nd. The Sirdar was on leave, and Colonel Kitchener was acting, so I went to report myself, and he came to ride at the head of the battalion during their march out to the Red Barracks at Abbassiyeh. I was given a room at the Blue House, where some six or seven officers of the E.A. had a small mess.

Three days later Colonel Kitchener presented me to the Khedive, who was very complimentary about the turn-out of the men on their march through Cairo: I had no idea he had seen them. He asked me if I could talk Arabic, so I said I spoke excellent Sudanese Arabic, but that it would shock an educated man. He replied that many Arabs in the Sudan spoke very purely, and that they ought to as they were emigrants from Arabia. I did not say, but would have liked to, that that was a long time ago, "mudet el Romaniyun"!

We were told not to bring any horses with us to Cairo, so I had to get one for the parade. Beech wanted one too, and he knew that a horse-dealer named Waked was on the way across the desert from Suez, so we "laid a dak" and galloped out one early morning along the Suez road; at the third station out we came on Waked just halting his caravan until the evening. We had the great iron shoes (that they put on animals going through the rocky Sinai desert) knocked off several of them, and for pace tried them against the horses on which we had ridden out. We each selected a couple, and then began the haggling; we got them for a third less than what we would have had to give if we had waited until they had arrived in Cairo.

Lloyd arrived out on 27th October, his leave again curtailed.

We had several divisional parades, in conjunction with the British troops, before the Prince arrived, which he did at 1 p.m. on November 1st. The IXth formed the guard of honour on the platform at the station, and I was sent with them. The blacks were intensely interested in the various uniforms, and there were many suppressed chuckles when the diplomats arrived in their splendour. However, when H.R.H. (with whom was Prince George) arrived and went down the ranks, they were as emotionless as mummies.

Next day was the parade. H.R.H. and the Khedive arrived on the ground at 4 p.m. and it went off capitally. The IXth were on the left of the line, next to the guns that fired the salute. It had never crossed my mind that my new charger, which had never been ridden or bitted till I bought him, would mind guns going off, but when the first gun went off, he jumped right round and I nearly came off, sitting loosely with only my toe in the stirrup; at the second round he again jumped, and the same at the third; then he took not the slightest notice of guns or bands.

On the 3rd the Prince lunched with the Sirdar and held a small reception afterwards, at which ten of our officers were presented.

November 4th was the Mulid en Nebi: Lloyd and I had all our officers to dine with us at the Esbekieh Gardens. Then we all trooped off to the fête, where we made our bows to the various distinguished personages, and the Minister for War, Mustapha Pasha Fehmi, entertained us in his tent.

As barely 10 per cent. of our men had ever been in Cairo until now, they were all told to go down at evening and see the sights: we met them

wandering about in small parties clinging to each other, looking as if they were lost : and so many of them were, as they lost all sense of direction, and when dawn broke found themselves going towards Tura. They loved the fireworks, but were disgusted at the very broad acting that went on in some of the booths.

The Prince and suite left at 9.15 a.m. on the 5th without any ceremony. The next function we attended was the funeral of H.H. Princess Kadine, the Khedive's grandmother, on the morning of the 14th : and again another on 19th when all officers of IXth were presented to H.H. at Abdin Palace. Next day the Sirdar inspected the battalion and made us a very nice speech. Some dozen officers dined with Sir Francis and Lady Grenfell that evening. The Sirdar was a keen Egyptologist, and had a small museum which contained, among many other things, the mummied head of a by-gone Pharaoh. Our officers, on spotting it, made up their minds that it was the head of Wad en Nejumi : what bothered them was that the Jaali " wasm " was no longer on its cheek and asked me why it had disappeared. " Old G." was intensely amused.

We all had had a most excellent time in Cairo : the behaviour of the men could not have been better, not a single charge brought against any one of them during the time we were in Cairo. But they were not sorry when we left at 7.30 a.m. on 1st December in the steamer " Massadieh," and one company in sailing boats : the sailing boats made better time than the steamer.

On the 15th we reached Luxor, and here came across Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Messrs. Kenrick and Jesse Collings, and their belongings. We arrived at Assuan on the 18th, and Halfa on the 23rd December. Colonel Wodehouse had returned from England the week before.

On the 26th the XIIIth left for Assuan to take the place of the Xth, who came next month to Halfa, and that evening Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and his party arrived in their private steamer. Next day D'Aguilar and I took them up to Abusir Rock on camels, escorted by some Shagia : that evening half the party, among whom was Mr. Jesse Collings, dined with Colonel Wodehouse, and the other half at the mess. Mr. Jesse Collings came in for a lot of chaff about his " Three acres and a cow " scheme, and we told him that here was the place to start it : we'd let him have any

amount of " three acres," provided that he could produce the cows : he quite enjoyed it.

On 28th there was a divisional parade, and after breakfast the visitors went round the lines : the ladies of our Harimat greeted them with a prolonged " zagharit " : the party then departed. Mr. Chamberlain impressed us most favourably, and one felt that, so long as he had any say in the control of the destiny of the Sudan, there would be no further retrograde movement at any rate, and that its recovery was merely a question of time—and money.

On 31st we left by train at 8 a.m. with the 7th Battalion for railhead, then near Morshed, to take part in a field day with the 8th Battalion at Sarras. But just as we got to Gemai, " Typhon," the engine, left the line, and the truck behind with the water tank turned right over : the next carriage of four compartments (in which were most of the officers), fell over on its side down the low bank, and the open trucks that followed it, in which were the men, gradually telescoped it : the seats in the compartments were jammed one against the other, and Magdi Bey, commanding the 7th, and his Bimbashi, were both caught and held prisoners by the legs : if they had not been wearing long boots, their legs would probably have been broken : as it was they were in a good deal of pain for several days. When the jolt came I was leaning out of the window and was shot straight out on to the sand, and no harm done. But two officers were propelled halfway through windows, and were much cut about by broken glass. None of the trucks, laden with the men of the 7th, left the line.

There were now at Halfa 12 British officers, and the units, besides artillery, cavalry and camel corps, were IXth, 3rd, 7th and 8th : Xth en route.

1890.

1890, *January :* during the next seven weeks I was on the range every morning, except when there were divisional parades, from 8 a.m. until 1 o'clock. Twice a week we usually managed to get up a game of polo : D'Aguilar of the 17th Lancers, in command of the two squadrons at Halfa, was a good polo player, and he did much towards improving our games. Cook's tourist boats again made a visit each week, arriving early on the Friday morning and leaving about 5 p.m. next day.

On the 11th the Xth began to arrive from Assuan, and took over the XIIIth lines in the right defence. On 18th General Dormer and staff appeared from Cairo on a tour of inspection, and were at Halfa three days. About this time six of our dervish recruits deserted one night, taking only their shirts, drawers and boots. They were all Nubas, and had only recently been caught in their native hills, and forwarded on to join Nejumi's army: judging from the marks on their backs and buttocks the dervishes had attempted to discipline them. They were all nice-looking men, and had a good manner, but had no idea of doing what they were told: they did not understand it.

At 9 p.m. on 5th February, during a heavy dust-storm, some 300 or 400 of the Dabrosa inhabitants, Barabra and Dongolawis, rushed up to Halfa saying that the dervishes had come down on them, and were killing and looting. Though we realised it was an unfounded scare, some of us went down with a company of the IXth to find out what had happened: arriving at Dabrosa we found all was quiet, and everyone in their huts, out of the dust: eventually we found that someone had been unduly beating his wife, and her screams had caused the alarm.

One company of the IXth was now employed at work on the railway line towards Sarras, so one Friday Lloyd and I put a whaler on the construction train, and, with Sheikh Isa Koki in charge, we came down the river from Morshed, inspecting the ruins on some of the islands: of great age, but whether they were originally strongholds or churches, we were uncertain. As usual, all we could get out of the Koki or the natives was, "of the time of the Romans." Koki in charge of a boat in the Cataract and Koki in a house were two different people. When at his job as Reis, he was the "Spirit of the Waters" personified: quick, alert, balancing himself on the gunwale, leaping from one side to the other, giving his directions in sharp decisive accents, he was supreme: in his own house, or when he came to see one at Halfa, he was a meek, quiet little man, hardly spoke above a whisper. As someone said, to get anything out of him, he ought to be put in a bath full of water! I wonder if his successor is as capable a man as he was.

Sirdar and staff were at Halfa, March 7th to 11th, on a tour of inspection: they were not fortunate in the weather, as we had dust-storms nearly all their stay.

Barrow of the South Lancashire Regiment now joined the IXth as junior Bimbashi. Donne, who had commanded the Xth since its formation, resigned the E.A. and Captain D. F. Lewis, from the War Office, Cairo, came and assumed command.

On 24th March Colonel Hunter, with a squadron of cavalry and three officers, left Sarras on a patrol south to Ginnis. They returned to Sarras early on the 31st, not having seen a man or animal all the way until they came to Mograka, where they met a dervish patrol from Suarda and captured six men and five camels. Not a soul in Ginnis.

Hitherto each black battalion had had four companies only, each of about 170 rank and file : on this 1st April these battalions were expanded to six companies of about 150 rank and file. This step gave promotion to a certain number of all ranks, and also a certain number of old soldiers had to be drafted into the new companies, but neither they, or those that got a step in rank, liked going ; *bashingi* and *altingi* companies were not at all popular for some time. They soon shook down, and there was no difference in drill or discipline between them and Nos. 1 to 4.

Colonel Wodehouse, Colonel Hunter, Lewis, Dunning, Count Carlo Samminiatelli (the Italian Military Attaché) and self went down to Korosko on the 7th, on our way to Murat Wells, where Colonel Wodehouse was to inspect Saleh Bey Khalifa's post of Melikab Ababda.

Accompanied by Saleh Bey, his brother Ahmed Bey from Darraw, Sheikh Mahmoud Omar of the Aligat, Ali Bey Haidr, who commanded the 6th Battalion at Korosko, an escort of 17 Arabs and 35 transport camels (nearly all of whom were carrying water), we left on the 9th at 4.30 p.m., and arrived at Murat at 8.15 a.m. on the 12th : 119 miles. Our usual marching hours were 2 a.m. until 7 or 8 : 2.30 p.m. until 7 or 8, with an hour's halt about sunset for prayers and coffee : but on the 11th, in order to do the distance within three days, we had to make a double "Mutrak" and covered 40 miles, from the Khasm el Bab to Khor Sofra.

In daylight it would be hard to miss the road ; camel tracks were plentiful, piles of stones have been erected as guides, and every Arab who passes adds in to the pile : the best guides are the skeletons of camels. An excellent road for camels and horses, and not bad for infantry. Wheeled vehicles would have no difficulty in traversing it. Sir Samuel Baker's steamers, carried in sections on limbers, were sent by this route to Abu Hamed in 1870, and in the Bahr Bela Ma are still to be seen the tracks

of the wheels. One would think that the wind would have obliterated them, but Seleh Bey said that the furrows were deeper and more pronounced now than they were ten years ago.

In one section of the road the surface is strewn with what appeared to be cannon-balls, varying in size from an orange to almost a football. I took one home and was told it was iron pyrites : it was hollow.

Forty-two miles from Korosko is Kulet el Ghuz, a conical hill : here in the 'twenties a party of Mamlooks (Ghuz), on their way to Abu Hamed, were treacherously murdered by their Ababda guides, whose cupidity had been excited by the wealth they saw ostentatiously displayed, and by the charms of their ladies.

Jebel Maho Bey, at the beginning of the Khasm el Bab, 49 miles, is named after an officer of Musa Pasha's force, *circa* 1862, who made a garden here.

Maowi el Buggar, 55 (where traces of water-troughs can be seen), and Khanatig el Buggar, 99, are two of the many cattle-halting places in Saïd Pasha's time.

Abu Ruakib, 73, ends the second stage of the journey : two small hills, one at right angles to the other : from here there is an uninterrupted view to the south for 13 miles. Four miles on is another conical hill, Kulet el Pasha, similar in size and appearance to Kulet el Ghuz : named after a forgotten Pasha who broke his arm on the road, and remained here until it was healed. These conical hills, which are numerous, are called " Zeb el Kelb," one explanation of that being there is no shade there even for a dog : there is another explanation which is rather coarse.

Bir Hatab, 82, in the middle of the wadi of that name : Saïd Pasha caused a shaft to be sunk for 70 feet, but no water was found ; it is used as a cistern to collect water during rains, but is nearly choked up.

Telat el Gindi, 101, is passed on left hand : a dome-shaped rock like a kubba. Here a rebellious member of Saleh Bey's family in the thirties (?) was encountered by some of Mahamet Ali's troops and he and his following all slain or captured.

In Khor Sofra, 104, are many *sallam* and *seyala* trees ; and Wadi Delah contains also many sad-looking dom palms ; it is 700 yards wide. Ostriches were killed here in Saïd Pasha's time, and remains of their egg-shells are still to be found.

The track now narrows considerably, and winds between low hills with slight inclines and declines into the Wadi Murat, a valley running east and west some 200 to 300 yards wide, and closed at its eastern end by J. Murat, 600 yards to the west of which are the wells.

My aneroid made Murat 1,100 feet higher than Korosko. There were eight wells open, merely holes, and unfaced; their depth about five feet; many were closed up, which could easily be opened. The well from which the post drew their water is good, though slightly saline and bitter; if other wells were taken into daily use the water in them would become equally good. In the south-east corner of the valley are the remains of five wells faced with stone, and originally roofed, constructed in accordance with General Gordon's orders when he passed through here on his last fatal journey. These were destroyed last year when Hassan Khalifa and his dervishes were in occupation of these parts; they made their head-quarters at J. Raft, 8 miles west of Murat, where we were told was a cistern which was rarely dry.

The Arabs gave us a warm welcome, and were glad to see us; they were about 150 in number, and furnished some seven or eight posts on the hills about the wells, stone-built sungars. Colonel Wodehouse inspected them, and made them a speech which they understood and appreciated; then there was some rifle practice at bottles at 100 yards range, 10 P.T. a bottle, but the bottles soon gave out. They gave us an exhibition of sword-and-shield play which, as usually happens, ended up in two men going for each other in real earnest.

We left on our return journey at 2.20 on the 13th, and followed the route by which we had come. Eleven miles out we turned a little to the west off the track to see the cisterns in Jebel Safra, called Talat el Gala-bawi; both are in clefts in the hill, the largest 150 feet up, the cleft about eight feet wide, depth about 40 feet, and length about 50; these are high-water mark levels; now there were only some 10 or 12 feet of water. The smaller one was about quarter the size, and was 50 feet up from the Khor. About both cisterns were mounds and mounds of droppings from desert sheep. They told us that these cisterns were small in comparison with others in the hills in the vicinity, *e.g.*, Jebel Raft.

We rode into Korosko at 7.50 a.m. on the 16th, having had a most interesting though rather a tiring excursion; but it was enjoyable. We were back at Halfa on the 19th.

The 7th Battalion left on the 21st in sailing boats for Cairo : Lewis with half his battalion, the Xth, went to Sarras to relieve the 8th ; and Barrow, having been promoted Captain in his regiment, and thus senior to me, was transferred to the XIIth and left for Suakin.

On 5th May Colonel Hunter rode out to explore the road via Nakhla to Shebb, 120 miles west-north-west of Halfa in the western desert, taking with him Lloyd, Chapman (A.A.G.F.F.) and Dunning ; they returned direct from Shebb on the 10th at dawn.

At the end of the month I proceeded to England on leave. I stopped with Colonel Hallam Parr, our late A.G.E.A., for Goodwood, and the advice he gave me materially influenced my future. I also had a talk with Sir Francis Grenfell during the meeting, and he quite concurred.

I was back at Halfa on September 27th, and was more than annoyed to find that the garden I had made, north of my house, on the river bank, had been partially washed away by the recent high Nile. I had built a stone wall around it which, I expected, would have protected it from such a fate. Into this wall I had placed a few stones with hieroglyphics which I had picked up in various places along the river bank, away from any old buildings ; a distinguished Egyptologist from the British Museum had recently been on a visit to Halfa, and in his walks happened to see in my wall a stone that interested him. He asked someone if he might have it, and was told he might, as I would not mind. So it was extracted, and whoever did it never repaired the gap. I met Dr. Wallis Budge many years later, and he told me that from the inscriptions on that stone he ascertained the ancient name of Halfa.

On 8th October I went to Sarras with the right half battalion to relieve the left half, which had been out there a month under the Sagh : Osman Eff. Iffat. The camp had been moved recently from about the Station house, to nearly a mile north, under the north end of a small hill called Kurab, and where the village of Masho originally stood, now marked only by a dozen palm tree trunks, the dervishes having decapitated the crowns. There were also at the post 50 cavalry and 30 Shagia. Railhead was now just south of Segada, and we had to find working parties daily. A week later I sent a company to form a post at Khor Murat, 16 miles south at the head of the Khor near the formation level of the destroyed railway. I spent my time fairly equally between the two places, and made a plain table sketch of the country in between. I made a couple

of patrols a week into the desert with the Shagia, and in the river area with the cavalry, and mapped the Suddud road from the K. Ahmed Sherif to the wells of Hagsub and Adila, and round to Ambigul Road.

There were a great many desert sheep and gazelle this autumn in these parts, their usual drinking places in the desert having dried up, as this year's rainy season was a poor one. Several of the former were shot in old Sarras, and the men caught a number of gazelle with the wheel-shaped trap usually used. Jackals were heard most nights and occasionally came into the camps and looted the canteen man's chickens ; one night they slew, but did not get away with, a goat tethered within a yard or two of a sentry.

I had a good many visitors during my time, and usually one or two men came out on the Thursday afternoon and remained until the next evening : either for shooting, or to explore the ruins on the islands or the temples at Semna.

On the 18th October some 150 dervishes, men and women, who had been captured during the Toski campaign, and since then had been in Lower Egypt more or less in open arrest, passed through on their way back to their countries. We heard afterwards that those that did go to " el Bocca " were promptly shipped off south up the White Nile.

About this time, too, news came in that one Sheikh Khalil, a fine-looking man always beautifully turned out, whom one had met frequently on the frontier, had died of starvation and bad treatment in the Saier at Omdurman. About a year ago he, in company with an Ababda, had gone to Omdurman with a list of all the prisoners from Nejumi's army then in Egypt ; he also carried a letter to Abdullahi requesting him to return by bearer Gordon's uniform and medals, if they were in his hands. The Ababda was sent back with no reply ; the Khalifa looked on Sheikh Khalil, being an Egyptian, as a spy, and put him in the Saier, where he had a miserable ending.

David with half the Xth came out to relieve me on the 15th November, and from 10 a.m. that day until 6 a.m. on the 16th some minor operations went on between our two forces, David having a company of C.C. as a set-off to my cavalry and Shagia. The IXth were back in Halfa at sunset on the 18th. I was sorry to be back.

Whilst I had been away the IXth and Xth had received blue cloth winter garments similar to what the XIth wore when they were under

Valentine Baker and still retained : Zouave dress, light blue and yellow piping, red cummerbunds, and long white gaiters or spats. This clothing, while being very smart, had its utilitarian side, as there were many fewer cases of lung and chest ailments in the ensuing winter.

The year finished without incident : musketry again nearly all morning ; some sailing up and down stream in the whalers, and some regattas, and polo.

1891.

1891. *January 3rd :* George Hunter, a younger brother of Colonel Hunter, came from the XIIth to the IXth vice Barrow, and a week later Lord Athlumney, Coldstream Guards, also joined the battalion on first appointment to the E.A. At last we had our proper complement of British officers.

At 1 p.m. on 20th January the Crown Prince and Princess of Sweden arrived at Halfa. H.R.H. went round all the barrack rooms that afternoon, and saw one company at kits in each battalion. It was not a very propitious moment. Colonel Wodehouse was at Assuan in attendance on H.H. The Khedive, and at Halfa the troops were all busy rehearsing feu-de-joie, putting up decorations, etc.

A few minutes after 4 p.m. on the 22nd, the yacht steamed past No. 5 Fort with the Khedive on board. The garrison were in line along the river road below the bank from one end of the " Geiger " to the other ; as the steamer passed each battalion fired a feu-de-joie, gave the salute, and cheered. Then followed a reception of all officers, and at 6.30 all field officers dined with H.H., who afterwards said a few words to each individual in turn. The Sirdar was accompanying H.H. in the " Abu Klea."

Next morning, Friday, 23rd, H.H. inspected the troops. T.R.H. The Crown Prince and Princess were also present, and accompanied H.H. down the ranks. At noon H.H. went to prayers at the Mosque in the right defence, and in the afternoon to Abusir Rock. In the evening there was a grand *diluka* of all the Sudanese tribes in front of the Commandanieh. The Shillooks were a great success ; whilst this was going on (it went on till after midnight) Colonel Wodehouse dispensed coffee and other beverages to the distinguished visitors. At midnight we had a great supper-party at the mess, which did not terminate until after 3 a.m.

On 24th, H.H. left by train at 7.30 a.m. for Abka, and was back by noon. In the afternoon he went round every barrack room and saw kits; he was nearly three hours going round. On 25th he left at 6.30 a.m., the troops paraded, and the same procedure followed as on his arrival: the Sirdar and Colonel Wodehouse accompanying him in their gunboats. T.R.H. of Sweden also departed during this afternoon.

On 2nd February I left for Assuan to act as A.A.G. during Chapman's absence. He went with M. Golénischeff and his wife (Russians) to the Oasis of El Kharga, via Baris. Two years previously they had explored the road from El Redesia, opposite Edfu, to Berenice, and had surveyed and taken drawings of the ruins, temples and Roman stations along that route. An account of their journey appeared in G. Maspero's "Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes" (Vol. XIII, 1890).

An hotel had been opened recently in Assuan, and there were generally ten or a dozen people staying there; there were also six or seven *dahabiahs* moored along the river bank. The Crown Prince and Princess were also here several weeks on their *dahabiah*; the Crown Prince spent a great deal of his time going after crocodiles in the Cataract, and was very fortunate in not only shooting several, but also in recovering them.

On the 8th orders came for the XIIIth to proceed to Suakin via Kuft and Kosseir at once. We had no inkling as to why they were to go.

T.R.H. came to lunch on 10th, and Bishir Bey Gubran brought some of his Arabs, who gave a very good "fantasia." The sword-and-shield play ended up with one man minus a bit of his nose! The XIIIth started on afternoon of 12th for Barud in two stern wheelers, each with two barges and four giassas attached. Still in the dark as to why they are off, though we had heard that Handoub had been occupied on 27th January with little resistance.

A great many foreigners were now in Assuan. One very interesting party from Constantinople consisted of two Ambassadors: the Italian, Baron Blanc, and the French, Comte de Montebello (Lannes), their wives, and several of their attachés; a very charming company. This winter we have seen the grandsons of three of Napoleon's marshals, as Prince Wagram (Berthier) had been at Halfa the previous month, and the grandsons of Bernadotte and Lannes were now here. Professor Sayce also was here again this season.

On 20th February news came that Colonel Holled-Smith had entered Tokar, and in the course of the following days we learnt what had been going on in the Suakin area. The severity of the dervish misrule had detached the allegiance of the Arabs from Mahdiism, but they could not, and would not, express their changed feelings openly so long as Handoub and Tokar were held by Osman Digna and his emirs. In January Osman Digna, with a contingent of his force, had left for the south to collect taxes and recruits : Colonel Holled-Smith thought that now was the propitious moment to recover the fertile district about Tokar whence the dervishes for so long had drawn their supplies. He submitted his reasons and proposed scheme of operations to Cairo, and on 8th February the expedition was sanctioned. Meanwhile the dervishes at Handoub had been raiding pretty freely, so, as a preliminary, on January 27th, Colonel Holled-Smith attacked that place with the cavalry, XIth and XIIth, and captured it, slight resistance being offered. It was garrisoned by a party of native police from Suakin, and by some friendlies.

By the 14th February troops and transport were concentrated at Trinkitat, having been moved there by sea from Suakin. Deserters gave the information that Osman Digna had returned hastily from the south when he heard that Handoub had been captured , he had intended to attack and retake it, but while on the way had learnt of the troops assembling at Trinkitat, so was now on the road to Afafit.

On the 16th the force (consisting of 4th, XIth and XIIth) marched from Trinkitat and reached El Teb early in the afternoon ; a few of the enemy's scouts were seen. A redoubt was made to cover the walls at El Teb, and a depot of supplies was formed. The march was to have been continued to Afafit on the 18th, but a dust-storm that day made it impossible. Early on the 19th the troops left El Teb, and by 10 a.m. the infantry had reached the ruins of Tokar, and had taken up a position along what had been the outer walls of the village ; close up to these ruins came dense bush. The troops were barely in position before they were attacked on three sides, the enemy charging through the bush to within a few yards of the line of defence. They made an attempt to get round the flanks, but the XIth on left and the 4th on right repulsed their attempts with severe loss. The dervish horsemen made a détour and came in by the rear among the transport camels ; they were shot down, several by officers of the staff with their revolvers.

The enemy now broke off the attack and retired to some sand hills a mile south. Leaving Colonel Rundle with half a battalion at Tokar, the main body advanced towards these sand hills, from which the dervishes retired on their approach and, not attempting to defend Afafit, fled towards Temeren, 15 miles south, and Kassala. The troops entered Afafit, a large village of some 5,000 tukls, at 4 p.m., and were received with acclamation by those Arabs who, weary of Osman Digna's sway over them, were glad to again come under the rule of Egypt.

The operations were now terminated; the casualties among the Egyptian troops were Barrow and 12 men killed, and 50 wounded, most of them in the XIth. The dervish loss was estimated at about 700 killed, among whom were several emirs. Osman Naib, a very well-known horseman and leader of raids about Suakin for three or four years, was among the slain.

This well-conceived and well-carried-out expedition recovered at small cost the district round Tokar; it did not lapse again into the hands of the dervishes; the country round Suakin was now at peace.

Chapman arrived back at Assuan on 25th. He and the Golénischeffs had had a very good journey to El Kharga, full of interest; thence they returned to the Nile at Esna.

I left on the 27th for Halfa with a British functionary from Cairo who was on some mission of enquiry. He had a private steamer and his party consisted of himself, wife, secretary, maid, two children, three dogs, a desert rat, and a monkey! My job was to collect the omdas and sheikhs at Sayala, Korosko, etc., and present them to him. At Toski I collected some camels and took the first three of the party out to see the battlefield and the memorial; also Nejumi's grave outside the village.

Reached Halfa early on 2nd March. The party I had travelled up with were given an interesting time during their stay; they left on evening of 4th with an addition to their numbers, as I gave them a gazelle which had been caught when out at Sarras: a nice animal, very tame, but mischievous and destructive in the garden and in the house where he ate bits out of my handkerchiefs.

From the 5th for ten days onwards we had the worst "khamsin" I have known up the Nile: one could not see a yard, and one never knew whether the sun was shining or not. We expected it to terminate with

a cloud-burst or a downpour, but it petered out quietly during the night of 15th.

On 20th all troops in garrison moved out for a fortnight's manœuvres in the Batn el Hagar between Abka and Murat. Lloyd commanded the Northern force, a squadron, a company C.C., 2nd and IXth, which concentrated at Abka, and Colonel Hunter the Southern, mounted troops and three battalions, who were at Sarras. After a very interesting week I left on leave, as I had to be in London in May for an examination, and wanted to get a few weeks' work at home before going up.

On my way down the river the "Dal" tied up at Kalabsha one evening, and the omda came on board to see me. He produced four copper or bronze chisels (celts) which had been found a few feet under the sand near the temple; he asked me what they were for and if they were of any use. I did not know any more than he did, but said "perhaps" they were tools used in shaping the stones when the temple was built. He would have been only too glad if I had carried them off, and I was sorry afterwards I hadn't, as he probably threw them away, while I could have left them at the Boulak Museum.

I was back in Egypt at the end of May. Some changes had taken place in the meanwhile: the IXth had gone to Assuan from Halfa, and Lewis from the Xth was now in command vice Lloyd, who had gone on leave and on his return was to be promoted Miralai and be given a district. David got the Xth.

I went to Halfa to act as A.A.G. while Chapman was on leave. A very fine new house had just been built on the river bank for the 2nd in command of the frontier, and as Colonel Hunter was away I shared it with Adams of the cavalry.

The civil administration of the frontier Mudiria took up a great deal of Colonel Wodehouse's time: excepting Mahir Bey at Assuan he had no deputy, so was constantly on the move to the centres of districts, Serra, Toski, Ibrim, etc., to meet the notables and hear their grievances, some of which dated from the days of Saïd Pasha. Many of them seemed to us very childish and simple, family quarrels about the ownership of a sakia, whether a second cousin by marriage had a claim on 1/64 or 1/128 part. We rode down the right bank to Assuan, and every evening held a Court under the *lebekh* or *gemaizeh* opposite the Omda's house, and decided points which had been the matter of discord for years, and the

judgments (frequently à la Solomon) were accepted by both parties as final, and on future visits we heard no more about them. One litigant told us that his father and he had never had a chance of stating their case, but " Saadet el Pasha " had let him talk as long as he liked, and now he was quite happy.

The refugees from the river bank and islands between Khor Musa and Sarras had been allowed to return on the understanding that they would not be guaranteed immunity from dervish raids : and, as compensation for this, they would not pay any taxes. On these conditions quite a large number had returned : their housing was a difficulty, the dervishes having taken all the wood out of their buildings, and there were few palms and sunt trees standing. Tobacco-growing had been prohibited in Egypt the previous year, a great grievance to the Barabra, who preferred their local grown tobacco to the imported : so when I was at Sarras the previous autumn I had suggested to some of them that they should grow tobacco, quite forgetting the possibilities of their smuggling it north of Khor Musa : they had some excellent crops. The 8th Battalion were at Sarras and Murat, commanded by an excellent man we called " Punch," but I can't find him referred to by his proper name in my diary. We occasionally went and spent a night at one of these places.

On 6th July took place the removal of the factory boilers that for so many years had been reposing on the top of the bank in front of the Hospital. Some refinery near Erment had bought them, so the 2nd Battalion were turned on to lever them down the slope and on to some barges : one barge was rather damaged during the proceedings. A stern-wheeler took them north next morning.

We went to Assuan on the 13th July, and on the way down the "Abu Klea " ran on the rocks at Dakka during the night, and she was badly holed in a magazine and a coal compartment. They managed to stuff one hole up pretty well, and, with the steam pumps going, reached Shellal with a heavy list and all down by the bow.

The 16th was the first day of Bairam : Colonel Wodehouse held a reception at 7 a.m. which did not finish until 10 a.m. In the afternoon I paid a round of calls on the Cadi, Mufti, etc., and we had a quick walk to the top of Tagug and back in order to recuperate.

At 4 a.m. on the 18th we left for Darraw on camels, and on arrival there had another reception, attended chiefly by Ahmed Bey's Arabs.

Colonel Wodehouse's *dahabiah* was there, and we sailed back to Assuan in the evening.

The following week we left after lunch and rode out past Sethi's statue along the Haimar road about 18 miles, where we stayed the night, and next morning at dawn sallied out after gazelle and sand-grouse: many gazelle seen, but I never got within shot; I was more fortunate with the sand-grouse.

On 24th the Nile began to rise very rapidly, over a foot in the 24 hours.

A man named Abd el Salaam had a very nice garden a few miles beyond North End: we used to ride out there in the afternoon occasionally: when a dust-storm was blowing it was the only place where one could escape from it.

The XIth, who had left Suakin on the 17th July, and had come across from Kosseir to Luxor, reached Assuan on 6th August on their way to Halfa: the following day Colonel Wodehouse and self also left for Halfa, as there was to be a great fantasia for the opening of the Debeira canal, on the same lines as the "Cutting of the Khalig" at Cairo.

This event took place on the 14th. The Mamour had been told to make all arrangements, and he had done them very well: but there was nearly a disaster from the superstitious point of view, as the ceremony was timed for 5 p.m. and about noon a sudden rise of the river caused the water to lip over the top of the dam, and fears were entertained that it might collapse: and that would mean that the crops in the following year would be poor. But the dam stood, and everything went off well: the dam was thinned down and then bumped into by a gaily decorated giassa (in which were the Mamour, Omda, and notables), which completed its demolition, and the water raced into the canal, washing away the "arusa," a pillar of earth some dozen yards behind the dam. A sovereign's worth of piastres were scattered in and about the dam at the moment it was pierced, much to the delight of the small boys. There was a large crowd there, over a thousand Barabra in white and blue garments, and a number of officers and others from Halfa.

About this time another refugee settlement was formed at Aniba, on west bank, north of Toski: I never heard whether it was a success, as was the one at Debeira.

I was put on to quite a new job now, preparing the Civil Budget for

the Mudiria in French and in Arabic, to send in to the Finance. One had, of course, to give reasons for increases or additions, but one got little or no help in that way from the people who asked for them, and it usually ended in having a personal interview in order to get at even a plausible reason.

One afternoon we steamed south in the "Abu Klea" to Genasab Island, where Sheikh Isa Koki lives, took him on board and, under his direction, went up the Cataract to south of Abusir Rock, which was about as far as one of those gunboats could go under its own steam at nearly high Nile.

On 7th September we dropped down the river, visiting the various civil centres en route. Eight men and three women came in from the Sudan the day we were at Korosko, Dongolawis and Jaalin: they had been merchants in Omdurman, and fairly well to do: so much so that Abdullahi's brother, Yakub, had begun to notice them, so they thought they had better clear out. It was said they had a thousand pounds' worth of Gordon's paper money in their possession.

Reached Shellal on the 11th, and Karrar, Sheikh of the First Cataract, took the *dahabiah* down to Assuan: we went on to Darraw, and returned to Assuan next day.

Two months before I had been promoted Captain in another regiment, and now orders came from England that I was to join: at the same time Coles, who had commanded the 1st Battalion the last five years, was promoted Major in another regiment, and he, too, got orders to go back. I had a farewell parade of the IXth, with whom I had had a most interesting and happy time, on the 21st September, and left Assuan at midnight that day. Arriving at Cairo Colonel Kitchener put me up in his house, and took me to Alexandria on the 27th to make my farewell bow to H.H.— Colonel Kitchener was acting Sirdar, as Sir Francis was on leave: for nearly a year now, in addition to his duties as A.G.E.A., he had had the task of reorganising the Police: Sir Evelyn Baring had made a point of his doing so, and, when in the first instance he had declined, it was commonly said that Sir Evelyn had told him that if he refused the appointment he need not look to him to support him in any claim he might later put forward to command the Egyptian Army. Colonel Kitchener was always reticent about his own aims and objects, but one knew that he hoped to succeed Sir Francis as Sirdar, and that it might be his fortune

to be in command when the time came for the recovery of the Sudan: so when he sounded me as to returning to Egypt, after a year with my regiment, to take up an appointment in the Police, I said that my intention was to prepare myself so that when "the advance" took place I might have a claim to take part; he said I was quite right.

I left Egypt on the 1st October, 1891, but I bore in mind the saying that "He who has once drunk the waters of the Nile, will return thereto," and trusted that it might come true. It did.

DARFUR ANTIQUITIES.

By A. J. Arkell, M.B.E., M.C.

(PLATES I—XIII).

II. THE TŌRA PALACES IN TURRA AT THE NORTH END OF JEBEL MARRA.

IN November, 1935, on my way back to El Fasher from a tour in Western Darfur, I was able to pay a hasty visit to the sites of some ancient palaces of which I had heard in Turra. Turra forms the most northerly canton of J. Marra, and in it are the tombs of the sultans of Darfur from Suliman Solong onwards.[1]

In the broken rugged hills of Turra every available hillside is terraced for cultivation and there are more stone ruins than in any other part of Jebel Marra. This is surprising, for all the south western part of J. Marra, from the neighbouring canton of Nyuringnya south-wards is much richer in water, and now Turra seems to be the driest and least favoured part of the whole range ; but progressive desiccation must have been going on during the three or four centuries which separate us from the time when these ruins housed the rulers of Darfur.

Most of these stone ruins are attributed by the present inhabitants of Turra to the Tōra (Fur (plural) Toraŋa), or alternatively and much less frequently to the Um Gonān or Abu Gonān : and although one does occasionally hear the name Tōra for the early inhabitants of Darfur in the Kebkebia area, and it seems to be by no means unknown in the southern foothills of J. Marra, it is in Turra that they are best remembered, and there seems to be little doubt that Turra was their centre, and that the name Turra does not come, as I have heard it suggested, from the Fur word *tūr*, said to mean "grey soil," but is derived from the Tōra. Sir Harold MacMichael, who spells them To Ra, and describes them as the aboriginal population of Turra and Jebel Si, records a Turra derivation of the name from the giant lizard, called "*to*" in Fur and "*warana*" in Arabic,[2] but despite as full an enquiry as possible from the elders of Turra during my short stay, I never heard this derivation suggested, and I have no doubt that it is fantastic, and that Sir Richmond Palmer is right in

[1] See *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 75.
[2] "A History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I, p. 93.

suggesting that they are the same as the Tura, the common Tibu and Kanuri term which is applied to the white races of the north ; whence the common designation of a " white man " in Hausa : *Ba-Ture* (Plural *Turawa*).[1]

The stone ruins in Turra which are attributed to the Tōra can be distinguished from walls and huts built by the present-day Fur, in that they are better built and usually more massive. While the Fur build stone walls to-day by balancing single rocks one on the other without any attempt at facing, the Tōra selected their stones so as to give the wall a perpendicular face on either side, and then filled the middle of the wall with rubble.[2] The walls appear usually to have been built without any kind of mortar, and the stones do not appear to have been deliberately dressed. While their walls were usually circular, straight walls were built with success, but they were unable to join walls at an angle, and the corners are almost always round.

The House of Dāli on J. Fōga.

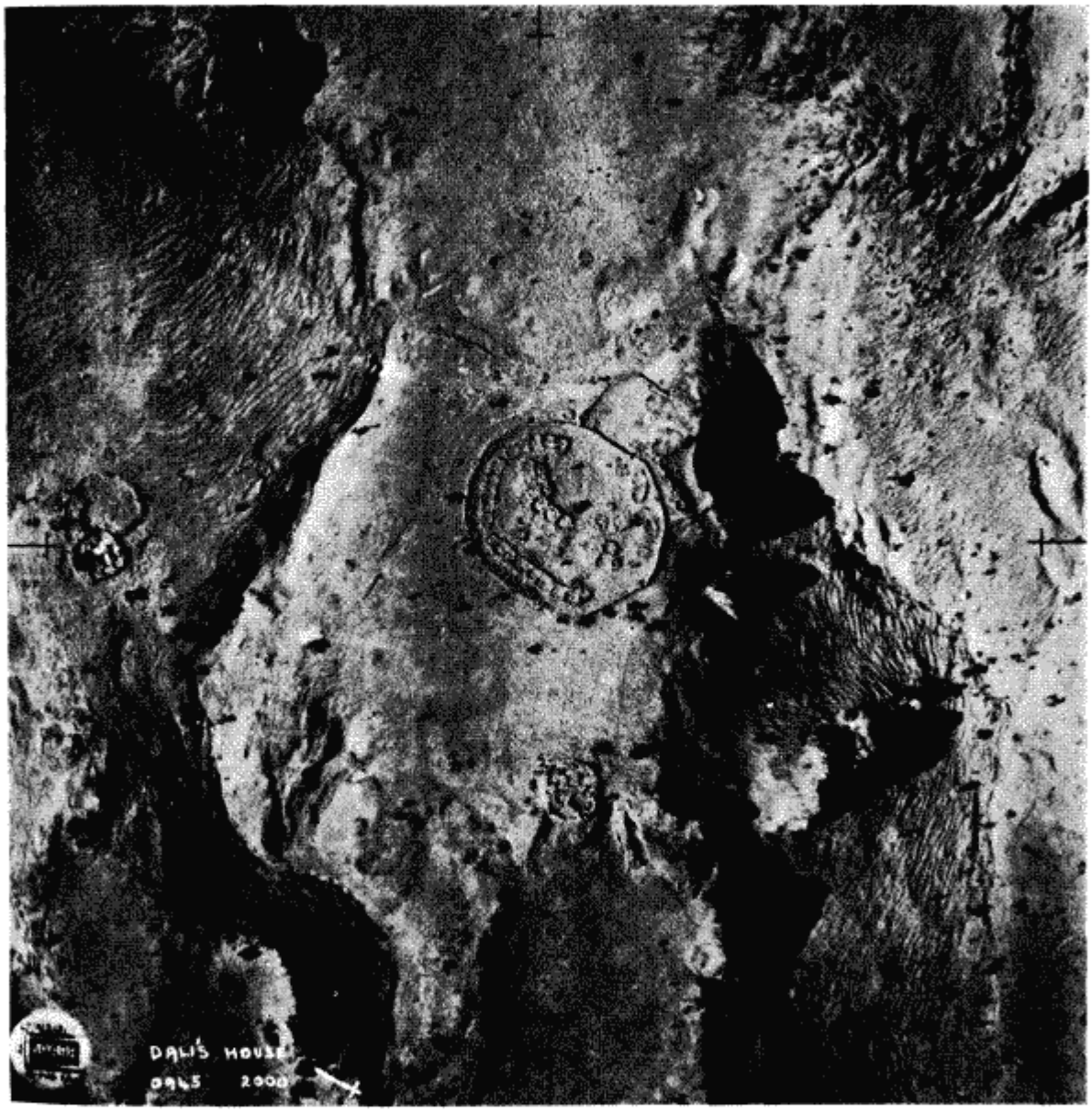
In endeavouring to trace the burial place of Dali and his sons, said by Nachtigal[3] to lie in Turra about half a day's journey from the well-known tombs of the sultans, I discovered a site on J. Fōga (13° 10′ N., 24° 25′ E.) traditionally described as the House of Dali: but no burial place of Dali seems to be known in Turra to-day, and since Nachtigal did not visit Turra himself, the place of which he heard was probably the House of Dali, which roughly fits the locality he described. It lies near the top of the hill, on the saddle of a spur on the north-east side of the highest crest, a large roughly circular compound, built of faced masonry in the manner described above. The outer wall contains only a little rubble, and is on the average about three feet thick (Pl. I).

Parallel with this wall on the eastern and southern sides the compound contains three long blocks of more or less circular rooms. The eastern block contains about ten rooms, the southern four or five, and that at the south-western corner four rooms. More or less in the centre

[1] See e.g. *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 72, " Mai Idris," pp. 61, 68, 69. *Teri* means " white " in the Zaghawa language. It seems quite possible that *Turra* should really be spelt *Tura*.

[2] I am informed by Mr. G. W. Bell, of the Sudan Political Service, that there are still a few people who build stone walls in this way in the Kajaja hills at Tegale to-day.

[3] " Sahara und Sudan," Vol. III, p. 365.



THE HOUSE OF DĀLI ON J. FŌGA.

Approx. Scale 0 100 200 yards.

(Height, 2,000 feet.) 14.1.36. 9.45 hrs.

(*Royal Air Force, Crown copyright reserved.*)



The House of Dāli on J. Fōga, looking East.

of the compound is another semi-circular string of six rooms, which is continued to the north-west by four more individual round huts and to the north-east of these again is another small semi-circle of five single huts. Dotted about in the compound are traces of several other single round huts.

From the west side of the main compound two other walls run out to a small rocky ridge on the north-west to enclose with it a smaller yard.

From this smaller yard three photographs were taken, which form the panoramic view of the site (Plate II).

In this second compound is only one circular stone building. About 250 yards south-east of the larger compound was another double compound which can be seen in both the plates. The smaller half of this second double compound appears from the air (Plate I) to be full of round huts, and there are some huts in the outer half. A hundred yards or so to the north-east of the main compound is also a group of well-built individual round huts and near them the remains of another small walled compound which appears to have contained about a dozen circular rooms. I did not have time to visit either of these smaller compounds.

It appears, however, that the most easterly of the three may have been the residence of Dali and his women, that the largest compound was the centre of his administration and contained storerooms and offices, the individual huts may have been those of important retainers, and the small ruined compound on the north-east that is full of rooms may have been another store, possibly an earlier one which had to be discarded because too small.

On the northern slope of J. Fōga, below the crest, and just visible from the rest house at Daia, is a mound on which stands an oval compound of faced masonry, which is more strongly built than the house of Dali itself and evinces as much skill as that shown in the palace of Kuru on J. Forei. The compound wall is six feet thick : and inside the compound are a number of circular rooms. Just below the compound an exceptionally well-built circular hut stands by itself.

Further down the hill nearer Daia a number of smaller " Tōra " ruins were seen. One of these, which stood about half a mile north of a small village situated at the foot of the hill on the west side, is in ruined condition but has exceptionally thick walls.

The Palace and "Prison" of Sultan Kūru on Jebel Forei.

J. Forei (13° 13′ N., 24° 28′ E.) is a plateau of about two miles extent from east to west, and about two-thirds of a mile in width from north to south. The approach from the east has at one time been blocked by a massive rough stone wall. A track leads off the plateau near its south-west corner to J. Foga. The precipitous sides of the plateau protect it from attack in most directions, and from the top there is an unrivalled view of the surrounding country. We ascended from the present village of Forei at the west end of the plateau by a track fit only for goats.

On the top of the plateau near its north-western corner is the building called by local tradition the palace of Sultan Kūru. Kūru was according to Darfur legend, the father of Suliman Solong, the founder of the dynasty of Fur sultans that came to an end with Ali Dinar. Nachtigal[1] thought that Sultan Kūru never actually ruled, but here we have concrete evidence to the contrary. The local name for the ruins of Kūru's palace is Tong Kūri or Tong Kŭra.[2]

It chiefly consists, as in the case of the House of Dali, of a large roughly circular compound of over 100 yards in diameter (see Plate III). At the south-west corner the walls almost form a right angle, although the actual corner is rounded off. There is a comparatively narrow entrance in the centre of the east wall, which is provided with flanking wall, and on the outside a round stone hut for the door-keeper.

The time at my disposal was so short and the ruins were so overgrown with long grass that it was impossible to examine them thoroughly. The walls are massive and very well built, of the usual faced dry stone masonry fitted with rubble. Part of the wall of a circular hut at the south end of the main compound may be seen in Plate IVA. About half-way up the wall a projecting stone may be seen, no doubt built in on purpose for the use of the mason. Similar stones occur in the better buildings of the upper palace at Uri in Northern Darfur.[3] The outer wall of the compound is even more massive than that of this hut, being at least four feet thick and in places more.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 363.

[2] *Tong Kūri* means "the house of the sultan" in Fur. *Tong Kŭra* may be only a variant. *Kura* or *Kurra*, the village of the shartai of Turra is said to be so called because it is the house of the chief.

[3] To be described in a later part of this paper.



TONG KURI, THE PALACE OF SULTAN KŪRU ON J. FOREI.

N

14.1.36. 10.40 hrs.

Approx. Scale 0 50 100 150 200 250 yards.

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A—SECTION OF WALL OF CIRCULAR HUT AT SOUTH END OF THE MAIN COMPOUND, TONG KURI.



B—DETAIL OF ONE OF THE BELOW-GROUND LEVEL STORE-ROOMS IN THE MAIN COMPOUND, TONG KURI.



C—THE "PRISON," TONG KURI. THE GATE, OUTER WALL, AND PART OF ONE OF THE UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS.

The rooms in the compound are all circular ; the largest being about 20 feet in diameter. Some stand on the present ground level, and have a few well-made window openings, several of which have been roughly blocked up at a later date. These were presumably living rooms. Other rooms are constructed, without windows, below the level of the ground, and still have an average depth of about 15 feet. They are really circular holes in the ground skilfully lined with masonry, which presumably served as storerooms.

According to local tradition all these rooms once had flat roofs of stone superimposed on wooden rafters, as in the small stone hut (*geira*) still built by the Fur of Jebel Si to-day.

In Plate IVB is seen a little of the masonry detail in one of these underground storerooms.

The air view (Plate III) gives a better idea of the lay-out of this compound than I was able to obtain during my short visit on the ground, although it was taken from about 3,500 feet, while the similar views of other ruins were taken from 2,000 feet or less. About ten or a dozen of the largest rooms, probably storerooms, are seen to stand in a circle, in the centre of which appears to be another ring of stone huts. Along the north-west wall of the compound is another row of circular huts ; and there are several individual huts at the south end, of which part of one appears in Plate I.

It is possible that the whole group of buildings is nothing but a fortified store : and that the sultan himself may have lived in one or more of the other ruins with which the plateau is dotted. None of these is in any way conspicuous[1], but it is probably safer to trust tradition, which definitely calls this large compound " the Sultan's House," so that until it has been more thoroughly examined, I assume that the Sultan himself and his wives lived in the huts near the underground storerooms ; that his retainers and servants lived in the houses along the north-west wall, and that the buildings at the south end may have been used for ceremonial or business purposes. About half a mile or so east of the palace compound is a circular ruin of approximately 30 yards in diameter, known locally as

[1] The only possible exception is a group of massive buildings in a re-entrant at the north-east end of the plateau, which there was no opportunity to visit. There is a rough line of ruined houses to the south-east of the main compound running east and west ; but these may have been the houses of the more important officials of the court.

the sultan's prison. It is of exceptionally massive construction, and the outer wall is, in places, six feet thick, and still stands about six feet high.

The entrance is on the east side, and is seen on the right of Plate IVc. This photograph was taken from the top of the outer wall just to the south of the entrance, and the man on the wall is standing just on the other side of the entrance. This photograph also shows part of the chief feature of this building, *i.e.*, one of two pits still about 20 feet deep, which are lined with excellent masonry. Local inhabitants say that prisoners were kept in these pits (see Plate V for a rough sketch of the general lay-out of this ruin).

It is usually rash to distrust tradition, although it would appear more probable that the building was a store for grain than a prison.

The only access to the more eastern of the two pits is by a square doorway near the top of their common wall,[1] while access to the western pit is by a staircase in the south-west corner. On each side of the two pits circular rooms of varying size have been built up against the outer wall. Judging from the small recesses in the inside of the hut walls these huts may have been used as living rooms. If the building was a prison, they were probably inhabited by warders, although they might have been allotted to better-class prisoners.

The Palace of Sultan Suliman Solong and of His Son Sultan Musa at Jebel Nāmi.

J. Nāmi (map reference: 13° 15′ N., 24° 24′ E.) is the most conspicuous peak in Turra and can be seen from El Fasher on a clear day, although over 60 miles away.

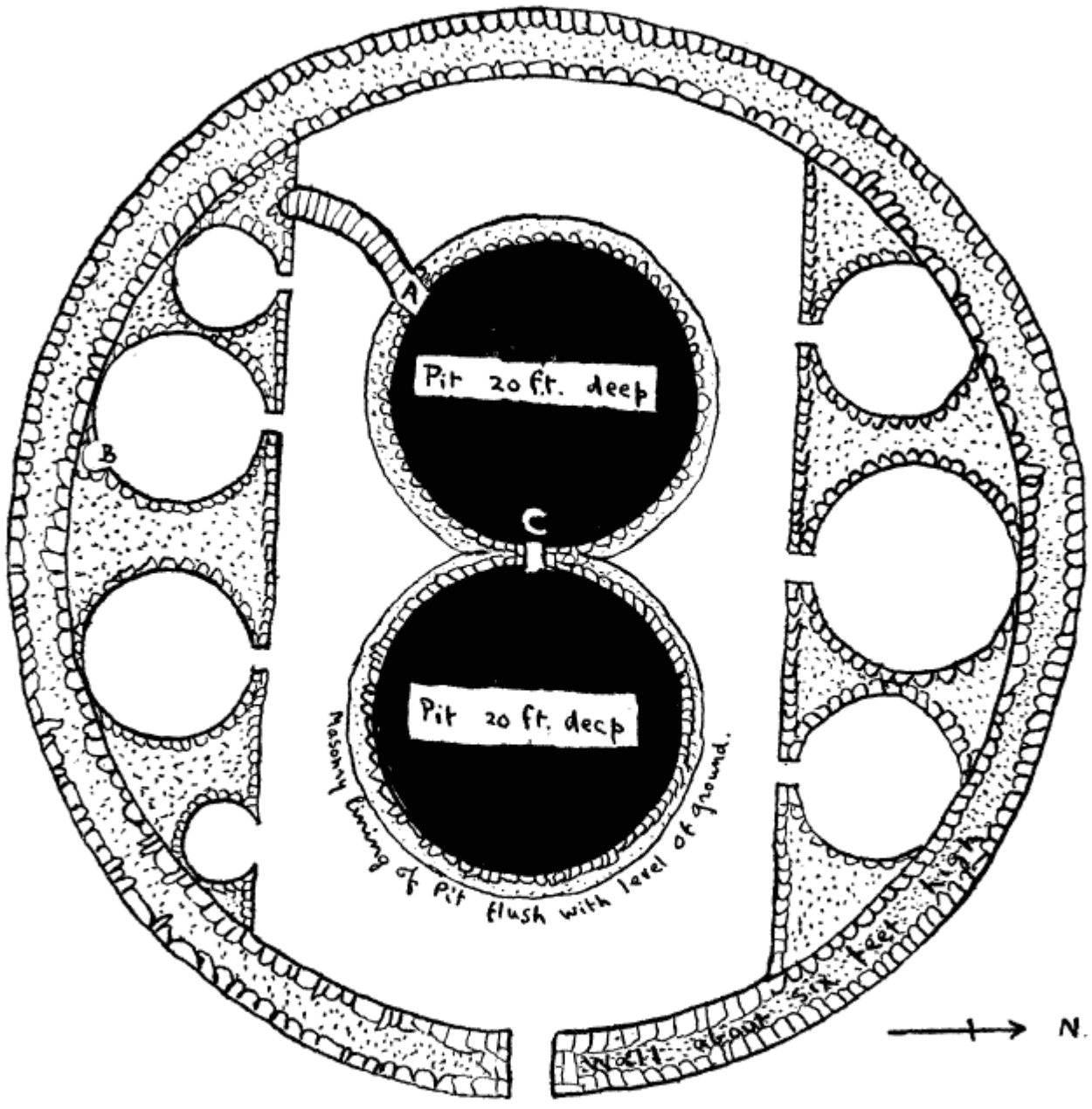
In a commanding position on a spur close to the north side of the peak is the ruin known as Tong Kīlo,[2] said by local tradition to be the palace of the first two sultans of the historical Fur dynasty, Suliman Solong and his son Musa.

Tong Kīlo can be seen from the track from the tombs of the sultans to Kurra which passes a mile or so to the north of it, and from the palace of Sultan Kūru on J. Forei, seven or eight miles away.

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[1] Through which, if a grain store, grain could be poured into the second pit when the first pit was full.

[2] In the Fur langugae *tong* = house, and *kīlo* = intercourse between young men and girls (Sudan arabic *wanasa*).



THE SO-CALLED PRISON OF SULTAN KŪRU ON J. FOREI.

A—Staircase down to Pit from ground level.
B—One of the Recesses in the Hut Walls.
C—Doorway from one Pit to another.



THE PALACE OF SULIMAN SOLONG ON J. NĀMI.

14.1.36. Height, 2,000 ft.

Approx. Scale 0 100 200 yards.

(*Royal Air Force, Crown copyright reserved.*)

It consists of an inner and outer compound, the inner containing four or five circular huts, and the outer 15 huts and two other groups of buildings. The whole ruin is built in stone masonry roughly faced and rubble-filled, like all "Tōra" building. The masonry is not quite so well put together as in the palace of Kūru, but what the masons lacked in skill they made up for by the thickness of the walls.

The massive outer walls are in a very fair state of preservation, although they have collapsed at some points. They vary from 6 to 12 feet thick, and in most places still stand about 10 feet high, and higher near the doorways. The huge elongated rocks which formed the lintels of two of the doorways lie where they have been thrown down or fallen (see D, D on Plate VII, which is a plan of the palace based on the air view (Plate VI), with details added from a rough sketch which I made on the spot). There are two entrances in the outer wall: that on the north side was probably the main entrance; the other is on the west side, near the only door to the inner compound, which enters the outer compound near a group of circular huts. In the eastern part of this compound are a pair of masonry-lined pits (F, F on Plate VII) flush with the level of the ground and still from 15 to 20 feet deep. The way into these pits is by steps which lead down out of a small circular hut. The bush in the foreground of Plate VIIIc is growing in the mouth of one of the pits. There are no people living to-day very close to Tong Kīlo. A guide I had with me from the village of the Gawama imams of the tombs of the sultans called them the sultan's prisons, possibly on the analogy of the prison of Sultan Kūru, rather than on the strength of an independent local tradition. There is obviously a common idea behind these two pairs of masonry-lined pits, and those in the palace of Tunsam. Here, as at J. Forei, the pits seem more suited for grain stores than for prisons. No doubt ample stores of grain must have been essential to a sultan who depended for his power on a large slave army; whereas these pits would appear to have made an even less practical prison than those of Sultan Kūru.

Close to these pits on the south side is another building (E on Plate VII) whose massive circular wall, which varies from six to eight feet thick, and still stands about 12 feet above ground level, surrounds another partly underground store, which I have named the Treasury. On the west side of this building is a small semi-circular room (see Plate VII)

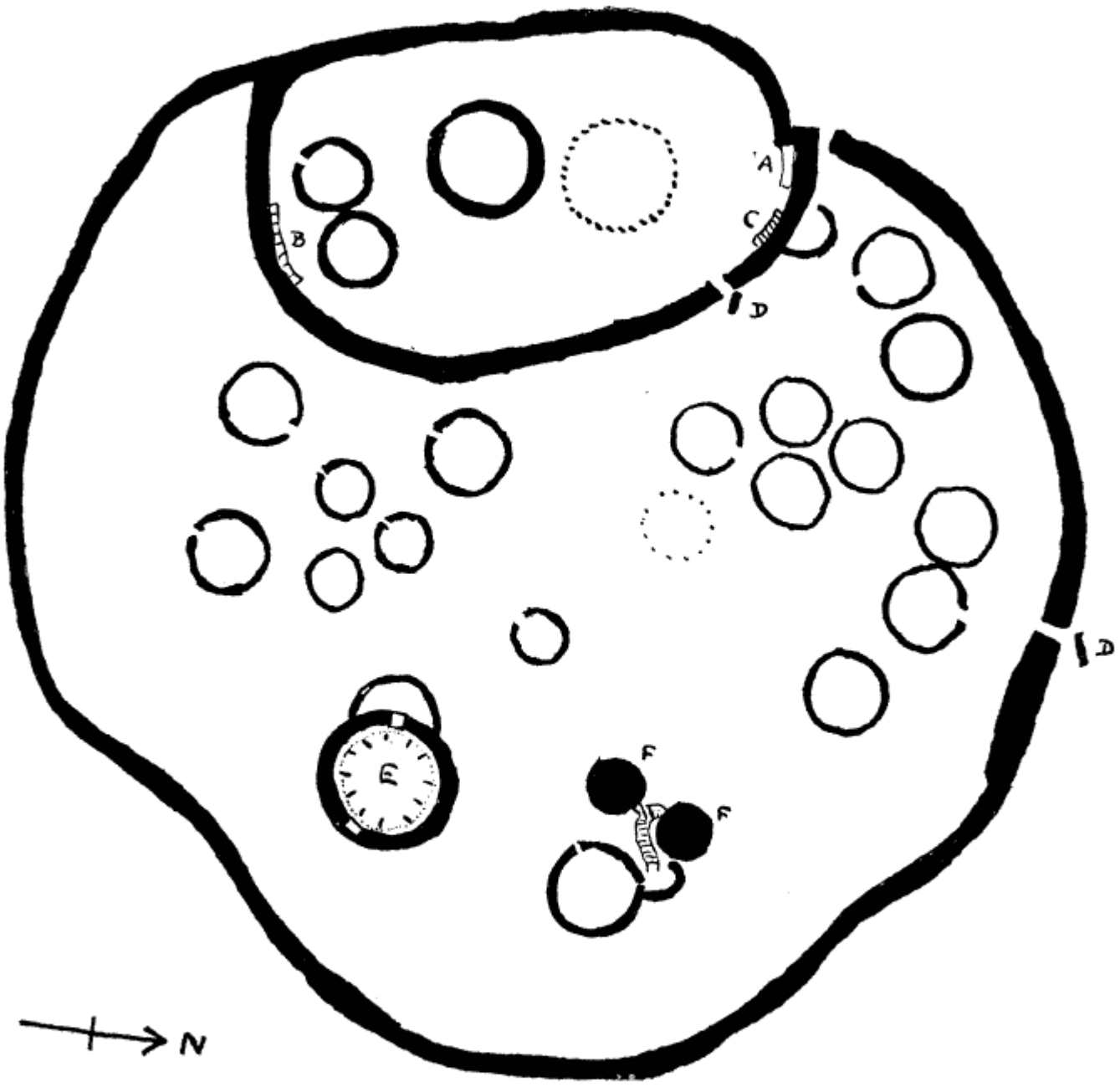
through which was the only entrance to the Treasury at the time the palace was abandoned, although traces of a blocked-up door can be seen in the east wall of the Treasury itself, where it now forms a recess in the inside wall. The only entrance to this circular room seems to have been on the south side by a very low door with a stone lintel ; and through this room one passed into the main treasury by the low door shown in Plate IXA. This photograph was taken from the top of the east wall of the Treasury looking west. Inside the Treasury, about three feet or so below present ground level, is a ledge from which project 10 to 12 large stones, tilted slightly upwards and about six feet from each other, which must have once supported a wooden floor over a smaller pit in the centre of the Treasury. One of these stones can be seen in Plate IXA. There is a group of six circular huts between the Treasury and the inner compound. (In Plate VII I only show the entrance to a hut when I know on which side the entrance is.)

Inside the inner compound are two large huts and three (?) smaller ones. The more western of the two huts is shown in dotted line because all that is left of it is a low and roughly built wall, and it may possibly be of later date than the rest of the ruin ; though it may also have been dismantled for some purpose subsequently.

Inside the entrance to the inner court, and on the west side of the door, flat stones have been built into the wall about four feet from present ground level and five feet from the top of the wall (C in Plate VII). They are too high to sit on, unless a raised earth floor has been washed away. They have the appearance of a fire-step, but as they give on to the outer court only, it is possible that their purpose was to enable the sultan or the women of the inner court to see what was going on in the outer court without being seen themselves. There is a similar stone ledge on the south side of the inner court (B on Plate VII).

Just beyond ledge C is a sloping ascent on to the outer wall (marked A) ; the wall surrounding the inner court has been brought round so as to touch its other end on the inside, instead of having been closed up in the normal way, and after the court has been thus totally enclosed, the end of the wall inside the court was gradually sloped off to give an easy ascent.

During my hasty visit on the ground it appeared to me that another similar fortified dwelling had been laid out close to Tong Kīlo on the



Approx. Scale 0 5 10 15 20 30 yards.

THE PALACE OF SULIMAN SŌLONG ON J. NĀMI.

A—Sloping ascent on to wall.
B—Ledge of projecting flat stones about half-way up the wall.
C—Ledge of projecting flat stones about 4 feet from ground level and 5 feet from top of wall.
D—Fallen stone lintel.
E—" The Treasury."
F—Pits lined with masonry.



A—TONG KILO FROM THE SOUTH, SHOWING PARTLY DISMANTLED BUILDINGS IN THE FOREGROUND.



B—TONG KILO, LOOKING WEST ALONG THE TOP OF THE OUTER WALL TOWARDS THE NORTH GATE, JUST INSIDE WHICH A MAN IS STANDING.



C—TONG KILO, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST ACROSS ONE OF THE LINED PITS TOWARDS J. NAMI.
Part of the Treasury can be seen on the left, and part of the wall of the inner compound in the right background.

south side, the hut circles being two to three feet high and the compound walls one to two feet high. This was puzzling, for it would be presumably unusual to build the walls and the huts all at the same time. From the air, however, as may be seen in Plate VII, it appears that the whole plateau on the south-east side of Tong Kīlo was at one time covered by a larger settlement defended by walls, and that this larger settlement has been almost completely demolished to build the present palace of Tong Kīlo. It is possible that there were three stages—first, those buildings that were only visible from the air, then what I thought was the partly built palace beside Tong Kīlo, and lastly Tong Kīlo itself.

At present there is running water about two miles north of Tong Kīlo near the track from Kurra to the tombs of the sultans, but I am told that as late as 1916 there was a spring on the north side of the slope of the ridge on which Tong Kīlo is built, which has since dried up. There appears also to have been a track cut by the hand of man round the west flank of J. Nāmi itself, which presumably led down to water in the valley below.

There were traces of Tōra buildings near the running water beside the track to Kurra mentioned above, and near them I picked up pieces of a massive water jar. I also noticed two piles of stones in the vicinity which may possibly be circular barrows. If this is the case, it is probable that the famous cairn beside the same track which is rather nearer to the tombs of the sultans, and is known as Numan Fada, may be also a barrow.[1]

About two-thirds of the way from Tong Kīlo to Kurra, near numerous other small Tōra ruins, I noticed what seemed to be other circular stone barrows three to four feet high.

The Palace of Sultan Tunsam, known as Dulo Kuri.

About six miles east of Kurra, on a spur of the hills through which Wadi Tunsam[2] finds its way down to the Fasher plain in the vicinity of Kullu, and on the north side of the gorge and about 200 feet above it

[1] See Nachtigal, "Sahara und Sudan," Vol. III, p. 362. The name means the silver nebag tree, and tradition says that the cairn marks the spot where one of the sultans lost his silver ring. Nachtigal also states that it formed the centre of the kingdom from which Dali divided Darfur into five provinces.

[2] W. Famkara or Tulzum on the map. Apparently Famkara is not the usual name of the wadi. Funi Keral is a small hill about a mile south-west of Dulo Kuri on the south side of the wadi. In the bed of the wadi about ¾ mile south-south-west of Dulo Kuri, under a shelf of rock, is a remarkable perennial pool of water, which is also known as Tunsam, and no doubt provided the water supply for this palace, as it does for the inhabitants to-day.

is a ruin known locally as Dulo Kuri,[1] attributed by local tradition to the Sultan Tunsam, who according to Nachtigal was the son of Sultan Bahr and uncle or great uncle of Suliman Solong. As might be expected from the tradition of the civil war between Tunsam on the one hand and Sultan Kūru and his son Suliman Solong on the other, preserved by Nachtigal,[2] in which Tunsam was eventually defeated and driven out of J. Marra to the east to become the ancestor of the Masabaat, these remains are more ruinous than those of the palaces of Dali, Kūru or Suliman Solong, and only the massive outer wall and two masonry-lined pits remain.

The outer wall is of the usual construction, and varies in thickness from 6 to 12 feet. The lay-out seems to be a rough square with rounded corners, with doorways in the north and south walls. Near the northern door the wall is nine feet thick, and near the southern door, which can be seen in the middle foreground of Plate Xc, it is eight feet high.

Three or four Fur stone huts of recent construction now stand inside this compound, some of which can be seen in Plate Xc. The late shartai of Turra, Yahia Adam, kept a wife and some cattle there. All the old stone huts have been destroyed, possibly owing to the difficulty of finding timber to span them for roofs.

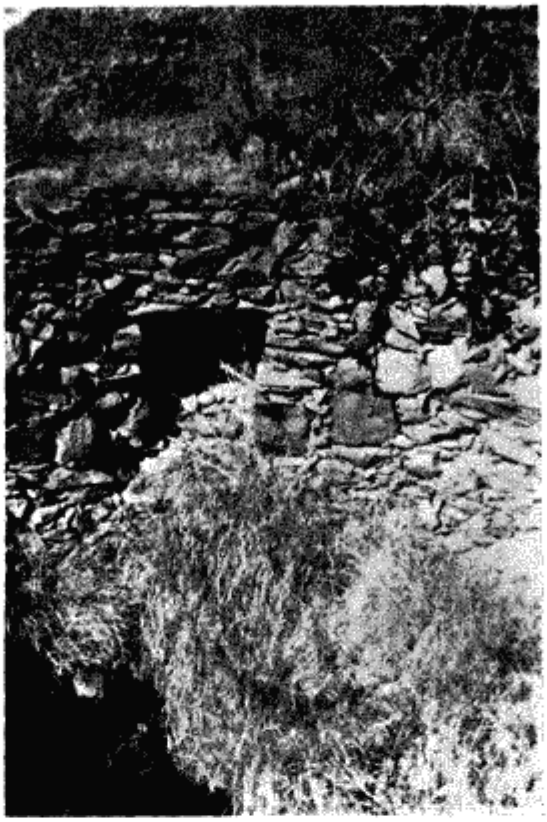
Two masonry-lined pits, obviously of the same nature as the "prisons" of Kūru and Suliman Solong, have been partly filled with cowdung, as the present inhabitants only look on them as holes dangerous to their cattle. There is said to have been a third pit, which has been completely filled up, under the modern hut which now stands between the other two.

Just south of this compound on a small ridge, part of which may be seen in the foreground of Plate Xc, are the remains of a house which consists of four masonry-lined circular stone rooms built into the ridge, the top of which has been levelled off, and enclosed in a roughly circular wall about 2½ feet thick, which had an entrance on the north-west side. There were two other circular stone huts at the southern end of the ridge. All these huts were built in the usual "Tōra" fashion.

On my way back to Fasher, the two heavy iron stirrups, the spur, buckle and other object of uncertain use (Plate X, A and B), and also a

[1] *Dulo* means "old site" or "ruin" in Fur(=Darfur arabic *bōbai*) and *kuri* = "sultan."

[2] *Loc. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 364.

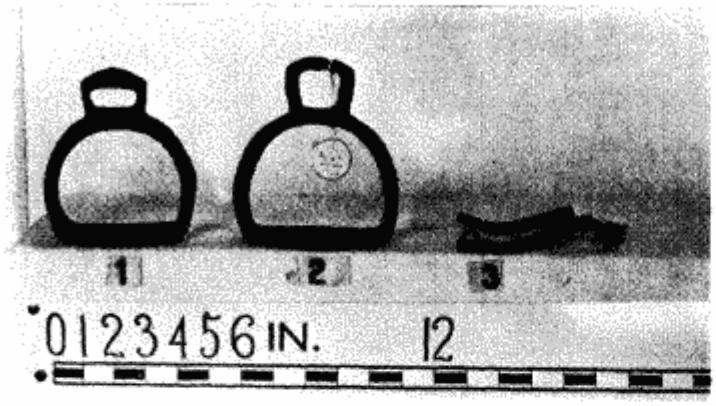


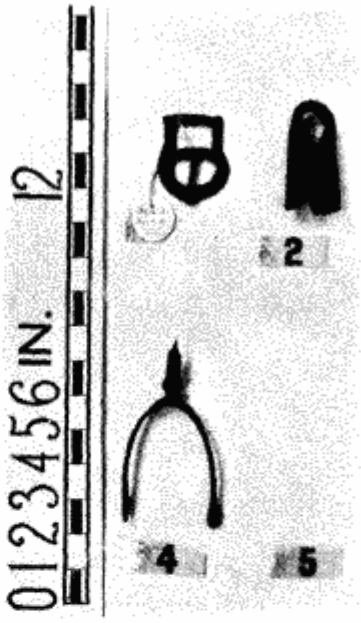
A—TONG KILO.

View of the inside of the " Treasury " looking west from the top of the wall, and showing the doorway, and one of the twelve large stones which apparently supported a wooden floor over an underground pit or cellar.



B—THE PALACE OF SHAU AT KUSI, LOOKING EAST FROM THE NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE COMPOUND WALL.





A—1 & 2. HEAVY IRON STIRRUPS.
3. SPUR.
B—1. IRON BUCKLE.
2. IRON OBJECT OF UNCERTAIN USE.
4. SAME SPUR.

B.
FROM THE PALACE OF TUNSAM AT DULO KURI.



C—THE PALACE OF TUNSAM, LOOKING NORTH FROM THE RUINS OF THE HOUSE JUST OUTSIDE THE SOUTH GATEWAY.

pointed iron spear head, about 11½ inches long, of the type known as *selatia*, engraved near the base in an unusual fashion with a pattern representing binding with five strands, were brought to me by a native who said they had recently been found in the ruins of the palace of Tunsam. There is no reason to doubt this statement, for the objects are unlike anything I have seen in Darfur, and those illustrated were presumably imported from the North African coast.

From the air a ruined stone town was seen in the hills on the south side of Wadi Tunsam, south of J. Keira, at no great distance from Dulo Kuri.

The Palace of Shau at J. Kusi.

I could only spare an afternoon in which to visit this site from Kurra. The map is at present inadequate for this locality. After two hours ride (? seven miles) in an easterly direction along a well-marked track, which is said to lead to the village of shartai Sabun in Dobo, we came to a massive wall, again of roughly faced masonry filled with rubble, running north and south, starting from a more or less precipitous valley close to the track on the left-hand side and running up over ridge, along the north side of which the track continues to run for about half a mile. This wall was later from the air seen to run across to the south side of the ridge, and to form all that was required to defend the town situated on the eastern end of the ridge, for the approaches from north-east and south-east appear to be difficult, if not precipitous.

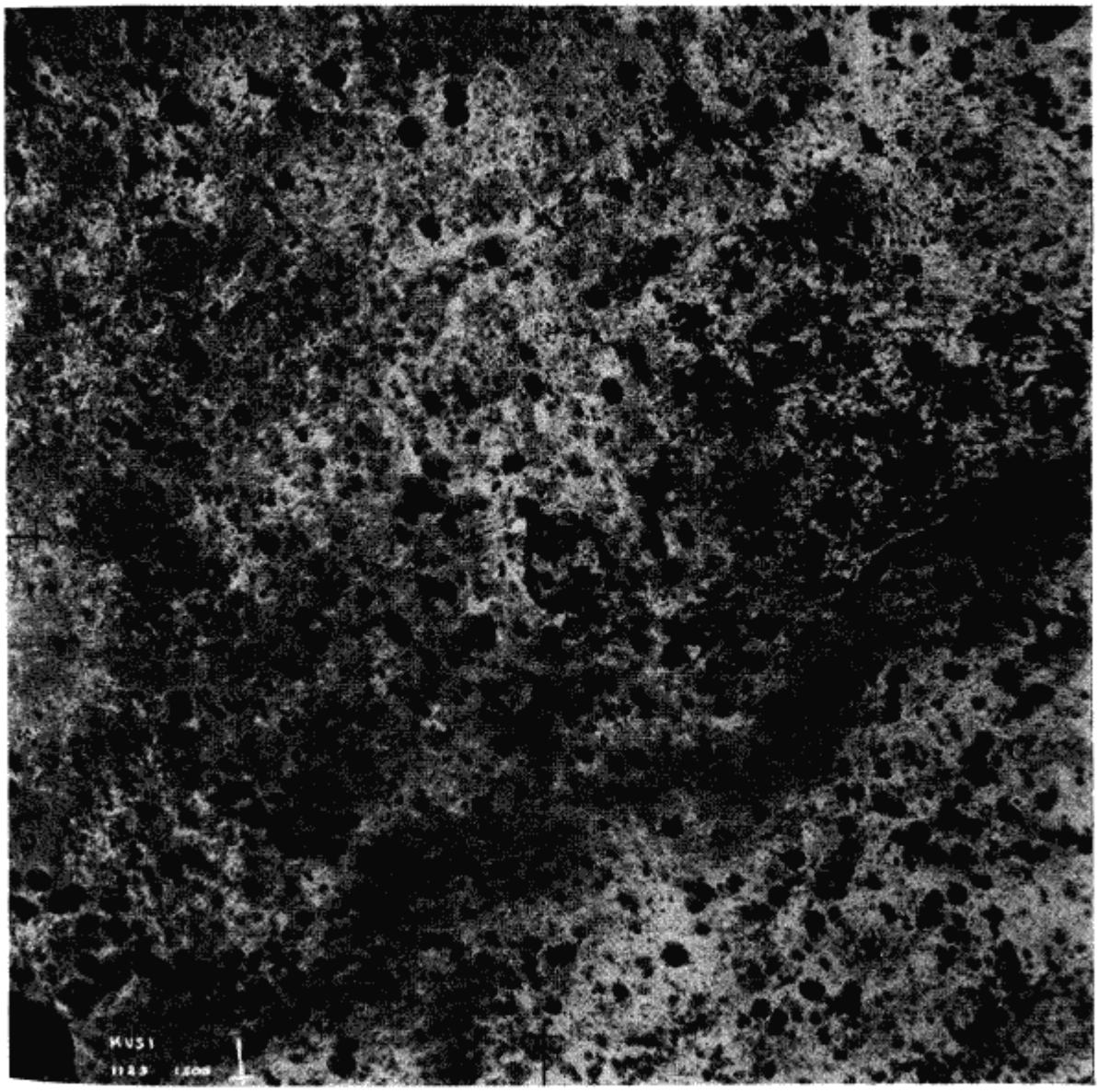
After entering this defensive wall the track passes close to the north side of the ruins of a closely packed town of small circular stone huts, part of which can be seen in the air view (Plate XI). Not all the space enclosed by the wall is built over, and on the south-west the wall is about half a mile distant from the town. The track swings southwards close to the eastern end of the town, and passes down the west and round the south side of a stone compound, which covers an area of about 25 yards by 40 yards and is known as the palace of Shau. The outer wall of this compound is massive and in places over six feet thick. The only entrance to the compound is by a doorway on the west side, which can be seen with a magnifying glass in Plate XI. Just on the south side of this doorway a flat stone has been built into the outside of the wall, presumably to serve as a seat for the janitor.

All except one of the buildings inside the compound were along the north wall, and as far as the grass and thorn bush with which they were overgrown and the little time at my disposal would permit, they gave me the impression of a double row of about a dozen rooms, some of which were square with rounded corners and others circular. Most of the walls had fallen over, probably owing to subsidence of the foundations. The stones used in the masonry work were mostly smaller and flatter than those used in the other ruins described in this article. They are the kind of stones into which the rock of this ridge breaks naturally. Owing to the use of these smaller stones the walls are not nearly so strong as the walls in the other palaces on Turra.

The only other building inside the compound was a large circular hut at the south end, which is completely hidden by bush in Plate XI. A wall ran from this hut north and south down the middle of the compound to the middle of the row of rooms at the north end, dividing the compound roughly in two. As there appeared to be no door from the outside into the eastern of the two courts so formed, it is assumed that this court was used by the sultan's women, and that he gave audience in the round hut at the south end, which must have been entered from the western court.

Just outside the north wall of the compound were several large circular rooms, in the centre of one of which were the remains of a stone pillar; and about 25 yards from the north-east corner of the compound was a complicated house with several rooms, the lay-out of which together with a general plan of the palace is shown on Plate XII, which is made from a hasty sketch on the spot corrected by the air photograph (Plate XI).

In general there is a striking difference between the style of building here and the style of building common to Tong Kīlo, Tong Kura, and to a lesser degree the House of Dali. In all the latter buildings the masonry is very massive and there are no attempts at straight lines or corners; at Kusi the masonry is slighter; there are frequent attempts at straight walls and square corners, though most of the corners are eventually rounded off; the rooms are smaller and more complicated, and pillars and parti-walls (presumably intended to support flat roofs) are more frequent.



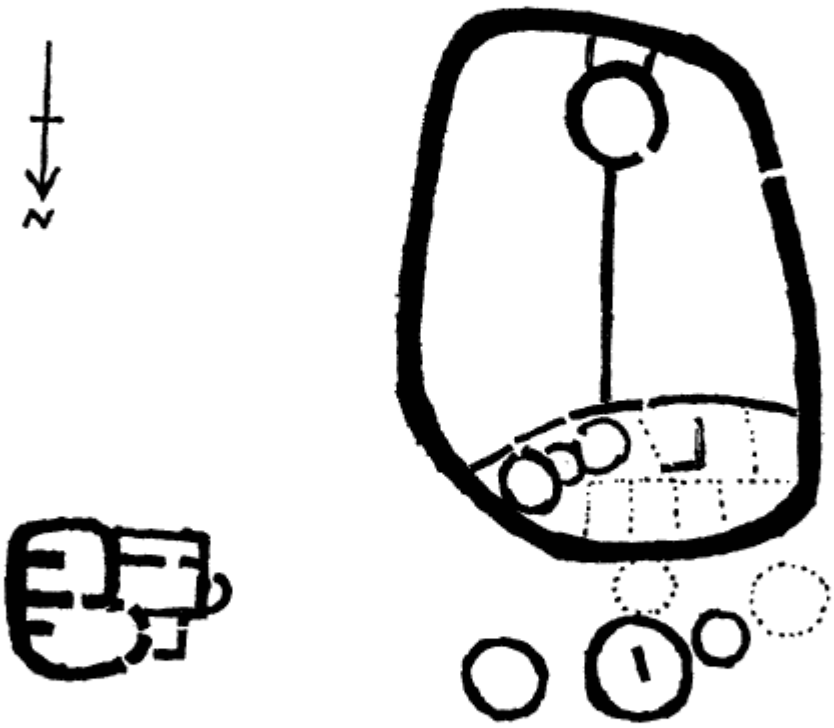
N

THE PALACE AND PART OF THE TOWN OF SHAU AT KUSI.

From 1,500 feet. 14.1.36.

Scale 0 25 50 75 100 yards.

(*Royal Air Force, Crown copyright reserved.*)



A.J.A.

Approx. Scale

0 10 20 30 40 yards

ROUGH PLAN OF PALACE OF SULTAN SHAU AT KUSI.

Several fragments of pottery were picked up, but they do not differ noticeably from the pottery of the present day.

According to local tradition Shau came from Northern Darfur and did not occupy Kusi long. Most unfortunately I did not enquire whether according to tradition he was previous or subsequent to Dali, but judging by all Darfur traditions I imagine that it will be said that he preceded Dali.

From the air a few miles south-west of Kusi another ruined town was seen, in which were a group of massive circular compounds, each containing about a dozen rooms, close to which is a large native village (? Konda). A few native houses have been erected among the ruins.

Tōra Graves.

About three or four miles from Daia, close to the north side of the track which winds round the north-west side of J. Foga and leads to Forei village or eventually to Kurra, is a mound containing several old graves of a type not used in Darfur to-day. The inside measurements of a typical grave were about seven feet long by five feet maximum breadth at the centre. The sides of the grave were concave and lined with masonry. The floor of the graves appeared to be the natural soil, and they were covered by three or four large flat slabs of rock, which rested on the masonry lining at right angles to the axis of the grave, which ran approximately north and south. The interstices between the slabs were filled with smaller stones. One of these graves near the track had either fallen in or been opened recently, and so drew my attention to this burial place. Several other graves had holes in the top, perhaps made by hyænas. Nothing was visible inside the graves: a few pieces of undistinctive pottery were found on the track nearby, which may have come from the recently opened grave, but I had no time to make a systematic examination.

The Palace of Sultan Ahmed Bukr at Abu Asal.

Between Daia and the graves just described there is a small hill called Abu Asal on the north side of the track. On the north side of this hill is a site which is only remarkable for the use of red brick in a small rectangular building, which local tradition still calls the palace of Sultan Ahmed Bukr, the grandson of Suliman Solong.

Only the foundations of this red brick building remain, inside a low roughly built stone wall, which makes with the north side of the hill for the south side a compound about 100 yards square. There are traces of other stone buildings inside this compound, but they appear to have been destroyed and built into terraces by Fur cultivating on the site. In the boulders of the hill is a cave facing north.

A short distance west of Sultan Ahmed Bukr's compound and also on the north side of the hill are the ruins of a massive stone building constructed in the usual " Tōra " style.

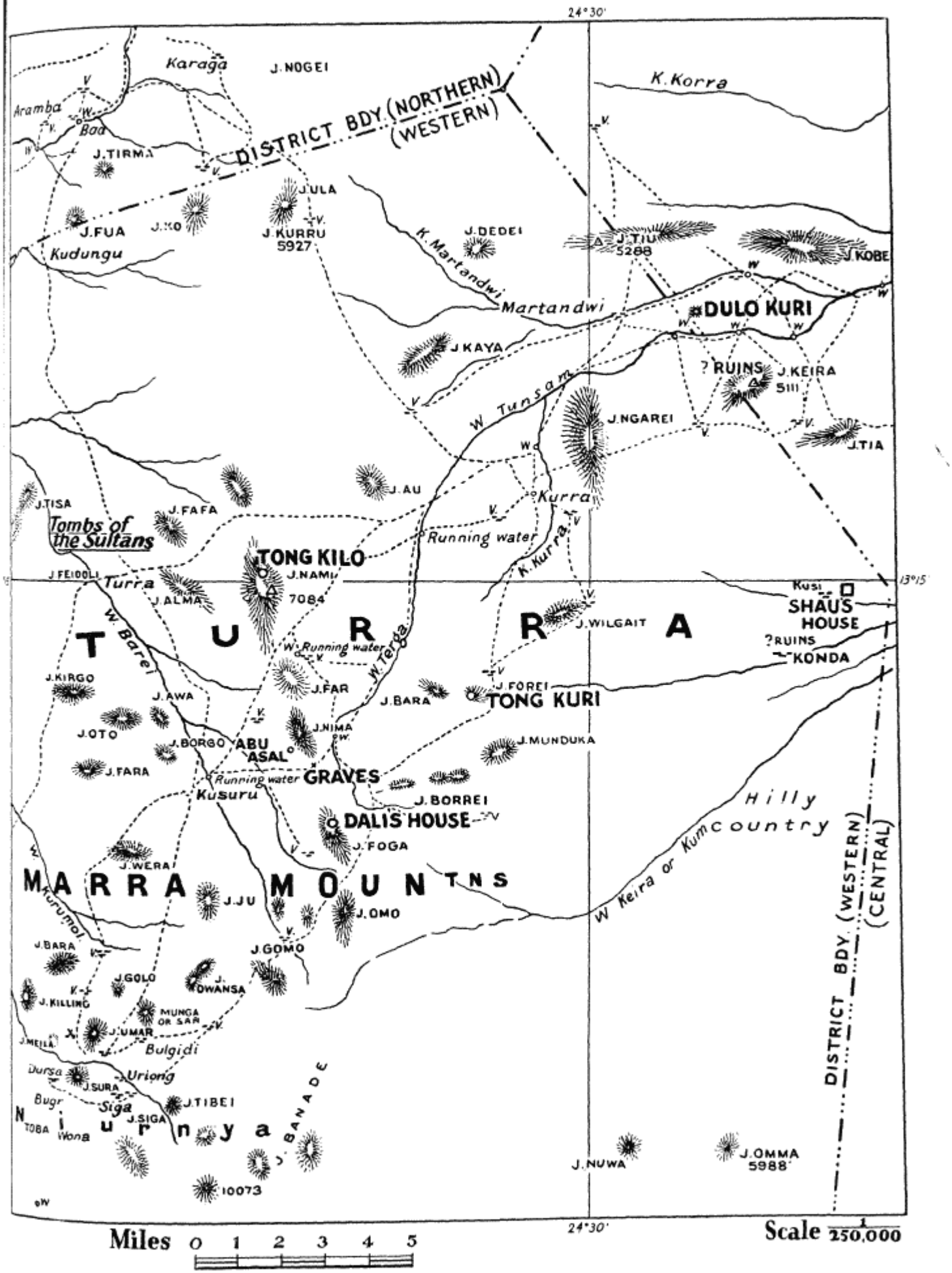
Provisional Conjecture as to the Origin of the Ruins in Turra.

It will be impossible to state definitely who built the ruins described above until a proper archæological survey of Turra has been made. In the meantime, however, from such knowledge as we have of the ruins and local tradition concerning them it is possible to make conjectures that have, in my opinion, some reasonable chance of turning out later to be sound.

Tradition places the House of Dali, Tong Kuri and Tong Kīlo in that historical order, and a comparison of the air views of these three sites (Plates I, III and IV) makes me think that tradition is to be trusted.

The lay-out of the House of Dali is the most regular, while that at Tong Kīlo is the most haphazard. The masonry in Tong Kuri appears to be the best, while that at Tong Kīlo is perhaps the most massive. These facts would be explained if the following supposition is correct. The House of Dali was built by foreigners of superior intelligence to the local inhabitants, who, in building their walls not more than a metre thick, had in view little more than the prevention of theft. At Tong Kuri the walls were built thicker and so more strongly because by then security had deteriorated. When Tong Kīlo was built, civil war was rife; the fort was destroyed and rebuilt at least once, and what the masons had lost in skill through lack of influx of superior foreign intelligence, they made up for by increasing still further the thickness of the walls.

At Tong Kīlo we reach the historical period, for it was the residence of Suliman Solong, who founded the dynasty of the Fur sultans, and whose accession is variously placed between 1590 and 1690, the later date being more probable than the earlier one.



SKETCH MAP OF TURRA, N. JEBEL MARRA, DARFUR.

Who then was Dali ? In Darfur Dali is traditionally credited with having inaugurated the form of administration which Darfur enjoyed during the Fur sultanate, and I hope to point out later that therein are to be seen many parallels to the organisation of Bornu. Tōra, the general name for the white foreigners who built these ruins in Turra, is connected with Bornu. In Bornu, Dala is a short form of the name Abdallah, and in the history of Bornu the best known Dala was Dala Afnu, a slave who governed Kanem and the eastern parts of the empire of Bornu on behalf of Sultan Mohamed Idris (1526–1545), under whom the prosperity and power of Bornu increased greatly, for he waged war successfully on the opposite borders of his extensive empire " at immense distances from each other " [1]. If Darfur came within the scope of his operations, there is no doubt that it would have been under Dala, who governed the eastern part of the kingdom.[2] We have already seen that Ain Farah was probably built by the Bornu sultan, Idris Alooma (1571–1603). It seems therefore possible that the House of Dali on J. Foga may have been built by Dala Afnu.

When the empire of Bornu broke up on the death of Idris Alooma (A.D. 1603), it is probable that some of the Bornu officials remained in Darfur, and that one of them set himself up as an independent ruler, and that after a period of civil war between his descendants Suliman Solong emerged finally victorious, establishing the historical dynasty of the Fur sultans.

[1] Barth, " Travels," Vol. II, pp. 646, 647.

[2] *Dala* would easily become *Dali* in Darfur, for *dāli* is a Fur word meaning " tongue " and also " blade," " razor."

NOTES.

THE SUAKIN-BERBER RAILWAY, 1885.

By R. Hill.

(PLATES XIV—XVI).

THE building of this extraordinary fragment of a railway and its abandonment in the face of the enemy after only twenty miles of track had been laid was one of the minor incidents of the Anglo-Egyptian campaign against the Mahdi. Yet this incident cost the British Treasury close on a million pounds. Its merits and its folly were fiercely debated in Parliament and it was one of the principal causes which brought Mr. Gladstone's Second Administration to its fall.

The project of a railway connecting Suakin with some point on the Nile was not new in 1885. A succession of travellers over the route had recommended it. The project had already been considered by the Egyptian Government and rejected in favour of a Nile valley railway several years before the outbreak of the rebellion in the Sudan. Egyptian railway policy under the Khedive Ismail was influenced by the fact that the Suez Canal was not in Egyptian hands. Political events, however, caused a change in railway policy and in 1883 a commission of the Egyptian Government, after considering the alternative route, supported the Suakin-Berber plan.[1]

The *Mahdia* gave impetus to the projected railway. The British Government, probably influenced by the publication of Col. D. Stewart's Report on the Sudan in which a narrow gauge line was suggested, began to take an interest in it. Lord Dufferin, then on a special mission to Egypt, recommended that the railway should be carried westward over the Red Sea hills and the Atbara river direct to Shendi.[2] Sir Samuel Baker, who already had experience of building railways in the Balkans, held that the line should meet the Nile upstream of the Sabaloka cataract whence navigable water prolongs the route into the heart of Equatoria.[3]

By the beginning of 1884 the revolt had grown too serious for academical discussions of railway routes. Gordon was shut up in

[1] Report of a commission on Sudan Railways. Cairo, 24th June, 1883.
[2] Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIII and LXXXIV, 1883.
[3] The Egyptian Question, 1884, p. 69.

Khartoum and the Egyptian administration throughout the country was losing its grip. While the British Government were making up their minds on the question of intervention in the Sudan, the War Office was studying the possibility of using railway construction as a means of relieving the beleaguered garrisons. As early as the 10th February Sir A. Clarke, Inspector-General of Fortifications, submitted to the War Office a paper advocating the construction of a railway from Suakin to Berber.[1] On the 19th May he prepared an estimate for Lord Hartington, Secretary of State for War, of the cost of the line which he placed at £1,250,000, a figure which included the erection of defensible stations along the route.[2]

The War Office, still undecided, resorted in its uncertainty to an expedient recalling a well-known parlour game. Lord Wolseley, then Officer Commanding in Egypt, and three other knowledgeable officers, were ordered to write separate memoranda on the advantages and disadvantages of a Suakin-Berber railway in a possible campaign for the relief of the garrisons in the Sudan. The memoranda were then compared. In spite of differences on other issues, all four favoured a railway of narrow gauge.

On the 14th June the Secretary of State informed General Sir F. Stephenson, Wolseley's successor in Egypt, that the Government had decided to take some preliminary steps to facilitate the construction of the railway. The 17th Coy., Royal Engineers, was sent to Suakin to build jetties and prepare the port as a railway depot. The detachment contained men experienced in railway survey and construction. A local light railway of 18-inch gauge was laid round the town. A. B. Wylde, a civilian living at Suakin at the time, ridiculed this petty undertaking. He noticed that the Sappers were building their jetties of white, untreated wood and would be lucky if they lasted eighteen months. The jetties were too small, too trashy, thought Wylde, for serious work.[3] The end of August found the British Government still unable to come to a decision to build the railway and the preliminary work at Suakin was stopped for the while.

On the 16th September the engineering firm of Ransomes and Rapier of Ipswich, with some courage, offered the War Office to lay the railway

[1] Relief expeditions. Fortifications branch, War Office. Nile Expedition: Miscellaneous Papers, p. 47.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] '83 to '87 in the Soudan (etc.), 1888. Vol. II, p. 69.

by the following January and to equip it with rolling stock.[1] The offer was declined. Whether the Government flinched from the terms suggested by the firm or undervalued their optimism, is not disclosed.

With the passing of the summer the Khartoum Relief Expedition was being concentrated at Wadi Halfa. Wolseley was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces operating against the Mahdi. The end of the year saw the Relief Expedition struggling over the Bayuda on its way to meet Gordon's steamers at Metemma. Time was desperately short.

The British Government had not forgotten the Suakin-Berber plan. The advance up the Nile Valley towards Khartoum restored the importance of the railway as a strategic weapon in the campaign. On the 8th January, 1885, Wolseley from his advanced headquarters at Korti wired to Hartington : " I hear you are pressed to construct a railway to Berber," and thereupon offered his opinion that, although its ultimate value to the Sudan would be great, a Suakin-Berber railway would have no effect on the immediate conduct of the war.[2]

Undeterred by the opinions of the Commander-in-Chief the War Office was feeling its way forward from ideas to preparations. On the 21st January Major J. F. Coke completed a précis of the known information of the water supply along the projected route.

The fall of Khartoum on the 26th January enlarged the scope of the campaign. Previously it was to rescue Gordon ; now it was to destroy the Mahdi. A converging movement upon Berber from the direction of Dongola and Suakin was being planned. On the 10th February Hartington proposed to Wolseley that he should reconsider the railway project as a means of securing communications and of bringing up river steamers and heavy guns. On the next day Wolseley, who had evidently learned of the Government's proposal to build the railway by contract, agreed that it would be useful as a means of supply. He recommended that the line should be immediately begun and that the contract should be drawn up on a basis of so much for men and military stores carried over each mile of the line. He was under the impression that a narrow gauge railway was intended. The Secretary of State, who was no railwayman, failed to correct him.

[1] War Office diary : Soudan, 1884. Relief expeditions ; Fortifications branch.
[2] Colvile, Col. H. E. History of the Sudan campaign, 1889, Vol. II, p. 144.

It was originally intended to build the line of narrow gauge with Indian coolie labour superintended by officers from the Indian Engineer troops. There was much to be said for letting India lay the line. The British Government had no railway staff of its own and would be compelled to employ a contractor who would be able to dictate his own terms. The Government of India on the other hand possessed an organized staff of railway engineers and an enormous reserve of metre gauge track and rolling stock. An intelligent correspondent to the *Bombay Gazette* estimated that India, by using her own resources, could finish the railway within three months.[1]

Events now moved with extreme rapidity. The Government had become more sympathetic towards railway contractors. But there was no longer time to meander through the laborious formalities of calling for tenders. On the 14th February they decided to place the work of building the railway in the hands of Lucas and Aird of Great George Street, Westminster. On the next day the decision of the Government was communicated to the firm. On the morning of the 16th the announcement appeared in the London press. The contractors' chief agents were already packing their baggage.

The contract,[2] if such it may be called, was signed by the parties on the 6th March, several days after the first shipload of railway material had left for Suakin. It was one of those agreements which are the delight of contractors and the despair of all right thinking men. Under its terms Lucas and Aird were to build a single line of standard gauge of 4 ft. 8½ ins., " from Suakin and thence in sections to, or as far towards, Berber as may from time to time be ordered in writing by the Secretary of State." A light railway of 18-inch gauge, in extension of the line laid by the Royal Engineers in the previous year, was to be built round Suakin. The firm were to buy all plant and material under Government inspection and to recruit all staff. The agreement was on a 2 per cent. commission basis capped by a bonus. The contractors were thus in the literal sense agents of the Government. The division of functions between the military authorities and the agents on the spot was defined in a despatch dated the 27th February from the Secretary of State to General Sir Gerald Graham commanding the Suakin Field Force.[3] In brief,

[1] 2nd March, 1885. Rpr. in Galloway, W. The Battle of Tofrek, 1887, p. 382.
[2] Parliamentary Papers, XLVI, 1884–85.
[3] Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIX, 1884–85.

the direction of the work was to be entirely under Graham's orders ; the detail and execution as well as the working of the traffic was to be in the hands of the agents. Graham was instructed to transmit to the War Office weekly reports on the progress of the line.

Having got their agreement signed the contractors at once put the work in hand. Within a month of receiving the order from the Government material and rolling stock of every description, suitable and unsuitable—it was no time to be fussy—with staff and gangs for the laying of a hundred miles of railway had been shipped to Suakin and the railway actually begun.

Press and public rejoiced. The Gladstonian conscience had at last awakened ; Gordon was to be avenged. *The Times* announced the news in portentous prose : " Not since the American war has engineering on a grand scale formed a feature in a campaign. . . . The Sudan campaign will, perhaps, be remembered in connexion with a great engineering work calculated to confer great and lasting advantages upon the country." [1] Consul Baker in a despatch from Suakin dated the 19th March forecast that the completion of the line would bring peace and industry in its train.[2] A former Director of Railways in Egypt, Major H. W. Clarke, signing himself " Projector of the Suakin-Berber railway," [3] argued with the childlike certitude of the technical expert that in a region almost rainless, such as that between Suakin and Berber, bridges were unnecessary—a hint of which the contractors' bridging parties made full use. One or two pessimists recorded their forebodings. The Suakin correspondent of the Liberal *Daily Chronicle* gloomily prophesied that the proposed railway would ruin the towns in the Nile valley between Egypt and the Sudan by diverting trade and encouraging a universal lapse into barbarism.[4] The Peace Society recorded its solemn protest against the prolongation of the war.[5]

Meanwhile, amid the cheering and the doubts, the Secretary of State for War imparted the details of the plan to the House of Commons. The line was to be made in sections of fifty miles. The trace was to be surveyed as the line advanced. " How long will it take to survey the

[1] *The Times*, 17th February, 1885.
[2] To Sir E. Baring. Rpr. in Russell, H., and Gattie, W. The Ruin of the Soudan (etc.), 1892, pp. 172–74.
[3] *The Times*, 27th March, 1885.
[4] Grant, Col. J. Cassell's history of the War in the Soudan, 1885–86, Vol. IV, p. 109.
[5] *The Times*, 17th February, 1885.

line ? " a sceptical member asked. " The line cannot be surveyed as long as the enemy is in possession of it," was the laconic reply.[1]

Thus the Liberal Ministry, much against its will, decided upon another expedition to Suakin to open up communications with the Nile and to protect the working parties on the Suakin-Berber railway. From January to March, 1885 the Suakin Field Force was being assembled. Graham, in command, landed on the 12th March. Suakin harbour proved totally inadequate for the ships that crowded in : men-of-war, transports, cargo ships laden with railway material, pontoons, lighters, barges and native craft of all descriptions. The Field Force soon went into action. A series of pitched battles was fought and, on paper, the enemy was cleared from the path of the railway.

The decision of the Government to employ a firm of contractors, and the urgent necessity for speed in completing the work, made it a foregone conclusion that a track of a gauge of 4 ft. 8½ ins. (the British standard gauge) would be used. Wolseley on the other hand was convinced that the metre gauge, which had proved so easy to build in India, should alone be used. On the 11th February, still under the impression that a track of narrow gauge would be laid, he had wired to Hartington his agreement with the construction of the line. But, eight days later, having learned that a line of standard gauge was intended, he sent another wire which seriously perturbed the Government : " If I may presume to criticise, in my opinion the attempt to construct anything but a narrow gauge railway between Suakin and Berber is a mistake. . . .".[2]

Hartington was in a dilemma. He consulted Lucas and Aird who consoled him with the soothing assurance that a track of standard gauge could be laid as quickly as one of metre gauge and would make a safer road over the hills and down the valleys. Besides—an argument of more immediate appeal—they had no metre gauge in stock. Hartington wired this information to Wolseley who replied that he refused to believe it. Moreover, to complicate the matter still further, Wolseley now asked that precedence be given to the extension of the Wadi Halfa line to the southward as all troops and stores for the coming autumn campaign would have to be transported by that route.

[1] *Hansard*, CCXCIV, 1620, 27th February, 1885.
[2] War Office correspondence relative to railways and Nile steamboats, Soudan expedition (1885), No. 8.

Hartington was much embarrassed by the caprice of his Commander-in-Chief and told him so. On the strength of Wolseley's strong recommendation the War Office had already ordered nearly two million pounds worth of material for the Suakin-Berber railway, of which 50 miles of track and equipment was on its way to Suakin. The Government were committed. They could not go back now. "Am I to understand," wired the irritated Minister, "you consider Suakin line a useless expenditure?" [1] Wolseley rejoined that he did not consider that a railway of the proposed gauge could be finished even by the end of the year and that he was unable to believe the contractors' estimates of the small additional time and labour required for building a railway of standard gauge. In a despatch written from Korti on the 6th March Wolseley elaborated his contention. To complete a standard gauge railway to Berber would take two years.

Nevertheless preparations for building the line with standard gauge materials went on apace. Governments who want 200 miles of railway at two months' notice should not be too particular about the quality of the material supplied them. The contractors had no time to pick and choose. There was a suspicion, vented in Parliament, that the Government had much of the material shipped to Suakin foisted upon them from the old Hull and Barnsley railway and from the Tilbury docks.[2] And when the material arrived at railhead, complaints were heard of the presence of useless old rails and of square fishbolts accompanying consignments of round-holed fishplates.

The track equipment despatched to Suakin for the first 100 miles of line included 10,000 tons of 56 lb. steel rail and a quarter of a million wooden sleepers for the main line, 2,500 tons of light rail and 600 tons of steel sleepers for the local light railway. Six metal covers were sent to protect the men from shot and heat. Eleven condensers and thirty miles of pipe line assured the supply of water to the working parties.

The rolling stock, like most of the equipment on the Suakin-Berber railway, was improvised. It comprised sixteen locomotives (six 4-wheel and ten 6-wheel), six saloon coaches, twenty-six third class coaches, ten brake vans, 250 ballast trucks of 8 tons capacity and 300 miscellaneous wagons and trollies. A critic saw his chance. Was it not a fact, asked

[1] War Office correspondence relative to railways and Nile steamboats, Soudan expedition (1885), No. 23.
[2] *Hansard*, CCXCV, 1707, 19th March, 1885.

a querulous M.P., that the head of the Stafford firm which had received the contract for the locomotives was the president of the Stafford Conservative Association ? [1]

A railway staff officer on the spot has recorded his dissatisfaction with the performance of the engines in action. The 6-wheeled coupled locomotives weighing 18 tons were too feeble for the work. They failed to draw loads of more than 50 tons up an incline of 1-in-90. Engines of at least 25 tons weight, he reported, should have been employed. The contractors' agents at Suakin admitted to their London Office that there was a shortage of rolling stock.

The contractors' chief agents left England on the 20th February. The Managers were H. B. Tarry, J. Blue and J. B. Snowden. J. S. Forbes was appointed Traffic Manager while a Mr. Beale superintended the water supply. They set out in the comforting illusion that native labour in abundance would be at their disposal. A rude shock awaited them on their arrival at Suakin. There was practically no native labour. The Beja tribesmen, who in normal times might have worked fitfully on the earth-work and the transport of supplies, were now in arms against us. The military, with a clearer appreciation of the position, asked the War Office for a column of 4,000 Indian coolies " who can be relied upon to work in an enemy's country."

The employment of British contractors with British navvies was in the nature of an adventure. Never before had 750 British workmen left their homes on such an enterprise.

The navvies were hastily recruited and despatched to Suakin. Each man left England with an outfit of clothing and kit provided by the contractors according to the accepted hygienic and sartorial standards of the day. Here is a selection of the equipment issued to each workman :—

3 Flannel shirts (coloured)
2 Pairs drawers (kersey)
1 Silk necktie
1 Blue knitted cap
1 Pith helmet
2 Flannel belts
1 Spinal pad
1 Pair goggles

[1] *Hansard*, CCXCV, 431, 9th March, 1885.

In addition to free kit the navvies received free rations including beer. Each man's pay was twelve shillings a day, or exactly twelve times the pay of the British Tommy with whom he worked and drank.

Arrived in Suakin the men occupied huts in small companies, with one large hut for their club. As the line advanced they lived under canvas at railhead camp. In spite of his elaborate outfit of tropical clothing Young Bill was to be seen on off-days strolling about Suakin with the rakish bowler hat of the period perched upon his head and a broken clay pipe between his teeth. This was something new in Africa.

It was a bold experiment, and it failed. An officer in the campaign charged the men with continual grumbling, laziness and selfishness. He hoped that the failure of the experiment would move the War Office to organize a regular railway corps.

Another officer, this time in an official report, recorded that the coolies worked badly under the British navvies when the latter were supervising a job. Neither understood the language of the other, wrote this officer with a flair for the obvious. The final report of General C. B. Ewart, officer in command of communications, added the charge of lack of discipline. There were too many navvies for the work. They were, in his opinion, unsuitably dressed for the climate—the bowler hat is ever anathema to the soldier. Their organization and conduct were bad. The men had opportunities for getting more liquor than was allowed them and on off-days they tended to drift into Suakin and create brawls. Some of them in their homesickness hit upon the expedient of committing offences for the sake of punishment and repatriation. To avoid this advances of pay had been stopped. The same officer exonerated the British enginemen from these charges.[1]

The contractors' staff came in for their share of the blame. Graham in his despatches complains of the slow progress of the work owing to the absence of organizing ability on the part of the agents. The work involved conditions to which the agents and their men were utterly unaccustomed. Graham gives the agents the credit of having good intentions in that they appeared anxious to do their best to further the work. The weekly progress reports which Graham, in conformity with his orders, rendered to the War Office reveal not only a lack of know-

[1] War Office Correspondence relative to railways and Nile steamboats, Soudan expedition (1885), Nos. 102 and 153 (sub-inclosure).

ledge of railway construction and working but a total lack of sympathy with the agents' point of view. Graham, though a good soldier, lacked the seeing eye. "Graham," decided Wolseley, "is not exactly brilliant." [1]

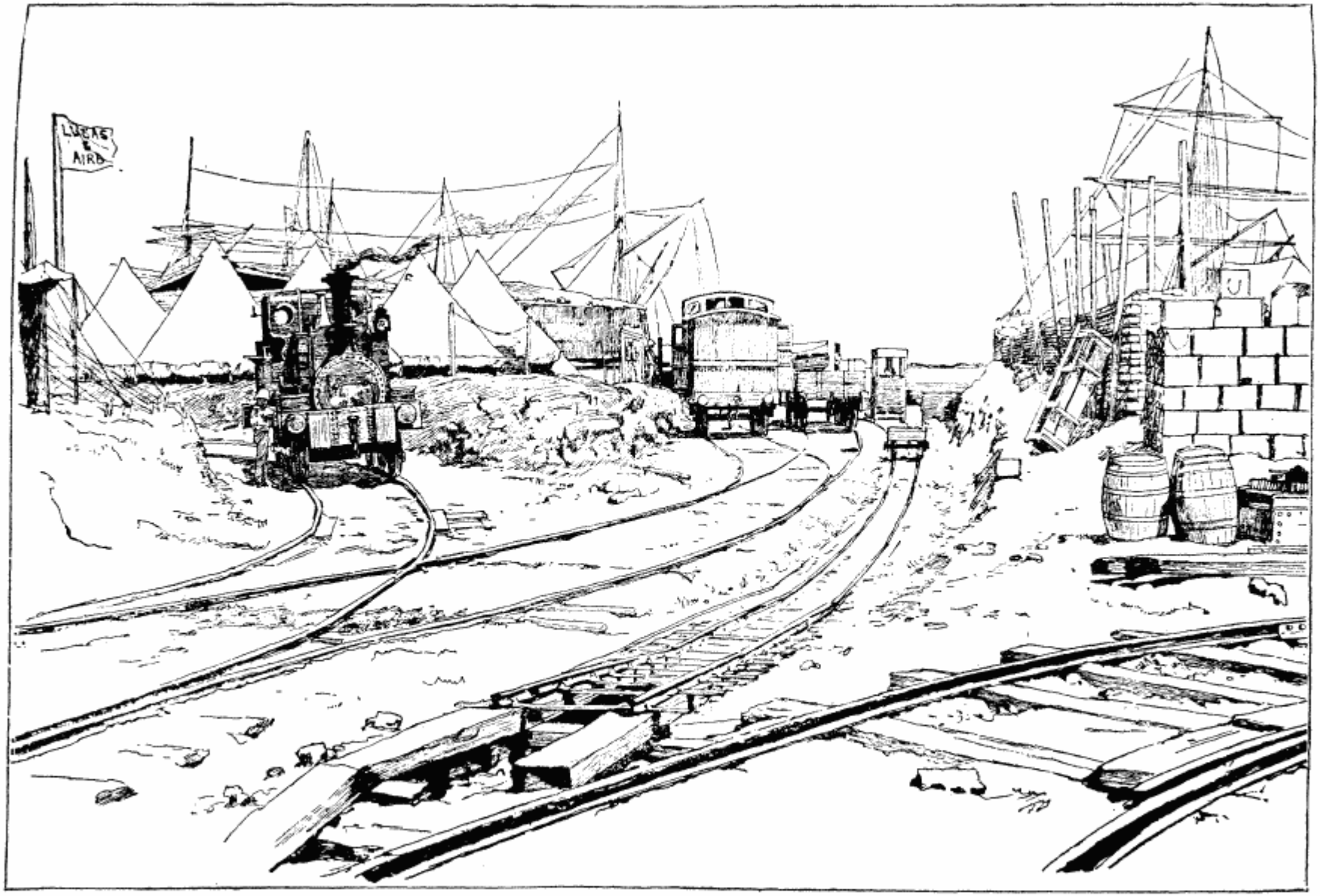
Work at railhead began at 6.15 a.m. The men broke off from 8.30 to 9.0 for breakfast and from 12.0 to 2.0 for dinner. A railway staff officer estimated that there would have been a saving of 33 per cent. had continuous reliefs been employed. Considerable delay was caused by the confusion in bringing up material from the base. The navvies were constantly idle waiting for materials to arrive.

What the military could not stomach was the system of divided control which had been devised in the War Office. In the opinion of the army at Suakin the entire work should have been given to the Royal Engineers, not divided between the army and the contractors.

To the various criticisms levelled against them the contractors' agents replied with convincing moderation. The unloading of military stores, they contended, had been the real cause of delay in forwarding material for the railway. The presence of the enemy, resulting in frequent stoppages of work, was a contributory cause. A third cause was the vacillating policy of the Government towards the construction of the line. In February and March Berber was their goal. In April the modified goal was Ariab, half way to Berber. At the beginning of May it was given out that the line would not be built beyond Otao and they were asked instead how long it would take to pull it up. All this disheartened the men and affected the quality of the effort. Graham admitted to the War Office that Government vacillation slowed down the work.[2]

On the 17th February the railway pier was being strengthened for the reception of troops and railway material. By the end of the month 50 to 60 miles of railway had been shipped. Unfortunately, in the hurry of loading, ships were badly stowed. Sorting-out on the foreshore at Suakin became a work for wizards. Fishplates urgently needed at railhead were found to have been loaded under a cargo of rails. Rails arrived without their complement of sleepers. The Navy lent valuable help at the pier but the restricted space greatly hindered the work.

[1] Arthur, Sir G. The letters of Lord and Lady Wolseley, 1870–1911, 1922, p. 214.
[2] War Office. Correspondence relative to railways and Nile steamboats, Soudan expedition (1885), No. 130 *et seq.* Also Graham to Hartington, 29th April, in Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIX, 1884–85.



Terminus of the Suakin-Berber Railway.

Reprod. from Grant, J. Cassell's "History of the War in the Sudan." Vol. VI, p. 117.

Anyone visiting the spot to-day might well wonder how anything was off-loaded at all.

The original estimate of the rate of progress was over-confident. Railhead was expected to advance up to 25 miles a week. The survey was in the hands of the Royal Engineers protected by a strong escort of cavalry and infantry. Naturally, the survey was of the hand-to-mouth order. Wylde was right when he called it a railway without a survey. There were no reliable maps, only the camel road to follow. For the rest the surveyors relied on the compass and on faith. Behind the survey party came a clearing party of British infantry cutting down all scrub in front and flank which might have made cover for enemy snipers. Next in rear came the bankhead party composed of coolies working under Engineer officers. Lastly came railhead manned by British navvies and more coolies. Rails and sleepers were carried forward from the base to railhead by army transport carts. The navvies merely positioned the sleepers and laid the rails.

On the 13th March, the day after Graham's arrival at Suakin, track-laying began. By the 20th March the line had crossed the causeway from the depot to the mainland and was nearing the outer fortifications. Here a short halt was called to await the occupation of Handub by the army. The enemy was never far off. By the 1st April railhead was again in motion, heading for the hills. The weather was still reasonably cool and a feeling of optimism was in the air. In London, Lucas and Aird assured the Secretary of State that, all being well, the line would reach Ariab by the end of July.

All was not well : on the very day that track-laying was restarted there was an alarm. Work as usual began at dawn when the military, to the dismay of the contractors, ordered the working parties to withdraw. The enemy were out raiding. Nevertheless work went doggedly on and by the 11th April the site for No. 1 station was reached. On that day Graham inspected the line. By the 13th the rate of progress had increased to a mile a day. On the 16th the enemy raided the blockhouse which had been built at No. 1 station. Volleys were fired with doubtful accuracy at the signal box and platform. Next day railhead, always heavily guarded, moved forward to Handub where a station was built and fortified.

The pace could not be sustained. Rails and sleepers arrived at railhead in uncertain flow, the heat increased and Berber began to seem a long way off. Still, by the middle of April, eight miles of main line had been constructed. The methods of track-laying were unnecessarily laborious. The telescopic principle of construction, whereby the railway carries all its material forward as it goes, was not only untried but an otherwise competent officer on the spot declared the telescopic method to be impossible [1]

The traffic arrangements were in the hands of the contractors' traffic manager, Forbes. This unfortunate official's department became the butt of widespread criticism in the official reports of the campaign. The lack of a block-working system of any kind during the early stages of the construction was a heavy and needless handicap. Trains were frequently being started at one end of the line only to meet another train attempting to proceed in the opposite direction. The eventual installation of a telegraph line greatly relieved the work. But the enemy would not leave the line alone; the telegraph was cut twice in eight days. Otao was occupied on the 20th April by the troops who pushed on and established an advanced post at Tambuk, 27½ miles from Suakin, on the line of the route.

The 25th April saw 15½ miles of main line completed. Railhead was within three miles of Otao, the site of the next station. On the night of the 29th the enemy again raided the railway and set fire to several sleepers. On the following morning a train passed over unscathed. Graham complained that the agents, who lived comfortably on board ship in Suakin harbour, made no provision for eventualities such as this.[2] It is a matter of speculation what exactly the agents could have done.

On the 30th April, less than one month after the official date of the dispersal of the enemy's forces, railhead reached Otao, 18¾ miles from Suakin. Berber was still over 200 miles ahead

The military situation was, so to speak, fluid. The tactics of the enemy were surprise and deceit. Just because one could on certain days ride out in safety as far as Tambuk did not signify that the enemy was giving up. Wylde allowed himself to be deceived into supposing that

[1] Parry, E. G. (*pseud.*, An Officer who was there), Souakin, 1885, p. 102.

[2] War Office. Correspondence relative to railways and Nile steamboats, Soudan expedition (1885), No. 102.



ARMOURED TRAIN IN ACTION ON THE SUAKIN-BERBER RAILWAY.
Reprod. from Grant, J. Cassell's "History of the War in the Sudan," Vol. V, p. 53.

the news of the engines that could travel faster than the quickest horses and camels had a steadying effect on the tribes.[1] This facile optimism obscures the facts. The presence of an enemy waging guerilla warfare made it necessary to patrol the railway regularly throughout its length. Each station was garrisoned by anxious men in blockhouses. By the 30th April the resourceful Royal Engineers had completed a small armoured train which nightly patrolled the line. Constant vigilance was essential. On the night of the 4th May an enemy party raided the line between Suakin and Handub, uprooting sleepers and hacking down the telegraph wires. On the 24th May the armoured train ran out of Handub towards Otao to a point where the rails had been removed overnight. One hundred and forty yards of track had been bodily removed. Several raiders collected and followed the train—a gauge of its speed—but there were no British casualties.

In the instructions which Graham had received from the Secretary of State for War on the general conduct of the campaign he was told that it might not be possible to push the railway forward much beyond Ariab before the capture of Berber. At Ariab all the material for laying the remaining 120 miles to the Nile was to be collected until the fall of Berber, and the approach of cool weather made possible the final advance to the river.

With April came a change of policy momentous in the history of Sudan railways. The Nile campaign hung fire ; Berber was not captured. Further afield the ambitions of Russia beyond the Indian border were alarming the War Office. Too many troops were locked up in Suakin and along the Nile. The British Government decided to cut its losses and to abandon the Sudan, railway and all.

The first feeler from the Cabinet came through in a telegram from Hartington to Wolseley on the 13th April, suggesting the possibility of a gradual withdrawal from Suakin. The railway must be postponed. Next day a further telegram confirmed the withdrawal. On the 20th April Hartington announced in Parliament the intention of the Government to withdraw from the Sudan war. Meanwhile the fate of the railway would be further considered. On the 22nd the news was broadcast in Suakin. Everybody, with the exception of the Levantine shopkeepers and the local sub-contractors, was delighted. A Greek merchant

[1] Wylde, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 115.

called Grivas, having cornered all the available beer in Suakin, is said to have lost the best part of £10,000 in the panic drop in prices which followed the news. The troops looked eagerly forward to the prospect of a cool campaign in the mountains of Afghanistan.

The decision of the Government could not be communicated to the ships at sea, which continued their voyages to Suakin. On the 22nd April no less than 20 vessels, all laden with railway material, were blocking the harbour awaiting their turn to unload. On the 24th April the War Office had advised the contractors that, for the time, no further section of the line would be built. On the 25th Graham was ordered by telegram to stop the line at Otao. On the 27th a shipload of 1,200 coolies was turned back at Suakin. As Graham had no positive instructions to stop all work languid preparations were still being made for the eventual advance of railhead as far as Es Sibil (or Dissibil) in the hills, 50 miles from Suakin and 10 miles north-west of the present Erba Station.

On the 2nd May, two days after the railway had reached Otao, Wolseley himself arrived in Suakin on a tour of inspection. The inspection sealed the fate of the railway. The day after his arrival Wolseley told the agents that the Government did not intend to carry the railway beyond Otao. Having inspected the line he reported that it had been laid in the roughest fashion and that the first shower would destroy large sections of it. Nature, in the approaching rains, copiously fulfilled his prophecy.

The Commander-in-Chief came to Suakin with his railway policy decided. He had never been wholly in favour of the Suakin-Berber railway and his attitude to the standard gauge was a compound of incredulity and distrust. Now that the Government had announced their intention to withdraw, he proposed to withdraw at once. On the 5th May he wired to Hartington: "If you have made up your mind to stop railway, I propose sending to England ships laden with railway material. Railway should be taken up before troops fall back. We could take it up in a fortnight. Shall I carry out these proposals?" [1]

The Government were unprepared for this precipitate action. As politicians they had the Opposition and public opinion to consider; what would the Tories say? The Liberal Ministers were unpopular enough

[1] Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIX, 1884–85.

already with the tragedy of Khartoum on their hands. "We do not approve your proposal," Hartington replied for the Cabinet.[1] The line should be held and completed as far as some convenient, cool locality, pending consideration whether it should be carried further. "Could you not arrange to pay natives to protect line?" he added with exasperating naïvety.

Wolseley sent a brusque reply. There was no suitable ground for the troops within 30 miles of railhead. Our patrols had not penetrated further than twelve miles beyond Tambuk. The natives could not protect the line but would themselves want protection. If the garrison protecting the line were to be seriously reduced, the railway must either be taken up or abandoned. His despatch contained some plain speaking: "Unless you have some clearly defined Soudan policy to initiate, any military operations, such as the railway would entail, would be to throw away uselessly valuable lives."[2] The Commander-in-Chief was nearing the end of his patience.

The Government, he thereupon wrote to his wife, could not face the ridicule of having to remove all the rails just put down; "I won't be a party to the killing of any soldiers to keep a political party in office."[3]

At home the announcement to withdraw from Suakin and to abandon the railway excited lively comment. In a Parliament which had been impartially exhausting its fund of righteous indignation between the death of General Gordon and the atheism of the inconvenient Mr. Bradlaugh, the muddle over the Suakin-Berber railway provided new dialectical possibilities alike to the Conservative Opposition and to the Irish obstructionists. *Punch* joined in the hue and cry against the unpopular Prime Minister with a new version of an old nursery rhyme:

Berber, Gladstone! — One for the Liberal,
Have you *any* plan? — One for the Rad:
Yes, Sir, *several!* — And one in a pigeon-hole,
Trust the Grand Old Man! — Equally mad and bad.[4]

while the Conservative *Graphic*, in full-blooded metaphor, talked of gathering up the fragments of War's sanguinary feast.[5]

[1] Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIX, 1884-85. 8th May.
[2] *Ibid.* 11th May.
[3] Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
[4] Song of the Soudan, Vol. LXXXVIII, 2nd May, 1885. Reprinted by permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.
[5] Vol. XXXI, p. 482, 1885.

In more serious circles the withdrawal caused dismay. Sir Evelyn Baring strongly represented to the Foreign Office the importance of a railway between Suakin and Berber.[1] Bennett Burleigh, the War Correspondent, who knew what he was talking about, wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* about it, pressing the case for the prolongation of the railway to the Nile.[2] The Philanthropists got busy. The Baroness Burdett-Coutts, imperious champion of the oppressed, called upon the Government to fulfil the moral duty of completing a railway whose existence would guarantee the repression of the slave trade.[3] The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society memorialized the Foreign Secretary urging a like request.[4]

On the 18th May in the House of Lords the Earl of Wemyss moved that the war against the Mahdi be continued and the railway completed. He announced that he had just had a conversation with a gentleman who was ready to form a company to complete the line. The debate which followed expired after a destructive amendment by the Government side. Lord Wentworth moved an amendment to the effect that the construction of a railway by military force through a hostile population would be contrary to the pledges given by the Government to Parliament and public.[5] Meanwhile it was rumoured that a syndicate headed by the Duke of Sutherland, a great railway promoter in Scotland whose foible was riding on locomotives and watching fire brigades at work, had obtained a concession from the British Government to work the railway after it had been completed. Sir Samuel Baker was popularly said to be the moving spirit behind the enterprise.[6]

The rumour was still-born. On the 17th May the evacuation of the Field Force began. Graham sailed from Suakin on the same day. Wolseley, who remained two days longer, asked the Government that the British navvies be sent home as they were doing nothing and costing a good deal. The heat was now too great to ensure the protection of the working parties. On the 18th he informed the Government that he

[1] Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIX, 1884–85. Despatch dated 3rd May, 1885. Sir E. Baring, then Lord Cromer, opened the Port Sudan-Atbara railway on 27th January, 1906.
[2] *Daily Telegraph*, 8th May, 1885.
[3] *Ibid.* 11th May, 1885.
[4] *Ibid.* 11th May 1885.
[5] *Hansard*, CCXCVIII, 655, 18th May, 1885.
[6] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 96–97.

had stopped work on the railway. On the next day he left for Cairo. On the 29th the staff of Lucas and Aird sailed for England. While they were at sea the Gladstone Government fell.

The abandoned railway lay disintegrating in the rains of the Red Sea summer. The new Secretary of State for War, W. H. Smith, gave the House of Commons a depressing account of the state of the line. What had not been damaged by the rain had been torn up by the Arabs.[1] The financial consequences of the venture were even more depressing.[2] £133,700 alone had to be paid in sea freight. Coal, canal dues and stevedorage came to £70,000. The demurrage on ships detained at Suakin awaiting discharge was considerable. The original cost of railway material landed was £345,000. Material returned from Suakin or not sent out totalled £320,000. Stores to the value of £70,000 were issued. In round figures the total expenditure on the railway, after all adjustments had been made, amounted to £865,000, or approximately £45,000 for each mile of main line laid—easily the most costly section of railway ever built in the Sudan. Compared with it the cost per kilometre of Ismail's Soudan Railway from Wadi Halfa to Sarras, begun eight years before, was little more than half. The British Government pocketed its pride and paid the bill.

Of the thousands of pounds worth of railway material left derelict on the ground only a trifle was ever used again. The enemy was sated with metal for spear heads and his women had sleepers in abundance for pounding their corn. A few rails found their way into Suakin where they were used as rafters and verandah posts. The youthful T. P. O'Connor, then in the first flush of his political career, inveighed in the House of Commons against the iniquity of the politicians responsible for the waste. "I ask," he said, turning to the Secretary of State for War, "whether the Right Hon. Gentleman will advise the Auditor-General to charge the members of the late Administration with the expenses of this foolish fiasco."[3]

The War Office attempted to realise on the wreckage. The Indian railways on being invited to take over part of the material politely declined. Would the Egyptian Government care to take over 80 to 100 miles of track, with rolling stock, now at Suakin, at a reasonable figure?

[1] *Hansard*, CCC, 54, 27th July, 1885.
[2] Parliamentary Papers, XLVI and XLVIII, 1884–85.
[3] *Hansard*, CCC, 833, 27th July, 1885.

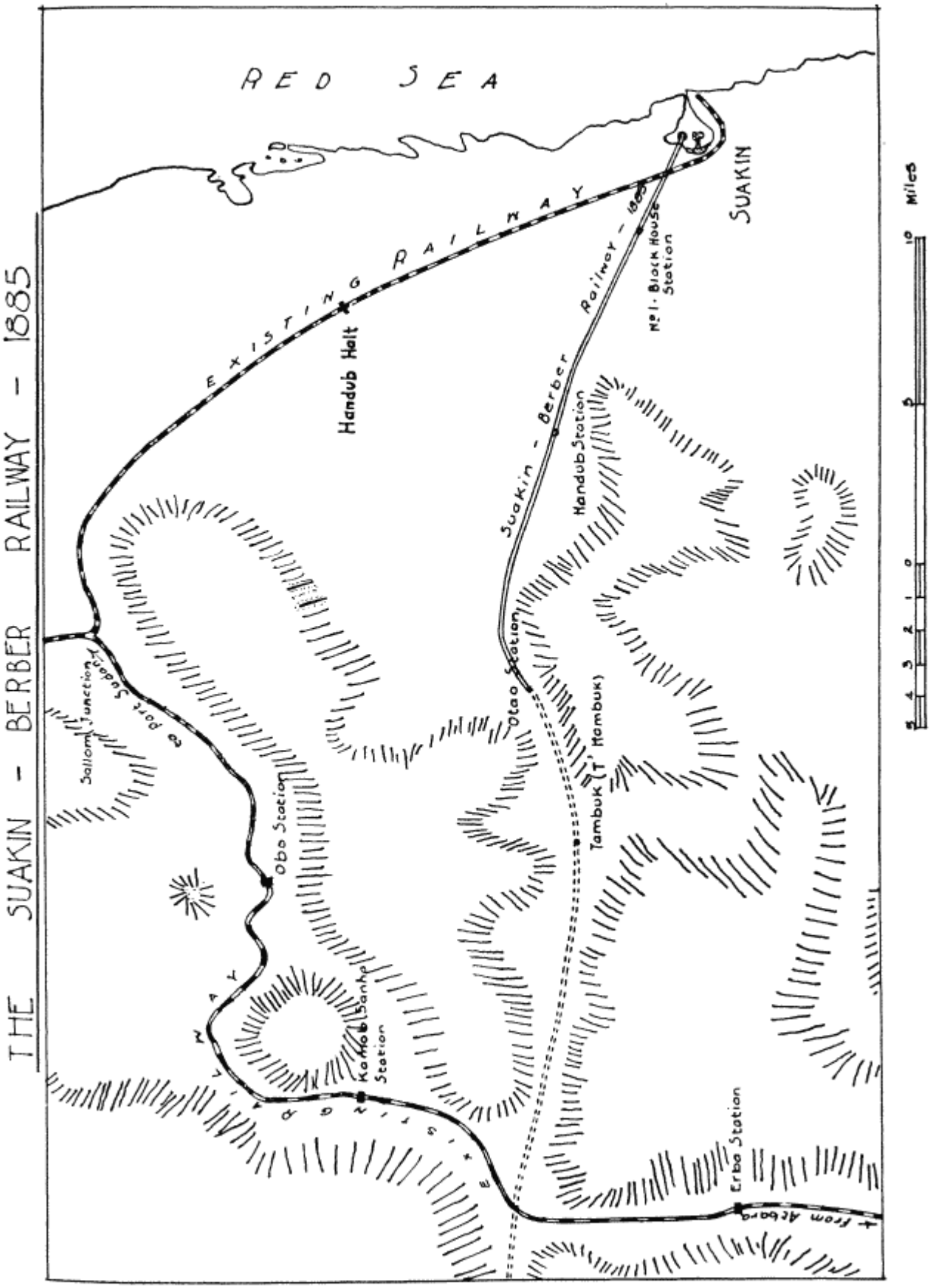
The Egyptian Railway Board obliged by accepting a portion. With more enterprise than geographical knowledge 500 tons of standard gauge rolling stock, which had been bought for the Suakin-Berber railway, were packed off from London to Egypt, addressed to the Managing Director of the 3 ft. 6 in. gauge Soudan Railway at Wadi Halfa. Fate had evidently decreed that there should be no truce in the battle of the gauges on African soil. No rails were sent with this consignment as it was understood by the senders that there were still plenty lying about on the Suakin-Berber road to which the Managing Director at Wadi Halfa could help himself. It was not surprising that the vessel which carried this cargo of rolling stock was named the " Dotterel." [1]

The end was inglorious. The War Office decided to keep 60 miles of track which it still had on its hands with the half-hearted intention of laying military lines in the fortifications of Portsmouth, Plymouth and Chatham. For the time being it was stored in the open air where it was discovered by the prying eye of Mr. Sheil, M.P., who raised the matter in the House, asking whether the " storing " of this plant consisted in leaving it to rot in a lonely spot on the Plumstead Marshes.[1] The Minister did not reply. At length, when Parliamentary and popular indignation had spent itself, it was quietly sold.

* * * * *

The visitor to Suakin to-day will find few traces of this remarkable adventure in railway construction. A mass of rusted metal on Condenser Island is all that now remains of the railway depot and the jetties. The relic of a railway bank leads from the causeway through the scrub of the coastal plain towards Handub and Otao. An inscription on a rock immortalising PEARS' SOAP does honour to the British workmen who helped to build the line. Little is left save the memory of an almost heroic failure.

[1] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 22.


THE SUAKIN - BERBER RAILWAY - 1885
RED SEA
SUAKIN
EXISTING RAILWAY
Handub Halt
No 1. Block House Station
Suakin - Berber Railway - 1885
Handub Station
Otao Station
Tambuk ('T' Hambuk)
Salloma Junction
Port Sudan
Obo Station
Kamob Station
Erba Station
From Aboard
Miles

SHAIBUN GOLD.

By G. W. Bell.

FROM the earliest times there have existed close military and commercial relations between Egypt and the Sudan. Negroes were enlisted as mercenaries or slave troops in the Egyptian armies three thousand years before Christ, and by the same date, the trade routes, by way both of the Red Sea and the interior, were established between the north and those rich southern countries known as Cush and Put, which were famed for their treasures in ivory, ebony, and above all gold.

The production of gold from the Sudan was first confined to the mines which lay in the deserts east of the Nile, and was based upon the Egyptian province of Cush or Nubia.[1] By 1000 B.C. the indigenous Nubians had driven out their Egyptian overlords and for the next seven hundred years maintained an independent kingdom centred upon their capital at Napata. As Napata eventually declined in importance so the southern half of the kingdom grew, and before the advent of Roman dominion in Egypt, Meroe, close to the junction of the Nile and the Atbara, had usurped the influence earlier held by the north. Contemporaneously with the growth of Meroe came the partial exhaustion of the gold mines in the Eastern deserts and an increase in the production of gold from further south—from the Abyssinian frontier and the country of the Beni Shangul.

From the period of Roman influence until the beginning of the 19th century only the broadest outlines of main historical events stand out against the dark background. Meroe fell during the middle of the 4th century a victim to the Abyssinian King of Axum; at the same time Christianity was carried into Abyssinia, and two centuries later penetrated into the Sudan. Within the next two hundred years the victorious armies of Islam surged northwards from the Hijaz and swept into Egypt,

[1] "From time immemorial gold was brought into Egypt from the south by way of Kash or Kush and the country was called Nubia or 'the land of Gold,' the old word for gold being 'Nub.' All these facts show that Kush or Nubia...is not Abyssinia. Kush was a specific portion of the Nile valley and the central part of it is probably represented to-day by the flourishing province of Dongola." Wallace Budge, "A History of Ethiopia," p. 5.

and in the long centuries that follow there comes the steady infiltration from the north of those Arab tribes to whom the greater part of the present-day inhabitants of the Sudan trace descent. During the 16th, the 17th and the early part of the 18th centuries two native kingdoms, that of the Fung and of Darfur, rise amid the welter of tribal feuds and chaos, and on their fall there follows the period of Turko-Egyptian conquest and overlordship.

West of the White Nile to the 29th parallel and south from the Khartoum-El Obeid railway, as far almost as the distant swamps of lake No, lies a mass of scattered hills which vary from low isolated tors to massive ranges, rising two thousand and three thousand feet above the level plain. In summer the black and rocky slopes glisten and quiver in the heat, and like vast slag heaps appear devoid of all but the barest vegetation. The dry valleys, and the burning plains which stretch often unbroken until the line of the horizon is lost in the grey merging of sky and earth, seem equally barren and inhospitable. But with the first showers of rain in late April or early in May, a thin carpet of green is flung over the dry cracked earth, and by the end of June the hill slopes are rich with a mantle of shrubs and creepers, and the plains lie deep in grass and woodland. This area is inhabited by a race of virile pagan hillmen, whose connection with the ancient " Nubia " has been accepted, although the exact circumstances of that connection are disputed. Until recent years these wild and independent people had kept fearfully to their mountain tops, growing their grain on elaborate terraces along the slopes, herding their cattle and cultivating tobacco in naturally protected and remote valleys between the peaks, and venturing out into the lower country only when marauding Arabs or bands of slave raiders appeared safely distant. To-day, although the majority of the tribes still keep to their hill-top villages with their neatly stone-built huts, the greater part of their cultivation of millet, sesame, and cotton is maintained far out in the rich plains, and only the presence of small and scattered crops of light grain along the crumbling terraces calls back to mind the daily anxiety of a generation past.

Much of the history of Kordofan and the Nuba mountains previous to the conquest of the Sudan by the Turkish forces a little over a hundred years ago is obscure, but following that expedition of Muhammed Bey, the " Dafterdar " and son-in-law of Muhammed Ali, we have the evidence

of several European travellers and officials employed by the Turkish Government. Men like Ignatius Pallme and John Petherick have left their accounts of the misery and oppression to which the rascally and corrupt Turkish officials subjected the miserable inhabitants.[1] Writing in 1846, 24 years after the Dafterdar had occupied Kordofan, Petherick says: " The treatment of the natives by the Dafterdar, his subordinates, and the uncouth troops [many of them were of Turkish or Balkan origin] was barbarous in the extreme. Not only were they robbed of every article of value which came under the observation of their despoilers, but the most trivial offence was punished with a cruelty which, for its ingenuity, was as peculiar as it was horrifying." Pallme, who accompanied an expedition sent into the Nuba mountains to hunt for slaves, gives a hideous picture of the sufferings of the natives and the cruelty of the foreign soldiery.

It was immediately before this period that the gold workings in the hills twenty or thirty miles north of the present town of Talodi achieved their maximum output. Local knowledge of the history of gold production is slight, but from a study of the record of Tegali overlordship, and a search into the story of the Shwabna tribe, it appears that gold was probably only discovered in the Nuba mountains late in the 17th century.[2] Ismail the son of Mohammed ruled as king in Tegali for the first three-quarters of the 18th century, and it was during his time that the geographical expansion of the kingdom received its greatest stimulus. Early in the reign the hill of Shaibun, lying a dozen miles to west of the present village of Heiban, accepted his overlordship, and one Abderrahman Ibn Yusef, a Messalami, was appointed as Viceroy. Fifty years before, following the invasion of King Badi Abu Dukn, Tegali had become subject to Sennar, and it is reasonable to suppose that the last half of the 17th century saw that infiltration of merchants and adventurers from the Fung that explains the origin of the Shwabna tribe and the curious coincidence of two Shaibuns, both centres of a gold-bearing area, one found in the Nuba mountains and one among the Beni Shangul. With the appointment of Abderrahman then, whose office appears to have been consular rather than administrative, we find the first evidence of gold

[1] " Travels in Kordofan," Ignatius Pallme, 1844. " Egypt, the Sudan and Central Africa," John Petherick, 1861.

[2] R. J. Elles, " The Kingdom of Tegali," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, 1935.

working in Shaibun under a small band of Gellaba adventurers employing local labour; and of a payment to Tegali of a gold royalty that was to extend later to a regular tribute as the area of gold production expanded and the power of Tegali overlordship increased. The indigenous Nuba of Shaibun, Otoro and Tira Mandi appear to have had no knowledge of the value of the precious metal. The beliefs and customs that came to surround the search for gold have their basis in a very evident fear for what was only later realised to be an object of great value; and it is told in Tegali that the existence of gold in Tira Mandi was only discovered by an emissary of the king seeing a Nuba who carried a spear balanced with a gold weight at the base of the shaft.[1]

As Tegali strengthened her hold over her outlying dependants, and as the value of the tribute in gold increased, so there grew up a regular system of payment in exchange for honours and decorations to the subject chiefs. Yearly the headman of Shaibun and Tira Mandi would journey to the King of Tegali and demand from him customary gifts before the gold working season—the latter part of the rains—began. To each he would give a black bull, a black goat and two black cocks, and these would be taken away for sacrifice upon the site of the gold workings. Some months later the chiefs would return with their tribute and their followers; the tribute would be paid into the treasury and the followers would be clothed and feasted. To the "kujur," on whom depended alliance with the powers of darkness who guarded the gold, came the gift of a horned "tagia" and a score of brass bracelets, to the chiefs sable cloaks, and to the retainers cattle, sheep, goats and, in particular, dogs, which, as a form of food, were even more highly prized then than they are by the Nuba of to-day.

A dozen goldsmiths under the command of Mahmud et Tebidabi were responsible for the receipt of the gold and for storing it in the form of rings, weighing an ukia, in the royal vaults at Tasi, at that time the

[1] From earliest times gold, by reason of its luminosity, has been connected with supernatural powers, the sun and life. In this connection it is interesting to remember that the tradition of the Elixir is widespread over the Nuba mountains although the belief appears to be Arab and not Nuba. The lack, on the part of the Nuba, of knowledge or appreciation of the magical apart from the commercial value of gold is perhaps not altogether surprising. In "The Diffusion of Culture," G. Elliot-Smith writes: "Africa, although it includes the original home of civilisation, was not really receptive of the cultural gifts of Egypt." There are, however, unmistakable evidences of a spread of culture across the continent and along both the western and the eastern littorals: yet the Negro people as a whole did not adopt more than a few crumbs that fell from the rich table of nilotic culture.

capital of the kingdom. It seems that no gold was ordinarily worn by the people of Tegali, nor indeed ever seen, except upon the rare occasions on which a daughter of the royal house was given away in marriage and decked with gold proportionate to her rank. After the establishment of the Turkish Government, and in particular during the reign of Mek Adam Daballo, a nominal yearly, but in fact sporadic, tribute was sent from Tegali to El Obeid. The demand was usually for payment in gold, and although considerable sums, together with cattle and slaves, were surrendered from time to time, the stores of treasure held in the royal residence at Kindoro, when the revolt of the Mahdi overwhelmed the Turkish Government, must have been enormous.

Apart from native tradition, our chief authorities for the existence of gold at Shaibun and Tira Mandi, and for the evident origins of the so-called Shwabna tribe (people of Shaibun), are Browne, Pallme, Russeger and Petherick.[1]

Between 1792 and 1798 the traveller W. G. Browne made a journey from " Ibeit " (El Obeid, the present headquarters of Kordofan Province and the Nuba mountains) to Shaibun " where are gold mines." He writes in 1799 : " Near this place (Shaibun) in a deep glen or valley, much gold is found, both dust and in small pieces. The natives collect the dust in quills of the ostrich and vulture and in that condition sell it to the merchants. They have a ceremony on discovering a large piece of gold, of killing a sheep on it before they remove it. The people are all black. At Shaibun are some Mohammedans, who live among the idolaters and wear clothing, it is not said whether Arab or not."

Petherick, speaking of life in Kordofan under the rule of the Darfur Sultans which followed in the late 18th century the defeat of Melek El Hashma, the Sennar Viceroy, describes the wealth of gold that existed in the country chiefly in the form of women's ornaments and finery. He writes : " Gold was then, as it is now, obtained from Sennar and the mountains of Shaibun, inhabited by Nigroes, south of Kordofan and Jebel Tekele, whence djellabs, or traders, proceeding from Kordofan obtain it by barter."

Browne also mentions Jebel Lokha, which lies between Tira and Jebel Gedir, as having been the site of gold workings, but the tradition no longer exists locally and there are no sings of diggings on the hill.

[1] " Reisen in Europe, Asien and Africa," J. Russeger, Strassburg, 1841, 4 vols. W. G. Browne, " Travels in Africa."

Pallme, who spent 18 months in Kordofan in the early twenties of last century, similarly recorded the existence of gold in the neighbourhood of Shaibun and speaks of the forbears of the present Shwabna race. " The Dongolawis," he writes, " have in several places intermarried with Negro girls, whence a mixed language, as I am told, has originated ; they, however, preserve the characteristic of the father, and a Dongolawi, although born of a Negro mother, may be immediately recognised."

Russeger, a mining engineer, was dispatched on the request of Mohammed Ali to the Austrian Government, as chief of a geological expedition to the Sudan, and has left us a long and detailed account of his mineralogical surveys which embraced Lower Egypt, the Beni Shangul districts, and the Nuba mountains. His optimistic account of the Beni Shangul area was illustrated by his report of the numerous gold washings which he found, and by the presence of a number of Dongolawi merchants who managed the gold trade, and were much respected by the natives. His report on the presence of these merchants of riverain origin is interesting, for there exist some curious points of connection, and a strange confusion of knowledge even among those to whom the tradition of Shaibun gold is familiar, between the Jebel Shaibun in the Beni Shangul country, and the hill of the same name in the Nuba mountains. Local tradition in Kordofan accredits Jebel Shaibun, which lies in the centre of the acknowledged gold-bearing area, with being the source of the famous Shaibun gold, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring hill of Shwai, whose ancestors were driven out from Shaibun by the Turkish forces under one Ali Kanuna, declare that their grandfathers held the secret of these goldfields and that these secrets have died with them. In his report Russeger wrote : " The bed of every stream in the vicinity of Jebel Shaibun and Tira near Jebel Dahab, and further southwards towards Tungur and beyond, exhibits a gold-bearing alluvium."

On the historical evidence, on the certain existence of a Jebel Shaibun in the Beni Shangul country as a source of gold mentioned in Hamag and Berta songs, and in a difference of opinion among natives outside Kordofan, it seems clear that the original Shaibun was not that in the Nuba mountains. But, further, it is interesting that the descendants of the original inhabitants of the Kordofan Shaibun hold strongly to the belief that not only were their ancestors masters of a race of Nuba known by the name of " Duleib," employed in the production of gold, but that they

(their ancestors) were of mixed riverain stock, drawn in particular from those tribes whose members used to, and still do, form the main part of the merchant class in the Sudan. Again, it is remarkable that these "Duleib" are related in custom, language and culture with a section of the people of Hadra, a small isolated hill twenty miles west of the Kordofan Shaibun, and that that section of the natives of the Hadra themselves have a tradition of a Fung origin. The descendants of this original river stock to-day call themselves Shwabna (of Shaibun) and divide themselves into half a dozen sections of which Messalamia, Jamowia, Hassabalab and Riash are the principal. It seems more than possible that their ancestors, living in the Fung, migrated late in the 17th century, during that period of close Fung-Tegali connection, and possibly with their native miners, in search of richer country, that they settled close to the Nuba gold-bearing area, and named the low hill at the foot of which they built their village after the famous hill in their own country.

The migration of the Dongolawi merchants, because of its recent occurrence, is of minor importance in the wider subject of Nuba-Fung relations, but its connection with a Fung tradition in Hadra may possibly, after further search, provide another link to the slender but not negligible claim of affinity between the Nuba mountains and the Fung.[1]

Even in the small area within the Nuba mountains in which the stories and traditions of gold digging are still alive in the minds of the inhabitants, there is great diversity of opinion on the subject of the strange beliefs and superstitions that surrounded the actual extraction of the gold from the ground. The Nuba are a pagan people who, despite eighty years of harrying, first at the hands of the Turkish soldiery and slave raiders and then during the rule of the Mahdi at the hands of the Arabs, have stolidly preserved their belief in their traditional folk-lore and their reverence for their ancestors and the guardians of the tribal spirit. Through the whole of the Nuba mountains there exists a widespread fear and reverence for serpents, and although there is much in the subject that is obscure, there is evidence for believing that snake-cults play a great part in the beliefs and customs of the people. It is said that the gold

[1] There are several scattered units in the Nuba mountains claiming Fung origin, e.g., Jebel Gedir, parts of Jebel Kaderu, and possibly Jebel Tekeim, where there also exists a tradition of ancient gold mining. The wide distribution of the Ingessana throwing knife and a remarkable similarity in custom and culture between Nuba and Fung tribes call for further study.

mines of Shaibun lay some distance away from the inhabited part of the hill and constituted a carefully guarded area to which the Nuba—the "Duleib"—forbade any Arab trespass, and indeed, even among the Nuba themselves, only half a dozen aged men familiar with the powers of darkness and the unseen dared venture near the mines. The earth was jealous of its secrets and mysterious deaths among those who sought its treasures were frequent. Gold mining was confined to those the remainder of whose time on earth was short, and who, it was thought, could afford therefore to risk their lives. "Ginns," in the form of enormous and hideous black snakes, swarms of bees, and hawks with scarlet beaks and talons, were the guardians of the mines, and the chief of the "Ginns" was a snake greater and more terrible than all the rest.[1] He it was who led those privileged to the places wherein the gold lay thickest. The leader of the score or so of aged miners would sacrifice the black bull, the black goat, and the two black cocks, the gift of their Tegali overlord, and if his offering was accepted he would be granted an audience with the chief of the "Ginns." He would explain to this monster that the rainy season was over, that the earth was still soft and easily broken, and that the time had come for the annual search for gold. Upon a night fixed for their operations the miners would meet, and with them the guardian serpent, carrying in his teeth a nugget of such brightness as to illuminate clearly the surrounding country. So led, the little party of diggers would make their way to the area of the mines, where they would find, after a short search, and close beneath the surface of the earth, similar but lesser nuggets to that carried by their terrifying guide. Carefully they would wash away the earth surrounding the nuggets, and in so doing provide such an illumination that the night would be turned into day. When all had been collected the chief of the "Ginns" would leave the miners, who, with their way illuminated by the results of their labours, would return home to bury their treasure before the coming of the dawn.

That the whole of the Shaibun area was thoroughly turned over, and that the district, including Tira Mandi, has been worked out, is the opinion of Mr. S. C. Dunn, at one time Government Geologist.[2] Meanwhile

[1] It is clear that these beliefs have, at least in part, an Arab foundation. The guardianship of hawks is found throughout the Nuba mountains in the belief in the existence of the Elixir, and the jewel-headed serpent is a widespread Arab belief.

[2] See *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1921, Vol. IV, "Native Gold Washings in the Nuba Mountains Province," by S. C. Dunn, and "Notes on the Mineral Deposits of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," by the same author.

local tradition believes that the secret of gold production has been lost. There seems to be little doubt that the report of the existence of gold reached the Government at El Obeid not long after the Dafterdar's victory in Northern Kordofan in 1821, and that the rapacious authorities lost as little time as possible in tracing it to its source.[1] It is believed in Shaibun that a force of foreign soldiers, under the leadership of one Ali Kanuna, assaulted the hill and slaughtered the Nuba community. They say that the adult males were put to death by the sword, but that a more terrible death was reserved for the women and children; they were herded into a deep thorn-fence enclosure and there burnt alive. The riverain traders were less severely treated: plundered of their possessions, they were released and fled to Semma, Tira Mandi, and their present village at Shwai. But the aged Nuba who had been familiar with the occult powers and with the serpent guardians of the gold were dead, and the secret of the mines was lost.

Twenty miles south of Shaibun lie the tumbled hills of Tira Mandi and Kerker. Mr. Dunn surveyed the whole of this area, and found for half a dozen miles north and south of Tira Mandi hill ample trace and evidence of early diggings, and it is clear that after the initial opening near Shaibun the main production of gold in the Nuba mountains was centred further to the south. The Tira Mandi customs and rites in connection with gold mining differ considerably from those reported to have been practised in Shaibun, and there is no evidence in Tira Mandi of a belief in serpents as guardians of the treasure. The customary sacrifice of a black bull, a black goat and a black cock was essential before any digging began, and although there was a considerable feeling of awe and an evident belief in danger from supernatural forces, it is probable that the Tira Mandi people identified the guardian of the gold with the tribal spirit of their ancestors, which throughout all Nuba communities is regarded as the source of all power, both for good and evil. There was a curious tradition in Tira Mandi that no steel or iron should be used in the sacrifice of the three essential victims, whose throats were cut with a sharp flint taken from previous diggings.[2] The blood of the slaughtered

[1] Sir H. MacMichael, "A History of the Arabs in the Sudan," p. 400, Manscript D 7. Between 1845 and 1850 Khalid Pasha, who was Governor-General, visited Kordofan and the mines of Shaibun.

[2] Taboos, among primitive people, against the use of iron are common. Sir James Frazer writes: "To this day a Hottentot priest never uses an iron knife, but always a sharp flint of quartz, in sacrificing an animal or circumcising a lad." ("Golden Bough"—Abr. Edition, p. 224.)

animals was sprinkled over those parts of the hill slopes on which work was contemplated, and then the mining, confined solely as in Shaibun to the aged was begun. The pits from which the earth and stones were removed for washing, were seldom more than four or five feet deep, and yet the traces of many of them remain to this day as shallow depressions on the mountain side. The earth extracted from the diggings was placed in calabashes or earthenware pots, washed, and then allowed to stand, when both the fine gold dust and the nuggets descended to the bottom of the vessels ; to ensure that not even the finest particles of gold remained floating on the surface of the water, a sprinkling of wood ash was thrown into the water, whereupon the lightest grains sank to the bottom. There are stories in Tira Mandi of the presence of Arab merchants, who for beads and cloth purchased the gold, but it is certain that the greater proportion, as in the case of Shaibun, was sent, sealed in the quills of feathers, in the horns of cattle, and hollow bamboo shafts, to pay the annual tribute due to the kings of Tegale.

Despite the prohibition against the wearing and even the possession of gold ornaments during the Mahdia, one might have expected the existence of a few remaining heirlooms in Tira Mandi in the form of bracelets or rings. Direct and indirect enquiry has brought the conviction that worked gold no longer exists there, and the presumption is further strengthened by the local belief that gold was never worn or employed other than for barter or the payment of taxes, the reason being that gold itself was feared and considered to be unlucky, and that no goldsmiths existed among what was then a pagan, ignorant and barbarous people. Had any form of treasure ever existed permanently in Tira Mandi, it is unlikely that it would be found to-day, for both the kings of Tegale and the Turkish troops raided the hill at least once, and the latter removed a large number of slaves and captives.[1]

Of the vast stores of gold which were paid in tribute to the kings of Tegale during the greater part of the 18th and early half of the 19th century no trace remains. In the Kajaja hills, 150 miles north-eastwards from Tira Mandi and Shaibun, lies the village of Kindoro, a scattered collection of mud and grass huts grouped round the tumbled ruins of one of the ancient seats of the kings of Tegale. Early in the career of

[1] There are old men still living in El Obeid who remember the time when Arab girls always demanded from their lovers a Shaibun Zumam (nose ring).

Mohammed Ahmed the Mahdi, and before he had gathered sufficient forces to attack El Obeid, he sent an emissary to Adam Deballo asking for assistance. Despite the advice of his counsellors and after some indecision and delay Adam decided upon joining against the established Government. Before doing so, however, he gathered together the treasure of his ancestors; his slaves dug a number of vaults beneath his palace, secreted his gold, and then, upon the completion of the work, Adam ordered their immediate execution. Two men only besides himself knew the secret whereabouts of the treasure, one of his sons and a trusted slave. Before the fall of Khartoum all three had died without revealing the secret.

The Mahdi died, the Khalifa succeeded him, and meanwhile Kindoro had become deserted and a ruin; the mud mortared houses crumbled beneath the heavy rains and trees and grass sprang up where before had stood a palace, magnificent stables and houses for a hundred concubines.

Some years ago a Western Feki came to the present King of Tegali, Mek Adam Geili, and offered for a price to lead him to the spot in Kindoro under which the gold was buried. The Mek readily accepted and a party made their way to the ruins. As they approached the site of the ancient capital the Westerner was seized with every evidence of distress and extreme fear, he begged to be allowed to turn back, to spend the night in prayer, and return on the following day. His request was granted and he returned to a nearby village for the night. The following morning he was found to have disappeared and no further trace of him or the treasure has ever been discovered.

In the first three or four years that followed the reconquest of the Sudan a concession to prospect for gold in the area of the Nuba mountains was granted to the Egyptian Sudan Exploration Company. An extensive survey was made. Tira Mandi was the only place visited where gold was found, no other deposits of value were discovered, and in 1903 the concession was abandoned.

Twenty years later, Mr. S. C. Dunn, the Government Geologist, made a further survey of the area. His conclusions were that the district had been worked out. A recent prospector has made another survey of the Tira Mandi, Limon, Moro, and Shaibun hills, but no further concession has been granted.

I have attached as an appendix a few typical examples collected from the Arab tribes in the Nuba mountains, the Hawazma, the Kawahla and the Aulad Himeid, of the numerous verses which sing the praises of Shaibun gold. There is no reason to suppose that they are of any antiquity.

Each verse constitutes a song by itself and has its own recognised tune, the first phrase is usually sung as a solo by the Hakkama—a woman generally advanced in years who has established a reputation as a singer and is indispensable at all dances and evening entertainments—and the remainder of the verse is taken up as the chorus to the accompaniment of hand clapping and a steady rhythm beaten out on a small drum. The verse will be repeated over and over again, perhaps a score of times, until the " Hakkama " gives the word for a change and then a new verse is begun. The singing of five or six separate verses by young men and girls, standing either in a circle round a fire or in two separate lines facing one another, may well take up the greater part of an evening's entertainment.

1. Mantibab[1] lies in my hand, come, let me take it and annoint my head, nor shall I forget the Gold of Shaibun.

(١) المنتباب فى ايدى بشيل بمسع قرنى ـ دهب شيبون مانجافى أب اسما روّح لليرى

2. When weighed, how the Gold of Shaibun bears down the scales ; but see how more beautiful is the Gold when worn by my beloved.

(٢) ان وزن الدهب شيبون مرجح مايل ـ شوف ذات الدهب فوق الدهب كيف خايل

3. The heavy Gold of Shaibun. I swear by my faith that I offer my life to thee.

(٣) دهب شيبون الكيك ـ وحات دينى إلاسوم روحى ليك

4. Heavy Gold of Shaibun, all my life will I sing to thee.

(٤) دهب شيبون الكيك ـ طول عمرى بغنى ليك

5. How long it is since we parted! Because the gazelle of the valley has gone following her own way my heart is sad. Oh ! Gold of Shaibun, heavy is thy weight in the scales.

(٥) طال هجرى وقلبى زعلان من فراق صيد الخلا اليمشى الريقان يا دهب شيبون المرجح الميزان

[1] A perfumed wood similar to Sandal.

6. Rich and fair is the Gold of Shaibun, because you are far from me I find no rest at night.

(٦) دهب شيبون الغالى ولونه جميل من فراقك أنا مابنوم الليل

7. In the bank of all banks kept safe, you whom neither rich nor poor can buy, you may God keep for me. Oh ! free. Oh ! Gold of Shaibun.

(٧) بنك البنوك مخزن إنت المـاساموك لـغـالى ولا لدون الله لىّ منك يا الحر
دهب شيبون

8. Oh ! Shaibun Gold free from fault, in times when corn is scarce, come open those stores in which we have placed our trust and let us weigh out the grain.

(٨) دهب شيبون المـاك عميل وقت العيش بقالنا قديل افتحوا الشونه العشمان
يجى يكيل

" Bint el Gisis " brought from the East !
Gold of Shaibun the legacy righteousness.

بنت القسيس الجابوكى من حباح
دهب شيبون ياتركة الصلاح

Gold of Shaibun, like burning coals !
Alone my heart longs for you.

دهب شيبون الجمروه
قلبى بريدو والناس ابوه

SHEIKAN BATTLEFIELD.

By E. F. Aglen.

(PLATES XVII—XIX).

IT is now over fifty years since the Egyptian army under Hicks Pasha, marching to recapture El Obeid from the Mahdi, was annihilated on the battlefield of Sheikan. It was one of the greatest massacres that ever wiped out an army. Men who fought among the dervishes tell of corpses lying in heaps where fighting was thickest, and to this day fragments of bone can be found by those who know where to look. Of an army of about ten thousand only two or three hundred escaped with their lives.

None of the Europeans who were with Hicks survived, and as far as I know we have no account of the battle from one who fought in Hicks's army. The diary of one of the Egyptian officers of the expedition takes us up to November 1st, 1883, when Alluba was reached. After that—silence.

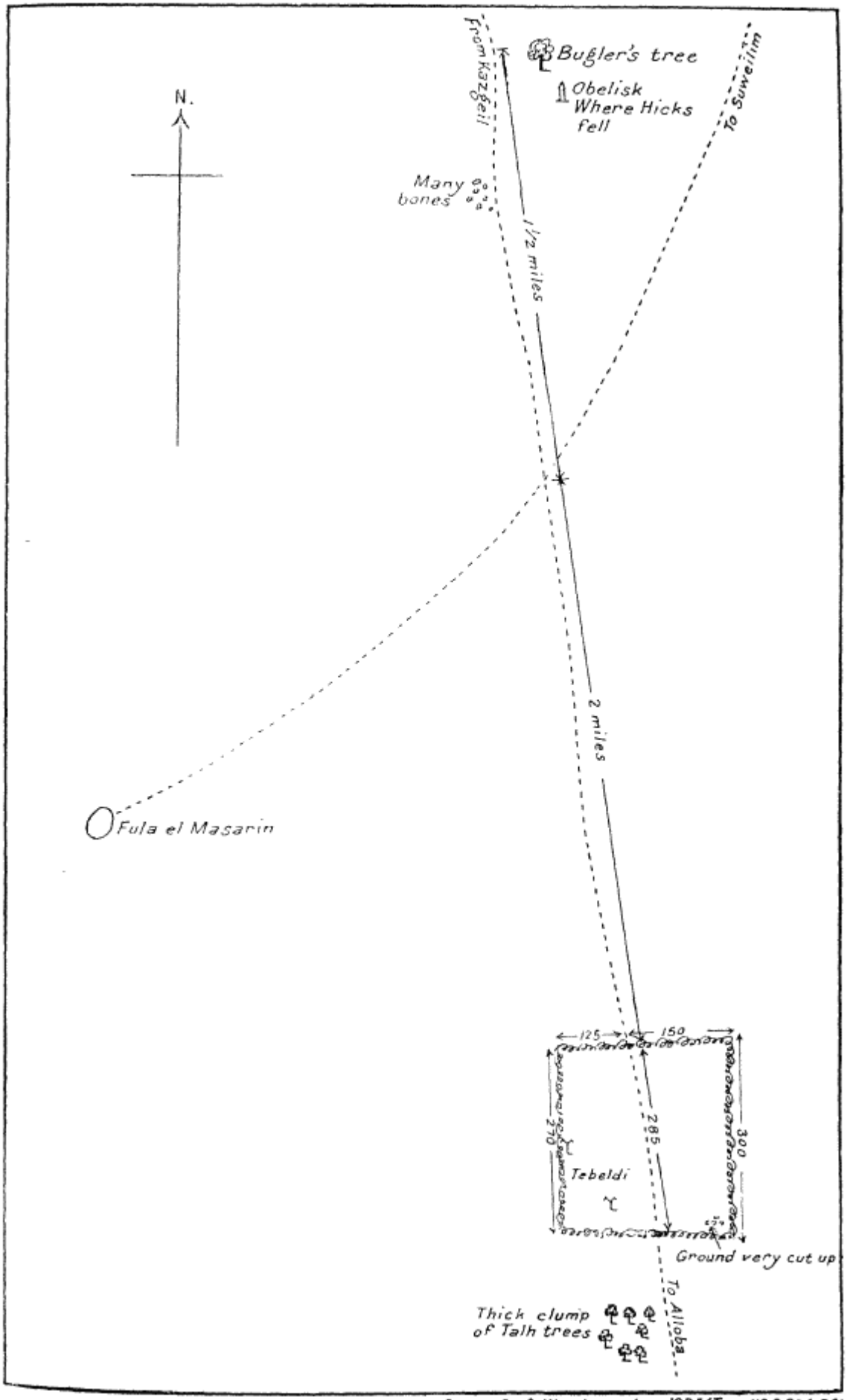
The two best accounts of the battle of Sheikan are to be found in Wingate's "Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan," and Slatin's "With Fire and Sword in the Sudan." They were compiled, the one in Cairo and the other in the Mahdi's camp, from statements of men who had fought on the Mahdi's side while the battle was still fresh in their minds. But neither of the compilers had at that time visited the battlefield, and it was therefore unavoidable that accurate topographical details could not be given.

As I have nowhere seen any notes on this battle by one who is familiar with its scene, it has seemed worth while to record some comments upon the accounts mentioned above. The best way to do this will be to summarise the two accounts first. They are to be found on pages 85 to 89 of "Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan," and pages 239 to 243 of "Fire and Sword."[1]

[1] Since writing the above I have seen an MSS. account of the battle of Sheikan taken down by Mr. C. G. Dupuis from Tuti Faraj (Shaiyib Tito), a Nubawi bugler and now ghaffir at Kebkebia rest house.

I do not think this account need be taken very seriously. It is invalidated at the start by the narrator's claim to have gone on from Sheikan to the seiges of Bara and El Obeid. Since it is an historical fact that both were taken before the battle of Sheikan was fought, Shaiyib Tito's story loses much of its point.

It may further be noted that there are important discrepancies between the account taken down verbatim by Mr. Dupuis and the account given later by Tuti in Khartoum.



Sudan Survey Dept. Khartoum - June 1936 (Topo. No. S. 534-36)

Thus Wingate : " Abdel Halim, on arrival at Rahad, at once rode off to El Obeid and personally informed the Mahdi of the strength and probable movements of the Egyptian army. On receipt of this news Mohammed Ahmed forthwith despatched all his fighting men towards Rahad to join Abdel Halim's force, but on their way they met Abdel Halim retiring from Alluba, and, having joined him, the whole force, amounting to some 40,000, encamped in the forest of Shekan, some 28 miles to the north-west of Alluba, and there awaited the advance of the Egyptian troops, while the camp followers, women and children, who had followed the Arabs from El Obeid, proceeded to Birket. . . .

" The original intention (on the part of Hicks Pasha) was to march from El Obeid via Birket, but now that the Mahdi was known to be at Birket with a large force, Hicks and Ala el Din consulted whether it would not be better to return to Rahad and march to El Obeid by the Kadgil torrent and thence to Melbeis.

" The guides were now summoned. Kona, who so far had shown that he knew the road well, advised that, instead of returning to Rahad, they should make straight for Kashgil and thence to El Obeid, taking two days' water supply with them from Alluba ; the guides, however, . . . advised that the army should be divided, and part go as Kona suggested, while the remainder should return to Rahad and advance by Melbeis. . . . Hicks Pasha strongly objected to dividing his forces, and after much discussion it was decided that Kona's proposal should be adopted. Accordingly, in the morning of Saturday, the 3rd November, the army advanced from Alluba towards Kashgil, and after a march of ten miles through dense woods, he halted and formed a zariba. Just as night began a few shots were fired by the enemy, and at once the order was given to extinguish all lights. The next morning (Sunday) the march was continued towards the forest of Sheikan, but before an hour was past, the Arabs suddenly attacked the square in rear. . . .

" The army was now halted and, according to the guides, Shekan was only two miles distant. A zariba was made, and now it was clear that the rebels were in great force all round. . . .

" In the meantime the enemy continued firing at the zariba from behind the trees. . . .

" Hicks Pasha now decided to advance, and at 10 a.m. on Monday morning, the 5th November, the troops marched out of the zariba and

formed up in three squares, the whole formation resembling a triangle. . . .

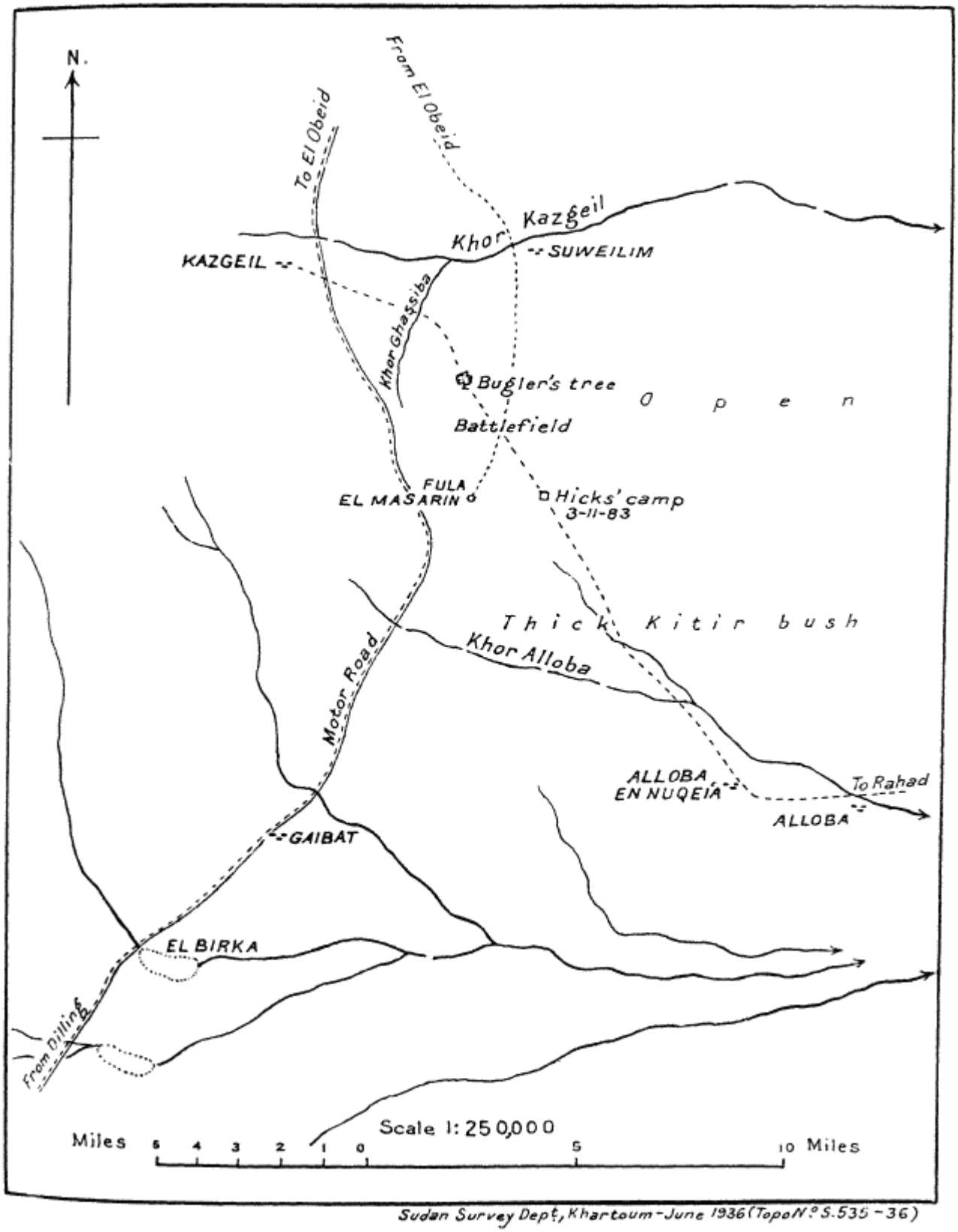
" In this formation the troops steadily advanced, and half an hour later reached a fairly open valley, interspersed here and there with bush ; while on either side were thick woods full of the enemy. . . .

" But to revert . . . . to Mohammed Ahmed. Learning from spies that Hicks had decided to advance towards Kashgil, he despatched the Emir Abu Anga with the bulk of his fighting force to Sheikan, some six miles north of Birket. (The attack made on the 4th was conducted by this Emir.) Mohammed Ahmed himself, with the remainder of his force . . . proceeded to the valley through which the troops must pass and they concealed themselves in the woods on either side, while a few of them hid in a wooded depression in the midst of the plain, which in all probability the troops would cross. . . .

" Now all was ready, and Mohammed Ahmed patiently awaited the arrival of the troops, which could already be seen advancing in the distance. He assembled his Emirs for the last final instructions and, rising from his prayer, drew his sword, and shouted three times, ' Allahu Akbar,' you need not fear, the victory is ours. . . ."

Slatin's account, condensed, is as follows : " On November 1st, he (the Mahdi) quitted El Obeid for Birket, where his followers, uniting with the force previously despatched to watch the square, now worried the tired and thirsty Egyptians incessantly. On 3rd November Abu Anga and his Black Jehadia, concealed in the thick forest and broken ground, poured a continuous fire on the square, which was forced to halt and zariba. . . . How terrible must have been the feelings of poor Hicks ! Instead of water, his wretched men received a hail of lead—yet only a mile off there was a large pool of rain water ; but none in that doomed square knew the country, and even had they known it was now too late to reach it. Abu Anga and his men, under cover of darkness, crept close up to the zariba, and all night long poured an incessant fire into this seething mass of men and animals. . . .

" The next morning (4th November), Hicks continued the advance . . . but ere he had proceeded a mile, he was attacked by at least 100,000 wild fanatics concealed among the trees. In a moment the square was broken, and a wholesale massacre took place. The European officers, with a few Turkish cavalry, alone attempted to make a stand under the


N.
From El Obeid
To El Obeid
Khor Kazgeil
KAZGEIL
SUWEILIM
Khor Ghassiba
Bugler's tree
Battlefield
O p e n
FULA
EL MASARIN
Hicks' camp
3-11-83
Thick Kitir bush
Khor Alloba
Motor Road
ALLOBA EN NUQEIA
To Rahad
ALLOBA
GAIBAT
EL BIRKA
From Dilling
Miles 5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 Miles
Scale 1: 250,000
Sudan Survey Dept, Khartoum - June 1936 (Topo N.° S.535 - 36)

wide spreading branches of a large Adansonia tree; but attacked on all sides, they were eventually killed almost to a man. . . .

" With the exception of two or three hundred who had escaped death by hiding themselves under the heaps of dead bodies, the entire force had been annihilated. . . ."

It will be noted that in the above accounts there is a difference in the date given for the battle. But there is no doubt that the final massacre took place on Monday, November 5th, 1883.

And now as to the topography.

From the accompanying sketch it will be seen that between Alluba and Kashgil, with their fertile valleys, there lies a twenty mile belt of forest. This belt is more or less flat and, with the exception of a few pools, the biggest of which is Fula el Masarin, which hold rain water for a few months, is absolutely waterless. The southern portion is covered with kitr thorn, so thick that progress even on foot is well nigh impossible. But nearer Kazgeil and round Fula el Masarin the forest is more open and this area is during the early rains the camping ground of nomad Arabs and their herds.

Across this belt runs a broad track which is to-day one of the main routes between El Rahad and El Obeid. About nine miles north-west of El Nigeia, or 12 miles from Alluba proper, the track forks, one leg going to Sheihin and the other to Kazgeil; while at this point, too, the track from Fula el Masarin comes in.

It is, of course, impossible to say exactly where the tracks went 50 years ago, and to say where, if it existed at all, was the spot known as Sheikan. To-day Sheikan is an area whose limits cannot be defined, but there was probably a village of that name once. My own view is that the point for which Hicks's guide was making was about where Sheihin is to-day. This would be the nearest water, and also on the shortest route to El Obeid.

In passing, it may not be out of place to mention that had Hicks decided to return to Rahad and take the Melbeis route, the fate of the expedition might have been different. For an old Copt has told me that he was sent by the Mahdi to collect tribute from the people between El Obeid and El Rahad on the Melbeis route, and that the people of this part were secretly praying for Hicks Pasha's success, and were prepared to help him to the best of their ability. It is not easy to believe that this

was true, knowing the belief with which the Mahdi was at this stage welcomed. But the statement is recorded for what it is worth, as adding one more to the fascinating " ifs " of history.

The site of the final battle is known without any doubt. It is about four miles south of Sheihin and 2½ miles north-north-east of Fula el Masarin. Incidentally, the statement in Wingate that Sheikan is six miles north of El Birka is wrong, since the battlefield is almost equidistant from Alluba and El Birka. But that is by the way.

There is a large tebeldi, shown in the accompanying photograph, underneath which Hicks Pasha is said to have died fighting. The tebeldi is known as " Bugler's Tree " owing to the story that Hicks sent his bugler up to the topmost branches to spy out the land. When the bugler saw nothing all round but Dervishes waiting to attack, his report was so dismal that Hicks Pasha ordered him to be shot where he was in order that the morale of his troops might not be damaged still further. It is said that the bugler's skeleton remained stuck in the branches for many years.

While it is not possible to say for certain that the final assault was at this spot, though there is no reason to doubt it, there was certainly some very heavy fighting about half a mile to the south. For here to this day the ground is covered with fragments of bone, a testimony to the awful slaughter of that day.

Three and a half miles south of the " Bugler's Tree," straddled across the track, is the remains of one of Hicks Pasha's zaribas. It is by no means obvious, but if one knows where to look, almost the whole outline of the camp can be traced. It is in the form of a rectangle, the east and west sides being slightly longer than those on the north and south. All that is visible to-day is a slight ridge which on the west side, where it is most marked, gives the impression of turned earth. I had no chance of excavating and found nothing of any interest on the ground other than some rusty bits of tin with holes in them, similar to relics of the commissariat which I have picked up as much as six miles along the track to Alluba.

This camp is the only one of which there is now any trace between Alluba and Kazgeil. Is Wingate's account right when it states that Hicks made two zaribas, one about 10 miles from Alluba, and the other an hour's march farther on, say three miles ? Slatin says that only one zariba





was made, and this is confirmed by an eye-witness whose account I shall give later. It is of little use relying on the distances and times given because these are notoriously inaccurate when given by natives, and I am myself inclined to think that the zariba described is that in which Hicks's army spent the night of November 3rd. Up to then they had not been attacked and were able to make a trench, parapet and thorn zariba unmolested. On the next night, however—the 4th—things were very different They had been exposed to a hot fire all day and it may well be that they were too demoralised and hard pressed to dig themselves in properly.

Of the valley and depression mentioned in Wingate's account, I have been unable to find a trace. The ground is almost flat, and though the trees are thicker in some parts than others, there is nothing that could be described as a valley through which the troops would have to pass. It is true that near the battlefield the ground is more open than farther south, as has been stated above, but the dividing line really comes south of the zariba. It is possible to ride in comfort through the forest here, whereas farther south riding would be impossible.

To turn to the Dervishes. The account of the Mahdi's movements given in " Mahdism " is not quite clear. He is represented as sending his whole fighting force from El Obeid towards El Rahad and then later as despatching Abu Anga with the bulk of his fighting men from Birka (?) to Sheikan. Did Mohammed Ahmed himself go to Birka ?

From such evidence as I have heard, I believe that the Mahdi left El Obeid on Friday, November 2nd, with all his fighting men, thinking that Hicks was making for El Birka as he originally intended to do. As Hicks's army only reached Alluba on the 1st, as we know from Abbas Bey's diary, the decision to march by Sheikan could have been taken at the earliest on that day, more likely on the 2nd. If, therefore, the Mahdi left El Obeid on the 2nd, he could hardly know of the change of plans. It must, of course, be admitted that since many of Hicks's guides were working for the Dervishes, they might have been told to bring the army via Sheikan where it could be more easily attacked. Still, the Mahdi could not be certain that Hicks would listen to them.

The evidence of the two eye-witnesses whose stories are given below leads me to believe that the Mahdi himself went to El Birka, while part of his force under Abu Anga heard of Hicks's change of plans while they were on the road and turned aside to Sheikan.

But as regards the preliminary movements of both sides the exact truth will never be known ; nor is this of much account to any but the exact historian.

In conclusion, I shall give the accounts of two men who claim to have fought against Hicks at Sheikan, as to what happened during the few days before November 5th.

Bela Ahmed Sirag el Nur, a Mahasi, now living at El Birka, and probably eighty years old, says :—

" I can remember the days of the old Turuk well. My father was ' Nazir ' at Abu Harar and I was born during the governorship of Mustafa Bey Shemla. On the death of my father I became ' Nazir ' of the Khut of Shalota or Mori. My headquarters were at Abu Harar. Those were the days. I got no pay, but I took what I wanted. Those were the days when a Mahasi like myself did not have to work. The work was done by the blacks whom God created to be slaves. When the Mahdi came I joined him. I took part in the great assault on El Obeid and got inside the parapet, though the Turks, standing on top, eventually drove us back. We retired to Kaba and the Mahdi sent for more rifles. Eventually El Obeid fell, and I stayed on there with the Mahdi.

" News came that Hicks Pasha's army was coming. We were kept well supplied with news. The army was at Rahad. It had reached Alluba. It was on the way to El Birka.

" When he heard this the Mahdi beat his war drum and led us out of El Obeid. He went himself to El Birka.

" I had not reached El Birka and was near Gaibat, just as the sun was setting, when horsemen came riding up with the news that Hicks's army had turned north from El Nigeia. So we wheeled to the east and marched through the forest until we came upon the enemy's camp fires winking at us through the trees. So we lay down where we were, close to the enemy's camp, and in the morning the Mahdi joined us. We drank from Masarin Fula which contained a little water.

" We Dervishes were eager to attack at once, but the Mahdi restrained us. So we contented ourselves with skirmishing and firing our rifles at the Turuk. So fierce was the fire that all the bark was stripped from the trees and they gleamed white as if washed with soap.

" Next morning, very early, the Mahdi called to him the Emir Sadik el Feki and told him to lead the attack, for, he said, ' Allah had stolen the

bolts from the Turuk's machine guns.' It was very hot, I remember, that day.

" We attacked and the enemy was overwhelmed."

The account of Mek el Tahir Toyan el Dud, hereditary Mek of the Tumam, now living at Kazgeil. About sixty-five years old :—

" On Friday evening, the last day of the month, I left El Obeid with the Mahdi's host for El Birka. We marched by Fertangul and reached Kazgeil in the morning. This was my home and I turned aside to provision myself. The Madhi went on to El Birka.

" Meanwhile, my brother had ridden off towards Alluba, and on the Saturday he brought word that Hicks's army was coming from Nigeia. So instead of going on to El Birka we made for Fula el Masarin, so called from a fight that took place there once upon a time, when the entrails of the slain were picked out by vultures. At the fula we met the Mahdi.

" He would not let us attack the enemy that day. They were encamped not far from the ' Bugler's Tree,' having spent Saturday night there. Friday night had been spent on the road within a shallow trench (geiger).

" As I say, we were not allowed to attack, but we pressed the enemy hard and the trees were made white with bullets. So that Sunday was spent, both sides firing as much as they could.

" It was early on Monday morning when Hicks Pasha moved. Then at last the Mahdi attacked and the army of Hicks was overwhelmed. Hicks Pasha himself died fighting bravely by the Tebeldi tree and I myself was there to see it. The slaughter was terrible and to this day you can see the bones of those that lay in heaps."

AN EXTINCT DARFUR HOE.

By A. J. Arkell.

(PLATE XX).

DURING researches into the medieval history of Darfur, which led me to enquire about as many old sites in the province as possible, I noticed that a type of hoe (Plate XX, A 1) which suddenly seems to make its appearance in a perfected form at Uri in Northern Darfur, which I believe was founded as the headquarters of the Darfur representative of the Sultan of Kanem in the thirteenth century A.D., underwent in the course of the subsequent centuries a progressive degeneration, until from it were evolved the two forms of hoe commonly used in Darfur to-day for weeding crops growing in sandy soil (Plate XX, A 2 and A 3), the original form having practically, if not quite, died out.

The hoe figured as A 1 was found hidden in a stone wall in the ruined town of Uri, with another very heavy hoe of the *gilmoi* type. It has an overall length of 11½ inches, of which eight inches consists of the slightly curved iron neck which carries a socket for the wooden handle. This hoe must have been used, as its descendants are in Darfur to-day, by the cultivator pushing it in front of him. Being sharp it removes light weeds from sandy soil most efficiently.

An almost identical specimen, though more roughly made, was also found in the ruins at Uri (Plate XX, B 4). Another hoe (Plate XX, B 5) of the same type, but even more roughly made still, was brought to me by the Shartai of Dar Furnung, having been found at Fuku Apa near Ain Siro, seven or eight miles west of Uri in the same range of hills.

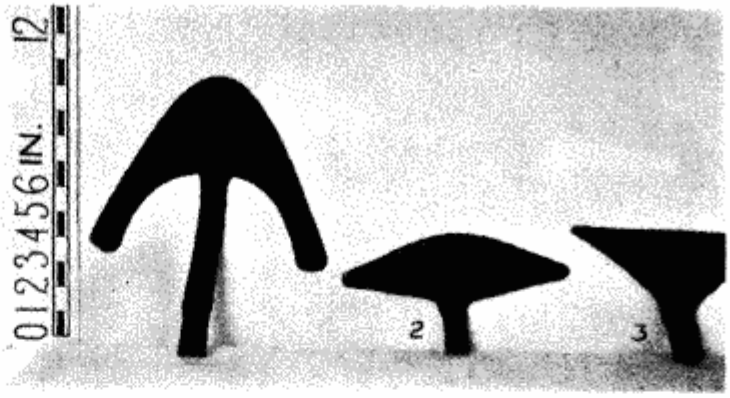
A similar hoe is said to have been found in 1933 in the ruins which are attributed by tradition to Shau Dorshid at Māsa in the Wāna Hills north-west of El Fasher. It had, however, unfortunately been melted down before I heard of it.

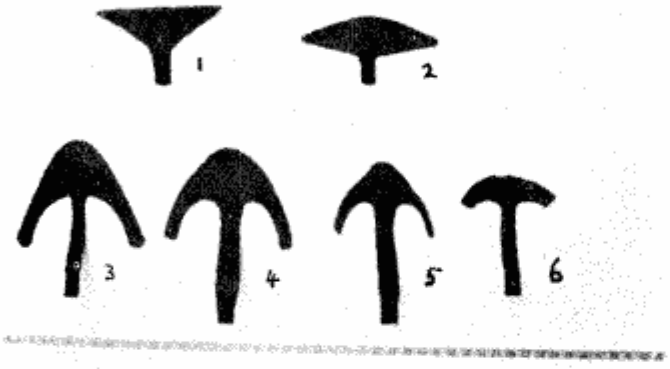
The next example (Plate XX, B 6) was found in the stone ruins of a small fortified settlement on the stony plateau known as Kerkera on the Wadi Harra, between J. Teiga and J. Meidob (map reference: 15° 27′ N., 26° 5′ E.). These ruins are said by Meidob tradition to have been the residence of the sultan of the people who ruled J. Meidob before the Furs, and who built the large stone town at Malha discovered by Squadron Leader A. P. Ritchie.

A—1. Hoe found at Uri.

2. Typical modern Darfur hoe (Gerai) made by Tama at El Fasher.

3. Typical modern Darfur hoe (Shegāga) made by Tama at El Fasher.





B—1. Same as A3.

2. ,, A2.

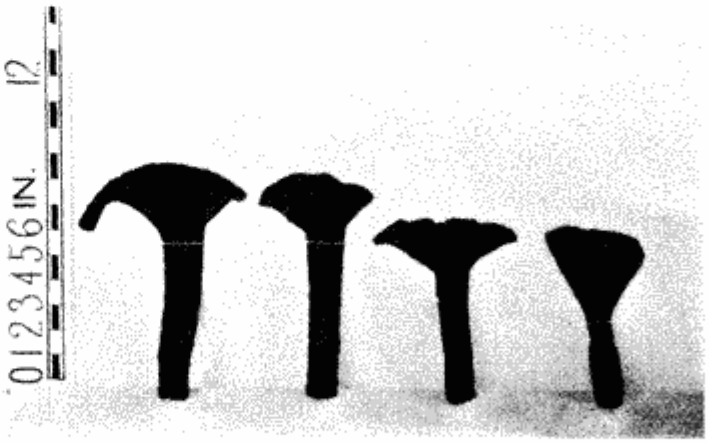
3. ,, A1.

4. Found at Uri.

5. Found at Fuku Apa near Ain Siro, N. Darfur.

6. Found in ruins on Kerkera, east of J. Eisa, N. Darfur.

C—Four so-called Tora hoes found at J. Kadunga, near Minawashi, S. Darfur.





D—1. Worn Gerai from Utash, N. Darfur.

2. Worn Gerai from Malumm, S. Darfur.

3. Shegāga made by Berti Kowátto, of Mellit.

4. Shegāga made by Berti Warenga, of Simiat.

5. Gerai made by Aulad Mana, of Fata Burno.

6. Shegāga made by Aulad Mana, of Fata Burno.

7. Hoe made by Maba at Abeshe.

This hoe from Kerkera, though worn and roughly made and with less prolonged ears, still preserves in its long iron neck the general characteristics of the Uri hoe.

In Plate XX, C are shown an interesting group of four hoes, which were found buried together in the ground in a cultivation at the foot of J. Kadunga, south-west of Minawashi, which is on the road from El Fasher to Nyala, the district headquarters of Southern Darfur.

The place where they were found is said to be an old site with the usual stone hut circles, and the hoes were attributed by the man who found them and brought them to me, to the Tōra, the general name in the Jebel Marra area for the light-coloured northerners from whom sprang the historical dynasty of the Fur sultans.

These four hoes are exceptionally heavy, and it will be noticed that, while all the hoes of this type so far described are made from one piece of iron, the join between the head and the long neck in the first of these three hoes is obvious. In the first the ear is still retained in almost complete entirety (the right-hand ear was complete when found, but was unfortunately broken off by the man who found the hoes). The second example has such a long neck that I assume that it was originally similar to the first, except that it has been more worn with use. How iron hoes became worn down is shown by examples D 1 and D 2, which are modern hoes that were originally of the same type as A 2 before use. In time, ears, especially if sparingly made, would tend to wear through and drop off

The third example still retains a suspicion of ear, and the neck, although it has undergone some shortening, is still long. The fourth example seems never to have had ears, the head has been lengthened and largely merged into the neck, and we seem thus to have in these four hoes, and especially in the fourth example, the missing link between I A and the modern Darfur hoe known as *shegāga*, of which various examples are illustrated as D 3, D 4, D 6, and A 3=B 1.

The *Shegāga* and the *Gerai* (for examples see A 2=B 2 and D 5) are the hoes now commonly used all over Darfur for weeding crops in sandy ground. They have wooden handles $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long fitted into their short-necked sockets, and are pushed in front of the cultivator. Generically they are known as *hashāsha*.[1] When it is required to clear the grass from a piece of sandy ground for the cultivation of bulrush millet (*dukhn*),

[1] *Hashāsha*: from Sudan Arabic *hish*=to weed in this fashion.

the cultivator first breaks up the surface of the ground with long cuts made by pushing the *shegāga*[1] straight in front of him, and then cuts the roots of the grass by using the *gerai*[2] in a similar manner on the strips of ground between the original cuts made by the *shegāga*. The *shegāga* is the stronger, and usually has a much narrower blade than the *gerai*, though both these hoes are made by the smith according to his customer's taste, which will depend on the strength of the grass and other weeds with which he has to deal. The *gerai* retains the breadth of the original eared hoe, which is a definite disadvantage, when weeds are thick, unless the hoe is well made and has a good edge. The general impression given by the series of hoes under discussion is one of progressively degenerating skill in iron working : and it appears probable that failure to make the original hoe satisfactorily is the chief reason for the evolution of the two separate types of hoe which are now required to cope with the work originally done with one.

I have endeavoured to discover whether the eared hoe (A 1) is in use anywhere to-day. I have been told that it was once used by the Kora Kwa, the Fur of Jebel Si, when they used to cultivate the sandy ground to the east of Jebel Si, but since they have been confined to their hills they have given up the use of this hoe, and I have been unable to obtain a specimen.

A Kel Geres Tuareg informed me that he has seen this hoe in use in Bornu, and in reply to an enquiry I sent with a copy of the photograph in Plate XX, B, the Resident of Bornu very kindly sent me the following note by Mr. A. A. Cullen, the District Officer in charge of the Bornu Division. " Hoes Nos. 3 and 4 are said to be used occasionally in Fune District (Bornu) for hoeing potatoes, where they were introduced by Hausa immigrants. They do not appear to be known elsewhere in Bornu. Hoe No. 6 is reported to be used occasionally by the Manga of the north-western Bornu Districts, and of French territory towards Zinder. A government messenger, a Kari-kari, states he has himself seen the hoes referred to in the places mentioned, but I personally should not be inclined to place too much reliance on his statements since the hoes do not appear to me to be very easily identifiable from the photographs."

[1] *Shegāga :* from Arabic *shigg*=to cut or split.

[2] *Gerai :* from Arabic *gery*=to run.

A somewhat similar type of hoe is described in *Man*, 1931, 46, as used in Nigeria by Arawa, Zabermawa and Kurfawa in Argungu emirate, and also in Daura and Kazaure emirates, and also to the north of Katsina. It is called the *Hauya Tsaye*.

In Plate XX, D 7, is shown a hoe of the same general type which I obtained in El Fasher, but is said to have been made by Māba at Abeshe in Wadai.

The hoe that was found by Mr. Penn in the ruins of Zankor in Western Kordofan (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIV, Plate VIII, f. and p. 182) is undoubtedly of this same type. Mr. Penn remarks that "it differs from the modern Sudanese hoe, being slightly longer in the neck." Judging from the photograph the Zankor hoe would appear to be very similar to my B 6.

There is also a hoe in the Khartoum museum very similar to my C 1 which is said to be an Anag hoe from Kordofan.

There is one example of this type of hoe in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, which is labelled "White Nile to Central Africa." Nothing else is known about it except that it formed part of the original Pitt Rivers collection. It is roughly made. Its maximum length is eight inches and its maximum width almost as much. The neck is most straight instead of bent, and shorter in proportion than in the specimens from Uri. The socket is larger and it is fitted on to a stout cane shaft, of which the other end is fitted with a heavy iron spud.

Enquiries made by me at El Obeid confirm that this type of hoe is not known to the smiths there. If it does occur anywhere else to-day in the Sudan or elsewhere, I hope that it will be reported, for it is of considerable historical interest. From the evidence recorded above, the most probable hypothesis would appear to be that it was introduced into Darfur from Kanem about the thirteenth century. If this surmise is correct, its occurrence at Zankor may be of importance, as indicating the possibility that that site was not as has hitherto been thought an outpost of the Kingdom of Nubia, or a Meroitic outpost from Dongola,[1] but rather a post of the empire of Kanem, sited so as to control the trade route with Egypt *via* the Wadi Melik and Dongola, as Uri in Northern Darfur must have controlled the trade route to Egypt *via* the Derib el Arba'in. It is also I think significant that Zankor is said locally to have been built by

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIV, p. 180.

the Anag or Abu Um Goraan, for I suspect that the land of the Anag is the Berber name for the eastern part of the empire of Kanem. Further, none of the pottery which was found at Zankor appears to me to differ in general type from that in use in Darfur since medieval times.[1]

[1] In his " Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan," p. 91, Sir Harold MacMichael has recorded the discovery at Jebel Haraza in Northern Darfur of hoards of hoes and arrowheads known as *Hadīd Um Henāna*. It would be interesting to know if the hoes were of the type here discussed, as is, I imagine, likely. Sir Harold suggested a possible connection between the name *Henāna* and that of the *Beni Hilal*; and I would go further and suggest that the original form of this name was *ilāla* or *Kilāla*, and that with the increasing spread of Islam, and the stress it lays on the importance of descent from the aristocrats of Arabia, the original Berber lords of the land, once known as *Kilāla*, in order to keep up their prestige sometimes claimed to be *Kināna* and sometimes *Hilāla*, with a result that the hybrid *Henāna* was also used by the ignorant.

Cp. Palmer, " Sudanese Memoirs," Vol. I, p. 2. " The name Bulala is connected with the name Kilalan (*Kiyi-Ilala*) in Kanembu meaning ' exalted Kiyi.' . . . In Bornu they are often called ' *Kayi Bulala*.' The name *Kilāli* still survives in the Sudan to describe an exceptionally fine bull,' *tōr kilāli*.' "

See too MacMichael, " A History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I, p. 205.

THE DOUBLE SPIRAL AMULET.

By A. J. Arkell.

(PLATE XXI).

THE discovery of two brass wire amulets, one of which is represented life-size in Plate XXI, Fig. A 1, and part of one larger iron amulet of the same design, that must have been about three by two inches in size when complete, in rain-eroded graves near the ruined town of Uri, in Northern Darfur,[1] where, judging from their association with skulls and other beads, I assume that they were worn by women, and either in the hair or round the neck, led me to try to find out all I could about an amulet of such a striking pattern.

In Darfur it is not worn to-day by any of the indigenous peoples. It is, however, worn occasionally by women of the Aulad Suliman, Magharba, Urfilla, Bedūr and other "Arab Kanem" who form part of the "Fezzan" community at El Fasher,[2] and who all came from Tripoli via Kanem a generation or two ago. By these people it is called indiscriminately *fūsa*, *khūsa*, or *kūsa*, which (?) means "metal charm." It is worn by the women of these tribes on the threads which form a long artificial lock, which hangs over the shoulder in front and inside the outer garment ; along with it a silver weight called the *kheiyat* is also worn on these threads in order to keep the lock down. The "Arab Kanem" look on this charm as connected with fertility or birth, or more generally as a protection against the evil eye. It may be put on small male infants so that the evil eye may not harm them. It is worn by both married and unmarried women : the married women say that it will make them fruitful or preserve the children they already have, and unmarried women say that it will preserve their beauty from the evil eye. Women are also said to drink as a medicine the water in which it has been standing, and also to hang it on a cord over their children's stomachs as a cure for internal pains.

In Egypt it is known and its use is said to be widespread. On my way through Egypt in 1935, I took the examples illustrated as A1 and A2 to the Muski at Cairo to see if the amulet was known there. I soon found

[1] A description of this site will shortly appear in *Sudan Notes and Records*. I believe that the town was probably founded in the thirteenth century A.D.

[2] Plate 1, Fig. A 2, is an example obtained at El Fasher from a woman of the Aulad Suliman.

a man who was selling at one piastre each the small examples which are shown life-size on Pl. XXI, Fig. B. They are made of fine brass wire, and known as *hazia* حزية = "protective charm." They are tied over the navels of new-born infants who appear to be ailing in any way. The form B1 is used on boys, and B2 on girls.

In an article entitled "An Ancient Egyptian Symbol as a Modern Egyptian Amulet," in the recently published "Volume Offert à Jean Capart," pp. 91ff, Miss Blackman illustrates several examples of this charm, which are similar to my Figs. A1 and A2. She says that in Egypt it is nearly always associated with pre-natal or post-natal life, being frequently worn by pregnant women and by children from birth up to about the age of seven. She says that its form varies slightly for women, boys and girls, the charm made for use by boys being larger and having more coils than that for girls. She mentions the small forms worn by infants after birth, but does not describe the two varieties which were the only ones of which I heard in Cairo.

The following account of the distribution of this charm in Africa and elsewhere[1] is no doubt incomplete, and it is to be hoped that anyone who knows of any other occurrences will not fail to report them.

In Plate 47, in Vol. II of Mr. Meek's "Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria," an elder of the Ndoro is shown wearing a large example round his loins. There is no description in the book, but Mr. Meek writes that he thinks that it was purely ornamental and made of bronze. Mr. Braunholtz informs me that there is in the British Museum a specimen almost identical with that from the Ndoro, but of iron, which was said by D. MacBride (1930) to have been worn by men as a pubic ornament among the Mumuye and Yakoko tribes, Yola Province, Nigeria, although the original donor (Fremantle) said it was a woman's ornament. Enquiries from men on the spot in Nigeria have so far failed to elicit any additional information.

A similar white-metal ear ornament is worn by the Batak women of Sumatra, and is figured in the British Museum Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections, 2nd edition, p. 89, Fig. 75.

Mr. Braunholtz also has a photograph which he took in 1929 of a Jalno man in Nyanza Province, Kenya, wearing an ornament of the same

[1] In compiling which I gratefully acknowledge the help of Mr. C. K. Meek, late Government Anthropologist in Nigeria, and Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, of the Ethnological Department of the British Museum.



1 2

DOUBLE SPIRAL AMULETS.

A— 1. Found in a rain-eroded grave at Uri, in Northern Darfur.

2. Worn by an Aulad Suliman woman at El Fasher.

(LIFE-SIZE)



2 1

B—On sale in Cairo as charms for strengthening weakly new-born babies — 1 for boys and 2 for girls.

(LIFE-SIZE)

type in his right ear and informs me that he hears that it is common as an ear pendant among the Jalno.

Mrs. Culwick of Tanganyika has described[1] the occurrence of this ornament in a Tanganyika tribe, where it is worn as an ear ornament by women only.

Outside Africa the only occurrence of which I am aware is in the Naga Hills, Assam,[2] where a form similar to that of the small male *hazia* (Fig. B1), except that the central loop of wire, which is bent back is both actually longer and longer in proportion to the rest of the ornament, is worn by Tukomi Sangtamas and the naked Rengmas. It is worn in the ear, but it is not stated whether by men or women.

I am not convinced that Dr. Blackman is quite on the correct track when he suggests that this amulet is a survival of the ancient emblem  which forms in the hieroglyphics of Ancient Egypt the determinative for " vulva " or " cow," and is at present explained as the bicornuate uterus of a heifer.[3] Dr. Blackman's argument is based on the fact that this hieroglyph frequently occurs on the head of the birth goddess Meshkenit whose name was the name of the confinement chair and so means the place of birth.[4]

Dr. Blackman will probably be interested to hear that at El Fasher in Darfur, for seven days after a woman has given birth, it is usual for her to wear an iron kohl pin with a double spiral head in her hair whenever she leaves her house.[5] The shape of the pin is an even closer parallel to the hieroglyph  than that of the amulet under discussion, and the fact that it is worn on the head by the woman who has just given birth is extremely curious. Its virtue is now thought to lie in the iron of which the pin is made and which keeps away the jinns, but the shape of this pin is probably also important. Iron tweezers are occasionally worn instead : but they have a connection with kohl pins in that they are also

[1] *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, October, 1936, No. 2, p. 64.

[2] There are two specimens of this ornament in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, which were presented by M. J. H. Hutton in 1919.

[3] A. H. Gardiner, " Egyptian Grammar," p. 457.

[4] As is of course the vulva.—A.J.A.

[5] I have described these pins in a note entitled " Kohl pins from Kordofan, Darfur and Lake Chad," in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIX, Part I, p. 150. Their shape is similar to that of pins from Tepe Hissar at the south-east end of the Caspian, which appear, according to Prof. V. G. Childe in " Antiquity," Vol. IX, p. 368, possibly to have travelled thence to prehistoric Anatolia.

toilet articles; and if the virtue lay solely in the iron, why should not iron in any form be worn? It is not unlikely that the iron explanation is a later one, and that it is the design of the pin which gave it its original value as charm.

There is no doubt that the double spiral is a very old magic symbol; and it is probable that we have the same idea underlying both the amulets in question and the pins with double spiral heads. The double spiral of the same form as my Fig. A occurs at Troy (M.M.I.).[1]

It also occurs in copper in levels Hissar II and Hissar III at Damghan at the south-east end of the Caspian.[2] In the Hissar III level it occurs together with a kohl pin of the type described.[3] Schmidt provisionally attributes the Hissar II level to foreign invaders who may have come from Turkestan at a date between 2500 and 2000 B.C.: and Hissar III to 2000–1500 B.C.

The other form of double spiral, as in my Fig. B2, is possibly even older. It is recorded by Sir Flinders Petrie from Azilian (*c.* 9000 B.C.) and Early Minoan III (*c.* 3000 B.C.) sources. It is therefore extremely interesting to find it surviving in Cairo to-day, and there definitely associated with the female sex.

In prehistoric times the simple spiral must have been regarded as possessing magic virtue, owing to its appearing to be a line without end; and so by association of ideas, since like produces like, it must have been hoped that the line without end would confer life without end.

In course of time, attempts would be made to improve the simple spiral. The most natural way would be to double the spiral. Form B2 is a more natural way of doubling the spiral than form A1. In A1 a loop is introduced in the centre between the two spirals. It is here that we appear to have the first explicit association with birth and the organs of sex. The charm may now, besides embodying the idea of endlessness and so preservation of life, be looked on as a representative of the organs of either sex. The hieroglyph  is a determinative of definitely female

[1] Childe, "Dawn of European Civilisation," p. 29, quoted by Flinders Petrie in "Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World."

[2] See "The Tepe Hissar Exacavations, 1931," by Schmidt, in Vol. 23 of the "Journal of the University Museum, Philadelphia," Plate CV. C. H 6 and Plate CXXI. B. H 618. for drawing my attention to which I have to thank Mr. D. B. Harden, the Assistant Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, Plate CXXI. B. H .

nature[1]: and if there is a connection between it and the double spiral amulet, the latter must have been at one time looked on as representing the female sex; yet in form Br, as used by male infants in modern Egypt, it is bent so as unmistakably to suggest male organs. It is probably so thought of by those Nigerian tribes who wear it as a man's pubic ornament, and to whom it probably came from North Africa through the Berbers, who founded the empires of Bornu and Kanem, with which the tribes of Adamawa must have been in cultural contact.[2]

In East Africa, too, an origin as fertility charm of phallic nature would fit in with such facts as are at present known. There it seems to occur purely as an ear ornament, and therefore must have a different immediate distribution, very probably coming thither from Indonesia as Mrs. Culwick suggests.[3] But I have no doubt that further back all these amulets have a common source, which would appear to have been somewhere in Asia.

[1] I do not see why this heiroglyph need be considered to represent the uterus of a heifer, and why the simpler explanation that it represents its determinative value, the vulva, should not be the correct one. Is it possible that in origin it was a pin with a double spiral head? Assuming that this type of pin was inspired by the double spiral amulet, it would naturally tend to replace that amulet, since in addition to its every-day use it could function as an amulet as well. As a hieroglyph it can also be drawn more quickly.

[2] At Uri it may have come from Tripoli or Egypt, though I am inclined to think that it came from Tripoli *via* Kanem.

[3] See her article in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*. I was told at El Farher by one informant that the double spiral amulet is worn in each ear by Goraan women of Mao and the Bahr el Ghazal which runs into Lake Chad, but I do not know whether this information is reliable. If it is correct, it will further complicate the problem, for it will mean that not all ear ornaments of this form are connected with the east coast.

THE NON-DINKA PEOPLES OF THE AMADI AND RUMBEK DISTRICTS.

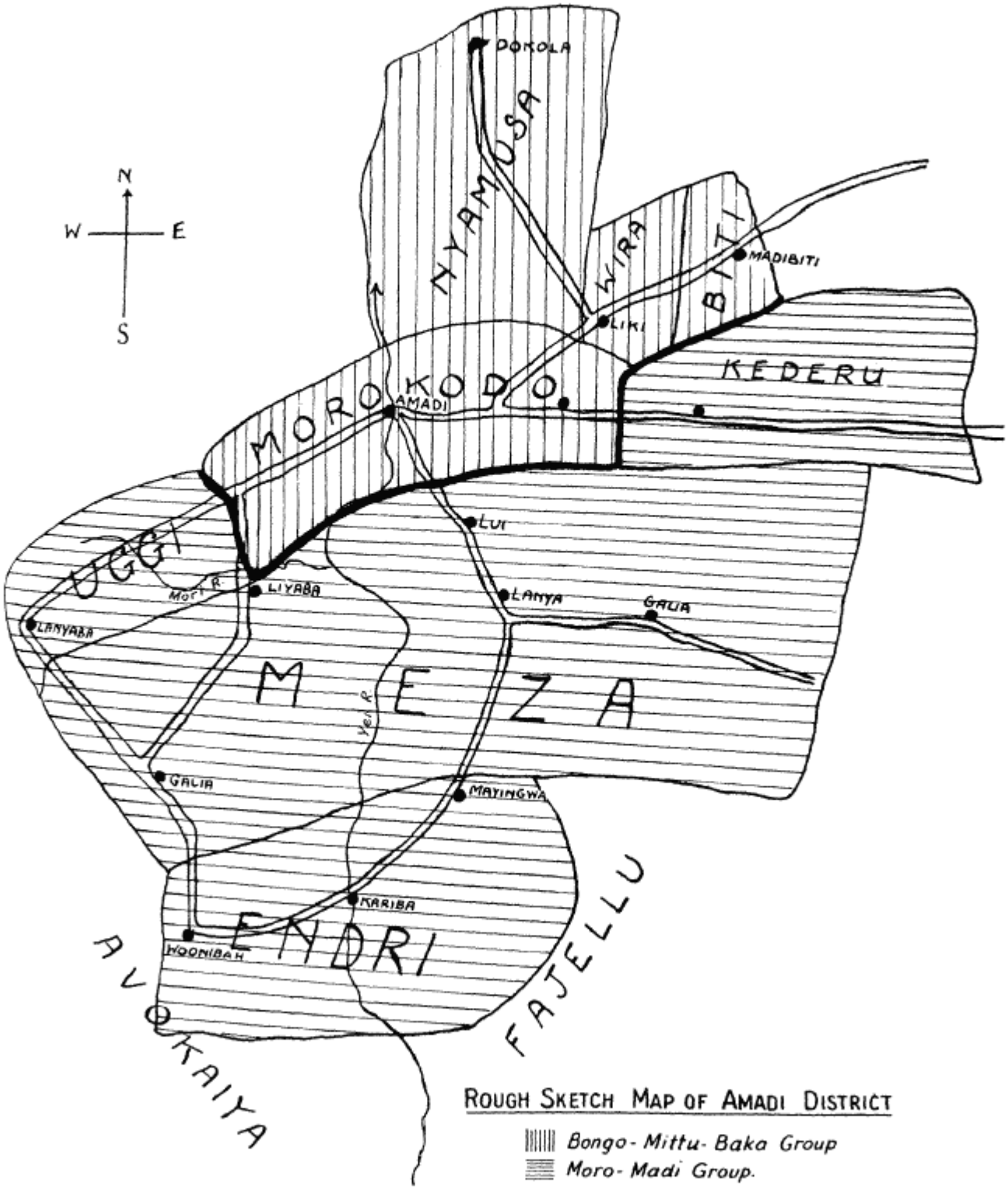
By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

(PLATES XXII and XXIII).

THESE notes were compiled on my way to and from Zandeland between the years 1927 and 1930. They are supplemented by information supplied by early travellers. Although the terms "Moro" and "Jur" have long been known to refer to territorial rather than to linguistic units, confusion persists. The extension of language-groups, languages and dialects has not been clearly determined. Even now very little indeed is known about the culture of any of the peoples of Amadi and Rumbek districts.

I attempted a simple ethnographic survey to determine some physical characters and the linguistic affinities of the peoples through whose country I travelled. The information I recorded about their customs will be published elsewhere. I spent about five weeks in Amadi district in 1927, trekking southwards from Amadi to Woonibah and then back to Amadi by a more westerly route. Among the Morokodo, Nyamusa, Biti and Wira peoples of Amadi district I spent only a few hours on the various occasions when I passed through their country by car. In 1929 I trekked from Tonj to Rumbek and then southwards to the neighbourhood of Toinya, where I spent rather under a fortnight gathering information about the non-Dinka tribes of Rumbek district. In Rumbek district I used Zande, and in Amadi district Arabic, as languages of communication. As many of the people of Rumbek district speak Zande, an interpreter was not required. All my work in Amadi district was done through an interpreter.

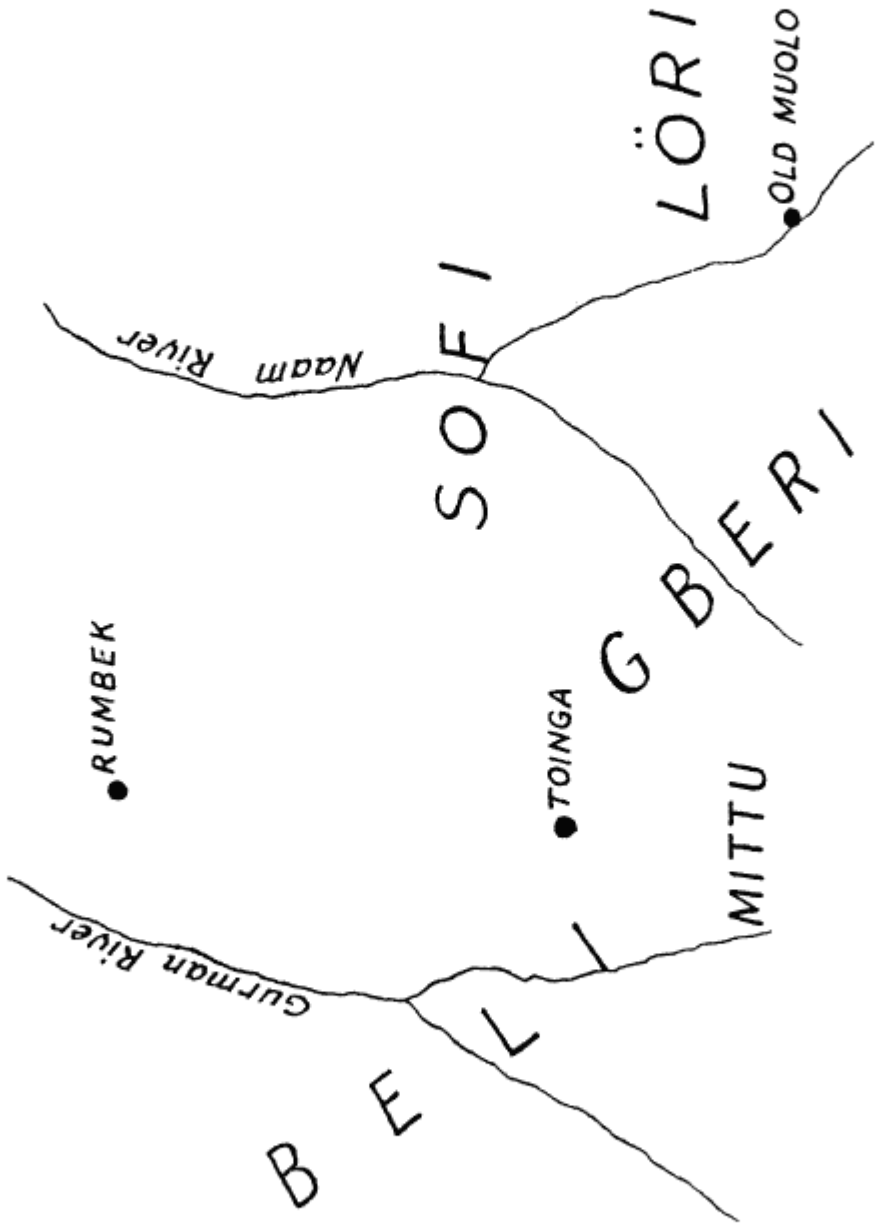
AMADI DISTRICT.—Use of the term "Moro" to describe all the peoples in the valley of the Yei in Amadi district obscures their ethnological divisions. The peoples living around Amadi Post are known as Morokodo (called Madi by peoples to the north of them), though they do not call themselves by this name. To the north of Morokodo live the Nyamusa (Emin calls them Bufi) and to the north-east of the Morokodo live two small peoples, the Wira and the Biti. The Wira language seems to be akin to that of the Nyamusa and the Biti language to that of the



ROUGH SKETCH MAP OF AMADI DISTRICT

Bongo-Mittu-Baka Group

Moro-Madi Group.


LÖRI
OLD MUOLO
Naam River
SOFI
GBERI
RUMBEK
TOINGA
MITTU
Gurman River
BELI

Morokodo. These four peoples speak languages belonging to the Bongo-Mittu-Baka group of languages. As far as I know, all four are mutually unintelligible, though many persons speak two or more languages. Most Wira and Biti are able to speak the language of the other. Probably these four peoples do not number more than five thousand souls. To none of them do I apply the term " Moro."

To the east of the Morokodo live the Kederu and to the south of the Morokodo live the Meza. To the south of the Meza live the Endri and to the west of the Meza live the Uggi. These four peoples speak dialects of the Moro-Madi group of languages. The dialects are slight variations. Probably these four peoples do not number more than fifteen thousand souls. I describe them collectively as " Moro."

RUMBEK DISTRICT.—All the non-Dinka peoples of Rumbek district have been known since the first days of European exploration as " Jur." Since a member of the Shilluk-speaking group of peoples, the Luo, was also called " Jur " by travellers, misunderstanding has frequently resulted. " Jur " is a word used by Dinka and Nuer to describe those of their neighbours who are without cattle. Early travellers were well aware that they were describing quite different peoples with unrelated languages by the same term and they tried to avoid confusion by emphasising the fact. Nevertheless confusion has not subsequently been avoided.

All non-Dinka peoples of the Rumbek district belong to the same linguistic group. It is not always easy to know whether a language spoken by one people is intelligible to other peoples, but from what the natives themselves say and from the evidence of vocabularies it would appear that there are at least three distinct languages in Rumbek district.

1. (*a*) Beli (the largest of these units). (*b*) Sofi who speak a dialect of Beli.

2. (*a*) Gberi. (*b*) Mittu who speak a dialect of Gberi. (They have almost disappeared. I only discovered a few families mixed with Mundu, Babukur, and Morokodo fragments. The Mittu call themselves Wetu.) This language seems to be akin to those of the Morokodo and Biti.

3. Löri. This language seems to be akin to that of Nyamusa and Wira.

The approximate position of these tribes is shown on the accompanying sketch-map. Their languages belong to the same group as those of

the Bongo in Tonj district and the Baka in Meridi district. Bongo and Baka are very similar in vocabulary. There are other peoples speaking languages of this group in Meridi district (Morowadi, etc.), but I know nothing about them.

NOTE ON VOCABULARIES.

The vocabularies of the peoples of Rumbek district have not been recorded previously as far as I know. The same applies to the languages of the same group in Amadi district.[1] Vocabularies of Bongo and Baka have previously been recorded, but those recorded by myself are included for comparative purposes. I have not given vocabularies of the Moro dialects as they can be found elsewhere.

NOTE ON MEASUREMENTS.

The Kederu were measured at Amadi, the Meza at Lanya and Galia, the Endri at Böröriba and Kariba. Beli, Mittu and Gberi and Sopi were all measured in the vicinity of Toinya. The Nyamusa and Morokodo were measured at Amadi and the Baka at Meridi. I have recorded Bongo measurements elsewhere.[2]

[1] Mr. G. O. Whitehead has called my attention to a paper by R. W. Felkin, "Notes on the Madi or Moro Tribes of Central Africa," Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Session 1883–4, No. 115, pp. 303–351. Here a vocabulary of "Moro" is given. It would seem in fact to be a Morokodo vocabulary, though the location he gives to the tribe could not well be that occupied by the Morokodo.

[2] "The Bongo," *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1929.

English	*Bongo*	*Mittu*	*Baka*	*Beli*	*Gberi*	*Lõri*	*Sopi*	*Nyamusa*	*Morokodo*	*Biti*	*Wira*
Arrows	kire	kere	keri	gu	keri	kõm	gu	kõmi	yetu	—	—
Axe	fira	logo	gongo	gunga	lõgo	gurunga	pera	kõnga	lõgo	gurungara	gurungara
Animal	banga	uda	banga	da	oda	ida	kariya	—	ida	—	—
Bone	kelengba	ngba	—	kelengba	ngba	kelengba	kelengba	—	kelengwa	—	—
Breast	maiya	umba	—	mba	mba	mba	mba	—	umba	ba	—
Buffalo	kobi	kobi	kobi	kobi	kobi	kobi	kubi	kobi	kobi	—	—
Bamboo	mbirede	yongõ	—	pi	yõngo	yõngo	pi	—	yõngo	—	—
Blood	terama	yama	—	ngumõ	yama	roma	guma	—	yama	—	—
Chief	nyeri	yeri	miri	ngeri	yeri	nyeri	ngeri	nyeri	yeri	nyere	nyeri
Crocodile	ngandja	yara	anya	timara	yara	timara	timara	tomara	temara	tamara	tumara
Dog	bihi	wisi	ishi	bii	wiki	bii	bisi	gbi	wihi	biri	biri
Drum	kibi	kodi	—	koindjo	kodi	leri	koindjo	—	kudi	—	—
Egg	bo	kele	bu	bo	kele(ru)	bo	bo	bu	kele	bo	bo
Eyes	komo	kõmo	kõmo	kõ	kõmo(vo)	kõmo	kõmo	kõmo	kõmo	komo(re)	komo(ro)
Ear	mbiligi	mbi(ma)	mbeli	mbeli	mbi(vo)	—	mbeli	mbili	mbeli	mbili	mbendri
Elephant	kedi	kedi	kidi	kidi	kedi	kidi	kidi	kedi	kedi	kedri	kedri
Four	he'u	uhõ	esa	hõ	ohõ	suõ	sõ	suõ	suõ	sua	suõ
Five	mui	mui	inyi	mui	mui	mui	mui	mui	mui	mui	mui
Fish	kingi	kenze	kenzi	ngehe	kenze	kenzi	ngesi	kengi	kenzi	kenzer(e)	kenzer(e)
Fire	podu	wadu	fodu	pado	wado	pado	pado	padu	wadu	padru	padru
God	loma	weri	loma	metoro	mimiri	mitõro	setoro	muli	muli	—	—
Grindstone	tutu	etu	toto	tõto	eto	tõto	tõto	—	etu	—	—
Grass	ndoma	loma	su	ndoma	loma	mõli	ndoma	mõli	loma	ndomar(a)	mol(n)dre
Granary	goloto	lõbi	gbagba	kigbo	lõbi	—	kobo	mota	lõbi	matra	matra
Grave	dodo	dokufu	bi	manga	dakango	—	dõzo	dõlingu	dõgo	—	—
Hoe	logo	udu	logo	logo	udu	ngili	logo	ngili	tshebõ	ngili	ngilidri
Hand	(i)gi	dji	sili	gyi	izi	kozi	gyi	gyi	kala	—	—
Hen	ngono	yõru	ngono	kiyokura	yõru	töru	sukura	toru	yeru	toru	toru
Hut	ru	koko	ditshi	ru	koko	ro	ru	ru	luku	ru	ru
Homestead	be	be	be	be	be	lingu	sibe	be	lingo	lingo(ro)	lingo(ro)

English	*Bongo*	*Mittu*	*Baka*	*Beli*	*Gberi*	*Lõri*	*Sopi*	*Nyamusa*	*Morokodo*	*Biti*	*Wira*
Hole	go	ugu	gu	gõ	gõ	go	gõ	ngu	ogu	gur(o)	gur(o)
Hyæna	hilu	shilu	lubagu	gyete	kilu	kirikidi	gyete	modo	madau	moduru	modor(o)
Head	dõ	do	do	do	do	dõ	do	dõ	dõ	dro	dro
Knee	kukwiye	dõkomo(ma)	ngurusindi	dokulundu	dõkomo(vo)	—	dokuundu	domoli	domo	domo(ro)	dõkõrogomor(o)
Leg	ngbondo	ndi(ma)	(kaga)shindi	koinyo	mindi(ma)	ndi	koinyo	ndi	ndi	ndri	ndri
Leopard	kogo	yerie	kiri	kagba	yerie	kagba	kagba	kagba	yeri	kurukuru	kurukuru
Lion	pul	ezu	kemi	gir	edjo	tobio	gidi	tobio	ibiyo	tobiuru	tobiuru
Man	budu	kura	oda	hongi	kura	voton	yomule	butoni	kura	medri	votondri
Moon	nyihi	yefi	epi	nihi	yefe	nyefi	nyepe	nyepe	yiefe/nyeke	—	—
Maize	atibel	kõnuberi	mbamu	mainyataba	konober	kabõri	maiyeribeli	tolomu	tõrõmo	tolomur(u)	tolomur(u)
Meat	mihi	oda	eshi	da	oda	ida	da	—	ida	—	—
Nose	homo	kanu	somo(di)	ho	kano(vo)	kano	sõmo	mõngoro	kano	mõngõro	mõngõro
Net	mbira	kemvõ	—	(g)bira	kenvõ	mbira	bira	—	mbira	—	—
One	kõtu	kolo	kedo	kõto	kolo	kõto	kõto	kõto	kolo	dolo	kõto
Pot	kotu(kete)	ngileku(kete)	pele	lebe(ndimi)	gbanga(kata)	kete	nyagulamu(kete)	kete	tele	nyeseri	sel(n)dre
Penis	hili	idi	shidi	hidi	didi	dodi	siri	di	wasi	dri	dri
Path	kungu	witu	—	te	wito	kõri	kõri	—	gõri	—	—
Rat	higi	hugbe	—	hegbe	kube	kulugbe	sogwe	—	luze	—	—
Rain	hitõro	miri	eni	tõro	miri	tõro	tõre	tõra	miri	—	—
Spear	mehe	wehe	fala	mee	wehe	mee	mese	mee	wehe	meer(e)	meer(e)
Stone	lili	doku	toto	kpai	doku	doku	kpai	dodoku	doku	—	—
Sun	kada	kadra	kada	kada	kadra	kada	kada	kada	kad(r)a	—	—
Star	kir	keru	kele	tsheri	keru	kelu	keri	—	kelu	—	—
Salt	tõdo	yõdo	—	tõdo	yõdo	tõkõdo	tõdo	—	yõdo	—	—
Termites	ngo	nga	kundu	ma	ŋwa	ŋwa	ngwa	kundju	ngua	kolor(o)	kolor(o)
Tree	kaga	kaga	kaga	kaga	kaga	ngeri	ngiri	ngiri	kaga	ngeri	ngeri
Two	ngõr	rio	gbu(w)e	yo	rio	rio	yo	rio	rio	rio	rio
Ten	ki	utshi	soka	ki	utshue	bute	tshukue	bute	bute	bute	bute
Three	muta	ota	õta	muta	ota	mota	muta	mota	ota	mota	mota
Woman	kumara	wara	kara	lua	wara	gya	lia	gya	(vudi)mbara	yara	gyara
Water	mini	weni	eni	mini	weni	mini	mini	nyõro	weni	mindri	mindri

PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS—PEOPLES OF ROAD-MAID GROUP.

Events.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Bl. Br. ...	15·0	14·4	13·03	14·00	14·1	14·1	13·3	14·3	14·6	14·4	14·4	13·05	13·0	14·1	13·0	14·0	14·1	14·2	14·0	14·0	14·5	14·0	14·0	14·03	14·03
Bl. Ligh. ...	15·6	16·0	15·3	16·3	15·7	15·8	15·4	14·05	16·05	16·0	15·4	16·05	15·8	16·44	15·7	16·1	16·1	16·1	16·0	16·0	16·0	16·0	16·0	15·09	15·7
Ceph. In. ...	22·0	23·2	20·0	20·8	23·0	20·9	24·7	23·0	23·0	26·0	26·4	26·0	23·8	22·8	22·1	22·1	26·3	25·6	23·1	22·1	26·4	25·9	25·0	24·6	26·0
Height ...	169·5	170·0	168·5	174·0	168·45	168·5	163·0	163·5	163·0	169·5	169·0	169·3	164·4	182·33	170·05	169·0	168·1	168·5	169·0	168·15	170·0	170·2	167·0	170·04	170·72
	Number Measured.		*An. Bl. Br.*		*An. Bl. Lon.*		*An. Ceph. In.*		*An. Bl.*																
	23		14·33		16·18		23·3		170·02																

Races (Lateral).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
Bl. Br. ...	13·7	14·4	13·7	14·3	15·0	14·0	14·0	13·85	14·0	13·8	13·6	13·8	13·8	13·5	14·0	14·3	13·7	14·3	13·2	13·8	13·0	13·7	14·2	14·1	14·35	14·3	14·0	14·1	14·0	14·1	14·05	14·3	14·4	13·58	14·2
Bl. Ligh. ...	17·5	16·8	15·8	15·8	15·33	15·7	15·8	15·4	16·1	16·3	16·4	16·55	16·2	16·5	16·2	16·3	15·83	15·7	15·17	15·0	15·6	15·1	13·33	14·2	16·85	16·6	16·5	16·1	15·4	15·2	15·0	15·1	15·0	15·33	15·2
Ceph. In. ...	25·3	25·3	22·6	25·5	22·5	22·3	24·4	25·4	26·7	26·0	27·6	28·1	26·3	25·3	28·0	25·9	24·8	24·8	25·3	17·3	27·6	24·0	27·2	23·6	27·2	25·4	25·8	25·8	25·1	25·9	26·2	25·5	24·7	24·7	24·6
Height ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	166·9	174·0	163·35	174·0	178·0	180·0	168·0	158·0	160·5	172·5	169·0	174·3	160·3	166·5	166·5	161·0	172·0
	Number Measured.		*An. Bl. Br.*		*An. Bl. Lon.*		*An. Ceph. In.*		*An. Bl.*																											
	17 each—51		14·38		18·86		25·3		168·2																											
	Height—18																																		

Events.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
Bl. Br. ...	13·45	14·05	14·4	14·1	14·7	13·6	14·1	14·05	13·98	13·75	13·0	14·0	14·3	14·4	13·0	14·3	14·85	13·85	14·1	13·85	13·98	14·05	13·98	14·3	14·0	14·3	13·98	13·1	14·1	14·3	13·6	13·8	14·0	14·38	13·8	14·03	14·3	14·0	14·3	14·0	14·75
Bl. Ligh. ...	16·03	16·1	15·8	15·9	16·8	16·3	15·1	16·5	16·4	16·6	16·9	17·1	15·75	16·35	15·9	16·44	15·1	15·93	16·2	16·93	16·6	16·5	16·4	16·9	17·04	16·05	16·0	16·6	16·05	16·55	14·9	16·5	16·4	16·4	16·3	16·4	16·4	16·5	16·3	16·5	16·7
Ceph. In. ...	24·1	25·1	22·5	24·0	23·0	23·1	23·8	25·5	25·3	23·2	23·2	24·7	24·05	24·4	26·9	23·0	24·4	25·0	25·4	25·0	25·6	23·6	27·7	24·2	28·3	23·6	26·9	26·3	26·3	23·5	24·6	25·6	22·9	23·6	23·6	26·8	26·0	26·3	25·0	24·2	24·9
	Number Measured.		*An. Bl. Br.*		*An. Bl. Lon.*		*An. Ceph. In.*		*An. Bl.*																																		
	42		14·44		18·38		25·8		—																																	

Nyamusa.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Hd. Br. ...	...	15·0	14·45	13·7	14·4	14·3	14·9	14·0	13·6	13·9	13·9	13·8	15·1	13·85	14·4	14·2	14·4	14·0	13·7	13·8	14·25	13·65	14·2	14·15	14·375	14·1
Hd. Lgth.	...	19·55	19·3	18·3	18·9	18·5	18·6	19·4	19·5	17·5	18·3	18·55	18·8	19·05	18·8	18·8	19·4	18·3	18·45	19·35	17·4	18·5	18·4	19·0	19·15	18·45
Ceph. Ind.	...	76·7	74·8	74·8	76·1	77·2	80·1	72·1	69·7	79·4	75·9	74·3	80·3	71·9	76·5	75·5	74·2	76·5	74·2	71·3	80·1	73·7	77·1	74·4	74·5	76·4
		Total Measured		*Av. Hd. Br.*		*Av. Hd. Len.*		*Av. Ceph. Ind.*																		
		25		14·161		18·74		75·5																		

Mokokodo.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hd. Br. ...	...	13·45	14·2	14·3	14·15	13·3	13·9	14·4	14·0	13·9	13·3
Hd. Lgth.	...	18·2	18·55	18·4	19·15	18·65	18·5	18·9	18·3	18·4	19·3
Ceph. Ind.	...	73·9	76·5	77·7	73·8	71·3	75·1	76·1	76·5	75·5	68·9
		Total Measured.		*Av. Hd. Br.*		*Av. Hd. Len.*		*Av. Ceph. Ind.*			
		10		13·89		18·635		74·53			

Baka.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Hd. Br. ...	...	14·1	14·7	13·45	14·3	14·1	14·1	15·2	15·45	14·0	14·6	14·0	14·1	13·8	14·7	14·2	13·6	14·8	13·6
Hd. Lght.	...	19·5	19·7	19·0	19·6	19·3	18·7	19·3	19·4	18·1	19·4	19·4	18·9	18·0	18·2	18·7	19·0	18·9	17·8
Ceph. Ind.	...	72·3	74·6	70·7	72·9	73·0	75·4	78·7	79·6	77·3	75·2	72·1	74·6	76·6	80·7	75·9	71·5	78·3	76·4
		Total Measured.		*Av. Hd. Br.*		*Av. Hd. Len.*		*Av. Ceph. Ind.*											
		18		14·26		18·9		75·3											

Beli		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Hd. Br. ...	...	13·3	14·3	13·8	14·3	14·1	13·9	14·75	13·6	13·8	14·2	13·9	13·3	14·8	14·2
Hd. Lgth.	...	18·55	19·5	18·3	18·3	19·0	19·8	19·0	18·55	18·8	19·7	18·4	18·9	19·55	19·45
Ceph. Ind.	...	71·69	73·33	75·41	78·12	74·2	69·9	77·62	73·3	73·4	72·07	75·54	70·37	74·16	73·02
Height ...	...	172·5	173·5	169·0	175·0	163·0	173·5	181·0	175·0	168·5	169·5	164·5	166·5	169·5	162·0
		Total Measured.		*Av. Hd. Br.*		*Av. Hd. Len.*		*Av. Ceph. Ind.*		*Av. Ht.*					
		14		14·02		18·99		73·32		170·02					

Gbeki.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Hd. Br. ...	...	13·5	14·2	14·2	13·2	14·5	14·2	14·3	15·3	14·2	14·8	14·9	13·7	14·4	14·6	14·6	15·1	13·8	13·4	14·2
Hd. Lgth.	...	18·6	18·9	19·4	19·2	19·9	19·3	18·3	19·5	18·5	19·6	19·4	18·1	18·9	19·6	19·5	19·1	17·5	17·4	18·5
Ceph. Ind.	...	72·58	75·13	73·2	68·75	72·86	73·58	78·14	78·46	76·76	75·51	76·8	75·69	76·19	74·49	74·87	79·06	78·86	77·01	76·36
Height ...	...	180·0	176·5	176·5	169·5	165·0	172·0	169·5	158·5	162·5	176·0	174·0	173·0	167·0	163·0	175·0	177·5	164·0	165·0	168·0
		Total Measured.		*Av. Hd. Br.*		*Av. Hd. Len.*		*Av. Ceph. Ind.*		*Av. Ht.*										
		19		14·25		18·9		75·04		170·1										

Mittu.		1	2	3	4	5
Hd. Br. ...	...	14·0	14·6	14·6	14·5	13·9
Hd. Lgth.	...	18·85	20·2	18·7	18·75	18·15
Ceph. Ind	...	74·25	72·28	78·07	77·34	76·58
Height ...	...	170·0	174·5	165·0	174·0	161·0
		Total Measured.	*Av. Hd. Br.*	*Av. Hd. Lth.*	*Av. Ceph. Ind.*	*Av. Hgt.*
		5	14·3	18·93	75·7	168·9

Sopi.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Hd. Br. ...	...	14·1	13·6	14·0	14·0	14·1	13·7	13·3	13·9	14·3	12·8	13·4	14·2	13·4
Hd. Lgth.	...	18·2	18·9	18·5	18·6	18·9	19·0	18·6	18·6	18·4	16·5	18·9	19·5	18·8
Ceph. Ind.	...	77·47	71·96	75·68	75·27	74·60	72·11	71·51	74·73	77·74	77·58	70·90	74·82	71·28
Height ...	...	169·0	167·0	171·5	170·5	170·5	164·5	177·5	184·0	163·5	147·5	172·5	167·0	176·5
		Total Measured.		*Av. Hd. Br.*		*Av. Hd. Len.*		*Av. Ceph. Ind.*		*Av. Ht.*				
		13		13·75		18·56		74·12		168·73				

THE RED SEA IBEX.

By T. R. H. Owen.

THE pursuit of an animal, whether for the purpose of hunting it or with more innocent intent, depends for its attractiveness less on the animal itself, or even on the ultimate success of the quest, than on the surroundings into which the pursuit takes you and the sights, sounds and experiences incidental to it. Every fisherman knows that a blank day on the stream of his dreams, with rocks, and the sound of rushing waters, a kingfisher seen, a heron watched, few fish taken and a light basket at the end, may be a more precious memory than many a day with a bigger haul spent in low-land surroundings with a gas-works in view.

Therefore as a creature which, quite apart from head hunting, gives one glorious days and great experiences, commend me the Red Sea ibex or "*eiu*" as the Beja tribesmen call him, for he has no colloquial Arabic name. To start in the blackness before the false dawn and climb three thousand feet of *jebel* slippery from the Scotch mist; to wait shivering behind a rock while a bank of pearly cloud of infinite depth and softness lies over the sea to the east and the little cirrus clouds above it take the light of the coming sun on their undersides; to hear the far, the ever so far, tinkle of a falling stone that means ibex on the move, or the shrill reedy whistle of a female like a pin-prick of sound in the stillness; to catch the distant view of a herd moving like wraiths up the hillside; to scheme the way of approach, breathlessly to carry out the manœuvre, only to find that the quarry has eluded one, and to start all over again; these things make great days.

First, at the risk of boring most readers, I would give some indication of the range of the ibex. It is not always realised that he is found throughout many of the mountains to the east of the Nile in Egypt, and is closely allied to, if not identical with, the ibex of Sinai. He is found from Jebel Elba near the Egyptian border, right down through the great Bisharin and Amarar hills, rising to over seven thousand feet, down to Port Sudan; the bigger mountains inland to Sinkat and as far west as Abadab (Long. 35; Lat. 18.55) hold ibex, and they are sometimes found,

or have been found, on Jebel Musmar and certainly on J. Hashasha, 60 miles north of Musmar station, which must be their western limit. They live in the chain of hills south of Erkowit down to the great six thousand foot mass of mountains, the Waribba, the wildest and most unpenetrated area of Hadendoa territory. Thence along the eastern face of the hills over the mountain marked on the map as Weireirba (really called Romadab), on Akarkoeib (more correctly Weiriba), on Hamshibile (locally known as Argawe) and on Tenasei (whose true name is Shaminkushneb) ; on the great pile of Adaribab, west of Tokar, and, to the south, among the Karora hills, the biggest of all rising to nine thousand feet. Southwards their limit is J. Askenab, where the Eritrean frontier takes its big kink to the east, and J. Koreb ; south of that I think they seldom, if ever, are seen in Sudan territory.

What the ibex needs is not height above sea level, as such, but some proportion of precipitous rocks and chasms on the *jebel* that he is to inhabit. He is found on the smaller and easier *jebels* but seldom, and then only during a period of wandering in the *Kharif* or in the course of some local migration. They will migrate from hill to hill, or group of hills, under pressure of lack of pasture, or sometimes of water, but normally they stick to their home *jebel* and do not migrate, so that a particular strain or characteristic is often attributed to the ibex of a particular area. Thus the Hadendoa will tell you that on Jebel Nyafait (not far from Sinkat) no sizeable ibex head is ever seen ; the biggest and finest animals of all, the Hadendoa say, come from J. Hamashaweb in the Waribba. Nyafait I have never ascended, but on the one occasion that I climbed Hamashaweb I certainly saw two magnificent heads of over 40 inches, which implied that the Hadendoa information was more than a myth. There must clearly be some factor that makes for the large or small size of ibex on different hills. I believe, for one thing, that ibex horn, like beer, depends for its quality largely on the quality and quantity of the water that goes to its making. The succulence of the grazing will obviously count for much, and even the degree of remoteness of the area and consequent serenity of life of the animal. But the factor which counts for more than anything is probably the nature of the rock itself ; granite is not noted for vitamins, but lime is well known medically for its bone-building properties, and wherever a *jebel* of predominantly limestone character is found, that will be the place for seeking the biggest and

finest beasts. The *jebel* I have mentioned, Hamashaweb (the name means " whitish grey rocks "), was a limestone one, and there is an ibex reserve in Egypt, near Fayoum, where the surroundings are of limestone and heads of over 50 inches are reputed to exist. Limestone in fact builds bonny ibex.

The record ibex head shot in the Sudan was one of 46⅛ inches and came from the Karora hills. A length of about 32" is generally admitted to be the shootable limit, but smaller heads than that are attractive if prettily shaped ; every head looks big when one is waiting in a state of excitement, and the hunter who can follow this counsel of perfection must be a master of self-control. The ibex ram is a magnificent animal, stout and heavily knit but no whit ungainly, of a handsome reddish grey picked out with white socks and black leg-markings, an impressive " imperial " below his chin, and those great sweeping, knotted horns. The knots are said never to exceed twenty-two, and to grow at the rate of about two a year. The Bega tribes say that when jumping from a height he will land deliberately on his horns, taking on them the full force of the fall. This I have not witnessed, but I have seen a ram gallop over a ridge and rush down a precipitous shale slope, so steep that he lost control and could not stop ; instantly he thrust his head down right between his forelegs so that the bulge of the horns pressing on the ground acted as a brake and pulled him up on the terrific slope. The neck muscles must be immensely strong.

The ibex eats most of the shrubs and grasses that grow on the *jebels*, but his favourite plant is a commonly found kind of sorrel, known to the Beja as " *akw* " or " *howakw*," with a juicy leaf that has a pleasant taste like that of green apples. It is a general rule among the hills that the higher slopes, which catch more of the clouds and soft winter rains, bear the better pastures, and for that reason, and because of their greater security, the higher slopes are the most patronised by ibex. But there are exceptions. The mating time is about July ; " when the ibex have had their first real drink of the new rains, then they seek their womenkind," say the Beja ; the young are dropped about October and November, and up till then they have gone in herds, sometimes of as many as a score or two, big rams, little rams, females and young, all together. The usual order of procedure is young rams in front, then the ladies and the infants, while the old and big rams, whether because, like the Duke of Plazatoro,

they " find it less exciting," or with the nobler intention of guarding the family's rear, prefer to " lead the regiment from behind." But in the winter the rams tend to separate off from the herds and to be found singly or in pairs and trios, down on the lower slopes. The rule is not absolute ; little rams stay with the herds, and get their innings while they can ; and even the surly old gentlemen will sometimes take three or four selected females along with them to solace the boredom of clubland : but generally speaking they keep unsociably to the lower levels till mating time.

The question of how often the ibex needs to drink is of some interest. I have been given answers as divergent as " daily " and " never," but these, as might be expected, were given in widely separated areas. After a good deal of inquiry I have become convinced that the ibex is capable of going almost as indefinitely without water as the gazelle. No other conclusion is possible in view of his being regularly found on such *jebels* as Abadab and others even farther west which get none of the winter rains and hold water for less than half the year. There is no animal in the world that will refuse a drink if it can get one, but certain kinds, such as the oryx, the dorcas, the ariel, and others, can and do get on without it, and I believe that the ibex is among this category. The Beja say that if there is water within one day's travel, the ibex will drink once in ten days ; if it is further, he will either go without or, occasionally, shift his quarters to where it is.

Whether ibex are to be found or no on a *jebel* can soon be told, as their lying and sleeping-out places will always be met with, generally on the razor-back edge of some ridge or col which gives them a good view down on either side, and where some little patch of earth among the rock enables them to scoop out a comfortable spot to lie down in. Their dung is not easily to be distinguished from that of goats, which often graze over much of their country ; some tribesmen like to be thought able to distinguish the two, and will sniff knowingly at the droppings and pronounce on their origin, as a man will sniff knowingly at a glass of port and pronounce on its vintage, but the real connoisseur is as rare in the one case as the other.

Here it should be mentioned that the ibex is credited with conveying a disease to goats that trespass on its grazing grounds. It is said that, if goats drink water or eat grass that has been contaminated with ibex urine, they contract a complaint, called in Beja " *t'awa*," which results in

swelling of the glands under the throat and sometimes on the stomach as well, brings on a cough and a difficulty of breathing, and causes death within a day or two. The disease afflicts goats only, and never sheep. No cure is known, and the only preventive practised is as follows: the shepherd, when conducting his flock on to infected ground, must strip himself quite naked, hold out his *tōb* stretched across his back, and advance in front of his animals chanting certain specified little chants and casting stones down the hillside at intervals; this prophylactic method is mainly a Hadendoa one, but is also employed by some Amarar sections; on its efficacy I can offer no comment. It is based on the idea that ibex droppings are a favourite resort of "gins," who convey the disease and must be frightened away. The existence of the disease, and its ibex origin, is an undoubted fact and well known to all Beja tribes, but no veterinary opinion that I have so far consulted has been able to offer a scientific explanation.

The Beja tribes are not much given to hunting as a whole, and it is unfortunate that such hunting as they do indulge in should be mostly directed against so fine a creature as the ibex. There are two principal methods. I have read in an old report by Bimbashi Parker, written in 1901, the following description: "A driving party climbs the hills, while men and dogs lie in ambush in the intermediate valleys. The foolish ibex, instead of seeking the inaccessible cliffs, runs down from this hill in order to reach the next and is pounced upon by the dogs and spearmen." This is not an accurate account and such a plan of campaign could only be effective on the rare occasions when a herd is caught on one of the smaller hills. A method that is commonly used is the trap, a log or heavy contraption of wood with a noose attached and set on some path, usually leading to water. These traps are crazy affairs, the rope frequently rotten, and the ibex must be a witless one that gets caught: small execution is done by them. The more telling method is to beat a *jebel* with a party of men and dogs (the latter can be very agile and speedy over all but the most precipitous parts of a *jebel*), and the ibex, when chased, so far from descending to the valley, tends to make for the most difficult crags and there to remain, and can often be killed with a thrown spear or rolled rocks from above, while smaller ones are sometimes secured by the dogs. The drawback to this method of hunting is that the weaker animals, the females and young, are more apt to fall victims than are the grown males,

and this is a bad thing for the species. Probably among the more outlying or isolated *jebels* ibex are slowly diminishing in numbers, due simply to a growing population from whom it is easier to get quorums for their frequent hunting: but in the more extensive hills their status must be much what it has been for some centuries and is likely so to remain at present. Their flesh is relished, though I should personally recommend its conversion into mince or even curry, and its hide is strong and valuable. From its horn the Fuzzy makes his "*hulal*," the curved sharp scratching-stick with which he disturbs the denizens of his "*tiffa*," or coiffure.

Apart from native hunts, the principal enemy of the ibex is the leopard. Leopards, if not abundant, are found as far north as Port Sudan, and though they seldom will tackle a grown ram, the sweep of whose heavy horns could deal a forcible blow, they account for a number of young or females. Baboons also from time to time kill and devour young ones: not everyone realises that baboons are carnivorous when they get the chance and will seize and tear to pieces any stray goat or other animal that they can catch.

As to the rifle, it is held sometimes that to obtain an ibex by stalking and without a drive is nearly impossible. This is not true, though it is certainly true that, under the hurried and leisureless circumstances in which people, officials especially, usually have to conduct their hunt, a drive is the only method that can give a good chance of killing a head in a short time. It is necessary to start up the *jebel* in the pitch dark, long before dawn, to be up near the highest levels and above one's quarry by daylight: it is exciting enough to lie there in the grey dawn light, with the cloud swirling and thickening and dissolving around, while the surrounding peaks slowly begin to show up in gnarled, fantastic shapes like those of a Rackham or Dulac picture; and if for one moment I may be avuncular and deliver good advice, then, *experto crede*, take up a good thick jæger dressing gown or an overcoat, for the cold can be quite numbing, and unimaginable down in the warmth of the valley below: Bisley marksmen have missed simple shots before now solely from being too cold to aim straight.

But if a convenient Bairam holiday or any other opportunity gives somewhat more than a hurried morning for the pursuit, and if the desire can be conquered merely to acquire a head at any cost, and, better still, if the object is not slaughter at all but photography or the mere desire to

watch and get on close terms with a very fine beast, then take a good guide, one boy to carry paraphernalia, and go up to stalk the ibex. The chances are heavily against you, which is as it should be. There will be heavy strain on limbs and wind before the day is over, and when it is you must be prepared to sleep hard and hungry, up above, and begin again before the next dawn. But a great day is assured; one really good view of ibex makes the labour worth while, a head won is worth ten heads driven by beaters, and a good photograph is the hardest won and greatest prize of any. I still live to obtain one.

It is a grand animal, living in a grand country whither the mind ever turns from the fly-and-litigant-filled office or the dust and flatness of other districts: "in excelsa montium oculos levabo."

BARI CHILD NAMES.

By Rev. F. J. Finch.

IN the first place it must be clearly understood that the names given to children in the Bari family system are so given, not because of any well defined characteristics in the said children, but solely on account of the "accident" of position by birth. For instance, no particular characteristic can safely be associated with the names Tombe, Pitia, Wani or Kiden.

The same characteristic is found in families when compared with each other, but evidence proves that it never follows the rule of the same order of birth, but nearly always varies.

First-born sons are named Jada, Yuggusuk, or Loro, only because they are the first-born, and because they will take their fathers' places in respect and honour in the tribal life, and which is expressed by the word "'bulesi."

Regarding the second child (boy), this is nearly always named Lado, but should the name Lado, for any reason, be in disfavour, or even be hated by some of the child's relatives, then the name Swaka is indubitably chosen in preference to the usually accepted name of Lado for the second-born child.

The male child number three is always called "Wani" because he is born after two brothers.

The fourth child (boy) is always called "Pitia," being the son born after three brothers, and never by any other name.

Commonly after Pitia we find the fifth child is often a girl, and she is called "Kiden," which means "the middle one" in a succession of male children.

Passing to the actual traits of character, we find these remarkably akin to those known and recognised among white children. As with us, in the first-born child, owing to the fact of it being the first-born child, and the functions and duties which it has to fulfil towards others members of the same family, this inevitably causes a strong, dependable and self-reliant trait to develop. The Bari say such a child has clever thoughts of its own and does not need to ask the opinions and advice of its elders as do other children in the family succession. This feature of character

the Bari describe by the term " lotolok." It must also be stated that this characteristic of self-reliance is not found amongst the first-born children only, but is recognised as a commonly recurring feature in the baby or the last-born child of the marriage union. In common parlance in the western world, we use the phrases such as " old-fashioned " and " little old man " to describe this trait of grown-up-ness in the baby of the family. As with us, the Bari realise that it develops owing to the circumstances and the environment in which the last-born child spends its early years, namely in the company and constant companionship of its parents and elders, hearing the talk and conversation of mature years. Thus through the imitative instinct, and through unconsciously imbibing thought-forms and speech-terms, the Bari say that the first and last born children of a union do develop the characteristics which I have mentioned above.

They, i.e. the Bari, say that the first-born son frequently inherits the brains of the whole family, having more " nous " than all the subsequent members of the family put together. If the first-born can be rightly described by what we call a " brilliant child," Bari tribal opinion says that the following children will be dull and not so interesting.

Again, as all civilised peoples describe it, so also among the Bari, there often appears a child of quarrelsome and of a spiteful disposition, which mars the family harmony, and causes distress to the father and mother. Such a child will not play with his brothers and sisters, unless he can get the others to do just as he wishes. This " black sheep " of the family cannot be relegated to any position in the order of birth, as it is variable in its appearance in different families. A nature such as this is called " katabermuk " and " muggi."

An opinion commonly held is that, in a family of ten children, five will be of good disposition, while the other five will be of a difficult or bad disposition.

A boy who is born in the middle of a line of girls is always called by the name of Könyi, because he is superior to, and of more importance than, the girls, and becomes, as it were, the head of the female offspring.

If a girl is born in the middle of a family of boys, this child is named " Kiden," which means " middle." Kiden is always greatly beloved by both her father and mother. She becomes the great helper and the parents' assistant in the upbringing of the boys. Again, by virtue of

circumstances combined with a specific environment, this girl Kiden develops force of character and a sense of motherliness. The dowry which comes to the parents at Kiden's marriage assists the sons in their marriage contracts. Finally, although the Bari "Family situation" does not agree with the theory that certain names given to a certain order of birth necessarily imply definite characteristics in a particular individual, yet the evidence clearly proves that, in such an unsophisticated society, the principles of Modern Psychology are understood as applied to life, though mostly these principles are instinctive and innate.

CORRESPONDENCE

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GEOGRAPHY OF THE SUDAN.

The Editor, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

I was very interested in Mr. Fiddes' article, published in Part I of Volume XIX.

The earliest maps of this country are those associated with the history of the exploration of the Nile, and in connection with this subject " The Nile Quest," by Sir Harry Johnston, published in 1903, is of especial interest.

Three maps of the eighteenth-century period are published in this volume. Dapper's map of 1686 (page 59), D'Anville's map of the Nile basin, first published in 1729, and revised later in 1772 (on page 71), and Williamson's map of Africa, published in 1800 (on page 90). There are also other maps published in Burckhardt's " Travels in Nubia " in 1819, but these are a little later than the period in question. There are probably several other maps of this period, but those mentioned above are, I believe, recognised as the most important. It is interesting to compare these maps with Hubner's, for they are better drawn and contain much more detail.

1. DAPPER'S MAP.

This gives the falsified results of the various Portuguese expeditions of the early seventeenth century. It is in many ways similar to Hubner's. It shows a river joining the main Nile at Assuan, in corresponding position to the rivers Nubia and Sira. Further upstream the Nile is marked as one river with many tributaries all coming from Abyssinia. The main details are well drawn. Dongola (marked Dangala) is on the west end of the Nile bend. Further upstream is Nubia, and then Meroe, which is obviously too far upstream. Just north of Meroe is Esere (? Hubner's Risa), and Sennar (Sena) is marked on the main stream of the Nile, which would correspond to the White Nile.

Zigide is in approximately the same position as in Hubner's map, and just north of it is a place called Iadie (? Ladie), which more or less corresponds to the position of Hubner's Jadis.

Aidhab (Suakin el Gadim) is marked with its old name Zibid, and the neighbouring desert is labelled Desertum Bugi, obviously the desert of the Beja tribes. I think, therefore, that the Bugi of Hubner's map must refer to this desert and not to Bauga.

2. D'ANVILLE'S MAP. 1729.

This map is a considerable advance on either Hubner's or Dapper's. Dongola (Dungala) is marked at the west end of the Nile bend, and Meroe just to the south of the east end of the bend. Just to the north of Meroe is a place labelled Nuabia l'ancienne, and a little north still of Nuabia is a place Ialac, which must be Hubner's Jalac. The Nile is shown with its two tributaries, the Blue and the White Niles, and on the Blue Nile is Sennar, and between the two is Seged.

3. WILLIAMSON'S MAP. 1800.

This is a further advance on D'Anville's map. Dongola and Meroe are in approximately the correct positions, and near Meroe is a place called Nuabia, with a note that it was an ancient town. North of Meroe, in a position corresponding to Ialac in D'Anville's map, is Eliab. The interesting point of this map is that away to the north-west of it is marked Bornou, which is given the alternative name of Mathan. Another Nuba is marked on the River Dinder just to the north-east of Sennar.

El Obeid in Kordofan is marked Ibeit or Lebeit.

The maps in Burckhardt are interesting because, although they are only twenty years later, they are so accurate and much better drawn than any of the above. They also give the main trade routes as well as the routes traversed by the travellers of the eighteenth century.

There are various points about Hubner's map that need explaining: for instance, why does he put Nubia north of Dongola when all the other maps of that period place it south of Dongola? Then, why does he put in so many comparatively unimportant places and yet miss out the trading centres such as Berber, Shendi, and Massowa? To identify the places on his map is possible only by comparing similarity of names, and in view of the many variations of spelling this can hardly be considered ideal.

Hubner's map most nearly resembles Dapper's and it would appear that he has copied this in many places.

J. F. E. Bloss.

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

The map reproduced and discussed in Mr. Fiddes' note "Eighteenth-century Geography of the Sudan" (Vol. XIX, p. 176) is a rough sketch based on H. Moll's map of Africa of A.D. 1710, of which a copy is reproduced in Keltie's "Partition of Africa" (opposite p. 76). From this it will be seen that Zeu has been carelessly reproduced by Hubner as Zell, and Meks as Mek. Ialac, the city on the island in the Nile, is well known to be Philæ (see, for example, Quatremère, "Mémoiries Geographiques sur l'Egypte," I, p. 390). The more correct reading is Bilak = Pilakh, and the mistake probably owes its popularity to a very careless Latin translation of Idrisi (d. A.D. 1153), which was published in Paris in 1619 under the title "Geographia Nubiensis—Liber relaxationis animi curiosi," without mentioning the name of the original author, and had a considerable vogue. In the same translation Manan, at one time the capital of Kanem, appears erroneously as Mathan. Both these mistakes must have been due to incorrect diacritical points in the Arabic MS. translated.

It was a long-lived error of mediæval geography first that the Niger was part of the Nile, and later that a branch of the Nile flowed north-east out of Bornu to join the Nile near Aswan. This is the Nubia R. of Hubner's map, on which stands Mathan below its junction with the Sira. The Sira must be the river Shari, which flows into Lake Chad. Zeu, reproduced as Zell, must be the aboriginal Negroes of southern Bornu known as the So, against whom the mediæval kings of Bornu conducted numerous disastrous campaigns before they finally subdued them.

The origin of Jadis and Sigide are not known to me. They appear on Jacob van Meur's map of Africa, dated 1668, as Iadie and Zigidie to the west of the desert of the Gorhani. I doubt whether by Sigide is intended the well-known J. Segadi, although Mr. Fiddes' interpretation may be correct, since on Moll's map in this area is placed an apparent quotation from Alvarez: "It is said that in this country is to be seen ruins of many Christian Churches," while there is at J. Segadi the ruin of a small church discovered by the late Sir Henry Wellcome.

Bugi probably has its origin in the Beja. The "Geographia Nubiensis" talks of Buga, and in van Meur's map on the Red Sea coast east of Aswan is shown Desertum Buge as well as the town of Buge. On Moll's map only the town remains.

I cannot for certain identify Risa, which appears on Moll's map on the east bank of the Nile to the north of its junction with the Atbara, and on van Meur's map as Rissa, just south of Aswan. It is apparently the same as Berite on the map of Pigafetta (1591), and looks as if it might have its origin in Merīs, the old name of that part of Nubia immediately south of Aswan which has given its name to the most popular drink in the Sudan.

Mek is probably the " upper Maks," a town mentioned by Ibn Selīm (quoted by Makrīzi : tr. Bouriant, I, p. 551, and Quatremère, " Mémoiries sur l'Egypte," II, pp. 9, 10) as being a garrison town in Nubia beyond which Mohamedans were not allowed to penetrate to the south, nor did money circulate. It appears to have been in the region of Wadi Halfa (see Mr. L. P. Kirwan's paper on the " Topography of the Christian Nubian Kingdoms," in *J. E. A.*, Vol. XXI, p. 61). If this identification be correct, it should of course have been placed south and not north of Ialac (Philæ). *Maks*, however, means " customs post " in Arabic (the original Al Maks occupied what now is the Ezbekiah garden in Cairo), and it is just possible that Maks may also have been the name at certain periods for the customs post between Egypt and Nubia, though this can never have been north of Aswan.

I do not think that there is any reason why Mr. Fiddes need be surprised that neither Poncet nor Hubner should mention Soba, for it had been destroyed nearly two hundred years before Poncet's visit to the Sudan; nor are there any historical grounds for associating Soba with Sheba and its famous queen, as he appears to do.

A. J. ARKELL.

THE DEATH OF GORDON.

An Eye-witness Account.

To the Editor, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

Ibrahim Sabir, a Muwallad over seventy years old and now living in Omdurman near the house of Sayed Sir Ali El Mirghani, gave me the following information : " My father was an Egyptian, but married a Sudanese wife. He was employed by the Turco-Egyptian Government as a Sarraf in El Obeid. When he got too old for work my elder brother succeeded him and I acted as his clerk. The Mahdist revolt broke out

and we were beseiged in El Obeid. After the surrender of the town to the Mahdi, I became clerk to Sheikh Mirghani Sawar el Dahab. The latter commanded a troop of soldiers in the Mahdi's army and had a flag of his own. This was carried by a very tall black Sudanese called Mursal Hamoda. We went as part of Emir Abdel Rahman el Negumi's army to Khartoum and took part in the siege of the town. Owing to the fall of the White Nile, the defences on the south side of the city were exposed to attack in the later stages of the siege. On the night of the assault our troop took up position on this exposed south flank and before dawn we rushed in and overcame the defenders. We pushed on into the town and arrived at the south entrance of the Palace. There was scarcely light to see, but we could dimly discern a figure standing on the steps leading up to a roof and gazing intently at the troops who were rushing into the town. Mursal had a gun as well as his flag and he fired at the standing figure, thinking it was a Turk. The man was hit and fell down. His body rolled down the stairs to the ground, staining the steps with blood. It was now lighter and onlookers shouted that the dead man was Gordon Pasha. A man called Babikr Koko (of the Tawal tribe) came riding up on a horse and asked me if I knew Gordon. I said I did and that Gordon was a man of slight build and had whiskers with a clean-shaven chin. Babikr rolled over the corpse and I said "It is Gordon." He was wearing a black coat and trousers with a tarboush on his head. Babikr searched the body and took a watch and other articles. Mursal's shot had entered Gordon's chest. Babikr then cut off the head with his sword and put it in a leather bag which hung from his horse and rode away. I know no more."

J. A. R. Reid.

REVIEWS.

THE BORNU SAHARA AND SUDAN.

By Sir Richmond Palmer.

John Murray. 1936. Pp. viii and 296. Price £2 2s. od.

BY those familiar with Sir Richmond's previous writings, his final considered views on the history of Bornu have long been keenly awaited, for his "Sudanese Memoirs" and "Mai Idris of Bornu" especially combined much valuable information with lively speculation based on wide reading. "The Bornu Sahara and Sudan" does not, however, come up to expectation.

Although rather an unwieldy size for an African library, which should be easily transportable, the book is beautifully got up and illustrated by 27 good photographs of Bornu types and personalities, of many of whom one could produce the double from Darfur. There are 3 maps and 47 illustrations in the text. The greater part of the book is taken up by translations of a number of Bornu *mahrams* or "grants of privilege" made by various Bornu rulers between A.D. 1086 and 1806, and a list of the Maghumi Mais and Kuburi Sheikhs, which consists of quotations from existing Bornu documents, with commentary and digressions by the author, much of which he has published before.

The extent of Sir Richmond's reading is so prodigious that one feels that it is almost presumptuous to criticise, and yet errors concerning the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, some of which have appeared in his previous writings, combined with the excessive deduction of historical connections from mere similarity of names, shake one's faith in statements concerning connections between Bornu and parts of the world of which one has no first-hand information.

On p. 157 and Plate IX he talks of the Fung title "omdah," whereas, of course, this is a modern Egyptian title, meaning "prop" or "support," connected with *'amud*, "pillar," etc. On p. 135 a misquotation from MacMichael, "A History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I, p. 249, leads him to translate the *'imma*, which was part of the insignia of the Fung mangil, as a sword, whereas an *'imma* is a turban. On p. 162, he does not

recognise the Arabic word قافلة meaning "a caravan," from قفل "to return from a journey," and thus attempts a fanciful derivation. On p. 151, as part of a proof of the Berber origin of the Bedyat language (which he calls Barituki; while in Darfur the Bedyat call it *Beria*), he states that in it "priest" = *heki*, which, again misquoting MacMichael (*loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57), he compares with *hogon*, "a rain-maker in Kordofan." MacMichael himself compared *hogi*, the Zaghawa word used in Darfur, with *hogon*, a word used on the Hombori plateau in West Africa. In fact, there can be no doubt that Bedyat *heki* or *huki* = Zaghawa *hogi* = Sudan Arabic *fiki*, which, of course, means either a wandering Moslem holy man or a literate man, and primarily has no connection with rain-making.

Apropos of Yaqubi's mention of a Beja kingdom, which extended from Badi Akik on the Red Sea to the boundary of Birkat in the kingdom of Baklin, and alleging that Baklin = Pakhoras (Faras, near Wadi Halfa), Sir Richmond states (p. 169) :—

> Birkat is the people-name now pronounced Birked or Birgid. This tribe, whose centre was Kajjar in Kordofan, call themselves Murgi: are closely related to the people of Jebel Midob: and their language has some connection with the Brabra dialects of the Dongola region. One of their sections is Erigat, a name which to the Beli of Borku represents their own origin. The Birgid thus represent a stratum of population which, according to MacMichael's manuscript D 4, was centred round Jebel el Hadi (or Hati), i.e., Gebel el Haraza in Northern Kordofan as early as 700 B.C. . . . The Birkat, which was the boundary . . . must have been somewhere between Soba (Khartum) and Abu Hammad. Under these circumstances the name (Jebel el) Hati is of special interest. According to Bornu tradition, the Mākida, whose ruler was called Hāti, and from whom the Maghumi were descended, came from the Northern Jebels of Kordofan—Kaja, Katuji, and Haraza—where an aboriginal population called Jange are said to have been conquered by Mākida, otherwise Nikāda, Ninkāda, or Nigāda, who came from Jabarti up the Blue Nile on the Abyssinian border, and who are of course the Anag of Sudanese tradition.

He has no reason apparently other than the similarity of the names for identifying Birkat with Birgid; yet Birkat is a common Arabic word meaning "pool" or "lake," which occurs all over the Sudan, if it does not in this case stand for Barka (= Khor Baraka) on the present boundary between the Sudan and Eritrea. Kajjar is not in Kordofan, but is one of the two divisions in which the Birgid in Darfur are still organised. The name may have some connection with Kaja (or rather Kaga) in Western Kordofan, in which area the Birgid according to eastern Darfur tradition at one time lived. The languages of the Birgid and the Midob are both of Nubian origin and so connected with the Barabra languages of the Nile, but that is no reason for saying that the Birgid are closely related to the Midob. The Birgid or Murgi—the

names are obviously the same—have a section known as Erigat, which they say is descended from an exiled member of the Erigat Arab tribe well known in Darfur. I have never heard that the Bedyat claim an Erigat origin, but if they do, the simplest explanation is that they claim to be descended from the same Arab tribe.

"J. el Hadi" is another misquotation from MacMichael (*loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 324). J. Abd el hadi, the alternative name for J. el Haraza, was so called after its famous Dolabi chieftain with the ordinary Arab name of Abd el Hadi, who was met by Pallme in 1838, and there is thus no connection between it, the Abyssinian title Hati, the Arabian title Iti held by the ruler of Saba, and the Syrian goddess Ata, etc.

Moreover, a piece of erroneous information presumably given by some returning pilgrims to Sir Richmond, which he first published in "Sudanese Memoirs," Vol. III, p. 25, seems now to have become "Bornu tradition." In this earlier work, after stating that Mākida or Makāda included all northern Kordofan, he wrote: "The aboriginals of this country, according to Bornu informants, were called Jange. It is said that the Makāda were a conquering race of Barbars who came from the Blue Nile, from a region called Jabarti said to be south of Sena'ar. It is held that the name of the region in question is strictly Al Habesh, and that thus Makāda is really the name of a people, still called, so it is said, in the Dongola region, Nikāda or Nigada."

Makāda is, of course, Abyssinia. This is the commonest name by which it is known on the Blue Nile to-day. There is no reason for thinking that any part of Kordofan was ever known by this name or by the alternative Malakata (given elsewhere in this book). Katuji is a misprint for Katul. Jange is the real name of the large tribe commonly known as Dinka, which extends all along the southern boundary of Kordofan, but has never been in the north of that province. Gubarta is the name for Mahomedan Abyssinians, at any rate in Western Abyssinia. By Dongola may be meant Dancala, an old capital of Abyssinia.

In several places Sir Richmond treats the Zagwe dynasty of Abyssinia (A.D. 950–1260) as if they were Zaghawa, without any further reason than the similarity of their names; yet according to Budge the Zagwe belonged to the Agaw tribe.

Similarly with regard to the Libyan desert Sir Richmond is not free from error. He derives two Bornu titles from Arkenu and Teigo, whereas

Arkenu is so named by the Goraan because of the *serha* trees (*arkin* in Dāza) which are found there, and Teigo has been proved by recent exploration to be mythical. Similarly he sees evidence of the migration of the Bornu tribe of Kayi in the name Ain el Kiyeh, which is now known not to exist. El Kiyeh first appeared in Charles Neufeld's book "A Prisoner of the Khaleefa," p. 15, as an oasis south-west of El Agia. Its position on Neufeld's map roughly corresponds with that of Merga, but before reaching Lagia, a well on the Derib el Arba'in, he was led by his guide into an ambush, and there is little doubt that the name El Kiyeh, like El Agia, is a form of the well-known Lagia, due probably to a misunderstanding on the part of Neufeld encouraged by a treacherous guide.

Sir Richmond holds that the Bornu ruling tribe, the Maghumi, were about A.D. 750 settled at Owenat (p. 103) and that about A.D. 1182 they fought the Bulala there (pp. 107 and 209), but his evidence for this seems inadequate. Although there have been numerous visitors to Owenat of recent years, none have reported traces of permanent human habitations, and it is doubtful whether during the period concerned there can have been sufficient water or grass there to support a settlement of any size.

Similarly, his view that Santariya, the old name of Siwa, was originally the name of a people inhabitating all the western oases of Egypt does not appear to be supported by evidence.

Further (p. 57) he quotes MacMichael (*loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 149) as his authority for saying that " Singar (Sennar) on the Blue Nile was occupied by the Rabia Arabs about A.D. 869," while MacMichael only says that at that date the Rabia occupied the Beja country east of Aswan and Nubia.

He accepts uncritically previous statements that the Garamantes were Goran and that there are traces of Christianity in Darfur, views with which the reviewer cannot agree.

On p. 17, " the cave-dwelling Ethiopians " of Herodotus (who were hunted by the Garamantes) are mistranslated as " the desert Garamantes who were nomads."

On p. 121 the Tamashek (Kinin) word *temsugh* (*tamzugh*) is derived from *temsi*, " fire," and *esuk*, " horn," whereas I have shown in *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LXV., p. 298, that this word means " belonging to the ruling class "

(being derived from the root M Z GH), and this meaning has been accepted by Sir Richmond in *Man*, 1936, 229. Similarly, on p. 122, Sir Richmond attempts to connect *talhākim*, the name of a Kinīn ornament, with Shai Ha kum, a Nabatæan deity, whereas there is no doubt (*vide* above references and a further paper of mine which will appear in *J.R.A.I.* shortly) that *talhākim* is derived from the Arabic *al khātim*, " the signet ring."

Interspersed throughout the book are illustrations of Blemy pottery from Karanōg, which the author suggests may indicate that the Blemyes were Tuareg, but the suggestion seems improbable.

Sir Richmond's main thesis is that some of the ancestors of the Tuareg must at one time have been inhabitants of the Nilotic Sudan, and that the name Bornu is a general term for an eastern group of Iranian Barbars, who came into Africa *via* the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea before the opening of the Christian era, and then gradually spread west. I am not, however, convinced; no doubt before the coming of the Arabs there was a uniform Berber culture stretching from Abyssinia to Lake Chad and beyond, but how it came is still not clear. Meanwhile, although I agree with Sir Richmond that the ruling Bornu race, the Maghumi, were of Tuareg origin, and that the Tuareg were not originally natives of North Africa nor among the ordinary known types of North African Berbers of the first century A.D., it appears more probable that the Tuareg came to the Sudan *via* North Africa than *via* Abyssinia. The problem, however, still awaits a solution, which no doubt will one day reward him who persists in his search with the diligence shown by Sir Richmond.

If I appear to be critical of Sir Richmond's work, it is because I feel sure that he would be the first to wish his theories to be tested by such evidence as is available in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan : and we must all gratefully acknowledge the pioneering work he has done on the history of a country which, from its geographical position at the junction of two main trans-African routes, must hold a most important key to the history of the Sudan before the coming of the Arabs.

A. J. A.

SUDAN COURTESY CUSTOMS.

By V. L. Griffiths and Abdel Rahman Ali Taha.

(Published by the Sudan Government. 4s.)

IT is sometimes said to the old-fashioned ones among us who still fancy the principle of developing native culture: "But the Sudanese *have* no culture!" It is difficult to think of a smart reply to this, but perhaps as good a one as any would be to hand the cultured one a copy of "Sudan Courtesy Customs."

This book, as becomes its subject, is tactfully written; but a close study of it may reveal what Sudanese politeness has hitherto concealed—the local opinion that at any rate the manners of the European are "Er, not quite." When they called us *bârid*, we quietly preened ourselves, for did they not mean "calm and temperate"? "Well, yes," say the authors, "but perhaps also cold and unpleasant." We may reply that reserve is not rudeness nor flattery manners; yet we must at least be grateful to the Sudanese and to the authors for teaching us one new skill—how to get rid politely and neatly of the persistant see-er off at the railway station. Nor can we equal for dignified kindliness and unassuming brillance that classic reply to "God willing, we shall see you a Governor"—"In your lifetime, God willing." Here is no superior rejection of the poor man's well-meant compliments and good wishes, but a gracious acceptance, a suggestion that our own shortcomings may delay the fulfilment of his kindly prophecy, a desire that nevertheless he may live long to see it, and finally the hint of a hope that our own promotion may be used to his advantage—all in five words! But here an uneasy thought assails us: do the Sudanese ever say to each other, "God willing, we shall see you a Governor"—or even "Chief Accountant" or "Assistant Sanitary Inspector"? I fear they reserve the phrase for the British, as likely to appeal to our cruder sensibilities. If so, how charming of them to have invented that brilliant reply solely for the use of the uncultivated foreigner!

As one reads through this thesaurus of prettily turned or stately phrases, one can understand that there is more to the matter than mere eloquence, that behind that grace of speech is indeed a grace of thought. Its beauties are as outlandish to us as its language; yet they can still appear lovely, and perhaps even teach us a little. "We are not suggesting," say the

authors, " that government offices should lower their efficiency." Nevertheless it is refreshing to turn aside for a moment from competent hustle to leisurely dignity, from the use of God's name as a swear-word to its reiteration in sincere simplicity, and from the hard impersonal principles of the British to the kind unprincipled personalities of the Sudanese.

Even if they are the bumpkins and not we, the book at least shows us how not to be considered bumpkins by bumpkins. The authors say to the sneezer, " If you don't know the answer to ' God have mercy on you ! ' don't sneeze." In fact, if you can't follow ordinary Sudanese polite practices, don't come to the Sudan.

G. C. S.

THE BIRDS OF TROPICAL WEST AFRICA

By D. A. Bannerman, M.B.E.

Vol. IV.

(Crown Agents for the Colonies. 22s. 6d.)

THE fourth volume of Mr. Bannerman's work covers eight Passerine families, the Broadbills (*Eurylæmidæ*), the Pittas or Ground Thrushes, the Larks, the Wagtails, the Babblers, the Bulbuls, the Fly-catchers and the Thrushes. The first two of these are not represented in the Sudan, but many species from the other families occur in this country and the descriptions and illustrations are, as usual, admirable. A map of the Gambia ($\frac{1}{300,000}$) is included in the volume.

The Passeriformes can be distinguished from other Orders of birds by certain anatomical details only. They cannot be arbitrarily classified as " perching birds " or " song birds," though in general there are few non-Passerine birds with a true song. In numbers of species they equal all the other orders put together, and they would prove vastly more numerous than all the others if individual birds were counted. In the Sudan list of just over seven hundred species some three hundred are Passerine.

The Larks, which are mostly birds of the open plains of the arid belt, occur right across Africa with little racial variation from east to west. Sixteen Sudan species are described in this volume.

The Wagtails are mostly migratory : there are only two which breed in north tropical Africa, of which one, the African Pied Wagtail (*M. aguimp vidua*), occurs in the Sudan. It might be mentioned that the British Pied Wagtail (*M. alba yarellii*) does not visit either the Sudan or West Africa : the black and white wagtail which is so abundant in this country during the winter is the White Wagtail (*M. alba alba*).

The Pipits are of the same family (*Motacillidæ*) as the Wagtails. Of the seven Sudan species (four resident and three migratory) six are described by Mr. Bannerman. They include the familiar Tree Pipit, which is a common winter visitor.

The next two families, the Babblers and Bulbuls, are poorly represented in the Sudan, owing to the very limited area of suitable forest country. The majority of forms, therefore, which are described from these two families have not been recorded from the Sudan.

There are some excellent coloured plates of the Flycatchers, of which twelve Sudan species are described. These include the migratory Spotted, Pied and White Collared Flycatchers (all European breeding birds), the Black Headed Flycatcher (*Batis minor*), the long-tailed Paradise Flycatcher (*T. viridis*) and the beautiful Blue Fairy Flycatcher (recorded from the Equatorial Province of the Sudan), of which there is a fine coloured illustration by Mr. Roland Green.

The last family in the volume, the Thrushes, includes familiar species such as the Chats and Wheatears, the Rock Thrushes, the Bush Robin, the Nightingale and the Redstart. There are useful illustrations and sketches of the Chats, all of which are winter visitors to the Sudan except the Red Breasted Chat (*Oe. heuglini*) and the White Rumped Black Chat (*Oe. l. leucopyga*), which are resident and breed here.

The last species described is the Nightingale (*Luscinia m. megarhynchos*), and several records are quoted of the bird being heard in full song in West Africa during the winter. In the northern Sudan it only occurs on passage, and though I have seen many hundreds on migration on the Red Sea coast I have never heard a proper song from any of them. Admiral Lynes' experience in Darfur (*Ibis*, 1925, p. 104) was the same.

In general it is enough to say that Mr. Bannerman's fourth volume keeps up the high standard set by the other three. The work is invaluable to anyone interested in African birds.

J. F. M.

Sudan Notes and Records.

Vol. XX, 1937.

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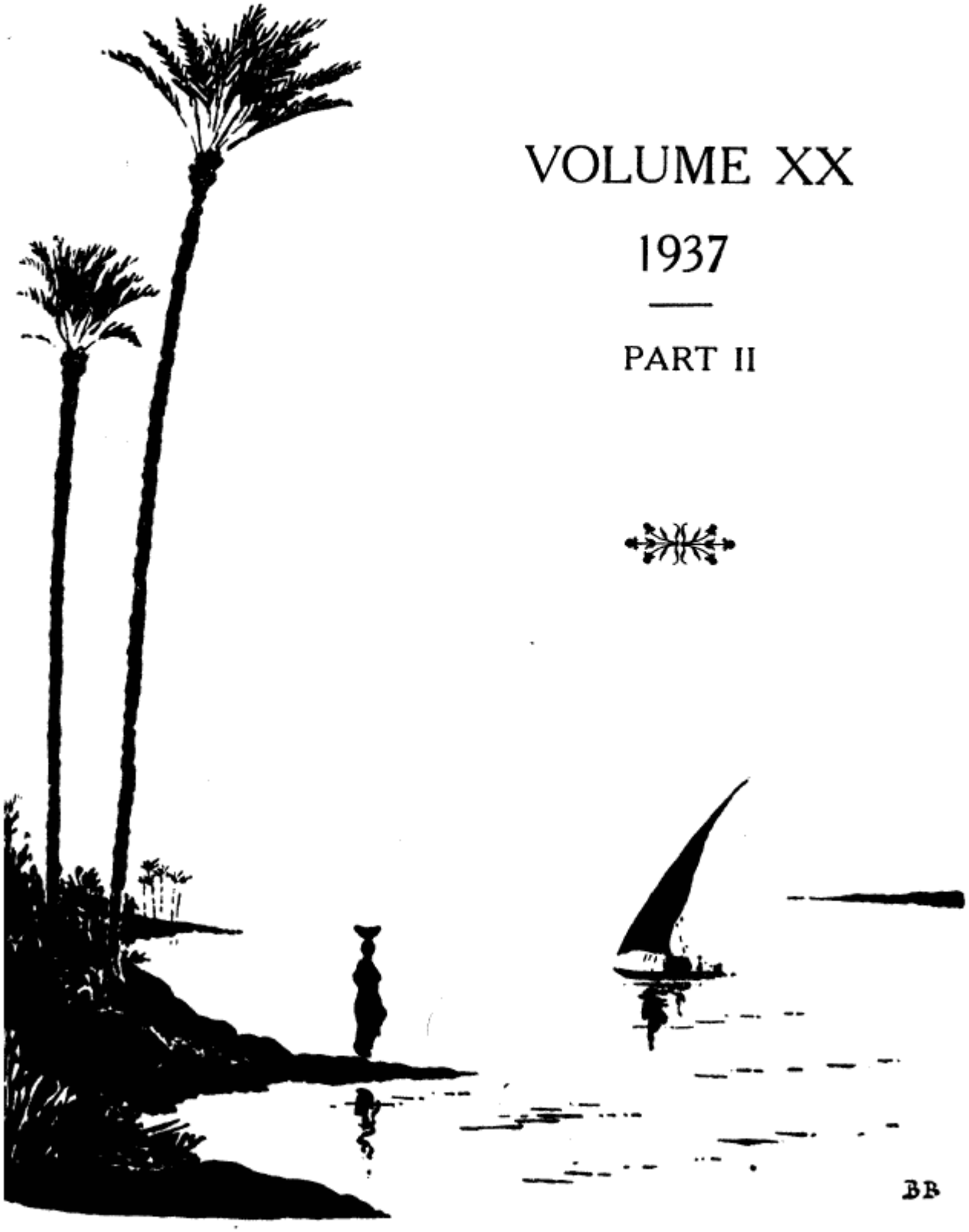
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Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

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

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

VOWELS.				DIPHTHONGS.
fatḥa	a,	lengthened	ā	ـَي —ai (as in aisle).
kasra	i,	„	ī	ـَو —au (as in mauser).
ḍamma	u,	„	ū	

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ة) 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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THE HADENDOWA.

By T. R. H. Owen.

(PLATES I—IV.)

UPON the battlefield of Beja origins I am not going to intrude. Whether the Beja tribes are descendants of the pre-dynastic Egyptians as Seligman considers, whether they are identical with the Blemyes of Herodotus and Homer's " blameless Æthiopians " (the epithet seems to preclude such identity), what their relation is to the Amharic stock and the Khasa and Tigre speaking tribes of Tokar and Eritrea, do not strictly concern an account of the Hadendowa. Suffice it that they are a unit, and by now much the most numerous and important unit, of the Hamitic, " Bedawe " speaking, tribes, known collectively as the Beja. They spread from somewhat north of Sinkat and Suakin to Khashm el Girba and south of Kassala, and they number something like 70,000 souls.

The origins of the Hadendowa as a tribe are as obscure as their own speech and as vague as their minds. But their own *nisbas*, historical references, and all other evidence go to show that they are the latest of the Beja to evolve as a self-conscious tribe, and their real existence as such probably does not much exceed a couple of centuries. Among their many sections comparatively few are of true-blue Hadendowa stock descended from the tribal ancestor ; starting from a small virile nucleus, they have swelled, snowball-like, by conquering, marrying with and absorbing other kindred tribes, till they have reached their present status of a haggis of Beja elements unified by the common name of Hadendowa, common traditions for the past century, and a common administration with a great personality at its head. The process of absorption is still going on ; fifty years hence the Bisharin will still be an entity ; the Amarar may be ; but probably every smaller and southern Beja unit will have been sucked into the community that has the seeds of vigorous expansion in it.

An arabicized Hamitic tribe needs its *sherifi* ancestor as much as a soap or tinned-lobster king needs his Norman blood. The origin of the Hadendowa, therefore, was on this wise.

Mohammed Hadab, a Sherifi, came over from the Hejaz, and, marrying a descendant of Shakaital, king of the indigenous Beja, had a son, Mohammed Mubarak, " Barakwin," " the Fearless," who became the founder of the Hadendowa in the following circumstances.

Under Abdel Malik Ibn el Merwan, when Mecca was taken and many of the Ashraf driven forth, one Sherif Mohd el Alawi came to the neighbourhood of Suakin, with his daughter Hadat.

The Kumeilab's ancestors, who were seven sons, the seventh of whom was a dog, and who being Beni Heteim, were inveterate foes of all Ashraf, were then a power in the land, and happened to make a raid and to carry off Hadat who was placed in their household and became a slave.

Mohammed Barakwin happened to be lodging with Sherif el Alawi, and heard him bewailing the disaster that had befallen him ; whereupon Barakwin made the Sherif promise that if he rescued Hadat, he should have her to wife. He accordingly went to the Kumeilab, near Jebel Asotriba, and served them. One day the sheikh of the Kumeilab went off to deal with a fracas that had occurred among his people. Barakwin thereupon went to the skeikh's wife and told her that the sheikh had commissioned him to take Hadat, as a slave, to Suakin and sell her and bring back the proceeds. He asked for two *girbas* of water and a young sheep as provisions, so as to accomplish the journey quickly and without showing Hadat to any stranger who might be covetous of her, and having secured these, he took the lady pillion and raced off with her to Jebel Okwur, where her father was situated.

Sherif el Alawi tried to go back on his oath, saying that Barakwin was not a true-blue Sherifi and he therefore could not give him his daughter, but would give him her weight in gold instead. Barakwin, however, would have none of this, and went on the pilgrimage, returning with a *nisba* that proved his Gureish descent, and he and Hadat were duly united.

Seven sons resulted : Neeteb Abu Bahrein, Kelai Abu Hamis, Bashok Abu Hakwol, Ishbadin Abu Gameil, Gurhab Abu Hadal, Hamlab Abu Gaid and Wailhamad Abu Samar.



HADENDOWA FAMILY DRAWING WATER AT A WELL-CENTRE.

Meanwhile the Kumeilab induced the Fung, whose rule then extended to Suakin, to attack Barakwin, in his stronghold of Okwur. The Fung tried to undermine the Jebel first (their eathworks are still shown) and, failing in that, tried to ascend the Jebel, but Barakwin and his men drove down on them camels with bundles of burning straw, and so turned and routed them, and thereafter lived in peace and increased, inter-marrying with the existing Beja tribes or driving them out.

Hadat's tomb may be seen on top of a prominent white hillock a few miles south of Okwur ; from the size of it she must have been a fine figure of a woman. And if one climbs Okwur, one is shown the foundations of some old stone buildings that are said to be those of Barakwin himself.

The name Hadendowa represents " people of Hadat," or perhaps " lion people " after Barakwin's father Hadab, " the lion," a soubriquet still not uncommon in the tribe.

The story, as usual, is a picturesque embroidery of the historical fact that Arabian culture made a surface-conquest of the Beja tribes and that a certain amount of Arab blood was infused into Beja stock. What is of some interest is that even tribal legend makes this original emergence of the tribe only to date back to the Fung *régime*, and to the wane of the Fung *régime* at that.

Original Arabian penetration of the Beja had begun in the first and second centuries of Islam. Of this early occupation some of the Hadendowa—though it was centuries before their name had appeared—have a legend, which is worth recording because it is rather a good fairy-story and because here again the legend is not divorced from a possible historical basis. It relates to a place, Nubt, lying among barren hills fifty miles west of Sinkat. I accompanied Mr. Sandars on a visit there in 1932, and in addition to fragments of glass, pottery, beads and similar traces of ancient inhabitation such as are found at several spots on the Red Sea coast, there are a number of the ancient pagan-Beja circular stone tombs and among them a Muslim grave-yard, each grave with an inscription carved upon it. The legend is as follows :—

Long, long ago, before the early Bega, or Rum, had become Muslims, the King of the Rum, probably Shakaital after whom the *jebel* is called, lived at Nubt. He had three remarkable possessions—a sword that could

cut anything in twain, a grindstone that could grind anything to powder, and a daughter who was the most beautiful in the world

At that time the Benhilalt (Beni Hilal) came from Arabia to live on the coastal plain round Suakin. The son of the Sheikh of the Beni Hilal heard of the beauty of the daughter of the Rum King, and decided to woo and win her. So he went to the Rum and served them, looking after their flocks and herds. The lady encouraged his advances, but the Rum did not, and eventually accused him of misconduct with her, which he denied. They therefore decided on trial by ordeal, took him to the wells at sunset, gave him a bucket, and told him if he was innocent to have all the hods filled by the morning. Then they left him. Now the Rum were very big men, and their well-buckets so large and heavy that no ordinary mortal could draw water with them, so the young man soon found himself defeated. He therefore ran to his lady-love, the king's daughter, and asked her to help him ; she came with him and, being as lusty as her brethren, easily tackled the bucket, and when the Rum came in the morning they were chagrined to find the hods full.

However, they suspected what had happened, and on examining the lady, sure enough they found a spot of wet mud still on her breast. So they killed the young man. When the Sheikh of the Beni Hilal heard of his son's death, he came up to take vengeance. The battle took place near Nubt, and the combatants suffered the fate of the Kilkenny cats. The King of the Rum, seeing that all was lost, and determined that no other should have his three great possessions, took the sword that could cut anything in twain, went to the grindstone that could grind anything to powder, and smote it in two halves, which can be seen to this day. He then went to the most beautiful daughter in the world and cut her head off, and she still walks. He then struck the sword point down into the ground, which swallowed it up, and if a camel is " barracked " on the spot the sword will pierce him.

Now the dates of a number of the Muslim tombstones which we were able to decypher varied from 227 to 277 A.H. (841–890 A.D.). *Circa* 241 A.H. there was a revolution of these Beja tribes, under one Ali Baba, against the caliphate of Mutawakkil ibn Mu'tasim, which was only put down after considerable fighting. The Muslim graves are probably a relic of the garrison and military occupation of those times. The very con-

tinuance of the legend through all these centuries shows that the Hadendowa, or rather their forebears, must have been settled in those parts from the earliest times.

Early History and the Turkia.

To return to the newly-formed community of Barakwin and his merry men in *jebel* Okwur.

We are still in the region of legend rather than history. Barakwin had seven sons (see ***nisbas*** at the end). When these and their children had increased to some forty arm-bearing men, and the functions of administration were divided up. Government and military leadership were taken over by Wailali, son of Ne'eteb abu Bahrain; headship in *shura* by Bashok Abu Hakwol; and religious leadership by Samara, grandson of Kelai Abu Hamis. The job of speaker of the House of Commons no longer rests with the Hakwolab; but the odour of sanctity still clings to the Samarandowab who, excepting one sub-section who have given up religion for camel-theft, are the recognized Levites of the tribe; above all, headship of the Hadendowa is rooted in the Wailaliab and has always been so. Most tribes have a sheikhly house, but there can be no tribe with a more fixed loyalty to one reigning line; the Hadendowa never have owed and never would owe allegiance to any but a true descendant of Wailali.

Meanwhile by marriage the tribe was growing. A Turk, one Log-Log, who came to hunt ibex in the hills near Suakin, had a romance with the daughter of Bashok Abu Hakwol and founded the large Samarar section. Bushara, an ancestor of the Shukria Ekeikab, married into the Gemilab section and produced the Busharaiab (who use the same camel brand as the Ekeikab to this day); a Ga'ali Macabrabi took another Hakolab daughter to found the Sharaab, and a third daughter went to Ibrahim abu Gara', a Fung beggar, so called from his begging bowl or "gar'a"; when he was near Gebeit his bowl fell from his hand and was smashed, and there he sat him down, vowing he would not stir, and became the father of the Gar'ib: their camel brand is the *m'halag*, a coin-like dot, said to be one of the rials that fell into his begging bowl, and the Gar'ib are to this day reputed a skinflint lot, the only Hadendowa section who

deign to let their women-folk keep fowls, so that the women may market the eggs and make their own pin-money instead of asking for it from their husbands.

Thus the foundations of the Hadendowa confederacy were laid. They were a poor community, however, owning few animals ; to the acquisition of their wealth one more little legend belongs, before we come on to history.

In the high and far off times, when the descendants of Barakwin had few herds, there was one Meleik, of the newly forming Samarar clan, who fared southward and sojourned with the Melhitkenab, then a power in the land, north of the Gash ; and there he fell in love with a beautiful Melhitkenabi girl.

Returning to his brethren, he told them that if they sent with him a body of forty men, he would come back with enough camels to supply the whole tribe. Forty men accordingly set out with him, whom he took and hid around the wells where the great herds of Melhitkenab camels came to drink. Now in those lawless times a scout was always sent ahead of herds going to water, to make certain that the wells were not ambushed ; so Meleik, leaving his men in hiding, went forward to meet the approaching scout, who, recognizing him as an old acquaintance, saluted him. Meleik returned the salute and asked the man to lend him his knife to cut a thorn out of his foot. The man obligingly did so, whereupon Meleik knocked him down, cut his throat, shoved the body behind a rock, and putting on his dress, signalled to the oncoming camel herds an " All clear." It chanced that his light-of-love was with the approaching Melhitkenab, and she, with the far-seeing eyes of love, said, " That's not our man at all ; that is Meleik." But the herdsmen only said, " You are gone on Meleik, every time you see a rock or tree you think it's Meleik." So they came fearlessly on to the wells, where the Hadendowa ambuscade fell upon them, slew them, and carried off the herds of camels to the north. And Meleik got the wench.

Certainly they were a ruffianly and predatory lot, and it was at this time that they began, under Wailali Mohammed, that expansion southwards, that steady " Drang nach Süden," in search of better pastures and easier living than the barren hills provide, which has continued ever since and is still going on This Wailali is put only some six or seven generations back, and his date may be guessed at *circa* 1760 A.D

The Sharaab sections had already pushed out the Beni Amer from Erkowit and occupied that area ; the Busharaiab and other sections were busily scrapping with the Bisharin, who in those days came nearly to Sinkat and Derudeb, and were slowly pushing them westwards. There are legends of fights with the Fung authorities as far north as Port Sudan in the tribe's earliest days. But the Fung power was on the decline, and as its controlling influence fell back southwards, so the Hadendowa penetrated, none too peacefully, in its wake.

Wailali died and was buried in Khor Langeb, half way southward towards the Gash, and Musa, his son, reigned in his stead. Of him nothing definite is known, but his son Mohammed was a warrior of some calibre. His dates may have been roughly 1790 to 1810, and he finally " saw off " the last of the Fung influence, established the Hadendowa in the Gash with his headquarters at Filik, and carried on their expansion, at the expense of Beni Amir, Halenga, Melhitkenab and other smaller or meeker tribes, both southward and eastward. Mohammed was killed fighting against the Beni Amer, near Sabderat, and lies buried in a grave-yard in Khor Arideb where one can see his *hic jacet* still.

His son and successor, Mohammed Din, was the first real historical character of whom we have an account among the Hadendowa. He had probably just succeeded when Burckhardt, in 1814, penetrated from Berber and the Atbara to the Gash and thence north to Suakin, with a party of merchants The impression one gets is that the country was fairly quiet and open to commerce and that the ever-constant menace of Hadendowa savageness, treachery and brigandage which he emphasizes, was largely a figment or the result of Burckhardt's own suspicious and resentful nature. It is interesting to note that despite their thrust southwards, the Hadendowa had not yet pushed back the Bisharin west of the hills, though they had reached the Atbara river at Goz Rageb and a little north of it ; on the contrary, the Bisharin were pressing them eastwards into the hills, and Burckhardt more than once mentions rumours of Bisharin raids as far east as the present Kassala railway line, and speaks of the tribes retiring to the mountains in haste to avoid them.

It is worth pausing to look at Burckhardt's picture, for his is the first serious account of the Southern Beja tribes (though the Hadendowa had first been mentioned by name by Bruce, travelling about 1770) and

bears the stamp of true intentions though of warped judgment. Much must have changed since 1814; he found gum being picked in the Gash for export to Suakin, whereas a few *talh* trees on the line of the Gash is the nearest approach to gum existing to-day; he found the Beja in possession of humped cattle, a feature borne out by older rock carvings in some of the hills, but which has nowadays changed. The cattle would have been more numerous but for the raids of lions, " and tigers," which infested the Gash. But " the fiercest animal that inhabits these woods is the Bedjawy." His opinion of the Hadendowa is a lurid one. At his finding them indolent we may not open our eyes: he also struck a true note in recording that " they will not endure to be plagued with questions "; and even in accusing them of drinking coagulated blood, with salt and *semn*, he may be recording a habit that has grown obsolete. But he also found them inhospitable and niggardly, thievish, habitual drunkards, and their women forward and loose (one specimen offered " to deny him nothing in return for a handful of cloves "). Now the Hadendowi, though mistrustful of strangers, never grudges hospitality; apart from casual animal theft, he does not steal things, for he is not interested in them; outside the few town dwellers, he does not touch liquor at all; and excepting one section which shares with the Amarar the supply of demi-mondes for Port Sudan, the moral code is tolerably strict. Their character must have undergone no small modifications. Perhaps then, as now, they enjoyed a joke in their own way, and found Burckhardt easy to make fun of. On one occasion he had a length of *dammour* lifted from over his own shoulder when in the *suk*: he followed the thief and, after difficulties, thought himself lucky to recover two-thirds of the value, " the thief keeping the remainder, for the trouble he had had in stealing the whole."

The redoubtable Mohammed Din carried on the ousting and reducing of other Beja tribes to a considerable extent, as Hadendowa prestige and power increased. The Halenga must have been a decadent tribe by that time, and were steadily pushed back to the environs of Kassala, where they still survive; if there is one episode common to every Hadendowa section's past history, it is that at some time or other they defeated the Halenga in battle. The Melhitkenab were a rather more formidable problem. Mohammed Din took a Melhitkenab wife, and despite strained relations between the tribes, this petticoat influence kept him from

taking serious action against them. After a series of incidents, the final Melhitkenabi outrage was the murder of a child, at harvest time, whose head they cut off and hid among the dura-heads in his mother's basket, as she was picking. She came with the gory head to Mohammed Din and this was more than he could stand. He organised an attack on them which reduced them to a subordinate position from which they have never emerged.

The Segolab, appearing in Burckhardt under the disguise of Segollo, in Werne under that of Soggilab and in Samuel Baker (1861) under the soubriquet of Soojalup, were the other local power in the Gash, who were similarly harried out of their position. It is said that Mohammed Din never deigned to speak Arabic until after he had been taken by the Egyptians, when, chained and in unbearable thirst, he was heard to utter the words *isgi-ni moia*. The Segolab mocked him for this weakness, in ribald verse, a provocation which drew down on them ruin at the hands of Mahammed Din's nephew, Musa, who subjected them to a persecution from which this miserable tribelet have never recovered. But in general, Hadendowa expansion moved quite as much by inter-marriage and gradual absorption as by the sword. The process, as regards the Melhitkenab and Segolab and certain other sections, may be said to have closed only half a dozen years ago with the inclusion of these tribes within the Nazirate.

When the Turkish invasion came, Mohammed Din resisted it, and resisted it with success, for many years. He annihilated one force under Khurshid Pasha, and the Hadendowa remained under no effective control. Turkish pressure gradually began to tell, but even so, the tribe would no sooner have paid a little tribute than they ceased payment again, and it was not till 1840 that Mohammed Din finally fell. We have a full account from Werne, who accompanied the expedition that went under Ahmed Pasha Abu 'Udan, the then Governor-General, and a son-in-law of Mohammed Ali, to reduce Taka (as the Gash and Kassala areas were called) to subjugation and tribute-paying once more.

The expedition travelled from El Damer up the Atbara, through Bisharin territory into Hadendowa. It is of interest to note that Werne found the Fung race, though much mixed with various Arab tribes, still to be met with from El Damer to Goz Regeb, as well as in the Gezira; and though speaking Arabic, they still maintained their pride of race and

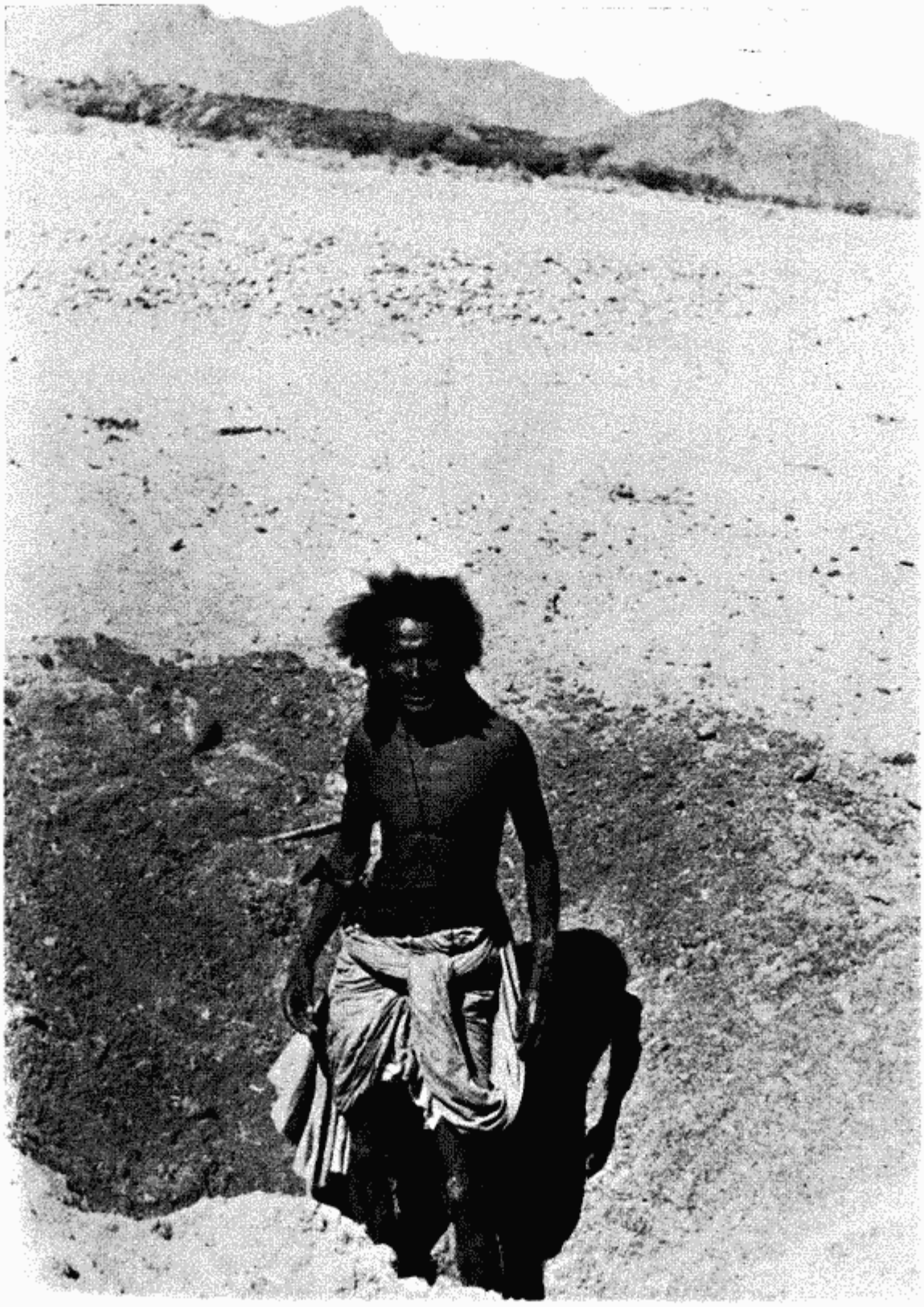
disliked being confused with genuine Arabs. As a power they had become nothing but a memory.

Werne estimated the Hadendowa at 80,000 fighting men, a fantastic figure ; but that the animal wealth of the tribe was in those times greater is probable, though Beni Amer and Shukria were both considered wealthier: a day or two's forage by a single party produced 7,000 sheep and 2,000 cattle in tribute and nearly 6,000 camels were counted round Filik, the Hadendowa headquarters. The " much talked of and greatly feared Mohammed Din " was certainly a power in the land. " Every Arab," Werne tells us, " from Atbara to the Red Sea honours him as a demi-god." He is described as being of full round face, with mouth curved in a contemptuous smile, not unlike " a common-place monk " in figure, with shaven head and wearing red trousers ; his movements were dignified and impressive ; he spoke no Arabic ; his crowd of supporters were " unmitigated-looking rascals," but " showed a proud feeling of self-reliance and self esteem."

Like Burckhardt, Werne got the impression that strangers were not welcome. All trade was by barter (though the dollar was recognized), and lengths of cloth the nearest approach to a currency ; but no trade was possible as the Hadendowa would sell nothing to the hated Turk. Mohammed Din objected when he saw them writing down notes, was unwilling to vouchsafe him any information, and when asked how many his Hadendowa numbered, merely said scornfully, " Count the trees."

But it was tribute that Ahmed Pasha was in search of. Mohammed Din was temporizing and parleying : he was soon to learn the meaning of Turkish faith. It is pleasant to feel that, even a hundred years ago, someone else has had labour and travail in collecting Hadendowa tribute. There are such entries as " Mohammed Din has again returned, but *tulba* he has brought none," a sentence that I could match on many pages of my diary. Eventually he produced 300 cattle. On this, although he had been given safe conduct, he was seized, together with Musa Ibrahim, his nephew, thrown into chains, and carried off southwards to Kassala.

Even this treacherous arrest did not produce tribute, any more than a sheikh's arrest will do so to-day. What little inclination the tribe may have had to trust the Turks vanished. Hostilities began behind Ahmed Pasha's back ; a party of 40 cavalry were annihilated and Goz Regeb



DIGGING A SHALLOW WELL IN THE KHOR-BED.

was burned and its inhabitants killed. The Pasha who had reached Kassala had got to devise some further method of subduing this turbulent crowd. The idea was put into his head by Mohammed Ela, the Turk-appointed head of the Halenga, who was only too glad of a chance to relieve himself of Hadendowa pressure, of damming and diverting the Gash. Then, as now, the Gash *khor* meant life and prosperity to the Hadendowa, bringing the grazing for their flocks and enabling such cultivation as they cared to indulge in ; if the stream could be stopped and water sold to them, they could be brought to heel in a very short time. Accordingly, the Turks solemnly set about damming the Gash at a point close behind Jebel Kassala : Werne was called in to engineer the work which went against the grain with him, and he records that, when completed, it was 1,613 metres long in all, and 5 metres broad at the top. It is most doubtful if the forces of nature would have allowed such an obstruction to stand for long, but they were not called upon, for with the first spate the Hadendowa rushed the dam by night, and despite a guard of 200 men, broke it and allowed the flood to complete its ruin to the chagrin of the Turks. Such an engineering feat was not attempted again.

There was further desultory fighting, and Mohammed Din and his nephew, Musa Ibrahim, were sent in chains to Khartoum. There the former, his glory departed, ended his days, dying of small-pox. Musa, however, after a short captivity, was released and returned, to take over the tribe from his father Ibrahim, of whom nothing is known, and to reign until the arrival of the Mahdia. The time was still about 1841. To say that the land had rest forty years would be inaccurate, but the reign of Musa Ibrahim is looked on by the Hadendowa as their golden age, and he as their greatest figure. Even legends have attached themselves to him, for he is said to have been sewn into a bull's hide and thrown into the Nile by the Turks and to have been recovered, safe and sound, the next day by fishermen.

Beyond doubt he was a man of character, like his uncle ; he consolidated Hadendowa supremacy from Kassala to Suakin, and was something of an imperialist with Pan-Beja aspirations, trying to get even outside tribes such as Kumilab, Arteiga and Shiaiab within his net. There were still clashes with the ruling power, but they died down. One of these attacks on the Turks, near Aroma, variously attributed to Mohammed

Din and to Musa, forms a pretty version of the shibboleth story. A night attack was planned, and in order to distinguish each other in the darkness the Hadendowa agreed to have a battle cry and chose as the password " Amboreb," the name of a khor not far from Derudeb. With this cry they assaulted the enemy successfully and threw them into confusion. Some of the Turks tumbled to what was going on and tried to pass off as Hadendowa by repeating the watchword. The Beja pronunciation, however, proved too much for them, and they could only utter something like " Hamboori, Hamboori," so that they were one by one spotted and killed to a man.

But there was not much resistance after 1844 when Ahmed Pasha Menekli, nicknamed " El Gazzar," instituted his Terror throughout Taka, a campaign from which the Halenga suffered almost as badly as the Hadendowa. As in the case of Mohammed Din, the tribal sheikhs were induced to come in on safe conducts, and that after most of the wanted tribute had been extracted, and were then seized and carried off, chained as slaves, with many of the tribesmen. Many were executed on the spot, others shot on the journey from Kassala. Organised opposition to the Turkish *régime* was at an end.

Musa Ibrahim's methods for the most part were rather those of intrigue and persuasion than of the sword. He knew the truth of the motto " If you wish to get rid of a man, promote him," and when he got up against Murtad Pasha at Suakin, who was backing the Kumilab in inter-tribal dispute, he took the opportunity of one of his trips to Egypt to praise Murtad so highly, intimating that he was too good a man for such a thankless job, that Murtad was forthwith preferred to another appointment.

He travelled to the Hejaz and spent some time in Khartoum besides journeying more than once to Egypt. Nevertheless, his relations with the Egyptian Government were often stormy, and in the true Hadendowa tradition it was tribute which caused the friction. On one occasion Musa was bastinadoed, and when Samuel Baker passed in 1861 he recorded that the great Musa was imprisoned " for some breach of discipline in his dealings with the Egyptian Government." He came up against several of the Turkish Governors, notably " Rami Bey," so nicknamed by the Hadendowa from his constant use of the Korbag, his most often-heard

expression being "irmi"—"lay him down"—*i.e.*, and give him a hundred. On one occasion, when Hadendowa tribute was in even grosser arrears than usual, "Rami" (whose identity is obscure) threatened to come from Kassala and enforce payment. Still nothing was forthcoming, and the Turks marched out and surrounded Filik. The tribe began to suggest producing something, but Musa ordered them not to budge. He then sent to Rami and told him that he was not behaving like a gentleman; he could, he said, himself satisfy such a paltry sum with his own animals. He then paid up the whole sum demanded from his own resources, but after Rami had gone back he recovered the value three-fold from the Hadendowa and amassed a very large property.

While the Southern Hadendowa were run from Kassala, the northern sections were lumped, together with many of the Amarar, in an Erkowit "khutt." A fair sized military post existed at Erkowit, and the Turks even attempted to get artillery up the Muselli and Kwolkwolai passes from the Suakin plain, but found the gradient too stiff and failed in the attempt. There was a post at Tamrein, not far distant from Derudeb; Sinkat itself was but a small place and not destined to come into history until the Mahdia. But, on the whole, the hill-Hadendowa were not greatly affected by any Government. Some of them grazed southwards to the Gash, but at a rumour of the forays which comprised most of the administration of those times, they had but to retire to the hills, where no Pasha would think it worth while to follow them. Though the Nazirate of Musa was universally recognized, and Mohammed el Amin, cousin of Musa and father of the present Nazir, was acknowledged, both by Turks and tribesmen, as head of the Northern half of the tribe, beyond these general allegiances tribal discipline was next to none. A few names of sectional chiefs stand out, but for the most part everybody went as he listed, as the ties of clan and family bade him, or as his goats and cattle led him in the everlasting search for pasturage and water.

Latterly Musa, and most of the tribe, became definitely disaffected, but there were no more serious breaches of the peace, and trade from Kassala and the south by the Suakin route flourished, as far as misrule did not strangle commerce altogether. Musa died, full of years and honour, at the beginning of the Mahdia, probably in 1884. His son, Mohammed 'Bey 'Musa, had taken over the practical headship some years previously,

but the golden days were past and the tribe were to pass through the fire in the years awaiting them.

The Mahdia.

The Mahdia found the Hadendowa, as it found most of the country, tired of its rulers, yet despising them, harried yet prone to violence and reprisals. It was to leave them worse off.

The first rumours of the Mahdi's appearance made little enough impression. They were not on the watch for Mahdis. One of the earliest Arab historians, writing of the Beja, said: "Behind the appearance of Islam they hide corrupt practices"; and though this would now be a libel against their palpable orthodoxy, they are not pronouncedly interested in religion nor fanatically minded. Their adherence to Mahdism was based on dislike of the "Turk," hope of spoil and natural enjoyment of a scrap, and to some extent the effect of revivalist doctrine and spiritual promises upon extreme ignorance. The spark that lighted the fire was a gross swindling of the tribe by the Government over a camel contract. But above all, their adherence depended upon the single personality of Osman Digna.

The influence of this man upon the Hadendowa I have always found a mystery. No tribesman remembers him with affection, very few with admiration. He was not physically brave (after being wounded by Tawfik's men at Sinkat in 1883 he led every future fight from his prayer-mat, half a mile in rear); he was not kindly and clement, and lacked that power of endless procrastination and compromise which is the joy of the Hadendowa and the despair of those responsible for them. They were frightened of him, and though fear of British arms overcame fear of Osman in the Suakin area, to the south he ruled at least a part of them with his rod to the very end.

Though the Dignai are counted part of the Hadendowa confederacy, their origins are mainly Arteiga and Suakinese. Once a wealthy slave trader who, with his family, had been ruined by the capture and liberation of a convoy of slaves by a British warship, it was hatred of the British that actuated Osman above other motives. Implacable to the end, he was yet to live after 1898 for 28 peaceful years under this Government and die an old man at Halfa in December, 1926. The report of his death at a

Hadendowa meeting caused, as the District Commissioner recorded at the time, " about the same mild sensation as the ex-Kaiser's decease might cause in a remote Highland village."

Among Amarar and Bisharin he never found support. Even among the Hadendowa his followers were few at first, and after two defeats at Tawfik's hands his stock was very low, his supporters coming mostly from the Busharaiab who, with the Gemilab section, are to this day the most ruffianly and bellicose in the tribe. But after Government inertia, the defeat of Egyptian troops by Hadendowa at El Teb and Trinkitat, and the annihilation of a relieving force by the Gar'ib Hadendowa in the Abent pass (whose precipitous track is even now a danger to unwary car drivers) had enabled the fall of Sinkat and the destruction of the gallant Tawfik, Osman's prestige rose so quickly that he soon had the whole northern part of the tribe behind him.

It was at this time that the name of the Hadendowa gained its sinister fame as that of the most formidable of the Dervishes. Firearms they never cared about and still have no interest in ; sword and spear, shield and camel-stick, an approach under any available cover, and a rush of tremendous velocity were their methods of offence, and against the levies of convicts and sweepings of the Cairo streets that were at first sent against them, they were entirely effective, and the tribe's confidence and adherence to the new cause increased.

The awakening was a grievous one. This is not the place to give an account of the battles of Tamai and El Teb (1884) and MacNeil's zariba (1885). Their prowess and *élan* were the same ; and where, as at Tamai, a hollow square of infantry had been marched, without scouts and through thick scrub, to within 200 yards of a sunken khor with 7,000 Hadendowa hidden in it, it is not surprising that the tribe " broke a British square." The verdict of the late Colonel Sir Percival Marling, who won his V.C. at the battle, and revisited the site a few years ago, may be quoted, that it was the worst battle fought by the worst general in the British army at the army's worst period. But all this prowess caused some 110 British fatalities, while rifle fire destroyed nearly 3,000 Hadendowa, and for all the cheerful tribute we may pay to the tribe in verse, their view of these battles is not ours. To the Hadendowa they are best forgot. In 1932 there was some talk of a big unveiling of the Tamai memorial, in the pres-

ence both of British troops and the Hadendowa survivors of the battle, to emphasize the change from our past enmity to our present mutual friendship and partnership in the same far-flung Empire. It proved impossible to unearth any old man, though many must exist, who would own to having been at the battle. It was long before I discovered the reason, when an old greybeard said, " Do you mean to say that even after fifty years Government can't forget, but means to have us old men out and hang us now ? "

These battles shattered Osman's influence, though they had no effect on the fate of the country. A desultory " siege " of Suakin continued for some years, accompanied by clashes between Hadendowa and the Amarar or other loyal sections : but the fighting fizzled out, and long before the reconquest what were left of the northern Hadendowa were trading at Suakin, living their normal lives and coming into gradually increasing contact with Government.

Meanwhile, Osman Digna, after visiting the Khalifa in Omdurman, where enemies complained that he wielded too much influence and that all the best jobs were held by Hadendowa, returned to Adarama on the Atbara and settled there in 1891. All sorts of " ansar " gathered round him, but Hadendowa predominated, and it is some of the river sections of the tribe in whom Mahdism is most alive to this day.

The Mahdia was an opportunity for the tribe to complete their occupation of the southern territory into which they had been pushing for so long. The Melhitkenab had been mopped up by Mustafa Hadal, Osman's wakil, for siding with the Turks ; the Halenga were driven in further on Kassala and Hadendowa suzerainty established up to Khashm el Girba, and to some extent northward of Goz Regeb at the expense of the Bisharin.

But Hadendowa allegiance to the Khalifa's *régime* was weakening. They had suffered, though less than the central Sudan, from the ravages of famine and small-pox in " sanat sitta " ; after the dreadful slaughter in the battles with the British in the North, they had suffered in the fighting with the Abyssinians in 1891 and against the Italians, who retook Kassala from the Dervishes in 1894. It was harder and harder for Osman Digna to hold the tribe together behind him.

His own conduct of affairs sapped the faith of his people in him. His cousin, Mohammed Fai, whom he left in charge during his absence, started

raising levies of three dollars for every camel and three dollars for every twenty-five sheep, and this tribute touched the Hadendowa on their weak spot, the Hamdab and other sections seceding quickly. In 1886 the Khalifa had sent an emissary to Osman bidding him to be more clement and conciliating, but he cannot have paid any great heed, for it was shortly after this admonition that he executed the Nazir of the Amarar, Hamad Mahmoud, and the sheikh of the Nurab, setting the seal to the hostility of the Amarar towards him. Quarrels over the wakilship further south and complaints against the Digna family caused apprehension of a general Hadendowa secession, and the Khalifa had to summon Mohammed Musa, still Nazir of the tribe in name, with other leading sheikhs to Omdurman, where after he had promised them to send Kantibai Abu Girga as their emir in Osman's place, he clapped them in irons and threatened them with death. However, they were released, and returned, outwardly submissive, but inwardly disaffected and unchastened.

True to the Khalifa's policy of splitting up the big headships, what little unity had existed in the tribal structure of the Hadendowa had been destroyed. The Nazirate had virtually ceased to exist. The tribe's "nahas," Mansura, had been confiscated and carried off to Omdurman, though there is a legend that it was buried by a slave woman and never discovered. Mohammed Musa, a refractory character under any circumstances, was once again seized by Osman Digna's representative and was imprisoned. He was forcibly rescued by the Hadendowa, who dragged him by night from confinement, tied him on a camel and took him across the Gash before knocking his irons off. He then fled to Eritrea, but soon quarrelled with the Beni Amir nazir, Hussein Diglal, who complained to the Italians that Mahammed Musa and his Hadendowa were trying to murder him, and Mohammed moved on to the British at Suakin, with his next brother Ahmed and their entourage. There he spent most of the rest of the Mahdia, and there Ahmed was sentenced in 1892 to five years by a court-martial, for intriguing with Osman Digna.

So the Mahdia petered out, leaving the tribe divided, decimated, leaderless, more than ever anxious to be left alone. Osman kept a nucleus of fighting men about him at Adarama, and with his Hadendowa was present under Mahmoud Ahmed, the Khalifa's nephew, before the battle of the Atbara. In fact Mahmoud was bidden by the Khalifa to let Osman

direct operations, and Osman who knew the meaning of rifle fire, tried to persuade him to attack the invading force by night, as he himself had been advised to do by his Gemilabi " chief of staff " before Tamai, and had suffered from refusing the advice. Mahmoud refused, the two quarrelled, and Osman, who knew the certain result of the coming battle, persuaded the Hadendowa contingent to gallivant during the night, which they duly did. There were, however, a few of the tribe the following month at Kerreri, stationed in the concealed khor where they encountered the charge of the 21st Lancers. Not many escaped the battle, but Osman did so, to escape once more from the Khalifa's side before the final attack at Um Debeikerat, and to defeat capture until 1900, when betrayed by the Gemilab sheikh with whom he was a refugee in the heart of the Waribba hills.

The Present Century.

Interest in any tribe's history tends to flag with the opening of this Government. The period of romance, and of romancing, is past. Events are too close to us, under the arc-lamps of personal experience and official record ; and the nearer one comes to the present day, the more does the gloom of standardization, regularity, method and efficiency descend on the scene.

And yet the past decade may, to a future generation prove the most memorable in Hadendowa history, even though it is not a subject of interest for the general reader.

For the first twenty years of this Government little was heard of the Hadendowa. Pericles once said of women that she was the best about whom least was heard ; the dictum might, in some cases, be applied to tribes, but I fear it cannot be so applied to the Hadendowa at this time. Records of them are few, beyond a sentence in an annual report by an angry Governor about 1906 suggesting that this turbulent and intransigent tribe should be evicted from their hills and transplanted *en masse* to Kordofan, " to learn them " : (the method of the proposed eviction is not adumbrated). The Hadendowa kept as far away as possible from Government, and Government seems to have made very few advances to the Hadendowa. They were split in half between the old Kassala and Red Sea provinces, by an arbitrary boundary running through the centre of their most impenetrable hills. Now the Hadendowa have



A MOCK FIGHT WITH "USHUR" STICKS IN PLACE OF THE MORE USUAL STONES.

certain characteristics of which it is time to give some account. While conscious of the broad ties of Hadendowa kinship, within that broad field they tend to think in terms of very small units. Individualists and unamenable to anything that cramps their style, they do not stay clustered together in big sections, each section sticking to its own field of territory. While the tie of blood and clan remains immensely strong in them, yet each individual family of a clan may go off to seek its fortune in a new direction. The result is that this community living on a tribal basis is, territorially, split into a jig-saw of innumerable small and separate living units. There is hardly a cell, owning one tribal loyalty, that has not representatives dotted over the whole Hadendowa area. A sheikh with £E10 of tribute to collect may have to collect some of that money from near Sinkat, some from the Eritrean border, a few rials on the Atbara and the rest in the Gash. In addition, they are semi-nomadic, moving from north to south if conditions are bad, and *vice versa*. A man might graze in the Gash in December, pick cotton at Tokar in February, and go to the hill dom forests to gather nuts in May. Their reaction to influences impinging from the outside world is to avoid them so far as possible. Diodorus Siculus, travelling among the Beja in the first century B.C., remarked: "They speak to no strangers; they are interested in nothing." When interfered with or chivvied, they do not resist like some negroid tribes, nor do they vociferate like riverains, for they are largely inarticulate: they just refuse to play. They dissolve into their innumerable cells and retire, each to his bit of hill or khor—or, if hard pressed, to someone else's. You cannot send a patrol on a Snark-hunt every time that a couple of tribesmen are wanted, though this was done on occasions, and the Hadendowa, in the approved Snark tradition, "softly and silently vanished away." The sheikhs had too little control of their tribesmen to do more than play off Government against tribe, and Kassala against Red Sea. And any date or appointment was regarded, and still is regarded, by any Hadendowi as the equivalent of a Greek Kalend.

Such methods of passive resistance are more awkward to deal with than direct opposition, and effectively burke all efforts at coercion or regimenting, and even administration. There is only one way to effect any permanent influence on the Hadendowa and that is to lure them, by something to their own advantage, from their fastnesses into gradual

contact with Government. One cannot carry administration at the bayonet point into the mountains, especially direct administration. The mountains have got to be induced to come to Mohammed.

The situation outlined above produced an unsatisfactory state of things, culminating in 1923 when Kassala determined to go on to herd tax, which more than doubled the sums due from Hadendowa, while Red Sea sagely declined to budge from tribute, and the resulting confusion of listing and arrears, of addle-pated sheikhs and recalcitrant tribesmen doing the disappearing trick, may be left to the reader's imagination. Meanwhile the tribe had distinguished itself by several spasmodic anti-Government convulsions on a small scale. In 1914 they were mixed up in the Fiki Abbekr rising, in which Conry Bey was killed, near the Setit; there was more than one attack on police posts and more than one patrol, the latter sometimes for the purpose of tax collection (in 1919 a large number of Gemilab camels having been seized in satisfaction of tribute, the Gemilab, by a night surprise, carried off the whole lot in triumph under the District Commissioner's nose); and on December 28th, 1918, occurred the Sambo rising at Kassala. Mohammed Sambo, a West African fanatic fiki, induced some 30 of the Gemilab and other Hadendowa, by the usual conjuring tricks and promises of present bliss and heavenly brothels hereafter, to join with him in an attack upon Kassala, which was to be the prelude to the fall of Khartoum and establishment of Righteousness upon Earth. It resulted in the slaughter of some unresisting Egyptian troops in the Kassala fort, a few E.A.C. casualties, and the pursuit and killing of Sambo and a number of his Hadendowa. But what struck Mr. Woodland, who conducted the inquiry, was the fact that the tribe were so out of touch with Government that no word of the plot reached official ears, although it had been hatching for weeks, and his subsequent report stigmatized the administration of the Hadendowa as "a blot on the Government's record."

Given the old direct administration *vis-a-vis* the Beja temperament little else could have been expected. The Nazirate had, of course, been revived, but did not operate very effectively. Before the reconquest Mohammed Bey Musa had been appointed Nazir but was got rid of very shortly afterwards for being concerned in Hadendowa robberies on the Tokar-Kassala road and sent to languish at the forlorn little port of Mohammed Ghol, whence he returned to the Gash to die, a penurious old

man and a repository of Hadendowa lore and history, in 1933. A relative, Idris Kadi, was appointed; nicknamed Iblis and heartily disliked, he was evicted for sheltering criminals in 1904 and Ahmed Musa, Mohammed's brother, having somehow survived or evaded his 1894 sentence for sedition, took his place, but died within a few months. Ibrahim Musa, the remaining son of the great Musa, then began his long but by no means happy and glorious reign. Though titular nazir of the whole tribe, in the Red Sea Province the late and much loved Sid el Hassan el Bedri became his wakil and had a virtually independent command.

So things went on until, in 1925, the Kassala Cotton Company opened cultivation in the Gash, and in the same year the Hadendowa were united as a single tribe in a single Kassala province under a special District Commissioner. Both events were the beginning of a new era for them. The birth-pains that attended the inception of cotton, the coming of the Gash-Board in the Company's room in 1927, the opening and development of a native administration in the tribe, and the tribe's response both to cotton and to self-management, all these things are near history and unsuitable for expatiation here. But no up-to-date account could pass over the personality of the present Nazir. Mohammed el Amin Tirik, of the true Wailaliab descent but not a scion of the Musa Ibrahim branch, was elevated to the Nazirate from an omdaship in 1927, on the retirement of Ibrahim Musa, as being the one man capable of rising to the situation, of uniting and building on all that was best in the old and guiding it into the new channels that Government demanded. We all know the fine old reactionary Arab of the elder breed; we all know the too sophisticated progressive, out of sympathy with his fellows, who runs after our strange gods and suffers the nemesis, in a milder form, that was King Amanullah's fate; but the man who can keep his tribal heart intact, yet guide it with a European head, is rare indeed. Sections split up under the former unhappy reign have been reunited; the best available material has been entrusted with local authority where formerly it was sometimes allowed to be excluded by jealousy or intrigue. And if his policy of Hadendowa unification and expansion has caused a certain amount of apprehension and friction with outside tribes, it has been an unmitigated boon within the area of the tribe itself. If Barakwin was founder of the Hadendowa, they have met with a second founder in their present nazir, to whose leadership they

owe their rapid evolution and ability to keep pace with these more strenuous times.

Present State of the Tribe.

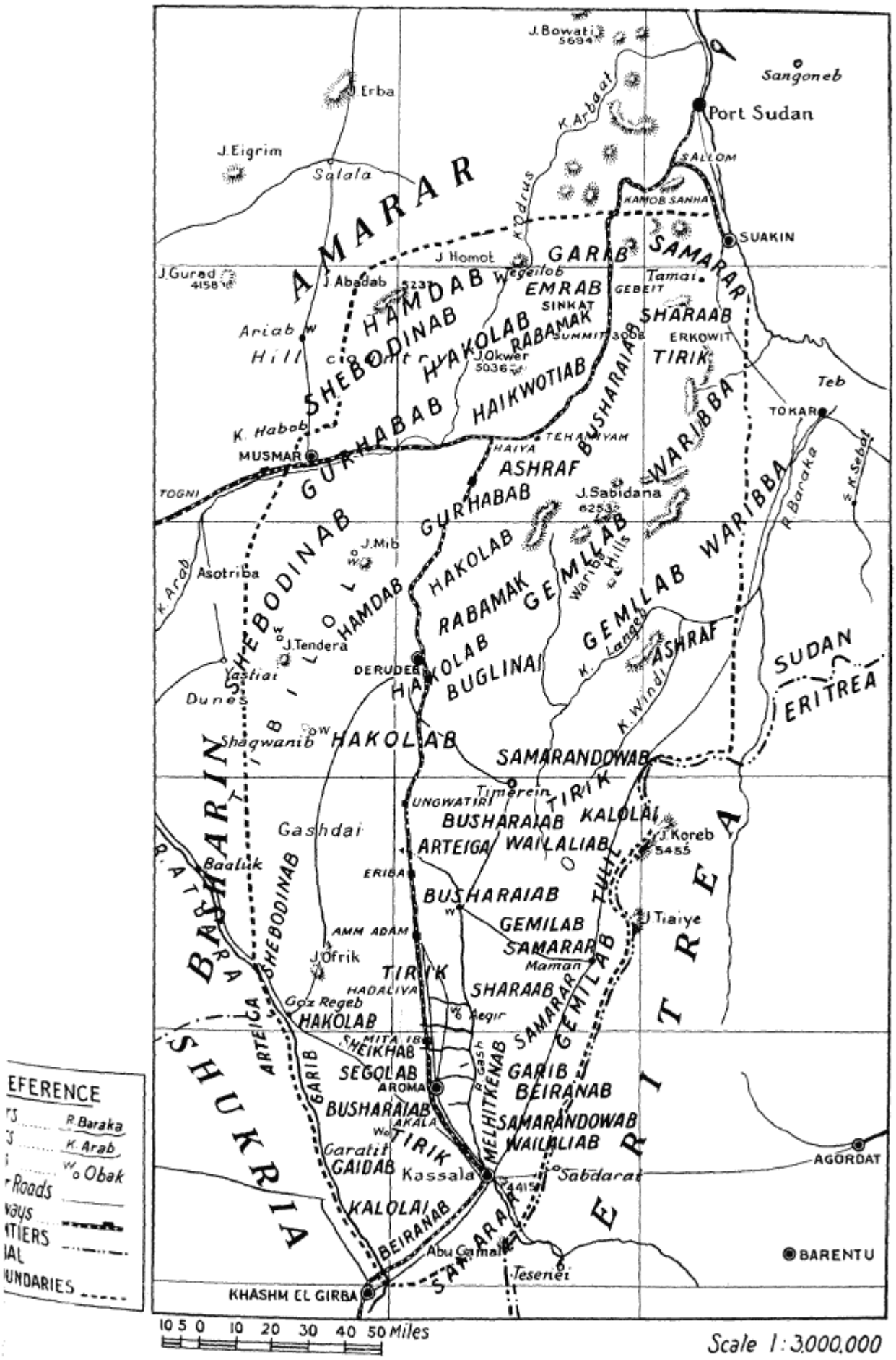
To conclude, it is necessary to give some account of the present condition of the tribe, their manner of life and prospects in the near future To give a full account of their habits, customs and anthropological aspects, most of which they share with other Beja communities, would need a separate article.

One or two historical references have already been quoted : the same strain runs through them one and all.

Don Juan de Castro (see Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. XVI, 1933) in 1540, of the Beja round Suakin, the Hadendowa's forebears, says that " They worship Mohammed and are very bad moors . . . their habits are mean and filthy." Burckhardt's reception among them has already been noted ; Samuel Baker, in 1861, accords them the sole sinister reference that the Hadendowa are " a very bad tribe." Wylde, the trader who was in constant touch with them through the '80s and '90s during our Suakin occupation, observed that " The Hadendowi will soon be improved off the face of the earth." Josiah Williams, another nineteenth century traveller, reported that " the Hadendowas are full of lying and laziness," the latter quality a justly ascribable one, the former certainly not so, for few Hadendowa acquire greater skill in the science of mendacity than to repeat " kaakan," " I knows nothink," that blank denial which forms a more maddening and impenetrable barrier against inquiry than the subtlest lies. Even as late as 1921 the naturalist and hunter, Abel Chapman, wrote them down as " the most sullen and incompetent of savages."

No stranger has ever found a good word for the tribe, whose worse or more sinister side is the one that strikes him who is not prepared to delve deep below the surface.

The " Fuzzy " is not a good mixer, even with his own kind, and it is not easy to fraternize or effect much with a community that has not as yet learned to meet round the parish pump. Apart from a few sizeable feriks in the Gash area, the rule is to find Hadendowa houses tucked away, especially throughout the hill areas, singly, in pairs or trios ; seldom in



SKETCH MAP OF THE HADENDOWA COUNTRY.

bigger groups. This is partly due to a natural lack of the swarming instinct and partly to economic conditions, for among the hills and khors grazing is too scanty and scattered to admit of large groups.

Over the mountainous northern half of the tribe's dar goats and camels are the only animals that can flourish in numbers, though old rock pictures would lead one to believe that formerly, when the rainfall was possibly greater, cattle existed further north than they do to-day. Cultivation possibilities over this area are exiguous, though useful crops are sometimes raised by flood cultivation, *i.e.*, planting on the light sandy soil of khors soaked by spates. The Gash and southern area are more cultivable and carry cattle and sheep, which now form the tribe's chief capital source of wealth, but it must be recollected that they have only been there for a few generations and have not shaken off the characteristics bred by the harder life of the hills. There is a good deal of seasonal movement from the " gunub " or Red Sea side of the watershed towards the richer Gash and Atbara quarters, especially in hard times of bad grazing, but the natural conditions of the tribe could never be those of real prosperity. For ages they have lived a partly pastoral, partly predatory, existence (though they hunt but little apart from an occasional ibex drive in the bigger ranges) living mainly on milk, eked out by slaughtering each other's animals and chewing dom nuts. Middle-aged men can remember when dura cultivation was only a third of its present proportions They have displayed small interest in commerce except to take toll of it as it passed through them. Apart from spasmodic combinations for conquest or resistance, they have had neither the need nor inclination to combine or to acknowledge any central and unifying authority. Their " weltanschaung " has always been that of the jolly miller, and they care for nobody, no not they, if nobody cares for them.

Upon this character has impinged a Government that insists on caring for them, and a Big World that will not let them or anyone else live unto themselves ; and the manner in which, far from being " civilized off the face of the earth," they are surmounting the transition stage and taking their place in the world is remarkable.

The Hadendowa have not yet become expert cotton cultivators. The Ethiopian cannot change his skin in a decade ; but instead of resenting or standing aloof from cotton, as their history and character would lead

one to expect, they have answered the summons, and of present Gash tenants (in addition to Hadendowa holdings at Tokar) nearly 75 per cent. are Beja and over 55 per cent. are from the Hadendowa themselves, and are gradually improving to an agricultural standard that is already the equal of some West Africans.

The other phenomenon whose benefits have overcome Beja shyness is the dom nut. This admirable commodity, the source of buttons and other vegetable ivory products, is superior to cotton in that it gets its effect with less effort. It needs no inspectors, no engineering, practically no Government interference—less even than gum. It does not plant civilization with a heavy hand in the hills, but draws the troglodyte gently from his fastnesses to mix with other people, and gives him the wherewithal to buy and to experience things which his fathers did not know. Moreover, the production of dom kernels for the market amounts almost to skilled labour. A good husker will husk nearly a thousand nuts a day, two-thirds of a kantar or, at present high prices, nearly 20 PT's worth, laying each nut on a stone and cracking it with a couple of deft blows with another stone before extracting the kernel and throwing the husk to his expectant goats: it takes the inexperienced five minutes and a crushed finger or two to husk a single nut; *experto crede.*

These productive activities have drawn the Hadendowi out of his shell, and between them, put £E50,000 cash into his pockets in a good year. But parallel with these, he has pulled himself together on the social and administrative side, in a manner that would not have been guessed a dozen years ago.

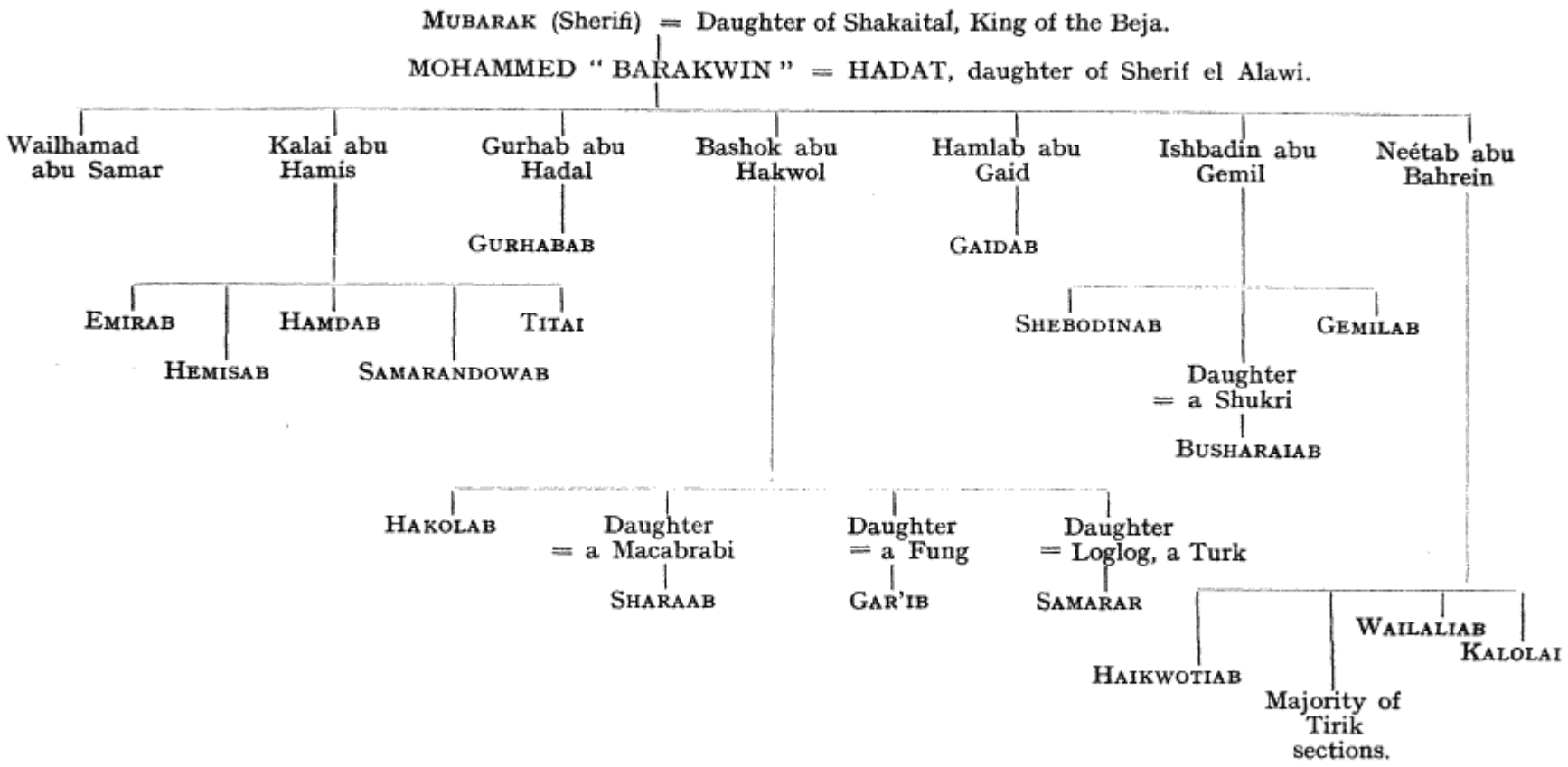
Virile but apparently backward and intransigent races often have a habit of turning out a layer, at the top, of able men to run their affairs, if sought for and brought out. The Hadendowa are, and had for long been, the most backward and the most intransigent of the Beja units. Their speech is wilder and worse pronounced than that of Amarar and Bisharin; the percentage of murders and affrays among them larger; they are more standoffish and apt to withdraw into their shell, and more intractable. Indeed, they have always professed rather to despise more tractable and "miskin" neighbours, such as the Beni Amir. I once overheard an overbearing, but obviously travelled and intelligent Hadendowi addressing a

cowering Beni Amir man from Eritrea on the subject of their respective tribes and Governments. " You," he said, " if an armed man comes up to you and you don't know what he wants, you say (with a cringe) '[6]Mit tibil ? ' and your hukuma say (waving his arms) ' Cosa fari, cosa fari ? ' If a man comes up to us we say (thumping his chest) ' Nan harriwa,' and the Ingliz get red and say ' Wojjerwan.' "

Yet as they have been by nature the most backward, so they have proved themselves the most forward in reconstruction. I shall not detail the organisation of the tribe's administration. There are other more forward and more complicated ones in the country. But under the leadership of a great man and capable lieutenants they have not only achieved a unified and strong tribal *régime* ; they have taken on, tackled and learned to play their part in running the Gash area, a site of economic development and beset with the curse of Babel. Perhaps the haphazard methods of Gash watering and cultivation suit their haphazard genius, and their capacity for delay and compromise facilitates rather than otherwise their dealings with West Africans and stranger races. Certainly that natural capacity is being modified into more business-like methods ; and a strong consciousness of Hadendowa rights and jealousy for " the honour of the house " makes the tribe's leaders determined to maintain their supremacy, even though it be no longer with the sword but in the manner the English want. The same consciousness makes them touchy and quick to resent supposed encroachment on their rights by neighbour tribes, Rashaida, Amarar, Beni Amir and others. But at the same time the forces of absorption are at work. Nearly all the small Beja tribes from the Baraka to the Atbara have joined under the ægis of the Hadendowa nazirate, and a few decades hence the name will cover the entire block of southern Beja.

The main interest of the Hadendowa to the coming generation will be as a social phenomenon of unexpected adaptability in an apparently barbarous race. They will be one of those units who, instead of either resisting or succumbing to a swift onset of civilization have risen to meet it and taken their little place in the modern world.

CONVENTIONAL HADENDOWA NISBA SHOWING THE MAIN SECTIONS



ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NUER: CATTLE.

By E. E. Evans Pritchard.

(PLATES V—VII.)

I.

A PEOPLE whose material culture is as simple as that of the Nuer must be dependent on nature and its seasons, and an account which sets out to describe how they live must start by a sketch of their country and food supply. Nuer are herdsmen as well as gardeners, and their deep interest in cattle makes them more dependent on nature than if they were gardeners alone, for a gardener has only to consider how changes in vegetation directly affect himself, whereas, if he is a herdsman besides, he has to consider also how they affect his cattle. As a gardener, for several months in the year he is largely independent of nature, but as a herdsman he has at all times to adjust the needs of his beasts to changing vegetation.

Nuer are pre-eminently pastoral, though they grow more millet and maize than is commonly supposed and, like all the cattle-owning Nilotes, give keen attention to their gardens in the rainy season. Some Nuer tribes cultivate more and some less, since conditions of soil and surface water vary in different parts of their country, and since some have fewer cattle than others; for Nuer regard cultivation of the soil as toil forced on them by poverty of stock. They cultivate in order to live, but at heart they are herdsmen, and the only labour in which they delight is care of cattle. They not only depend on cattle for many of life's necessities, but they have the herdsman's outlook on the world. Cattle are their dearest possession, and they gladly risk their lives to defend their herds or to pillage those of their neighbours. Also their social activities concern cattle and *cherchez la vache* is the best advice that can be given to those whose duty is to understand a Nuer's behaviour.

The attitude of Nuer towards, and their relations with, neighbouring peoples is influenced by their love of cattle and their desire to acquire them. They have profound contempt for peoples with few or no cattle, like the Anuak, while their wars against the Dinka tribes have been directed to seizure of cattle and control of pastures.

Each Nuer tribe is an economic unit with its own pastures and water supplies, and each section of a tribe has its well-defined areas of

pastoral exploitation. Political fission and cohesion of segments are closely bound up with the life of the herds in relation to natural resources. What has been said of the tribe may be said also of the clan, for ownership of natural resources by tribes and tribal segments are expressed generally in terms of clans and lineages. When a kinship group ceases to live a co-operative pastoral life, it tends to split into segments and to become more an abstraction and less a community. The lineage, with its accretions from other clans, is the group which receives a man's allegiance, because it is a local and a cattle group, a community which protects his herds and ensures their welfare. Most clan traditions relate stories about cattle and many of their honorific titles are derived from names of cows and kraals.

Not only are the normal relations between members of a tribe determined largely by pastoral interests, but their disputes are generally about cattle, and cattle are the compensation for loss of life and limb that is so often their outcome. Nuer law is almost entirely concerned with cattle, and authority in all its forms is partly derived from ownership of cattle and is exercised with reference to cattle. Leopard-skin chiefs and prophets are mainly legal arbiters in questions in which cattle are the issue, or ritual agents in situations demanding sacrifice of ox or ram. Another hereditary leader is the *wut ghok*, Man of the Cattle.

Leadership is partly based on age, which is institutionalized in stratified sets. In treating of these age sets we find ourselves speaking once again of the relations of men to their cattle for the change from boyhood to manhood is most clearly marked in the character of those relations before and after initiation into an age set. Before initiation a boy is a servant in the kraal : he milks the cows and ewes, cleans the kraal and byre, and herds the calves and sheep and goats. After initiation he is a man, and performs no more the menial tasks of the kraal. He is forbidden to milk the cows. He is now owner and guardian of the adult herd, supervises it in village and camp, and protects it at pasture. The ritual of initiation is an expression of this changing relationship of an individual to cattle.

The small local group which a Nuer regards as the people of his home is a cattle group. Its members are his kinsmen. They herd their cattle in common and defend jointly their home and herds. They assist one another to marry and to pay compensation for homicide. If one of them is killed, the

others avenge his death. The interests of one are the interests of all. Their solidarity is most evident in the dry season when they live in a circle of windscreens around a common kraal, but it is also to be seen in the exclusiveness of their wet season life, when they live in isolated villages perched on islands in a vast swamp. Their social life is the life of their herds and Nuer understand kinship as economic interdependence in relation to cattle. Cattle and their kin-owners are symbiotic. The cattle cannot live without the men nor the men without the cattle. It is group symbiosis for a single family cannot look after their cattle alone. Only a group of kinsmen can herd the cattle and from this necessity springs the solidarity of the kinship group.

The structure of local groups is a network of kinship ties which are brought about by marriage and the birth of children. The laws of exogamy forbid the exclusiveness of local groups of agnatic kinsmen and compel the extension of kinship ties, so that they cover wide areas and provide a framework for large political units. The Nuer express these laws of exogamy in terms of cattle, for where cattle may pass from one lineage to another in virtue of kinship women may not pass in marriage. You may not marry a woman if you belong to a group of kinsmen that receive a portion of her bride-wealth. Every phase of marriage and every regulation concerning it are thus expressed in terms of cattle and marked by their transference or slaughter. Cattle are important in courtship not only because a man with many cattle is a man of wealth and can therefore afford to marry, but also because they are the means by which youths display themselves before girls, even when marriage is not contemplated, and the medium in which they can show manly competence. The display of adolescence is made through cattle and pastoral pursuits.

The two most important uses of cattles are their economic exploitation and their rôle in marriage. The union of marriage is brought about by the payment of from twenty to forty head of cattle by the bridegroom and his kinsmen to the kinsmen of the bride, and by the performance of ceremonies in which cattle are invoked and slaughtered. The end of every herd is its disposal on the occasion of marriage. Cattle leave the herd when the young men of the kraal marry, and cattle come into the herd when their kinswomen are married. When a youth marries, cattle leave his kraal to join the kraals of his wife's kindred, but they do not remain

long in their new abodes. Soon they will move to other kraals as further marriages are contracted. They move from kraal to kraal and each time they change masters they bring about a new union. A cow is a living document which can be cited to prove the validity of a number of marriage unions. In Nuerland when one speaks of marriage one speaks of cattle, and when one speaks of cattle one speaks of marriage. Cattle also play a prominent part in the ceremonial of marriage, each stage in the negotiations and ritual that brings the union nearer to completion being marked by payment of cattle, by invocation of cattle, by sacrifice of oxen, and by other rites in which pastoral activities are expressed.

There are a number of bio-domestic groups other than the family that springs from simple legal marriage. These are based on unions of different types: ghost-marriage, leviritic marriage, widow-concubinage, and concubinage of unmarried women. In such unions the legal status of the partners and of the children to each partner is defined in terms of cattle-rights and obligations, and cattle are the magnet that draw children from their natural parents, who have brought them up, to the homes of their legal kinsmen, and are often also a bone of contention between youths and the men who stand in the place of their legal fathers and have begotten them.

Cattle are owned by families, that is to say by a man and his wives and the children born to his wives in the union of marriage. While the head of the household is alive he has full rights of disposal over the herd, but his wives have rights of use in the cows and his sons own some of the oxen. As each son, in order of seniority, reaches the age of marriage, he is allowed to marry with the herd. The next son will have to wait till the herd has reached its earlier strength before he can also marry. When the head of the household dies the herd still remains the nucleus of family life. The wives of the married sons milk the cows and the unmarried sons wait till there are enough cattle for them to take wives in their turn. The herd is a living pivot of the family system and Nuer strongly deprecate the breaking up of it on the death of its owner, for it is a common herd in which all have equal rights. When all the brothers are married, they and their wives and children generally live in adjacent homesteads, often forming together a hamlet or village. In the early part of the dry season one sees these small groups of agnatic kinsmen living in a circle of wind-

screens around a joint kraal in which their cattle are tethered in common, and in the big camps formed later in the year one finds them occupying a distinct section in the lines of windscreens.

The bond of cattle between brothers is continued long after each has a home and children of his own, for when a daughter of any one of them is married, the others receive a large portion of her bride-wealth. Likewise her grandparents, maternal uncles, paternal and maternal aunts, and even more distant relatives, receive also a portion of her bride-wealth. Kinship is legally defined and idiomatically indicated by reference to these payments. Those who receive cattle as a legal right on the marriage of a girl are under a moral obligation to assist her brother to marry by gifts of cattle. Kinship is most clearly expressed at marriage, and movements of cattle from kraal to kraal on these occasions are like a man drawing lines from one person to another on a genealogical chart.

The importance of cattle in Nuer life and thought is shown in personal names. A frequent mode of address is to call a man by a name that refers to the form and colour of his favourite ox. Women take names from oxen and from the cows they milk, though these names are less used than ox-names of men. Even small boys call one another by ox-names when playing together in the pastures, a child usually taking his name from the bull-calf of the cow he and his mother milk. Sometimes a man receives an ox-name as a birth-name. Sometimes the name of a man that is handed down to posterity is his ox-name and not his birth-name. Hence a Nuer genealogy may sound like an inventory of a kraal. The linguistic identification of a man with his favourite ox cannot fail to affect his attitude to the beast, and to Europeans the custom is the most striking evidence of the pastoral mentality of the Nuer.

Since cattle are a Nuer's most cherished possession, being an essential food supply and also the most important social asset, and since they possess little else, it is easy to understand why they play a foremost part in ritual. A man establishes contact with the ghosts and spirits through his cattle. If one is able to obtain the history of each cow in a kraal, one obtains at the same time not only an account of all the kinship links and affinities of the owners, but also an account of all their mystical connections. Cows are dedicated to the spirits of the lineages of the owner and his wife and to any personal spirit that has at some time possessed them. These are

animal totems and spirits of the air. Other beasts are dedicated to the dead or belong to dead persons who, in a sense, still own them. By rubbing ashes along the back of a cow or ox one may get into touch with the spirit or ghost associated with it and ask for assistance. Some cows are even totems of lineages. Another way of communicating with the dead and with spirits is by sacrifice, and no Nuer ceremony is complete without the sacrifice of a beast which, before being slaughtered, has ashes rubbed along its back (*buk*) and is invoked (*lam*). In minor ceremonies, or in major ones if the owner of the kraal is poor, a ram or he-goat is sacrificed, but on important occasions they sacrifice an ox or steer. A barren cow sometimes takes the place of an ox, but a fertile cow would only be sacrificed in the mortuary ceremonies of an important man. Cattle thus form a ritual link between men and the mystical agents who can cause them injury if not placated.

We have seen in a short sketch of the principal Nuer institutions and customs that most of their social behaviour directly concerns their cattle. They are always talking about their beasts. I used sometimes to despair that I never discussed anything with the young men but cattle and girls, and even the subject of girls led inevitably to that of cattle. Start on whatever subject I would, and approach it from whatever angle, we would soon be speaking of cows and oxen, heifers and steers, rams and sheep, he-goats and she-goats, calves and lambs and kids. I have already indicated that this obsession—for such it seems to an outsider—is due to the great economic value of cattle and to the fact that they are links in numerous social inter-relations. Nuer tend to define all social processes and relationships in terms of cattle. Their social idiom is a bovine idiom.

Consequently he who lives among Nuer and wishes to understand their social life must first master a vocabulary referring to cattle and to the life of the herds. In fact I would say that when a stranger has learnt the words that refer to different kinsmen (kinship nomenclature) and the words which refer to different cows and oxen (cattle nomenclature) and knows exactly how these words should be used he may say that he thoroughly understands the Nuer. Such complicated discussions as those which take place in negotiations of marriage, in ritual situations and in legal disputes, can only be followed when one understands the difficult cattle-terminology of colours, ages, sexes, and so forth. Even that, also,

is not enough, for though I understood cattle terms well I still found that I could not follow complicated discussions without explanations being given because one must also know the individual owners and the individual beasts and the history of their lives, and to know all that one must be a Nuer, a man born and bred in the village.

In giving priority to pastoral pursuits in my account of Nuer economic life I do not wish to belittle the very important part played by horticultural and piscatorial pursuits. Nor do I wish to suggest that their social life is entirely a function of their productive relations. Nevertheless it is certainly to a large extent determined by economic considerations, particularly by their dependence on their herds. In describing the life of simple peoples we have to pay constant attention firstly to their ecological relations, their economic dependence on nature, and secondly to their social relations, their moral dependence on the community. Among a pastoral people like the Nuer cattle belong to both orders, for they are part of man's environment through which he is indirectly influenced by inanimate nature and also, in a very real sense, they are part of the human community, dwelling in the closest intimacy with their masters between whom also they are social links.

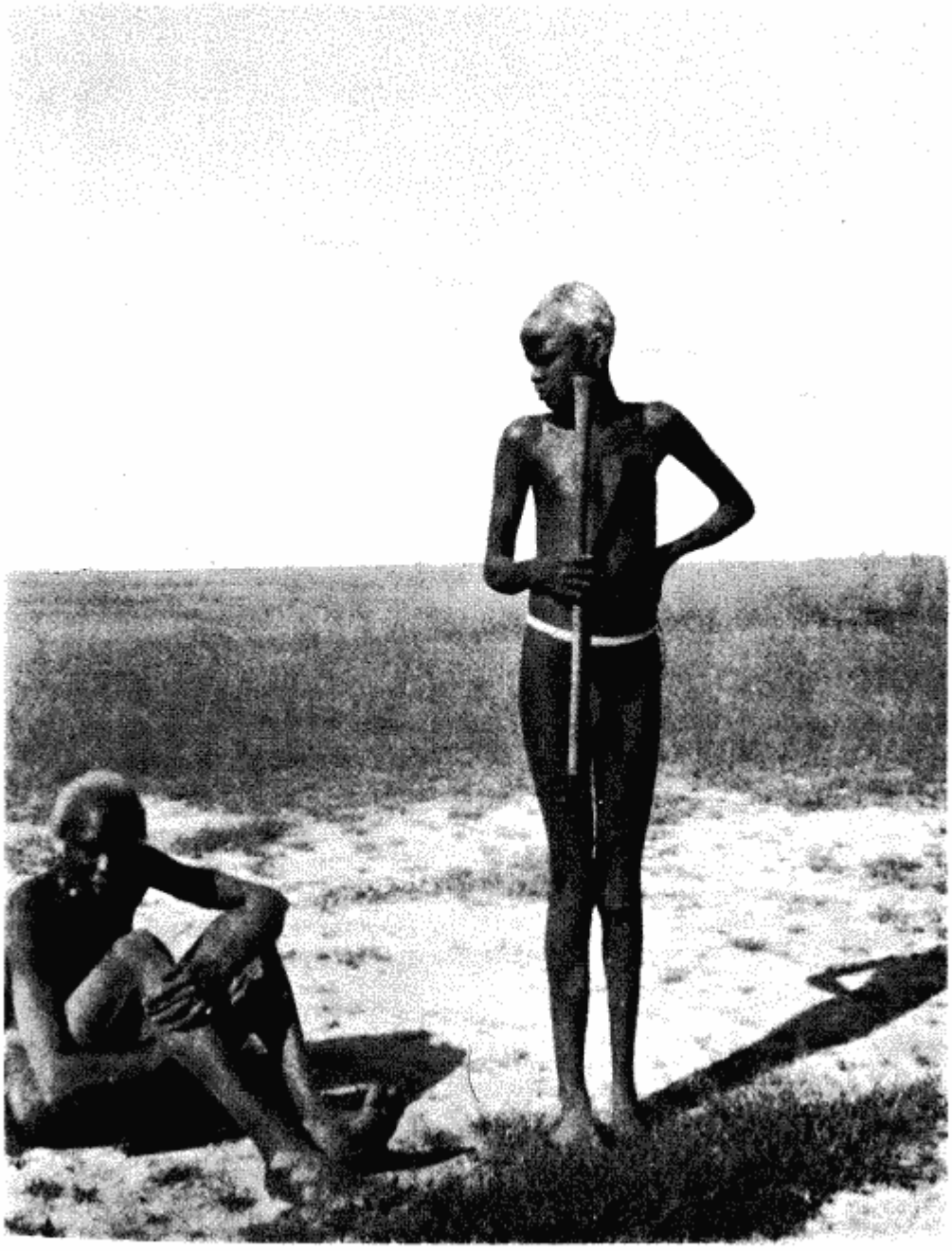
II.

In describing any Nuer institution we have, therefore, always to consider it in relation to their pastoral pursuits. We must not forget, however, that although cattle have many rôles in Nuerland their continuous everyday, rôle is an economic one, for outside special situations Nuer regard their herds primarily as a food-supply, though we must distinguish between their attitudes towards cows and towards oxen in this respect. Nuer regard their cows as nutritive capital. Therefore a good milch cow is highly prized and its calves are more valued than the calves of a cow that gives little milk. A rich man in Nuerland is a man who possesses several cows in a lactation period, for his children will be well-nourished and happy and he will be able to assist less fortunate kinsmen and to offer hospitality to guests. These are praiseworthy acts.

Milk and millet are the staple foods of the Nuer. In some parts of their country, especially among the Lou Nuer, the millet harvest seldom lasts the whole year round and, when it is exhausted, people are dependent on milk, supplemented by fish, for existence. At such times a family often have the milk of a single cow to sustain them. In all parts of

Nuerland the millet crop is uncertain and famines are frequent, though they vary in intensity. In bad years people rely on fish, wild roots and fruits and seeds, but chiefly on the milk of their herds. Even when millet is plentiful it is seldom eaten alone, for without milk, whey, or liquid cheese, it is stodgy and unpalatable. Also Nuer regard milk as essential food for children and consider that they cannot be well and happy without it. Moreover children cannot easily digest millet by itself. If there is a limited supply of milk the children receive first share of it. In times of privation adults have to go without milk and in times of great privation even children may have to go without it till a cow calves and there is once more milk in the kraal.

Nuer value their cows according to the amount of milk they give, and they know exactly the relative merits of each cow in this respect. A cow is never to them just a cow, but is always a good cow or a bad cow. Consequently a Nuer who is owed a cow will not accept in payment of his debt a cow that does not meet with his approval. How carefully a Nuer selects one among many cows as the best may be judged by anyone who offers to buy a cow for a Nuer from a Government herd, as I have sometimes done. Only by the great goodwill of Political Officers have I been able to make this experiment, because they know that the Nuer is certain to select their best milch cow. If you ask a Nuer in a cattle-camp which are the best and worst cows in the herd, he can at once tell you. In judging the points of a cow a Nuer pays little attention to those æsthetic qualities which please him in an ox, especially colour and shape of horns, but he pays chief attention to points which indicate a good milch cow. A good milch cow (*yang lar, ruak yang lar, yang pini*) must have a broad loose back (*koc ponyde*), prominent haunch bones (*pom wuthde te cunga*), large milk-veins (*ral juak*), and a many-wrinkled milk-bag (*dep juakde*). A poor milch cow (*pie*) has the opposite characters : it is narrow-backed and of compact build (*pony ma bumbum*), has no prominent haunch bones (*pie, thile pom*), small milk-veins, and only one or two wrinkles in its milk-bag (*pie dep juakde kël*). A good cow must also be young. One tells the age of a cow by (1) the depth of the trenches (*koah liel yang*) which run on either side of its rump towards the tail ; (2) by its teeth, which, in a young animal are complete and sharp, while in an old animal some of them are missing, and the rest are blunted (*cike pwal*). Thus I have heard a Nuer say, " It is a good cow ; come and look, it has all its teeth, it lacks none." (3) By



SANDY RIDGE WITH HOMESTEADS IN THE BACKGROUND (DUK COUNTRY).

its gait. A young cow walks with a firm step ; an old one staggers a little and is inclined to be knock-kneed (*matke muölkien kä jal*). (4) By the number of rings on the horns.

In Nuerland men may not milk cows. This is done by women, girls, and uninitiated boys who are old enough to be trusted with the task. Men are only allowed to milk cows when there are no women or boys present. This sometimes happens on journeys or during war expeditions. Then a man gets another to milk his cows and hand him the milk to drink. Even on such occasions a man may not milk his own cow and drink the milk. It is strictly forbidden for men to milk in the kraal. A Nuer boy, Tot, was a member of my household in 1931. When I returned to Nuerland in 1935 I learned that he was sick with a swollen belly, and in 1936 that he had died in Malakal hospital. The reason given for his death was that after initiation he had milked a cow secretly at night in a byre and drunk its milk.

The milker, generally a woman or girl, squats by the cow and milks it into a gourd, usually a bottle-necked gourd, or into a pot. She balances the gourd on her knees and milks a single teat at a time into its narrow mouth. She milks with thumb and first finger but, the other fingers being closed, the teat is to some extent pressed against the whole hand. It is both a squeezing and a pulling motion. The gourd is kept in position by the downward stroke of the hands, which press it against the knees. When a pot, or a gourd with a wider mouth, is used, it is held between the knees and the milker squeezes two teats at a time into its wide mouth. Occasionally one sees two girls milking a cow at either side. If a cow is restless, a man may hold it still by putting his hand in its mouth and gripping its muzzle, and if it kicks a noose is placed round its hind legs and they are pulled together. Though I have not seen it I was told that sometimes they ring the nose of a cow that is habitually restless during milking. Nuer say that very rarely a cow may suckle its own teats. I have never seen such a cow.

The process of milking is as follows. The calf is loosened and, with its tethering cord round its neck, runs at once to its dam and begins violently butting her udder. This starts the flow of milk and Nuer say that if the calf were not first to suckle, the cow would hold up its milk. They do not pat the udder with the hand unless the calf is dead, for this is considered bad for the cow. When the calf has suckled a little while,

it is dragged by its tethering cord and tethered to its dam's peg. It resists stubbornly and just as it is being tethered, one often sees it give a last determined pull which almost jerks the girl off her feet. Tethered to its dam's peg its rubs against her forelegs and she licks it. The girl now milks the first milking, known as *wicde*. When the teats become again soft and empty the calf is again loosened and butts the udder and suckles. It is then a second time tethered to its dam's peg and the girl milks a second time. The second milking is called *tip indit*, the greater *tip*. As a rule there are only two milkings, but a very good milch cow at the height of her lactation period will let her calf suckle once more, and the girl take a third milking, which is called *tip intot*, the lesser *tip*. When the girl has finished milking she wipes her thighs and the milk-gourd with the cow's tail and loosens the calf to finish off what milk is left. The first milking takes longer time and produces more milk than the second, and the second more than the third. Nuer say that milk comes from all over the body to the udder, but especially from the pelvic region. " The pelvic region is the place where the milk begins. It runs along the milk-canal (under the belly) to the udder."

A cow often urinates during milking and men take the opportunity to wash face and hands in the urine, or they may use a puddle of urine beneath a cow for this purpose. They also catch the urine in gourds and pots for use later in certain technological processes. They use only ox's urine for dairy work.

In the co-operative life of Nuer a family can generally obtain milk for the little children because a kinsman will lend them a lactating cow or give them part of its milk if they do not themselves possess a cow in a lactation period. This is one of the most important obligations of kinship and is carried out generously for the needs of children are the concern of the whole kinship group and not of their parents alone. At certain times, however, there is little or no milk in an entire hamlet, and a whole village may experience scarcity. This may happen after an outbreak of rinderpest or, in a lesser degree, after two or three youths of the group have lately married. Sometimes, also, all the cows in a kraal end their lactation periods in the same season.

I would guess—and it is only a guess—that on an average throughout the year the cows of a byre give about 12 pints of milk a day, and if we reckon that there are some eight persons attached to a byre, this means

1½ pints per head. Much of the milk, however, is used for making a kind of cheese. It was found impossible to make accurate and prolonged observations to confirm this guess about the average milk yield of a kraal. In 1935 I used a measuring-glass during the rainy season in order to discover approximately the normal yield of milk from a cow in the middle of a lactation period. A series of measurements showed a daily yield of from 4 to 5½ pints. In every case the morning yield was from ½ pint to 1 pint more than the evening yield. Capt. A. H. A. Alban kept a record of the yield from the cows of the Government herd at Abwong in Ngok country which forms an enclave among the Eastern Nuer. Though Nuer say that Ngok grazing is not so good as Nuer grazing, there can be no very great difference between their pastures and the conditions of life of the cattle are approximately the same. An examination of the records of 16 Nuer cows at all seasons of the year showed an average yield of over 4 pints a day and, in my opinion, 4 to 5 pints may be regarded as a general average for Nuer herds. The lactation period differed considerably for different animals, but about seven months was found to be an average period for a Nuer cow.

It must be remembered that when 4 pints a day is reckoned an average yield this means an average yield for human consumption. In order to make an approximate estimate of the amount of milk a calf receives, I timed women milking on a few occasions, and as these timings illustrate also the mode of milking, I give them here. The calf was in all cases medium to large in size. M = morning milking. E = evening milking.

Cow and Calf	Time.	Calf Suckles	Woman Milks	Calf Suckles	Woman Milks	Calf suckles.
		m. s.	m. s.	m. s.	m. s.	
Ma yan cow with its *ma yan* calf.	M.	– 30	6 0*	2 0	1 0	Till milk finished.
	M.	– 35	4 50	1 5	– 40	Till milk finished.
Ma ding cow with its *ma kul* calf.	M.	1 0	4 30	1 30	1 15	Till milk finished.
	E.	not observed	3 10	2 10	– 35	Till milk finished.
	M.	1 5	4 5	1 10	– 30	10 secs.
Ma dwei cow with its *ma bor* calf.	M.	– 30	4 10	– 55	2 5	Till milk finished
	M.	– 50	4 30	1 10	2 10	Boy and calf share remainder.
	E.	– 30	1 25	– 55	1 10	Boy and calf share remainder.
Ma bor cow with its *ma bor* calf.	M.	– 50	4 5	1 –	1 40	Boy finishes milk.
	E.	1 10	2 55	1 30	– 20	Boy finishes milk.
	M.	– 40	4 20	1 5	– 40	Boy finishes milk.
	E.	– 30	3 10	– 30	– 15	Boy and calf share remainder.

* Cow very restless.

It will be seen from these figures that the calf gets its fair share of the milk during the process of milking and at the end of it. One cannot say how much milk it receives, but a calf suckles at a rapid pace. It is also possible that some cows hold up part of their milk for their calves for one often sees calves suckling for several minutes at the end of the milking before their dams refuse them by kicking them or moving so that they cannot reach their udders. Occasionally a small boy drags the calf away and milks the udders himself, licking the milk off his hands. Sometimes boy and calf share the teats. Very small boys suck the teats with their mouths. However, as a rule the calf gets all the milk after the woman has finished milking and is only tethered when its dam refuses it.

The total yield of milk is therefore higher than that procured for human consumption, and may be as high as 7 to 9 pints a day. I think that it cannot be less than 6 to 7 pints a day. I have received the impression from drinking the milk that it is far richer than milk given by English cows, and when we remember that Nuer cows receive no artificial feeding, that succulent pasturage is often difficult to obtain, that they have to endure great hardship, and, above all, that the first consideration is the welfare of the calves, we may commend their performance. English dairy farmers require only milk, but Nuer herdsmen require milk and also wish to preserve every calf.

Milk is consumed in various ways. Some is drunk fresh, especially by children, soon after milking. Fresh milk is more drunk in the dry season than in the wet season, for in the wet season it is cool and, moreover, people are replete with porridge. Some is put aside till midday, by which time it has gone sour and has to some extent coagulated. It very soon sours in the dry season. Nuer like to have a gourd of sour milk (*wai*) always at hand in case visitors come. When I visited neighbouring villages and camps I was offered a swig at a gourd. I found the milk pleasant and refreshing, though difficult to imbibe from bottle-necked gourds because the coagulated portions stuck in the neck. Fresh milk is drunk from gourds by children, but adults usually consume it with millet-porridge. Adults prefer to drink milk from gourds when it has soured (*cike ngwat*). Some of the milk is kept for making a kind of cheese and if there are several cows in lactation, one may be ear-marked for this purpose. Even when there is only one cow in milk, part of its milk is generally reserved for cheese,

perhaps the *wicde* while the two *tip* are drunk. Some people use all the milk for churning.

After milking into a bottle-gourd (*diar*) they empty the milk reserved for cheese into another bottle-gourd with a wider neck. This is the churning gourd (*gwei*). The morning milk stands till the early afternoon and the evening milk stands over-night. As churning gourds are not cleaned, unless they smell bad, the acids which remain from the previous churning curdle the milk. After standing some hours it is then churned by being shaken in the gourd, which has a stopper. The woman, or girl, sits on the ground with her legs stretched in front of her and raises the gourd and brings it down with a jerk on her thighs and rocks it there a few times before repeating her actions. This simple method of churning takes a long time. During churning, a small quantity of water is poured into the gourd when the curds are beginning to form to make them set well and to increase the quantity of whey. A little ox's urine may be poured into the milk from a small gourd kept for this purpose or this may be done at the next stage. The urine gives the curds consistency. Except in process of manufacture, urine is never poured into the milking vessels. People drink from these. When curds have formed, they pour the milk into a cup-shaped gourd called *twök*. Urine is now sometimes added. It is said that a man ought never to watch milk being poured out of the churning vessel or it will not curdle properly. They then scoop out the curds with a small gourd-ladle, called *lier*, or with a mussel shell, and place them in another gourd, which is hung up in a hut. The whey (*nakde*) is mixed with fresh milk (*cak ti ghoi*) and drunk by men and women, though it is considered especially a drink of women and boys.

Every day they add to the supply of curds (*lieth in bor* or *yat*) which form a kind of cheese. Now and again they add a little cow's urine to the cheese and stir it to prevent it from going bad. They may add to the supply for several weeks before the final boiling, which rids the cheese of what watery milk (*cak*) still remains in it. It is put in a pot over a quick fire. After boiling for a time, it is poured into a gourd and the oil on top is removed. This oil (*ngil*) is highly thought of as a flavouring for millet-porridge. The solid remnant of deep yellow cheese, called *lieth in car* or *lii*, is stored in a round gourd called *ghuk lieth*. A round piece is cut out of the top of the gourd and this piece acts as a lid which, being perforated,

can be drawn through cords to open or shut the gourd. The gourd is suspended in a net from the roof of a hut. After boiling the cheese will keep for any length of time. It is eaten with porridge and is also used for annointing the body. Milk food in all its forms is relished, and among the traditionally pastoral Nuer, it has great social value.

Sheep and goats are also milked, but little importance is attached to the milk they provide. They are milked only in the morning. The woman first milks and then the kids and lambs are allowed to finish what is left in the udders. As the kids and lambs run with the flock at pasture it would be useless to attempt an evening milking. Herdboys often milk the ewes and she-goats in the grazing grounds and lick the milk off their hands if they feel hungry. The morning milk is drunk by small children and is not used for dairy work.

Nuer are also interested in their cattle as a supply of meat. It is true that they do not raise cattle for slaughter as an English stockbreeder does, but oxen and sheep and goats are frequently slaughtered at ceremonies, and their flesh is no less welcomed because they have been killed in sacrifice. Normally, females are only killed if they are barren or if there is no male. Fertile cows are only slaughtered at mortuary ceremonies. On ceremonial occasions most people are interested more in the eating part of the sacrifice than in any of its ritual acts. Often, as at marriage ceremonies, the people who perform the ritual are members of one kinship group, and the people who eat the meat are members of a different kinship group. In some ceremonies there is a general scramble for the meat and men are sometimes injured, even killed, as a result. The desire for meat is shown without reserve at all sacrifices. Nuer recognize that some men show themselves too eager to sacrifice an ox or a sheep on the slightest excuse. As a rule the meat of a sacrificial beast belongs to the kinsmen of its owner, and each kinsman has a right to a particular part of the animal's body in virtue of a particular relationship. Apart from sacrificial meat, Nuer eat the flesh of any animal which dies a natural death. They also kill oxen for food in years of severe famine. In 1931, a year of hunger, the people of Lou country were killing oxen and, during famine in western Nuerland about 1935, a great number of beasts were slaughtered. The Lou, who are rich in cattle, have a reputation for killing oxen when hungry. They are rather ashamed of this reputation, but they kill oxen all the same.

It is customary in some years throughout Nuerland for the young men to make camps away from the villages at the commencement of the dry season and to feast upon large numbers of oxen. They gorge themselves with meat.

Nevertheless, though Nuer regard their cattle as a meat supply, they do not wantonly slaughter oxen for food. In fact, except in time of famine, in young men's camps, and on ceremonial occasions, it is probably true to say that they never slaughter them, and it is the festal character of ceremonial occasions that gives them much of their significance in the life of the people. When an ox dies, and even more when a cow dies, its owner is sad, though the people who may receive some of its flesh do not show sorrow. When a youth's favourite ox dies, he sits silent and apart and must be persuaded to eat of its flesh. Nuer have a strong desire for meat, and even when a favourite ox dies they say " The eye and the heart are sad but the teeth and the stomach are glad."

Sheep and goats are also eaten when killed in sacrifice or when they die. On ritual occasions of minor importance a man prefers to sacrifice a sheep or a goat than an ox because it is of less value. They have not such social importance as cattle and their owner feels less their loss. Nevertheless a man would never kill a sheep or a goat merely because he desires meat, for they are valued possessions.

Cows are estimated by the milk they give. Oxen are estimated by colour, size, and fatness. Some colours are preferred to others—it is generally an individual preference—and the bigger and fatter the better. No bones should show through the skin and especially there should be no sign of the haunch-bones (*pom*), for they are only seen in a bad ox (*biau thak*) or in a very old ox. They like a large hump, which wobbles as the animal walks, and often they pull out the hump shortly after birth. This enlarges it. If your favourite ox has a small hump, your age-mates make fun of you.

Like most pastoral peoples in East Africa, the Nuer extract blood from the necks of their cattle, and this is a supplementary article of diet in the dry season. I have not seen the operation performed in the rainy season. In a dry season cattle camp one may generally see at least one cow bled after the cattle have returned from pasturage in the evening. The operation is called *bar* and consists of tying a cord tightly round a

cow's neck so that the veins stand out. A vein is then stabbed, on the head side of the cord, with a small knife bound with cord or grass so that only half an inch of blade is exposed. This prevents stabbing too deeply. The blood spurts out and is caught in a large gourd. When the gourd is full they loosen the cord round the cow's neck and release it, for it is held during bleeding. The cow appears to be a little giddy after the operation and may totter slightly. When the cord is loosened, however, the blood ceases to flow and the beast seems none the worse for its experience. Indeed, it may well be, as Nuer assert, that they are the better for it, for they lead a sluggish life.

If one examines the neck of a cow one observes a row of small cicatrices where the veins have been punctured. The blood is boiled by the womenfolk till it is fairly consistent and is then used as a meat flavouring with porridge ; or the men may prepare it by letting it stand till it coagulates into a solid block and then placing it in the embers of a fire where it is roasted and may, after the ashes have been washed from it, be cut up with a spear and treated like meat.

Nuer do not regard the blood of cows as a staple article of diet, and it cannot be said to play an important part in their cuisine. Indeed, they say that they do not perform the operation to acquire food but for the benefit of the cows. Bleeding is designed to cure a cow of any unfitness (*jok*) by letting out the bad blood of the sickness. Also it makes the cow fat, for next day it will be more lively and graze avidly. Bleeding, moreover, decreases the desire of a cow to be served. Nuer say that if a cow is served too frequently, it may eventually become barren (*but*), whereas, if it is bled now and again, it will only require to be served once and will be in calf. Nevertheless, they admit that roasted blood is delicious. However, it is probably true that food is not the only, or even the main, consideration, for Nuer tell me that cattle are treated in this way when everyone is so replete with millet and fish that the blood is given to the boys of the kraal and to the dogs. Sometimes they make incisions (*dhang*) in the noses of calves and let the blood flow to the ground. This is said to make them fat.

Cows are bled more frequently than oxen and I am under the impression that oxen are generally bled for veterinary purposes only and cows for culinary purposes as well. They do not attempt to bleed bulls because it



CATTLE GRAZING ON RIDGE (KARLUAL COUNTRY).



KRAAL (LOU COUNTRY).

would be very difficult to hold the beasts during the operation. I was told that they do not bleed the cattle in the rainy season because the wound might become inflamed from a chill and because nasty sores might result from the beasts rubbing their necks against the high grasses which everywhere cover the plains at that season.

Apart from milk and meat and blood, cattle provide the Nuer with numerous household necessities, and when we consider how few are their possessions and how dependent they are on these possessions, we can easily understand the importance of cattle as raw material. The bodies or bodily processes of cattle have the following uses :—

A. (1) Their dung is used for fuel in byres and windscreens.
(2) Their dung is used for plastering walls and floors of huts and the space round pounding-holes. Among the Western Nuer it is also used for plastering the outsides of dry-season straw huts in cattle-camps.
(3) The ashes of their dung are used for rubbing over men's bodies, as a treatment for dyeing and straightening the hair, and as a mouth wash and tooth powder.
(4) The ashes of their dung are used in the preparation of sleeping-skins and leather bags.
(5) The ashes of their dung are used for various ritual purposes.

B. (1) Their urine is used as an acid for coagulating milk in churning and as a preservative of cheese.
(2) Their urine is used to prepare gourds as dairy utensils.
(3) Their urine is used to prepare strips of leather for a number of technological purposes.
(4) Their urine is used for washing hands and face.

C. (1) Their skins are used as sleeping skins and as trays for carrying fuel.
(2) Their skins are used for making tethering-ropes and for making cord to be used in a number of technological processes.
(3) Their skins are used for making leather collars and as bell-collars of oxen.
(4) Their skins are used for making flails.
(5) Their skins are used to make the diaphragm of drums.

(6) Their skins are used as binding material in the manufacture of rectangular baskets.

(7) Their skins are used as leather sheaths in the manufacture of pipes, spears, ambatch shields, snuff-containers, etc.

(8) The scrota of bulls are made into bags to contain tobacco, spoons and other small objects.

D. (1) Their tails are used as tassels for the arms and wrists of girls when dancing.

(2) Their tails are used as tassels to decorate the horns of favourite oxen.

(3) The tails of live cows are used to wipe milk-gourds and the limbs of the milker.

E. (1) Their bones are used for making armlets (scapula), as beaters and pounders (femur, patella and tibia), and for scraping the floors of byres (ribs).

F. (1) The horns are made into spoons.

(2) The horns are used in the manufacture of harpoons.

G. (1) The skins of sheep and goats provide the material for the different loin garments worn by married women and may also be used as rugs to sit on.

(2) The skins of sheep and goats are made into bags (*googh deal*) for storing tobacco, and sometimes millet.

III.

Since cattle are so important as a food supply and as raw material and since they play so outstanding a *rôle* in social life, it is not surprising that Nuer give them every attention which their knowledge allows. We shall see later how they adapt their mode of residence and life to the rhythm of the seasons so that at all times their cattle may enjoy the best that nature can afford them. Conditions of water and pastures are their primary concern. We shall see also how they protect their beasts from mosquitoes and other biting insects and how they treat their ailments and avoid epidemics.

There are three points on which Nuer management of cattle is open to criticism. Since the cows are not brought back to the kraal at midday but are milked only in the mornings and evenings, the smaller calves must go

without their nourishment for many hours each day. While this is not a hardship for calves over two months old, the development of younger ones may be arrested by insufficient nourishment. However, whether in fact their development is arrested is questionable, for Captain H. B. Williams tells me that Nuer oxen have a reputation as being as good as any in the Sudan, which shows that they have not been seriously under-nourished as calves. In the rainy season the cows are seldom milked before 9 to 10 a.m., and are again milked at about 5 p.m., so that their calves only lack nourishment for seven or eight hours during the daytime. In the dry season the cattle may be taken to pasture as early as 8 a.m., and do not return to the kraal till about 5.30 p.m., so that the calves go without nourishment for about ten hours. But in Lou country, where I have lived in the dry season, this long absence from kraals cannot easily be avoided because the grazing grounds are often distant.

The second point of criticism is on the same lines. If the Nuer took their cattle out to pasture at dawn and brought them home for a rest at midday, as many East African peoples do, they would not only be able to suckle their calves, but would also have a rest during which they could chew the cud. But Nuer say, no doubt correctly, that when the cattle come out of their hot and smoky byres at dawn in the wet season, they like to rest a while in the kraal before going to pasture. The behaviour of the cattle seems to justify this statement for, when taken out of the byres, they lie down in the kraals and sleep with their heads tucked against their barrels. Even when loosened, they stand as though bemused and have to be driven to pasture. Their behaviour contrasts with their eagerness to go to pasture after a night in the open in dry season cattle camps. Also, by waiting till the dew has evaporated, Nuer consider they lessen the risk of digestive troubles. A further reason for keeping the cattle late in the kraals is that if they are let out early they will graze till, after three or four hours, they are replete and may then begin to wander in all directions. Since the cattle graze in the vicinity of the villages during the rainy season, they are not usually herded throughout the day. Consequently Nuer think it is better not to give them too long for grazing lest they commence to wander. They have time to eat their fill and are willing to return to their kraals when boys are sent out to retrieve them in the late afternoon. I noticed at Yakwac, in the rainy season of 1935, that the cattle came home of their

own accord when they were replete, and that sometimes they came home so early that they were driven back to pasture. In the dry season cattle have to go to graze too far from the camps to encourage the herdsmen to bring them to the kraal at midday. Also, owing to paucity of good pasturage, they require much longer to feed than in the rainy season. When they are replete, they rest and chew the cud and then graze again before returning to camp in the evening. In the dry season the cattle are herded by adult men throughout the day. They are only brought back to camp at midday in places where they have to be watered from wells.

A third point of criticism concerns the condition of the drinking water of the cattle. In the wet season most of the country is inundated, and there is plenty of fresh water in puddles and shallow water-courses for cattle to drink, but when water is scarce at certain periods of the dry season they drink from pools which have almost dried up, have long ago been fouled by the cattle themselves, and must swarm with bacteria and other parasites, being slimy and stagnant. I have often had to drink this water, so that I have had opportunity of judging it to be filthy and evil-smelling. It is very doubtful, however, whether Nuer may fairly be accused of slackness in this respect. I have sometimes thought that they might move sooner from the small pools around which they camp in the early part of the dry season to the lakes, swamps, and rivers, near which they camp in the later part of the dry season. Yet I have no doubt that their judgment is better than mine, for they have to take into account conditions of pasturage, the proximity of *heglig* forest, the harvesting of the second millet crop, political conditions, and other matters besides the purity of drinking water. They are certainly aware that dirty water is neither palatable to, nor good for, the cattle. The cattle of Nyueny were taken to camp very early in 1936 because the water near the village had been fouled. The goats and sheep remained behind, for they do not refuse dirty water. As will be described later, the utmost care is taken to protect well water in troughs from pollution. The cattle are always adequately watered. At the commencement of the dry season, in November, I noted that they were taken to their drinking pool as soon as they left the village kraals and were again taken there on their return to the kraals in the evening. There are generally a number of pools nearby their grazing grounds at this time of the year, so they may also drink at any other time of the day

they please. In the middle of the dry season the Nuer camp near a permanent water-supply which is accessible to the cattle. They generally drink there before going to their grazing grounds where they again drink at midday and probably have a final drink before returning to the camp. The procedure when there is no surface water is described later.

Many East African peoples keep far too many entire animals in their herds. Nuer do not make this mistake. If they err at all, it is in keeping too few bulls. In a group of four nearby villages of the Karlual tribe in Western Nuer country, I found that there were three adult bulls : none at Nyueny, one Köl, two at Nyang, and none at Tutgar. In this area there cannot be more than one bull to thirty adult cows at the lowest estimate. It is likely that one bull to forty or fifty cows would be an estimate more in accordance with the facts. This may be exceptional, but I was similarly impressed by the paucity of entire animals in Lou country, though here, unhappily, I rarely counted the number and sex of the animals. In the Yakwac cattle camp in 1931 there were two bulls to a herd of over a hundred head of cattle, which probably meant one bull to about thirty cows.

Nuer always select as stud bulls the calves of their best milch cows so that they may breed good milch cows from them. Bulls run with the herd, but if a cow is on heat and there is no bull in the village or camp, they take it to a neighbouring village or camp and it is there served in the presence of its owner in the kraal, and afterwards goes out to graze with the herd to which the bull belongs, and is served again in the bush. There are no stud fees.

Bulls are not castrated till late, probably not till they are 18 to 24 months old. Nuer say " When its dam has had another calf and a third is in its womb it will be castrated." Hence one sees large bull calves about to be sacrificed at ceremonies. They have to be castrated before they can be sacrificed because one does not sacrifice an entire animal. They are thrown, the scrotum is cut with a spear and the testicles having been drawn out, are severed from the body. There is very little loss of blood and the animals soon recover. A bull calf may be castrated for sacrificial purposes at any time, but I think that Nuer otherwise prefer to castrate (*kwit*) an animal in the dry season, for there is less chance of inflammation and mortality than in the rainy season. Nuer say that if they do not castrate most of the bull calves the cows will get no peace and there would be continual

fighting in the kraals and commotion in the byres. When a bull is old and can no longer stand up against a younger bull, he grazes by himself and not with the herd. Nuer do not discourage bulls from fighting, though they may separate them if they belong to the same herd. They scrape their horns with the shell of a giant land snail so that they will be sharp for fighting, for it is " manly " for a bull to fight. Bull fights are often cited in traditions as the cause of fission in a kinship group and of the migration that resulted from it.

The horns of steers are frequently cut so that they will grow in the shape desired by their owners. They never train the horns of cows or bulls in this way. The operation is performed before the animal has been castrated and it takes place in the dry season, as it is said that a steer may die if its horns are cut in the rains or even in the windy season that follows them. If it is performed at the end of the dry season, when the rains are just commencing, the bull calf will, if possible, be taken into shelter during a shower. It is probably very rare for it to be performed so late in the season. The horns must be cut while the calf is young, and it is probably done towards the end of the first year. The verb *ngat* signifies the operation. I have sometimes heard Nuer compare the ordeal the bull calves undergo to the ordeal boys undergo when marks of manhood are cut on their foreheads. They have said that it is the *gar*, initiation, of the young bulls. The animal is thrown in the usual Nuer manner by tying a rope around three legs and drawing them together. It is then held on the ground, one man gripping the muzzle, another pulling tightly the rope which binds its legs, and a third keeping the body steady, while the horns are cut with a spear at the chosen angle. The horns will grow against the cut. Nuer are very particular about obtaining the exact angle and will cut thin slices off the horn till they are satisfied that it has been obtained. It is an unpleasant operation to watch. Blood squirts in a thin stream into the air and the animal appears to suffer much pain.

I cannot say the exact age heifers are served, but it is not till the third year. Nuer know when a heifer is on heat by observing its behaviour in the kraal. It is restless, bellows, swings its tail energetically, sniffs at the vaginas of other cows and mounts them. If a cow has mated in the bush Nuer know that it is pregnant by vaginal changes. The vagina hangs down and is soft and wobbly. Nuer say that there is little difference

between the gestation periods of a cow and of a woman, and when you ask them when a cow which has been served at a certain time will calve, they can at once tell you. Thus a cow which was served in any early dry season camp will calve after the first millet harvest ; a cow served at the time of the first millet harvest will calve in the month of *gwaagh*, just before the large dry season camps break up ; and a cow served in the early rains will calve in the month of *duong*, when people are in their big dry season camps.

In my experience there is very slight mortality among calves. Nuer give them every attention. When a cow is going to calve for the first time a man of the kraal sits up with it all night, or, if it is going to calve in the daytime, accompanies it to pasture. The front legs of the calf are the first part to appear and the man grips them and slowly draws it out. An experienced cow is left to drop its calf itself, but a man is usually present to assist if it is in trouble. A man must be present if a cow calves in the bush, because the calf is too weak to follow its dam which will stay with it, and they may become separated from the herd and fall a prey to wild beasts. Sometimes a calf has to be turned in the womb. A man puts his left hand up the vagina and turns the calf. He does not wash his hand before the operation. If a calf dies in the womb the dam's moans and its excreta indicate what has happened. Nuer try to remove the dead calf because, otherwise, the cow will not conceive again. If they fail they do not, however, expect it to die, and they assert that dead cows, when cut up, have been known to contain in their wombs the bones of calves which have died a long time before. If the afterbirth does not fall a man, preferably a left-handed man, places a grass ring over the cow's left horn, and they may give it medicines to drink, but they do not regard the situation as serious because they believe that the afterbirth will eventually be excreted. Afterbirths are eaten by dogs. The umbilical cord of a newly born calf is cut with a spear or a sliver of millet stalk. If the cow then licks the wound it may cause its calf injury, so they rub dung over the umbilicus. As soon as a calf is born a man blows up its nostrils and into its ears. It is rare for a cow not to lick its new-born calf. If this happens they blow *githlual* up the cow's nostrils. When the cow has licked its calf it is watered.

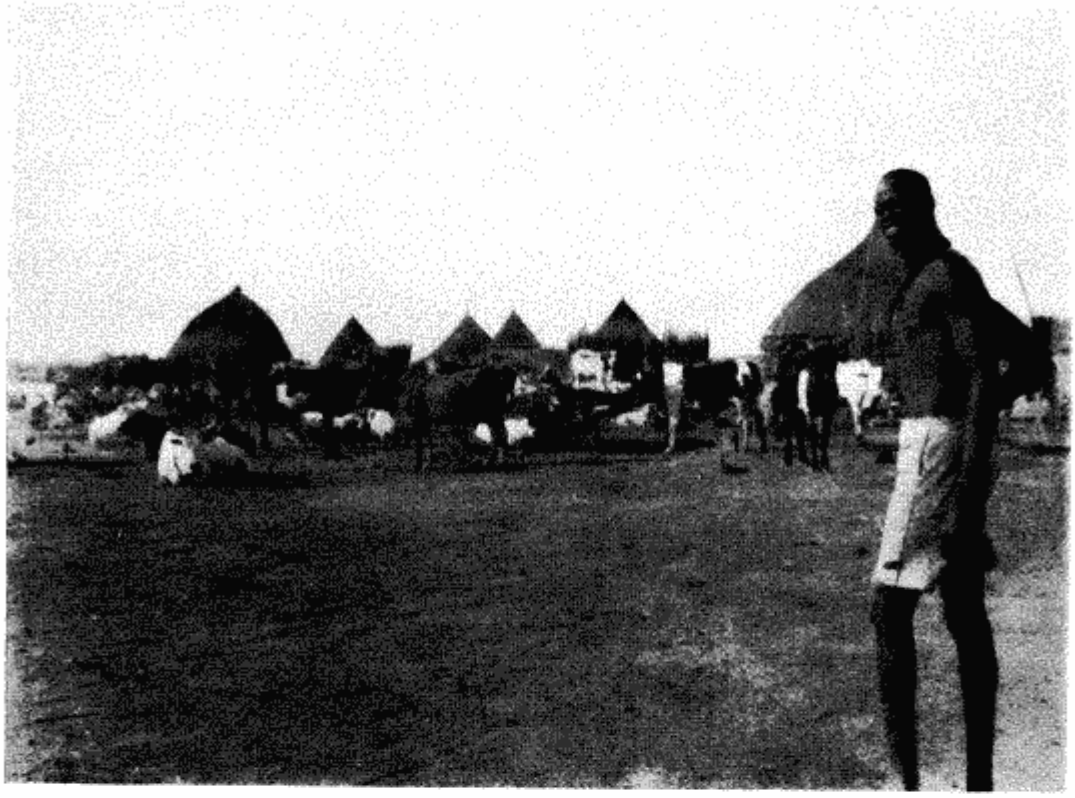
If a calf dies Nuer resort to various devices to persuade its dam to give milk. They stuff the head with straw and rub some of the dam's

urine on it and place it before the cow while the milker pats its udder and a boy blows up its vagina. They may also resort to blowing up the vagina in the case of a cow which has calved for the first time and is troublesome. A stuffed calf's head is known as *gea doa.*

Sometimes, especially when a cow aborts, they cut open the calf and stuff it with grass and insert stumps of wood to act as legs. This disembowelled calf (*gea me luöt* or *gea me caa lut*) is placed in front of the cow during milking and they move it most realistically from the front legs of its dam to the udder and push its head against the teats. Then they gently squeeze and pull the teats while a boy blows up the vagina. The word *duor* is sometimes used to denote a cow whose calf has died.

Nuer say that if a calf is only a day or two old and its dam dies, it will also die, but once it knows the *cak tin bor*, " the white milk " (the milk which follows the colostrum), which the dam gives about four days after calving, it can be saved. It is fed by hand from a small gourd (*lier*) with a funnel mouth, and efforts are made to get another cow in lactation to suckle it, but a foster-dam is inclined to be troublesome if both calves suck at the same time, and if it begins kicking they let each calf suckle in turn. They do not milk this cow. Nuer say that if a foster-dam is to be successfully employed, the orphan must closely resemble its own calf in colour. It will then accept either calf without ruses having to be resorted to.

Nuer believe, erroneously it seems, that it is dangerous for a calf to drink the discoloured milk which appears at the top of the colostrum (*tith*) for the first three or four days after birth, and they always milk this off before allowing the calf to suckle. If the calf, through carelessness, suckles the top milk of the colostrum and its action is observed, an infusion is made from the powdered leaves of two plants, *yiau* and *wany*, and is poured down the calf's throat. This acts as a purgative and loosens the blockage caused by the calf drinking the top milk of the colostrum. There seems to be some misunderstanding here on the part of the Nuer, if it is not I who have misunderstood them, because the colostrum itself acts as a purgative. The top of the colostrum is boiled and drunk by children. Nuer say that it is more serious if there is any blood in the milk and it is drunk by the calf. They say this sometimes happens when a cow has its first calf, but only if the cow has been bewitched by a witch (*peth*) or magic has been made against it by a magician (*gwan wal*). If the top of the milk contains blood, it is drawn to the ground.



KRAAL (LOU COUNTRY).



SECTION OF CATTLE-CAMP WITH DRINKING-POOL IN FOREGROUND (LOU COUNTRY).

For the first three or four days a calf suckles all its dam's milk except the part drawn off. Then a ceremonial meal is held, to which close kinsmen who live nearby are summoned. They eat porridge over which is poured the first milk taken for human consumption from the cow, and they cut the tip off the calf's tail (*ba juale tem*). The owner spits on it and waves it over the back of the cow. If this is not done and people drink the milk, the calf will sicken. However, after this ceremony people say " *ngwota ka doude na buth* " (" We do not yet share with its calf "), because they take very little milk for the first fortnight in order to give the calf a chance to get strong and to give time for its teeth to harden. During these days they take only part of the first milking (*wichde* or *jok lare*) and the calf gets the remainder. When the calf is stronger (*me ce böthde thuk*) they take more milk, and they then say that the calf shares the milk with men (*ce buth*). As the calf gets stronger they take a second milking and then, perhaps, a third milking, as has already been explained.

Occasionally, when a calf is grazing, it refuses its mother, and has to be driven to the udders, but this is rare, and normally it continues to suckle till its dam is again in calf and refuses it (*ce doude kwet*). Weaning devices are not as a rule employed, but if the dam allows its calf to suckle when it is pregnant, the milk may flow, and since this is bad for the unborn calf, they place a muzzle of *heglig* thorns round the nozzle of the sucking calf (*baa dou moc bör kwe*). This muzzle permits the calf to graze but if it tries to suckle its dam the thorns prick the udders and she kicks it aside. This is necessary when it is found impracticable to keep calf and dam apart in the pastures. When a cow is well advanced in pregnancy it generally allows itself to be milked once a day but not twice. Then its milk stops altogether.

Small calves, after the adult herd has gone to the grazing grounds, are housed till the late afternoon in byres in wet season villages and in the shade of a tree, or sometimes, among the Western Nuer, in a grass hut, in dry season camps. They are watered during the afternoon and sometimes in the morning also, a man holding the calf between his legs and forcing it to drink. They begin to go to pasture with the older calves in their third month and herd boys look after them while grazing. They are only allowed to graze when they are judged to be old enough to eat and strong enough to keep up with the older calves, for if they are still weak

they would, before the bush is burnt, be lost in the high grasses, and in the dry season would tire and lie down and become separated from the older calves. Boys often gather plants and grasses, especially *poon* (*Oryza Barthii A. Cheval*), which is very fattening, and bring it to the tethered calves. Calves are always kept apart from their dams at grazing time, and the adult herd are a long way from camp or village before the calves are loosened. The herd is driven in one direction and the calves in the opposite direction. It sometimes happens, however, that the calves and the adult cattle meet and there is then much confusion and the herdboys are beaten, because there will be little milk that night. When a calf is about a year old, it runs with the herd. Of such calves they say " *Caa ka gur*," " they are followed " by other calves in the wombs of their dams. Nuer say that if a cow has had no serious illness it will bear about eight calves during its lifetime.

Calves have their age-grades, though any young calf of either sex may be referred to as a *dou* (calf). However, *dou* is often used to imply a cow calf in contrast to *rwath*, a bull calf. *Rwath* is used for any young bull calf, whether castrated or not. Hence, when the sex of the calf is unknown, one says *yang kene doude* (a cow and its calf), but if the calf is known to be a bull calf, one says *yang kene rwathde*. The age-grades are :—

köl ... ... A calf of either sex which has not begun to graze. Its dung is like the dung of sheep. To three or four months old. In the early part of this stage the calf is tied up during the day.

yömrol ... ... A calf of either sex which grazes but still suckles. Its dung is now like cattle dung. From three or four months to about nine to twelve months old. The word *nyanggec* is also used to describe a calf of this age.

kwet ... ... A calf of either sex which has ceased to suckle its dam and which grazes with the adult herd (*ce wa rei ghok*). From about the commencement of its second year to the commencement of its third year, when it is old enough to mate.

nac ... ... A cow calf from the time it is old enough to mate till after it has had its second calf. Up to the time it is first served it is called *nac in lip tut*, and when pregnant it is called *nac in liac*.

pwath ... ... The corresponding age to *nac* for bull calves (steers). A steer is known as *pwath* for about two years after castration.

yang ... ... A cow from about the time it has had its second calf.

dhur (or *labdhur*) An ox in the prime of life.

tut ... ... An entire bull.

One also refers to all steers as *thak* when one wishes merely to indicate that the animal has been castrated. When sex is not being indicated, one may refer to any beast, male or female, as *yang* in the same way as one speaks loosely of " cow " in English. Likewise, *ghok*, cattle, has the same wide reference as " cows " in English. In ritual situations the word *yang* may even refer to a sheep or a goat.

In speaking about a calf it is usual to denote its size not only by using the appropriate age-name but also by showing its height with the outstretched hand, facing sideways, as in shaking hands. When I used to illustrate the height of children in this way Nuer were always overcome with merriment, for one indicates the height of a person with the fingers of the hand pointing upwards. The height of a wild animal, especially of a hippopotamus, is shown with the palm of the hand facing the earth, and the hand is shaken, in imitation of waving grass, in the same position, when one desires to show the height of grass.

IV.

Before describing other aspects of cattle husbandry, I will ask the reader to consider for a few moments the intimate contact that Nuer have with their cattle, for without their cattle all their modes of life and thought would be different. A Nuer wakes before dawn in the midst of his cattle and he sits contentedly watching them till they are milked. He then

either takes them to pasture or spends the day watching them graze, driving them to water, composing songs about them, and bringing them back to camp, or he remains in the kraal where he drinks their milk, makes tethering cords and ornaments for them, waters and in other ways cares for the calves, cleans the kraal, and dries their dung for his fire. A Nuer washes his face and hands in the urine of his cattle, drinks their milk and blood, and sleeps on their hides by the side of their smouldering dung. He covers his body, dresses his hair, and cleans his teeth, with the ashes of their dung. He even eats his food with their horns. When the cattle return in the evening he tethers each beast to its peg with cords made from the skins of their dead companions, and sits in his windscreen to contemplate them and to watch them being milked. He knows each animal, its colour, the shape of its horns, its peculiarities, the number of its teats, the amount of milk it gives, its history, its ancestry and its progeny. He knows the habits of all his oxen, how one bellows in the evenings, how another likes to lead the herd on its return to camp, and how another tosses its head more than the rest are wont to do. He knows which cows are restless during milking, which are troublesome with their calves, and which like to drink on the way to pasture. He and his ox bear the same name. If he is a young man he will get a boy to lead his favourite ox round the camp in the morning and will leap and sing behind it. When an ox comes home in the evening he pets it, rubs ashes on to its back, removes ticks from its belly and scrotum, and picks adherent dung from its anus. If he is a young man he will sometimes walk up and down among the cattle at night ringing an ox-bell and singing the praises of his kinsmen, his sweethearts, and his oxen. He sleeps in his windscreen with the herd in front of him and his favourite ox tethered so that he can see it if he wakes, for no sight gives a Nuer greater pleasure than his oxen. They fill him with contentment and pride. The more oxen he can display the happier he is, and to make them more attractive he decorates their horns with long tassels, for he likes to see them coming home in the evening tossing their heads in the air and shaking the long tassels from their horns. He places bells round their necks so that he may listen to their tinkling in the pastures. Even the bull calves have strings of wooden beads, made from the *keac* tree, or strings of wooden bells, made from the fruit of the *doleib* palm, strung round their necks by their boy owners.

When a Nuer mentions an ox his habitual moroseness leaves him and he speaks of it with enthusiasm, throwing up his arms to show you how its horns are trained. " I have a fine ox," he says, " a brindled ox with a large white splash on its back (*thak ma bil nyanga*) and with one horn trained over its muzzle "—and up go his hands, one above his head and the other bent at the elbow across his face. Even in dancing and singing they call out the names of their oxen and hold their arms in imitation of their horns. Cattle are a Nuer's immediate interest and the goal of his furthest ambitions.

Cattle mean so much economically and socially to a Nuer that it is not surprising that he regards them highly. It would be surprising were he not to do so. He shares his life with his beasts. However, we must not romanticize Nuer and pretend that they idealize cows and oxen or attribute to them feelings like those we have towards favourite horses and dogs. Cows are to them no more than useful and valuable beasts. Nuer consider them stupid. Their death means the loss of essential food, of opportunities for marriage, of prestige in the community, and, in general, of a sense of security and well-being. A youth and his favourite ox are, perhaps, more closely linked because the ox is part of his social personality. He takes his name from it and it is the medium through which he expresses his status and makes public display. But if he wishes to marry he parts easily from his ox when he hands it over to the brother of his bride, for a wife gives him a higher status and more pride than many oxen. If his ox dies he is sad, but it is sadness at the loss of a cherished possession rather than sorrow at the death of a friend.

A Nuer's attitude to his cattle varies with varying situations in social life and with changes in his own social development. A cow is to him a producer of food or may be a means of obtaining a wife. An ox is sometimes an object of display, sometimes an object of ritual interest, sometimes a means of obtaining a wife, but generally it is no more than a beast of the herd which must be tethered and driven to pasture. A cow dedicated to a spirit is only a cow and treated like the rest of the herd save in rare ritual situations. Many times have I seen a man slap such a cow heavily on the haunches when it is troublesome or slow. One has only to see Nuer cutting the horns of their bull calves or castrating them to know that they have no feelings for their cattle of the kind we call humane feelings. They

have no illusions about their beasts. They are not sentimental about them. They are practical herdsmen.

A Nuer's attitude towards cattle, like his attitude towards other things, changes as he grows up, and the attitude of a man is different from the attitude of a woman. As soon as children can crawl they are brought into close intimacy with the flocks and herds. The kraal is their playground and they roll and tumble in dung and throw lumps of it at one another. Small children are generally smeared with it. The calves and sheep and goats are their companions in play and they pull them about and sprawl in the midst of them. Their feelings about the animals are probably dominated by desire for food, for the cows, ewes, and she-goats directly satisfy their hunger. Often children suckle the animals. They and the calves may share the milk at the udder together. As soon as a baby can drink animals' milk its mother carries it to the sheep and goats and gives it warm milk to drink straight from the udders.

When they are a little older children play games. Most of these centre round cattle. They build byres of sand at the edge of rivers and pools in dry season camps and of wet ashes or mud in wet season villages. They make fine mud cows and oxen, and on the Pibor I have seen excellent drawings of cattle and wild animals on the inner walls of byres, though the drawings are probably inspired by Anuak art, for I have not seen them elsewhere in Nuerland. With their clay oxen they play many games, taking them to pasture and putting them into byres, marrying with them, and so on. Boys and girls both play these games and probably their feelings about the cattle are the same at this early age.

The first tasks of childhood are connected with the cattle. Very small children hold the sheep and goats while their mothers milk them. When their mothers milk the cows they bring them their milk gourds and they pull the calves away from the udders and tether them in front of their dams. They collect urine in gourds and wash themselves in it. When they are a little older and stronger they have to clean the byres and kraals, assist in the milking, and herd the small calves and the sheep and goats at pasture. This is a time of increasing labour for children, and they are usually covered in dung, which they do not trouble to wipe off. Food and play contacts with the cattle have changed to labour contacts. The cattle have become a duty and it is a duty that is enforced by admonition

and mild correction. At this age the interests of the sexes in cattle begin to diverge and the divergence becomes more apparent as they grow up. The labour of girls and women is restricted to the byres and the kraals and is concerned mostly with the cows, while boys herd the calves at pasture, as well as assisting in the kraal, and after initiation they herd the adult cattle and in the kraal give their attentions mainly to the oxen. The women are dairy-maids. The men are herdsmen. Moreover, to a girl the cows are essentially providers of milk and butter, and they remain such when she grows up and is married and milks and churns for her husband's people, whereas to a boy they are part of the family herd in which he has property rights. They have entered the herd on the marriage of his kinswomen and one day he will marry with them. The girl is separated from the herd on marriage, the boy remains as the owner. His oxen are the envy of his age-mates and his pride in the cattle-camps. When a boy becomes a youth and is initiated into manhood, the cattle become something more than food and the cause of labour. They are also a means of display and marriage. It is only when a man marries and has children and an independent household and herd—when he has become an elder and man of position—that he often uses cattle as sacrifices on ceremonial occasions and invests them with a sacred significance and employs them in ritual. In talking to girls and women about cattle, it is generally the milk of the cows about which they speak, though they do not directly praise a good milch cow for this might bring ill-luck to it (*yöp*). In talking to youths about cattle, it is generally the splendour of their oxen and the value of cows and oxen alike as bride-wealth which they stress. Usually, it is only older men, who are householders, who speak much of the religious associations of their beasts.

V.

Cattle are the main cause of strife in Nuerland. Nuer have persistently raided the neighbouring Dinka tribes, slowly depriving them of their herds and occupying their grazing lands. Several Dinka tribes have disappeared as a result, and all those in contact with the Nuer were being systematically plundered when the Anglo-Egyptian administration took control of their country. Desire for cattle was the main incentive to warfare against neighbouring peoples. It is also the cause of strife among the Nuer them-

selves. Indeed, after a successful raid on Dinka stock Nuer expected that there would be further fighting over the booty among themselves. Moreover, the Nuer tribes raided one another from time to time. Thus the Karlual tribe in western Nuerland raided the Jikany, Rengyan, and other tribes in the same area. Similar occasions of warfare were of common occurrence along tribal boundaries elsewhere in Nuerland. To " steal " (*kwal*) cattle from another tribe is regarded as laudable. Even within a tribe fighting frequently results from disputes about cattle between its sections. Moreover, individuals of the same section, even of the same village community, sometimes even of the same homestead, often fight one another about ownership of cows. Nuer fight on the slightest provocation and they fight most willingly and frequently when a cow is at stake. On such an issue brother fights brother and son quarrels with father. To gain or retain a cow, a man fights even his wife's brother. Caution is thrown to the winds. Correct behaviour is forgotten. In defence of cattle and kin Nuer will face man or beast, careless of odds and contemptuous of danger.

Nuer say that it is cattle that destroy people, for it is about cattle that they fight and are slain. They have a story which tells how Cow took her revenge on Man who mastered her. Once upon a time Man lived in one village while Cow lived with Buffalo in another village. Fox visited Man and gave him a spear-shaft and told him to throw it, but Man could only throw it a short distance, so Fox taught him the art and each day Man threw the spear-shaft with greater force and surer aim. In those days all the animals lived in the same community (*wec*), and after Fox had taught Man how to throw a spear he sowed dissension among the animals, so that every beast went his own way. How Fox accomplished his ends belongs to another story.

When the animals broke up their community, Man slew with his spear the mother of Cow and Buffalo. " Buffalo said, ' I will avenge my mother in the bush ' (by tossing men with her horns). Cow said, ' As for me, I will remain in the village. I will avenge my mother in the habitations of Man. A Man will have a debt and I will settle the debt with my calf. My calf will grow up. When my calf is grown up another man whose possession had previously been lost will say, " I want the calf which you lately received." They will quarrel. They will fight. A man will die.' "

(*X* lends an ox to *Y* who one day repays him with a cow calf. When *Z* hears that *X* has received a calf he thinks of the calf which *X* owes him in return for a loan or in compensation for a loss, and he goes to him and asks him for the calf. *X* does not want to part with his new possession, so they fight and one of them is killed.)

" Cow continued, ' I will marry a wife (be the bride-wealth of a marriage). The wife will be divorced. They (the husband's people) will send to bring back the cattle. The father of the bride will tell them ' Not at all ! I have no cattle ' (he has dispersed the cattle of the bride-wealth). The owner of the cattle will say to him, ' Not at all ! My cattle must be returned.' The people will fight. A man will die.' "

" Cow said also : ' I will marry a wife (be the bridewealth of a marriage). The wife will commit adultery. The people will fight. A man will die.' "

So the feud between Cow and Man has gone on from time immemorial and day by day Cow avenges the death of her mother by occasioning the death of men. Hence Nuer say of their cattle " *Bike thuk kene ran kel* " (" They will be finished together with mankind ") for men will all kill one another on account of cattle and men and cattle will cease together.

Unfortunately cattle have been the main cause of strife between the Nuer and the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It must be confessed that for about twenty years after the reoccupation of the Sudan the Nuer were little administered and that the main attentions the Government paid to them were annual tax-gathering expeditions, which were little more than pillaging parties sent to seize cattle indiscriminately from whatever unfortunate community could be surprised and to shoot any herdsman who resisted their aggression. It is not surprising, therefore, that Nuer failed to distinguish between this new form of intervention and the older raids that used to occur under Egyptian administration. Large fines of cattle have also, from time to time, been imposed, and in Western Gaajak country a British expedition burnt thousands of cattle byres and bombed the herds. I recount these facts because they enable us to understand the deep hostility in Nuer hearts towards the Administration, a hostility which still persists in spite of the fairness, even lenience, with which a paternal government has treated them in the last decade. Even now, light though taxation may be, it is still a tax to be paid in

cattle and Nuer, in paying their annual quota of oxen, are paying something which is much more than mere wealth to them, as I have endeavoured to show in this paper, for they feel the loss more directly and personally than most peoples feel the impositions of the State, especially as they fail to see that they derive any advantage in return.

I presume that from the Government point of view the main advantage conferred upon Nuer by European administration is peace, but the Nuer, far from regarding this as privilege, consider it the greatest of their humiliations and the most serious infringement of their rights. In the very beginning of time, from the creation of men, Nuer say that they have plundered the Dinka and other pastoral peoples whenever they desired more cattle. It was this persistent plundering that finally compelled the Government to assume more systematic control over Nuerland since the plundered peoples had accepted the Administration and had a claim on its protection. Even to-day Nuer raiding expeditions are by no means a thing of the past. Here again it was on the issue of cattle, as Nuer understood it, that the Government came into hostile relations with them.

One of the reasons why Nuer are intensely suspicious of a European going among their cattle, if they do not know him well, is that Europeans have only shown an interest in cattle in taking them as taxes or fines. But there is another, less obvious reason, for Nuer, even among themselves, do not talk about their own cattle outside the family circle, except when some routine or transaction is in hand, and they do not draw attention to them in the kraal. Serious injury may be caused to a cow by alluding to its abundance of milk. The European's habit of walking round a Nuer kraal and studying each beast in turn, drawing attention to its points and remarking on its qualities, makes the herdsmen apprehensive. Until the European visitor is very well known in the village, he should disguise his interest in the cattle. On no account should the cattle be photographed till friendly relations are established. My own experiences in this matter will illustrate the need for caution. In 1930, in Lek country, I was involved in a situation that might easily have produced serious consequences by the actions of a European traveller in the local kraals. For the remainder of that expedition I abstained from photographing a single cow. On my second expedition, in 1931, I was unable to visit the cattle camps on the Nyading River while the cattle were tethered in the

kraals, though my tent was pitched some fifty yards from the nearest camp. Nuer always ran out to stop me when they saw me approaching and made their apprehension so obvious that I would have been very ill-mannered not to have been deflected from my purpose. When, later, I visited Yakwac I was a month in the cattle camp there before I was welcome in the kraal and asked to sit down in the windscreens and offered milk. It was only when I acquired a few cattle of my own and had a stake in the kraal that I was able to establish real contact with the people and became, in their eyes, an intelligible and intelligent person, for Nuer cannot understand anyone who is not cattle-minded like themselves. Perhaps all the Nuer, certainly the Lou tribe, are far less hostile towards Europeans than they were a few years ago, but a White Man must still move about the kraal with circumspection if he does not wish his interest in the cattle to be met with silent distrust.

VI.

Before the present century Nuer were far richer in cattle than they are at the present time, and it is probable that thirty years ago they cultivated millet less than they do to-day. The main loss to their stock has been occasioned by repeated outbreaks of rinderpest, which still decimate their herds. It was probably more destructive in the past than it is now, yet the attacks I have witnessed in Nuerland in recent times have been very severe. But in the past the warlike Nuer could always restore his losses by raiding the Dinka tribes—a happy expedient they can no longer use with impunity. At the present time I would say, on a general impression gained from observation and from conversations with natives of different localities, that the Nuer are far richer in cattle than the Shilluk but are not so rich as the more favoured of the Dinka tribes.

All Nuer agree that in the last generation their herds were more considerable than they are to-day, and their statements are confirmed by the traditional payments of bride-wealth and blood-wealth. In the past at least forty head of cattle—sometimes even as many as fifty to sixty—were handed over to the kin of a bride, and similar payment was made for homicide, whereas to-day the kinsmen of a bride do not expect to receive more than twenty to thirty head of cattle, and it is a great strain on the resources of a family to collect as many as that, though

they are always assisted by their kinsmen. One receives the same impression of recent poverty from Nuer accounts of happenings of thirty years ago and from their traditions.

It is difficult to make a census of cattle, even in a small area, and Nuer would certainly regard such an attempt with repugnance. Moreover, I missed several opportunities which occurred for counting the number of animals in cattle camps. However, in 1936 I counted the cattle of the twelve byres of the village of Nyueny, a day's march to the south of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. They amounted to 165 head of cattle. Three byres had fallen down and the cattle were being housed in the byres of neighbours till they could be rebuilt so that there were 11 head of cattle to each byre or household. On a rough estimate I would say that each household possessed half-a-dozen sheep and goats, though I did not count these. In the village of Konye, perched on a knoll at the edge of the Pibor River, there were, in 1935, 11 byres which housed 76 adult cattle, 20 calves, and 33 sheep and goats, giving an average of 8·7 cattle and 3 sheep and goats to each byre. At the cattle camp at Yakwac on the Sobat River, in 1930, there were on a rough estimate some 100 cattle to 18 windscreens (housing 55 men and boys), an average of about 2 head of cattle per male Nuer. On various occasions I counted elsewhere the cattle tethered in individual kraals in different parts of Nuerland, and I would be inclined to estimate 10 head of cattle and 5 goats and sheep to the byre as a general average. It may be pointed out also that Nuer byres will not hold many more beasts than these. On an average there are, perhaps, some eight persons, including women and children, to a byre. At the present day, therefore, the cattle population of Nuerland probably does not greatly exceed the human population. More accurate observations on a larger scale are desirable to confirm my approximations.

Some tribes are said to be richer in cattle than others. Lou country is considered especially suitable for raising stock, and the Lou have a reputation for possessing larger herds than other Nuer tribes. It is said that the Eastern Jikany were once very rich in cattle, but that their herds suffered so much from epidemics that the people were compelled to cultivate more millet. They are now recovering from this period of poverty. The cattle are everywhere very evenly divided among the people. Hardly anyone is entirely without cattle and no one is very rich in herds. As

befits a democratic people, social equality is, in the main, economic equality also. A man never possesses many more cattle than his byre will hold because as soon as his herd is large enough he, or one of his sons or brothers, will marry. The herd will then be reduced to two or three beasts and the next few years will be spent in repairing its losses. Every household goes through alternating periods of poverty and comparative wealth, the cycles being caused by marriage alone if rinderpest or some other epidemic does not interfere with the course of events.

I cannot, with confidence, say what proportion of the cattle are male and what proportion are female, but the cows certainly predominate, and I would guess from general observations that they form about two-thirds of the herds.

(To be continued.)

THE STORY OF SUAKIN.

By J. F. E. Bloss.

PART III.—FROM 1865 TO THE PRESENT DAY.

(PLATES VIII—XIII)

(*Concluded.*)

THE Firman from the Sultan of Turkey to the Khedive Ismail in 1865 gave his sons the right of accession, and granted to Egypt the ports of Massowa and Suakin in return for an additional yearly tribute. The earlier years of the Khedive's reign promised great prosperity and Ismail found he could borrow capital in Europe without much difficulty. But his lavish schemes, and mismanagement of the country's finances, soon reduced Egypt to a state of bankruptcy. One of the results consequent upon this financial crisis was that the Khedive sold his shares in the Suez Canal to the British Government.

As the only port of the Sudan, Suakin was of great value to Egypt. In addition, it was centrally placed for trade coming to Egypt from India, Abyssinia, Arabia and the Yemen, and was the main port for Sudanese and West African pilgrims. Egyptian enterprise therefore developed the resources of the port as far as it was able and during the next fifty years it rose to the zenith of its glory.

[1] Mumtaz Pasha became the first governor of the port and took up his appointment early in 1866. He enlarged many houses on the Island, built new ones, and repaired others. The Muhafaza is the most noted of those which were enlarged and the top half of it dates from this period.[2] He also started cultivating cotton in the Baraka Delta. The land was hired from the local sheikhs, and they were provided with cotton seed and other necessities. Half of the crop was appropriated by the government, and these expenses were deducted from the remaining half. All the cotton was ginned and pressed at Suakin by the government.

Egyptian merchants settled in Suakin and built themselves large houses on the Island, which, once built, were scarcely ever repaired; for

[1] Baker. "The Albert Nyanza Great Basin of the Nile," p. 355.

[2] Wylde. "'83–'87 in the Sudan," Vol. II, pp. 209, 282.

their owners had not the money to pay for their upkeep, with the result that they soon became as unsafe as the money that had been loaned for their construction.

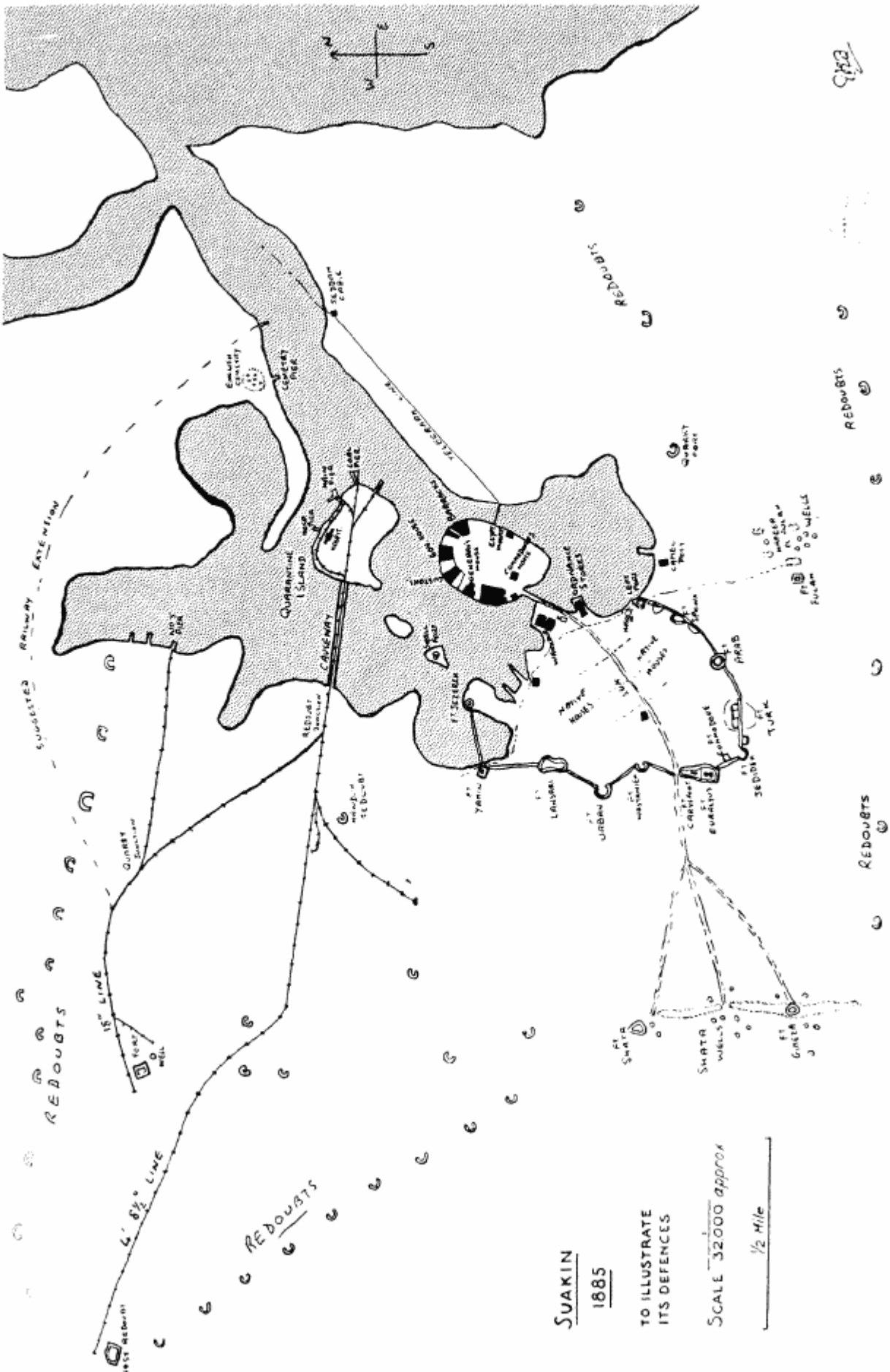
As the town developed so also the trade increased to some extent, but the demand for money from Egypt compelled the governor to levy heavy taxes and customs dues. The lack of regular shipping held up the merchandise in the port and the combination of these two factors increased the storage charges and so, for a time, cramped the trade. Baker, who passed through Suakin in 1865, speaks of the possibilities of the port if only regular shipping could be induced to call.

[1]In 1868, during the British Expedition to Abyssinia, the question arose as to the best route for sending supplies to the troops. A military telegraph from Suakin to Kassala was planned, and it was thought that Suakin would be a better base than Massowa. The supplies were to be taken from Suakin to Kassala by camel in from sixteen to twenty days.

[2]In 1869 Baker again visited Suakin and noted that the population was only eight thousand, considerably less than it was stated to have been in the times prior to the Egyptian occupation. He came in an Egyptian sloop of war and stayed with Mumtaz Pasha. In the same year the Suez Canal was opened and the Red Sea, instead of being a side street for maritime commerce, became the highway to the East. Suakin was bound to increase in importance under these new conditions, and it was not long before European merchants as well as the Egyptians settled in the port.

[3]Southworth visited Suakin in 1872 and, like all travellers of this period, speaks of its great possibilities. He mentions how the Khedive bought the port from Turkey and how from that date it had risen to become the chief port of the Sudan. The telegraph to Kassala had been completed, and the local Beja tribes were already settling on the mainland and had formed a large village of their own. The houses, built of the coral and limestone found in the harbour, were " lofty and creditable to the commerce of the port." Captain Rugeby, the electrician there, and presumably in charge of the telegraph, showed Southworth and his party many kindnesses and attentions, where " everyday comforts and a glass

[1] Holland and Hozier. " Record of Expedition to Abyssinia, 1868," Sect. II, para. 217.
[2] Baker. " Ismailia."
[3] Southworth. " Four Thousand Miles of African Travel."


SUAKIN
1885
TO ILLUSTRATE
ITS DEFENCES
SCALE 32.000 approx
½ Mile
REDOUBTS
QUARANTINE ISLAND
CAUSEWAY
15th LINE
4' 8½" LINE
SUGGESTED RAILWAY EXTENSION
GOVERNMENT STORES
NATIVE HOUSES
WELLS

of pale ale are of more worth to the tired traveller than the freedom of the city in a gold box."

He continues to say that Suakin maintained a petty commerce with Suez, Jeddah and Massowa, and that the Khedive had sent some colossal engines and boilers which were to be moved to the banks of the Atbara for setting up a ginning factory, while already the wharves were full of cotton.

"A few more seasons and it is believed that all the steamers plying the Red Sea will touch for goods and passengers who are now obliged to hazard the transit to Suez on the deck of an Egyptian sarcophagus."

[1]Six months later De Cosson came to Suakin on the steamer "Kosseir." The journey took four days and a portly Arab pilot brought them through the reef to the Island town. They visited the governor, then an Arab named Ahmed Effendi, and later visited the mainland, crossing over in a *hourri* as there was then no causeway. On shore they noticed several bales of cotton rotting in the sun awaiting shipment to Suez, and . . .

" scattered here and there were the parts of a great steam engine that the Government had intended to erect at Kassala, but with its usual wasteful carelessness had abandoned here, finding it too heavy to transport across the desert. Suakin under an energetic government might be the great depot for all the exports and imports of the Sudan, a country with a rich trade in hides, senna, ivory and bees wax, besides unlimited resources for the growth of cotton and gum arabic."

Apart from their own vessel there were no other ships in the harbour except for a few Arab dhows engaged in trading between Suakin, Jeddah and Massowa. Whilst on shore they had an amusing experience when they tested out their rifles. One of the bullets was brought back to them with the story that it had entered the tent of a sheikh over a mile and a half away and that he demanded some "backshish" for it.

Trade varied considerably; as well as the heavy duties, the variations in the market prices of gum limited the exports. In the "*Statistique de l'Egypte*" for 1872 it is seen that only eighteen vessels, with a total tonnage of 4,331, left Suakin. Of the articles of export, 3,460 kantars of gum were sent to Suez and 13,670 to Jeddah. 30,042 kilogrammes of ivory at 54 piastres per oke were shipped to Jeddah and the same port also took 4,514 ardebs of sesame at prices between 70 and 140 piastres per ardeb. A very poor year considering the possibilities the port possessed. Wylde, who was at Aden in 1874, mentions that the merchants at Suakin and Massowa were but the receiving and forwarding agents for the mer-

[1] De Cosson. "The Cradle of the Blue Nile," Vol. I, pp. 7–15.

cantile houses at Jeddah, and that their only trade was, for all intents and purposes, the slave trade, supplying indirectly Cairo and Constantinople. Of honest trading, there was a limited amount, but the demand for slaves knew no bounds, and even the highest government officials filled their pockets with the profits of a trade which the Khedive had promised to stamp out.

Before the advent of European traders such as Greeks, Servians and Croats, trade with the Continent had only been carried on indirectly through Egypt. [1]According to Pallme, all the ivory from Darfur and Kordofan used to be sent to Suakin where it was received by Englishmen or their Indian agents. The greater part of this ivory paid no customs dues, and was taken out of the harbour by small vessels and shipped on to the larger ships that went to India. Even so there was always a comparatively large export trade of ivory to Egypt and Europe.[2] Wylde states that ivory from Khartoum, shipped to London via Suakin, arrived there within six weeks, and was sold six months before ivory sent at the same time through Egypt, and he mentions that the Suakin route was considerably cheaper. The exports from Suakin at this period were much the same as in the past, ivory and gum, coffee from Abyssinia, gold from Sennar, senna and ostrich feathers from Darfur and Kordofan, hides from Kassala, cotton, simsim oil, and cattle from the local tribes. The imports naturally increased and included a large number of European goods, such as sugar, candles, soap, rice, cloth from Manchester, cutlery and metal goods from Birmingham. These goods, received at Suakin, were forwarded by camel caravans to Berber and Kassala, which were the two great distributing centres for Abyssinia and the Sudan. These caravans for the interior left Suakin usually every three months; and after the construction of the Wakkala, they loaded up outside this building, watched by a large crowd. Each caravan consisted of between five hundred and a thousand camels and its departure was one of the sights of the town.

[3]Screw steamers were in operation between the ports of the Red Sea in 1874. Gessi arrived at Suakin on the "Zagazig" in April of that year. He describes the vessel as a "mere raft." With him were other members

[1] Pallme. "Travels in Kordofan," pp. 285–6.
[2] Wylde, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 277.
[3] Gessi. "Seven Years in the Soudan."

of Gordon's staff, M. Auguste Linant de Bellefonds, M. Kempt (engineer), Major Campbell, Mr. Anson, and another passenger who was a French comedy actress, a Madame Desirée. Gordon, on his way to Gondoroko speaks of the rottenness of things at the port. The Egyptians were borrowing money at exorbitant rates, sometimes at as much as thirty per cent. interest, without attempting to limit their expenditure in any way at all. Travellers had difficulty in getting a vessel that would call there, as there was no certainty of obtaining any cargo for the return journey. But with the increased demand for foreign goods, and the greater possibilities of trading the produce of the country, conditions improved gradually so that between 1874 and 1883 Suakin rose to the height of its glory. With this increase of European trade, more and more goods passed through Suakin instead of going through Egypt. [1]Junker's description of the port in 1875 is interesting . . .

"Sawakin may be described as a very daughter of the sea. Surrounded by marine waters, its houses themselves are a product of the deep, being built of coralline limestone fished up from the bottom, while the very existence of the place depends on its marine traffic . . . As the only available seaport for the Eastern Sudan Sawakin enjoys prosperity. Export dues over £60,000 up to exchanges of over £1,000,000. The best traffic is in slaves . . . The governor of Sawakin is a person who seems to concentrate in his person all the vices of the oriental despot."

The governor, government officials, the European, Egyptian, and chief native merchants lived on the Island. On the Geyf were the native quarters and the suk, one street of which was taken up entirely with hair-dressers' shops for the Beja tribesmen who came into the town. The port had a medical officer who, from time to time, levied quarantine restrictions on the shipping from the East. Signor Conti was the port medical officer in 1874. Smallpox, cholera and plague were the chief diseases feared.

Soon after the Egyptian occupation of the port the whole of the Red Sea littoral was placed under one governor, and his residence transferred to Massowa, leaving a deputy in Suakin. Munzinger Bey replaced Mumtaz Pasha in 1872 when he went to Massowa, and Ali Riza Pasha replaced Munzinger Bey in 1877.

[2]In 1877 Gordon was appointed Governor-General of the Sudan, and on his way to Khartoum again passed through Suakin. He ordered

[1] Junker. "Travels in Africa, 1875–8," Ch. I.
[2] Butler. "Gordon," pp. 67.

the building of the causeway between the Island and the mainland, and this was completed in the first half of the following year, being built entirely by convict labour. [1]Mrs. Speedy stopped for a few days at Suakin on her way to Kassala where she spent part of her honeymoon in 1878. She mentions that there was no causeway there in February of that year but that on her return in July it had been completed. She and her husband stayed with the government agent, Ali Riza Pasha, who was rather meagre in his hospitality, giving them rooms without any furniture and no means of washing. He was, she says, very lazy. He did no work during the week and, on Fridays, in the morning went to the mosque with a large retinue of followers, and in the afternoon sat at home smoking himself silly.

[2]In December, 1879, Dr. Wilhelm Junker again passed through Suakin on his way to the Southern Sudan. He noted a great improvement in the place since his last visit. The entrance to the harbour was lined with " several piles of dazzling white coraline blocks." The causeway had been built, and the Rubattino shipping company was running regular monthly services to Suakin, Massowa, Hodeida, Suez and Jeddah. French, German and Italian traders had recently settled in the port.

[3]In 1881 an Egyptian decree declared the Eastern Sudan a separate province with a governor-general of its own, and independent of the rest of the Sudan. Ali Ed Din was appointed the new governor-general and took up his post early in 1882. Ali Riza Pasha had been a most unpopular governor and the news of the change was greeted with great rejoicing at Suakin. [4]F. L. James was on the vessel which brought the news and describes the port. One Greek had been enterprising enough to set up a hotel called " Le Hotel du Soudan." James and his party were the guests of the government agent and did not have to stay at this " shanty," but were obliged to send their washing there, and for this the wife of the proprietor charged . . .

" At the rate of two dollars a dozen articles, counting a pair of socks as two articles, so that what they lacked in custom they evidently tried to make up in their prices, when, as they say in America, a stranger happened to come along."

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[1] Speedy. " My Wanderings in the Soudan," Vol. I.
Junker. " Travels in Africa, 1879–83," p. 16 for note *re* causeway.

[2] Junker. " Travels, 1875–8."

[3] MacMichael. " The A-E. Sudan," p. 43.

[4] James. " The Wild Tribes of the Sudan."

[1]Dr. Josiah Williams visited Suakin in December, 1881, and saw nine tons of ivory ready for export, and some sixty Arabs wandering about the town in chains. These men were the survivors of a party who had come over from Arabia with hopes of trading their camels. Their animals had been seized and they had been put into chains because they were unable to pay their taxes. These Arabs paid their jailers a hundred dollars a month for the privilege of being allowed to wander about the town, and in addition had to find their own food. When Ali Ed Din Pasha, the first Governor-General, arrived he released them.

The Wakkala or Caravanserai, built by Shennawi Bey, one of the leading merchants, was completed in 1881. It is said to have been built entirely by slave labour, and its owner is reputed to have started life as a humble government employee on a hundred and fifty piastres a month. It was the largest building in Suakin, and was constructed and designed so that, if necessary, it could be enlarged. On the ground floor were store-houses for merchandise, and on each of the upper floors were rooms for the merchants. The whole building was built around a large courtyard used for the stabling of animals. Here was stored all the merchandise, and its size is proof of the large quantities of goods that were coming into the country through Suakin. Indeed, the amount of goods to be transported had so increased that the hire of a camel from Suakin to Berber, single journey, was as high as from ten to fourteen pounds ; and there were not enough camels to cope with all the traffic on this road. It is not surprising that the construction of a railway between Suakin and the interior was contemplated. As far back as 1877 Wylde had approached Gordon on the subject, and in 1880 it was proposed to build a metre gauge railway between Suakin and Berber. The opponents of the scheme argued that the natives would be the losers if such a scheme was put into effect, while the natives themselves were actually in favour of it. In June, 1883,[2] an Egyptian commission considered the question of a Sudan railway. Briefly, three routes were under consideration.

1. Suakin—Kassala—Goz Rejab—Khartoum.

This route went through the cotton area, but was opposed on account of the engineering difficulties that would be encountered in construction.

[1] Williams. "Life in the Soudan."

[2] Wylde, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 124–136.

2. Cairo, up the Nile to Khartoum.

Difficulties had already been experienced in trying to get the railway as far as Assuan, and this route was abandoned because of the past experiences in this area.

3. Suakin—Berber—Khartoum.

This route, the commission decided, presented no great engineering difficulties, and their concluding remarks are of interest . . .

"In conclusion the commission desires to record their opinion that the construction of the railway from Suakin to Berber is essential for the well-being of the Sudan."

That the railway was never built was not the fault of the commission that recommended it. The growing unrest in the country gradually spread; and through the medium of Osman Digna eventually reached the Eastern Sudan, and in 1883 began to be felt in Suakin.

[1]Osman Digna had been preaching the doctine of revolt ever since 1877, when one of the dhows owned by his family had been captured off the harbour of Sheikh Barghout by a British man-of-war, the "H.M.S. Swan,"and its cargo of slaves discovered. He and his family suffered severely as a result of this. Their property at Jeddah and Suakin was confiscated, and all the three brothers were imprisoned. After his release he managed to earn a living by contracting to supply the ginning factory, owned by Elias Debbas, with water; but he continued to protest against the government, and held many meetings at the Shata wells, where his friends listened to his revolutionary doctrines. The other merchants refused to listen to him. His uncle they had known and revered, for he had been head of the Suakin merchants, and on his death had been brought to Suakin from Tokar for burial. But Osman Digna had never been noted for his honesty, and the family had sunk into insignificance among the local merchants. He was accordingly exiled from the town and in 1878 went to Berber, returning to Suakin occasionally for business purposes. In 1882 he returned and in a stay of six months collected several desperadoes, who swore to oppose the government in every possible manner. He went to El Obeid, after the Mahdi had captured that town, and on offering his services was made

[1] Jackson. "Osman Digna," pp. 23–27.

Emir of the Eastern Sudan. Armed with letters of recommendation from the Mahdi, and telling wonderful stories of the Mahdi's power and conquests, he returned to Suakin.

II.

Among the tribes of the Red Sea Hills, Osman Digna did not at first receive the whole-hearted response that he hoped for, but when he came to Suakin he was received, much to everyone's surprise, with great honour by the chief religious sheikh, Tahir el Mahgoub, and by August, 1883, had collected enough troops to attack Sinkat, the principal fort on the Suakin-Berber road. The story of the revolt in the Eastern Sudan is too well known to relate in full. [1]In his first few battles Osman Digna was defeated and his prestige suffered to such an extent that he was scarcely able to collect together enough men. In November, 1883, Suleiman Pasha Nyazi was appointed governor-general of the Eastern Sudan and came to Suakin. On the way he stopped at Sinkat and, for fear of being attacked, ordered the Suakin garrison up to Sinkat as an additional escort. On their way to Sinkat the garrison was ambushed and annihilated and the Pasha's escort had to be strengthened by some of the troops at Sinkat. This success augmented Osman Digna's forces and he was joined by the *Kadi* and other notables from Suakin. He then advanced on Tokar.

Moncrieff, the English consul at Suakin, went with Mohammed Tahir in charge of troops from Suakin to Trinkitat in an effort to relieve Tokar. But soon after they had landed at Trinkitat, the force was attacked by the Dervishes and Moncrieff was killed. A further catastrophe befell the unfortunate troops at Suakin. In the middle of November Suleiman Pasha sent an ill-timed and badly organised expedition to relieve Sinkat,

[1] Dates of the battles, etc., taken from Colville's "Official History of the Sudan Campaigns, 1884–5," 2 vols.

Other works consulted for details of the war, and conditions at Suakin include the following :—

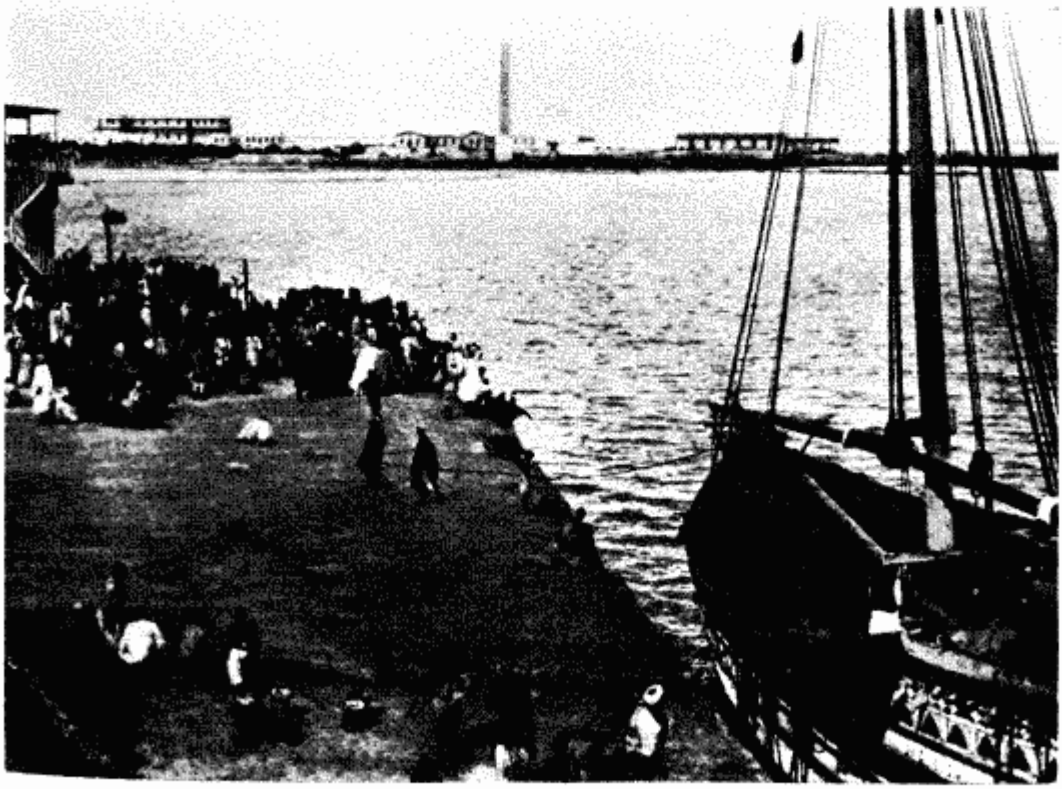
Churchill. "The River War."
Colborne. "With Hicks Pasha in the Sudan."
De Cosson. "Days and Nights of Service."
Russell and Gattie. "The Ruin of the Soudan."
Grant. "Cassel's History of the War in the Soudan," 6 vols.
Jackson. "Osman Digna."
Sartorius. "The Soudan."
Vetch. "Life, Letters and Diaries of Sir Gerald Graham."
Wingate. "Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan."

which was ambushed and wiped out at the wells of Tamai. Conditions at Suakin rapidly went from bad to worse. The defence of the town devolved upon about three hundred unreliable troops, a small fort near the native market place, two Krupp guns, and three mountain guns and a few old smooth-bore rifles dating back to the time of George I. Alongside the fort was a half stone and half mud building used as a prison as well as a barracks room. In the harbour two Egyptian gunboats were anchored, but they were used as the residences of the two Pashas who preferred their safety to the comfort of their palaces on the Island. The inhabitants were divided as to which party they supported. The majority were in favour of the government, poor though it might be. Their livelihood was bound up with the safety of the port and they would lose all if it fell into the hands of the Dervishes. At home the British government had refused all responsibility for the turn of events in the Sudan. They had advised Egypt to evacuate the garrisons and call in the aid of Turkey for the defence of the Red Sea ports. Turkey refused to help unless the cost of the expedition was borne by Egypt, which the Egyptians were unable to do. It was then proposed that the ports should be handed back to Turkey, but eventually it was decided to evacuate the Sudan garrisons via Suakin. The British government offered to help by sending part of the Indian fleet to assist in the defence of the Red Sea ports, and Suakin in particular. " H.M.S. Ranger " arrived at Suakin on November 16th and took up a position guarding the causeway, much to the relief of the inhabitants. " H.M.S. Woodlark " arrived at the end of November and was followed by a gunboat, the " Coquette." At the same time reinforcements were sent from Egypt. The two Pashas now lived on shore, but even so Mohammed Tahir had fears for his own safety and ordered that the wooden portion in the centre of the causeway should be removed so as to stop any attack on the Island. Needless to say, his orders were countermanded.

Colonel Harrington, in charge of the first batch of reinforcements, proceeded at once to improve the defences of the town. An earthwork wall was erected around the Geyf at about a thousand yards radius from the causeway. Outside it was a ditch four feet deep and three feet wide, and on the top were high wooden stakes and iron spikes. Along the wall were two or three forts garrisoned by the new troops. General Sartorius arrived on the s.s. " Eldorado " with his wife and step-daughter on



(*a*) GORDON'S GATE AND CAUSEWAY.



(*b*) PILGRIMS WAITING TO BOARD A SAMBUK FOR JEDDAH IN 1905.
(Note the buildings on Condenser Island.)
(*Photo by kind permission of A. E. Robinson.*)

December 12th. The ladies took up residence in the house of the Wylde brothers and made themselves useful by managing the household affairs.

[1]Mrs. Sartorius gives a good description of the besieged town. In the Wakkala were Manchester goods to the value of a quarter of a million pounds, stored and perishing. The Egyptian soldiers at the gate were feeble and emaciated invalids; hardly any two of them had the same uniform, and their officer was clad in a ragged pair of trousers, a plain overcoat and a tarboosh. He was so doubled up with rheumatism that he was unable to salute. The criminals in the prison lived a life of laziness and luxury. [2]One of them, Sayed Kandil, who had taken a prominent part in the Alexandria riots, had a cook and two slaves to look after him. His clothes were of the finest silk and, at night, he and the other prisoners were found playing cards and drinking coffee and brandy. Their warder excused himself on the grounds that all the prisoners he had ever had in his charge were accustomed to amuse themselves, and he did not see why they should not do so so long as they did not escape. Conditions were soon changed, but the two Pashas continued to obstruct the British officers. The Bashi Bazouks from Egypt refused to drill and General Sartorius had them flogged until they consented to do so.

With such conditions it is not surprising that the inhabitants of Suakin feared an attack by the Dervishes. If Osman Digna had chosen to attack during this time, he could have taken Suakin without much difficulty, but the arrival of the British men-of-war, and the new troops from Egypt, made the town safe from any but the most determined assault. The warships gave demonstrations of shell-fire at night which at first alarmed the population as well as the enemy encamped outside the town.

The increased number of troops aggravated the already serious food problem. The Arab families, with their flocks, had long left the neighbourhood of the town, and Wylde, in charge of the police, had to organise cattle raids. If the ownership of any animals taken in these raids could be proved, the natives were paid for them, a procedure which increased the confidence of the neighbouring tribes, who brought more animals in to the besieged town.

[1] Sartorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–105.

[2] Sartorius, *op. cit.*

H.M.S. "Euryalus," with Admiral Hewitt on board, arrived on December 16th, and General Baker arrived on the 23rd. A grand review of the troops was held on Christmas Day, 1883, which was followed by sports and games, including cricket and tennis. On December 31st the head of the Mirghani family visited Suakin in state and was accorded a good welcome in the port. Being an opponent of Madhism, it was hoped he might be able to turn the tribes against Osman Digna, but unfortunately he had but little influence on the tribes outside Suakin.

In January, 1884, Admiral Hewitt, General Baker, and the two Pashas met to decide on a plan of action. Sinkat was in dire straits and Suleiman Pasha had done nothing for its relief since his last abortive effort early in December. He had even delayed signing a contract with a Suakin merchant, who had offered to throw provisions into the besieged fort, until it was too late for the scheme to be practicable. He therefore voted for an attack on Tokar, which he was confident would distract Osman Digna's attention from Sinkat. Both Hewitt and Baker were in favour of the relief of Sinkat, but in the end agreed to attack Tokar first.

Baker set off for Trinkitat at the end of January, 1884. In the battle fought at El Teb, over half his army of four thousand were killed, and on his return to Suakin the whole town became panic-stricken. The troops became mutinous and demanded their return to Egypt. They wandered about the town, refusing to obey orders, and stealing from and insulting anyone they met. Zubeir Pasha's troops were among the worst offenders. They had been sent to Suakin under the impression that Zubeir himself was to lead them and were naturally disgruntled with the existing conditions. After many of the troops had been imprisoned and disarmed, they became more contented.

On February 10th, 1884, Admiral Hewitt proclaimed a British Protectorate over Suakin and announced that he had been appointed civil and military governor of the port. The remnants of Baker's army were sent back to Egypt on the 18th February. The demoralised soldiery, who had been merely the pickings of the prisons and markets of Cairo, crowded every boat, and chaos reigned supreme. Even as the steamers were under way, men swam out to them and were hauled on board by their friends. Rifles were left lying about on board, uncleaned and as often as not loaded; rogues and thieves played cards with their officers.

Following quickly upon the disaster to Baker's troops came the news of the fall of Sinkat, which reached Suakin on February 11th. At home the British government received the news with consternation and only saved itself from a vote of censure by immediately voting a force of four thousand troops for the relief of Tokar.

The Dervishes, armed with the guns they had captured from Baker's troops, were now encamped outside Suakin and nightly fired on the town. On February 15th two hundred marines from H.M.S. "Carysfoot" marched through Suakin and occupied a small fort outside the town, near the Shata wells. On the 18th the first of the British troops arrived, and from that day onwards troopships were continually coming and unloading the men, animals, and stores of the new expedition. For fear that the harbour would not be able to cope with all the ships, Admiral Hewitt ordered that all ships should wait outside and come in as ordered. In spite of all the difficulties due to the lack of accurate charts, only one ship, the "Neora," struck the reef.

The troops were sent on to Trinkitat from Suakin as soon as possible after their arrival. The Dervishes were occupying the forts built by Baker's troops near El Teb. General Graham arrived at Suakin on February 22nd and the next day proceeded to Trinkitat. Just before his arrival came the news that the garrison of Tokar had surrendered, and it seemed that the object of the expedition had been defeated before its arrival. The troops, however, disembarked at Trinkitat on February 28th, advanced and defeated the Dervishes at El Teb on the 29th, and entered Tokar on March 1st. The news of their victory was quickly carried to Suakin. A runner in the service of the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent was the first to arrive, having covered the distance between Tokar and Suakin in one night.

The victorious troops returned to Suakin on March 5th and were encamped on the stretch of land south of the Island now known as Graham's Point. A further advance on Osman Digna's headquarters at Tamai was planned, and zeribas were prepared some eight miles out of Suakin. Stores, ammunition, and water were carried to the zeriba, including some ten thousand gallons of water. Mules and camels were used for the transport. The troops reached the zeriba on March 13th, and advanced on the Dervish position at Tamai on the 14th. The Dervishes were again

defeated with very heavy losses, but only after a hard fight in which they succeeded in breaking the British square. The news of the battle was heliographed to Suakin where it was received on the roof of the Muhafaza. A further expedition was sent against Osman Digna on March 26th when his village and treasury at Tamanieb were burnt to the ground, but on that occasion the troops met with little or no resistance.

On March 18th Admiral Hewitt offered a reward of five thousand dollars for the capture of Osman Digna, alive or dead. The proclamation was publicly burnt at Tamanieb by the Dervishes, and at home was disapproved of by the government with the result that it was withdrawn five days after it had been published.

The submarine telegraph had been completed to Suakin in January and this considerably accelerated the means of communication. Prior to this the telegraph to Suez, and thence to Egypt, was the quickest route. This was unreliable, slow, and by no means invulnerable.

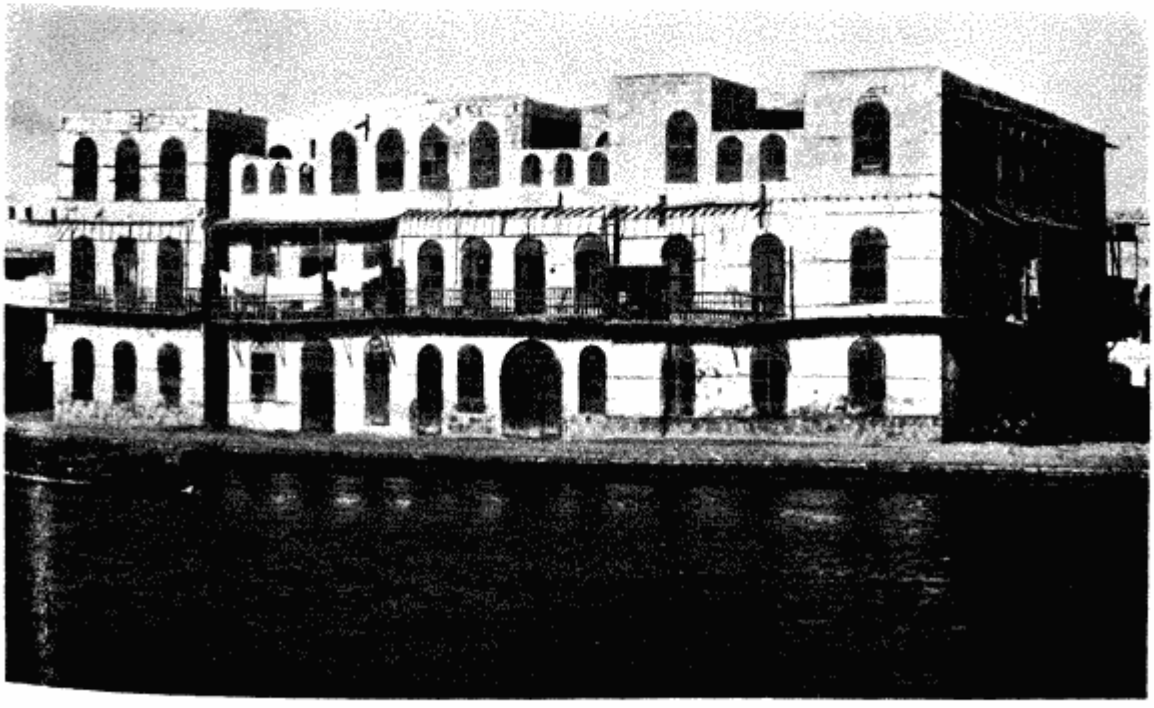
Contrary to the advice of Graham, and Baring at Cairo, the authorities at home decided to withdraw the British troops from Suakin. Osman Digna had been severely defeated and had but few followers. The attitude of the friendly tribes, such as the Amarar, had improved, and they now brought in food supplies to Suakin for sale. Graham left Suakin on April 3rd and Hewitt left for Abyssinia a few days later. Sir Cromer Ashburnham took over the post of governor-general, and a few British troops were left to garrison the port.

The question of the Suakin-Berber road caused considerable controversy at home. This and the Nile route were the only possible approaches to Khartoum. Until August, 1884, the Suakin-Berber route was thought to be the easier, but as the Mahdi's forces gradually occupied the more northern towns of the Sudan it was realised that when the British troops arrived at Berber they would find the enemy on both flanks. In addition, the difficulties of ensuring sufficient water supply, especially near Berber, were so great that this route was abandoned.

For a short time the port assumed an appearance more akin to times of peace. The natives returned to the Geyf with their flocks, and the town was open to all. But it was not long before Osman Digna again started to collect together an army. As the British troops had not followed up their successes with complete annihilation of Osman Digna and his men,



(*a*) CUSTOMS GATE. (Note the lion mentioned by James.)



(*b*) BEIT EL BASHA.

it was thought that they had retired admitting defeat. With his reorganised forces Osman Digna again besieged Suakin towards the end of May.

General Freemantle took over the governor-generalship of Suakin at the end of July. By this time the Dervishes were encamped outside the walls and at night repeatedly fired on the town, occasionally causing casualties among the inhabitants. The troops, aided by the searchlights of the ship and forts, opened fire on them, but were unable to drive them from their positions. [1]During the last six months of 1884 there were nearly a hundred and fifty night attacks. On one occasion over eight thousand cartridge cases were picked up near the Dervish position on the following morning. On this particular occasion the Dervishes started the night's work with a feint attack to the north of the town while their main force occupied the lime quarries to the south. After their main force had been located by the searchlights, heavy firing broke out from both sides. Two mortars lobbed shells into the quarries, eventually driving out the Dervishes. As they escaped from the quarries, rifle fire reduced their numbers and they retired leaving a trail of dead and wounded behind them.

One of the main difficulties was to distinguish between friend and foe during the day time. Some of those who attacked the town at night would come and work with the engineer troops on Condenser Island during the day. The engineer troops put down mines, but the Dervishes soon learnt how to avoid them or to remove them without exploding them. However, one night a specially large mine was prepared with a series of dummy fuse wires, while the real method of exploding it was to tilt it, and so alter the level of a column of mercury inside. This mine attracted the attention of a large number of Dervishes who were all blown to pieces when they tried to move it.

[2]The engineers built themselves a small 18-inch gauge railway on Condenser or Quarantine Island, and they had two engines, named by the natives " Work " and " No Good." The latter had a habit of running off the lines, and on one occasion overturned on one of the most trusted scouts. Jetties were also built on this Island, but as white wood was used for the work these were not very permanent. A causeway was also con-

[1] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 184.
[2] Wylde, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 69. Colville, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 36.

structed between Condenser Island and the mainland to the north of the town. This can still be seen to-day.

Conditions continued in an unsettled state to the end of the year. Lack of real support from the government caused several of the friendlies to go over to Osman Digna in September. Colonel Chermside took over the governor-generalship from Freemantle in September, and in November came the news of the plight of Gordon, and the proposed Nile expedition. [1]Wolseley stated that he hoped to relieve Khartoum, and follow up this by coming to Suakin and crushing Osman Digna once and for all. For this purpose Wolseley asked for two thousand white umbrellas as the heat at Suakin had gained such a bad reputation. General Stephenson came to Suakin at the end of the year.

The story of the fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon reached Suakin in February. By this time the British government had already decided to send a large expedition to Suakin to deal with Osman Digna who, for the last three months, had been concentrating on keeping the Suakin-Berber road closed to all trade and traffic. In Suakin itself the defences of the town had been reorganised. The wall surrounding the Geyf had been strengthened, and an increased number of forts placed along it. Outside the wall a series of small earthen redoubts had been constructed and forts placed on the roads to Tamai and Handub. (See map.)

III.

[2]The force brought out under General Graham in 1885 for the second Suakin campaign numbered some 13,000 men, of whom about two thousand had been at Suakin during the previous year. The preparations for so large a force entailed considerable organisation. Commodore Molyneux was in charge of the port and his report on the harbour arrangements is evidence of the efficiency displayed . . .

[3]"The entry and departure of large transports was for a few weeks almost incessant and included vessels up to 450 feet in length. That these were taken in and out, and berthed

[1] Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 144. Wolseley's dispatch from Korti, 8.1.85 :—" There is no such thing as certainty in war, but, please God, I shall duly relieve Khartoum and open the Berber-Suakin road when returning . . . Please send 2,000 strong thick white umbrellas . . . I shall want them going to Suakin."

[2] Colville, *op. cit.*

[3] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 163.

alongside the piers, or secured elsewhere . . . without a single mishap to the ship or pier is sufficient proof of the nerve and judgement displayed . . . "

While speaking of the water supply he says . . .

"the arrangements made by the Admiralty for the supply of water to the troops were on so liberal a scale that after the arrival of the condensing and tank vessels there was never any possibility of a failure."

[1]There were nine ships with condensers and other condensers on Quarantine Island employed in producing some 75,000 gallons of water daily. The two main supply depôts at the head of the old railway had four hundred gallon tanks and the water was distributed by means of regimental carts. A large reserve water tank was situated near the Quarantine Island causeway and canvas water tanks and water barrels had to be taken to the various advance posts and sunk in the ground. The process of filling these various containers was carried on night and day, and in addition to the condensers about forty-five new wells were sunk and the old wells were cleaned out and deepened. Ten thousand transport animals were used including camels brought from Egypt, Arabia, Syria, India, Somaliland and Aden. For the first time in the history of the British Empire troops from the colonies were called in to assist, and contingents from Australia and India came to Suakin. [2]The total number of European and Native troops was over 18,000 and there were 3,500 horses and over 7,000 camels. The supplies of milk and meat depended largely on what the friendlies brought in and when these ran short raids had to be made on the cattle of the local tribes.

The disembarkation of troops took place on Quarantine Island and, as the three jetties built by the engineers were not sufficient, two more were built. The first contingent of troops arrived on February 24th and from that day onwards troops were arriving daily. As they arrived the troops were sent to their various encampments. The Coldstream, Scots, and Grenadier Guards, the Horse Artillery, the Marines, Mounted Infantry and Royal Engineers were on the north-west side of the Geyf; the East Surrey, Shropshire and Berkshire Regiments were opposite the causeway, and the Indian contingent to the south of the Island. The Army Medical Corps were encamped inside the north-west line of troops. [3]Owing to

[1] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 93. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[2] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 94. Twenty tons of food for the European troops, ten tons for the native troops, and a hundred and ten tons of forage for the animals were required daily.

[3] De Cosson. "Days and Nights of Service."

the wide front of this encampment the Dervishes were able to make night attacks, creeping past the sentries among the sleeping troops, and then stabbing some soldier and escaping before they could be caught. One one occasion they attacked the canteen and killed three Greeks, on another they reached the Ordnance store and surprised the sentry. Between the 7th and 15th March there was little or no sleep for those in the camp as a result of these raids. The lines were closed up and sentries doubled. On 19th March the enemy position at Hashin was attacked as it was from this source that the night raids came. The enemy were driven out with heavy losses, and their village burnt, and after this the raids ceased.

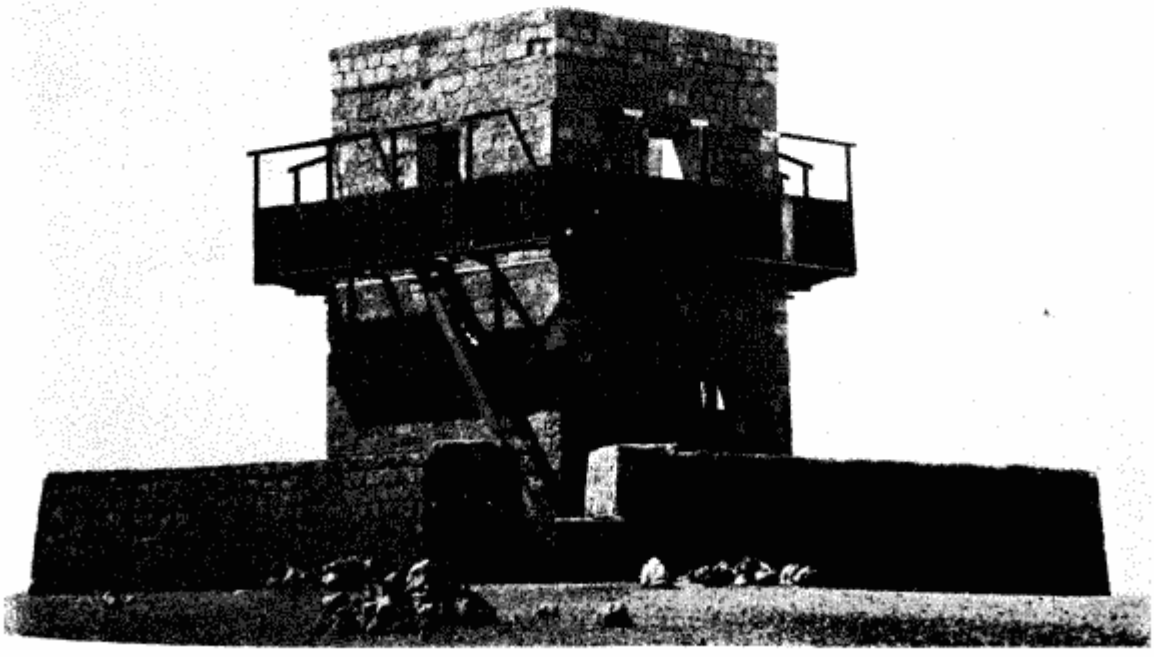
The defences of the town were now nearing completion. A high mud wall surrounded the Geyf, and interspersed along it were a series of forts (see map). Outside this wall were a series of earthern redoubts, and there were two forts guarding the Shata wells known as the Water forts. The building of all these defences was hampered by the Dervishes who at night would come and pull down any walls that had been put up or else fill in any ditches. A successful ruse was played one night on the enemy. Troops were left in the redoubts that had been built until after dark and then withdrawn leaving sandbags as dummy sentries. The enemy, too frightened to attack, left the work alone.

Osman Digna and his troops occupied the line Handub-Hashin-Tamai. Spies reported that they were seven or eight thousand strong, that they were short of food and viewed the arrival of troops at Suakin with considerable alarm. The details of the battles of the campaign are not necessary. It is sufficient to say that on March 22nd McNeill marched to Tofrek to prepare a zeriba for the main advance on Tamai. While he was in the middle of this work the Dervishes made a surprise attack and in a very severe fight were driven off with heavy losses. General Graham visited the zeriba on the 23rd and the main advance on Tamai started on April 1st. The Australian contingent arrived on March 29th and were accorded a great welcome by the other troops. The people of Australia had subscribed £10,000 for their men.

The troops advanced at Tamai on April 2nd and occupied the village after little resistance. The Dervish losses at Tofrek had been heavy and Tamai was almost deserted. After the occupation of Tamai the Dervishes gave very little trouble in the neighbourhood of Suakin.



(*a*) FORT GEMMEIZA, THE LEFT WATER FORT ON THE SHATA DAM.



(*b*) FORT HANDUB.

The objects of this campaign were first to crush Osman Digna, and secondly to open the Suakin-Berber road and build a railway between the two towns. [1]On February 17th a contract had been signed with Messrs. Lucas and Aird for the construction of the railway. The terms of the contract had been necessarily vague owing to the uncertain nature of the enterprise. Once the Dervishes had been subdued the construction of the railway was commenced in earnest. The Australian troops were employed in clearing the route for the platelayers, and it was planned to have fortified blockhouses along the line. Between Suakin and Handub was Blockhouse No. 1, occupied by an officer and thirty men. Handub was occupied on April 4th and forts built on the tops of two prominent hills in the *khor*. The actual construction of the railway had started on March 16th, but delays in unloading and the military operations prevented much progress before April. Difficulties were met with from the very beginning. The rolling stock was sent out too quickly and the transports containing it were held up in the harbour while troops and military supplies were unloaded. The civilian workmen such as navvies were paid ten shillings a day and all found ; fitters and riveters were paid up to £20 per month. Wylde says they were overfed, overpaid and underworked. These civilians were under the Royal Engineers and constant trouble arose when they were asked to do work which they did not consider within their contracts. This admixture of civilian and military organisations was one of the chief causes of the failure of the railway. The navvies had under them natives of many different nationalities such as Yemenese, Indian coolies, Arabs and Somalis. They could not speak their languages and much time was wasted and tempers lost in the efforts required to get the various work done. The navvies too wore clothes that were hardly suitable for the tropics—corduroy trousers, hobnailed boots and even bowler hats.

The railway reached Handub on April 10th, a distance of twelve miles. On April 15th a consignment of fifty miles of railway stock arrived at Suakin and another boat brought twelve hundred platelayers from India. The rolling stock was sent out in boatloads of ten miles of line complete, but even in those boatloads the plates and bolts did not fit. The navvies soon lost interest in a task that from the first seemed doomed

[1] De Cosson, *op. cit.*, pp. 284–94.

to failure, and would amuse themselves smoking and reading the latest papers from home, instead of doing their job. The engines were not properly looked after and at first failed to tackle even the slightest gradients. On April 22nd Graham announced that the railway operations would be suspended, but even so more and more stock continued to arrive, and on that day there were in the harbour twenty transports full of rolling stock waiting to be unloaded. On April 26th Graham received a telegram ordering the withdrawal of the British troops from Suakin. Once the rumours of the withdrawal of troops became official the Dervishes collected together again and started to harass the railway. Originally a water pipe line fifty miles long had been planned to be laid alongside the railway and tapped at each station, but it was found that the water supplies along the line were so good that this was not necessary and on April 27th the laying of the pipe line ceased. The railway reached Otao, a distance of eighteen miles, on April 30th and it was then announced that it would go no further. The Dervishes had by this time increased all along the line and at night used to set fire to the sleepers or destroy the telegraph line.

[1]The coolies who had come from India as platelayers were now employed in putting up the wooden huts which had just arrived out from England as barracks for the troops. Lord Wolseley paid an official visit to Suakin on May 2nd, and was given a salute of seventeen guns fired from Fort Carysfoot. He rode out to Otao on May 7th to inspect the railway and on the next day held a grand review of all the troops at Suakin. With several of the leading officers he left Suakin on May 19th. Already several transport ships laden with sick and wounded had left, and the rest of the troops were now sent home as quickly as possible.

The rest of the story of the railway can be soon told. Once it had reached Otao the harassing tactics of the enemy became worse, and an armoured train had to run up and down the line each night to drive away the enemy. The train carried thirty men and an officer, armed with rifles, and had a limelight as searchlight in front. Otao was evacuated on May 22nd and to this day on Blue Bottle Hill, the end point of the railway, can be seen advertisements painted by the workmen. These are dated "22.5.85."

[1] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 10 *et seq.*

[1]In all, forty ships had been hired for the transport of the railway stock. Of these twenty-seven returned to England with their cargo intact, five returned with only a portion of their cargo unloaded, six unloaded their cargo, and two fully-loaded vessels never left England. The total cost of the railway was £865,569, of which more than a third was paid for the hire of the transports. When it was unloaded again in England it was used to make a railway joining up the forts behind the naval bases at Chatham, Portsmouth and Plymouth. In June it was working in England and the carriages labelled Suakin-Berber, built of thick wood and looking more like huts, were to be seen in action.

At the beginning of the campaign the troops lived in bell tents which were very hot, and contrasted unfavourably with the tents used by the Indian contingent. Wooden huts were ordered out from England and during the months of March and April these were much better than the tents, but as soon as the summer heat started the heat inside them became almost unbearable. The troops were not allowed on the Island, but they had their own canteens, run by Greeks. There were fourteen canteens and their average daily receipts were said to be about £2,500. Capato was among the Greek merchants who came to Suakin and he started the first ice factory there. He also contracted to supply meat to the troops and had to smuggle cattle over from Arabia, almost daily, to meet the demands of the army. The National Aid Society and other similar bodies took a good deal of interest in the welfare of the troops, sending out papers, games and other comforts for them. One tobacco firm sent out a ton of tobacco, another firm sent out eleven thousand cigars, and luxuries like champagne were not uncommon.

[2]There were naturally many complaints. The posts were delayed and it was said that letters and parcels were held up and lost. Actually the posts were so heavy that it was impossible for the Egyptian authorities to cope with them, and many newspapers were held up and preference given to letters and parcels. Complaints were made about the rifles and ammunition. Cartridges jammed in the magazines of the rifles, owing to the poor quality of the cartridge cases; the bayonets did not fit the rifles; and the swords were of a very poor quality.

[1] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 22. De Cosson, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

[2] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 20, 67.

During this campaign a captive balloon was first used in warfare. It was tried out in March, near the Shata Wells and, as it proved successful, was used later on the march, being towed along by troops. It was also used in the construction of the railway, and on one occasion was used as a " celestial post office," when notes from it were sent to Osman Digna. It was thought that it would attract the Dervishes to the spot where the note was dropped.

[1]There were no complaints about the work of the Royal Army Medical Corps who had a most trying time and worked under difficult conditions. H Redoubt, to the north of the Island, was used as a base hospital and contained about a hundred and fifty beds. On Quarantine Island there was a stone hospital, and in the Harbour were three hospital ships, the " Ganges," " Bulimba " and " Czarewitch." The latter was an old sailing vessel and was used exclusively as a hospital for the Indian contingent. The sick had all the comforts that could be obtained in those days. Champagne, ice, beef tea, arrowroot, etc., were ordinary luxuries for them, while the Guards Hospital in London sent out three nursing sisters who did great service for the sick and wounded. This was the first occasion in which women as nurses accompanied a Field Force, and they fully justified their position. The cases in hospital were mostly dysentery, typhoid, heatstroke and sunstroke. It is perfectly true to say that more of the men died, or were invalided home, on account of illness than of wounds received during the fighting. As the summer months approached so the sickness rate increased and towards the end of May the hull of the ship " Underwriter " had to be turned into another hospital ship to accommodate all the sick.

IV.

The second Suakin Campaign ended as ingloriously as the first. Winston Churchill's comment that because we fought without reason we conquered without profit aptly sums up the situation. General Graham, in his final dispatch, said that it was unfortunate that the campaign should have ended just as he had organised flying columns that could have penetrated inland. A battalion of the Shropshires, some artillery, some of the Royal Engineers, and over two thousand Indian troops were left as a

[1] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 70–74.

garrison for the port. The Indians were posted along the defence wall, the Shropshires were on Grahams point, and behind them was the new main hospital. The Quarantine Island hospital was turned into an officers' hospital, and an additional hospital or receiving station was built out of the old coal storage depots. H Redoubt was a fort defended by a few mounted infantry and some of the artillery.

As the summer heat increased, so the sick list mounted up, and many men were invalided home. Towards the end of May it was as high as ten per cent. and in July it rose to sixteen per cent. The huts in which the men were quartered proved untenable on account of the heat, and deaths due to heatstroke and dysentery were of daily occurrence. There were many letters sent home complaining of the conditions and some of these found their way into the newspapers, and questions were asked in Parliament concerning the state of the troops. Temperatures of 120° during the day with minimum readings of 96° were bound to sap the vitality of the troops, and it was decided to replace the British troops with more Indians during the autumn.

In spite of the bad conditions the soldiers found many ways of amusing themselves. Swimming, tennis, cricket, sports, horse racing, sailing and fishing all contributed to make their life a little easier. Competitions were arranged and each of the army messes held "at home" nights once a week. Wylde remarks that it was even quite gay at times.

[1]The devastating effect of the climate may be gauged from the fact that the Shropshire Regiment, who landed 850 strong in March, were depleted to one-third strength. Two hundred of them had been sent to Cyprus for a change of climate and three hundred were left in Suakin. The rest had died or had been invalided home. The *British Medical Journal*, commenting on the state of the troops, said that there was scarcely one man there who could be called healthy.

Once the evacuation of the Field Force had become a fact, the rebels started to collect together again, and by June Osman Digna was encamped in force at Tamai. Even so, he was not so satisfied with conditions as he might be. His troops were unwilling to fight; food was short and smallpox broke out among his followers. The once friendly tribes were forced to go over to his side, as they knew the government was powerless to help.

[1] Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 19.

The night attacks on Suakin started again in the middle of June, and by August Suakin was once again more or less in a state of siege. The death of the Mahdi in July had decreased their ardour, but Osman Digna managed to spur them on to besiege Suakin.

[1]Towards the end of 1885 the official reports of the campaign were published. The cost of the two Suakin expeditions was £3,345,483, of which nearly a third had been spent on a railway that was now abandoned and in ruins. The troops of Osman Digna were still as much a source of danger as before, and Suakin was once more besieged.

In 1886 all the Indian and British troops were replaced by troops of the new Egyptian army and two British men-of-war remained anchored in the port. The governor-general was changed five times. General Dixon replaced Chermside, and in turn the following took over the port, Sir Charles Warren, General Hodding, Major Watson and, in September, Colonel Kitchener. [2]At Suakin the merchants continued trading, as often as not with the rebels. They scarcely realised that the whole Sudan with the exception of Suakin had been abandoned, and in the hope of a rapid restoration of law and order continued to make profits where they could, regardless of their precarious position. They were opposed to fighting as by driving the enemy away a large portion of their trade would go too and it was not until the governor-general threatened to cut off all outside trade that Osman Digna was attacked at Tamai and driven out. Owing to the activity of the Arabs it was not possible to open up trade until April, 1887, when all places north of the Suakin-Berber road were declared open. In September of the same year Kitchener was able to declare all places on both sides of the road open to trade with the port. Osman Digna at this time was in possession of the Tokar delta, which was of great value owing to its crops. The more friendly attitude of the tribes is illustrated by the fact that in October the more influential of the Hadendoweh and Amarar shiekhs met at Suakin and agreed to assist the government in an attack on Osman Digna. The Dervish leader then collected together what forces he could and massed them at Tokar and at Handub.

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[1] Colville, *op. cit.*
Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 154.

[2] Wingate, *op. cit.*, pp. 296 *et seq.*

During this year conditions at Suakin had been almost akin to those of peace-time. Trade had improved, the native settlement on the Geyf had increased, and the town was freed from the siege that had threatened it for the last few years. The governor-general, Kitchener, lived in the Muhafaza, which was guarded by British sailors on duty on the roof, where there were mounted three gatling guns. The officers of the few remaining British troops lived in a house known as the New House; this is now the house behind the present Post Office.

The presence of Osman Digna's troops at Handub was, however, threatening to the safety of the town and Kitchener planned an attack on his encampment early in January. He had been refused permission to use the troops stationed in the port and so was obliged to take his armed police. [1]On the 18th January, 1888, a surprise night attack on the Dervish position at Handub drove off the enemy who fled in confusion. Kitchener himself was seriously wounded in the jaw, early in the encounter, and the police were unable to follow up their advantage owing to shortage of numbers, so that the Dervishes regained position with severe losses. Kitchener was obliged to go to Cairo for treatment, and his place as governor-general was taken by Major Rundle.

During his term of office Kitchener completely remodelled the defences of the town. A brick wall some ten to twelve feet high replaced the earthern one that surrounded the Geyf. Six larger forts were spaced along the wall (see Plate I, Part I) and a fortified entrance gate was in the centre. Both the wall and the gate were named after Kitchener. The forts were four- or five-sided and projected from the wall. They had a wide platform, behind a low parapet, and this formed the roof of a small room below, which was used as a store or guard room. One of them, Fort Ansari, was built around a tomb which is said to be that of one of the Ansar who came to Suakin soon after the Arab invasion of Egypt. The inscription over the gate reads, "Peace be to all that enter or leave this town." This wall is still in a very good state of preservation and along it it is possible to find old bullets, buttons, cartridge cases and other relics. Outside the wall was a further ring of forts, Fort Tamai on the Tamai road, the two water forts, Fort Mashiel on the Hashin road, and Fort Handub on the Handub road. These were all six-sided brick buildings,

[1] Arthur. "Life of Lord Kitchener," Vol. I, p. 154 *et seq.*

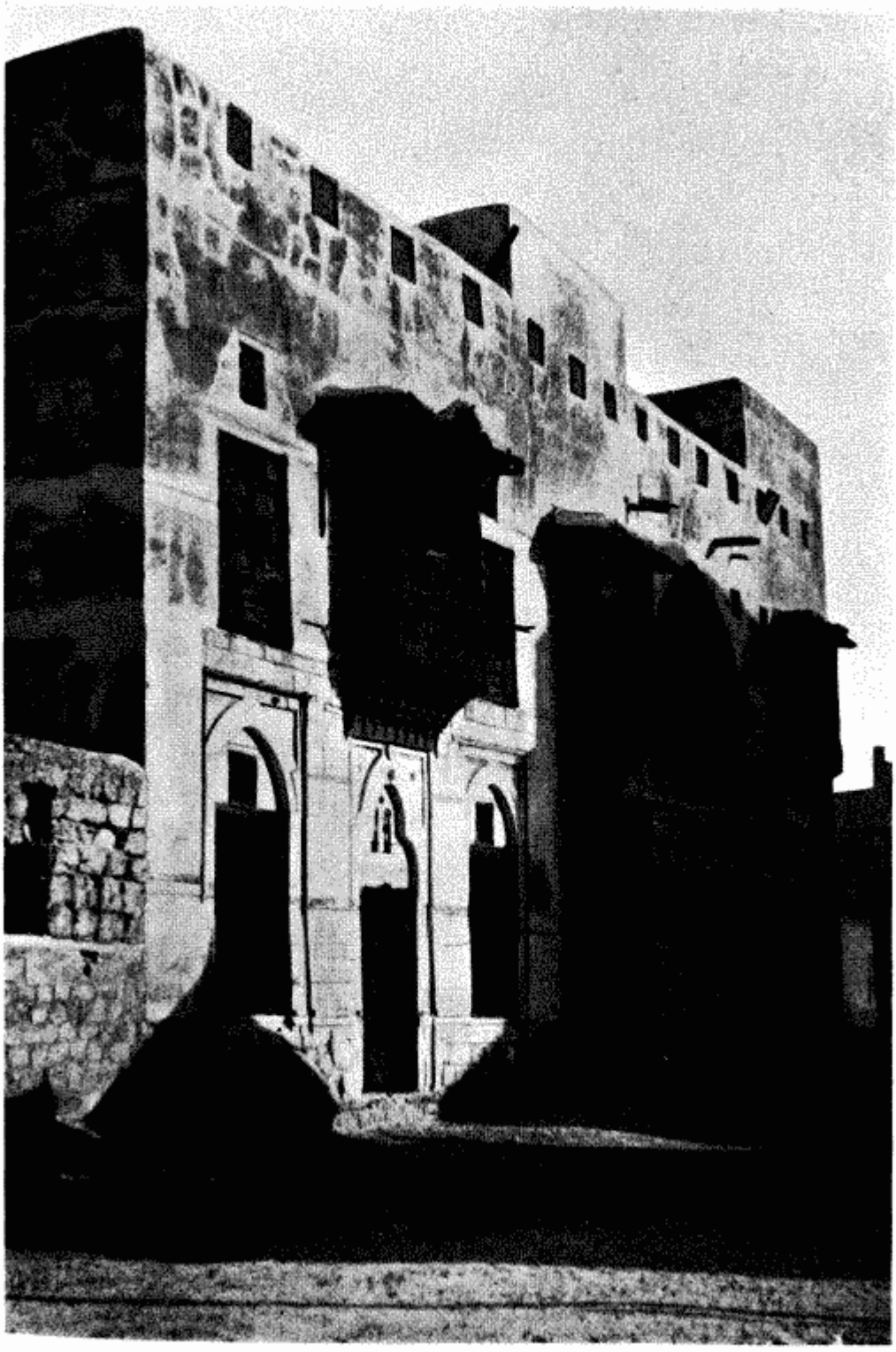
surrounded by a brick wall and ditch, and served as lookout posts. They all can still be seen and are in a fair state of preservation. With such defences the port was safe from any attack. But the comparative failure of the attack on Handub, and the postponement of any action against Osman Digna at Tokar, enabled the Dervish forces to collect together again and by the end of 1888 Suakin was once more besieged. The two Water forts were each held by a small detachment of troops, and when the guard was changed at night the reliefs had to gallop across the ground between the wall and the forts running the gauntlet of rifle fire. The new guard having being hauled up by ropes, the old guard would have an equally hazardous journey back. [1]The situation become so serious that a force of 750 British, 2,000 Egyptian and 2,000 Sudanese troops was dispatched to Suakin from Cairo in November. On December 18th, 1888, these troops drove the Dervishes from their position in an engagement known as the battle of Gemmeiza, and after their success returned to Cairo. Kitchener himself came with the troops to Suakin and once more took up office as governor-general.

[2]The year 1889 proved disastrous for the Dervishes. Disease and famine broke out all over the Sudan, and among Osman Digna's troops these caused more fatalities than the war itself. A relief fund was formed at Suakin. The merchants themselves contributed £48 a month and £500 was sent from Cairo. By March, 1890, over three thousand of the enemy had benefited from this fund and Osman Digna found himself almost deserted.

Holled Smith took over the governor-generalship from Kitchener in October, 1889, and made preparations for an attack on Tokar. Unfortunately cholera broke out near Suakin among the Indian troops and the friendlies so that the town had to be closed to all the outside tribes. It was not until 1891 that the troops were able to take any action. In January of that year Holled Smith took Handub, and the friendlies with government support had other small successes, particularly at Tamai where they captured Osman Digna's personal standard. In February, Holled Smith succeeded in taking Tokar, Osman Digna was forced to retire and his forces were dispersed.

[1] Wingate, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[2] Wingate, *op. cit.*, p. 488. Wingate, "Report on the Dervish Rule in the Eastern Sudan," May, 1891.



SHENNAWI BEY'S HOUSE.

During the whole of this time, and until the occupation, Suakin was under martial law. A copy of the Standing Orders of 1891–92 was recently found, and from these it is possible to gain some idea of the conditions in the town. The Red Sea littoral was divided into four sections with centres at Akik, Suakin, Mohammed Qol, and Halaib. At each of these stations were police posts. Fortnightly steamers ran between Suakin and Trinkitat. All *dhows* or *sambuks* had to be licensed, the charges being 10 Pt., 8 Pt. or 6 Pt., according to size. All merchandise arriving at, or leaving Suakin, had to be inspected, and various duties were, of course, levied on imports and exports. Importation of articles likely to be used in the manufacture of arms or ammunition was prohibited. Sanitary regulations were strictly enforced, and military and civil doctors worked together. Prison labour was used to clean the streets, and for sanitary work. There were also special sanitary officers who had under them natives who acted as inspectors or overseers.

There was quite a lot of attempted traffic in arms, and those who were caught were severely punished. In August, 1891, two Arabs were found guilty of stealing and selling government arms and ammunition. One of them was sentenced to be hanged in public, and the other to fifty lashes and five years penal servitude.

With the final destruction of Osman Digna's forces, Suakin more or less resumed its peace-time activities, even though it was under martial law.

V.

For the next few years Suakin was freed from the shadow of war. Osman Digna, unable to coax the Arabs to rally round him for battle, and driven out of Tokar, settled at Adarama. At Suakin Hunter took over the governorship from Holled Smith in 1893, and the next year Wingate succeeded Hunter. In 1895 Colonel Lloyd was appointed governor, and the increasing trade helped the inhabitants to forget the past war. Trade was restricted, but continued uninterrupted during the next two years. Lloyd opened a government school on the Geyf, the first of such to be started in the Sudan. In this year Osman Digna made a raid in the Tokar neighbourhood, and also at Erkowit, but in both places was unsuccessful.

On the 12th March, 1896, the Sirdar of the Egyptian army was instructed to advance on Dongola. The Egyptian frontier force was ready and within a few weeks the Nile Campaign was under way. Reservist battalions were formed at Cairo and the 16th reservist battalion was sent to Suakin to relieve the troops there who were needed for the main advance. On the 15th April, 1896, the Egyptians and the tenth Sudanese were encamped outside Suakin for an advance on Osman Digna, who was at Khor Wintri, inciting the tribes to join the Dervish army. The entire force of over a thousand men was mounted on camels, with mules and donkeys as transport animals. At the first encounter with the Dervishes the Egyptian cavalry fled back to Suakin and spread panic in the town with stories of a disaster. But the Sudanese troops saved the day and Osman Digna suffered a defeat which disabled him and removed any danger of his troubling the Eastern Sudan again. The unsatisfactory character of the Egyptian troops forced the British Government to send four thousand Indian troops to Suakin in May to garrison the town during the summer of that year.

[1]These troops, eager to help in the main advance, were kept in Suakin as a garrison, where, without firing a shot, their numbers were rapidly diminished by the bad climate and the enormously high sick rate. Owing to the lack of proper food, scurvy broke out and fifty per cent. of the Indians, and nearly all the friendlies encamped near the town were affected.

Of the British officers with them twenty-five per cent. were invalided home and only six officers in all escaped a stay in hospital. Dysentery, heat stroke, liver abscess, and malaria were prevalent. The transport animals all suffered from various ailments, and after seven months the Indian troops were sent home and replaced by Egyptians. Colonel Egerton, in charge of the Indian troops, asked for camels with which to form a flying column to assist the main body of troops on the Nile. But he was told that the Indians were at Suakin as a garrison, and that there they had to stop. Suakin might be said to be a city under martial law, devoid of its trade, and without any importance as far as the present operations were concerned. Its only claim to fame was that it alone of all the towns in the Sudan had not capitulated to the Dervishes.

[1] Churchill. "The River War, ed. 1933," pp. 120, 121.

The main advance along the Nile continued, and in September, 1897, the troops occupied Berber. This finally decided the Beja tribes who, one and all, came over to the side of the government, at any rate nominally. The governor of Suakin became the governor of the Red Sea littoral, in fact as well as in name, and the Suakin-Berber road was once more open to trade. Camel patrols went up and down the road and some of the war correspondents travelled that way to Berber; probably the first Englishmen to do so in safety for fourteen years.

A year later Omdurman fell before the troops of the Sirdar and the Dervish rule over the Sudan was ended.

With the passing of the Sudan to the hands of the British and the Egyptians, the possibilities of the country were thoroughly explored. Suakin as the only port naturally commanded a good deal of attention. Under the agreement between the British and Egyptian governments of January, 1899, Suakin was still under Egyptian legislation. It was the only place in the Sudan where the Egyptian flag flew without the Union Jack beside it, and the legal methods of Egypt in respect of Mixed Tribunals were in force there. This proved unsatisfactory and in July, 1900, an additional clause was included in the treaty placing Suakin on the same footing as the other towns of the Sudan, and ordering that as elsewhere in the Sudan the Union Jack should be flown with the Egyptian flag.

The possibilities of developing Suakin as a port were thoroughly investigated. The town and harbour presented many problems. [1]The harbour entrance was narrow and tortuous, and difficult for large vessels. The water supply was bad and inadequate. The buildings on the Island were poorly designed and in a bad state of repair, and a new quarter would have to be found for the English population which was expected to settle there sooner or later.

[2]In 1903 suggestions were put forward for the rebuilding of Suakin. Graham's Point was suggested as the only possible site for a European quarter. A quay was to be constructed along the south side of the harbour near the proposed site of the new town, and a railway terminus was to

[1]Crossland. "Desert and Water Gardens of the Red Sea." See description of Suakin reefs and harbour, p. 146.

[2] Richmond, F. T. "December, 1903, Suakin; Suggestions for a new town, and for the improvement of the existing towns of Suakin Island and the Geyf."

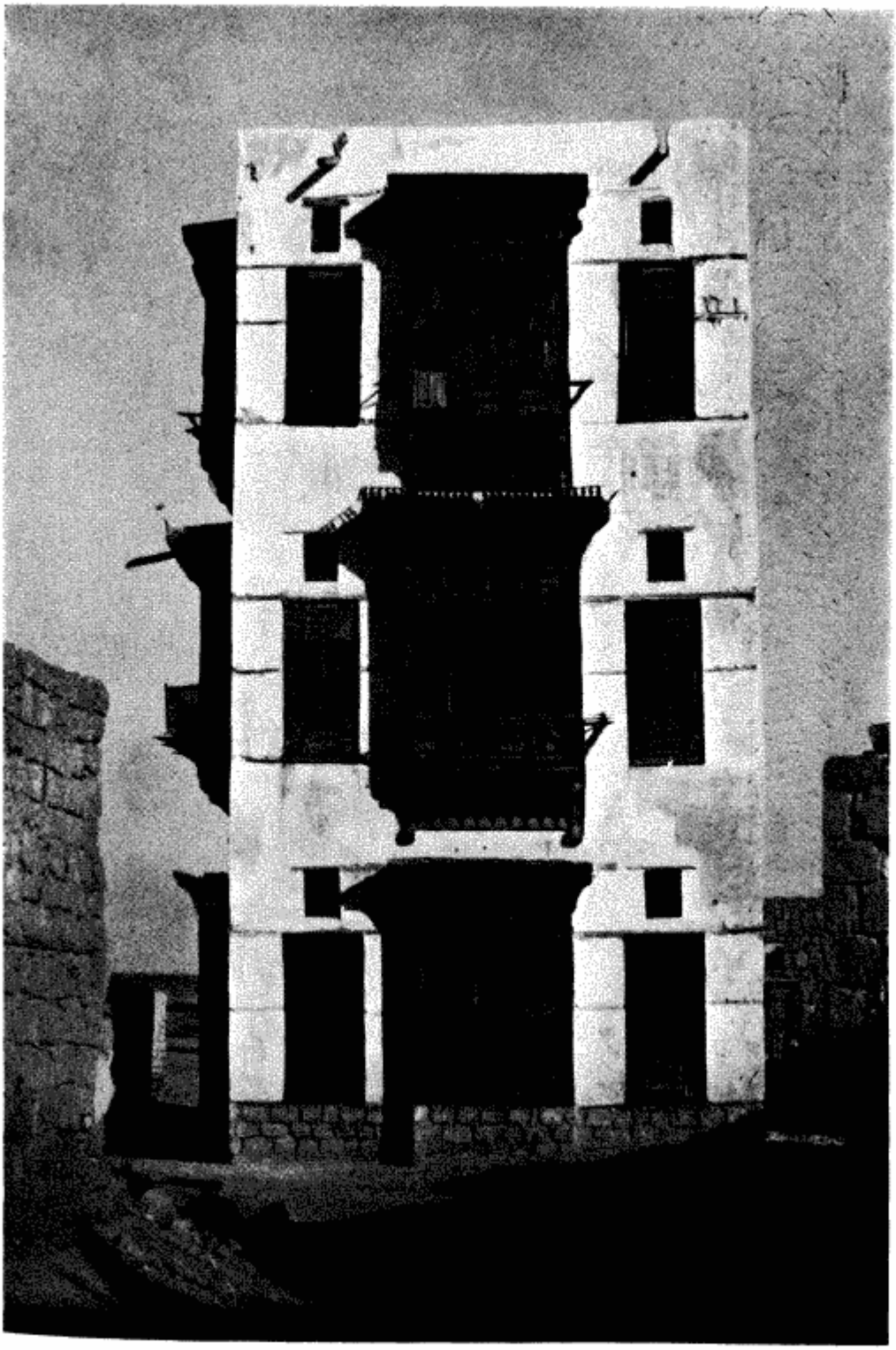
be built there as well. The Island and the Geyf needed both replanning and rebuilding. It was proposed that these should be bought up by the government and the necessary alterations effected. Thus at the beginning of a new regime the only available port was found to be either unsuitable or unprepared for the work expected of it.

In 1904 Colonel Ralston Kennedy of the Public Works Department made a report on the necessary alterations. More than half of his report consisted in proving how much more suitable a site for the port was the harbour of Mersa Barghout, some forty miles to the north. He even drew up a town plan of the proposed new harbour, and pointed out the abundant water supply of Khor Arba'at, near by. As a result, it was decided to abandon the proposed changes at Suakin, and build a completely new port at Mersa Barghout.

But the new port was yet to be built, and so for a short period Suakin again entered upon an era of importance. The influence of Lord Cromer found the funds for the construction of a railway from Atbara to Suakin, and in October, 1905, the first train completed the journey between these two towns in thirty hours. [1]In the following January the railway was taken to Port Sudan as the new harbour was called. For a time all the trade continued to come through Suakin. The National Bank of Egypt, the Eastern Telegraph Company, shipping companies and business firms all had their offices there. The government officials and other Europeans lived on the Island in the old houses. There was a club and all kinds of games and other activities were organised. There was an English church, and the book of services held can still be seen in the Muhafaza. In 1905 the Shata dam burst after particularly heavy rain and the Geyf was flooded. A new dam wall was built of concrete, which is still in a good state of preservation. Pilgrim traffic was for the time carried on in large *sambuks*. Other trade increased, and for many years most of the imports for the Sudan came in through Suakin.

The province mudireia was transferred to Port Sudan in 1910, a year after the new port had been opened by the Khedive. But trade could not be transferred to the new port so easily and for some years Suakin was the main port for the country. The Great War held up the development

[1] Cromer wrote to Wingate and suggested that the new port should be called Port Wingate, and Wingate likewise suggested that it should be named Port Cromer. It was, I believe, Wingate's suggestion that it should be called Port Sudan.



TYPICAL HOUSE ON SUAKIN ISLAND.

of Port Sudan and so further prolonged the life of Suakin. It was not until 1922 that all the important businesses had finally deserted the old port for the new.

Since that period Suakin has very rapidly fallen into the ruin of disuse. The piers have become no more than rusted iron frames, the jetties are crumbling away into the reefs along the sides of the harbour, and hardly any ships enter the old port. On the Island the picturesque old houses are rapidly becoming ruins. Every year one or more of these houses, which were once described as " lofty and creditable to the commerce of the port " falls into ruin, and is no more than a heap of stones. Most of them are deserted and their owners cannot let them at even fifty piastres a month on account of their dilapidated condition. The Public Works Department has a sum of £E.150 per year to spend on preserving what is possible at Suakin. A few years ago a scheme was started to maintain some of the better houses. If the owner would not repair it, he was allowed to mortgage it to the government for the cost of its repairs. Some of the houses so repaired were then let by government. These houses, redecorated and repaired form a striking contrast with the others more or less in a state of ruin. At the time when all the houses were occupied, and in a good state of repair, Suakin must have been a really picturesque town. The walls of the houses whitewashed and the woodwork of the windows painted in shades of green and red, and the streets crowded with traders, must have made the Island even more attractive than it is to-day. The Geyf is in very much the same condition as it was fifty or a hundred years ago. The narrow streets of the suk have obviously remained unaffected by the changes of time. The old prison is now a dyeing factory and this, with the ginning factory, provide employment for a large proportion of the inhabitants. The latter ginns the greater part of the Tokar cotton. The quarantine station is open only during the pilgrim season and can accommodate over six hundred pilgrims. The National Bank building is now a rest house.

The main interest of Suakin is that it is so unique and different from the rest of the Sudan. For many years it was a small trading station which varied in importance, then following the sacking of Aidhab it gradually became more and more important. It became the main point of contact between the Sudan and other countries, yet its fortunes and mis-

fortunes scarcely affected the interior of the Sudan. Its history is more connected with that of the trade and shipping of the Red Sea than with the history of the Sudan. Suakin will never again rise to the position of importance that it once held. Its past glories will lie forever buried beneath its increasing ruins, but the old Island town will always retain a fascination that is increased with a knowledge of its history.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF PLACES OF HISTORICAL INTEREST IN AND AROUND SUAKIN.

1. *The neighbouring district.*

(*a*) Tamai ...	...	Battles fought in 1884 and 1885, and a memorial in Khor Gwob.
(*b*) Tofrek ...	...	Remains of McNeill's zeriba from battle of 1885.
(*c*) Handub	...	Kitchener wounded in battle, 1888. Beit el Mal of Osman Digna. Fort built by Australian troops on Jebel.
(*d*) Otao ...	...	Farthest point reached by Suakin-Berber railway. Old advertisements, dated 22.5.85, on rocks in khor.
(*e*) Hashin...	...	Battle in 1885.

2. *The Shata well district* (so named after a negro of the name of Shehata who is supposed to have lived here).

(*a*) The Shata wells.—These wells were the main water supply for Suakin long before the Turks came. The present concrete wall and dam was built in 1905 after the old mud and stone wall burst. There are two forts along the dam wall, the one on the seaward side is Fort Gemmeiza, or the Left Water fort, and the other is Fort Shata.

(*b*) Other forts outside Kitchener's wall :—

i. Fort Tamai, nearest the sea.

ii. Fort Mansur, to the south of the Shata dam.

iii. Fort Mashiel, on the Hashin road.

iv. Fort Handub, and a small powder magazine nearby.

These forts were all built by Kitchener and completed about 1888.

(*c*) Hafir El Fulah.—Two earthen dams to the south of the Geyf. These were built by the Turks and have since been enlarged many times. There are numerous small water holes near them. About three-quarters of a mile to the south of these there is a burial ground on a small raised mound with only three or four graves. This is reputed to be the burial ground of some of the Fung.

(*d*) Two tombs on Graham's Point.—That on the point is of Sheikh Garih and that nearer the Island is of Sheikh Abu el Fatih. A smaller tomb near the sea on Graham's Point is that of a Sheikh Abdullah.

(*e*) The old prison, built by Gorringe, and now used as a dye factory.

(*f*) The ginning factory.

(*g*) The Australian Memorial to the troops from Australia who fell in the 1885 campaign is a small caged-in obelisk about three hundred yards outside the Ansari gate in the wall.

(*h*) Old railway houses on Graham's Point, near which can be picked up relics of the military occupation of the port.

3. *The Geyf and district.*

(*a*) Kitchener's Wall and Forts. Completed in 1888. Most of the southern part of the wall is in ruins. The old entrance gate on the south side still remains, but is almost in ruins. Names of forts (in a clockwise direction) :—

i. Fort Sphinx.
ii. Fort Arab.
iii. Fort Tokar.
iv. The Shata or Kitchener's Gate.
v. Fort Sudani.
vi. Fort Ansari.
vii. Fort Yamen.

(*b*) The suk, probably well over three hundred years old.

(*c*) Old houses on the Geyf :—

i. The Wakkala or Caravanserai.
ii. The Nuzl, built by Gorringe, near Fort Yamen, now in ruins.
iii. The Civil hospital, and police zabtia.
iv. The School, opened by Lloyd Pasha in 1896.
v. Ruined building, opposite the Wakkala, was an ordnance store in 1885.

4. The Causeway, designed by Gordon and completed in the first half of 1878. Built by convict labour.

5. *Suakin Island.*

Old houses. These are the smaller houses, without many storeys. They are built of coral rocks, roughly hewn and put together without cement. Some of them have been repaired and added to.

i. The Muhafaza.—The entrance gate and ground floor were built by the Turks and the Turkish emblem of the star and crescent is still over the entrance gate. The other parts were added by the Egyptians.

ii. The Customs house and Merkaz next to the Muhafaza.—The courtyard of the Muhafaza at one time extended to the customs enclosure.

iii. On the other side of the Muhafaza is the Post Office, which at one time was also the Eastern Telegraph Company's house, and officials' mess.

iv. Next to the National Bank, which is now the Rest House, is Khorshid Effendi's house. This is over 160 years old.

v. Shennawi Bey's relatives have two houses near the centre of the Island. One of them has been repaired and is in a good state of preservation.

vi. Near these houses is an old house, on the first floor of which is a room with loopholes for rifles. This house was the old Turkish governor's house prior to the building of the Muhafaza.

vii. Just inside Gordon's gate on the left-hand side is the Beit Basha, in which nearly a hundred families live at the present time. It is one of the very few occupied houses on the Island.

viii. An old church (? English, ? Greek) just behind Gellatly's offices.

6. *The harbour.*

(*a*) The Gezireh el Anshetea, off the Fort Yamen end of Kitchener's Wall.—On it can be seen the remains of Fort Jafferieh, and where the sea has eroded away its edges animal and human bones can be seen.

(*b*) Condenser, or Quarantine Island.—Old ruins of the hospital and other buildings. The jetties and piers have been rusted away and only the piles remain. The bricked-in swimming bath is still present. This island was the starting point of the Suakin-Berber railway, and remains of the rails, etc., can be found. The causeway between the island and the mainland, built in 1884, is also still present.

(*c*) The Quarantine station.—Now used for pilgrims.

(*d*) The European cemetery, near the Quarantine station.—The graves of those who fell in the 1884–5 campaigns are separated off from the others. All the graves are numbered, and can be identified by referring to the cemetery book, which is kept in the Muhafaza.

ROCK PICTURES IN NORTHERN DARFUR.

By A. J. Arkell, M.B.E., M.C.

(PLATES XIV—XXII).

I. At Merbo in Tagabo.

(Human beings, cattle, rhinoceros, elephant, giraffe and antelope.)

THE existence of these paintings was unknown until my friend Count d'Almasy paid a visit, which he has described in *Sudan Notes and Records*[1], to the famous old Bedai guide in this locality. Count d'Almasy has a wonderful flair for finding rock pictures, as he showed by his discoveries at Uwenat, in the Gilf el Kebir and elsewhere, but his skill in this direction seemed to me little short of uncanny when after two or three days' absence from El Fasher, during which he had been travelling nearly all night as well as all day in his efforts to run the elusive Bidi to earth in the short time at his disposal, he came back not only having succeeded in his quest but to tell me that he had heard of rock paintings at Merbo. And I, who had been keeping my eyes and ears open for this sort of thing in Darfur as far as the exigencies of government service would permit for the best part of ten years, had heard nothing of them.

I was unable to go to Merbo until September, 1935, and then I was only able to stay there a very short time. Merbo (*mer bo* means "girl village" in the now practically extinct Berti language), is a fertile area a few miles east of Mabo in the main range of the Tagabo hills and some five miles west of the village of Gabrallah, which is situated on the motor road from Mellit to Jebel Meidob, a short distance north of Sayah wells. The rock paintings are at the north-west end of a small hill which crowns a sand-hill. The rock of the hill has weathered into peculiar shapes, which may have exercised the imagination of primitive man. At the south-east end of the hill there is a low cave, that would have provided shelter for at least one large family, and near it there is a remarkable low arch of natural rock about 20 yards wide.

The whole hill would undoubtedly repay a thorough examination. Near the rock paintings I picked up on the surface of the ground some fragments of pottery and a few artifacts which I submitted to Dr. K. S. Sandford of Oxford University, who writes :—

"The material is clearly the refuse from a flaking site : the finished articles may have been carried away for use, but further investigation of the neighbourhood would almost

[1] Vol. XVIII, p. 271. Bidi Awad died in August, 1936.

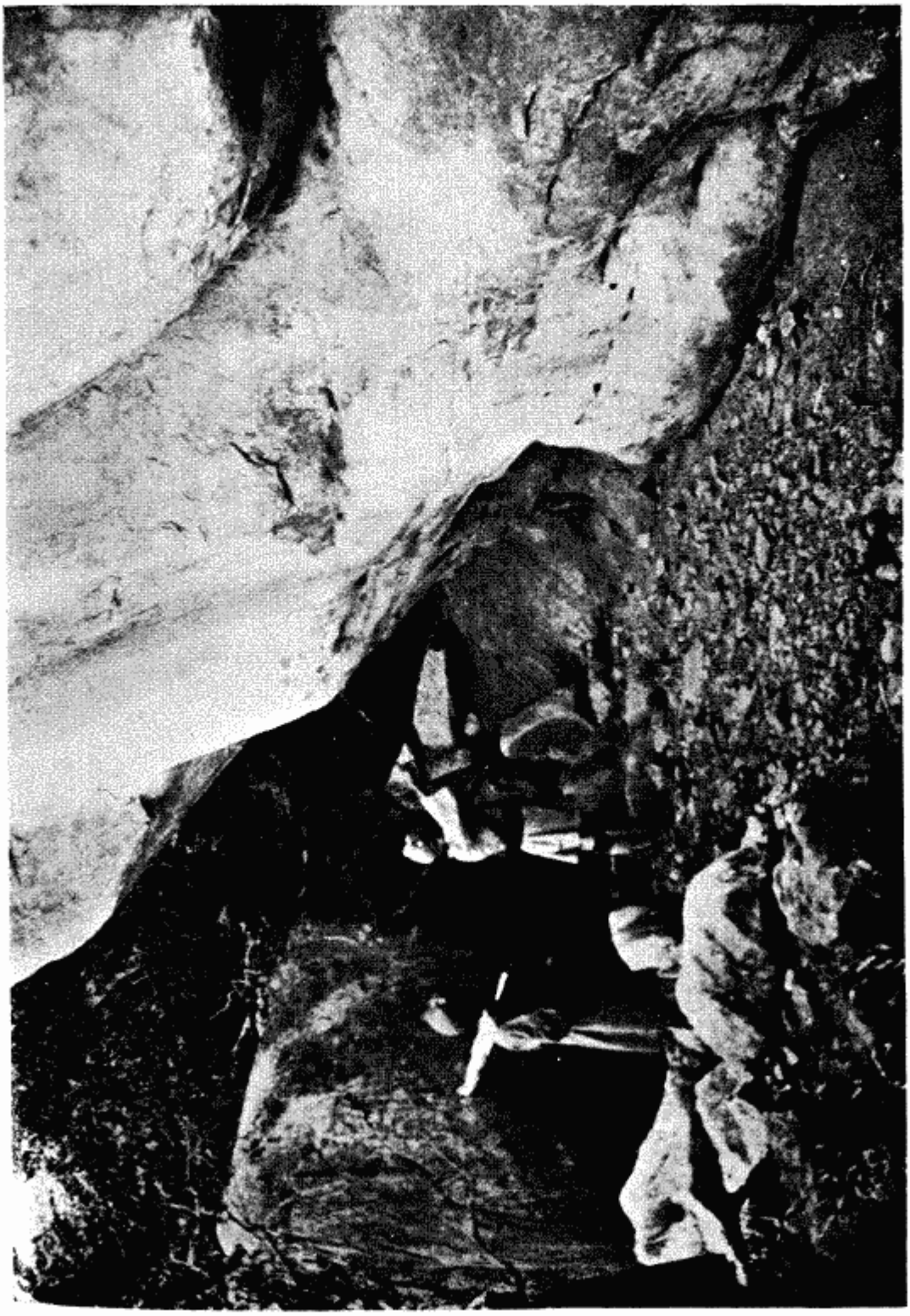
certainly produce good results. The importance of the present collection lies in the clear indication that flaked stone industries are present in the area. The flakes are certainly not of lower or middle palæolithic type, but are probably post-palæolithic: two specimens exhibit small cones of percussion on smooth, unflaked platforms, another shows that narrow flakes have been detached successively from a core, probably about 1–2 inches long. There is a much battered triangular piece of quartz about half an inch long and a quarter of an inch high, the crest of which has been flaked or battered as if it were a minute anvil: I think this is fairly widespread in the northern Sudan, always in surface sites. It is impossible to give any close estimate of age at present, it might even range into fairly recent times in these regions."

At the corner of the hill, between the rock paintings and the cave above-mentioned, I found a number of other fragments of pottery, all of which seem to have been made by the same method as that existing in Darfur to-day, but some of which were much thinner and harder than anything produced now, even by the potters of Sayah, who make the best pottery in Darfur. Any evidence of previous human inhabitants in the cave itself is no doubt buried below the manure of the goats which were sheltering in the cave at the time of my visit.

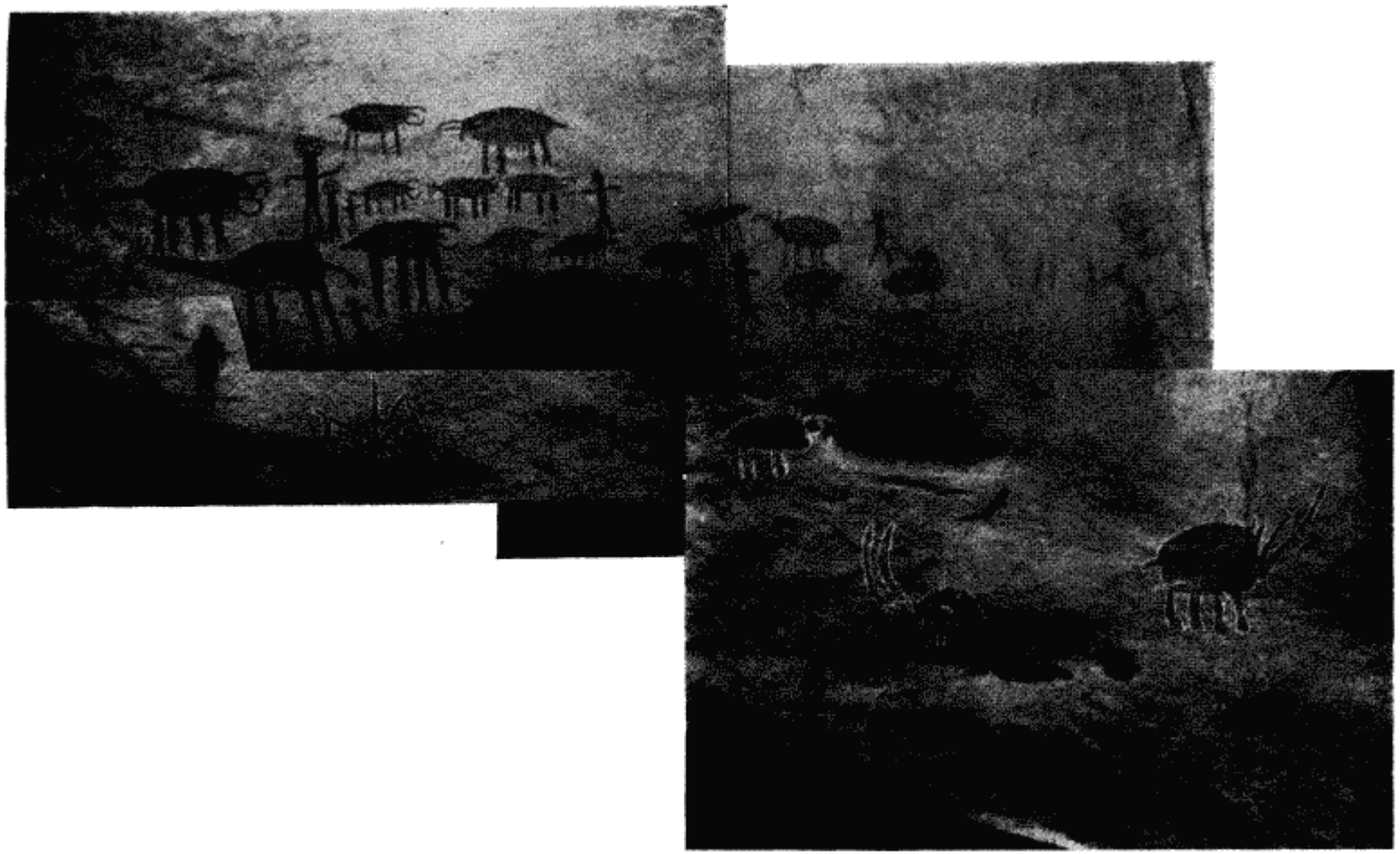
The situation of the rock paintings is shown in Plate XIV. The overhanging rock makes a shelter, which as it faces north always provides protection against the sun, and to a great extent against the rain also. In fact it was probably looked on as a desirable residence by the people who made the paintings. It is owing to this favoured situation that we owe the preservation of two groups of paintings, on the edge of which can be seen traces of a number of other paintings which have been almost completely washed out by the rain.

They are all silhouettes in red or brown pigment. The red and brown ones are evenly distributed, and give the impression of being all of approximately the same age, although they appear to be the work of several artists.

In the more easterly of the two groups two men, one armed with a hooked stick or possibly a sling, are driving a herd of four antelope, one of which has a calf. The fourth and largest antelope is facing in the opposite direction to the other three, and part of its head can just be seen in the photograph of the group(Plate XVII(*a*)). In the foreground near the heads of the third and fourth antelope can be seen a small indeterminate figure (? human). We have here probably a hunting scene. It is not unlikely that the antelope are being driven into some form of a trap, as gazelle are still



THE SHELTER CONTAINING ROCK PAINTINGS AT THE NORTH END OF J. MERBO.



THE WESTERN OF THE TWO MAIN GROUPS OF ROCK PAINTINGS AT MERBO.
(A composite photograph. The paintings were first photographed as found, and then after the chief ones had been outlined in chalk. They are reproduced here as they came out best.)

driven into nets in Darfur to-day. It is even possible that the schematic figure under the giraffe in the other group of pictures (see Plate XV) may represent a trap, for it is unlike any tribal sign or other design that I know. The two groups are very close together, on adjacent faces of the rock.

Above the herd of antelopes I could make out the faded figures of three animals and two men, and below there are other figures that have been almost completely washed out by the rain.

In the second group (Plate XV) we appear to have a herd of cattle being driven out of an enclosure or village by men. The cattle appear to be of two types, one with horns which are wide and almost circular, and remind one of the cattle on the predynastic palettes of ancient Egypt, while the other has horns which grow forward and downward in a remarkable way. The cattle are not so life-like as the antelope or even the rhinoceros (see below), but the general style in which they are drawn seems to be related to the rough designs of animals on predynastic pottery, especially in that the length of leg, the cloven hoof, and in some cases the knee joint, are all exaggerated. The cattle with the horns that grow forward and downward unfailingly recall the Garamantian cattle, first described by Herodotus,[1] to which Nachtigal[2] related the rock drawings of cattle, all with their horns bent forward, which he found at Udêno in Tibesti. Cattle of a type in which the horns grow forward and downward are not uncommon in Darfur and Kordofan to-day (Plate XVII (*b*)), although this peculiarity does not prevent them from grazing in the normal manner; and it is not improbable that they are survivors of the old Garamantian stock, examples of which were owned by the people who made the rock paintings at Merbo.

Among the cattle, depicted at Merbo, a woman with long hair appears to be dancing. By her side stand a girl and a small boy. It has been suggested to me that for a certain obvious reason this figure must be that of a man, but I take it that the feature in question is a strip of cloth hanging between the legs, akin to what is known as the *kanfūs* in Darfur

[1] Bk. IV, c. 183. "Among the Garamantes are the oxen that go backwards as they graze, whereof the reason is that their horns curve forward, therefore they walk backward in their grazing, not being able to go forward, seeing that their horns project into the ground. In all else they are like other oxen, save that their hide is thicker and different to the touch." (Loeb tr.)

[2] *Sahara und Sudan*, Vol. I, p. 307.

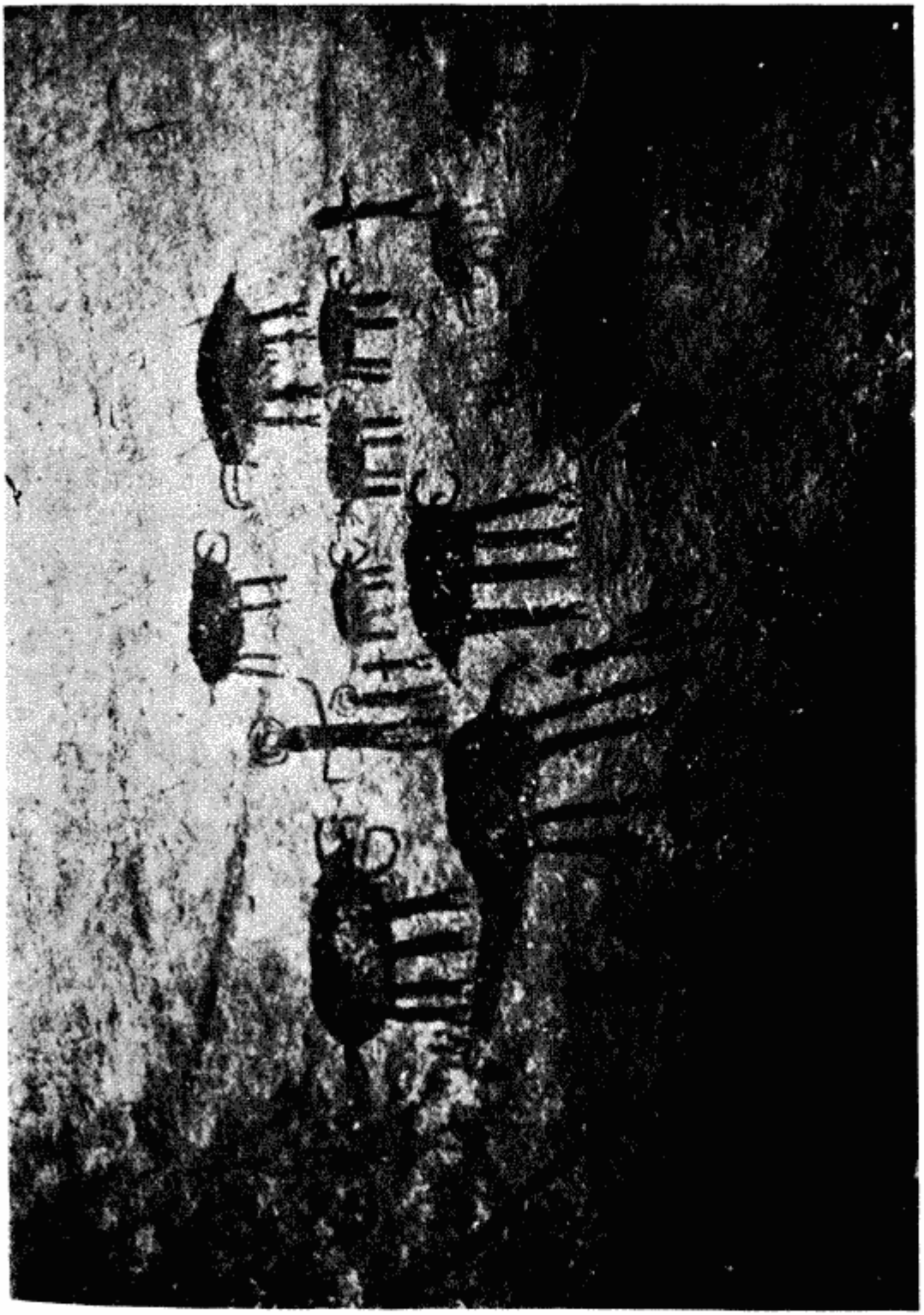
to-day. Further, I consider that the attitude of the arms of the large figure, and the size of the small figure conclusively support my interpretation.

Close to these cattle is a roughly executed giraffe, apparently being surrounded by two or three men, just below one of whom is the mysterious schematic design to which I have already referred. To the right of this design is a conventional elephant, and below it, still further to the right, is either an elephant of a very different pattern or possibly a rhinoceros, for it has no trunk. Further to the right still is a rhinoceros that is full of life.

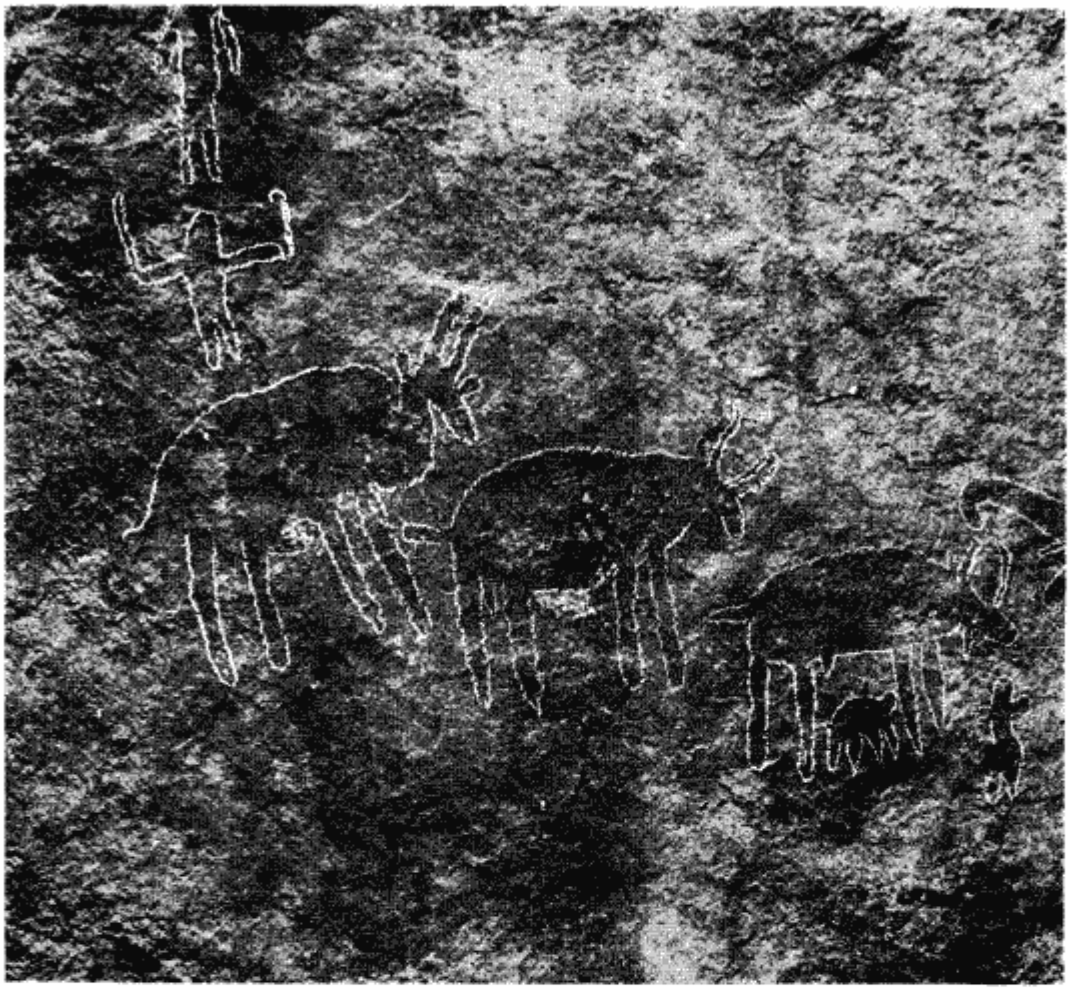
Giraffe and antelope are still found in northern Darfur, elephant last appeared in northern Darfur in 1921 and a few still exist in south-west Darfur, but rhinoceros do not seem to have been seen in Darfur for years, and I am not inclined to believe the entry on Messedaglia's map of Darfur to the effect that rhinoceros were found in Dar Zaghawa in the middle of last century.

The impression I get from these drawings is that they are very old, and possibly the oldest trace of man that has been yet found in Darfur, apart from certain stone implements. Indeed I should not be surprised if they were not connected in some way *via* the Libyan desert with the artists of predynastic Egypt: and I hope that it will not be long before some expert has the opportunity to examine them and the whole site at Merbo thoroughly.

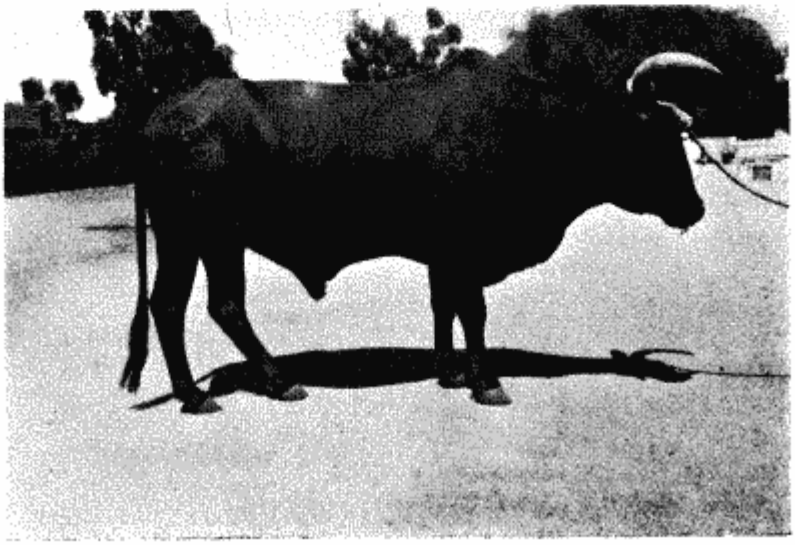
About 20 yards further west and also on the cliff face, about ten feet or so above ground level, are a number of rough drawings of horsemen in black pigment, in which the high ends of the saddle are much exaggerated. These pictures are similar to those at Gharra Murteŋa described below: and are in my opinion of about the same age, approximately 13th century A.D., when Kanem, owing largely to its new weapon the horse, was able to include Darfur in its empire. The site of the legendary palace of Nāmadu (*na madu* in the Berti language means " the red king ") less than ten miles north-west of these rock paintings near the Mābo wells in the main pass through the Tagabo hills, which I have not yet had an opportunity to visit, was probably a strong point, of which the function was to guard the route through the Tagabo hills on behalf of Kanem; and these pictures of horsemen were probably inspired by mounted members of the garrison at Mabo.



AN ENLARGED VIEW OF SOME OF THE CATTLE AND HUMAN BEINGS IN THE ROCK PAINTINGS AT MERBO.



(*a*) ROCK PAINTINGS AT MERBO OUTLINED IN CHALK—MEN DRIVING A HERD OF ANTELOPE.



(*b*) A BULL WITH HORNS GROWING FORWARD. CATTLE OF THIS TYPE ARE FAIRLY COMMON IN DARFUR TO-DAY.

II. At Jebel Sirgu in the Furnung Hills.

(Horses and their riders, and a dog.)

The present motor road from Kutum to Dar Zaghawa runs past the east side of Jebel Sirgu two or three miles before it passes through the Furnung hills at Ain Siro. On the west side of the jebel, near the top, is a small cave inside which is the painting shown in Plate XVIII (*a* and *b*). The painting is a silhouette done in dark plum-coloured pigment, and consists of a group of two horsemen followed by a dog. The group has been partly obliterated by rain, and there are faint traces of other figures having been painted near it.

This painting may date from the thirteenth century A.D., when Darfur and Kordofan apparently formed parts of the empire of Kanem. In view of the fact that this was largely a Berber empire, I have thought it of interest to place side by side on Plate XX :—

(*a*) A reproduction of the chief figure on the Stele of Abizar[1], which is obviously Berber, whatever its purport.

(*b*) A reproduction of MacMichael's drawing of a rock painting at J. Afarit[2] in West Kordofan, which was published in the J.R.A.I., Vol. XXXIX (1909); in which the obscure object behind the horse's head appears on comparison with (*a*) to be an unintelligent survival of the shield carried in the left hand of the rider. If this interpretation is correct, the connection between (*a*) and (*b*) would appear to be certain.

(*c*) A sketch of one of the horsemen from the cave at J. Sirgu (reversed in order to facilitate comparison). Degeneration appears to have gone even further here, if the fact that the attitude of the raised arm is common to all three representations is of any significance.

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[1] Described by G. Doublet in the *Musée d'Alger*. Paris, 1890, p. 72, and further discussed by P. Wuilleumier on pp. 11–16 of a supplement to this volume, published by Leroux in Paris, 1928, together with six other similar sandstone monuments from the same part of Algeria.

It has been suggested that these stelæ date from the period of the Roman occupation of Algeria and were erected *ex-voto* to commemorate the victories of native chiefs; and M. Wuilleumier concludes: "une série unique au monde de stèles à figurations anthropomorphes, qui, comparées aux gravures rupestres d'Afrique et des Canaries, attestent la survivance de l'art indigène, légèrement influencé par les représentations puniques et romains." It may be further significant in view of the dog in the group at J. Sirgu that one of the other two animals on the Stele of Abizar was thought by M. Doublet to be a dog.

[2] The paintings at J. Afarit were recently reported to have been destroyed by a fall of rock.

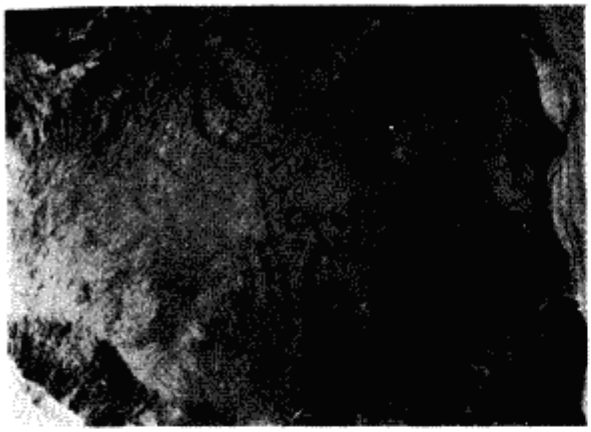
To my mind it appears possible that we have here a design, which had become crystallised in North Africa by the time of the Stele of Abizar, introduced into the Sudan along with the general cultural influence of the Berbers, there gradually to degenerate.

As a matter of interest I reproduce on Plate XXII some pictures scratched in the whitewash on the wall of a rest house at Kutum by prisoners. Such drawings are not without importance to the student of rock pictures. Here we have horsemen, ostriches and oryx represented, and it may or may not be significant that the rider has become to all intents and purposes a mere cross. There is no sign of the raised left arm. (Probably the only idea in the head of this artist was the joy of hunting oryx on horseback, as compared with enforced detention at Kutum).

III. At Gharra Murteŋa in the Furnung Hills.

(Numerous horses and their riders, a few camels, men, a dog, and tribal marks).

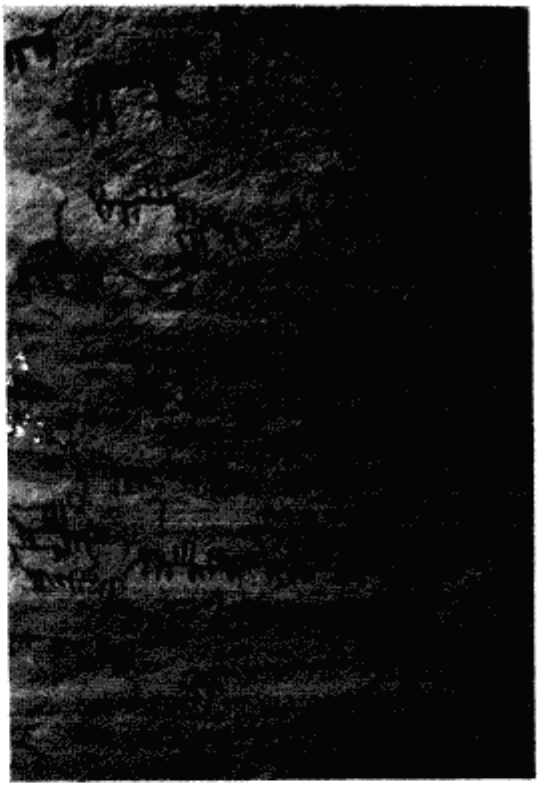
Gharra Murteŋa (غرّة (Arabic) = "cave" and *murteŋa* (Fur) = "horses") is a cave that faces north on the northern edge of the Furnung hills, a few miles west north-west of J. Uri and north-west of a conspicuous peak called J. Luk. Two views of this cave are shown on Plate XXI. The rock in which the cave is formed is soft and when scratched it is more or less white, while weathered it has a light yellowish grey hue. Part of the wall at the back of the cave, where it slopes forward to form the roof, has been covered as high as man can reach with roughly executed representations of men on horseback, the size of the figure of a rider and his mount being on the average about 9 by 6 inches. Some specimens of the pictures are given in Plate XVIII (*c* and *d*) and Plate XIX. Some of the pictures have been made by rubbing grooves in the rock with a sharp instrument. In some cases an attempt has been made to colour with red pigment the pictures so cut, but most of the pictures of this kind are uncoloured. The majority, however, consist of rough daubs in line of red or brown pigment, with a few rough silhouettes. Some of the riders clearly carry swords. Footmen with swords or clubs can also be made out. In Plate XVIII(*c*) can be seen a remarkable group of a man leading a horse (or a donkey) on which is seated a figure (? wearing a hat) and which is followed by another animal whose curly tail (despite its disproportionate



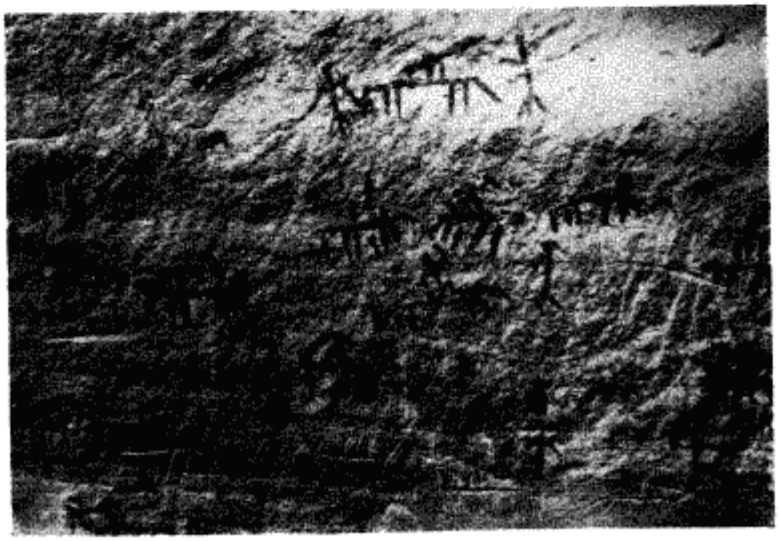
(*a*) J. SIRGU—AS FOUND.



(*b*) J. SIRGU—OUTLINED WITH CHALK.



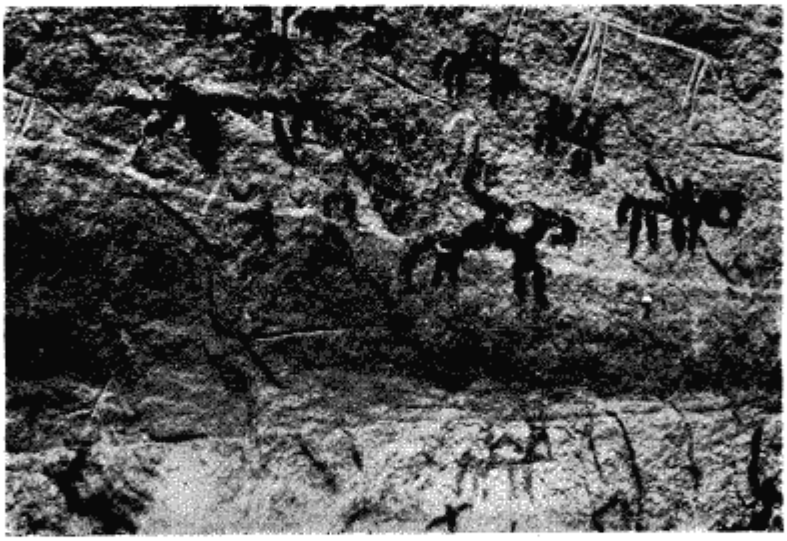
(*c*) GHARRA MURTEJA—NOTE THE LED HORSE FOLLOWED BY A DOG.



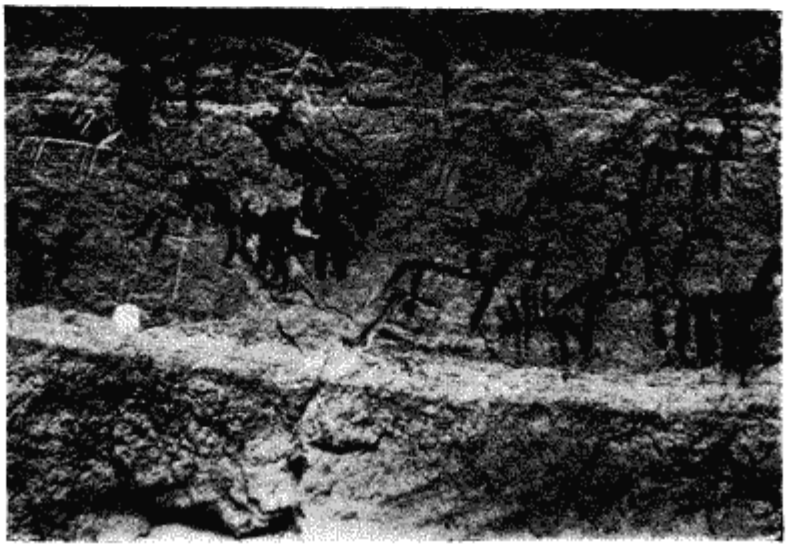
(*d*) GHARRA MURTEJA.



(*a*) Note an attempt to colour a very rough engraving—also, at the bottom, the tribal brand of the Kaitiŋa.



(*b*) This picture joins on to the one below.



(*c*) Note two possible camels.

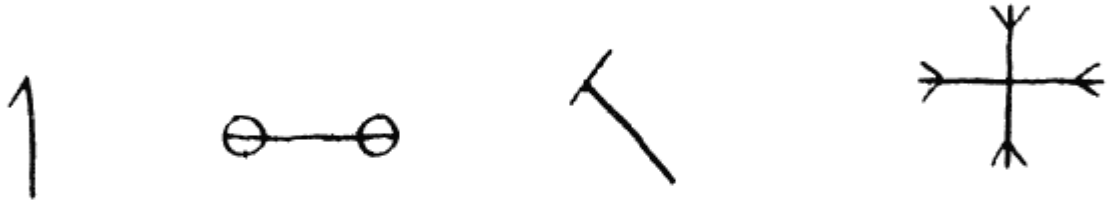
(*a*) ROUGH SKETCH OF THE CHIEF FIGURE ON THE STELE OF ABIZAR, ALGERIA.

(*b*) REPRODUCTION OF SIR HAROLD MACMICHAEL'S DRAWING OF THE ROCK PAINTING AT JEBEL AFARIT, W. KORDOFAN.

(*c*) ROUGH SKETCH OF ONE OF THE FIGURES IN THE ROCK PAINTING AT JEBEL SIRGU, N. DARFUR.

size) proclaims it to be a dog. Two figures in Plate XIX (*c*) appear to be camels, and may possibly be late additions since they are so rough and so few in number. Among the drawings on the wall, and on the fallen rocks below are cut a number of tribal brands, which appear judging by the patination to be of the same age as the pictures. The brand of the Kaitiŋa may be seen in Plate XIX (*a*).

On the rocks I also noticed   and  identified by the local inhabitants as the brands of the Tungur of Dor, the Tungur Gāri and the Kongāra respectively, while the following designs have no particular meaning to me

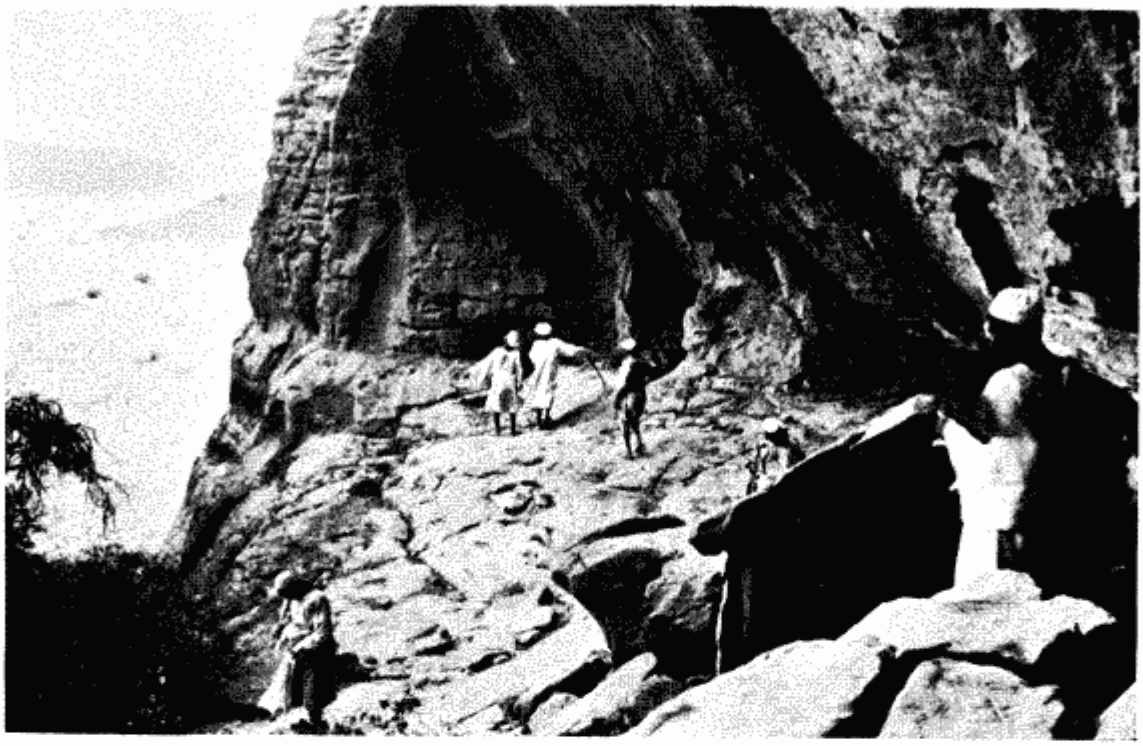


except that the third is probably a throwing stick (*safarōk*). The local inhabitants had no particular traditions about these pictures, saying "our ancestors found these pictures and told us of them."

Their proximity to the ruined town of Uri and the predominance of horsemen among them leads to the inevitable conclusion that they are connected with the town of Uri, which was probably founded between 1250 and 1500 A.D.[1].

It is in any case significant that according to local tradition the ruler of Uri was rich in horses, and was eventually attacked by men on camels, of which he had none.

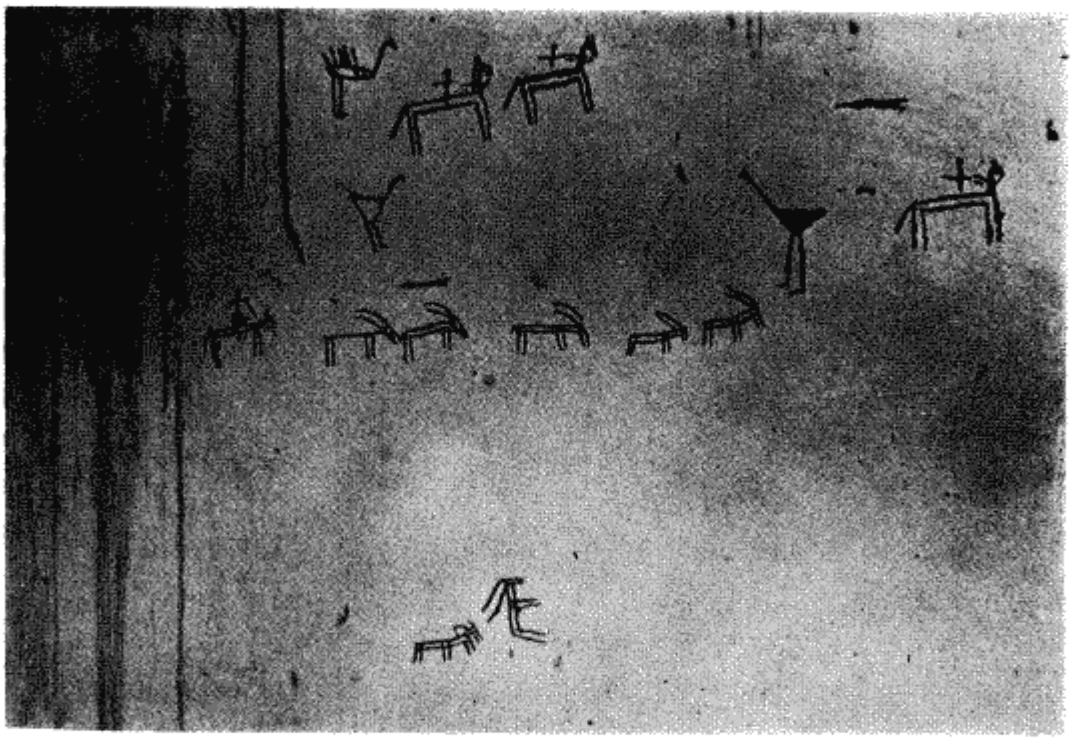
[1] See my paper, "Darfur Antiquities, Part III," to be published shortly in this journal.



(*a*) THE CAVE OF GHARRA MURTEJA, LOOKING EAST.



(*b*) SHOWING THE SITUATION OF THE ROCK PICTURES IN THE CAVE OF GHARRA MURTEJA.



DRAWINGS ON A REST HOUSE WALL AT KUTUM MADE BY MEIDOB OR ZAGHAWA PRISONERS.

NOTES.

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE CONVERSION OF THE SUDAN TO CHRISTIANITY.

By L. P. Kirwan.

IN the reign of Justinian, the chief champion of the monophysite sect had been the Empress Theodora. The colony of monophysites which she had gathered round her in Constantinople (some of whom she may have known from the days of her youth when, abandoned by her lover Hecebolus, she found herself at last, friendless and penniless, in Alexandria) included the aged patriarch Theodosius who, removed from the patriarchate of Alexandria and branded as a heretic by Justinian, had been exiled by the latter in 537 to Derkos, a remote township in Thrace.[1] Thence, however, the promise of protection from Theodora had persuaded him, in common with others of his sect, to journey to Constantinople. The circle of friends which he gathered round him in that city included many who had served him in Egypt, among them Theonas; Paul, later patriarch of Alexandria; and Julian and Longinus, future missionaries to the Nubians.

The story of the missions of Julian and Longinus has been picturesquely told by the contemporary monophysite historian, John, Bishop of Ephesus—sometimes called John of Asia.

John of Ephesus was born at Amīda, a city in the north of Mesopotamia, probably about 516 A.D. Thus, as Syriac was the language of his countrymen, it was the language used by him in his historical works. For more than thirty years, he resided in Constantinople where, despite his adherence to monophysitism, he enjoyed the friendship of Justinian. He seems to have held a number of important offices at court and thus had special opportunities to gather information about contemporary affairs of which he made use in his histories. In 542, he was sent on a mission to the pagan tribes in the provinces of Asia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia[2] so that he was fully aware of the difficulties and hardships which beset the missionary among the barbarians on the fringes of the Empire.

[1] See J. Maspero. "Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie," 172.

[2] Brooks in Patr. Or. XVII (1923), 3.

He himself seems to have been singularly successful and it is said, with pardonable exaggeration, that within four years he had baptised more than seventy thousand persons. As a result of this notable skill and energy in the saving of souls, he was given the See of Ephesus, the capital of the district.

At the time when John of Ephesus was writing, Nubia was composed of three distinct and independent kingdoms, each with its own king or paramount chieftain. In the north—stretching, perhaps, from the First to the Third Cataract of the Nile[1]—was the Kingdom of the Noubades or Nobadæ[2] whose capital city was at Balāña, a few miles to the north of Faras, where in 1931 the Archæological Survey of Nubia discovered the royal cemeteries of these Nubian kings.[3] To the south of the Nobadæ was the Kingdom of Makuria (Arabic, Muḳurrah) whose inhabitants John of Ephesus calls the Makoritae and whose territory probably extended as far as the ancient city of Meroe. Beyond the Kingdom of Makuria was the Kingdom of Alodia (Arabic, 'Alwah) with its capital at Sōba, a few miles from Khartoum. In the Eastern Desert was another people mentioned by John of Ephesus, the Blemmyes (later known as the Beja), a collection of nomad tribes who covered the area bounded by Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, and the Red Sea.

The intrigues at court, preliminary to the arrival of the first missionary Julian in Nubia—between 540 and 548 A.D.[4]—are charmingly described by John of Ephesus.

The priest Julian, fired by a desire to convert the heathen Nobadæ (Syriac, Nābadōs), sought the advice and assistance of his patroness, the Empress Theodora, who received his proposal with enthusiasm. Rather injudiciously, however, she informed the Emperor Justinian of the scheme. The latter, hearing that Julian was a staunch opponent of the Council of Chalcedon,[5] was far from pleased by the news and decided to send a rival mission of his own that the heathen might be saved from the errors of heresy.

[1] See Kirwan in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, XXI, 57 *ff.* Possibly the boundary lay midway between the First and Second Cataracts. See Monneret de Villard in "Mélanges Maspero, II" (premier fascicule), 63.

[2] See Kirwan, *op. cit.*, 57; inhabiting the kingdom of Nobatia or Nobadia (Arabic, Nūba).

[3] See *Illustrated London News*, July 16, 1932; June 24, 1933; etc.

[4] See Jean Maspero. "Théodore de Philai," in Rev. de l'hist. des relig., LIX, 299–317.

[5] 451 A.D., when the monophysites were condemned as heretics.

" And as he (Justinian) entered upon the matter with great zeal, he sent thither (to Nubia), without a moment's delay, ambassadors with gold and baptismal robes, and gifts of honour for the king of that people, and letters for the Duke of the Thebaid, enjoining him to take every care of the embassy and escort them to the territories of the Nobadæ."[1]

Theodora, hearing of these preparations, immediately sent an ambassador to the same Duke of the Thebaid with the following letter :—

" Inasmuch as both his majesty and myself have purposed to send an embassy to the people of the Nobadæ, and I am now dispatching a blessed man called Julian ; and, further my will is that my ambassador should arrive at the aforesaid people before his majesty's ; be warned that if you permit his ambassador to arrive at the aforesaid people before mine, and do not hinder him by various pretexts until mine shall have reached you, and have passed through your province, and arrived at his destination, your life shall answer for it. For I will immediately send and take off your head."[2]

The letter and its threat had an immediate effect. When the missionaries dispatched by Justinian arrived they were told :—

" You must wait a little while, we look out and procure beasts of burden and men who know the deserts ; and then you will be able to proceed."[3]

Not long afterwards, Julian and his followers appeared and, finding the requisite mounts and guides awaiting them, " under a show of doing it by violence, they laid hands on them, and were the first to proceed."[4] The Duke, having planned this move with true oriental guile, had a ready excuse for the King's party who were impatient to be off.

" Lo ! when I had made my preparations and was desirous of sending you onward, ambassadors from the queen arrived, and fell upon me with violence, and took away the beasts of burden I had got ready and have passed onwards. And I am too well acquainted with the fear in which the Queen is held to venture to oppose them."[5]

In the meanwhile, Julian, about 543 A.D., had arrived at the country of the Nobadæ which lay immediately to the south of the First Cataract. Having already been warned against the disciples of Chalcedon, the Nubians received the king's party with little enthusiasm. The royal gifts, it is true, were warmly received[6] but beyond that they were not prepared to go.

For two years, Julian remained in Nubia, suffering greatly, as John of Ephesus tells us, from the severe heat.

[1] John of Ephesus. " Ecclesiastical History," IV, 6. The translation is that of Payne-Smith. Mr. E. W. Brooks has been kind enough to verify for me the passages dealing with Nubia.
[2] Payne-Smith, 252.
[3] *Op. cit.*, 252.
[4] Payne-Smith, 253.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 253. He may have had in mind the sad fate of the prefect Rhodon (538 A.D.) who was arrested and executed at Theodora's command for having tortured to death in Alexandria a monophysite deacon. Not even Justinian could save him. Cf. Procopius, " Arcana," XXVII, 3.
[6] Payne-Smith, 255.

" For he (Julian) used to say that, from nine o'clock until four in the afternoon he was obliged to take refuge in caverns, full of water, where he sat undressed and girt only in a linen garment, such as the people of the country wear."[1]

Julian had, it appears, been assisted in Nubia by Theodore, the aged Bishop of Philæ,[2] and consequently when the former returned to Constantinople, he left Theodore in charge of the newly converted Nobadæ.[3] Julian, we are told, was received in audience by the Queen[4] on his return which must, therefore, have been before 548 A.D., since Theodora died in that year. Before her death, however, she appointed as his successor Longinus who had until then been in attendance on the exiled patriarch Theodosius.

In Nubia, meanwhile, Theodore had continued the work begun by Julian among the Nobadæ, returning to Philæ about 551.[5]

For eighteen years, the Nobadæ remained without their pastor until the arrival of Longinus. For three years the latter had tried in vain to escape from Constantinople. Justinian had given orders for his arrest and, on one occasion, had had his baggage removed from the ship when he was on the point of setting sail. At length, " aware that he was watched and would not be permitted to leave, he disguised himself and put a wig on his head, for he was very bald[6]," and thus succeeded in escaping the Melkite spies who were watching the port, arriving in Nubia about the year 569[7].

The Nobadæ appear to have welcomed this second mission with equal enthusiasm and for six years Longinus remained amongst them, instructing them in the tenets of monophysitism, building them a church, ordaining clergy, and teaching them the order of the Mass. He even persuaded the Nobadæ to send an embassy with gifts to the Emperor,

[1] *Op. cit.*, 255.

[2] An inscription recording his re-dedication of the Temple of Isis there in honour of the Martyr, St. Stephen, has survived on the Temple walls. See Lefebvre, " Recueil des inscript. grec. chrét," No. 587.

[3] Payne-Smith, 256.

[4] Payne-Smith, *loc. cit.*

[5] Maspero. " Théodore de Philai," 299–317.

[6] Payne-Smith, 257.

[7] According to Michael the Syrian (" Eccles. Hist.," ed. Chabot, II, 290) Longinus was consecrated Bishop of the Nobadæ by Theodore, on his death-bed. The latter died in 566 and Longinus was detained by Justinian in Constantinople for three years after that. See Payne-Smith, 257. The Melkites were so called since they were the Emperor's party, representing the official " Catholic " church.

who received the ambassadors, in the presence of John of Ephesus[1] and the rest of the court, with much honour; as for Longinus, "the King retained a bitter feeling against him, though he said nothing."[2]

In 575[3] Longinus was invited to come to Alexandria and take part in the election of a sovereign pontiff who was, of course, to be a member of the monophysite party. Longinus' journey—it was not without danger since, in Lower Egypt at least, he was regarded as a heretic—the election of the monk Theodore in the silence of the desert near the Convent of St. Menas, the failure of the plot, and the election by the Alexandrians of their patriarch, Peter IV, need not concern us here. Longinus, having narrowly escaped assasination at the hands of the Melkites, returned to Nubia in 579.

This time, however, he journeyed further afield. Far to the south were a people whom "the Greeks call Alodæi,"[4] the people of Alodia or Alwah, while between the Alodæi and the Nobadæ was a country "inhabited by another people, called Makoritæ," namely the Kingdom of Makuria or Muḳurrah. The King of the Alodæi had, it appears, repeatedly requested the Nobadæ that Longinus might be persuaded to come south to his country that he and his people might be baptised. Letters purporting to be from Awarfīūlā,[5] King of the Nobadæ, to the King of the Alodæi with regard to this mission are reproduced by John of Ephesus.[6] In 580—the date is given by John of Ephesus[7]—Longinus set out at last for Alodia, travelling not by the Nile but across the Eastern Desert. Reasons for this route are given in a letter from Awarfīūlā to Theodore of Alexandria.[8]

"But because of the wicked devices of him who dwells between us (*i.e.*, between the Nobadæ and the Alodæi) I sent my saintly father to the King of the Blemmyes (the Beja), that he might conduct him thither by routes further inland; but the Makoritæ heard also of this, and set people on the look-out in all the passes of his kingdom, both in the mountains

[1] Payne-Smith, *loc. cit.*
[2] *Op. cit.*, 258.
[3] Maspero. "Histoire des Patriarches," 235.
[4] In Syriac, Alūdūs.
[5] Probably, as Maspero has suggested (*op. cit.*, 287), a miswriting in Syriac for the name of the Nubian King Eirpanome, mentioned in the Coptic inscription, dated 559 A.D., in the Temple of Dendur in Lower Nubia. See Blackman, "Temple of Dandur," 36–37.
[6] Payne-Smith, 320.
[7] *Op. cit.*, 327.
[8] *Op. cit.*, 324.

and in the plains, and as far as the Sea of Weeds (the Red Sea), wishing to lay hands on my father, and put a stop to the good work of God, as my father has written hither to tell me."

Whatever other reasons Longinus may have had, there is no doubt as to the advantage he gained by taking the infinitely shorter route across the desert, thus travelling along the base of the triangle made by the great bend of the Nile between the Second and the Fourth Cataract.

Starting, perhaps, from Korosko—which lay within the territory of the Nobadæ—along the ancient caravan track which runs due south across the Eastern Desert, he would have returned to the river again above the Fourth Cataract, travelling the rest of the way by boat. In a letter, also reproduced by John of Ephesus, said to have been sent by Longinus to the King of the Nobadæ, the former gives some account of his misadventures.

" And not only," he writes, " did we become ill ourselves, and despaired of our safety, but also the animals that were with us died, not being able to bear the heat, and the thirst, in the mountains, and the unwholesomeness of the water,[1] so that we lost no less than seventeen camels. And when the King of the Alodæi heard that I had determined to come to him, he sent one of his princes, named Itika, who led me into their land. And on our arrival at the river's bank, we went on board a vessel."[2]

Travelling southwards to Sōba, the capital city of Alodia—the ruins are well known to all who visit Khartoum—he is said to have baptised the king, his family and many of the chieftains and to have converted, among others, " certain Abyssinians, who have fallen into the malady of the fancy of Julianus (*i.e.*, followers of the heretic Julian of Halicarnassus), and say that Christ suffered in a body not capable of pain, or death . . . "[3]

Such is a summary of the account by John of Ephesus of the conversion of the Nubians to Christianity. Despite his generally acknowledged reliability as an historian, his version should be accepted with reserve for, being himself a staunch opponent of the Council of Chalcedon, he would have been liable to exaggerate the successes of his own party as well as the failures of the rival sect. The case, moreover, for a Melkite (Catholic) Nubia until the beginning of the eighth century finds strong support on archæological grounds.[4] Nevertheless, the wealth of detail is convincing

[1] Probably referring to the wells which mark the caravan route from Korosko to the modern Abu Hamed.

[2] Payne-Smith, 322, 323.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 323. A heresy common in the fifth century.

[4] See Monneret de Villard in " Ægyptus," Anno XII, fasc. 4, 309–16; Junker in " Zeitschrift für Aeg. Spr.," LX, 124 ff.; Monneret de Villard, " I Vescovi Giacobiti della Nubia," in Mélanges Maspero, II (premier fascicule), 63.

and this account of the conversion of the Nubians by a contemporary authority, though a distant one, can hardly be set aside.

It is curious that John of Ephesus makes no mention of the conversion to Christianity of the people of the Kingdom of Makuria. In this connection, it is interesting to note that another contemporary Byzantine chronicler, John of Biclarum, claims that they were received into the Melkite Church in the year 569.[1] It is possible, therefore, that Justinian's mission was not wholly without success.

[1] See Kirwan in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, XX, 201.

SULEIMAN HARIGA.

By G. W. Bell.

A great part of the information contained in this article was supplied to the writer by El Mulazim Awal Ali Effendi Subahi, M.C., late of the XIth Sudanese Battalion of the Egyptian Army, and now living in retirement in Talodi. Ali Effendi, whose family comes from Tegali, was taken as a captive to Omdurman while still a youth by the Emir Abdulla Ibrahim, and drafted into the Dervish forces shortly after the death of the Mahdi. He rose rapidly to the rank of " Mugadam," and was attached to the forces of the Emir Hamdan Abu Anga which were sent into the Nuba Mountains to secure a regular supply of conscripts and slaves for Omdurman. Upon the declaration of war against the Khalifa by King John of Abyssinia, Ali Subahi accompanied the Emir Hamdan to Gallabat and saw active service at Gondar and Umm Beshir. The chief of staff to the Dervish army throughout the campaign was " Suleiman Hariga." Ali Subahi returned from Abyssinia to fight at Omdurman, and a few years later was enlisted in the Egyptian Army. At the time of the visit of King George V to the Eastern Sudan in 1912, Ali Subahi held the rank of Shawish, and was chosen to hold the small " Gemmez " tree which the King planted at Sinkat. He was commissioned Mulazim Tani in 1916 and retired on pension in 1922. During the Nyimang Patrol (1917–18) he rendered distinguished service and was awarded the Military Cross.

On September 8th, 1935, the following article appeared in the *Observer*.

" An old man who forty years ago was ruler of one of the largest provinces of Abyssinia has just died after a long sickness in his castle near Oradea-Mare, in the Transylvanian parts of Rumania.

" He was known under the name of Emir Soliman Inger, but his real name was Alexander Inger. He was the son of an Austrian officer, and was educated in the cadet school of Traiskirchen and at the Military Academy at Wiener Neustadt. He left the Academy as a second lieutenant in the army of the Emperor Francis Joseph, and at the age of 24 was promoted first lieutenant.

" Life in the small Bosnian garrison, where Lieut. Inger was stationed, did not please him, and as his father was in Turkish service and was a friend of Osman Pasha (the hero of Plewna), young Lieut. Inger accepted a post in the Turkish army.

" He was sent to Egypt as an intelligence officer to study the revolutionary movement of the successor of the Mahdi, the Mahdi Abdullah ibn Sejjed Mohamed, and became a supporter of Abdullah, leaving the Turkish army and becoming a Mohammedan.

" Abdullah liked this tall, blonde, good-looking Austrian, and made him an Emir of Sudan. He took part in the campaign of the Dervishes of the Mahdi against Abyssinia when the Dervishes defeated the forces of Negus Tachlehaimanot of Goggiam and advanced to the north of Lake Tana, where the Abyssinians were once more defeated and the town of Gondar was burnt down by the invaders. In 1889 the Dervishes once more broke into Abyssinia, and though they were at first repulsed at the battle of Metemma, the Emperor Johannes IV of Abyssinia was killed. Left without a leader, the Abyssinian forces melted away.

" Emir Soliman Inger claimed that for three years he was ' king ' (that is, governor) of an Abyssinian province and that it was only when Menelik II united Abyssinia that his rule came to an end. When Mahdi Abdullah lost his life in the battle of Debricat in November, 1899, Inger returned to Austria-Hungary, bought a castle near Oradea-Mare, and lived there in retirement. His castle was kept in an Oriental style and adorned with precious relics and carpets which he had brought back from the Sudan and Abyssinia.

" The news of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute once more roused his interest in North-East Africa, and it is said that about two months ago he sent a memorandum to the League of Nations, in which he demanded that if Italy conquered Abyssinia he should be restored to the governorship of his former province."

At the time of the fall of Khartoum the composition and organisation of the Dervish armies was extremely haphazard. The Mahdi was Commander-in-chief and his forces were grouped into three main divisions —the Green flag, the Black flag, and the flag of the " Ashraf." Within these divisions existed the broad line which marked off the " Angarānya," the loosely disciplined hordes of tribesmen armed only with spear, shield, and sword, from the " Mulazimia," a more organised body carrying fire-arms and grouped into officered units. The smallest administrative section within the " Mulazimia " was the body of 50 men led by a " Mugaddam " and a " Wakil Mugaddam." Two groups of fifty formed a " Bairag " under a " Ras Mia " and his wakil, while an Emir—a somewhat wide term—was the officer responsible for the unit composed of five " Buwarig." Over the Emir, as leader of a hardly-defined body, came the " Qaid." The Mahdi, and later the Khalifa was known as " Ras El Jesh." With the fall of El Obeid and Khartoum, the defeat of General Hicks' force and the two earlier Government expeditions destroyed at Gedir, the majority of the organised " Mulazimia " were well armed. They carried the Long or Short Remington, besides an assortment of muzzle loaders and flint locks—Abu Safra, Abu Lafata, Abu Ruhain, Hagari Waga, etc.—a legacy of earlier slave-raiding bands, and their supply of ammunition was adequate. Knowledge and practice of drill, manœuvre and musketry was, however, rudimentary and confined to the weekly Friday parade whereat exercises consisted merely of a succession

of exhausting and utterly useless mock cavalry charges. After the Khalifa's appointment of Alexander Inger as staff officer responsible for this branch of army organisation, some improvement became evident. With his military education and early service in the Austrian and Turkish armies he was able to give invaluable advice to the ill-disciplined Dervish forces.

His first appearance in Omdurman appears to have been during the fourth year of the Khalifa's rule. He announced himself as an Egyptian who had been inspired by belief in the Mahdi, and admiration for the Khalifa, to abandon his country and offer himself to their service. By his fluency in Arabic, his apparent sincerity and his obvious ability, he flattered and won the affection of the Khalifa who appointed him an Emir and Staff Officer responsible for the drill and equipment of the entire forces.

Slatin has left no account of Alexander Inger. It is not difficult to imagine that he must have had little sympathy for, or opinion of, a fellow officer and countryman, who had apparently deserted his post in Egypt. He must have regarded him as an even more misguided adventurer than the pathetic Olivier Pain or the deserter Klootz.

Shortly after Inger's arrival in Omdurman Melik Abu Uruf, Sheikh of the Jehaina between Singa and Sennar, raised the standard of revolt. The rebellion was crushed without difficulty. The subsequent devastation of the countryside led the Dervish forces south and up to the Abyssinian frontier, and began the series of border crashes which culminated, after Yunis Wad Dekeim's treacherous seizure of a peaceful trade caravan, in King John's declaration of war. Reinforcements were drafted into Omdurman from the Nuba Mountains and further west, and the Emir Hamdan Abu Anga was appointed leader of the Abyssinian expeditionary force. Suleiman Inger accompanied him as his chief of staff. From Gallabat the Dervishes defeated their opponents and advanced as far as Gondar and Umm Beshir. Meanwhile a number of extra garrison posts were established in the eastern Sudan, of which Walad el Kakar, close to Khashm El Girba, owed its origin to the Emir Suleiman. He is said to have drawn the plans and supervised the laying of the foundations.

It was early in the Abyssinian campaign that Suleiman Inger came to be known as Suleiman Hariga. The second name apparently was not, as

might be supposed, a corruption of his own surname Inger. In order to prove the identification of a growing number of deserters from Hamdan's army, and so to discourage others, he ordered that every man should be branded with a ج. signifying جَهَدِى on the lower joint of the right thumb. The scar on Ali Eff. Subahi's hand is still plainly visible.

The Dervish expedition against Abyssinia was successful and the whole of the Amhara Province fell into Hamdan's hands. King John's attempt to recapture Gallabat ended in his own death and the flight of his army, and the whole of Abyssinia fell into a state of internecine war. There were several aspirants for the throne, and dissensions and quarrels and the advance of the Italians from Massowa, which had been occupied in 1885, destroyed any semblance of organised resistance on the Sudan frontier. The Dervishes maintained their hold over the conquered portions of the country, and Suleiman Hariga, as chief of Staff to Zeki Tumal, who had succeeded Hamdan Abu Anga, must clearly have held an important administrative post.

Alexander Inger seems to have been a man of striking appearance, tall ("he could have carried Slatin Pasha on his shoulder,") fair and clean shaven.

On the approach of Kitchener's force he appears to have remained in Abyssinia and to have returned to Austria immediately after the final defeat of the Khalifa.

HEBRON BEADS IN DARFUR.

By A. J. Arkell, M.B.E., M.C.

(PLATES XXIII—XXIV).

THERE may be found to-day in Darfur, in the possession of women of the generation that is passing away, numbers of large opaque glass beads of which the colours are usually yellow or green, more rarely blue, and very occasionally black with coloured spots. Some examples of these beads are figured in Plate XXIII.

The numbers on the plates indicate the colour of the beads, thus :—

1	...	yellow.
1A	...	orange.
2	...	green.
2A	...	pale green.
2B	...	pale green, semi-transparent.
3	...	blue.
3A	...	bright blue (the shade favoured by the ancient Egyptians).
3B	...	dark blue.
3C	...	pale milky blue.
4	...	black.
4A	...	black with blue, yellow and green spots.
4B	...	black with red, yellow and green spots.
4D	...	black with white spots.

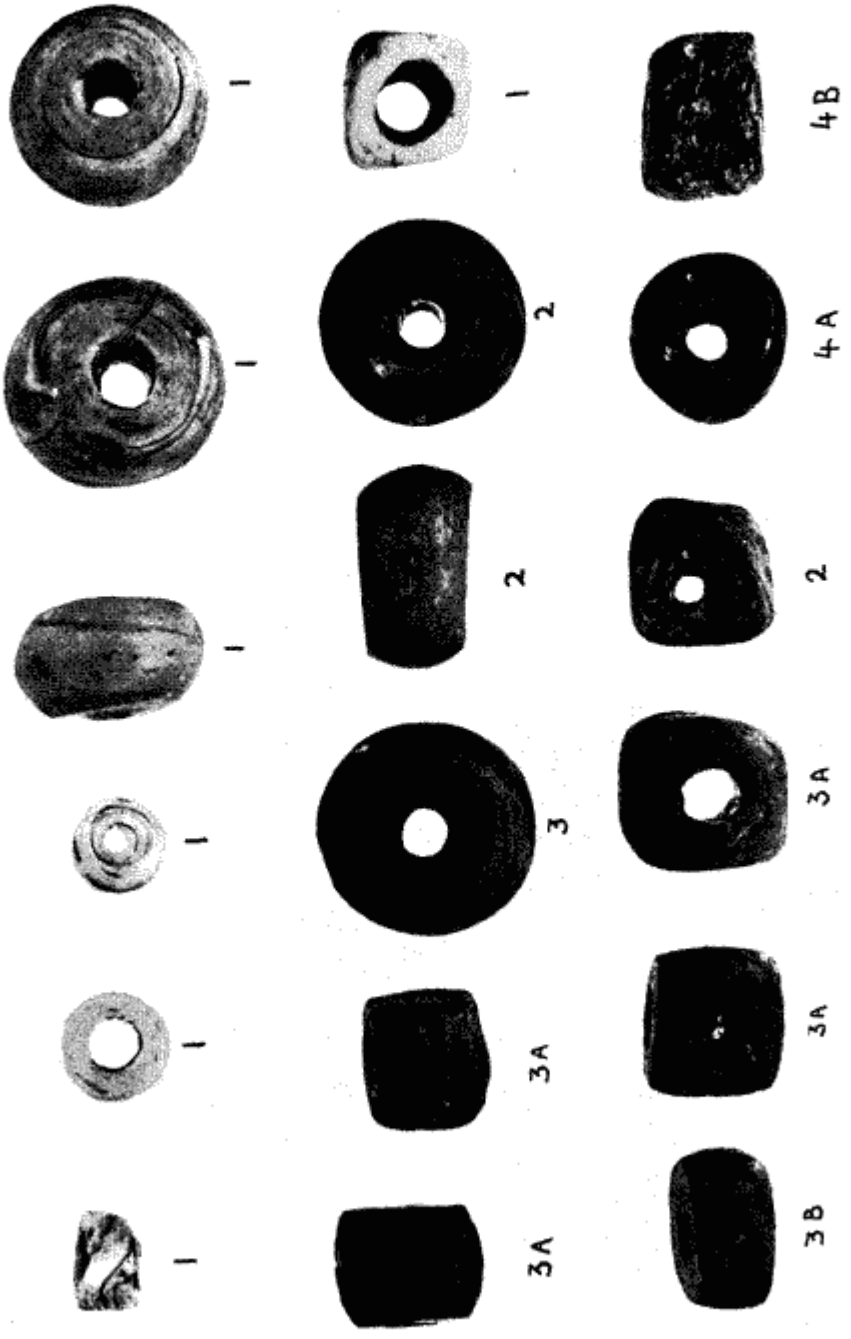
These beads are called *mongūr*[1] in local Arabic, and *galding* in the Fur language.

They are quite out of fashion and the younger generation will have nothing to do with them, occasionally referring to them with contempt as the jewellery of slaves. Any one who has them will give them away and will usually refuse to take anything for them.[2] They will very soon have vanished from the land, and it is therefore advisable that a record should be made before this happens.

These beads may be found on the sites of villages that were inhabited 50 to 100 years ago. I have no idea when they were first introduced to

[1] Presumably the same as *manguru*, the ordinary Zande name for the imported blue bead. See *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIV, p. 126. One of the forms of bloodstone beads exported from Cambay is a square one with the corners cut off, which much resembles a green *mongūr* bead. According to Mrs. J. H. Rivett-Carnac in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. IX, No. 71, bloodstone and the colour green are, in India, associated with the planet Mars or *Mangala*. It is thus just possible that we have here the origin of the name *mongūr*.

[2] They are practically never worn. I have occasionally seen a single green one worn on a string round the ankle by old women as a cure for rheumatism.



SPECIMENS OF OLD HEBRON GLASS BEADS, LOCALLY KNOWN AS '*Mongūr*,' FROM DARFUR. (Life size.)

Darfur; it may not have been earlier than the eighteenth century A.D., when it is clear from Tunisi that they were being imported from Egypt in large numbers.

I found two specimens (one blue and one yellow) in some ruined stone huts at Kulu near Gabir in Northern Darfur. These ruins are attributed to the legendary Tōra and so may date back to the thirteenth century A.D. I also found a blue one in the ruins at Dawa near Sania Kiri between Kurma and Om on the main road from Fasher to Kebkebia.

The Shartai of Simiat in the hills east of El Fasher brought me a number of these beads in good condition, mostly pale green, which he stated had been found in a pot in the ruined stone houses on J. Silgu. These ruins are attributed by the local Berti inhabitants to Daju, whom they replaced possibly not later than the seventeenth century.

I have a large number which I obtained from the local inhabitants at Uri in Northern Darfur, who stated that they were found in the ruined stone town there which probably dates from the thirteenth century.

There is, however, no reason why the beads from Kulu and Uri should be as old as the ruins. They may quite possibly have belonged to later inhabitants.

That these beads were being imported into Darfur in large quantities at the end of the century is established by the following quotations from Tunisi :—

" Autour des reins et sur la peau, les Foriennes portent différentes sortes de kharaz. Chez les femmes riches, ces kharaz sont du volume d'une noix, et sont appelés *rougâd-el-fâgah* (le sommeil du repos) ; chez les femmes de moyenne aisance, c'est le *mangour*, et chez les femmes pauvres, le *harich* ou le *khaddour*. Ces sortes de parures se font en Syrie. Le rougâd-el-fâgah est d'un poli parfait et de couleur verte, ou bleue, ou jaune.

" Le *michahréh* est un kharaz noir piqueté de points blancs ; c'est une variété du *mangour*, mais il est plus petit, hérissé d'aspérités, et a un aspect assez grossier.

" Le *harich* ressemble au mangour et au michahreh, mais il est en grains du volume de grains de chapelet, raboteux et sillonné de stries."[1]

" Le *mangour* est un kharaz arrondi et qu'on exporte de la Galilée. Les Foriennes portent souvent autour des reins, sur la peau, cinq ou sept tours de ces kharaz enfilés dans des cordons. Le mangour est vert, ou jaune, ou noir et piqueté. Le noir est plus connu sous le nom de *michâhreh*.

" Le *rougâd-el-fâgah* est plus cher que le mangour, plus gros, plus lisse et plus beau. Aussi le rougâd-el-fâgah est recherché comme parure secrète par les Foriennes de condition aisée, et le mangour par les Foriennes de moyenne condition.

[1] " Voyage au Darfour " (tr. Perron), pp. 209, 210. *Kharaz* is explained by Tunisi on p. 41 n. as the Arabic word for glass beads.

" Le *mangour* est du volume à peu près d'une noix ordinaire, et le rougâd-el-fâgah du volume d'une grosse noix. Tous deux sont en terre cuite couverte d'un vernis comme celui de la faïence. Mais le rougâd-el-fâgah est d'un travail plus parfait, est mieux verni, d'un coup d'œil plus agréable et d'un prix plus élevé. Le mangour est raboteux, comme plissé à sa surface, et assez grossièrement vernissé. Aussi se vend il assez bon marché."[1]

I have little doubt that the small yellow beads, the first three examples in Plate XXIII, are Tunisi's *harich*. I have in my possession also blue and green examples of this bead obtained from the Fur of Jebel Marra and elsewhere. The last two examples on the right of the bottom row are presumably the *michahréh*, although the spots are coloured and not white. Presumably the larger round beads on the right of the first row and the centre of the second row are the *rougâd-el-fâgah*, while the others, particularly the roughly square examples, are those that were called *mongūr* in Tunisi's day, although the name *mongūr* is now applied to the whole class. Some confirmation of this is afforded by the fact that blue or yellow hexagonal beads, about $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, and made to-day at Gablonz in Czechoslovakia, are now known to the trade in Omdurman as *mongūr*.

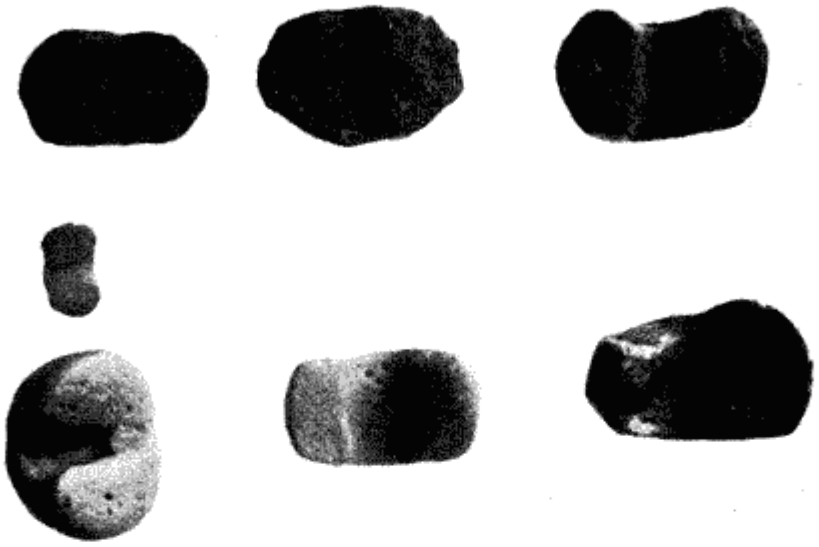
My friend, Count d'Almasy, has provided me with evidence that these beads came by the Derib el Arba'in a considerable time ago.

Plate XXIV (*a*) shows some examples he picked up near Lagia wells. Naturally only the damaged beads from the stock of the nameless merchant whom fate overwhelmed on that desert road have been left to interest archæologists and others; but those reproduced here were broken long enough ago for the drifting sand to polish the edges of the fractures quite round. (A tiny pebble may be seen firmly embedded in the hole of the example shown at the bottom left-hand corner of the plate.)

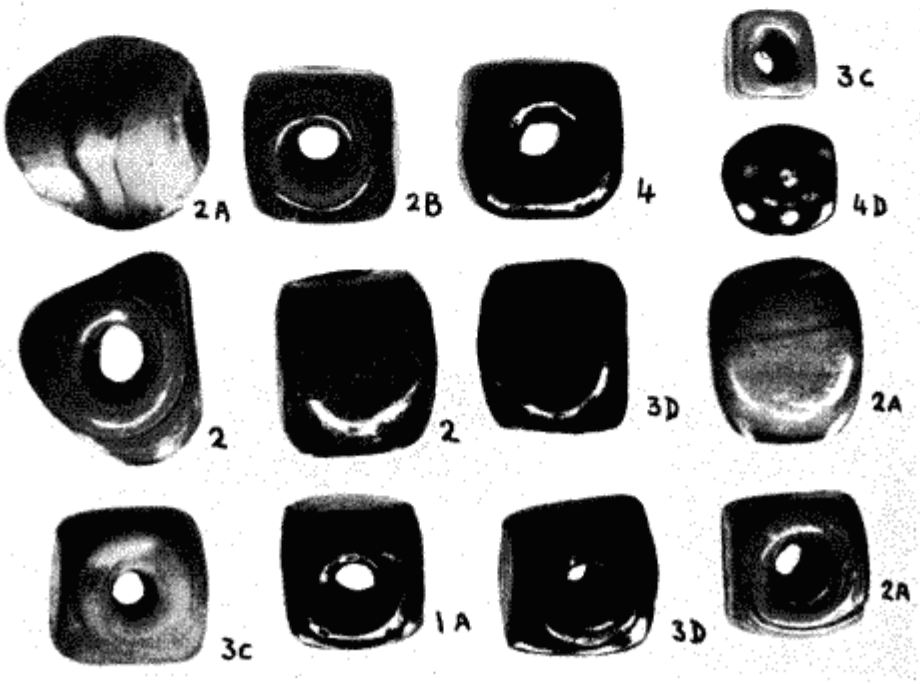
As is well known, the Derib el Arba'in[2] leads from Egypt to Darfur, but these beads do not appear to have been made in Egypt. There are a number of them in the collection of Ancient Egyptian beads at the London University Museum, labelled " between Wasta and Illahun. ? Arab." Thanks to Mr. Lush, the Sudan Agent, I have been able to visit all the glass factories that still exist in Cairo, but none of them make beads or know of such beads having ever been made in Cairo. Mohamed Farrah, who runs a glass factory in the Rue Bab el Fottouh, Gamalia, Cairo, and comes from Hebron where he learnt his craft, was the most skilful and

[1] " Voyage au Ouaday " (tr. Perron), p. 334.

[2] See *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XII, p. 63.



(*a*) BROKEN SAND-WORN SPECIMENS OF '*Mongūr*' FROM LĀGIA, ON THE DERIB EL ARBA'IN. (Life size.)



(*b*) SPECIMENS OF GLASS BEADS MADE AT HEBRON IN 1935. (Life size.)

intelligent. He was positive that nothing like them has been made recently in Egypt, and thought that they looked as if they had been made at Hebron in the past, and was sure that they could be copied at Hebron to-day.

It will be noted that in the " Voyage au Darfour " Tunisi states that these beads were made in Syria, while in the " Voyage au Ouaday " he says they were made in Galilee.[1] At that time Syria probably included modern Palestine. As far as I can ascertain, no beads of this kind have been made recently in the area covered by the French mandate. There are, however, some illuminating references to the export of Hebron glassware to the Sudan in Perrot and Chipiez " History of Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus." In Vol. II, p. 238, it is stated : " I remember seeing some fine bracelets . . . at Jerusalem . . . I asked where they came from and they told me Hebron, where glass works still existed by which a very large trade was carried on, their manufacture being exported by Arab and Jewish traders, even as far as the Soudan." On p. 330 is described how the Hebron glassworkers obtained vegetable soda by burning *Arthrocnemum fruticosum* on the shores of the Dead Sea ; and it is stated that glass in which vegetable soda is used is never so limpid as that made only with potash. (Opacity is certainly a common characteristic of the Darfur *mongūr* and of modern Hebron beads, which are described below.) On p. 335 the rarity of red in early Phœnician glass is noticed, and it is suggested that the Hebron workers learnt their craft from the Phœnicians, a reference in Benjanim of Tudela to the manufacture of glass at Tyre in the twelfth century A.D. being quoted. (The only red in the Darfur *mongūr* is an occasional spot on some of the rare spotted black examples, and it is equally rare in the products of Hebron to-day ; the reason being that it is very expensive to produce a red colour in glass, since gold is required in the only process known to them.)

Since all the available evidence pointed to Hebron as the source of these beads, I requested the assistance of Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, late Director of Education in the Sudan and then Director of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, and also of Mr. W. B. K. Shaw, since I was unable to visit Hebron myself. Each of them very kindly visited Hebron

[1] I have not been able to discover the origin of the Fur name for these beads, *galding*. Can it have any connection with Galilee ?

on my behalf with specimens of Darfur *mongūr* : and I am indebted to them for the information about modern Hebron beads that follows.

At present the trade in Hebron beads is almost dead. There is no export, and the manufacture of beads is only carried out spasmodically, since beads are only bought by tourists as souvenirs and the demand is small.

On Plate XXIV (*b*) is figured a series of beads made at Hebron to-day. I think that even in the photographs it is clear that the type persists, as Mr. Shaw points out. The colours are still yellow, blue, green and black, though the shades of blue and green now produced at Hebron are different to the shades in the Darfur *mongūr*, which may very likely have faded. The black bead is still spotted, though spotted with white (as it appears also to have been in Tunisi's day, see the first quotation above, although the few examples which I have seen all have coloured spots).

The method by which the Hebron beads are made is exactly the same as that by which the *mongūr* were made. They are wire-wound on a thick pointed wire, which gives a large and rapidly tapering hole. Wire-wound beads have been made in Venice since the early middle ages, and though many surprisingly rough and unfinished looking beads are still made in Venice to-day, I am quite confident after enquiries made on the spot that the Darfur *mongūr* were never made there.

Mr. Crowfoot very kindly made two visits to Hebron, and he writes that on his second visit he was fortunate in finding not only several glass blowers at work but also one or two retired exponents of the craft looking on. These assured him that the Darfur *mongūr* were Hebron products. One of the old men told him that beads exactly like the green and yellow Darfur *mongūr*[1] were sometimes found in graves near Hebron. The old men of Hebron could not tell him exactly when the Darfur *mongūr* were made there ; but it was obviously before their time.[2]

Perrot and Chipiez was published in 1885, and the export of Hebron beads to the Sudan must have ceased in the unsettled times of the Mahdia. Since beads of the modern Hebron type are not found in the Sudan, the

[1] Green and yellow are the commonest colours among the Darfur *mongūr*.

[2] Prof. Flinders Petrie made the brilliant suggestion to Mr. Crowfoot that a cutting should be made through some old rubbish mounds at Hebron, and I hope that one day some one who has the opportunity will not fail to seize it.

beads which were exported from Hebron to the Sudan when Perrot and Chipiez was written can hardly fail to have been those now generally known in Darfur to-day as *mongūr*.[1]

Even without the evidence of Perrot and Chipiez, Mr. Crowfoot was satisfied after his second visit to Hebron that it was a very likely place of origin for these beads.[2]

[1] Since writing the above I have found confirmation of the origin of these beads in Browne, *Travels in Africa*, p. 303.

Browne, who visited Darfur in 1793-96, enumerates among articles of commerce brought to Darfur by the Jelabs from Egypt: "Coarse glass beads made at Jerusalem, called Hersh and Munjūr."

[2] At the beginning of my quest two of these beads, one small yellow one, like the three examples at the left end of the top row, and one green one, like the second and third from the right in the second row of Plate XXIII, were submitted to Mr. H. C. Beck, who reported that the glass of which they were made definitely belonged to the type of glass that was made in the Mediterranean area and elsewhere, and not to that used to make the early beads from Sarawak or many of the trade beads found in S. Africa. The sp. g. of the examples submitted were: yellow 2.55, and green 2.36, whilst the Sarawak beads vary from 3.5 to 4, and some S. African beads between 3 and 3.4. Mr. Beck, however, considers that neither the material nor the technique are identical in the *mongūr* and the modern Hebron beads. The difference may, however, presumably be explained by the men of Hebron having learned to make use of modern commercial glass by melting it down, instead of producing glass from local natural products. The same change has taken place at Nupe in Nigeria where glass beads are also made.

It may be of interest to record that I have obtained a few examples indistinguishable from the *mongūr* from pilgrims and other wanderers from Northern Nigeria, and I have come across one or two Hausa bead pedlars who have been buying up these *mongūr* in Darfur for resale in Nigeria, so that it is almost certain that some of these beads have found their way from Hebron to Nigeria.

THE *TIGDA* OR REAPING KNIFE IN DARFUR.

By A. J. Arkell, M.B.E., M.C.

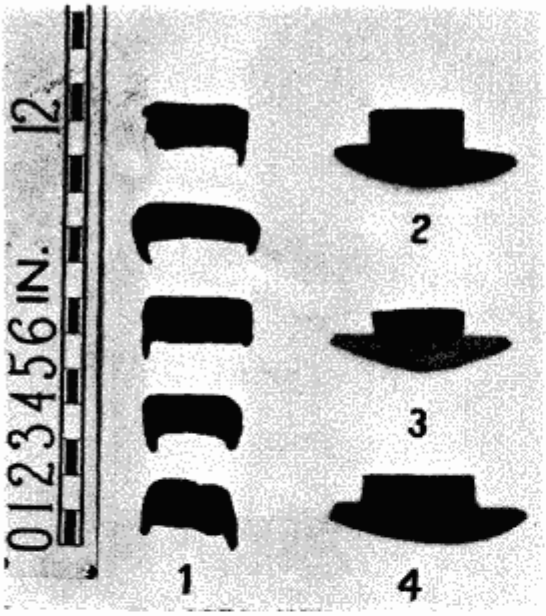
(PLATES XXV—XXVI.)

IN *Man*, 1916, 81, Professor Seligman described the reaping knife used in Dar Hamid and elsewhere in northern Kordofan, which was "said to be made by the arabised descendants of the pre-Arab iron working Nuba, who still dwell on the hills which dot the plains of northern Kordofan." This reaping knife is also in general use in Darfur, where it is called *tigda*, as is I am told also its name in Kordofan, but, although Professor Seligman states that it is used for reaping dura, in Darfur it is only used for reaping bulrush millet (*dukhn*). Dura stalks are too hard, and require a knife.

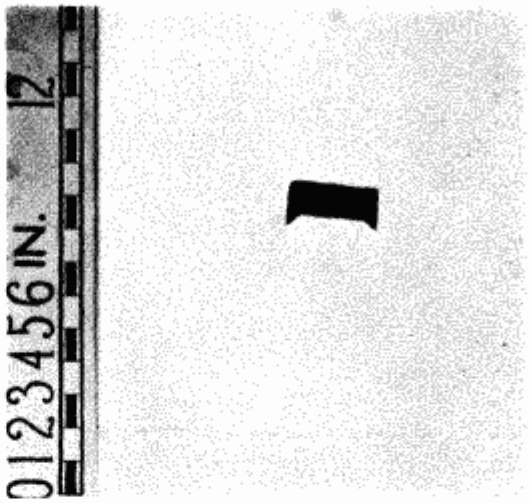
Reaping with the *tigda* is much quicker than with a knife, as it only requires one hand (see Plates XXV (*c*) and XXVI) instead of two. The *tigda* is held, as may be seen in these photographs, between the third and fourth fingers of the right hand, in which it is kept in position by the pressure of the fourth finger on the wood beside the blade. The near end of the wooden handle is thus kept tight against the palm of the hand. The act of reaping is performed by placing the thumb on one side of the stalk to be cut, the first second and third fingers being placed round the stalk, which they thus press against the blade, with the result that the head is severed as the pressure is increeasd. The head of millet is then passed to the left hand in which about thirty heads are collected before being transferred to a basket (*reika*) placed conveniently on the ground nearby. It requires a little knack to hold and use the *tigda* correctly, but when this knack has been acquired it is an extraordinarily efficient implement, and the speed with which millet can be reaped with it is surprising.

Professor Seligman has described this reaping knife as "an iron blade, more or less razor-shaped, having at right angles at each end a small tang, which is thrust into a wooden handle." This is an apt description of the *tigda*, which has undoubtedly been in use in northern Darfur for some centuries. In Plate XXV(*a*), fig. 1, are shown five examples of *tigda* blade which were found in the ruins of a stone-built town at Uri in northern Darfur, which was probably founded between 1225 and 1475 A.D.[1], and though these blades do not necessarily date from the foundation of the town, it has not been inhabited within the memory of living men, and the blades must, therefore, be of some age. I also possess several old *tigda* blades that were found in the ruins of another royal town at Rōnya, north

[1] See my paper, "Darfur Antiquities, Part III," shortly to appear in this journal.



(*a*) ANCIENT AND MODERN EXAMPLES OF *tigda* FROM DARFUR.



(*b*) THE BLADE OF A *tigda* MADE AT EL FASHER BY A TAMA SMITH IN 1936.



(*c*) THE *tigda* IN USE AT EL FASHER.



A BERTI YOUTH FROM TAGABO IN NORTHERN DARFUR USING THE *tigda*.

of Jebel Si in northern Darfur, which possibly dates from before the 17th century. Figs. 2, 3 and 4 of Plate XXV(*a*) are three examples of *tigda* in use in Darfur to-day. Fig. 2 was made in El Fasher by the colony of Tama blacksmiths, and Plate XXV (*b*) shows a blade made by the same smiths not yet mounted in a wooden handle. Fig. 3 was obtained at Kutum, district headquarters of northern Darfur, and fig. 4 was made by Zaghawa the smiths at Mellit in northern Darfur. All these examples are comparatively new. After prolonged use the blades become worn, especially at the corners, which become rounded, as has happened to some of the blades from Uri, and also to one of the knives figured by Prof. Seligman.

Professor Seligman compares this reaping knife to a form of stone knife found in Europe in neolithic times, *e.g.*, in the pile dwellings of Locras, whence he illustrated an example now in the Sturge collection. Professor Henry Balfour informs me that he is not convinced that the Locras knife was used for the same purpose as the *tigda*, because it has a strongly curved edge, while a straight edge is characteristic of the reaping knives. There is, however, another example from late neolithic or early metal age Europe, of a flint blade, finely chipped, set in a piece of stag antler from St. Blaise, Lake Neuchatel[1], which has a straight edge, and appears to possess all the characteristics of the modern *tigda*.

It is to be hoped that any occurrences of the *tigda* in the Sudan outside Darfur and Kordofan will be reported, for it is only when its complete distribution is known that it will be possible to establish by whom and at what date it was introduced to central Africa. In the absence of written records the evidence of survivals from past cultures, like the *tigda*, is required to supplement such evidence as can be obtained from local traditions, indeterminate ruins and linguistic sources, before we can begin to pierce through the veil of pre-history which in Darfur still hangs over even the seventeenth century.

In the meanwhile I am inclined to suggest that the *tigda*[2] may have been introduced to the Sudan from north Africa by those Berbers whose influence produced the empire of Kanem, which, according to the chronicles of Bornu, in the thirteenth century extended as far east as the Nile, and must therefore have included Darfur and Kordofan.

[1] See " The Cambridge Ancient History," First Volume of Plates, pp. 18 & 19, fig. (*f*).

[2] The name *tigda* may be connected with the Temāshek word for " spear " (*tagda*), which is made up of the initial feminine t and the root which gives قطع, meaning " cut " in Arabic. That the name *tigda* was imported with this knife is indicated by the fact that it bears the same name in the various non-Arabic languages that survive in Darfur, *e.g.*, it is *tigdi* in Fur.

THE MAHDI'S EMIRS

By J. A. Reid.

WITH the death of Yunis Dikeim more than two years ago in Omdurman, the last of the Mahdi's chief Emirs passed away. As well as being Commanders of the army, these Emirs were the executive with plenary powers. They were appointed by the Mahdi himself and were often put in charge of Provinces. They were grouped for military purposes under the three Khalifas, Abdullahi Mohamed, Ali El Helu and Mohamed Sharif. Each of the latter had a separate army with a special flag. The attached notes which are based on living testimony may be of some interest as a record before their memory dies. I have excluded Emir Osman Digna; his biography has been written fully by Jackson.

UNDER THE BLACK FLAG (KHALIFA ABDULLAHI MOHAMED).

EMIR YACOUB MOHAMED.—He was a half brother of the Khalifa and belonged to the Gubarat section of the Taaisha Baggara. Light in colour, thick set and with a flashing eye, he was a fine figure of a man. He was pleasant, kindly and comparatively well educated. He joined the Mahdi during the latter's "Higra" to the Nuba Mountains, and took an active part in the siege of El Obeid and the defeat of Hicks' army at Sheikan. He did not play a prominent part in the siege of Khartoum because the Mahdi assigned this task specially to the army under the Khalifa Sharif. After the death of the Mahdi the Emir Yacoub became Commander-in-Chief of the Mahdist forces. As such his power was second only to that of his brother, the Khalifa. Latterly his position was weakened by his nephew, Sheikh El Din, the Khalifa's eldest son, who obtained control of the Jihadia and most of the firearms. He met his end on the field of Kereri at the early age of 43.

EMIR HAMDAN ABU ANGA.—He was a half bred Taaishi and belonged to the freed serf community called Mandala. Most of the latter had served with Zubeir Pasha on his slave raiding expeditions in the Southern Sudan and were consequently of great value to the Mahdi in his military engagements. Abu Anga saw more fighting than any other Mahdist Emir. After the fall of El Obeid he was put in command of the Jihadia or black mercenary troops. He was not allowed to take part in the assault on Khartoum because the Mahdi was nervous that the blacks would run amok.

After the destruction of Khartoum he was sent to the Nuba Mountains to deal with " rebels " and was hurriedly summoned north to El Obeid to effect the arrest of Emir Mohammed Khalid Zugal who was marching with his army to join up with Khalifa Sherif against Khalifa Abdullahi. Zugal passed through El Obeid before Abu Anga could catch him and is alleged to have exclaimed " where is the slave, Abu Anga, the Khalifa's little dog ? " Abu Anga was not far behind and surrounded Zugal at Bara. The latter surrendered and his army went over and Abu Anga's first words to his captive were " the little dog has arrived." In 1888 he was sent to Gallabat to relieve Emir Yunis Dikeim and to repress a local revolt under a false prophet. This he succeeded in accomplishing and he was engaged in operations against the Abyssinians when he suddenly died, probably of cholera or typhoid. Abu Anga was the best fighter among the Mahdist Emirs and his death was a severe loss to the Khalifa. He was a short, dark-coloured man with a very large head.

Emir Yunis Dikeim.—He was a cousin of Khalifa Abdullahi and in his youth had been a great elephant hunter. He was a fine horseman and commanded the " Cavalry " in the Khalifa's army. Before the fall of El Obeid, he was sent by the Mahdi to deal with the Rizeigat tribe in Darfur. He obtained their adherence to the Mahdist cause and sent their chief, Sheikh Egeil El Jangawi, as a prisoner to El Obeid where he was executed. After the death of the Mahdi, he was sent to Kordofan to crush various disaffected Arab tribes, chief among them the Gimma, under Sheikh Asakir Abu Kalam. The latter was in prison in Omdurman but Emir Yunis killed his brother, Fiki Argoub, in a running fight and pillaged the Gimma. He then crossed the White Nile and applied the same process to the Dar Muharib Arabs. Thence he proceeded to Kassala and was recalled from Gallabat in disgrace because of his failure to deal with a local rising. He remained for some time with the Khalifa in Omdurman but finally became Emir of Dongola. There his exactions distressed the people and there is the famous story of his threatening to drink up the Nile unless he was paid sufficient not to do so. At the end of the Mahdia he went through the battles of Kereri and Um Debeikerat without receiving a scratch. He lived in Omdurman until the summer of 1935 and is said to have been 120 years old when he died. He was a spare and good looking man with the typical hawklike eyes of a Baggara.

EMIR ZAKI TUMAL.—Like Abu Anga, Zaki belonged to the Mandala serf community and had seen much service in the Darfur slave raids. He served in the Mahdia under Abu Anga and succeeded the latter after his death. Zaki was a shifty sort of customer and was suspected of wanting to hand Kassala over to the Italians. He was brought into Omdurman and as a preventive measure was put into prison pending further enquiries. The Khalifa gave strict orders that his food should be drawn daily from Emir Yacoub's house but the Kadi Ahmed who had a grudge against him arranged with his warders that he should be starved to death. Kadi Ahmed's quarrel was an old story. Zaki had come across a bunch of his horses and on asking to whom they belonged was told they were the Kadi's. " A Kadi should not have horses but ride a donkey," he shouted and seized the steeds. Zaki's death was unknown at the time to the Khalifa who, when he found out the cause, subjected the Kadi Ahmed to the same method of starvation. It is said Kadi Ahmed survived the ordeal but died of overdrinking and eating after release from prison.

UNDER THE YELLOW FLAG (KHALIFA MOHAMED SHERIF).

EMIR ABDEL RAHMAN EL NEGUMI.—He was a Jaali and previous to the Mahdia worked as a merchant at Messellemia in the Blue Nile Province. He is said to have joined the Mahdi on the day Abu Saoud was defeated on Aba Island and he is counted among the first followers (Abkar El Mahdi). When the Mahdi appointed his three Khalifas in the Sudan (the fourth was to be the Senussi but the latter refused), Mohammed Sherif was a young boy, so Abdel Rahman El Negumi was made his guardian and wakil. He took the major share in the siege of Khartoum and he led the decisive assault by the Messellemia gate on January 25th, 1885. After the Mahdi's death, it is said that the Khalifa intentionally sent him to his destruction in a hopeless invasion of Egypt. Actually the Mahdi himself had planned that Abdel Rahman, the doyen of his Emirs, should lead the attack on Egypt and the Hedjaz, and before his death the Mahdi personally rode out of Omdurman with the Emir and the nucleus of the army of invasion. The latter was to be reinforced by levies from Dongola and Berber and Abdel Rahman was appointed temporary Emir of Berber and Dongola to prepare measures. He had great difficulties with the local people owing to intrigues by other leaders and his army which started for Egypt was an ill-equipped and inadequate rabble. He

met his end on the field of Toski. Among all the Mahdi's Emirs, Abdel Rahman El Negumi had the highest reputation as a brave fighter and a skilful general.

EMIR EL HAG MOHAMED ABU GIRGA.—Abu Girga was a Dongolawi from Geteina, but he himself had settled at a village called Um-Ghanim, 10 miles north of Fashishoya, on the West bank of the White Nile. He had served under Zubeir and others in the slave raids and he was a typical Arab freebooter. He was among the first adherents to the Mahdi's cause (Abkar El Mahdi) and he was a tower of strength in the first battles in the Nuba Mountains. After the fall of El Obeid, Abu Girga was entrusted with the task of harassing the march of Hicks' army from Dueim to the West, and so well did he perform this work that when Hicks was annihilated at Sheikan, it was Abu Girga who had earned most of the credit for this result.

In the siege of Khartoum he played a role only second in importance to Abdel Rahman El Negumi. After the fall of the town he was appointed the Emir of the Two Rivers which, of course, included the Gezira. The Khalifa Abdullahi was suspicious of his connection with Khalifa Sherif, and anticipated his march to join Khalifa Sherif in Omdurman. He was sent out of harm's way to supervise the investment of Suakin, but quarrelled with Osman Digna immediately. He was brought back to Omdurman and sent to Kassala but quarrelled with the Emir Musaad Geidum of the Habbania and returned a broken man. As a result of further investigations in connection with Khalifa Sherif's abortive *coup d'état*, Abu Girga was banished to Regaf where he remained a virtual prisoner until he was released by the Belgians shortly after the reoccupation. He made his way west with Emir Khalid Zugal and after the latter's execution by Sultan Ali Dinar, took up his residence at Fasher. Some time before the Great War the Sultan rather unwillingly allowed Abu Girga to return to his home at Um Ghanim, but he could not live there as he had developed tuberculosis. He came to Omdurman and died in 1913.

EMIR MOHAMED KHALID ZUGAL.—He was a cousin of the Mahdi and was a Government official in Darfur in the " Turkia." After the outbreak of the Mahdist revolt, he was sent by Slatin to interview the Mahdi at El Obeid and he was instrumental in obtaining Slatin's surrender and the adherence of the West to the Mahdist cause. After the Mahdi's death,

the supporters of Khalifa Sherif wrote to Khalid to bring his army to Omdurman to turn out Khalifa Abdullahi, and Khalid's reply unfortunately fell into wrong hands. He was arrested at Bara on his way to Omdurman and was sent as a prisoner to Regaf. With Abu Girga, he was released by the Belgians and made his way to Darfur, where he had been the Mahdist Governor. He married there Meiram Arafat, a daughter of Sultan Hussein, but soon succeeded in arousing Ali Dinar's jealousy as a result of which he was executed. He was a big, stout, squarely built man who liked the flesh-pots. His nickname, Zugal, means a " thrower."

Emir Mohamed El Tayib El Basir.—He belonged to the Halawin tribe in the Northern Gezira, where he met the Mahdi when the latter joined Sheikh El-Ghurashi at Tayiba, near Hassa Heisa. The Mahdi married his daughter and consequently the Emir Mohamed El Basir became the Mahdi's chief agent in the Gezira. He was given the privilege of administering the oath of allegiance (El Baia) on the Mahdi's behalf. He played a very prominent part in the siege of Khartoum and after the Mahdi's death he remained fighting on the Abyssinian frontier until the reoccupation. He joined forces with Ahmed Fadil but was arrested in the vicinity of Renk and brought as a prisoner of war to Omdurman. He was allowed to go back to the Halawin in the Gezira and died after the Wad Haboba rising in 1908.

UNDER THE YELLOW FLAG (KHALIFA ALI EL HELU).

Emir Musa El Helu.—He was a brother of Khalifa Ali El Helu and belonged to the Degheim section of the Shankhab Baggara in the White Nile. The Shankhab are Baggara by livelihood and not by blood. The Helu family were genuine religious ascetics and their record even during the Mahdia is beyond reproach. Emir Musa did not play a very prominent part in the fighting previous to the siege of Khartoum, but he was specially deputed to take an army to the North to oppose the Gordon Relief Expedition. He met his death on the field of Abu Klea. He was a small broad man with a very pleasant smile.

RELICS OF ANCIENT GOLD MINERS.

By J. F. E. Bloss.

(PLATES XXVII—XXIX.)

THE gold mines of the Sudan take no unimportant place in the history of Egypt and of gold itself. From the earliest times foreigners invaded the Sudan in order to work the mines that existed in the desert to the east of the Nile. The story of these mines has been well described by S. C. Dunn in " Notes on the Mineral Deposits of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," and in his article in the fourth report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories. Wallis Budge, in the " Anglo Egyptian Sudan, Its History and Monuments," chapter XVII, also describes the gold mines of this country. These references all describe the history of the mines, with details of their working, and the people who were employed in them.

A brief summary of their history is as follows. Prior to the Egyptian regime, the Phœnicians calling at the various stations along the Red Sea littoral bartered various goods for the gold. The Egyptians later also traded with the natives for their gold, but if sufficient quantity was not forthcoming, they sent armed expeditions to the country which forced the natives to work the mines. They exercised some degree of control over the mines up to the time of the twentieth dynasty. After the Roman invasion of Egypt the Ptolemies, especially Ptolemy Eugertes, worked the mines until the fourth century A.D. From this time till the ninth century the mines fell into disuse, or there is no record of their having been worked. The Caliphs of Egypt worked the mines during the ninth and tenth centuries, usually by the force of arms. From this period until the present day there are no records of the mines having been worked.

Dunn's article in the Wellcome Reports contains some very good photographs of the relics found at 'Um Nabadi. Similar relics, though not in so good a state of preservation, have been found at most of the mines which have been recently reopened. The object of this note is to place on record the findings at the Makruff and Ragabhendib mines.

Since 1902 mining companies have reopened several of the old workings with varying degrees of success. There are still many of these old workings known but as yet untouched. The majority of the reefs discovered are small, and when followed up are only too often interrupted by dykes, or strata of a different type of rock running across the gold-bearing reef. This makes the working of a reef difficult and uncertain.

A further difficulty is that the Beja tribes are loth to disclose the whereabouts of an old working unless they are likely to gain thereby. As an instance may be cited the Ragabhendib mine which is situated about a hundred miles to the north-west of Port Sudan. It had been noted that an ancient working existed in this area for many years, but it was not until 1935 that the tribe concerned disclosed the old workings.

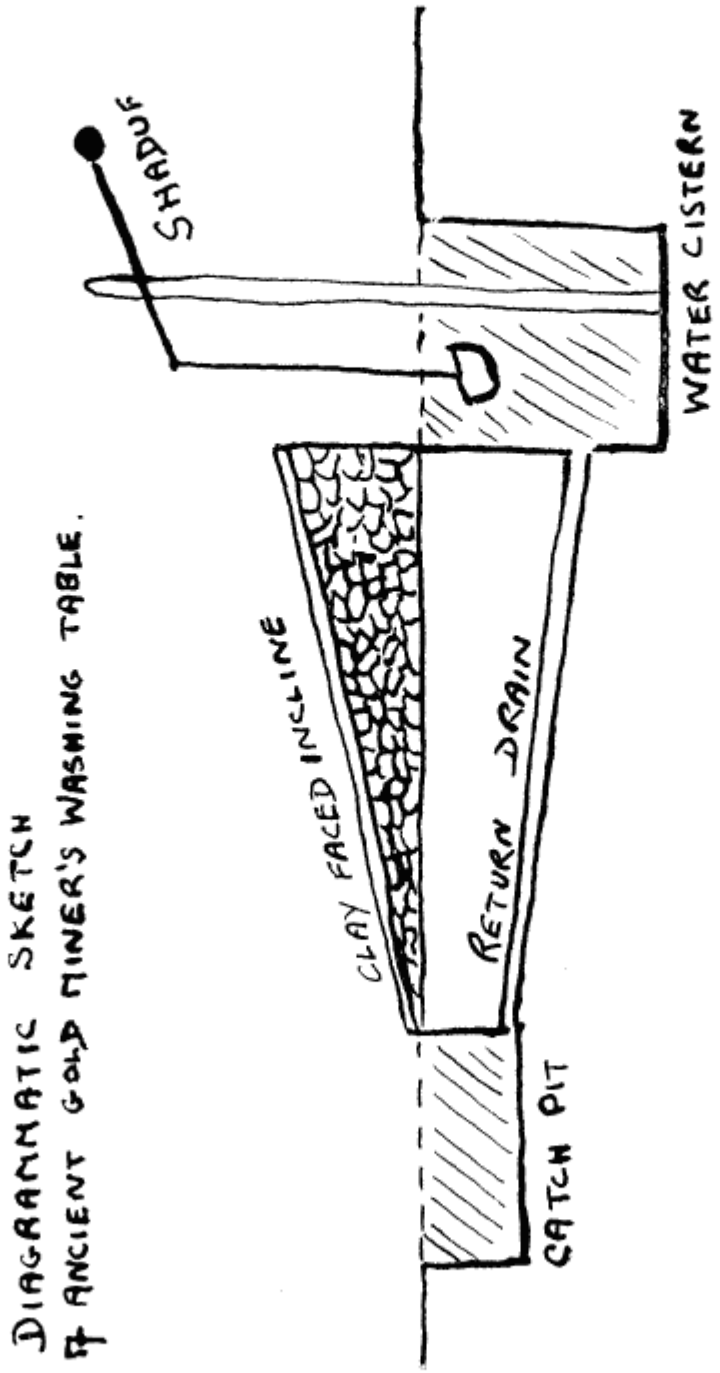
The old shaft, about twenty to thirty feet deep, was discovered, and a large quantity of uncrushed ore lay nearby. In the khors two washing tables, and several old stone buildings or huts, were found. This mine was worked for a short time but closed as it was found unprofitable. There was no good water supply near and the situation was difficult of access.

At Wadi Oyo, about fifty-five miles due west of Halaib, the old workings have been mined for some years but it was not until 1935 that another old working was found about three miles away called Makruff. Again at this place the old shaft and a large quantity of ore was found. The khors were also found to contain many old stone huts. Both at Ragabhendib and Makruff a large number of crushing stones were found.

The method of mining used by the ancients is as follows and explains the relics found at these mines :—

The shafts, following the gold-bearing reef, were sunk to a depth of up to a hundred feet or more. Wooden props were used to support the sides if necessary. The mined ore was brought to the surface, and broken up into small pieces and then handed on to the crushers. The crushers with the aid of the crushing stones reduced the ore to a fine powder. The crushing stones consisted of two pieces of granite from one to two and a half feet across. The lower stone was saucer-shaped with a central spike. The top piece was flatter and not so massive as the lower piece. It fitted over the lower piece and in addition had a hole at the periphery where a wooden handle was fitted. By means of this handle it was rotated round and round and crushed the ore to a fine powder. The ore, so crushed, was then run over a washing table where the gold was extracted.

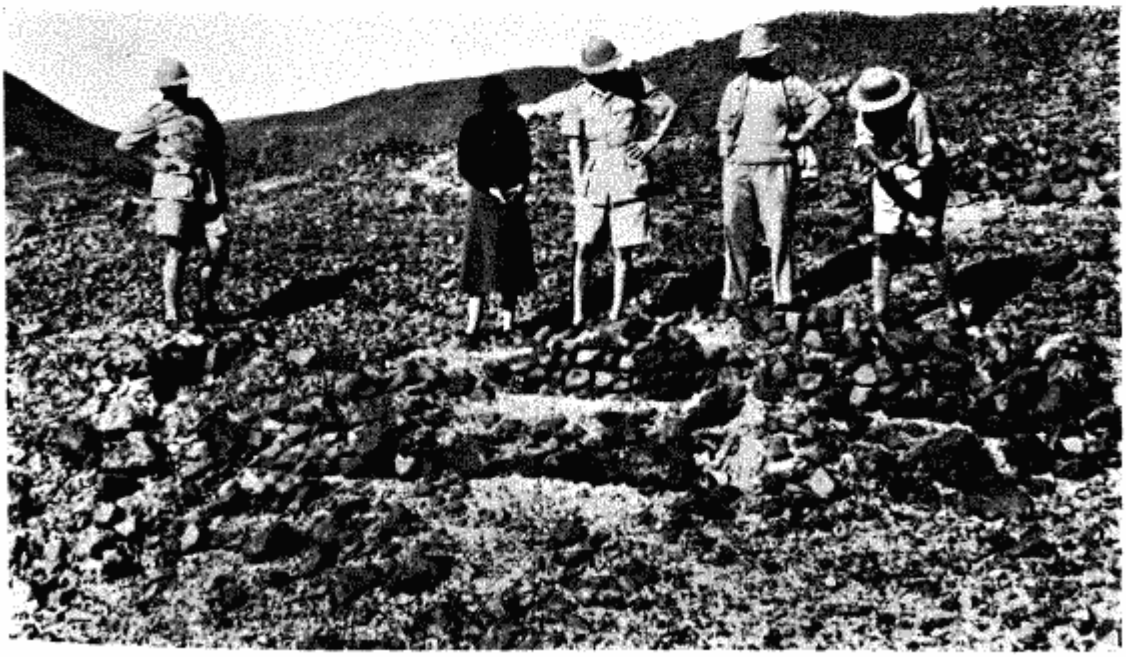
These washing tables are all of the same type (see diagram). The workman sat at the top and, by means of a type of *shaduf*, poured water over the sloping clay-surfaced table. The powdered ore was placed on the table and was washed into a lower catchment pit. The lighter parts of the ore were washed away and the heavy gold was left behind sticking to the



DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCH
OF ANCIENT GOLD MINER'S WASHING TABLE.



METHOD OF USING CRUSHING STONES.



ANCIENT WASHING TABLE FOUND AT RAGABHENDIB.



MAKRUFF MINE.
(The arrows indicate the ancient shaft, and uncrushed ore lying nearby.)



ANCIENT STONE SHELTER, WITH CRUSHING STONE. RAGABHENDIB MINE.

clay surface. The catchment pit was so placed that the water from it ran back into the original cistern, and by this means the difficulty of water shortage was overcome. The silt that collected in the catchment pit was also washed over the table again and so all the possible gold was extracted. The clay surface of the table was then scraped and the gold separated by a method similar to that of " gold panning " used by miners at the present time when testing samples of ore. The gold was then smelted with other metals in special ovens. The smelting was repeated several times until the gold was pure enough for use. Dunn mentions that at times it reached a purity of over twenty-two carats.

The small stone buildings found are interesting. They are obviously too small to have been houses as they are no more than six or eight feet in width. They must have been used as shelters by the crushers. Inside them can nearly always be found the crushing stones. Top piece crushing stones are not often found. Any crushing stone, top or lower piece, that is found is almost invariably broken so as to be useless. This has led to the theory that the workers were interrupted by invaders and broke their tools to prevent them being used again. Equally good theories are that the miners revolted against their masters, or that the armies in charge of the mines were recalled, and broke the tools before leaving.

No other mining tools or household articles were found at these mines and it is difficult to date the relics. They are similar to those found at other mines in the Red Sea hills and may be at least two thousand years old. Having seen these mines worked under modern conditions it is difficult to imagine how they produced the large amount of gold required by the ancient Egyptians.

ORDEAL BY FIRE.

By G. W. Bell.

IN his description of the ordeal by fire, as practised by the Dubab (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIX, Part I), Mr. Bolton raises the question of the use of the ordeal by the Nuba. Although there is little reason to doubt that the practice has been adopted from the Dubab, either directly or through Arab influence, the ordeal by fire was at one time well known and is still sometimes employed among purely Nuba communities in the Jebels.

In addition to the Hawazma and the Southern Kawahla, the Aulad Himeid until quite recently made use of " Yamin el Nar " in cases of adultery where the decision of the Court depended on the statement of an accused woman. A needle was picked out by the accused from a bowl of boiling fat or cow's urine, and it was believed that in cases of obvious guilt the decision would be emphasised by the liquid boiling up high over the edge of the vessel, even before the hand was plunged in. In Tegali a similar custom existed until the time of the Mahdia and was known as " Bisha'a." The taker of the oath seized the needle between finger and thumb, drew it over the top of the head from the centre of the forehead to the nape of the neck, and cast the needle away.[1]

In Tira, among a purely Nuba community, the custom is known as " Ngoro," and was recently employed. The details of the procedure differed little from the Dubab practice, and the oath was applicable to both men and women, and was used to settle difficult cases in charges of both adultery and theft. The Tira word " Ngoro " means cow's urine. I have heard of a case in Korongo, and Mr. C. W. Beer told me of one he had come across in Shatt Safiya. In both examples Arab (Baggara) influence was traceable, but the subjects of the ordeal were pure Nuba.

A form of ordeal by fire known as " Baden "[2] was commonly practised in Rashad during the early days of the Mahdia and before. The

[1] Major C. S. Jarvis. " Yesterday and To-day in Sinai."
Sir R. Burton. " Pilgrimage to Medina and Mecca," p. 109, Vol. II. " Bishaa," بشاعه to be or make hateful, to blacken, to calumniate. The noun implies the idea بشع of disgrace. The judgment of " Beit el Bisha'a " is well known, certainly west of the Nile, as the special house in which a man, whose wife has complained of his lack of virility, is compelled to prove his manhood before a witness.

[2] " Baden." Steingas's Dictionary gives as one meaning of the word بادن " a short coat of mail." It appears in Abu Tammam's Anthology " Hamasa." D.N.

word is said to mean " iron dross." An axe blade was heated until it became red-hot. The accused's left hand was grasped firmly and held at a slight slope, with the tips of the fingers about three inches below the level of the wrist. The axe blade was placed in the palm of the hand. If it rolled off it was replaced ; if it rolled off again it was replaced again ; and if after the third attempt it failed to lodge, the accused was declared innocent. The hand was rubbed with fat before the ordeal. One, Mohammed El Hajju, now living near Rashad, who successfully submitted to this ordeal many years ago, still bears a slight scar on the palm of his left hand.

There seems little reason to suppose that all these forms of the ordeal by fire, including that of the Dubab, are anything other than Arab—presumably pre-Islamic—in origin.

The conception of the ordeal as a form of oath is not, however, foreign to Africa, and two examples of what may be a type indigenous to the Nuba Mountains are worthy of note. Mr. F. D. Kingdon has recorded a case in the Allira hills, which lie between Delami and Heiban ; and further north in the Koalib area a Kujur known as Komikki conducts a similar type of ordeal for the detection of a thief. Those suspected, or in the least way connected with the crime, form a circle about the " Kujur " who holds in one hand a bowl of water and in the other hand a " Mugshasha "—a small grass brush. In turn each suspect holds out his hands, palm uppermost, and dipping the brush in the water the "Kujur" lightly passes it over them, holding the bowl below. The guilt of the criminal is exposed by a fragment of the stolen article (grain, a " tarifa," sheep's wool, etc.) appearing in the water as soon as the brush is passed over his hands.

A case recently occurred where a man, hoping to bring misfortune upon a certain woman, stole from off her wooden head pillow a small scraping of grease, and carried it to the house of the " Arro " in order to influence her fate for evil. Charged with the theft the man denied, but at the ordeal a fragment of the grease appeared in the bowl as soon as his hands were touched with the brush, and he was immediately convicted, admitting his theft.

A similar custom, together with " Yamin El Nar " is known, though seldom practised, in Tira and the Limon hills.

The usual method among the Nuba of taking the oath is upon a spear, a knife, a rifle and a hoe, and in Lafofa, a " Mufraka "—fire-stick. It is

believed that the swearer of a false oath must eventually be struck by lightning and be killed.

Finally, the Dubab of Jebel Dair are said originally to have employed a form of ordeal which appears to be in no way connected with Arab influence ; the ordeal by drinking, known as " Kalangye."[1] A large bowl of water mixed with the root of a kind of creeper known locally as " Fur," was prepared. If the accused vomited during or after the drinking of the mixture he was considered to be innocent. If he did not vomit he was declared guilty. A guilty man would be given a second bowl of the liquid to ensure his vomiting and to prevent his being poisoned. It is said that the custom has fallen into disuse owing to the death of the only man who knew how to make the secret preparation.[2]

[1] The Nuba of the Moro Hills use the same word to describe the blazes on trees which mark a cultivation boundary. It is interesting that this word, Kalangyei, occurs as the name of an old well centre in the north of Western Kordofan in an area full of pre-Arab (Nuba) antiquities. A similar name, Eshangyei, also occurs there as of a rain-pool. The basic connection is obviously water. D.N.

[2] " Encyclopædia Britannica " records that the oath by water is well-known in Guinea. The bark of the mimosa is pounded and soaked in water, producing a bright green liquor, astringent, narcotic, and when taken in sufficient quantities, an emetic. The accused drinks the liquid ; if nauseated he vomits and is declared innocent of the crime and acquitted.

See also *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 16 and 72.

SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ororo," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country.

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyireth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyireth*, for the son of a *Nyireth*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyireth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyireth*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wuo*.

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Funy (Funy clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH.

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyireth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind.

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically

employed they are being nursed by God (Shil., *mith yi Jwok*). They do not go to, come from or enter a house : they are taken to, brought from or stuffed into a house (as the case may be) by God. God is supposedly the sole motive power of such ethereal beings. Sometimes this fiction produces strange complications in the syntax, and another difficulty is that in replying you must be careful to use the ordinary word in relation to yourself, thus tacitly deprecating the idea of any divine agency as far as you are concerned.

The *Reth's* head is respectfully designated his " pebble," his pipe is his " mud," his beer is his " water " and his donkey is his " dog." When he sits on the ground he is said to have " come to anchor " (Shil., *amak*). When he gets up he is, of course, lifted by God. It seems that the terms used for royal objects are not, as might have been expected, names of things superior to the actual object, but that they are inferior substitutes. An explanation may be that in the magnificence of the royal presence the objects surrounding him lose half their natural lustre.

In the following dialogue the Shilluk expressions which would be used are translated as exactly as possible into English. If there is anything comic in it, it must be stressed that this is purely incidental to the purpose of this note (which is serious).

Scene—FASHODA. The District Commissioner stops the lorry outside the royal houseto pick up the *Reth* to take him to Kodok to meet the Governor.

D.C. (*by way of greeting*) : You have been out grazing, Father ?

RETH (*deprecatingly*) : I have slept ; have you been out to graze ?

D.C. : Yes, thank you, I have slept.

RETH : You have been brought by God ?

D.C. : I have come.

RETH : You are being nursed by God ?

D.C. : I am quite well, thank you ; now, are you ready to be taken by God to Kodok ? If so, be lifted up by God into the front seat beside me and we will be off ; . . . but wait ; have you got that thing for your pebble which the Governor-General gave you ?

RETH : Oh, I am so sorry. I have forgotten to get it. I will go and fetch it. Meanwhile, you be taken by God in the lorry to that tree, turn

round, and be brought back here again by God. I will be back here in a second.

D.C. : Be taken away by God. (*D.C. turns the lorry round and awaits the Reth.*) You have found it ? Good. Now we are off. . . . I thought you would be nursed by God in Kodok over the week-end as there are many cases I want you to see. Then you can be taken back to Fashoda by God on Monday on your dog.

RETH : Yes, I can return on Monday on my donkey.

REVIEW.

A TRIBAL SURVEY OF MONGALLA PROVINCE.

By Members of the Province Staff and of the Church Missionary Society.

Edited by L. F. Nalder.

Oxford University Press, 15s.

SINCE its discovery by Mohammed Ali's expedition in 1841, the region about Mongalla has had a history which has been marked by many vicissitudes. The depredations of the slave traders had no sooner been checked by the penetration of Baker and the administrations of Gordon and Emin Pasha than Dervish arms proved triumphant and plunged the country once more into the chaos which had enveloped it before Baker's arrival. The Dervish success was destined, however, to be short-lived, and their forces gave way to the threefold pressure of the Belgian, Uganda and Sudan Governments. Mongalla itself was not occupied until 1906 and did not give its name to what was recently known as Mongalla Province until 1914. In 1930 the transfer of headquarters was made from Mongalla to Juba and in 1936 the province lost its separate identity. The effects of the early state of practically continuous spoliation in the frenzied search for slaves, cattle and ivory have left idelible marks on the people and the country—the population has decreased, fly areas have spread, the cultivation of grain is in parts little more than sufficient for the season's needs, while the almost legendary tusks of the old hunters can be found no more, or if found, cannot be sold; but despite these influences the essential structure of village life has survived to such a degree that the anthropological enquirer can be sure that he is dealing with a traditional and not an artificial set of customs.

In the present era of tranquillity, however, there are two stronger influences at work which, so far as tribal custom is concerned, are destined to have far-reaching effects—first, the pagan tribes are beginning to be reached by the teachings of religion; second, although, happily, there is no evidence of the wholesale detribalisation under the impact of commercialism, such as is recorded, for instances, of the native of the Johannes-

burg slums, the average villager has not only found an increased spending power as the result of cotton sales but has also learned that marriage no longer depends exclusively on the family wealth in cattle. With both these forces simultaneously at work, the conventions and beliefs of centuries cannot fail to be called in question. At a time such as this, when great changes are already casting their shadows before them, the publication of a handbook setting out native beliefs, customs and superstitions is doubly opportune—it serves to record such customs while they are still of more or less universal acceptance, and will provide a reliable source of reference when problems of reconstruction arise, as indeed they must, in the altered circumstances of the near future.

The subject matter of the book not only touches on facts already accumulated, but adds very considerably to our knowledge of the Southern Sudan. The study of the Topotha and Moru breaks much new ground, and even with the comparatively familiar tribes a mass of new detail has emerged. In addition to the administrative official, to whom such knowledge will be of almost daily help and guidance, the agriculturist, the stock inspector and the doctor will find much that needs consideration both in the course of their ordinary duties and before the inauguration of new activities. Behind this publication lies not only the enthusiasm of the collaborators, who, amid many other duties, devoted much of their spare time to the prosecution of these enquiries, but also the inspiration of the author, the Governor of the Province, who first fired that enthusiasm and then devoted himself to the co-ordination of the material it yielded.

The survey has been so compiled as to appeal to two types of reader—the first part is a review of tribal life as a whole, and will interest the student of such a subject in general, while the second part amplifies these generalities and will form a valuable introduction to the habits of each tribe for the missionary or administrative official in daily contact with them. Its value lies pre-eminently in its lucid exposition of facts and the absence of any attempt to preach a particular sermon. There are two extremes of attitude towards tribal institutions: on the one hand the exploitatory school tends to regard as valueless, and therefore fit only for early demise, all habits and customs that militate against or, for that matter, do not directly promote a profitable balance sheet and is careless of the effects of commercialism on primitive tribes; on the other hand

the obscurantist would prefer to protect his tribe from what he chooses to regard as the ravages of civilization and with the same gesture deprive them of its benefits. The hideous examples of the former need no enumeration here, and the latter appears to forget that the existence of their protective glass case is only made possible as a result of the very civilization they deplore, and worse, if but one corner of the glass case is lifted, the museum pieces are in danger of crumbling to dust. To Mill's question, whether it were better to be a pig satisfied than Socrates unsatisfied, there is but one answer; the same is true of the choice between primitiveness and civilisation. There is but one rational course for the ruler to adopt, and that is of combining the teaching of new ways of life with a strengthening of such native forms as tend to a stability calculated to ensure that the tribe will assimilate the benefits of civilization rather than be disrupted by its evils.

In so far as this book may be said to point a moral, the chapter on Impact and Change suggests the adoption of this golden means as the best solution of the problems arising from the intermingling of two disparate cultures. In the absence of the Wellsian system of world-wide accountancy, it is inevitable that the African must experience the evils of the monetary system; cattle will cease to be the pledges of mutual good behaviour between husband and wife, intercommunication will break down sectional antipathies, and religion will demand a re-orientation of his ethical belief. But beneath the crust of his tribal taboos and irrational prejudices, and amid the bewildering influences, his subjection to which becomes daily more ineluctable, there has been preserved, as the author discerns, " a very marked feature of African society . . . a communal co-operative spirit which manifests itself in the clan "; and if, as he further suggests, this " can be worked into the modern fabric," then there is work to which the hand may be set, and if, transcending this, it can be sublimated to the ideal of willing service for the brotherhood of men, then something worth while will have been achieved.

A. C. B.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

While making some notes on the history of the Nyangbara, who live in the neighbourhood of Regu (Lat. 5.30, Long. 31.20) on the Terakekka-Tindalu road, the following custom came to light. These people always call their sons at birth by a girl's name. The son retains this girl's name until a daughter is born, when the daughter takes this name and the son is given a boy's name. If no daughters are born, the son retains his girl's name until he reaches puberty, when he is given a boy's name.

They could give no reason except to say it was customary.

Some of these Nyangbara, five or six generations back, hailed from a village called Mogiri (Lat. 5 ; Long. 31), but the people of Mogiri do not follow this practice.

I have not heard of any other instance of this kind, and it would be of interest to know if such a custom prevails elsewhere in the Sudan.

R. C. COOKE.

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