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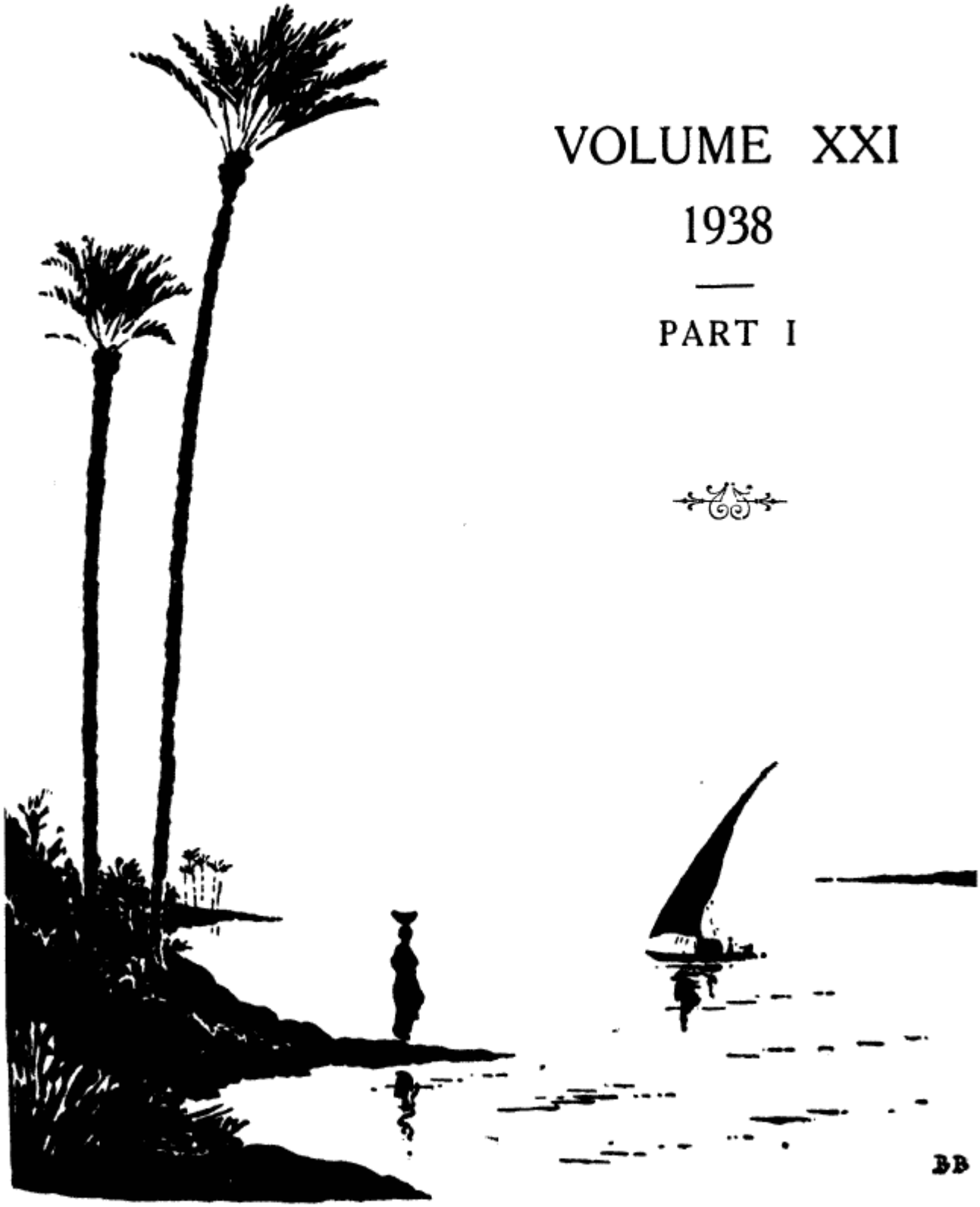
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PART I

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

VOWELS.

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

DIPHTHONGS.

ـَي—ai (as in aisle).

ـَو—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*osh.

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

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EDITORIAL.

The Index covering the first twenty volumes of Sudan Notes and Records (from 1918 to 1937 inclusive) has now been prepared. It will be published under separate cover, but will come out with the second part of this year's volume and will be issued to subscribers or sold to purchasers as an appendix to the second part. No additional charge will be made, but to cover the cost of publication it may be necessary slightly to reduce the size (and therefore the printing costs) of the second part. We feel that readers will not resent this and will appreciate the index as being a satisfactory *quid pro quo*.

This index has been compiled by Mr. F. Addison, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude, for the labour and care expended in preparing a production of so much value to subscribers and to all those interested in Sudan Notes and Records.

Readers are also asked to note that the printing of Sudan Notes and Records has for the first time been executed by the Khartoum branch of Messrs. McCorquodale and Co., and not in England. We should like to express appreciation of the high standard of production maintained by the firm's London branch. The avoidance, however, of the delays and correspondence attendant upon printing a Sudan publication in England should in future enable us to produce the two parts earlier in the year, and more regularly, than has been possible in the past.

ERRATA.

VOL. XX (1937) PART I. p. 141 lines 22 and 28 and p. 142 line 5, the name SHEIHIN should read SUWEILIM.

On p. 144, lines 10 and 12 the name ABU HARAR should read ABU HARAZ.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXI. Part I. 1938

MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE NORTHERN BEGA.

By W. T. Clark.

The Atbai tribes, the Amarar and the northern Bisharin are a peculiarly attractive people. At first acquaintance they appear silent and somewhat morose in their intercourse with Europeans but the dweller among them is sooner or later admitted to their confidence and this veneer of aloofness disappears, to be replaced by a charming and frank companionship. But as with all nomads and unsophisticated peoples one needs a *rafig*, a sponsor to vouch for one's good-faith before the Bega ' barriers ' are down. A prominent sheikh may fulfil this rule but the *rafig* par excellence is a common tribesman. Trekking through the arid *atmur* and in the high hills I have tried, where possible, to get men to talk to me of the common, diurnal life in the tents and with the flocks and on occasion a few of the young men, climbing the hills with one, chatted freely. In these short excursions far more of the intimate life of the nomad hillmen is revealed than in months of routine meetings with the tribal notables.

One great obstacle to complete understanding is the language problem. It is impossible to achieve the intimacy and mutual confidence essential to sympathetic administration without a fair knowledge of Bedawi and this, after three years, I was only beginning to acquire. Even so, I have thought it worth while to record the scraps of information acquired casually in conversation or by observation. They are not from the note-book of a trained anthropologist and the sum-total of the information is possibly, from a

scientific point of view, of little value. But in the belief that whatever serves to increase the points of contact between the European and the native is of value, I have put together these notes.

A word must first be said of the physical aspect of the Atbai. There are the Atmur, the great open plains, where after rain, camels, goats and sheep graze and in the wadi beds a sparse grain crop is raised. Stunted acacias grow here and there and near the water courses the larger trees mark the path of the rain channels. The horizon is usually broken by small, dark hills, so denuded by periodical rains and so desiccated by perennial heat of the sun that they carry scarcely any vegetation. Shade is almost non-existent and summer and winter bring extremes of heat and of cold to these vast expanses. But about them the air is dry and bracing and the winds come sweeping lustily—sometimes burning and sand-laden, sometimes coolly, with the earthy smell of proximate rain, and sometimes with the chill, biting, raw tang of the north-east. In every mood the Atbai is austere but there is always beauty in its austerity, in the line of the hills, the monochromes of desert and sky and the incredible loveliness of dawns and sunsets. The dweller in these solitudes is of a piece with the landscape, hardy, spare, and aloof with a fine independence of spirit. In Haieit and Oko I have been, more than once, impressed by the longevity of the old men. They are so toughened that one feels they can never die. At meetings they outnumber the young men by three to one and their grasp of affairs is firm and unrelaxing.

But the crowning glory of the Atbai is the strip of Red Sea Coast between Port Sudan and Halaib. Here are the high hills and the sea, separated only by a narrow plain. After the winter rains tribal life is centred on this plain and as summer approaches the concentration of tribes disintegrates and each clan and family seeks its native hill valley. Right in the heart of the hills, sometimes above 4,000 ft. small glens are tucked away, each with its running water, and tree and grass grazing for camels, sheep and goats. In Erba, Asotriba, Shellal and Elba* there are famous retreats of this nature, and it is no uncommon sight to find camels, sure-footed as ibex, grazing on the herbage of precipitous slopes and screes. Occasionally they are tempted by a more succulent bush to essay too risky a scramble

*Mountains of circa 7,000 feet high, from one hundred to two hundred miles north of Port Sudan.—Ed.

and a fall, with consequent broken limbs, is the result. Then the neighbouring folk climb to the scene of the accident, and the too venturesome beast is slaughtered to provide an 'al fresco' meal.

Of the early history of these northern Bega tribes very little is definitely known but a great deal has been surmised. They are accounted Hamites and indigenous Africans. Early in the 19th century Bukckhardt wrote of the Bisharin :—"The inhospitable character of the Bisharin would alone prove them to be a true African race, were it not put beyond all doubt by their language." The Bedawie has been classed with Galla and Masai, (there are possible other kindred African languages) to both of which tongues it has some affinities. It has an ordered and rigid structure and a vast vocabulary, indicative of an old and well-developed culture. As far as I know no comparative study of Bedawiet and the language of the Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions has ever been made but when this is done it is very possible that a close relationship will be discovered. The Bega are reputed to be the descendants of those proto-Egyptians, who with the desiccation of the *atmur* of Lower Egypt, moved south-east in search of pastoral conditions approximating to those from which the slow process of climatic change was driving them. They found new homes in the area of the Red Sea hills and in the plains of Taka. The Nazir of the Amarar once remarked to me that their mode of circumcision and the custom among the women of plaiting sheeps wool into their hair were survivals from the time of the Pharoahs.

In the intervening centuries neither their racial purity nor their Hamitic culture have remained untouched. The Red Sea has at no time been an impassable barrier and seafarers from Arabia must, from the earliest times have made visits to the African coast. There may have been fights with the Bega in which the Arabs gained some small initial advantage but the general indications are that their infiltration was gradual and friendly. This semitic element quickly acquired influence and position by inter-marriage with Bega women who occupied an important position in their own matriarchally organised society. It is my opinion that this Arabian influx was considerable. With it, in due course, came Islam and *pari passu* a

change from matrilinear succession to the standard pattern of the Semitic patrilinear system. But the Beja language and Hamitic modes of thought survived, taught by Beja mothers to their half-Arab progeny, the children of Guhayna and Rabia adventurers. It is to the conservative, and often reactionary, influence of the women that the survival of considerable remnants of the earlier culture is due.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE ATBAI BEGA.

The dwellers in the Atbai give one an impression of general spiritual and intellectual inertia. Physically, too, although they are hardy and capable on occasion of great and sustained exertion, they are neither over-active nor industrious. Mr. Sandars has attributed this to their meagre diet of milk and dura but I am inclined to seek the cause in exterior factors in that they have been subjected to no stimuli from the outside world. These peoples have for centuries never been raided; the monotonous tenor of their life has been interrupted by the centrifugal explosions comparable to the dynamic Asian burstings of the desert into the sown. For two thousand years their greatest problems have been the raising of their animals and their safe migration from one area of grazing to another and their most violent excitements an occasional sword fight among themselves or with their kindred sections. This mode of life causes no mental unrest and gives rise to no vain philosophical speculations.

Even Islam sits lightly on their consciences: they are not completely irreligious but they are not devout. The prayers of the hillmen are perfunctory and to a great extent not comprehended by the worshipper; Ramadan is little regarded and although they are neighbours of the 'Haramein' the pilgrimage is rarely made and the title of *Hag* exacts reverence. What a contrast to the West African pilgrim who is prepared to endure every peril and every hardship to reach the sacred places of a foreign cult!

I was told of a Mohgen man who married his dead father's wife. When this abominable action became known to the sheikhs, the heretics were immediately separated. Years later the present Nazir

taxed the man, grown old, with this infraction of Koranic law and the culprit admitted his guilt excusing himself with the plea that the woman was young and personable and it seemed a shame to let her charms out of the family.

There are two sub-sections of the Hannar Bisharin, the Agmab and the Abdel Nafaab, the former of whom are, for an Atbai clan, inclined to be devout while the latter affect to despise them for their pseudo-religiosity, and they have been known to say that they refused to pray in the orthodox way, " smelling the ground like gazelles " and they had often obscene abuse for their pious relatives.

HABITS OF OBSERVATION AND EXPRESSION.

The Atbai mode of life gives the nomad a very great deal of leisure and it is his habit to observe the actions, words, attitudes and absurdities of others and his amusement to comment upon them. Thus he sharpens his powers of observation and of expression. In the slender shade of an acacia or by the evening fire the tribesman takes his guitar (called in Bedawiet *basonkw*) and sings the praise of his animals or the disparagement of some neighbour, by reciting his foibles with a wealth of minutely observed detail.

THEIR IMMORALITY.

In the intercourse between the sexes they are regrettably promiscuous and immoral.* Venereal disease is widespread throughout the Atbai and I have heard a sheikh who came from the more regular-living riverain Bisharin deplore the adverse effect that this factor has on the birthrate. The Nazir was very reluctant to allow one of his brothers to marry among the Um Ali Bisharin as a result of the notorious looseness of their morals. Mohamed Sherif Saad, the Amarar *'alim*, has bewailed the increasingly frequent matrimonial disputes brought for his hearing, where husbands claim the customary *' hashm el beit '* from the paramours of their wives. Many wounding affrays are the result of the husband's finding his faithless wife with her lover. He uses his knife, not to kill, but merely to mark the trespasser, and this mark is valuable evidence when the case comes before the

*c.f. an extract from Kitchener's reports, " The Amarar and the Belkab(a section of the Bisharin) are the most handsome and the most immoral of the Bega."—Ed.

tribal sheikhs for the settlement of the '*hashm el beit*,' the customary damages, which amount to £E. 8. The woman is rarely divorced nor does she appear to be punished in any way, either corporally or by the stigma of public opinion. On one occasion an outraged husband came to me displaying in his hand an exceedingly dirty pair of trousers which he alleged belonged to his wife's lover, whom he had surprised in his house but who had got away unmarked, but also unclothed. The husband was even able to laugh at the dilemma of the man who had made him a cuckold.

DOMESTIC LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

Houses.

The nomadic life calls for a lightly constructed and portable house, and throughout the Atbai the universal type of dwelling is the *bidaigau* or 'bursh' matting house. The erection and dismantling of the house is the women's work. It is not the man's concern and it is considered somewhat of a disgrace for him to take part in this work unless it is the building of a house for a guest or a sick man, occasions when it is not proper for the women to appear. The component parts of this house are described below. The *zigaf* is a finely woven bursh-matting which forms the inside roof of the house. It stretches between the two extreme supports known as the *ugau uhumar* and is covered by a large and more coarsely woven mat (*imbade*). The side walls are usually of '*Shamlas*,' blankets woven of goats hair and sheep's wool, and are known as *Kujra*. The east wall is customarily a gray *shamla* of sheep's wool and the back-wall is a black *shamla* of goats hair. The house opens usually to the East. This is the general arrangement but there are variations and the rule is not standard. Furniture is of the simplest; the *imbade* or small bed of finely split date-palm fronds which lies over the large bed (*ti d'hasari*). There are the usual camel trappings, water-skins, milk-skins, bowls, coffee utensils and occasionally leather work decorated with cowrie shells. During the *kharif* when the people are following the grass the houses are low and small; in the winter and early summer when people are comparatively sedentary they

are lofty and spacious. They are rain-proof to a remarkable degree and from this point of view compare very favourably with the hair-tents of the Rashaida which are quickly penetrated by rain and when wet, emit a most disagreable odour.

The major occasions of life, birth, circumcision, betrothal, marriage and death are all marked by various rites and observances, and these offer a fruitful field for study.

BIRTH.

Among the Bisharin a fire is kept burning for forty days and nights outside the house in which a birth has taken place. I have also heard the period specified as only seven days. An Amarar informant told me that a fire is not essential, a lighted lamp will do as well. Nor is it necessary that the fire or lamp should be lit by day. It is sufficient to light it just before sunset and it should be kept burning till after sunrise. The object of this is to keep away the *ginns* from the mother, who, with the blood of child-birth on her is esteemed unclean and particularly vulnerable to the activities of these spirits.

After the child has been born the women attendant at the birth, in the case of a man-child, take the afterbirth and the oddments of cloth used and make their way with rhythmical chants to some neighbouring tree, in the branches of which, they deposit their burden. On the occasions that I have heard such processions I have been unable to distinguish the words of the chant, save for the refrain *or 'ok nafasai*. When a girl is born the same procedure is followed except that the women go about their business silently. At the father's house, on their return, the women and all the neighbours are feasted. The Nazir of the Bisharin, speaking of the customs of the riverain Bisharin, said that among them the women buried the afterbirth, and there was no processional chant. The birth of a boy was greeted with the 'lu-luing' of the women, but a girl silently.

NAMING OF CHILD.

Seven days after the birth of a boy the ceremony of his naming is performed. At the only occasion of this sort that I attended the child's father was absent and his cousin was acting for him. A sheep

was slaughtered and as the knife was drawn across its throat a formula was pronounced naming the child, and his forbears and admitting him to the community of Islam. The father is not allowed to see his child for a month, nor must he approach the mother till a period of forty days has elapsed.

CIRCUMCISION.

Among the Amarar and Bisharin both boys and girls are circumcised as babies. In the case of boys the operation is a simple one performed with string and a razor, the wound being dressed with warm fat. There are special men who perform the operation and they are rewarded with 5 or 10 P.T. and the ribs of the *karama* slaughtered.

ADOLESCENCE.

When a boy is sufficiently old to graze the small animals, *i.e.*, sheep and goats, alone, he is given a knife, and later, at the age of 14 or 15 he is promoted to the dignity of bearing sword and shield—the distinctive symbols of manhood and the proudest possessions of these hill-men.

As a preliminary to describing marriage customs, a brief note on the status of women among these tribes is relevant. They retain little of the respect and importance that was theirs in the early days of Bega culture, but they are neither worse nor better off than the generality of Sudanese Arab women. When they misbehave they are rarely punished. I once wished to try criminally a notoriously promiscuous young woman whose amours had antagonised two Bisharin sections and had twice caused affrays with severe wounds. The Bisharin notables were appalled at the suggestion and offered to punish her privately. When asked what punishment they proposed, the reply was that the offending woman's hair should be cut off and she should be set to grinding the corn! Their point of view is that women are always prepared to accept the advances of men, this is their nature and they are not, therefore to be blamed. They must, consequently, be secluded and closely guarded so that opportunities for such encounters are reduced to a minimum or completely prevented.

At forty, a woman is no longer fit to take to a man's bed. She becomes " *Umm el 'aiyal,*" the mother of the family. A superstition is widely prevalent that if a man has intercourse with a woman after the menopause he does himself great harm, and seventy of his veins are dried up. Among the Arteiga this superstitution is not held. The Bisharin believe, and they are not alone in this theory, that a young wife is able to transmit some of her own youth to an elderly husband but that in the process her own youth quickly fades.

The treatment of women among the Rashaida is very different from the Bisharin and the latter account themselves superior to the former in that, among them (the Bisharin) no woman is allowed to milk the animals (and ordinarily she does not graze them), they are not beaten, and the system of bartering girls, whereby one Rashaidi weds without dowry the sister of a second Rashaidi to whom he has given his own sister in exchange is held in abhorrence. But nevertheless, the Bisharin might well follow the Rashaida lead in certain respects since some of their women richly deserve punishment and did they take a more prominent part in the work of animal herding, the Bisharin might hope to compete on more equal terms with the Rashaida expansion which threatens their *dar*.

The daily life of the Bega woman is a dull routine. In the early morning she brews coffee, not for her husband or her children, but for herself and her cronies who sit over this gossiping together. Their manual work is light—they decorate leather-work with shells, weave *shamlas*, prepare ornaments for the *utfa*—the gay caparisonings for the camel which carries them on ceremonial occasions and when they move house. They make, too, the *serir*—the bed of date-fronds tied with strips of hide which is an ubiquitous article of furniture. In the *kharif* when milk is plentiful they prepare *semn* in skins.

In one respect Bega women suffer a severe limitation. This is in the inheritance of tribal land in which they are not allowed to share. The object of this prohibition is plain, and is the result of a state of affairs similar to that which exercised " the tribe of the sons of Joseph " until Moses stipulated that marriage must be confined

strictly within the tribe itself.* (Numbers 36. 1-9.) As far back as 1326 Ibn Batuta wrote " we came to the town of Aidhab, the inhabitants of which are Bega who are black. Among these people the daughter never succeeds to the property."

Of late years the Bega have been questioning this prohibition, particularly the Amarar who are a sturdy and expanding people and Mohammed Sherif Saad has tentatively suggested that this ruling is not according to the 'sharia law' and cannot be upheld. He is in a minority but the question, once having been raised, will not easily be shelved until some new solution is found.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The preliminaries to marriage are much the same as among the Arabs of the Northern Sudan. First cousins are usually married and an eligible male must be consulted before his paternal uncle's daughter is married to a stranger or to a man less closely related to her than himself.

The *sadag* and the gifts customarily offered by a prospective bridegroom to his bride's relatives are carefully regulated. They comprise gifts of arms, clothes and animals. A minimum gift among the Bisharin/Aliab is three camels and three sheep—1 camel and 1 sheep to the girl's mother, one camel and one sheep to her father (*tamaneil*) and a similar offering to the eldest of her maternal uncles. A pregnant naga is provided, to be shared by the groom and bride at the outset of their married life. As a preliminary to asking the girls' hand in marriage the would-be suitor offers a small gift—some coffee, sugar, or fat goats. This is known as the *hakur* and if the donor's suit is not accepted he is entitled to sue for its return.

The bridal house is built by the women of the neighbourhood. Before commencing on the work they sometimes prepare a dish of dates and put therein a silver or gold ring. Any unsuspecting male, be he relative or stranger, who comes near them while they are about

*If women inherited land as their own property, then such land would be liable to leave the tribe's possession when a woman married into another tribe.—Ed.

this work is presented with the dish and he is bound to eat. He is likewise bound to make a contribution to the woman who offers the dish and this is subsequently converted into food and drink for the ensuing festivities. This device for mulcting the passer-by is well-known and the men keep carefully away when they know that a bridal house is building.

The new bursh mats are sometimes decorated with lines and circular devices painted on them with red stone crushed and mixed with milk. But the culminating ornament to the marriage house is the *sankwahakūr*. This is made of the young leaves from the heart of the dom palm tied with black, white and brown wool, somewhat after the fashion of a fly-whisk. To it are attached miniature tethering ropes for camels and boy's sandals. This is prepared by the women and placed over the entrance of the house where it remains for 2 years or more, until it has completely disintegrated. The *sankwab* is a valuable charm—it brings luck, and the small ropes and sandals are to ensure that the camels increase and that men-children bless the union, "and if" said my informant "you have both she camels and men-children what more can you ask of a beneficent deity?" Only in the case of people being married for the first time is the *sankwab* prepared.

Divorce proceedings follow the standard Arab pattern save in one respect. There is a custom in vogue here known as *Ta'alig* which is in effect a kind of provisional divorce in which the husband divorces his wife but makes certain conditions, which, if not adhered to, invalidates the divorce. He may stipulate that she shall not marry a certain man, usually a man with whom she is suspected of having had illicit relations prior to the divorce and whose appearance on the scene is possibly the cause of the disagreement between husband and wife. In some cases impossible conditions are imposed and the lady is forced in spite of herself to an irregular union. One of the Bisharin Omdas once stipulated that his divorced wife could only remarry on payment to him of two camels of a type that could not survive in his country where their main diet of *arak* is not found. This practice, has no foundation in Koranic law.

RESPECT FOR PARENTS-IN-LAW.

As in many other primitive societies parents-in-law are held in exaggerated respect. One may not sit in the company of one's father-in-law and one's mother-in-law is on all occasions avoided. In December 1934 a Bisharin/Aliabi committed suicide by hanging and the circumstances attending this unusual method of felo-de-se were mysterious. The suicide was not at first reported by the Omda and he was fined in consequence. Eventually it transpired that this man had asked for the daughter of a certain man in marriage and her father had agreed. Subsequently malicious people whispered to the father that his prospective son-in-law had been guilty of adultery with his wife—*i.e.*, the future mother-in-law. Naturally the father was was reluctant to believe this tale but rumours persisting he taxed his daughter's suitor with this offence. The man was horrified at the mere suggestion—the mother-in-law among these people being held in such awe that even to see her is misfortune—and he went to his house, selected a leather thong and going to a lonely spot he straightway hanged himself.

BASTARDS.

A corollary to the widespread sexual promiscuity of the Atbai people is the lack of social stigma attaching to bastards and their begetters. Such children take their mother's name and their mother's people claim them, if males, as full tribesmen. Among some of the Bisharin if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant she sometimes singles out an eligible male and names him as her seducer. This man may then, if he wishes, pay a camel to the girl's people and take the girl and her child. Her value in the marriage market is considerably reduced and this device has upon occasion been resorted to by girls anxious to marry away from their family's choice. This custom is known as *mahar*. A Hadendowi once applied to me for custody of a son born to his ex-wife 5 years subsequently to his divorcing her. His request was backed up with a judgment from the tribal ulema giving him the custody. Their version of the Sharia was that since she had contracted no legal marriage in the interim any child born within 8 years of her divorce should be considered legitimate and

the child of her divorced husband. The Amarar to whom the woman in question belonged strongly disputed the judgment since they could not bear to contemplate a potentially useful Amararawi transformed into a possibly inimical Hadendowi!

Mourning and Burial Customs.

Along the river Atbara where the Bisharin have been in contact with purely Arab tribes I noticed that the graves were marked with beds of white pebbles surrounded by bands of black stones. The graves of children are marked with black pebbles only. The white pebbles before they are strewn on the graves are prayed over and consecrated by the recitation of verses from the Koran (*tasbih*) but the black stones are *tashkil*, unconsecrated and put there only as a relief to the white.

Between seven and nine days after the death of a tribesman friends in the immediate neighbourhood come to offer their condolences. If the deceased is a person of consequence invitations are despatched far and near to the big 'wake' which takes place 40 days after his death. Friends and notables congregate from all directions and there is great feasting. A year later on the anniversary of the death, a third and more select gathering of the immediate relatives and friends of the deceased occurs and when this disperses the mourning is at an end.

The Ceremonial Beating of the Nahas.

Among the Amarar the nearest relative of the deceased rides his camel without the usual rug or *farwa* for some months after the death and if the deceased is a member of the chief's family the tribal *Nahas* after a ceremonial beating is not sounded again for a year. It may be recorded incidentally that this is one of the three occasions in tribal life when the '*Nahas*' is beaten. The others are a summons to war and a festive occasion concerning the whole tribe. The *nahas* is never beaten casually since its effect on the people, even on respectable greybeards, is stimulating in the extreme and swords are drawn and blood flows on the slightest provocation. There are various well-

known rhythms. The *Ansar nahas* was beaten to the rhythm of '*El Din Mansur*' and I am told that the tribal *nahas* of the Shukria resounds to a rhythm akin to the galloping of horses.

SUPERSTITIONS.

It is a matter of no surprise that superstitions are rife among these peoples, nor is any one, from the most enlightened sheikh to the unsophisticated nomad of the remotest corners of the Atbai, free from beliefs of this nature. Late in 1933 a notable example occurred on the Atbara when Sheikh Mahmud Kerar, the best educated and most well informed man among the Bisharin was subjected to a malignant spell while sojourning in the Khalwa of Sheikh Husein wad Hashi, an eminent '*feki*.' As he slept a triangular piece of his clothing was cut away and he was sprinkled with some liquid resembling ink. He was much frightened and indignant and he worried to such an extent over the incident that his health suffered considerably. As chance would have it a more than usually severe attack of the fever endemic on the river which followed closely upon the incident, convinced him that the spell was not only evil but effective. It was found impossible to disabuse his mind of the idea that he had been bewitched, if not by Wad Hashi himself, with whom in fact his relations were not of the friendliest, then by some Khalwa pupil instigated thereto by his sheikh. The affair was only settled by the removal lock, stock, and barrel of the Wad Hashi Mesgid from within the Bisharin boundaries since Wad Hashi was either unwilling or unable to produce the perpetrator of the outrage. In the eyes of the tribesman the sanctity of the house and the privileged position of a guest is such that the incident was regarded by them with feelings little short of horror the evil nature of the spell being enhanced a hundred fold by the site of its enactment.

JINNS AND SHAWATIN.

Belief in *Jinns* and *shawatin* is universal and I have spoken to people who are sincerely convinced that they have encountered these spirits. In no case have I heard of a benevolent *Jinn*. Their activities are usually evil and harmful to men and many charms are worn to

counteract their influence. Among the Atbai peoples certain tribes are reputed to have *Jinns* in subjugation. The Monassir, the Gerreb, and an almost extinct section of the Eraiab, the Mohammedai, are credited with power over the *jinns*. They can raise whirlwinds that obliterate their tracks and when they so desire their houses assume the aspect of trees to a searcher. But the exercise of these powers is accompanied by certain adverse effects and these people are reputed to be of miserable aspect and impotent to raise large families. Among the Eraiab I have chanced on men with fair skin and blue eyes and I have been told that they are the offspring of unions with *Jinns*.

Jinns are for the most part invisible but they take shape in the eyes of three classes of people :

(1) The ' masters of the rod,' those people who know the ancient names for the subjugation of the *Jinn*.

(2) Those, other than the preceding category, who dabble in spells, and

(3) Those who are themselves about to be overtaken by the evil influence of the *Jinns*.

The *Jinns* haunt the fireplace, the threshold and the rubbish heap and they frequently deposit their infants in these places. It thus behoves one to be particularly careful of such places since should one stumble unawares on a *jinn*, illness is the inevitable result and one may contract the disease known as *dabal* as a result of this contact. The *laseit* creeper frequently found growing over *sayals* in the Atbai is also a favourite resort of *jinns*. Sunrise and sunset are the times when these spirits are most active and they are kept off with fires and prayer. Twins are particularly liable to the attacks of *jinns* and they must be carefully protected from their influence. After an animal has been slaughtered if twins are present they must be given of the meat to eat or the *jinns* may transform them into dogs. One case was reported to me where a man had thrown a stone at a dog prowling round a hill and next morning one of a pair of twins was found with bruised hand and broken fingers. The inference was abundantly plain to the people relating the story. *Jinns* may assume the forms of various animals but the lion and the crocodile are never

their resort. A particularly obnoxious *jinniya* is known as *Silut*. She has the form of a personable woman and she delights to seduce young men whom she visits while they sleep. She has the reputation also of being a voracious eater of meat and sometimes her head opens and she crams meat in through the crown of her head. A mode of insulting address among the Bega is ' you son of Silut.'

I propose to recount four of the many instances brought to my notice of the activities of *jinns*. The Omda of the Amarar/Fadlab was stricken with paralysis, a disease known among the Bega as *To-terabet*—the half—since one side of the body is completely paralysized. This condition can be dealt with by a very few only, of the *fugara*, since it is attributed to the influence of *jinns*. The Omda was firmly convinced that his condition was directly attributable to the *jinns* since he was stricken down shortly after a visit to the Gash and the river Atbara, localities notoriously infested with *jinns*.

The Nazir of the Bisharin has related to me two incidents in which he has come into contacts with *jinns*. On one occasion at sunset wishing to enquire about local news in the district through which he was travelling he saw a woman seated beneath a tree. As he approached her she disappeared into the ground and he knew her for a *jinniya*. In April, 1936 the Nazir was thrown violently from a favourite camel and sustained severe facial injuries. The camel at the time was halted when it suddenly shied, broke the girth and threw the Nazir, who was talking to a Rashaidi. Three days later this particular Rashaidi went mad and the Nazir then realized that his camel's sudden wildness was due to its having seen a *jinn* in the Rashaidi.

A man of the Nefeidab was one night riding through the dom forest near his village when he dimly descried a woman walking ahead of him. He thought it strange to see a woman alone in the forest at that hour of the night and hailed her. She immediately plunged into the forest and suspecting her to be a *shaitan* he exclaimed *Bismillahi* and proceeded to recite the *Fatihah*. The woman flew into the tree tops which crackled and broke and the man is convinced to this day that he had had a narrow escape from the *jinns* who haunt these forests.

SORCERY.

Of sorcery, pure and simple, I have heard little and its practice is regarded with unmitigated disapproval and contempt. Two examples which have come to my notice are as follows :—

(1) A SPELL TO BRING DISSENSION BETWEEN MAN AND WIFE.

A man named Mohammed must catch a chameleon and a man named Ali cut off its head. This is dried and powdered, and mixed with donkey dung. The mixture is then deposited underneath the bed or sprinkled near the house of the couple whose future happiness is to be jeopardised.

(2) A SPELL TO KILL ONE'S ENEMY.

A dung beetle is wrapped in a piece of cloth cut from the clothing of the person against whom the spell is directed and his name written thereon. It is then buried or burned and as it decays or is consumed the bewitched person falls ill and dies.

ZAAF SUPERSTITIONS.

In relating the marriage customs of the Amarar and Bisharin mention was made of the *Sankwahakur*. There are other superstitions concerning *Zaaf*, or leaves of the dom palm, practised among these people. One frequently notices *Zaaf* bracelets on the wrists of elderly men. These are put on at the *Dahiya* and renewed at each subsequent *Dahiya*. They are regarded as a talisman to prolong life. The Nazir of the Amarar told me that it was an old custom among them at the installation of any new sheikh to splash him with milk and *dihn*, using for this purpose *zaaf* brushes similar to those tied over the house of a newly-wedded couple.

THE MOON.

The moon and the stars have a vast lore of their own. The latter are grouped in *manzils* and their rising and setting are known since they usher in various periods of heat, or cold, or rain, or mist. From the position and inclination of the new moon the Bega draw omens of good or ill fortune for the ensuing month.

SWORDS.

The sword is the distinctive badge of manhood and its possession is striven after by every tribesman. The eldest son inherits his father's sword and there are still extant in the Atbai blades of fine steel and delicate workmanship. In the absence of an inherited sword the first purchase of the young tribesman is as good a sword as he can afford. Among the types of sword seen in the Atbai are :

(1) Sulimani Daud—the blade has three parallel grooves, the centre one of which is prolonged to the point while the flanking grooves are cut short.

(2) Sulimani abu shabeish—similar to No. 1 but the part of the blade near the handle is decorated with engraved scrollings.

(3) El Kar—a single groove running down the blade from handle to point.

(4) Dukkeri abu Dubban—the blade has a short central groove and carries three marks known as *dubbana, nugara* and *'asad.*

The tassel tied to the handle is known as *El Jedla,* the cross piece is *El bershem,* the small protuberance at the end of the handle *El Toma* and the handle itself *El Gaim.* Swords are well kept and they are constantly greased with *semn* or *dihn.* It is popularly believed that when a sword is rubbed with sheeps' brains its edge is thereby sharpened and the wound it inflicts will not heal easily. Goats' brains on the other hand have a contrary effect as regards the wound which is alleged to heal quickly. Some swords have a tribal reputation as for example the sword *Bashamish* belonging to Sheikh Ahmed Kerar El Fekak of the Bisharin/Ibrahimab and Um Murhaka the famous sword of the sheikhly Hamdab section of the Bisharin. This is reputed to have fallen from the roof of a house on to a slave woman who was grinding corn. Not only did it cleave the unfortunate woman apart but it split the grinding stone in two !

JOURNEYS.

A number of superstitions are current about days propitious for the beginning of a journey. The last Thursday in the month, known locally as *kundi* is an ill-omened day to set forth on any journey or undertaking and no Amararawi or Bishari will in any circumstances leave on this day. Friday, too, is not a favourable day to leave home. The expression used is that it is *tagil* implying that one setting out on such a day is likely to be much troubled and delayed before again reaching the haven of his home. Among the Arteiga and Hadendowa Wednesday is regarded as the unlucky day on which to start a journey.

CULTIVATION.

Cultivation and husbandry have never been major occupations in Atbai life. The exacting routine of animal herding and the exigencies of climate and terrain effectually preclude these Bega from ever becoming predominantly an agricultural people even in an age when their favourite camel is rapidly losing its high commercial value of the days prior to the spread of mechanical transport. When some fortunate rain falls and the Khors spate from the hills the Tribesman scatters a little seed and without cleaning or fencing his plot abandons it and hopes three months later to return to harvest the fruit of his labours. Stray camels (and in the Atbai herdsmen rarely attend their animals), find and devour this unexpected succulence to the high indignation of its owner who then considers himself entitled to preposterously exaggerated compensation from the animal owners. The whole process affords ample opportunity for acrid litigation and the exchange of venomous and obscene abuse with the eventual rendition of nominal compensation or with a general pardon and thus the Atbai nomad reaps where he has sown.

Even the Atbara Bisharin, who for eight generations have been settled along the river Atbara where the rich alluvial islands might reasonably be expected to have produced in them a tendency to the agricultural habit of life, are poor and idle cultivators.

In the Bisharin Butana they have fine wadi lands where the business of cultivation is reduced to a minimum and the harvest is phenomenally heavy when rainfall is even moderate. They thus tend to ignore their river lands where the preliminaries of cleaning and tillage are onerous. Frequently in waiting for adequate rain in the Butana to bring to maturity the seed planted after the early rains they miss irretrievably the opportunity of river cultivation and are faced with straightened circumstances in the following year. But in this case experience does not teach. They sit in the exiguous shade of their prized acacias watching their attenuated herds at graze, priding themselves that they are the conquering Bisharin, feudal overlords of countless leagues of country exempted for all time from the degrading necessity of manual labour. This 'backward gaze' is one of the hardest factors to combat in their tribal existence and to the man who has to help in their administration one that is peculiarly irritating.

In the Atbai grain has for the most part to be purchased. Some people provide themselves from the Atbara and the Nile, others buy imported grain at the coastal villages of Halaib and Mohammed Ghul. On the Atbara however the Bisharin are for the most part self-supporting and the raising of grain crops plays a regular part in the year's routine. They have thus acquired certain customs in this connection in all probability from their Arab neighbours to the South.

Before the sowing of their rain crops a *karama* sacrifice is made on the spot. A bull, a *naga*, a sheep or a goat is slaughtered according to the extent of the area to be sown or the wealth of the cultivator. In the extensive wadis near the Atbara the *Karama* sacrifice is substantial and will feast a large gathering. To procure good rains the Bisharin sometimes set up a gaily caparisoned *utfa* (the camel *howdah* in which women are borne) at which the men gallop on their camels, circling it at speed while the women give voice to their ear-splitting *zagharit*. Another custom is to observe a self imposed fast and a third, among the more pious and learned *Muslimin* is the "full-dress" ceremonial of 'prayers for rain,' the reading of a good half of the Koran and innumerable prostrations.

When the time of harvest arrives a certain date is fixed for the cutting of the grain. Each man is anxious not to be the last and for once they work with a will. As a man finishes his cutting he shouts to his neighbour who is yet at work *El Arneb ga'at'ak*—" the hare is now with you " And so the play proceeds until the ultimate sluggard is left with the hare and laughed at for his pains. As far as I could gather no great significance was attached to this custom but it bears a marked analogy to the corn-spirit myths and customs recorded by Frazer as occurring to this day in certain parts of Europe.

ANIMAL LORE.

Primarily the Atbai folk are animal herders and the care of their flocks with its accompanying customs is possibly the most fruitful field of study among them.

The camel takes pride of place in their domestic economy and its life cycle is meticulously divided up and named. The following is a table of the camel's age from infancy to maturity. Until it attains a year it is known as *Ewab* and up to six months it is also called *Baidi*. At one year it is named *Shuweih 'or*—at two *batabun* ; at three *hig*, among the Amarar and among the Bisharin *oseib* and *hi'ib* ; At four *hamashkwireib* ; at five *male kwireib* ; at six *edig nateib*; at seven *assagwir nateib* ; at eight *Talawab* or *Yitalw*. Henceforward it is a grown camel.

In the branding of their camels they follow Arab practice. It is indeed a fascinating subject and the complete genealogy and intermarriages of the tribes can be read in the brands by an eye skilled in their decyphering. There are the primary brands which form the basis. Beyond this individual families have their own addition—usually the brand used by the mother's family should she chance to be of another tribe *e.g.*, the *tirig* (Crescent moon) brand used by the Bisharin/Hannar/Barakwin who trace their descent from a Hadendoa woman. Added to these various brands, a camel in the course of being exchanged or sold acquires others and its entire history is imprinted on its skin for all to read. The only instances in which the mother's brand is not used that have come to my notice are the

Bisharin/Ibrahimab and Bisharin/Dalaliab, both sheikhly sections who retain simply the primaries—the *ogal* on the upper part of the foreleg and the *shaneit* on the neck beneath the ear.

Firing is the panacea for all camel ills and these people show a surprising knowledge of the interrelation of muscle and vein in the anatomical composition of the camel. I forbear, in deference to skilled veterinary opinion, to attribute any remedial efficacy to 'firing-marks' but I have witnessed some remarkable cures as a result of this practice.

The Atbai folk have a fixed and universally held belief that the chameleon is inimical to camels. In fact the Bega name for this harmless tree lizard is *kamtashob*, 'the enemy of the camel.' It is reputed to cause a frequently fatal disease among camels which graze on trees in which these lizards are domiciled. The symptoms are a swollen tongue and an inability to drink. I once watched a camel being treated for this condition. The poor beast was tied fore and aft. Its tongue had been pulled out and was being vigourously washed and scraped. Finally the camel owner took his knife and made numerous incisions in the under part of the tongue which he rubbed until the blood flowed freely. The operation was concluded by forcing a handful of donkey dung down its throat! I passed on from the well where this scene was being enacted and never learned whether this stern treatment had cured or killed!

Sheep and goats are the other animal mainstays of Atbai life. The latter are far hardier than the former and are able to survive famine and climatic conditions that kill off sheep. These animals are known under the generic name of *dagiga*—"the small ones" and their care has attained the precision of artistry. Sheep are so raised that they bear their young in the early rains since lambs are able to follow the ewes and graze with them. Goats, on the other hand are made to produce their kids in the winter, when the trees are in blossom, and the people are sedentary. To move with kids is a difficult business and numbers are liable to be lost.

At the *Dahiya* festival, which is known also as the *karamat el ibl* or *kamtiseleil*, *nagas* are marked with a bloody hand and the horns

of the goats are daubed with powdered red stone mixed with milk. I was unable to discover either the origin or the incidence of this custom.

The mating of camels and the milking of *nagas* have also a science of their own which would repay careful investigation.

Among this pastoral people the watering of their animals, which, save on the river, is all done at well-centres, forms a large part of their daily and nightly occupation. No traveller in the Atbai can fail to remember the sleepless nights near wells when the herds are being watered. They come, camels, sheep, goats, cattle and donkeys, bellowing, bleating, lowing and trumpeting with the multitudious tread of four footed beasts through the starlit quiet of the night and, until morning and satiation, quiet is no more. And above this animal din the resonant tones of the men hauling at the well, carry their invocations far across the desert. Each type of animal has its own watering chant. The initial skins full of water are drawn to the call of *Hibeladoi* and then the herdsman breaks into praise of the animals he is watering in measured and rhythmic chant.

There are literally hundreds of these chants and they are thrown from man to man at the wells—the initial phrase chanted by one man and the couplet reply from another.

INDUSTRIES.

The hands of the Atbai tribesmen have little cunning to form and fashion material to domestic uses. Nor indeed are there many materials on which they might acquire such skill, saving only the hides, the wool and the hair of their flocks. The weaving of *shamlas* from the wool of sheep and the hair of goats—(mainly the latter, the former is used mostly for patterning)—is universal and mention has been made of it earlier in this account.

The Amarar/Musayab of Ariab and Amur have a certain skill in the construction of camel saddles and the Bega *Kor* and they are famed throughout the Atbai for this craft. Among the few boys who after years of persuasion have come into the school at Ariab a remarkable aptitude is shown for modelling in clay and I have seen some charmingly made and acutely observed models.

Among the Bisharin/Shantirab and Hamedorab the art of tanning is well understood and ibex and other skins are prepared for domestic use and for sale in the markets of Upper Egypt. For this purpose they use the small acacia known as *arad* (acacia etbaica). The branches are cut and laid to dry on a neighbouring rock. They are then beaten and the leaves and twigs packed into bags. Basins of mud are puddled and filled with water and the *arad* added in the proportion of about 1 rotl to a *girba* of water. In this mixture the skins are placed and remain there for three days, when the water is changed. The process is repeated three times, after which, the skin is thoroughly rinsed. It is then filled with earth and hung on a tree to dry. Finally it is emptied of earth, pulled and flexed and sown up to make the *girba* or waterskin. It is impossible to avoid a certain tang in the water when the new skin is first used but this soon wears off and the water skin forms an almost ideal method of keeping water cool in these hot and dry uplands.

If the skin is required for the making of *semn* (liquid butter) it is subjected to a further process to make it grease proof. The small red berries that grow on the *laseit* (the creeper mentioned above as the haunt of *ginns*), known locally as *sieb* are used for this purpose. About 3 or 4 rotls of these berries are boiled in water till a syrup is formed and in this the skin is immersed, having first been turned inside out. It is well soaked and rubbed with the syrup and thus becomes grease-proof. The berries of the arak tree (Bega *hib*,—salvadora persica) are also used for the same purpose.

RECREATIONS.

I was unable to master any of the various games played in the sand with camel-dung for counters, for unless one plays with skill, one's opponent is not interested and skill at these games is a hardly acquired accomplishment.

Dancing is frequently indulged in but one only sees men at this recreation. I am told that the women, too, dance, but only when they are by themselves and unlikely to be observed. The music is provided by a small drum or sometimes by an empty petrol tin.

The men come out, one by one, or sometimes in twos, from the circle of spectators and jump (as high as they can) in time to the drumming. When there are two they keep time together. On occasions when the tribal *nahas* is beaten, men with drawn swords, jump and hop and indulge in all the gestures of mimic-fighting, striking with their swords and warding off imaginary blows with their shields.

I have had occasion to mention the Bega *rababa* or guitar to the strains of which minstrels recite the praises of their women or their animals, ridicule the idiosyncracies of neighbours, or defame and abuse the name of their enemies. It is pleasant indeed to sit of an evening in some hill-glen, by moonlight or in the warm and scented glow of a fire of acacia boughs, and listen drowsily to the monotonous melody of the plucked strings, the song but little understood and the laughter and comment that greet its ending.

A favourite pastime is the game of *atomit*. This merely consists in knocking down a piece of wood at fair range with a stone. These people are uncannily good at this and their skill often times serves to procure them a meal—a hare killed as it starts from the shade of some grass clump or a rock coney knocked over as he scuttles for his crevice. They favour long and flat stones for this throwing and these are placed across the palm of the hand and hurled, with great force, from above the level of the shoulder. Sometimes, when the colocynth gourds are plentiful they stage mock fights among themselves using these as missiles and guarding themselves with their skilfully offered shields. A substitute for colocynth is the short green sticks of the ushur bush (calotropa procera).

Whenever there is some festival or notable occasion to celebrate, the camels are always galloped and admirable camelmanship is to be witnessed. The Amarar/Musayab/Hamedorinduab living in wadi Amur are the exponents par excellence of this art. They have a breed of white camels known as *mach'a'ab* raised on the evergreen *arak* thickets of Amur and its neighbourhood and on these they perform every kind of evolution. I have seen these Hamedorinduab gallop in pairs, their arms outstretched and grasped by each other, their camels pacing in

perfect unison and moving ' flat-out.' I have been credibly informed that they can gallop holding a bowl of milk in one hand, from which not a drop is spilled !

But perhaps the chief recreation of these folk is the telling of old tales, the exploits of ancestors, the curious adventures of some hardier spirits who have ventured farther afield than the majority of their fellows. The Bega passion for such information is insatiable and some of my happiest hours in the Atbai have been spent listening to some raconteur at his art—too often, alas, understanding it all only at second hand. The prescribed greetings over, the first words of these folk to the traveller are *Sakanab na-na* ? What is the news ? And it is all carefully passed on—news of rain, of grass, of flocks or individual animals seen on the way, their brands and their condition, the domestic trials of neighbours or news of some government edict or activity ; nothing is too small, nothing too common, nothing too incredible to be retailed in answer to the one word *Sakanab* ? I once heard the nonagenarian Amarar alim, Feki Saad, tell some wild tribesmen that there had been a great earthquake in India !

SANCTUARY.

A final story concerns a famous Amarar sheikh, Gwilai'or, of the Sindereieit and it illustrates in a striking fashion the right of sanctuary (Bega, *Hiwa*) among these people. A man fleeing from a murder he had committed took refuge in the house of Gwilai'or. The relatives of the dead man intent on their revenge followed the killer to his sanctuary and demanded that he be surrendered. Gwilai'or tried every means to save the refugee offering full *dia* and generous compensation besides, but the avengers were unmoved and insisted that unless their quarry were produced they would drag him by force from Gwilai'or's dwelling and slaughter him on the threshold. At this Gwilai'or consented to parley with them and taking them to a distance he said " what you propose to do would forever disgrace me and pollute my house, but since you insist on this man's blood I will show you the tree under which he spends the night and thus

you can come on him unawares as he sleeps and despatch him." The pursuers somewhat reluctantly agreed to this plan and having made sure of the exact spot they departed.

All that day Gwilai'or spent in dividing up his wealth in money and animals and in giving his children his last words of advice. For he had decided to lay himself down beneath the fatal tree and so expiate the crime of the man who had taken sanctuary in his house.

But his son, discovering his purpose refused to allow his father to carry it out insisting that he would take his father's place beneath the tree and so uphold their family honour.

That night as the avenging party were on their way to the appointed spot, one of their number was visited by doubts that Gwilai'or, that soul of honour, would so sacrifice anyone who had taken refuge in his house. He told his companions of his doubts and urged them to make sure that whoever they found under the tree was the man they sought, before they killed him.

And so the son of Gwilai'or was discovered and the murdered man's folk were so impressed with the magnanimity of Gwilai'or that they gave up their plan of vengeance and spared the life of the refugee.

In such respect did Gwilai'or hold the sanctity of the house that on one occasion when a jackal that had done much slaughter among his herds was caught, and brought, with its mouth tied up into Gwilae'or's house, he thus addressed it " O Ba'ashema,' since you have crossed my threshold alive you shall not now be killed. Go your ways and for the future leave my herds alone" and so saying he released the captive.

And it is here that these reminiscences (they are no more) of Atbai life must be concluded.

I am the more pursuaded now to conclude them having this very day read in the late Major Stigand's " Equatoria " the following passage " I do not attempt an exhaustive or even a full record of the various customs commonly practised, for it seems to me, however interesting they may be to observe and note, that a long enumeration of them is apt to become tedious—Ethnology still lacks the master-

key which, when found, will reduce it to a true science, whereas without it there is but a mass of independent and isolated facts . . . . . Anthropologists have classified all the information at their command with painstaking care . . . but it still seems to remain an unrelated mass of facts most of which may subsequently be found irrelevant."

But even without this master-key I submit these notes have a certain value as being themselves a key to the hearts and confidence of these independent and individualistic souls who roam the Atbai. They are not easy to know, their language is complex and difficult to acquire, but given the opportunity of more intimate contact than an inkling of their history and customs provides, one's experience is likely to be richer and one's life more full and happy during the short period the administrator may hope to spend among them.

Penultimately I would like to draw attention to the antiquities of this area which might repay efforts to clarify their functions and chronology. There are

(1) the circular and square mounds of stones known throughout the Atbai as *akerataheil*. They are without doubt tombs, but of what people is, I believe, not known. There is a superstition current among the people which has hitherto effectually prohibited excavation since although these monuments are reputed to contain crocks of gold and other valuables the rash man who attempts to unearth them is inevitably overtaken by disease or death. These *akerataheil* are usually built on the summits of hills and it is interesting in this connection to recall the passage from Diodorus Siculus quoted by Wallis Budge. "The Troglodytes tie twigs round the necks and feet of their dead and carry them to the top of a hill where they cast stones on them until they are covered over."

(2) Rock drawings at Rawai and Deirurba.
These latter are mostly of cows, an animal which has not been known in this neighbourhood for many generations.

(3) Deraheib and the Gold mines.

The Atbai was famous for its gold workings and emerald mines in the times of the Pharaohs. As far as I know there are no known emerald mines throughout this area and I have frequently thought that their old references to ' green stones ' may be inspired by the peridots found along the coast and of which the Egyptian Government has the monopoly on St. John's Island in the Red Sea.

(4) *Aidhab.* The old Bega port and pilgrim stage which was destroyed in the 14th century.

The towers scattered at frequent intervals on the hills from Amur to the Egyptian frontier.* They are presumably funeral monuments since apart from narrow windows high in the walls they have no means of ingress, a fact which excludes the possibility of their having been watch towers or forts.

The Atbai peoples are a pleasant race and their country is austere and lovely. With quiet and sustained pleasure one recalls the serene desert nights, and the awed delight felt at some prospect of expanses of sunlit sea seen from a lofty hill-iop.

The great mass of the Kurbab mountain of Erba in its rugged brown grandeur fills the eye with pleasure, and the mind with awe. Here are no grassy slopes, no wide vistas over wooded foothills and pastoral lowlands, but a vast panorama of dark and barren hills with yellow watercourses, sparsely grown with stunted trees. From its summit one sees to the last the coastal plain and the sea with streaks of light jagged across its misty surface and to the west the *Awlib* and the great desert that stretches to the Nile. And from this wind-swept eminence one may fittingly take a final farewell of the Atbai and its peoples.

*See " A description of Some Old Towers in the Red Sea Province " by C. J. Madigan, Sudan Notes and Records Vol. V (1922).—Ed.

ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NUER : CATTLE.

By E. E. Evans Pritchard.

II.

The chief characteristices of Nuer social life can be understood only when their pastoral activities are viewed in relation to the country in which they live. Social instutitions are to a large extent a function of this dynamic relationship between mode of livelihood and environment. I have said something about cattle and the esteem in which Nuer hold them. I will now say something about the country in which these cattle have to be maintained.

From the European's point of view Nuerland has no favourable qualities, unless its severity be counted such, for its endless marshes and wide savannah plains have an austere monotonous charm. It is throughout hard on man and beast, being for most of the year either a swamp or a parched and waterless tract. Trekking across the Nuer plains is a great weariness to body and spirit. But Nuer do not share this opinion. They think that they live in the finest country on earth, envying no people their heritage, and, it must be admitted, for herdsmen their country has many admirable features. It provides pasturage all the year round and absence of forest prevents the encroachment of tsetse. I have long since given up trying to convince Nuer that there is any country more suited for cattle husbandry than their own, an attempt more useless since a few Nuer have been taken to Khartoum, a place they consider to be the home of all white men. Having seen the desert scrub which surrounds Khartoum they are confirmed in their opinion that their own land is superior to ours.

The grasses upon which depends the welfare of the herds depend, for existence in their turn, on soil and water. The soils of Nuerland are heavy clays which look very much alike to me and which are equally unpleasant to walk on in the dry season, when they are broken by the sun into deep cracks, and in the wet season when they form

sticky water-laden mud. The clayey plains are broken by occasional sandy ridges and knolls upon which the débris of years of occupation has accumulated. However, Nuer distinguish between the black soil, of such areas as Eastern Jikany country, which they call *mun mi car* or *dök* and the more sandy soil, which is found, for example, in parts of Lou country, and which they call *mun lita*. The black heavy clays are more suitable for cultivation of millet because they hold up rain water, but they are bad for cattle which in the rains have to struggle through the sticky mud and to eat the high coarse grasses which such soil nurtures rather than the sweeter short grasses which prevail on more sandy soils. Thus the Lou people say in favour of their country " Our cattle do not come back each day from grazing caked in mud but they return with clean hooves." On the other hand the more sandy parts of Lou country, *e.g.*, near Muot Dit, do not hold up rain water which makes cultivation of millet difficult so that even a slight drought destroys the young plants, and often makes it necessary for the people to wander early and far from their villages in the dry season to obtain sufficient pasturage. There are no salt-licks in Nuerland.

Surface water comes partly from direct rainfall over Nuerland and partly from the flooding of the principal rivers which traverse it and which derive most of their water from rainfall elsewhere. In an average year the rains commence in April and continue till the end of October. Towards the middle or end of April a few showers come down and the sky is overclouded. It is not till the end of May that the rains set in with a will. July and August are the months with heaviest rainfall and the weather is cool, even cold in the mornings and evenings and a south-westerly wind prevails. The sun is overcast during most of the day. Showers become lighter and less frequent in October and by the middle of November have ceased altogether. In November the north wind begins to blow and it blows consistently down the valley of the Nile from the Mediterranean to the Plateau of the Great Lakes till the approach of the next rains. The weather becomes warmer and warmer and from January till March is a great trial to Europeans.

The mean monthly rainfall up to 1927 is given in millimetres by Hurst and Phillips* for the Bahr el Jebel and Bahr el Ghazal area (Western and part of Eastern Nuerland) and for the Sobat and Baro area (most of Eastern Nuerland) as follows :—

	Bahr el Jebel and Bahr el Ghazal		*Sobat and Baro*	
January	4	millimetres.	6	millimetres.
February	13	,,	14	,,
March	38	,,	33	,,
April	92	,,	80	,,
May	131	,,	137	,,
June	134	,,	158	,,
July	161	,,	173	,,
August	168	,,	199	,,
September	145	,,	153	,,
October	112	,,	90	,,
November	43	,,	48	,,
December	8	,,	10	,,
Year	1049	,,	1091	,,

The rainfall is fairly even over the whole of Nuerland. It is not nearly so heavy as it is to the east, on the Abyssinian Plateau, or to the south, in the basin of the Victoria Nile or in the neighbourhood of the Nile-Congo Divide. The effects, however, are felt far more than in these regions because the beds of clayey soil hold up the water and the flatness of the country prevents surface drainage. Moreover, the rivers flood at the same time as the rains pour down and the numerous swampy watercourses which thread their way through Nuerland are prevented from discharging water from their mouths.

The whole of Nuerland is an almost dead flat plain, in the main treeless and during the rains covered with high grasses which reach to the waist and, near streams where they are higher and coarser, reach to the shoulders of the tall Nuer. In my experience they grow somewhat higher in Eastern Nuerland than in Western Nuerland. At

* The Nile Basin by H. E. Hurst and P. Phillips, 1931, Vol. I, p. 47.

this season of the year traversing open country is always difficult and even along the paths inconvenient, especially as the land is inundated at the same time. One can just see the horns of the great oxen at pasture. Only in the habitual grazing grounds on the slopes of slightly elevated ridges, where the cattle and the close-cropping sheep and goats have kept down the shorter species of grasses, is there any freedom of movement.

Nuerland approximately coincides with the extension of true savannah in the Sudan. Here and there are stretches of thornwood forest but they are never extensive. A belt of forest sometimes lines a river where its banks are high, *e.g.*, on the Sobat and along sections of the Bahr el Ghazal and the Bahr el Arab, but it never extends far inland. North of the Sobat, on its lower reaches, true savannah gives way to thorny savannah and beyond the southern extremities of Eastern Nuerland one enters parklike savannah forest which becomes thicker the further south one proceeds, though it always turns to marshland as the Bahr el Jebel is approached. To the south of Western Nuerland one touches the fringes of ironstone country, likewise covered with savannah forest.

Though thornwood forest is found along sections of the rivers, as a rule when they are in flood they have no banks and the country lying on either side of them is swamp. This is especially the case with the whole course of the Bahr el Jebel through Nuerland and the greater part of the Bahr el Ghazal. The Bahr el Zeraf channel is bounded by swamp to a lesser degree and the lower reaches of the Sobat not at all. According to my own observations the area of swamp is smaller than is generally supposed.

This vast plain is threaded with depressions which run in all directions, often crossing one another, and linking up with the main rivers. Where continuous these depressions have the appearance of small rivers, though water seldom flows in them. While rain is falling on the country the main rivers flood into these depressions threading the land with a network of waterways which prevent drainage from the saturated earth so that the rainwater lies every-

where in deep puddles which slowly extend till by the middle of June the whole surface of the country, except for occasional higher land, is under water. Nuerland has then the appearance of a great grass-covered swamp, there being stagnant rivers, lagoons, and pools, wherever there is a depression in the level surface, and islands wherever slightly elevated ridges and knolls rise from the ground. On these elevated spots are perched the Nuer villages.

The rivers begin to fall about the same time as the rains begin to cease. Nuerland then dries quickly. The blazing sun evaporates the surface water while the streams instead of being channels of overflow from the rivers now begin to feed the rivers, and hence drain their basins, as they sink in their beds. The grasses are dry enough by the middle of November for the Nuer to commence to fire them and by the middle of December most of the country has been burnt and the surface is cracked into deep fissures. So parched is it at this season that it is difficult to find enough water for men and herds. The wet and dry seasons are therefore very pronounced in Nuerland.

The main characteristics of the country are (1) that it is dead flat, (2) that it has clayey soils, (3) that it is mainly treeless, (4) that it is covered with high grasses in the rains, (5) that it is subject to a heavy seasonal rainfall, (6) that all its rivers flood, and (7) that when the rains cease and the rivers fall it is subject to a season of severe drought.

A year in which the rivers are low is probably not so serious for the Nuer as a year in which there is little rain. Nevertheless, when the rivers are low the clay beds may not hold up sufficient water to enable the grasses to spring up again after the annual firing, and the inland watercourses, which to a great extent rely for their water on the flooding of the rivers, may fail early in the dry season and compel the people to move to lakes and river banks earlier than they would normally do, and there may also be a shortage of marsh pasturage which is usually the mainstay of the cattle at the end of the dry season. On the other hand, if there is insufficient rain the millet crop dies and the grasses, deprived of subterranean supplies of water, do not spring

up after firing. Therefore, whilst a year of little flooding may cause some inconvenience a year of low rainfall may cause famine. It is probable that years of low rainfall over Nuerland are also years when river water is low, *i.e.*, when the rainfall is low over the whole of North East Africa. The two together may cause Nuer great distress. Similarly, a year of exceptionally high rainfall is probably also a year of high river water and the combination sometimes causes such serious flooding that it is very difficult for the cattle to find pasturage. The hardy millet plant does not seem to be affected by moderate flooding.

Such are the general conditions in Nuerland. So important is it to understand these conditions that I may be pardoned for adding some further observations. Most of my sojourn among the Nuer was spent in Lou country or on its confines, and what I write of Lou country applies equally to the whole region between the Nile and the Pibor and to most of the Eastern Jikany area to the north of the Sobat. Lou country is part of the flat plain that lies between the Nile and the foothills of the Abyssinian escarpment. It is bounded to the north by the Sobat River and to the east by the Pibor River. It thus forms part of the basin of the Sobat which is formed from the junction of the Baro and the Pibor. The water of the Baro comes entirely from the Abyssinian highlands. The water of the Pibor comes mostly from the same region though the river drains also to a lesser degree the northern slopes of the Plateau of the Great Lakes and the Sudan Plains. The Baro is a mountain torrent in the Abyssinian highlands but when it reaches the plains it begins to wind about and form swamps. The three main streams which run from south to north across Lou country, the Nyanding, the Wangnyait, and the Filus, are channels of overflow from the Sobat when it is in flood. It is the same to the north of the Baro-Sobat, in Gaajok country, where, for example, water flows out of the Baro along the Macar stream to lose itself in the vast Macar swamp. Here and there in Lou country are low ridges, some stretching several miles, and on the banks of the Sobat and Pibor are occasional knolls, known in the Sudan as *dabbas*, and on these islands of elevated ground the Nuer

build their huts and byres. As most of Lou country is under water in the rains they are then literally islands.

The Sobat begins to rise at the end of April or the beginning of May and it is at its highest when the rains are at their greatest. Water flows over its banks forming lagoons and down the streams which traverse Lou country. According to the Nuer, as the water flows out of the Sobat southwards down these streams it meets the rainwater flowing northwards from their upper reaches. Thus one may observe the Pibor flowing first one way and then the other way. Whilst rainwater pours in numerous small channels into the streams they are discharging water along swampy depressions into the interior of the country.

The amount of surface water in Lou country varies from year to year but in most years it is flooded to several inches deep from July to September. This would not prevent one from trekking, unpleasant experience though it would be, but the depressions which occur at frequent intervals are a more serious obstacle for they necessitate constant wading through deep water. Even at the end of May long treks are more than Europeans care to face—the Nuer themselves move freely at all seasons of the year. Thus, at the end of May, in 1935, I found it a struggle to reach Konye from Akobo though it is only a distance of some ten miles. In July of the same year I was practically imprisoned at Yakwac for water lay everywhere several inches deep at the back of the hamlet and progress through the rank grasses was laborious and even dangerous because it was impossible to detect the deep water-filled holes in which a leg might easily be broken.

Sometimes the inundation reaches the proportions of a flood. Lou Nuer have told me that the Fadang Dinka, who occupied Lou country before the Nuer ousted them, once sustained a season of drought followed by such devastating floods that people lived on the tops of trees and ate leaves. There was great loss of life among the older people. Jackson records that in 1918 "An abnormally high river resulted in the Bahr el Zeraf overflowing its banks and inundating

the country to the east (Gaawär country) to such an extent that a journey which, in the ordinary course of events (in the dry season) is a matter of some inconvenience owing to the uncertainty of finding water, had to be performed for a distance of 80 miles in a canoe. And, in the same year, Nyerol post, thirty five miles to the south of Abwong, on the River Sobat (Lou country), which was usually supplied over a waterless tract (in the dry season) was only with the greatest of difficulty kept in touch with civilization owing to the country in between them being almost entirely under water.*

By November the Sobat has commenced to fall and to drain the streams which serve as its channels of overflow in flood. These streams now contribute to its volume of water with the result that the fall of water at Nasser is registered at the Sobat mouth three weeks or more later.† While the land is being drained by the Sobat the rains have ceased and the sun has evaporated surface water. The grasses are burnt and the country takes on its dry season appearance of a fissured waterless waste. The change from wet-season conditions to dry-season conditions is sudden.

Travelling in February from the Sobat to Pathai and thence eastward to Pul Fadoi, along the newly-made motor road, one traverses slightly higher ground through a thin *heglig* forest which screens the full desolation of the country, for, though in reality it offers scanty shade, it gives an appearance of verdure and freshness, and the ground is carpeted with the oval fawn-coloured fruits of the *heglig*. Game is plentiful and forest pools numerous. But the western part of Lou country, occupied by the Mor tribal section, from Pul Fadoi eastwards for over a hundred kilometres, is bleak and its bleakness is, on the whole, typical of the rest of Lou country and of Nuerland in general. It is thickly covered with dead grasses, from 4 to 8 feet high, except where it has been lately burnt for then one sees only wide stretches of charred earth, fissured into a million fragments, like a gigantic ill-fitting jigsaw puzzle, and strewn with burnt stems of grass and with

* Jackson, *op. cit.*

† Hurst and Phillips, *op. cit.*

ashes. Where the grasses have been burnt some time ago green shoots have sprung up around the charred stems. Here and there stand isolated, thorny, shadeless trees, stunted by fire and spreading out their black tortured branches. Often no tree is visible in any direction and a desolate waste stretches everywhere to the horizon. The burning of the tall grasses has revealed low termite mounds, blackened by fire like the ground from which they rise. There is smoke and flame where parts of the country are still on fire. This country is uninhabited in the rains, being under water, but in February one sees occasional cattle camps around the deeper pools.

In Western Nuerland conditions are in the main similar though there are certain differences. Western Nuerland lies between the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal and extends to the north of the Bahr el Ghazal as far as the southern boundary of Kordofan Province. It consists for the most part of ' cotton soil ' and like Eastern Nuerland is so dead flat that if one mounts a small termite mound one can see in all directions as far as the eye can reach. Here and there are ridges of higher ground. These village sites are always inland because, whereas the higher banks of the Sobat and Pibor allow occupation here and there, the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal have no banks in their flood seasons and their beds are bordered by wide marshes. These marshes often run for several miles inland and there are very few spots on the Bahr el Jebel where it is possible to land and penetrate into the interior of the country, even in the dry season.

I have already expressed an opinion that the area covered by swamp vegetation has been exaggerated. That is an empirical judgment. The marsh vegetation, generally referred to as *sudd* in the Sudan, is a solid mass of water plants, the principal among them being papyrus (*cyperus Papyrus*), ' *Um suf* ' (*Panicum pyramidale*) and the common reed (*Phragmites Communis*), to which cling a number of swimming plants (*Utricularia, Vallisneria, Azolla, Pistia, Aldrovandia, etc.*). Creepers especially *Vigna Nilotica* and *Ipomaea*, bind the marsh plants together into a tangled mass. Here and there grow patches of ambatch trees.* Lagoons run out of the

* Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, pp. 302-3.

Bahr el Jebel, separated from the river by narrow stretches of papyrus (from river), and they often run parallel to the course of the river.

From the deck of a steamer passing down the Bahr el Jebel there is no sign of human occupation and a traveller might judge the country to be without inhabitants. But inland ridges support a large population. These ridges are, as a rule, widely separated and one treks often enough ten to fifteen miles between one village and the next. In places there are broader belts of high ground covered by thick thornwood forest, as in parts of Rengyan country, or wide sandy ridges covered with scrub and palms (*doleib* and *dom*), as in parts of Dok and Rengyan countries. Those used to the bare monotony of Nuerland will be surprised to meet for the first time these sandy stretches which, with the classic beauty of the *dom* palms that surmount them, seem out of place in savannah plains. In the extreme south, in Nyuong country, which I have not visited, the clay runs into the ironstone belt and savannah gives way to savannah forest in which *Anoglissus Leocarpus* predominates. In the north of Western Nuerland, to the north of the Bahr el Ghazal, in Lek and Bul countries, a maze of watercourses and lagoons running in all directions impede progress for the first few miles inland from the river. Then an open treeless plain extends to the borders of Kordofan. Bul country on the lower reaches of the Bahr el Arab is said to be for the greater part under water in the rainy season, though ridges of sand and forest occur on its northern and western limits.

Most of Western Nuerland is under water in the rains and the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal are practically united by surface water on the intervening plain. Nevertheless the Western Nuer are probably better favoured for village sites than the Eastern Nuer.

I entered Western Nuerland at Adok on October 1st, 1936. This year was drier than usual but in a seventeen days tour round the country we walked almost the whole time in several inches of water and were often up to our armpits when crossing depressions which are constantly met on the route. How laborious such trekking is can

be imagined when one has to stamp one's way through water for ten miles at a stretch. The rank grasses prevent one from leaving the paths and the paths form miniature depressions down which water flows so that it is like walking in the bed of a tiny stream, a sticky bed where every step requires an effort to extract the foot. Rengyan country is amazing at this season of the year. One walks for miles through water to emerge suddenly on a ridge, screened by high grasses till one begins to mount it. Here is a village. One walks through the village to descend into water the other side, and then through miles of water to the next inhabited island. To live in such a country one should be amphibious, like the Nuer, who seem to be in no way inconvenienced by what are to Europeans appalling conditions.

The rains cease in November but so saturated is the earth that a late heavy shower will again innundate the country for 48 hours.

The dry season among the Western Nuer is not so severe as it is among the Eastern Nuer because there is never a shortage of water and the villages are never far from deep lagoons and streams, nor even from the main rivers themselves with their broad fringe of marshes. It is probably only in an exceptionally dry year that the larger inland watercourses entirely dry up. Probably this is in the main due to the fact that the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal do not sink in their beds like the Sobat and Pibor, since they are fed by permanently flowing streams and have enormous lake and marsh reservoirs. The water of streams and lagoons in Western Nuerland is therefore not so rapidly drained as in Eastern Nuerland. Certainly the water in big streams in Dok country seems to be permanent and in walking through Lek country as late as February in 1930 we had to wade frequently through deep swampy streams and lagoons.

Nuer have expressions to denote the natural features of their country. A treeless plain they call *ghau mi dea* or, in contrast to dry elevated ridges, *pan*. A ridge or knoll is called *kwir* and *thur* or, in reference to its suitability for human occupation, *gwaadh wec*. Land which is partly inundated in the wet season, but not sufficiently to be called swampy, and is therefore suitable for growing millet, is called

tap. A big open river is generally called *kir e.g.* the Bahr el Jebel and the Sobat but a river may have its proper name, *e.g.* the Bahr el Ghazal is called Naam. Smaller rivers or streams are denoted by the word *yir*. A marshy depression inland is called *wang* and a big lagoon running out of one of one of the main rivers is called *bar*. A marshy depression running parallel to a river bank is called *tor*. *Toc* are extensive swamps which form the flood plains of rivers.

VIII

From my description of their country it will be seen that the Nuer are faced with problems which daunt men better equipped than them. For they are so poor that they have little but their courage and their knowledge to master a harsh environment. Nuer have to consider how to protect and pasture their cattle and also how to grow maize and millet, for they practise both cattle husbandry and hoe-culture and have to take the requirements of both into account. As gardeners their difficulties only arise in the rains for in the dry season nothing will grow in the waterless wastes. As herdsmen there are problems to be solved at all seasons. Gardening will be described later. Here we may consider how Nuer ensure the welfare of their herds by adapting their life to the seasons.

Excess or insufficiency of water is their first problem. It is essential that men and cattle should be protected from the water which covers most of the country in the rains. Cattle get diseases of the hooves and die if they have to stand in water. Protection is given to man and beast by building huts and byres on higher ground. In selecting a village site two considerations must be borne in mind. Firstly there must be a sloping ridge off which rain-water can run to the plain below and this ridge must be broad enough to allow huts and byres to be built and for the cattle to be tethered in the kraals outside the byres. Preferably it should also be broad and long enough to allow the flocks and herds to pasture without having to descend into the inundated plains to graze among the tall rank grasses. Secondly there must be land on one side of the ridge suitable for cultivations, *i.e.*, land which will retain sufficient water for the millet to grow

but not enough to drown it altogether. The ideal arrangement, which I have often observed among the Western Nuer, is to build on the edge of a whale-backed ridge with the huts and byres facing the broad back of the ridge. This ensures that the cattle will have dry kraals and also permits them to graze on the short grasses of the ridge. At the back of the huts and byres on slightly lower ground are the gardens. These must be on lower ground because the ridge itself is usually sandy and, where occupied, has a hard trodden floor of ashes and debris and is therefore unsuitable for cultivation of millet. They must also be at the back of the huts and byres so that the cattle can move freely to and from their kraals without invading the standing millet. To prevent this happening people erect a thornwood fence between the kraals and the gardens and extend it along both sides of the kraal, so that only the side opening on to the ridge is left unfenced. In Western Nuerland I have seen low mud dykes erected between the flooded plain and the approach to the ridge. These are to prevent the water encroaching too far in years of high flood.

I have sometimes wondered why Nuer so often build their villages on shadeless ridges in the middle of a treeless plain when it would be possible to build in some of the stretches of thornwood or palm forest that one finds here and there in their country. I have often noticed villages built in the open when shady spots are to be found a few hundred yards away. But Nuer can give good reasons for keeping to their dreary sites exposed to the fierce tropical sun and the bitter north wind. In the open their animals are safer from wild beasts; they are less worried by insect pests, and their kraals soon dry after rain. It would appear also that thornwood forest is less suitable for cultivation of millet than more open country. Nevertheless Nuer sometimes build in open forest. I have seen forest villages in parts of Lou and Eastern Gaajok country. The Eastern Gaajok villages, which I have not visited, are mainly in forest country.

Most of these ridges and knolls have probably been occupied for a very long period of time, perhaps long before the Nuer lived in their present home. In digging graves Nuer have found pots and cooking

stones and remains of fires. They have been occupied by many generations of Nuer. Families are not, however, bound to any particular piece of ground, and move freely when the ground is exhausted and no longer yields a good harvest of millet or rich pasturage for the cattle. A whole village may then move and live elsewhere for some years but sooner or later they will settle there again for it is their birth place. Families and groups of kinsmen will leave a village if there are many deaths, if the cattle are poorly (*be ran gien kä kwi lieth, kä kwi ghok*), or if fights have taken place in the village. Byres and huts generally last about five years and have then to be rebuilt. Gardens are cultivated for as long as ten successive years before they are finally exhausted. When cattle and sheep and goats have grazed on village pastures (*dor*) for about the same length of time the grasses show evident signs of exhaustion. Thus in 1936 the people of Nyueny pointed out to me that after about nine years of occupation their village pastures had been overgrazed and were poor in consequence.

Village sites are owned by certain clans and sections of clans. However, ownership is mainly a matter of sentiment, based on long association between a ridge and a lineage, and since the country is not over-populated and the Nuer do not make very extensive cultivations it never becomes a legal issue. Anyone may settle in a village and the villagers will show him where he may build his huts and byre and cultivate his millet. This practically means that he may build and cultivate anywhere not already in occupation or under cultivation. Nuer are very generous in such matters. In fact, however, a man is unlikely to settle in a village unless he can claim kinship with some of the villagers, *i.e.*, is genealogically attached to the dominant lineage there. *Mar*, kinship, can generally be discovered somewhere and consequently it is usually possible to place all the occupants of a village on a single genealogical chart. There are no real problems of ownership of land among the Nuer.

Some parts of Nuerland are blessed with better village sites than others. Lou country is exceptionally well favoured in this respect though Western Nuerland has many fine ridges. Lou people say that in a year of *nyuoc*, or high river-flood, their ridges remain dry

whereas in a similar year Eastern Gaajok country is under water and cattle have to be sent into Lou country while the men fish from trees. Lou are very scornful of Eastern Jikany village sites. I once asked Wicthiel, who now lives at Mancom in Jikany country, whether he could call his present home a *gwaadh wec* (village site) and he replied "Well, it is what the Jikany call a *gwaagh wec*, but it is not what we consider a *gwaadh wec* in our own country (Lou). They just build their villages in the forest anyhow." Huts built on piles, such as one sees in parts of Dinkaland, are unknown in Nuerland.

Water is as scarce in the dry season as it is excessive in the wet season. About the beginning of December, therefore, the young men and some of the girls take most of the cattle to camps some miles from the villages and leave the rest of the women and the married men to harvest the second millet crop and repair huts and byres. A few lactating cows are left in the village to provide milk for the small children. The cattle are taken to camps partly to give them clean water and partly to pasture them. The grasses are burnt and some species spring up again a few days after they are fired. This is a good time for the cattle because they can move freely, the tall grasses which impeded them in the rains having been burnt, and because they can graze to their hearts' content on the tender young shoots.

Local conditions determine the time of leaving the village. In 1936 the first youths to take their cattle into camp from the village of Nyueny moved on November 13th, at the beginning of the Nuer month of *Kur*. This is much earlier than is usual for most villages and was due to lack of clean water at Nyueny and over-grazing of the pastures in the vicinity. The country around the village was all under water in the middle of October but was parched a month later. Most people do not move till the end of the month of *Kur* or the beginning of the month of *Tiop indit* (about the middle of December).

In Lou country the first camps are often made in thornwood forests near deep pools, but in parts of Nuerland, especially in the

West, they are often made by streams for fishing. When the second harvest is reaped the cattle are brought back to the village to eat the millet stalks, if the camps are near. As pools dry up, or pasturage is exhausted, or the fishing becomes poor, the young men make new camps and several intermediate camps may be made before they move to their large annual camping grounds at the side of lakes or marshes or on river banks. The early camps are often small, being manned by a few kinsmen but tend to get larger as the season continues and water becomes scarcer. The final camps may contain several hundred persons. By the middle of January the villages in the Lou country are deserted but in areas more favoured with water supplies, for example in Lek country, some of the older people may still be in the villages in the middle of February.

The Lou people stay inland as long as they can and in a wet year may remain inland throughout the dry season. They fall back on the deeper pools, some large enough to be called lakes, which hold up the water in a stream or depression, *e.g.*, at Muöt tŏt, Muot dit, Fading, Fadoi, Gwonggwong, Yollei, Tepjor and Nyerol. These pools supply them with abundant fish. If forced to leave them the Gun major tribal section moves north to the Sobat and south-west to the flooded plain of the Bahr el Zeraf in the country of the Twic Dinka (*toc Twini*) and the Mor major tribal section moves northeast to the Nyanding river or East to the Geni and Pibor rivers.

In the old days fighting frequently occurred if the Lou moved to these camping sites because the banks of the Sobat belonged to the Balak people, while occupation of the Geni and Pibor brought them into contact with the Beir and Anuak peoples, and their move to the south-west was trespass on Dinka grazing grounds. Even the lower reaches of the Nyanding river do not belong to the Lou for the Gaajok have their villages along it and have fishing rights in its pools.

The Madjok villagers with whom I camped for several months at Yakwac in 1931 had moved to Pul Telä for an intermediate camp early in December and had reached Yakwac about the middle of

January. They remained at Yakwac till the beginning of June when they moved back to their village. As the Nuer put it "They started to move in the month of *Tiop indit* and remained *dar* (in between village and river) in the *muth* (second half) of *Tiop indit*, the whole of the month of *Tiop intot* and the *bor* (first half) of the month of *Pet*. In the first half of *Pet* they arrived at the river and remained there till the first half of the month of *Kornyuot*."

The Eastern Jikany have not the same need to move as have the Lou. Nevertheless, all the Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang tribal sections fall back on rivers before the dry season is far advanced. The three primary tribal sections of the Gaajok move as follows: The Laang concentrate on the Sobat, the Wangkeac move south-east to the banks of the Pibor and Gila, and the Yol either camp southwards near the junction of the Wokau and the Sobat or northwards along the edges of the Macar swamp. The Gaajak primary tribal sections move as follows: The northern Thiang sections (Kang and Luony) go north to the Daga river, the southern Thiang sections (Tar) and the Reng, Nyayan, Wau, and Cany sections camp on the banks of the Baro, Jokau, Adura, and Makwei rivers. The Gaajak camping grounds are mainly in Abyssinian territory.

I do not know anything of the seasonal movements of the Lak, Gaawär, and Thiang tribes beyond the fact that they fall back on the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Zeraf and on streams flowing into these two rivers.

The Western Nuer mainly camp on inland streams which are no great distance from their villages. The Karlual people mostly concentrate first on the Loogh stream and afterwards on the Cal and Wangtac streams. All these streams join the Bahr el Ghazal. The Dok camp near pools in the bed of the Waard stream. Without attempting to give full details, which indeed I could not furnish, about other dry season encampments among the Western Nuer it may be said that the people of this part of Nuerland do not travel in the dry season on the same scale as the Eastern Nuer, especially the Lou. Some of their earlier camps are made a few hundred yards from the

villages. In 1936 the people of Puic had formed two camps on the Gany stream which could be seen from the village and were so near that the girls came to the camps twice a day from the village to milk the cattle.

The western Jikany move to the Jikany marshes (*toc Jikany*) at the edge of the Bahr el Ghazal. These flood plains of rivers are the most favoured camping sites because, as the swamps slowly dry up, they provide succulent pasturage for the cattle and there is always sufficient water in their deep depressions. In Lou country there are no big stretches of *toc* such as one finds in the flood plains of the Bahr el Ghazal, the Gila River, the Bahr el Zeraf, and in the Macar swamps.

A village tends to move about the same time and to visit the same pastures each year though time and place are determined to some extent by variations of rainfall and river flooding.

The population of camps varies from about 20 to 100 in the smaller intermediate camps, up to several hundred at the larger camps. That is an approximate estimate based on a limited number of bare observations.

Most of the Nuer are in their big dry season camps by February and remain there till May when the married men and women return to the wet season villages to clear the cultivations and to erect fences and to repair huts and byres. If there is then a temporary drought they may return to the camps. The young men and girls follow with the cattle in May or June according as the rains are early or late. The young men encamped at Yakwac in 1930 left early in June for their inland village of Majok. Those encamped at Konye had left for Fadoi shortly before I visited the village on May 15th in 1935. The young men break up camp as soon as their elders who have preceded them to the village send back a messenger to tell them that the rains have fallen heavily in the interior and that sowing has commenced. Instead of the leisurely journey from villages to the big dry season camps, which may take some six weeks, the journey back to the villages in completed as quickly as possible and takes one or two days according to the distance.

The word *ghuth* is used to describe these movements. It does not denote a mere journey but implies a change of residence and the movement of cattle and household goods. It is used alike of men who drive the cattle from village to camp, from camp to camp, and from camp to village. It is also used of women who move separately, carrying their milk vessels and other possessions in baskets, for "*kwak cereka ghok*" "Household goods are like cattle." Of the movement from villages to camps one says "*Ce nath ghuth wicni,*" "the people have moved into camp" and of the movement from camps back to villages one says "*Ce nath ghuth ciäng,*" "the people have moved to the villages."

The Nuer pastoral year may therefore be divided into two main periods, the six wet season months, from June to December, when the people live in their villages, and the six dry season months, from December to June, when they live in camps. The dry season half of the year may be further divided into the earlier part when people are burning the grasses and living in intermediate small camps for a few weeks, and the latter part when they live for several months in large camps near lakes or wells or on the banks of rivers.

IX.

Inland, especially in Lou country, it is usually necessary to dig wells at the height of the dry season. Twenty years ago this was probably more general than it is today, because, as already explained, the main rivers and marshes lay outside Lou territory. Wells are sometimes dug also in Eastern Jikany country.

As the Sobat falls it drains the streams that intersect Lou country and, before long, their water is reduced to occasional pools where the beds are deepest. In the smaller streams these soon dry up and wells are excavated. Capt. H. H. Wilson first drew attention to these wells at Muöt töt (*Amwot el Sogheir*) in 1902 and wrote of them: "Dug on the sandy banks of the *khor*, their depth varied from 20 to 30 feet, with a diameter of about 2 feet 6 inches. Owing to the solidarity of the ground, the walls of the well stood without much

need of revetting, and great labour must have been expended in their construction. Steps were cut in the wells on opposite sides, to enable a man to descend and ascend."* When I was camped on the Nyanding river in February and March of 1932 only the pools on its lower reaches still contained water, and that was fouled and slimy. Mankac was the last place where there was still surface water to be found. Upstream cattle camps were centred around wells sunk in the beds of the river. The following description was written at Yik.

Most of the men leave whatever exhausted pool they have been camped around a few days in advance of the women, and cattle, and a few youths left in charge of the cattle, in order that they may prepare the wells, for the cattle must drink as soon as they arrive in their new quarters. Digging wells is a heavy task. The men begin by chopping out a circle in the bed of the river to define the circumference of the well and then pour water over the hard ground to make digging possible. For the first four to six feet down they cut through black river mud, caked hard for the first two feet or so but softer and moister afterwards. They then strike sand and cut through sand for another twenty to thirty feet till they reach water. All the wells at Yik, like those seen by Wilson at Muöt töt, were estimated to be from 20 to 30 feet deep, so that Jackson's statement that " There are no wells in the Nuer country—unless a slight excavation of no greater depth than six feet in certain places can be dignifed by this name "† is incorrect. The wells at Yik were about a yard in circumference at the top but lower down they were slightly wider, being funnel-shaped. The sand gets moister the lower the well is dug.

Until a man has dug to some five feet down he can work unaided. Men take it in turn to excavate and throw the mud out of the hole to the surface. When the worker has reached sand an assistant remains at the edge of the well and hauls out the sand in a gourd which has a block of wood running across it and is enclosed in a net. The gourd is lowered by a cord and when filled with sand is hauled to

* Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, p. 140.

† Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

the surface, the sand being deposited a little way from the mouth of the well. Steps are hollowed out on the opposite sides of the walls at intervals of about two feet.

When water is reached a thick coil of grass tied with twine is lowered to the worker at the bottom and he places it round the sides of the well from the basis to two or three feet up the walls. This is done to prevent sand from falling from the walls into the water. The water is about a foot deep and is clear and fresh.

The work of digging a well takes two or three days. Each *gol*, household, has its own well and each well is surrounded by several circular troughs. A trough (*pany*) is fashioned from the mud excavated from the well. It is about four feet in diameter having a wall a foot high. The wall and floor are pounded hard with a cow's horn, or a bone, to make the trough water-tight, and they are then coated with a layer of sand to keep the water clean and make it attractive to the cattle.

Watering cattle from wells is an unceasing labour. Cattle drink from the troughs as soon as they are loosened in the morning ; they return from grazing at midday for another drink, and are watered a third time in the evening before being tethered. Therefore three times a day the troughs have to be filled by the slow process of drawing gourdfuls of water from the well, the gourds being weighted and let down with a cord, and of carrying them to the troughs. Men work late at night to fill the troughs for the morning drink and a large part of the mornings and afternoons are spent in preparing for the midday and evening drinks.

To avoid confusion a man generally loosens a few of his cattle at a time so that they can drink their fill and then give place to others. While they are drinking their masters squat by the side of the trough to prevent any beast from putting its feet in the water and fouling it and to see that it does not damage the walls of the trough. If a cow puts its hoof on the wall or in the water he gives it a sharp rap on the leg with his club. The animals soon understand this rule and meekly circle round the trough, or kneel at the edge of the wall, to

drink. Each beast also soon gets to know its special trough and when loosened or when returning from pasture at once makes for it, though when the camp starts there is often confusion, for if an animal approaches a trough that does not belong to its master it is driven away by the owner of the trough and cows are thus driven from trough to trough till they discover the right one and join the other cattle of their household which are drinking there.

On the arrival of a new household at the camp their kinsmen allow them to use their troughs till they have dug their own wells. Frequent disputes take place over wells for a man guards his water jealously. While I was at Yik several persons near Muöt tōt were killed in a fight that started in a dispute about wells.

A boy is placed on duty to watch the troughs all day long and often he plants a thorn bush in the bed of the river near his troughs and throws some grass on its branches so that he may have a little shade in the heat of the day. The lad's main duty is to prevent the sheep and goats from drinking water at the troughs reserved for the cattle for the cattle do not like drinking after them and they foul the water. Sheep and goats either have their own troughs or are allowed to drink when the cattle have had their fill. But as they graze unattended near the camp they may return at any time and try to drink from one of the cattle-troughs. A boy who allows sheep and goats belonging to another household to drink the water drawn for his father's cattle is in for a whipping from his elder brother. Even the crows are driven away from the precious water. The most other boys will do to warn a sleepy comrade that the water of his trough is being drunk is to sing out "*Caa lil o, caa lil*" and one constantly hears this refrain in the camp. When a boy sings this chant every lad looks to his troughs to make sure that it is not from them that water is being drunk.

No washing is allowed from the troughs and if a man wants a bath he must get a comrade to pour water over him at a well-side. Every care is taken to keep the water clean and the wells are frequently inspected. If the water is discoloured a man descends to the bottom,

cleans it out, and rearranges the grass coil around the sides. The discoloured water is then drawn out in gourdfuls and thrown away. They continue drawing the water till they are satisfied that the well is clean again. Every day the walls of the trough receive a fresh coating of sand and are thus kept smooth and clean. All the work falls to the men and boys. Men, assisted by the bigger boys, dig the wells and make the troughs and draw the water. The smaller boys guard the water. Women and girls only draw water for household purposes.

There were dozens of wells at Yik, the bed of the river having been bored every few yards. As each well supplied two or three troughs the ground was covered with shiny pools.

X.

Water is the primary problem of the herdsman's life in Nuerland. A secondary problem, for it arises from excess or insufficiency of water, is pasturage. In their seasonal movements Nuer are not only seeking water but also nourishing grasses and when herdsmen take the cattle from camp to their grazing grounds they do not guide them haphazardly across the plain but drive them to where they know of succulent grasses. The best pastures are often far from camp and the cattle have to be milked early so that they may have time to graze, drink water, chew the cud, and graze again before returning to camp. It is necessary to herd the cattle in the dry season, but Nuer say that it is better to do so at all times of the year though they do not always act accordingly. When I brought one of my cows from Yakwac to Mancom early in the rains it was noticeably thinner than the Mancom cattle. The Mancom people said that the Yakwac cattle do not do so well as their own because the Yakwac people do not herd their cattle in the rains and take them to the best pastures but leave them to graze by themselves. Consequently they graze on the exhausted pasturage near the homesteads. At Mancom a man always accompanied the cattle and took them to the richest grasses.

Nuer are great authorities on grasses and know all about their habits and distributions. They never make a mistake in identifying

those grasses which are *wal ghok*, cattle-grasses, and those plants which are eaten regularly by cattle, sheep, and goats or are used for veterinary purposes. One is only given names of plants with hesitation or given different names by different persons when they have no particular value or use. One should not, however, bring leaves and flowers home and ask a Nuer for the names, for this confuses him, but he knows them at once when he sees them growing, as he would normally see them. Not the form of the plant alone but its form together with its habitat enable him quickly to identify it, for some plants are found in gardens, others on sandy ridges, others in the open plain, and others near streams.

It is probable that Nuer expansion has to a considerable degree been influenced by the distribution of pasture grasses. I am not a botanist and can only record a few of the main grasses which are found in both Western and Eastern Nuerland without being able to give their distribution in these latitudes. However, Nuer have told me that the reason they did not oust the Ngok Dinka from their enclave was that their pastures are not up to the grazing standards Nuer demand for their cattle. It has also been pointed out to me by Nuer that Shillukland is very poor in grazing grasses, a statement which seems to me, from a very slight acquaintance with Shilluk country, to be true.

There are some Nuer grasses the cattle like, some they will eat if they are hungry, and some which they refuse at all times. The richness of pasture varies at different times of the year and in different places and it is these seasonal and local variations which determine Nuer annual, and daily, movements.

In the season of *Rwil*, the springtime of the year when the early rains fall, all the grasses either send up new shoots or begin to grow again after several months of arrested growth. This is a season of fatness for the cattle. All the pasture grasses are short and tender and they can choose the most luscious of them and graze on them to their hearts' content. In this time of plenty they nibble the heads of the grasses of which they are not greatly fond while they graze to the ground a favourite grass like *gau* (*Andropogon Gayanus Kunth*).

But when the rainy season (*töt*) is well advanced, grazing becomes more difficult, partly because the country is inundated and partly because some of the best grasses like *dut cieng nath* (*Echinochloa pyramidalis Hitchc. and Chase*) grow tall and rank and are no longer favoured by the cattle, though this particular grass which grows in the open plain and may, perhaps, be regarded as the characteristic grass of Western Nuerland, does not grow so coarse as many others and is the great stand-by of the cattle in a bad year. Other grasses which are eaten in the early rains but become too rank in the middle of the rains to appeal to the cattle are *dik* (*Sorghum dimidiatum stapf*), *dinding* (*Ischaemum brachyatherum Fenzl*), both grasses of the open plains, *yiu* (*Rottboellia exaltate L.f.*), which is found mainly away from streams and grows best on sandy ridges, and when full-grown is covered with spines on account of which it is also called *lep yang*, ' cow's tongue ; ' and *yuol* (*Pennitetum ramosum Schweinf.*) a grass of the open plains which has spiky heads that when it is full grown, run into the eyes of the cattle and make them sore so that they have to be bathed.

Therefore at the height of the rains, especially in a flood year, grazing is often a serious problem and cattle have to rely largely on the short grasses of the village ridges. This is where Lou country has an advantage over the Eastern Jikany districts and why many villages in Western Nuerland are so well placed. Such grasses are *jual jok* ' dog's tail ' (*Setaria pallide-fusca Stapf and Hubbard*), and *bogh* (*Eriochloa nubica Hack. and Stapf.*), neither of which cattle relish, though *bogh* is eaten avidly by goats and sheep. Another ridge grass is *muöth* (*Cynodon Dactylon Pero.*). These grasses are supplemented by grasses of the open plains that grow at the foot of the ridges, particularly *dut cieng nath*, and have been beaten down by rain. In those parts of Nuerland which are not favoured by wide ridges the cattle may starve in a year of very high flood.

Early in the season of *jiom*, the windy season that succeeds the rains and is the first part of the dry season, the grasses dry up and seed. It is not a good time for the cattle since the tall grasses impede their movement, no longer provide succulent pasturage, and may

shelter beasts of prey. Nuer hasten to burn them as soon as they are dry enough, usually in the latter part of November and in the early part of December. If they are fired too early they are only half burnt and though new shoots spring up the old charred stems remain standing.

Some grasses which cattle eat in the wet season fail to come up after firing till the following rains. Such are *wal* (or *dut*) *lony*, ' lion's grass ' which grows in the open plains ; an excellent grazing grass called *gogh* (*Brachiaria obtusiflora Stapf*). also of the open plains and favouring shallow depressions ; *töl muoth*, also of the open plains and good pasture in the rainy season.

Other grasses send up tender young shoots a few days after they are burnt. Probably this is due to their long roots which tap water held up in the clay beds and it may be partly due also to their clump formation which protects the core of the plants from the flames. If it were not for the fact that some grasses send up new shoots after firing it would be difficult for the cattle to survive. It would, I think, be impossible for them to survive inland in a dry year. Some of the main grasses which come up again, though they do not grow till the next rains, are *twät* (*sporobolus pyramidalis Beauv.*), a grass found mainly near sandy ridges and not greatly favoured by the cattle ; *ghol* (*Setaria sp.*) which also the cattle do not much care for ; *riëth* (*Setaria Lynesii Stapf and Hubbard*) a grass found mainly along shallow depressions ; and *gau*. But the two grasses mainly to be depended on, and both much eaten by cattle, are *dut cieng nath* and a very tall grass, found near streams and pools, called *dut in lum* or *dut jaangni*. Some of the grasses which come up again grow near village sites and are therefore of little use because the cattle are in camps in the open plains, *e.g.*, *twät* and *ghöl*. It seems to depend to some extent on the amount of rainfall to what extent grasses send up shoots and in a very dry year grasses which would in a wet year send up shoots may not do so.

After the grasses have been burnt the cattle have a good time as they can wander as they please, being no longer impeded by surface

water or rank vegetation, and as they can graze on the tender shoots. But when the dry season advances pasture becomes scarcer but cattle can graze again over the shoots. Eventually, however, they have to fall back on marsh grasses, especially in a dry year when such grasses of the plains as *dut cieng nath* may fail (it is said *ce tör* or *ce juac tör*). Nuer then make for rivers, swamps, lagoons, and deep marshy depressions where they can always find enough vegetation to keep the cattle alive. The chief marsh grasses are *poon* (*Onyza Barthi A. cheval*), *giëk*, *buogh*, and *kuth yang*. Nuer say that no grasses give more milk than these if the cows can obtain them in abundance.

Cattle also eat a number of plants and these are a useful addition to their diet. A good number of such plants, however, grow in cultivations and are therefore not accessible to the cattle, but some spring up in old garden sites and in the neighbourhood of habitations. Nevertheless cattle are grass grazers and it is mainly sheep and goats which graze on plants, and they eat also the leaves of young trees. Goats will eat almost anything but sheep are daintier feeders and will not touch some of the bitter plants and shrubs that goats devour. The plants eaten by sheep or goats, or by both, generally grow in old cultivations or on old homestead and camp sites. Some of those recorded are *Cak*, 'milk,' so-called because it oozes out a thick white juice when cut, *tiltil* (*Boerhaaira repens L.*) another plant called *tiltil* (*Indigofera Sp.*), *Wangrial* (*Justicia matammensis* (*Schwenf*) *oliv.*), *när yiauwa* (*Emilia sagittata DC*), *mut ngai*, 'spear of the francolin' (*schleria foliosa A. Rich.*), *wöör* (*Portulaca Quadrifida L.*), *kutkakdeet* (*Glycine Borianii Bak*), *tac* (*Ipomoea reptans Poir*), *pac* (*Urochloa s'.*), *nyiök indit pin*, *tiecdong* (*cyperus rotundus L.*), *tiec*, *belagak gordet*, *kër jaakoah* ('crow's pumpkins'), *thil in cöt*, etc., etc.

XI.

Besides having to adapt themselves to conditions of water supply and vegetation Nuer have to adjust themselves to conditions of insect-life which is an ever-present obstacle to cattle husbandry in their country. The cattle get no rest from stinging flies and ticks from

morn till nightfall and in the rainy season they are menaced by mosquitos as soon as the sun sets.

When the rains commence the cattle are taken back to the permanent villages and, as mosquitos become numerous, they are milked towards sunset and then at once tethered in the byres, the doors being closed after them. In the centre of each byre a huge fire of dried dung sends out clouds of smoke so dense that it is impossible for a European to remain there for several minutes. One cannot even see the cattle. One can only hear their movements as they chew the cud (*nyök*) and change their position. The smoke and heat are so oppressive that I have often wondered how either Nuer or their cattle survive the atmosphere night after night. Young men sleep on a platform above the fire and if the smoke becomes less dense one of them descends to stir up the fire and pile on more dung, for as soon as the smoke beings to clear—it escapes through the thatched roof—mosquitos enter. When the cattle are brought into the kraal before sunrise they are sleepy. I suppose that they have not had a very restful night in the stifling atmosphere of the byres. Nuer realize that the heat and smoke of the byres are bad for the cattle but they consider that mosquitos are worse. At the end of the rainy season and at the commencement of the dry season they leave the cattle outside till they go to bed themselves. Then they have to shut them in the byres because they would inevitably be devoured by lions if left all night unguarded in the kraals. They do not make up the fires so high at this time of the year for after the first millet harvest has been reaped mosquitos are far less numerous near the villages, since there is now no standing water and the grasses have been close-cropped on the ridges by the flocks and herds. Later those who still remain in the villages often erect windscreens in the kraals and spend the night with the cattle outside.

The worst months for mosquitos are July, August and September, when there is surface water and when the millet crop is well grown, for swarms of mosquitos shelter beneath the broad leaves of the millet during the heat of the day. As soon as the sun sets one hears Nuer slapping mosquitoes on their bodies as they sit by the kraal

fires, but they are quickly driven into huts and byres to seek protection amid the smoke of their fires. The doors of the huts are closed tightly, air-holes are blocked, and fires are lit. Mosquito-nets are the only European product, apart from spears, for which the Nuer express any great enthusiasm, but very few, perhaps one in several thousand, possess them.

During my residence at Mancöm on the Sobat in July, 1935 I was almost eaten alive by mosquitos. My cotton mosquito house afforded me some protection at night but insects soon made holes in it and the mosquitos entered. Moreover, they swarmed outside like a beleaguering army and on my leaving or entering the house battalions invaded it. The worst time was between six and nine o'clock in the morning when hundreds of mosquitos collected in my tent to escape the sun so that it was impossible to sit in it without being repeatedly bitten. One gets little rest, and fever is sooner or later inevitable.

Mosquitos are absent away from pools and river banks in the dry season and even in the vicinity of water—and one must live near water—they are not troublesome from January to May. In the dry season, therefore, the cattle sleep in the open, the herd being surrounded by windscreens in which the Nuer themselves sleep. If a beast of prey approaches people know of its approach by observing that the cattle are restless. The alarm is given and in a moment the whole camp is awake and men rush, with spears in their hands, to the place of danger. I have seen camps awake half the night chasing lions away, for a lion makes many attempts before he acknowledges defeat. But even in the dry season dung fires envelope the camps in smoke at night to protect the cattle from insects.

According to the Nuer it was Woman who first brought mosquitos to the habitations of men. Woman found Mosquito in the open plain and asked him " What do you eat ? " Mosquito replied, " Oh ! grass. Just nothing." Woman said to him, " Well come home with me and we will share our homestead together." When God heard Woman's words he asked her, " What about your husband ? " Woman replied,

"Oh! He can brush away Mosquito with a bird's wing." God said, "All right." For the first few days Man brushed mosquitos aside. Then he found that it was useless so he suffered them.

Another unpleasant insect pest is the seroot fly (*röm*). Seroot are seasonal. They flourish on cloudy days from May to July. I have not seen them in this latitude from the end of July to the beginning of May. When I was at Konye in May and at Yakwac in July they appeared in swarms every morning shortly before the cattle were driven to pasture, between 9 and 9.30 a.m. At the same hour every morning I was driven from my tent by their painful stings. Fortunately when the cattle go to pasture the seroot flies accompany them. On most mornings at Konye about two hours after being driven to pasture the herd came stampeding back kicking their legs and lashing out with their tails and dung fires had to be lit in the kraal to protect them. There was no need to tether the cattle for they were only too grateful to be allowed to stand near the fires and let the smoke envelope them. Only when there was a shower of rain did they get any relief in the pastures, for rain drives seroot away. On cloudy rainless days the poor beasts ran back to the village covered with seroot and their flanks stained with blood. On such days they were not able to graze for more than two or three hours.

By August the seroot has gone but the stumoxis (*wath*) remains. It is a small black biting fly which is present in the rains and, I think, in the dry season also. It is probably responsible for the presence of trypanosomiasis in parts of Nuerland, transferring the trypanosomes directly on its proboscis from beast to beast, for the tsetse (*mi* or *luk liec*) does not occur in Nuerland, except perhaps in parts of Eastern Gaajak country, which I have not visited, though its lethal character is well known to Nuer. Indeed they have probably had to take it into account in their expansion eastwards for there can be little doubt that the main reason for their evacuation of Anuakland, which they conquered as far as the foothills of the Abyssinian escarpment was the loss of their cattle from trypanosomiasis carried by tsetse, which occupy a belt of country at the foot of the escarpment whenever dense forest occurs.

There are other insect pests beside mosquitos, seroot and stumoxis, which annoy the cattle though whether any of them carry disease in this latitude is unknown. The eight-legged cattle ticks (*cak*) attach themselves so firmly to the dewlap, brisket, chest, belly, and udder that their blood-bloated bodies have to be sharply tugged if they are to be dislodged. Nuer remove them frequently in the evenings but not often enough and not systematically enough. There is another insect called *tharkwac* which is said to live on the bodies of cattle though its bite does not cause bleeding.

Personally, of all the insects that abound in African luxuriance in Nuerland I hate most the ordinary black fly, which is like our house fly in appearance. Nuer do not pay much regard to it and they are doubtless less objectionable to the cattle than most insects, though they worry them a good deal in hot weather. These flies settle on one and drive one crazy from dawn till sunset. On trek one is accompanied by an attendant swarm round one's head and shoulders. They do not seem to mind travelling any distance. When one is seated they settle persistently on the exposed parts of one's body. When one is eating they get in the food. All day long one is brushing them away. Their most annoying habit is experienced at sunset when they seek some cavity in one's body in which to spend the night, selecting the ears, nostrils, and eyes for this purpose. They are worst in the middle of the dry season for wet and cold keep them away—probably kill them off—to some extent in the rains and in the windy season that succeeds the rains. In the dry season they are sometimes intolerable. When I was encamped at Mankac and Biel on the Nyanding River there was very little water, and that fouled, in the pools, and the cattle were dying daily of rinderpest. A man might have thought that every fly in the world had come to live around the pools and to feed on carcases and excreta. In my more bitter moments I used to think of Nuerland as a land where the first mosquitos begin to bite one's legs as the last flies crawl into one's ears and nostrils.

While I am recalling my own experiences of insects I will mention in conclusion the red soldier ants (mörmör). I have only seen these

ants in the wooded area near the junction of the Sobat and the Nyanding Rivers and they may be regarded as uncommon in Nuerland, since they are probably found only where there is fairly thick forest. They sometimes get into the byres and the cattle have to be taken outside while efforts are made to drive them away with ashes. When they invaded my camp our efforts were unavailing. We fought them for five days with fire and ashes and water and, though it was the worst time of the year for mosquitos, I was compelled to sleep the last three nights in a deck-chair surrounded by a ring of fire. On the sixth day we gave up the struggle and broke camp.

I have ventured to give some of my own experiences because one of the great difficulties of working as an anthropologist, or indeed in any other capacity, in Nuerland, is the constant irritation caused by insects and the exhaustion and sickness that finally ensue. To appreciate what the Nuer have to endure it is well to endure for a while the same torments. While their cattle have to live in such conditions the breed cannot well be improved and the milk yield increased, for they never get any real rest and the continual irritation caused them by insects must greatly lower their vitality and render them an easy prey to disease. In the circumstances their hardiness and endurance is remarkable.

XII.

Having had no veterinary training I cannot list all the diseases from which cattle suffer in Nuerland. The most serious scourge is certainly rinderpest (*nyapec, nyapec Deang, nyanjut munnyuac*).

The usual name in most parts of Nuerland is *nyapec*. It is given a female name because of the supposed female properties of serious epidemics. Similarly, severe cases of smallpox are spoken of as female and light cases as male. A Nuer, with whom Miss Soule was once discussing rinderpest, when asked by her why it had a feminine prefix replied, " Would any man do such a thing as to kill all the cattle ? " The wild dog is called *jiok nyapec* and I have been told that it is so called because wild dogs brought rinderpest to the cattle (*caa nyapec noong döör e ken*).

Nuer know no way of combating rinderpest once it has attacked a herd but they are aware that an infected herd must be isolated. The Lou along the Sobat River in 1931 did their best to prevent any cattle from moving across their grazing grounds from infected districts and seemed well aware that the disease is carried on the hooves of cattle. They may have gained this knowledge from Europeans but Jackson records as early as 1924, when contact with Europeans was very slight : " Diseased skins are sold to the pedlars (Arabic speaking traders from the northern Sudan) who wander through their country. To this fact the Nuer themselves attribute the widespread disease that has taken enormous toll of their herds during the past few years. It is also interesting to note that they believe the disease to be carried on the hooves of the pedlars' donkeys.....The Jekaing, however, in the Bahr el Ghazal Province (Western Jikany) make such stringent quarantine regulations that if a man is known to have eaten of an animal that has died of cattle plague he is not allowed in a district free of the disease."

Nuer also try to protect their cattle by splitting up the herd, especially in the dry season, so that if rinderpest breaks out in some districts and is not carried to every district, only part of the herd is affected. Thus a man may keep some of his cattle in camp at the inland pool of *Muöt dit* while his son takes two or three animals to the Geni River and one or two cows are placed with a relative-in-law in Gaawär country or in the Dinka swamps. Likewise many men who camp on the Sobat leave some of their cattle at inland pools at Nyarol.

Nuer are aware that if an animal recovers from rinderpest it is immune from future attacks and greatly value such beasts. They are also aware that immunity of a cow does not mean immunity for its calves.

Rinderpest causes havoc among the herds and it is a bitter experience to live among the Nuer when their cattle are infected. They can only look on helplessly, more morose and resigned than ever, while it destroys some two thirds of their beasts. Youths see

their chance of marrying in the near future vanish and everyone is threatened with hunger and poverty. When we consider all that cattle mean to Nuer it is easy to imagine their grief and forebodings. But they do not show grief or express forebodings. They do not let one see what they suffer. They meet disaster with calm mien and speak of their loss with philosophic detachment.

Next to rinderpest the most serious contagious disease is probably bovine pleuro-pneumonia (*jöndapuöth, jök puöthni, jok nya puöth dööb*). In some years it causes heavy mortality among the herds. Nuer treat it by chewing certain leaves or bark and blowing them up the nostrils of sick animals.

Among the Eastern Jikany—and perhaps in other parts of Nuerland—though I am uncertain of this—cattle sometimes die of tryponosomiasis (*noi jöklace*). As already explained tsetse is not the carrier but biting flies, probably stumoxis and perhaps, seroot, are responsible for direct transmission. What effect this mode of transmission has on the trypanosomes does not appear to be known, but it is evident that the disease must be to some extent endemic and that it manifests itself only in periods of low vitality, as in years of heavy floods or of exceptional drought. Mr. Corfield tells me that among the Eastern Jikany an animal showing signs of trypanosomiasis is burnt across the back with a piece of red-hot iron, probably a heated spearhead: " Firing marks are about six inches across, three inches on each side of the spine and extend from the withers, below the hump, almost to the root of the tail." This treatment, presumably, is useless.

There is a disease called *köön*, probably ringworm, which causes sores all over the body. Nuer treat it by pounding the dung of ostriches and hyaenas and dusting the sores with this powder. Another disease is called *dööny*, Its symptoms are unknown but the treatment is to tie a strip of buffalo's or tiang's skin round the cow's neck and to tether it in the sun without food or water for two or three days. This is said to cure it. *Dät*, probably, ' foul on the foot,' is a disease

of the hooves which is often fatal. Another disease of unknown symptoms is *puc* (*puc nyacar, nyacar*). There is a disease called *kec* which is treated by the animals ears, and sometimes its horns also, being cut with a spear heated in the fire (*ba kec tem kä mac*). This sickness causes abscesses in the ears which are therefore scraped out. It also causes the horns to become hollow and if this is found to be the case the horns are either cut or bored.

Goats and sheep have their special diseases: *fanyuain*, probably sheep-pox, *wötcueny*, fluke, in which the liver and gall-bladder are enlarged and full of sores, etc. They also suffer from trypanosomiasis.

Jök is a generic name for all diseases of cattle, sheep and goats. The word may be incorporated from the Dinka and some expressions in which it figures, *e.g., jöndapuöth*, bovine pleural-pneumonia, show very clearly Dinka construction. The kind of *jök* which is afflicting the cattle is specified in the names of different diseases or in different names for the same disease, *e.g., jondapuoth, jöklace, jökdiu, jok nyantiel*, and *jok nyanjut*. Nuer appear to regard contagious diseases of cattle as spirits which suddenly come, for no apparent reason, as diseases of men come. Nuer say that they are spirits sent by God. They say "*Ce jok ben piny, caa kam piny e kuth*," "The disease has come to earth, it is brought to earth by God."

Besides veterinary medicines used to cure sickness, some of which may have therapeutic properties and be considered drugs, Nuer possess medicines which are used for other purposes than to cure sickness and we probably do not wrongly assess their value when we say it is purely of a magical order. Such are the medicines placed in churning gourds and churned with the milk to ensure a good supply of cheese. The roots of the following plants were recorded as having this use: *Cancan*, (*Trianthema pentandra*) *githlual, kuäk*. The seeds of a sweet smelling plant that grows on camp and village sites called *miëth* (*Ocimum americanum L.*), are boiled with the cheese to make it sweet and keep long.

Before a cow is taken to a bull to be served the root of a plant called *rinöm* (*Clitoria Tertnatea L.*) is chewed and blown up its nostrils to ensure conception. A plant called *när teyänga* (*wal thööra yang*) is given in an infusion to be swallowed by a cow which has aborted its calf. An infusion made from a plant called *tam kwir* is administered to cows which are milk-bound. An infusion from the *dep gany* plant is given to a cow which retains the afterbirth and an infusion from the stalks of the *cancan* creeper is given to a cow which refuses to suckle its calf.

Nuer love to hear their favourite oxen lowing and Mr. Corfield tells me that among the Eastern Jikany to induce an ox to low they take the feathers of the ground hornbill (*rumyuat*), a bird which has a deep-toned booming call, and after grinding them and mixing them with water, give them to their oxen to drink. Better still, if the whole bird can be obtained, its innards are used in this way instead of its feathers. Another bird used for the same purpose is the African cuckoo (*kwei bötbuöt*).

The usual ways of administering medicines to cattle are to give them in an infusion through the mouth or to chew them and blow them up the nostrils (*liang yang*).

There are very few cattle medicines. Indeed, the Nuer, like other Nilotic peoples are very deficient in all forms of magic and in those situations where ritual is employed the ghosts or the spirits are invoked.

The only wounds of cattle which I have seen treated are broken horns. It sometimes happens that a cow or ox is horned by another in a byre and in turning to get out of the way it cracks its horns against one of the big trunks that support the roof of the byre and breaks one of them. Nuer fear lest the animal may die since there is rain everyday and, in the early part of the wet season, many flies. They cover the wound with *dil luak*, the brown sooty deposit which collects over the wood and thatch of byres when fires have burnt in them for some years.

XIII.

Although there is more food in the rains the young men prefer the dry season for they can then spend all day in close association with their comrades and there is plenty of opportunity and leisure for dancing, flirting and displaying themselves before girls from other villages. In the dry season also people can sleep outdoors in the open air with their cattle, for there are few mosquitos. The dry season is also the time for fishing in pools, rivers, and lagoons, and this occupation gives amusement as well as providing tasty and nourishing food. Tiop told me " When the north wind blows at the end of the rains the young men rejoice because the windy season has come. Now they can sleep outside and there are no mosquitos. Now the whole land is burnt and a man can see over the countryside in every direction. Now a man can go out fishing by himself and may be he will not return to camp at night but will sleep on the river-bank. Now they drive the cattle to distant pastures. Only the old men prefer the rains because their bellies are then filled with millet and maize and beer : but the young men rejoice when the north wind blows."

A Western Nuer said " The dry season is good, for then you kill hippopotami and animals of the open plains, and there is the *dompiny* dance and flirting with the girls and jumping and singing behind your oxen. The wet season is good also for then there is plenty of millet, food and beer. Both seasons are good."

As camp life is not everywhere exactly the same it is easier for me to describe the life of members of a section of the Lou tribe who collected at Yakwac on the Sobat River in 1931, as they do every year, and to make comments which will denote certain differences between the mode of life I observed during a lengthy residence there and modes of life observed at dry season camps in other parts of Nuerland.

Camp life is monotonous and drives an anthropologist to despair as nothing unusual happens. Nuer are not eager to fight at this time of the year and marriage, mortuary, and initiation ceremonies are normally held during, or at the end of, the rains, when millet and beer are plentiful. I have spent weeks in camps watching the same daily round. A description of one day serves for any day.

Hunger is partly responsible for the low pulse of life at this season. As has been explained, Nuer cultivate little and in most districts, especially in Lou country, they have to husband their grain if it is not to be exhausted long before the new harvest has ripened. They leave most of the grain in their wet season villages for seed and to support themselves during the hungry weeks that last from sowing to harvest time. They do not carry much millet to the camps so that they have to use it sparingly, though, if the camps are only a day or two away from the villages, women will sometimes return to get further supplies from the village granaries. When the dry season is well advanced the cows often cannot obtain sufficient pasturage of a nourishing quality and give little milk. Those Nuer who camp at the edge of inland pools and lagoons can supplement their diet with fish, but on the Sobat we only had what few fish boys could spear in the shallows and the yield of harpooning from our single canoe. From time to time members of our camp managed to kill wild beasts: gazelle, cob, tiang and giraffe. Otherwise our meat supply was limited to an occasional ox or cow which died and to blood from the necks of cows.

Camp life is regulated by requirements of the cattle and Nuer speak of periods of the day by reference to pastoral tasks rather than to the course of the sun, *e.g.*, they say that they will do something at the time of milking, or after the cattle are driven to pasture, or when the calves return to camp. The camp time-table varies little from day to day. It is approximately as follows :—

A.M.

6.00 Everybody rises.

6.45 The cows are milked.

8.00 The cattle are driven to pasture, the kraal is cleaned and the morning meal is served.

8.15 Goats and sheep are milked and taken to pasture.

P.M.

4.30 Calves, sheep and goats are brought back to camp.

5.00 Cows which have recently calved come running home.

5.30 The herd returns and the cows are milked.

7.30 The evening meal is served.

Everyone wakes before sunrise and satisfies the needs of nature. For about three quarters of an hour after sunrise men sit by their hearths protected by windscreens and women outside their beehive grass huts chatting, smoking and gazing at the cattle which lie, still sleeping, many with their muzzles tucked into their barrels, and chew the cud. Being close together they rub their bodies against one another and lick each other. They present a medley of colour : fawn, grey, mouse, black, brown, blue and chestnut-roan, with many variations of shade and distribution.

The huts and windscreens are generally erected in a semi-circle with their backs to the prevailing wind, though they sometimes form an almost complete circle and at other times are arranged in lines. Windscreens are of simple construction. A narrow trench is dug for three quarters of a circle and handfuls of grass are planted, root downwards into the trench. Each handful is beaten tightly against the last one so that a solid screen of grass is formed. The grasses generally used for this purpose are *dut in lum*, a tall coarse riverside grass called *wath* (*Sorghum lanceolatum Stapf.*) and *war* (*Vetiveria nigritiana Stapf*). Where camps are made near villages millet stalks are sometimes used instead of grass. All these grasses are tall and sturdy and they bend to the wind and do not break. Men sleep in the shelter of these screens on the hearths which occupy the whole of the enclosed space. Here the fire is never allowed to go out, and from day to day the height of the hearth is slowly raised by accumulation of ashes. Women make huts in the same way as men make windscreens but they bend the tops of the grasses so that they meet. They are then tied together and the sides are plastered with cattle dung. Within these flimsy shelters which contrast with the massive byres and well-built huts of their wet season villages Nuer spend about half the year. Sometimes, as at Yakwac, a camp is made in a wet season village belonging to kinsmen at the edge of a river. Then the men desert their windscreens at midday for the cool interiors of the byres and the women sleep at night in the village huts instead of erecting special grass huts. But even when, as in certain parts of Nuerland where there is no great deficiency of water

or dearth of pasturage, the people remain on their village sites or move only a short distance from them, they insist on making a camp nearby, for such is the ancient dry-season custom.

The windscreen (*geau*) does not seem to be used in Western Nuerland. In the camps I have seen there both sexes live in grass huts plastered with dung, the huts of married couples being rather larger than those occupied by youths or girls. The huts appear also to be more carefully constructed than in Eastern Nuerland. In Nuer camps one sometimes sees a rough shelter (*geau deeni*) constructed of branches with grass, often the riverside *buor*, thrown on top to give shade for the young calves during the heat of the day. Otherwise they are taken into the huts or tethered beneath a tree.

In the front of the windscreens are tethered the cattle. When they are grazing the kraal is a circle studded with pegs and sprinkled with drying dung. When they come back in the evening they are tethered to these pegs. Adult cattle are placed in the centre of the kraal, the calves on the outside nearest to the windscreens where they are under the watchful eyes of their owners, and the sheep and goats in small clusters here and there between the adult cattle and the calves. Oxen of enormous size, with great spreading horns trained into artificial shapes, stand docile and lethargic, prominent among the other cattle. A man places his favourite ox in a line with the entrance to his windscreen so that he can see it without moving.

Before and during milking youths display themselves in company with their favourite oxen. Boys lead the oxen round the camp and their young owners walk behind them brandishing their spears and leaping gracefully into the air, shouting and singing the while. This display is called *rau* and is one of the customs of dry season camps. It is not practised in wet season villages because a youth does not show off before his own family but when he has a large audience, including girls whose favours he wishes to win. Youths often continue to display themselves till the cattle are driven to pasture.

Milking starts between 6-30 and 7-00. If the morning is misty it may be delayed till slightly later. As men are forbidden to milk

they sit in their windscreens while the women and boys milk the cows. This task takes about half an hour and the cattle then remain for a while tethered to their pegs. Each household milks its own cows and if there are strong boys and girls they do most of the work, leaving the married women to cook and attend to their babies, but adult women milk troublesome cows which require experience and firm handling and if they have no adolescent sons and daughters have to milk all the cows of their household.

Between 7-30 and 8-0 the cattle are taken to pasture. If some of the beasts are loosened before milking is finished they do not leave the herd but wait nearby the kraal till they are driven out with the herd. By this time the sun is high in the heavens. When there is good pasturage near the camp they may not be loosened till 9-0—10-0 o'clock because they will have plenty of time to eat their fill before sunset. Mr. Corfield tells me that they are generally taken to pasture at this late hour among the Eastern Jikany whose country is not so arid as that of the Lou. I gathered from statements of Western Nuer that in their country it is customary for the cattle to be loosened even later in the day.

No one gives an order for the cattle to be loosened but when all the cows have been milked someone begins to loosen his cattle and the others follow suit, the oxen being loosened last. The herdsmen for the day take them out of the kraal. Usually several men accompany the cattle for a short distance but some of these return to camp and only two or three men spend the day with them in the grazing grounds. Each household in turn provides a herdsman and the men who herded the cattle today arrange with others to herd them tomorrow. The adult occupants of each windscreen must take their turns as herdsmen. After being loosened, some beasts make at once for nearby water while others wait till they have reached their grazing grounds and drink there, for, about midday, the herdsmen accompany them to a pool. If water is near the cattle make their way to it, but if it is distant they have to be driven there. Herding is considered a hardship and is conducted by young adults. They have to keep a close watch over the cattle during the heat of the day in case they wander and

they may have to defend them against carnivorous beasts and human raiders. Often they relieve the monotony and solitude by composing and chanting songs. Nuer say that most songs are invented in the grazing grounds. Herdsmen have a quick meal before leaving camp and, except when there are plenty of *heglig* fruits in the early part of the dry season, they will not have another bite till after sunset. However hungry he might feel no herdsman would milk a cow.

After the cattle have left camp the day is closed for the men, as far as routine cattle tasks are concerned, till they are brought back to the kraal in the evening; but women and boys continue their labours. Women milk the goats and sheep and prepare the morning meal. Boys spread out the cattle dung that has collected overnight so that it may dry in the sun and furnish fuel to replenish the household fires at night. They also smooth the part of the kraal occupied by their beasts by rubbing over the earth the nightly residue of ashes, urine, and dung. Boys assist in milking the goats and in taking the small calves to shade. They then take the larger calves and the flocks to pasture. Older boys herd the calves and younger boys look after the flocks in the vicinity of the kraal. They spend most of the day playing games. If a small boy is hungry he catches a she-goat and milks it, holding it by the horns with one hand while he pats its udder and squeezes its teats with the other hand from which he then licks the milk. Or he may suckle it. People do not object to small boys milking the goats they are herding. They are small and hungry and need all the food they can get to grow into strong men.

Not all the adult men have been idle while their womenfolk and the boys have been cleaning the kraal and milking. On most mornings parties of two and three leave camp at dawn with their dogs to pick up a gazelle or other small animal. They do not return to camp till after milking is finished, and those who set out at dawn to inspect their giraffe traps return about the same time. After the cattle have been loosened the men potter about for a couple of hours. Generally some of them are engaged in making utensils and ornaments or in dressing their hair.

Much attention is devoted to hair-dressing in the dry season. In the rains the hair is sometimes neglected though never for a long time unless a man is in mourning. Nuer hair is naturally crinkly and black but when treated with ashes of cattle dung mixed with wood ash it is oxidised and becomes straight and golden. A man takes a heap of ash from his wind-screen fire, mixes it with wood ash, and places them on his sleeping skin where he removes any lumps, leaving only fine ash. To make the ashes finer still he beats them with a mallet and shakes and taps the skin so that the ashes are spread over it and can be searched for foreign matter which is then extracted. When he is satisfied he divides the ashes into two heaps, one of which he mixes with water. The Eastern Nuer do not use urine for this purpose as the Dinka and, to a lesser extent, the Western Nuer do. The scalp is now massaged with the damp ashes. When this is finished the hair is gathered into a peak at the back or front of the head and the dry ashes are sprinkled on top. The head remains for two or three days in its ash plaster which is then removed and the hair is sprinkled with oil. Nuer hair freshly treated in this way has a golden tint and glistens in the sun. Young men spend many hours in their wind-screens, after the cattle have gone to pasture, preparing their hair in this way.

By about 10 o'clock most of the men are sleeping behind their windscreens, beneath trees, or, if the camp is near a wet season village, in byres. Only if game is sighted is there any male activity in the camp for an hour or two before noontide. The men grasp their spears and with their dogs sprint after the animal to encircle it and run it down. After the first rains all able-bodied men leave camp to search for giraffe-tracks and if they find the animals they pursue them till they are exhausted and overtaken and speared. Nuer sometimes chase giraffe all day long and their endurance will scarcely be believed till it is seen, being especially remarkable when we recollect that they are weakened by hunger at this time of the year. But at the height of the dry season it is useless to hunt giraffe as they are too fleet on hard ground. While the men are sleeping the women are engaged in churning last night's milk.

About noon youths and maidens bathe in the river wherever a shallow sandy stretch offers a clear playground. They do the same at inland lakes but much time is there given also to fishing. The young people sit and splash in the water and the sexes flirt and wrestle in and out of the water. At about 2.30 they return to the camp where the girls churn the morning milk and pound and grind millet for the evening meal. The men turn over the drying dung with their sticks and then, having nothing more they need attend to, most of them return to their windscreens though one or two youths may try and spear fish in the shallows and they are joined there by older boys who are not herding the calves.

About 4-30 p.m. the small calves are brought from the shade where they have spent the day and are tethered in the kraal. The men hold them between their legs and lifting up their heads compel them to swallow water. At this time the boys bring back the larger calves and goats and sheep from grazing. Members of each household tether their animals. Generally one or two men now go out to meet (*luor*) the returning herd. Others gather the dried dung on hides from the heaps into which boys have swept it, and each owner of a windscreen makes up the evening fire on his hearth. There is no need to light the fires as they have been smouldering all day long and it is only necessary to clear away surface ashes and heap the new fuel on the exposed embers. Dense clouds of smoke arise and envelope the camp.

By 5 o'clock cows which have recently calved come running home and herald the approach of the herd which appears from 15 to 30 minutes later. Adult men tether the cattle of their household and women and boys commence at once to milk the cows and they finish this work before sunset. The women then prepare the evening meal and finish their dairy work. The men sit in their windscreens and await the meal which is served between 7 and 8 p.m. Nuer eat twice a day: in the morning and in the evening. The evening meal consists of millet porridge, with cheese or butter, or both, poured over it. The morning meal is generally the remains of supper heated up or with hot milk poured over it.

In a big camp there is often dancing at night and youths and girls pay evening visits to neighbouring camps to take part in the dances. There is a special dry season dance quite different from the drum dances of the wet season. It is called *dompiny*. A small hole is dug in the dancing place and a piece of hide is stretched tightly across it. A length of cord is stretched over the hide and is pegged on either side of it. A small stick is placed on the hide over the centre of the hole and the cord is supported by the top of the stick and slopes on either side of it to the ground. The cord is thus kept taught. The hole acts as a sounding box. The performer obtains music by striking the cord with a thin stick held in his right hand as he sits cross-legged before it and by muting it with his left hand or with a stick held in his left hand. By this means he produces rhythm. Sometimes another man beats at the same time with his hand on the hide near the sounding hole. The people dance and sing, men dancing opposite women. A man holds his hands above his head like an ox's horns and as he sings he steps backwards and the girls opposite him move towards him. They thus circle round the musical instrument.

Girls sometimes have their own singing parties in these camps. They sit and sing to a rhythm made by slapping their outstretched thighs. This is called *patpat*. Youths who are courting the girls often join them and take part in the singing. It is customary for young men to visit girls and court them when the day's work is done.

If there is no dancing at night—and in the smaller camps where there are few girls, and these mostly kinswomen, the young men do not care to start a dance—the inmates of the camp chat in their windscreens and at the thresholds of their huts for an hour or two after the evening meal and then fall off to sleep. Sometimes they chat till close on midnight and occasionally a man who is happy walks amid the cattle, ringing an ox-bell and singing for an hour or more. Sometimes an animal has strayed from the herd. Then everyone is sad and its owners are out in the bush till late at night searching for it.

One day in a Nuer cattle camp is like another. Calves are born and we see time passing in the stages of their growth. Nor does life

vary much from month to month for there are few seasonal changes at this time of the year. As the river falls it is possible to fish in lagoons and shallows and to bathe on its sandy bed. Then the lagoons dry up. When the river rises fish swim in the weeds and rushes and along some streams they are easily speared from the banks. The banks of the Sobat are too steep for this purpose. There are no longer shallows and bathing is a hasty dip for there is danger from crocodiles. The grazing grounds are changed from time to time as they become exhausted and as streams and lagoons dry up. At Yakwac there was succulent pasturage only where marsh plants still retained their moisture at the river end of lagoons. The people are still in camp when the first rains fall at the end of April or early in May and then there is everywhere an abundance of pasturage. The brown bush becomes green and the baked fissured earth a sodden mire. Dry lagoons become inland flowing streams. The scorching sun is clouded.

On the Sobat we guessed that the first rains had fallen inland by the migration of wild animals from its banks. Giraffe now left us for inland pastures where they would not have to face death every time they approached the river. Other animals likewise moved southwards, even the gazelle. On the northern bank, however, buffaloes still came to the river to drink and were attacked by hungry Nuer. Animals and men must obey the seasons and when there is no water except in inland lakes and lagoons, men, cattle, and wild beasts must drink at the same places. One can hear them at night cautiously coming to the pools to drink. When the rains come all leave for new pastures.

In May one knows that the move back to the wet season villages will shortly take place not only by cloudy skies and movements of game, but also by camp activities. The women are the first to leave camp and one meets them along paths, carrying their household goods in rectangular cane baskets. Youths leave camp early in the morning to cut stakes, generally of thornwood (*bwau*) and they spend a large part of the day shaping them into tethering pegs. They also twist new cord. The weather being cooler people do not feel so keenly the need to sleep towards noon. Everyone is becoming restless and

anxious to start for the wet season villages. At the beginning of June the camps nearest to ours, those at Dengatwor and Wecgin, broke up and our companions at Yakwac began to move inland a few days later.

The dry season (*mai*) is over and the wet season (*töt*) has begun. The camp (*wec*) is broken up and the village (*cieng*) is occupied once more. The long idle days are ended and men and women turn to strenuous work in their gardens.

THE STORY OF SHEIKH ABDULLAHI AHMED ABU GELAHA, A SUDANESE VICAR OF BRAY.

By R. Salmon.

(Footnotes by D. Newbold from local information).

This is the story of Sheikh Abdullahi Ahmed Abu Gelaha wad Ibrahim, Kadi to four governments, and now the much respected *Alim* of the Hawazma Abd El Ali Court. It was told to me at Dilling in the autumn of 1935, at which time Sheikh Abdullahi, though well over eighty years of age, was still a most active member of the Court, and, riding very dignified and upright on his donkey, often accompanied me during the rains on tours through the villages and Baggara *feriks* dotted over the *Goz* lands to the South of El Obeid.

His description of events in which he himself took part does not always agree with the versions generally accepted. The passage of half a century, and an old man's scarcely veiled contempt for these degenerate days, have combined to clothe in the mists of legend the bare facts of his early experience. But, though the apocryphal nature of some of the story may reduce its value as an original source for historical purposes, there is much in it of local colour and of human interest which is worth the attention both of the serious historian and of the wider circle more interested in native psychology and personality.

I will therefore, as far as possible, allow the old man to tell his story in his own words, refraining from comment on improbabilities and divergencies from accepted history.

"I was born at Abu Haraz, a day's journey to the south-west of El Obeid, about the year 1270 of the Hejra, and I lived there till I grew to man's estate some fifteen years before the battle of Sheikan.

At that time, where there are now only the wells, there were 450 *sagias*, a few date palms, and gardens [1] of lemons and oranges, wheat and onions, pepper and tobacco ; the palms, the *sagias* and the gardens were all destroyed in the Mahdia.

1. Cultivated by Danagla immigrants.

The inhabitants were Bederia Dahmashia, Bederia Ayatga[2] Tumbab, Tomam and Bergid; and there were there also Gellaba, mostly Danagla merchants from the river. There were four [3] villages of Danagla, and many buildings of mud brick. Abu Haraz was then a post of the Turkish Government, and there was a prison there, and a Nazir, appointed by the Government, one Mohammed Agha Rahma [4] of the Shaigia. There was also a smaller post at the Birka, used only during the rains, for the control of the Baggara.

As a boy at Abu Haraz I sat at the feet of the religious teacher, Mohammed El Soghaiyer wad El Amin, but in 1291 A.H. before I had taken to myself a wife I journeyed to Rahad to study under El Alim Taha wad Beshir[5], and there I spent some years.

At the time of my return from Rahad, Hassan Pasha Guweizer [6], a Circassian—the same that built the tower at El Obeid where the present Mudiria now stands—came from Khartoum owing to an insurrection in the Miri Hills, led by Subahi wad Hamid. This Subahi had been a lieutenant of Zobeir Pasha, but had revolted from Zobeir and left him in Darfur. Hassan Pasha quelled the insurrection and took Subahi captive to El Obeid.

The people went in great fear of this Governor, Hassan Pasha and gave him the name of El 'Addai (The Biter) [7] from his manner of dealing with those that angered him. He would order that those who had incurred his wrath should be brought before him, and when

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2. Dahmashia are actually one of the two big sections of Bederia, and Ayatga are a subsection of Dahmashia.

3. The present Nazir of Bederia says there were only two Danagla villages. There were also some Kenana.

4. Mohd. Agha was a Shaigi trader formerly living to North of El Obeid. He provided 200 camels, requisitioned from the people, for the Turkish Government when it extended the telegraph line westward and he was made Nazir of Abu Haraz as a reward.

5. El Alim Taha is still well known in Central and Eastern Kordofan. He was not of Gawamaa, but probably of the Awatfa tribe. His khalwa was in Inderaba village 5 miles S.E. of Rahad and the bank of the zeriba is still visible. He ran away from the Khalifa at Um Haggar, S.W. of Tendelti, to the Nuba Mountains but was summoned and beheaded at Kajokja hills, Tegale, by Emir Abu Anga and is buried there.

6. Hassan Pasha Hilmi El Guweizer, Mudir of Kordofan and later of Darfur. He also dug the large *fula* at El Obeid about 1875.

7. This story is confirmed by the present Nazir of Bederia.

their heads had been shaved, he would bite upon them with his teeth. And I know that this name that he was given was no idle naming, because I saw Eisa Abu Chaulu, the Tomami, with the Governor's mark upon his head. Suliman Sirag El Nur, who had been oppressing the people, received from Hassan Pasha one thousand lashes, five hundred on each of two days, and he died.

At that time Hamid Assossa [8] was Nazir of the Hawazma Abd El Ali, and there was with him a Kadi, with whom I had been working as a teacher on my return from Rahad. This man was dismissed by Hassan Pasha for disobedience of his orders, and I was appointed in his stead. I received a pay of 10 *rials* (or 200 P.T.) a month, paid every three months from the treasury at El Obeid.

Nazir Hamid Assosa had his village near Hammadi and his *ferik* at the Birka. There were then many villages round the Birka. All the Hawazma Rowaga were near Kubbe and had not yet moved South. Sheikh Tawir Kurkitla, father of Somi Tawir the present Sheikh, was Sheikh of the Rowaga ; he rendered his tribute to the Government through Nazir Hamid Assossa, and owed him allegiance, albeit grudgingly. The Hawazma Halafa were at Doleiba and Debeiha, and Nowai wad Dafallah was their Sheikh. He also rendered his tribute through Hamid Assosa.

The cattle of the Abd El Ali roamed the country that is now their *dar*, and only their slaves lived in the villages on the *Goz*-land. Their *feriks* never went South of Debri, though they continually raided the Nuba hills for slaves and the Messeria and Humr for cattle. Their horsemen too would ride South to hunt the giraffe and elephant. The Tomam were at Kashgeil and only moved to Alloba after the Mahdia.

About five years before the Mahdia Mohammed Basha Said—the same that was named Jurab El Ful (the sack of ground nuts)—was Governor at El Obeid. On an absence from the town he left as his deputy a Jaali, Elias wad Ahmed Um Berir. At that time Sultan

8. Grandfather of present Nazir, Mohd. Hammad.

Ali Kanuna [9] was Sheikh of the Ghodiat settled round Melbis, Burbur, and Alloba. This man wished to extend his power, and it is said that he had designs on El Obeid itself. When the Governor had departed he rose, and was joined by the Rowaga under their Sheikh Tawir. The Humr also were with him, and the Dubab, Gawamaa and Takarir; but the Abd El Ali and Halafa would not recognise him, and the region of Kordofan was also against him. Ismail El Amin [10] his first cousin, opposed him; as also the Bederia under Abd El Samad [11], Abd El Rahim wad El Tahir and Nasri Mohd.

The battle was joined at H. Efeinat near Kubbe, and Ali was slain. The Government had sent 500 soldiers and 2 cannon to join in the fray against whichever side was proved to be guilty. They were employed against Ali, who refused to give ear to the Government's proclamation, and nearly all his followers were slain with him. The pursuit lasted all day, from a few hours from dawn to the setting of the sun, and a great booty was taken of many rifles, camels and donkeys.

A short time before the battle Hamid Assosa had died and his nephew, Gottia wad El Sherif Assossa, had become Nazir in his stead. Gottia was present at the battle, and I also was there. I stood beside the men controlling the cannon. They fired four shots; but their shots passed high over the heads of their enemies — the truth was that they were friendly with the enemy leaders and did not wish to harm them. So there came one of the officers; and he was in a great

9. Ali Kanuna was the 7th 'Mangil' of the Ghodiat. He moved his headquarters from Sawani, 8 miles N.W. of Rahad, where his immediate predecessors had lived to El Duweima 12 N.W. of Rahad on edge of the 'Kashgeil torrent.' At reoccupation the headship returned to senior branch of family, and present Omda Mohd. El Dau Hasaballa is a distant cousin of Ali Kanuna.

10. Ismail El Amin was a 2nd cousin, of a third branch of Ghodiat ruling family and the 4th and last of the Alloba Mangils. His grandfather El Nur Ali Abu Sheiran set up an independent Ghodiat kingdom at Alloba. Ali Abu Sheiran was the last of the Mangils to live at Jebel el Bagher, the original home of Ghodiat in Kordofan, visible from El Ain railway station to the south.

11. Abd el Sammad and his brother Abd el Rahim Tahir were official slave raiders to the Government on a half-share basis. Nasri was not a slave raider but an insignificant person father of Yagoub Nasri, recently an Omda in the Bederia. Abd el Sammad was a famous Emir in Mahdia and on the Reoccupation was given 400 rifles by the Government and told to collect the Bederia again. He sold most of his rifles to the Nuba. He was never recognised as a natural leader by the Bederia.

rage, and I heard him threaten instantly to strike off their heads if their aim did not improve. Then the men became exceedingly frightened, and their next shot fell among the enemy slaying many of them.

I remember when I was about ten years old, many years before this battle, there was a dispute among the Abd El Ali themselves and a fight took place near J. Abu Ureif [12] between the Dar Beti and Dar Jawad, and the Aulad Ghabboush. Some of the latter were slain and the remainder fled. But the fight was joined a second time near Feit and the Aulad Ghabboush were defeated, losing in that day about one hundred men. The reason for the fight was, as I believe, the watering rights at Fula Um Iriq near Abu Ureif.

In those days the Government were wont to collect all the *feriks* of the Hawazma, that is of all three sections of the tribe — the Abd El Ali, the Rowaga and the Halafa—at Belkam Um Subeigha, [13] between Kashgeil and the Birka, and there they received their tribute. This was 100 male slaves, 100 cattle and 1000 hides besides butter and silver pieces.

The slaves went into the army, and of the cattle a portion was allotted to the heads in El Obeid of the royal houses of the Musabaat and Kunjara, who followed the Government.

In due time the Mahdi came to Gedir, and he wrote to the chief sheikhs of the country to the south of El Obeid, telling them to refuse taxes to the Government, but otherwise to take no action against their rulers and to treat them well. At that time the Mahdi's followers were called dervishes, and they only later assumed the name of *ansar*.

Said Pasha, the Governor, heard of the Mahdi's action and sent for the sheikhs, who pleaded before him their innocence. But the Government was afraid and ordered all its officials to retire to El Obeid. I however did not obey this order. About this time Hamid wad El Sanjak raided some cattle of the Maagla tribe. This took place at J. Abu Sinun [14], and he drove them off in triumph to a place near Abu

(12) 20 miles N.E. of Dilling.
(13) A small fula near Kashgeil.
(14) The well known twin-peaked hill about 25 miles N. of El Obeid on Soderi road.

Haraz. The Nazir of Abu Haraz, Mohammed Agha El Shaigi, ordered the Bederia to restore the stolen cattle. They refused, and insulted him, telling him that he was only a Gellabi and the Mahdi was coming. The Governor also promised that he would remit three years' taxation, if the Bederia would give up the cattle and they and the Danagla would forbear from fighting. He added moreover that they should take no hasty action, but all should wait and see the real merits of this Mahdi. If he were the real Mahdi, all, including the Government, would join him ; and if he were not, then the Government would slay him.

Then a deputation of forty elders—and I myself was among them—went bearing the Governor's letter, which had been brought to us by the Bederi Sheikh, Abd El Rahim wad El Tahir, to read it to the Danagla. We went bearing it from the *khor* close to Abu Haraz on the El Obeid road, but while we were still on the way we were attacked, and Abd El Rahim, the elder brother of Abd El Samad and a more important sheikh than he, was slain.

The Danagla came out to the attack, but they were driven back with great slaughter, leaving five hundred dead. They all took refuge in one village, while their gardens were destroyed by their enemies, their palm trees cut down, and their *sagias* hewn in pieces: the victors moreover filled in the wells, and pulled the growing onions from the soil. In the morning they surrendered, and those that took no part in the fighting were spared, but the village was given over to fire and destruction. [15].

The Mahdi defeated near Gedir the forces of the Government sent against him, and advanced to the Kaderu Hills.

I went to meet him and joined him at Laiyuna,[16] a few miles to the North of Kaderu, as he pressed on to El Obeid. He was a man of

15. The Nazir of Bederia states that the Danagla used to lord it over the Bederia. Abd el Rahim el Tahir led the deputation carrying the Governor's letter aloft. The Danagla aware of the contents, cried out that no one should deprive them of overlordship of the Bederia. They then attacked. The Bederia furious at being denied the Governor's message resisted. The sagias and fruit-trees have never been replaced. The water was then only 1½ *ragils* from the surface, but has since dropped considerably.

16. A village and small hill on present El Obeid-Delami road.

medium height, rather thick in the body ; his face was broad and somewhat pale in colour ; he had a large beard and a gap between his front teeth. He often wept, and was much given to piety : at times he would spend the whole night in prayer. The Khalifa Abdullahi and his brother, Yacoub, the Emir of the Army, were no strangers to this district. They had come from the West in earlier days with their father and Mahmoud's father ; Ahmed Mahmoud himself, the future Emir, was then quite small. Eisa Zakaria also was with them and they spent the rains with their *ferik* at Sungikai with Musa Bajun, father of the present Omda Abuhum Musa ; there also they cultivated, and their cultivation was in the place where the market now stands. I had met them there on their journey, and their intention was to meet the Mahdi, but they kept their thoughts secret. At that time the Khalifa had only a single cow and one bull. Since our meeting at Sungikai his father had died at Abu Rukba not far from Dueim, before he had completed his journey to the Mahdi, but Abdullahi himself had gone on to Aba and there met the Mahdi, who gave him a flag and made him a Khalifa.

The Khalifa Abdullahi was tall and thin, somewhat pale in countenance, with thin pointed face and big beard. He was quiet, and at that time seldom spoke unless another addressed him.

His brother, Yacoub, was very pale in colour, with strong thick-set body and a forehead marked with the small-pox.

Going forward from Laiyuna we reached the Birka in the morning, and there spent the noontide halt and slept there that night. We camped under an *ardeib* tree,[17] which is still there, and went north to Kashgeil the next morning. Part of the way the Mahdi walked upon his feet, as a gesture of humility. We spent that day at Kashgeil, and slept the night, and the next day we halted at Fula Alwan and spent the night at Kaba,[18] close to El Obeid.

17. I have seen this tree. R.S.

18. A village 5 miles S.W. of El Obeid.

In the morning we rode forward to Fula Abu Safiha.[19] It was a Friday and we halted there, and performed the ablutions and prayed. And there also we were fired upon by the Government cannon.

The town was defended by a rampart of earth, nine or ten feet in height and twenty feet in thickness. We went forward to the attack and reached as far as the tower, where the Mahdi stood under the arch ; but we were driven back and retired to Abu Safiha.

On the previous night, at Kaba, one Abdullah wad Ibrahim of the Jaaliin Nifeiab had made an attempt to slay the Mahdi in his sleep ; but of the six shots he endeavoured to discharge at him, not one went off. He was seized and brought before the Mahdi ; but the latter was pleased with him. " This," he said " is a *faris* (a courageous man)." And the Mahdi forgave him, giving him a flag and making him one of his Emirs.

The Mahdi's forces had no rifles, and he himself had forbidden their use. He decided therefore to starve out the garrison, and we performed our object without fighting. When the defenders had no food left, they surrendered.

The marks of bullets still to be seen in the tower were not caused by the *ansar* but were made later after the Mahdi's death, when his uncle, El Sherif Mahmoud, was in charge at El Obeid and, in his absence, the black troops (deserters from the Government) mutinied against his deputy, Hashim wad Ahmed.[20] The latter took refuge, in the tower, and the mutineers fired upon him there, and when he came forth from the tower, they slew him.

When El Obeid fell the Mahdi entered the town and was met by Mohammed Pasha Said (he that was named 'The sack of groundnuts'), Ali Bey Sherif, Ahmed Bey Dafaallah, Mohammed wad El Nakheil and Mohammed Agha Yasin ;[21] and he pardonned them and promised

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19. A short distance S. of El Obeid on Gaibat road.

20. See MacMichael ' Tribes of ..... Kordofan ' p. 44. Hashim is there called Abd el Hashimi.

21. The last man to hold under the Turks the position of ' Sheikh el Mashaikh.' He was ' Nazir ' of Khorsi at outbreak of the Mahdia, and was a Dolabi of a powerful Dongola family. (MacMichael ' Tribes .... of Kordofan ' pp. 33-4)

them that they should accompany him to Khartoum and from there they could return to their homes. These men however did not keep to his conditions, but held a meeting in secret and determined to send a letter to Gordon Pasha, explaining that they had been defeated by famine and not by any military strength of the Mahdi, and requesting assistance. This letter was entrusted to a man of the Gawaama, who sewed it into his shoe. But as he went on his way to perform his mission he was captured at Um Dam by Rahma wad Mohammed and the letter was discovered.

The Mahdi then ordered the execution of the captured officers. These had been divided among the tribes, and I myself witnessed the death of Ali Bey Sherif at the Birka. Mohammed wad Bellal was the executioner, and he struck him on the neck with a sword. But his head was not severed, so they threw him into a well, and all the people crowding round the mouth of the well they watched his death struggles in the water. The wife and young sons of the prisoner were also present, and these were later brought up by the Mahdi.

It was now summer, and all the tribes were gathered round El Obeid. After the sowing of the crops news came that Hicks Pasha was come with a great army from Rahad. He advanced to Alloba, and the Mahdi moved out to Fertangul and from there to Edeidat, near Gaibat, to keep him from the Birka. Report was being brought that the Turks had reached Fula Masarin at Sheikan. The Mahdi rode down to the Birka, attended by fifty men of religion, and I was among their number ; but he gave orders that the army was to go to Sheikan and prevent the enemy from reaching the Birka. So I went with the Mahdi and the men of religion, and we slept by the *ardeib* tree, under which he had halted before the advance on El Obeid. Now the Mahdi had gone there for no idle purpose, as he believed that this tree would bring him good fortune, as it had done on his previous visit.

In the morning, after the early prayer, we mounted and set forth on our way to join the army. The Mahdi rode upon his camel, Debelan, a white camel of great beauty—I never saw him ride a horse—and we came upon the army at Sheikan. There we found Hicks' army

and *zaribas* surrounded by the forces of the Mahdi ; but, according to his instructions, they kept out of range of Hicks' fire. It was a Saturday, and the battle was not yet joined. The Mahdi summoned his Emirs, and, seated upon a sheepskin, made a speech to them. " We will not " he said " give battle this day, nor yet on the morrow, but be not afraid, for the lives of all that are in Hicks' army have been delivered into my hand and we will destroy them even as I crush this dust under my feet." And so saying he trod with his foot upon the earth. He then told us that a *djinn* named Ebeid had come from Hicks' army and had been with Gabr El Dar of the Aulad Himeid. This man had been the guide for Hicks' army, but had fled and had died of thirst in the wilderness. And he told us that Hicks had now no guide and no water but that at Fula Masarin, and that was too foul to drink. " On Monday," he said " the army and all that pertains to it will be delivered into our hands."

So we slept that day at Sheikan. And a new day dawned, but there was no movement throughout the day and both armies remained in their places : Hicks' Army was surrounded and could not move and we were biding our time and waiting for the morrow.

On the Monday, before the rising of the sun, the bugles blew from Hicks' camp, and his army left its zariba, moving forward towards El Obeid.

Now the Mahdi had given special orders—it was, he said, a direct commandment from God—that no rifle was to be used by his men, and these orders were carried out.

The fighting was soon over. Some of the men in Hicks' army were actually chained together to prevent them from escaping. The Mahdi's horsemen took no part in the battle, which was settled by those on foot. Hicks' army was completely destroyed, and there was a great spoil. Though the Mahdi had forbidden looting on pain of hell-fire yet much looting took place.

Now it chanced that one of my men had stolen some clothing, and when I discovered him it was so late in the evening that I did

not at once report the matter to the Emir Yacoub, bearer of the Black Flag. So I took the clothing from the man and, to prevent anyone else taking it, I made it into a pillow and, resting my head upon it, fell into a sleep. But in the night I heard a noise proceeding from the pillow and, as it did not stop, I rose and, taking the clothing in my hand, turned it about to see what this noise should be; when, by Allah, I found that it had taken fire from the inside. So I took the clothing, half-burnt as it was, and laid it before the Emir. And in this way also many of the dead were consumed by supernatural fire.

It had happened also that, during the battle, Hicks' bugler had climbed a *tebeldi* tree,[22] so that he could see how the battle fared and report to the army; and from the tree he spoke these words — "I see" he cried "men descending from the Heavens and men rising up from the earth wearing *immas*." So his own people turned upon him and shot him in the tree, that his words should not confound his companions and strike terror into the hearts of the army; and so he died, and his body was caught up in the tree and decomposing remained there for many days.

After the battle we found great quantities of ammunition, much of which was stolen by raiding Arabs and Nubas, and they stole too many rifles.

All the Remington rifles now in the hands of the Nubas came from the field of Shekan.[23] Before then there were only the *Abu Ruhein*[24] (muzzle-loader), *Abu Hajar*[25] (flint-lock) and *Abu Lafata*[26].

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22. This tree is still standing close to the monument erected a few years ago. R.S.

23. Not all. Some came from the mutinous black troops who fled from El Obeid, others from the early Government defeats of Rashad Bey and Yusef El Shellali. The two types of Remington now found in Nuba Mountains are called locally 'Hicksi' and 'Shellali.'

24. The long double-barrelled infantry gun.

25. or Hajari Waga.

26. A percussion gun. These are said to have been brough into Kordofan by the Turkish troops of Osman Bey who passed throught the Kakjaja hills shortly before the Mahdia. The Abu Lafata was a short cavalry weapon, manufactured between 1820 and 1835.

There were also many four-pronged instruments of iron[27] (*Um Dereisa*), which they had placed round their rampart thinking to lame their opponents, and some of the Arabs were indeed wounded in this manner.

We found also many sacks of biscuits, barley and rice, iron water-tanks, shovels, gold, silver, and a few cannon.[28] The Emir of the Kenana, El Fiki Ahmed, the uncle of Abu Reida Ali the present Omda, was killed together with fourteen of his horsemen by a single shot fired from a cannon, but the Mahdi's losses were very small.

There were shoes on the feet of all Hicks' horses, and his horsemen were clad in shirts of mail. We found also many of these shirts packed in boxes.

Everything that was not stolen was collected, and found its way to the Beit el Mal at El Obeid ; some was divided among the people and some sold by auction. I myself was given ten camels for my men.

After the battle we stayed ten days upon the field, collecting the spoil. But we did not camp too close to the scene of the battle, owing to the stench of the corpses.

The spoil was then brought together at the Birka, and the Mahdi stayed there under his *ardeib* tree, where he said the Prophet revealed to him the *Ratib* ; before that time the *Ratib* was unknown. Then we returned to El Obeid.

In due course the Mahdi went on to Rahad, leaving in El Obeid as his deputy his uncle El Sherif Mahmoud wad Khalil wad Abd El Wahid. I reached Dueim, but from there was sent back to act as one of three Kadis to Mahmoud. Later after the fall of Khartoum and the death of the Mahdi, I went to Khartoum to recover a stolen horse and returned again without delay.

I stayed for about a year in El Obeid with my family, and worked in the capacity of *alim*, giving advice on Sharia matters when required.

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27. Caltrops. There are several of these in Khartoum Museum and one was brought in recently from Rahad. D.N. and I have one in my possession picked up at Sheikan—a most mediaeval weapon. R.S.

28. Known as WASHKAN.

The law was strictly enforced according to the Sharia. For a first offence thieves had their right hands cut off; for a second, their left feet. The drinking of *merissa* was visited with eighty lashes and tobacco smokers, after the Mahdi's death, were liable to confiscation of all their property. The Mahdi himself, though holding tobacco forbidden by religion, was not so strict in this matter as the Khalifa.

Young men found with women or proved to have lain with them received 80 lashes, but married men so found had their heads struck off.

Virgins taken in this way were given eighty lashes, but women who were married, widows, or divorced were executed. This was done by burying them to their necks in the earth, when they were either stoned or horsemen galloped over them until they were dead. I myself saw such a sentence carried out by the Tebeldi Um Genaihat in front of the Mudiria in El Obeid. I saw one woman killed by stoning, and another by the galloping horsemen.

The women executed were usually those without husbands, as it was difficult to find proof against a married woman. With such a penalty oaths would be conflicting, and according to the letter of the law in these cases four men must see the actual act of adultery. I have myself heard of one case only where such evidence was obtained, and that occurred, I have heard told, very many years ago in Cairo. It was in the market and there was an obstruction before the front of the shop so that the people could not see in from the street; but a sudden and very violent wind arose, and blew away the obstruction, so that the adulterers were revealed in all their shame. I have heard of no other case.

Sentences, both of lashes or of execution, were carried out on women only after they had given birth. The children were spared and brought up by foster-mothers.

At one time or another I met many of the Emirs in El Obeid. The greatest of all and the best was Zaki Tamal El Taaishi. Tall in stature, pale of countenance, he was of striking looks; he had a big beard and was a true Arab; there was nothing of the slave about him.

He controlled his men, and they obeyed his words, so that their conduct was an example to the people.

The *ansar* received no fixed pay, but each man received according to his good fortune. Kadis were sometimes given cattle or a number of silver pieces. The ordinary soldiers drew their sustenance from the country through which they passed, but plans for their feeding were made by the Emirs, who also arranged for their equipment.

Zaki Tamal was the best of all the Emirs. He was killed by the Khalifa, because the latter feared that his popularity with the people was greater than his own, and because, it is said, he had heard that Zaki boasted of the superiority of his army.

El Khatim wad Musa, a Huzzami, was another of the Emirs. He was an unjust and wicked man, and took the property of the people by force.

Another most evil and wicked Emir was El Nur Angara. This man had in past time been a *sanjak* under the Government and he had been with Zobeir Pasha. But he had joined the Mahdi and was one of the lieutenants of Hamdan Abu Anga, though with his own army.

He was a Gellabi, and yellow—a Dongolawi by race. He was of great stature, with a long hooked nose ; he had a moustache but no beard. He was a very bad man indeed, and the people went in great terror of him. He was a law unto himself and respected neither God nor man. I myself did not see it, but it was related to me by Ibrahim wad Abd El Gadir, a Bederi, who was a relation of mine and one of the Emir's friends, that he saw him devour the livers of small slave children. He would eat this dish raw with salt and red pepper, onions and lemon juice ; and this was a thing well known among the people. He would do this when he was drunk with *araki*, and he was often thus ; none could approach him in this state, and in truth he was seldom in any other condition.

Though such practices were strictly forbidden and deserved a severe penalty yet no man told the Khalifa. Nor could the Khalifa be approached without summons or without seeking with him an interview, and moreover the Khalifa had forbidden tale-bearing.

I have heard that El Nur Angara became accustomed to eat the liver of children when he was in the country of the Fertit, for there, owing to the mosquitoes there are no animals, so that if he needed meat there was no other alternative.

This Emir also did not observe the fast of Ramadan and refrained neither from meat nor from women. He was a man of a very evil humour ; he struck off the heads of two captured women who refused to yield to his embraces.

The Emir Hamdan Abu Anga was a slave of the Khalifa, whom the latter had freed and to whom he had given command of his army. He was black in colour and of a great size and stature. He went clothed in a *jibba* of red leather, with a peaked cap of red leather upon his head, and round this cap he would wind a white *imma*.

After the battle of Sheikan this Emir made war against the Nubas of the southern hills, and after this he turned north to Bara.

Now it happened that as he came South again from Bara with a great army he passed by the Birka. His intention was to rejoin the rest of his army in the Ghulfan Hills, and when he reached the Birka he was met there by the wives of these soldiers. So he distributed among them money and provisions, to each woman an *ardeb* of grain, five *rials*, a *tob* and a *firka* ; and I myself was present.

But the women were not satisfied and complained to the Emir of the absence of their husbands. So he assured them that their men would come to them in a month's time, and repeated his instructions that no woman was to accompany the army. Then the women agreed, and Abu Anga rode forward with the army.

But the women went swiftly, and, running by another way, awaited Abu Anga a second time in the road. Then the Emir was angry, and spoke to them in these words. " What is it that you require from me ? Have I not ministered to your needs, and provided well for you both of victuals and of clothing ? " And they replied " All that you say is true and may God reward you for it." So he spoke again " Return then to your place, and do not trouble the army." And the women, hearing these words, were dismayed ; but one of

them came forward and replied thus to the Emir — "My master, it is not of grain nor yet of clothing that we go in need," and, with a gesture, she indicated to him the true wants of herself and her companions. Then the wrath of the Emir was appeased, and he laughed; and he cried to us "Listen to this woman;" and to the woman he said "If such is your trouble I will give you a medicine, and the medicine is this: take water, and warm it over the fire, and when it is hot apply it to that place in which you have need of it." But the woman quickly replied "That will only increase the longing and we shall be in no better plight." And Abu Anga[29] was pleased with her words, and blew upon his bugle and allowed the women to accompany the army.

In due time the Emir Mahmoud wad Ahmed El Taiishi marched westwards with his army and I went with him as one of his Kadis. The Emir was tall and dark and of a handsome countenance and he was so lately come to man's estate that his beard was not yet grown. He was accustomed to wear an *imma* of a great size, so that a very large *imma* is still called by the Arabs a *Mahmoud Geil*. He was a cousin of the Khalifa. Though not a man of outstanding justice, he could not be called unjust.

We went west by Abu Haraz, Fula Sinut, Sheq El Dud, and El Khowei and marching very fast, came to Nahud.

On our way at Abu Haraz a number of the black troops were executed at the orders of the Emir, and this happened in the following manner:—

Before the army left Khartoum to come to El Obeid, I heard tell that the Khalifa rode round the squadrons, and when he dismissed them gave orders that no *ansari* was to take the property of any of the people, nor were they to enter their houses to search them. This was well known to the people and among the written orders of the army. But the *ansar* did not pay attention to his words, in spite of the threat of punishment.

29. Emir Abu Anga's widow, Gronfla, a Rashadawia, is still alive at Rashad.

When we were come to Abu Haraz the women came to the camp with milk and chickens to sell to the *ansar*. But some of the black troops—we regarded all the Western tribes as Nubas and slaves—paid no heed to the orders of the Emir and slept in the outlying villages ; moreover they drank milk and slew chickens and left no payment with the owners.

In the morning the women came and laid their complaint before the Emir ; and the Emir was angry and sent for the heads-of-hundreds and spoke with them ; and they brought twelve men, all of the *Jihadia* (black troops), who were accused of drinking the forbidden milk. Then the bugles were blown to summon the Emirs, and when they were assembled Mahmoud announced to them his decision. He would, he said, slit up the belly of each of these men ; if milk was found therein, well and good ; but if not, then the complainants themselves would be executed as bearers of lying tales. The women heard his words and accepted his decision, so the first of the twelve men was brought. His throat was cut and his belly split—and the milk ran out white upon the ground.[30]

Then the other eleven were sore afraid and, thinking to escape with their lives, cried out before the Emir. "My master, we have drunk the milk." But he did not heed their supplications and their heads were struck off by the executioner, Ahmed wad El Shartai Furawi.

Then the horsemen were assembled and, sitting their horses at a walk, rose over the headless corpses. So these men died, and the remainder of the army were very afraid ; and word of this went out among the tribes.

We went West because the tribes in Darfur had refused to go to Omdurman, and from Nahud our way lay by Id Burush, Id El Abyad and Dirat El Humar ; and so we came to El Fasher. We spent there two years ; and during the period of our stay Ali Dinar was sent by the Khalifa to assist Mahmoud.

At that time Ali was not yet become Sultan, and people of the Fur, the Berti, the Birgid, the Zaghawa and the Masalit gave counsel

30. The same tale is told of Muhammed Bey Defterdar.

to him that he should revolt from the *ansar* and slay the Emir. Now Mahmoud heard of this, and he sent for Ali—and we were all sitting round—and he spoke to him in these words, to deceive him ; " The Khalifa has sent for you to go to him with all speed, and when you are come to him he will present you with horses, arms and ammunition ; and you will return as Sultan of all the lands of the West, and when you are come I will withdraw my army and return to Khartoum." So, with this trick, did Mahmoud deceive him, and he went, bearing letters to the Khalifa, who reproached him for his treachery and gave him to his son, Itman Sheikh El Din, as a servant. But Itman treated him well and became his friend.

Later, at Kerreri, Ali Dinar did not fight, but in accordance with a plan that he had made previously with men of the Bederia, Habbania, Gawaama, Rizeigat and Messeria, escaped from the battle, intending to leave the Taiisha to their fate ; for the latter had treated him very harshly.

Thus they departed from the battle, and they took with them many rifles and much ammunition, and fifteen or sixteen flags, all belonging to the army of Itman Sheikh El Din. Having made good his escape Ali retreated to Darfur, and there they recognised him as Sultan.

Now, when Ali had gone to the Khalifa, in due time we moved to Kobe, and from there to Kebkebia ; and while we were at Kebkebia, forty of our flags were planted in one place, and the enemy were about a day's journey from us. And in the middle of the night there came hyaenas from the enemy's army and spied out the camp ; and they counted the number of the flags and the cartridges and returned to their leader, Sultan Idris Hashim El Gimrawi. In the morning we discovered their tracks, for we also had men among the army who could change themselves into hyaenas,[31] and these knew the individual tracks of the enemy hyaenas. Among our hyaenas were Gereib wad Musa and his brothers, and there were also others.

31. This is a widespread belief in the Sudan. I heard it from a Humrawi in Muglad in 1921, who told me the Rizeigat had hyaena-men whom Sultan Ali Dinar used as messengers. D.N. In El Obeid in 1932 a Masalit woman put in a petition to me complaining that her husband was in the habit of turning himself into a hyaena at night and that she wished him to be restrained from so doing as she was afraid he would eat the children. R.S.

When Mahmoud heard of the visit of the enemy hyaenas he gave orders to Gereib and the others to go and spy out the enemy. Then they went forth as men, and came to an ant-hill, and there they rolled in the dust and cried—and I heard their crying—and they rose up as hyaenas. And in this guise they went swiftly to the camp of the enemy, (and among the latter were Gimr, Beni Hussein, Berti, Bergid, Zaghawa and Tama) and when they had finished their work they returned; and coming to the ant-hill, they cried, and returned as men to the camp, bearing with them news of the enemy. And I myself, on the orders of Mahmoud, gave ten *tobs* of *damur* to Gereib wad Musa as his hire before he set out on this mission.

These hyaenas were of the tribe of the Berti and still live at Jebel El Hilla, and their fame is well known among the people.

When the battle was joined we defeated the enemy with a great slaughter and took much spoil: goats and cattle, camels, horses and slaves.

At the auction after the battle a goat sold for a piastre, and a cow in full milk with her calf for a *rial*. All that was not sold we drove away, and the enemy that were not slain in the battle fled from us; but afterwards they surrendered, and their chiefs were given flags by the Emir and joined our army.

While I was in Darfur I accompanied the army to Jebel Marra and Zalingei. We defeated the Tama also at Birak, and there was another battle at Kheima and yet another at Bali, where many of our enemies perished.

While Mahmoud was in Darfur there was with the army a camel of great swiftness. This camel was named *Tigl Laffat* and belonged to Alloba wad Mohammed of El Obeid, who had been a *mulahiz* of Hassan Pasha. This camel had been bred from the camels of the Abu Sinn of the Shukria and was of such surpassing swiftness that it was reserved for the despatch of messages of great urgency; and these it would carry from El Fasher to Omdurman and return again to El Fasher all in a period of fourteen days.

After the fight at Bali we came to Neira in pursuit of the Sultan Suliman wad Ibrahim El Tamawi; but he fled from us and took refuge with the Sultan of the Borgu.

Now while we were in Dar Tama news was brought that the English had reached Abu Hamad, and that the Jaalin had revolted from the Khalifa and had joined the invaders. A summons also came for Mahmoud that he should return to Khartoum; so he set out on his journey from Neira and left me in Dar Tama.

There were with me only thirty horsemen and my instructions were to teach the *Ratib* to the inhabitants. I spent the rains there, but became frightened on hearing from some of the Tama that Mahmoud had left also other instructions: namely, that if I moved from Dar Tama I was to be killed. So, hearing at Neira of a plot to kill me, I left Dar Tama and rode east to El Obeid.

Now the reason that Mahmoud left me in the West was a difference of opinion between us over a Sharia case, in which his brother-in-law was concerned. The latter, El Hussein wad Sheikha, had stolen slaves from other persons and with ten of them had purchased a horse from Bur El Maagli of Um Dam. Now it happened that the slaves were claimed in Omdurman by their rightful owners and Bur El Maagli made complaint to the Khalifa, who referred the case to me. My judgment was that El Hussein should compensate Bur with ten other slaves or else hand over to him one hundred *rials*, the value of the slaves. This judgment I would alter for no man, and for this reason Mahmoud was angry.

When we were in El Obeid Itman Sheikh El Din, the son of the Khalifa, had told me and seventeen other Kadis—and Mahmoud himself had been present—that it was the express order of the Khalifa that if any man, Mahmoud himself included, broke the *Sharia* we should have no fear but should strike off his head.

Mohammed wad El Rayah and myself were the chief Kadis; we would sit two and two, but, if a case of particular difficulty we would all sit together.

There was also another case for which cause Mahmoud was angry with me.

While we were in Dar Tama, some of Mahmoud's slaves put a *kutkur* of tobacco in the house of a man very rich in property, and they did this in order that they might get money from him, as Mahmoud, on the Khalifa's orders, had given out that any man found with tobacco would suffer confiscation of all his property, slaves, horses and donkeys.

On the next day therefore they searched the house, and found the tobacco. Then they seized the owner of the house and bound him ; and they threatened him that, if he would give them no bribe, his entire property would be confiscated. So he gave them one hundred *rials*, and their leader took the money and went with it to Mahmoud's deputy and presented it to him for use in Mahmoud's own house.

Then that man came, greatly oppressed, and knelt before Mahmoud — now Mahmoud knew nothing of all this—and he laid before him his complaint, accusing his tormentors in these words, "My master, you are a just man. Give me back my money which has been stolen from me by your slaves." So Mahmoud sent him to me, and I investigated his case.

I could find no witness to the tobacco, so I ordered the leader of the slaves to return to the man his money. He promised that he would bring the money in the morning ; and in the morning he came, but there was nothing in his hand. Then I spoke sternly to him, "Where then is this money ?" And he replied "I was not able to find it." The next day he gave the same answer, and I told him that if he failed to bring the money I would cast him into prison. But no money came and I told my *ghaffir*—a man of strength and resource—to arrest that slave. Then the slave fled, and running to Mahmoud as he sat in council cast his arms about him from behind, using him as a shield to protect himself from the *ghaffir*. Whereupon seeing what had occurred, I ordered the *ghaffir* to take him by the leg and drag him away from his master ; and he did so, and brought the slave before me.

Then Mahmoud was angry and spoke thus before the council, " How can the Kadi arrest a man who has appealed to me ? " But the elders reproved him with stern words, " You have broken the instructions of the Khalifa and erred from the straight path of justice.'

So the slave was cast into prison, and remained there until he had paid the money. But Mahmoud did not forgive me, and this was the second of the reasons why he left me in Dar Tama.

Now when I had fled from the West and come on my way to El Obeid I came upon Mahmoud at El Jikka, which is but a short distance from that town. Mahmoud had travelled slowly from the West, as he was collecting the tribes as he went.

From El Jikka we passed on to El Obeid, and from there was arranged the destruction of the seven villages of Mashisha, that lay close to the stream of the Abu Habl, not a great distance from Sungikai.

There were in these villages men from diverse tribes, Bederia, Fellata, Takarir, Bergid, Tomam and Gawaama ; and they had revolted from the *ansar* and, leading a life of robbery, were plundering the people. They raided their neighbours for slaves, cattle and horses and many of the people were slain by them. So complaint was brought to Mahmoud that if he did not utterly destroy the people of Mashisha before he left that country to go to Omdurman, then they would all assuredly perish miserably at their hands.

Mahmoud was moved by these complaints, and he sent for Sheikh Gindi Zein wad Mahmoud of the Bederia and gave orders that he should go to Mashisha, and that Abd El Gadir wad Ibrahim El Tab, El Bella wad Ahmed of Gaibat (who is still alive)[32] and myself should accompany him.

So we rode to Mashisha, bearing with us the terms of the Emir, and these were that either those villages should surrender within eight days or else their inhabitants would be given over to instant death.

32. I have met the old man. He is now unfortunately almost entirely incoherent. R.S. Since died. D.N.

When we had delivered this message one of the villages submitted, but the other six paid no heed to the Emir's threats.

Then we remonstrated with those deluded people, and gave our advice to them in these words, "Obey now the commands of the Emir and accompany us to El Obeid. But if you will pay no attention to this advice, then flee away from this place: make you away to the fastnesses of the hills or hide yourselves among the forests of the plain, for know full well that, if you do none of these things, then Mahmoud will certainly slay you and destroy your villages." And we stayed with them three days, and they treated us as guests and brought fifty goats for our sustenance. But their Sheikh, Taha wad Mereimi of the Aulad Ghabboush, coming upon us and seeing the goats asked of the people who we might be and what was our mission. So they told him and when he had heard, he gave his orders that they were not now to obey the instructions of the Emir, but that he would write a letter to Mahmoud promising obedience and to join him after the harvest, for at that time the cultivation was two or three feet in height.

Then we returned to El Obeid and found the army collected at Fula Abu Safiha outside the town. And Gindi Zein went to Mahmoud and reported the failure of our mission. "My master, they have refused to obey."

I did not know the cause of this assembling of the army, so I enquired the reason, but could get no true reply.

While we were being entertained the army left. Mahmoud said "They are going against the Dubab." But he said this only to deceive us, because he knew that we had many friends, among the people of Mashisha, and he was afraid that if he gave us the true destination of the army, we would find a means of warning them to make good their escape.

So the army went forth on its way to Mashisha, and camped by night not far from the villages. In the morning, while it was yet early, horsemen were sent on into the villages to deceive the people with specious words, telling them that all was well: that Mahmoud was coming, but that he had no intention of harming them, and that they should not therefore fear or flee away. Then the people, cheered

by these words, began to assemble; and the army, coming up in greater numbers, fell upon them and slew them. Some fled away to the stream of the Abu Habl and hid themselves among the trees, others wandered homeless through the country; but there was a very great slaughter and those villages were utterly destroyed. Even the women and children were seized and sold as slaves.

Mahmoud himself was not present at the destruction of Mashisha and the patrol was conducted by his lieutenant, Ahmed wad Ali El Taaishi; El Nur wad El Goza of the Rizeigat and Salah wad Abboh of the Taaisha were also present.

At this time also the Messeria gave trouble at Abu Haraz but Mahmoud succeeded in settling this difficulty without resort to arms. He then collected together more of his army that was come from the West and, on receipt of a further letter from the Khalifa, set off to Omdurman. I myself bade farewell to him at El Obeid, and retired to Abu Haraz.

All the people now went in great fear, owing to the massacre of the inhabitants of Mashisha; and moreover Mahmoud had left as his deputy that man of wickedness and evil practices, the Emir El-Khatim wad Musa. When therefore I heard from the latter that he had received a letter from Mahmoud ordering me to join him, I replied that I would be with El Khatim in El Obeid after three days. But I made this reply to deceive him, and had no intention of joining him.

Then I gave out to the sheikhs that the power of the Mahdi was broken, that I was leaving to take refuge in the hills, and that any who wished might join me. The Arabs had already fled to the hills, and we came to Dilling and stayed there with the Nubas. The Baggara also rode north and raided the country and they drove out El Khatim from El Obeid—and this El Khatim later joined the Khalifa at Jebel Kon [33] after the battle of Kerreri.

33. The Emir Khatim's route is said to have been as follows:—El Obeid, Gefil, Um Erig, El Taiara, Shamagatta, Um Ruaba, Um Kheirein, Ghabsha, Ageila, Wad Bur and Um Taba, N of Tendelti, where he met the Khalifa. Perhaps he visited J. Kon later.

In due time Abd El Rahman wad El Khalifa of Khursi near Bara received letters from Kitchener and these letters were sent on to us at Dilling. I was at that time at J. Abu Seiba between Dilling and Nyimang, and in the letters Kitchener instructed all persons to return to their villages and to busy themselves with their original occupations.

I myself brought the first Governor, "Ockney"[34] to Dilling. Soon after our arrival the Arabs fled to the hills and the Governor wished to destroy them, but he was dissuaded by Abd El Samad of the Bederia, who suggested that Omer Dibeika, Musa Bajoun and myself should go and reason with them.

So we went to meet them and found them much disturbed because the Inspector "Butran,"[35] had had a dispute with Musa Bajoun and hit him with a stick, and the Arabs had fled away, crying out that Musa had been slain by the Turks.

So we came to Abu Seiba and found there all the Arabs gathered together, and the Nubas also had come down armed from their hills. And as we galloped up on our horses one of them levelled at me his rifle ; but he did not discharge it as they knew me and another shouted to him to hold his fire.

Then the Governor met the Arabs at Abu Seiba, and after he had received their submission, he went on to Kadugli and Talodi ; and on his return from there he appointed Mr. Lyall as Inspector, and told me to remain at Dilling with the Inspector and be his Kadi. So Mr. Lyall and I built the village of Dilling, and I remained there four years as Kadi before I retired.

After that I spent many years with no official position, until in these latter days I have been appointed as *Alim* of the Hawazma Abd El Ali Court.

34. O'Connor, second Governor of Kordofan.

35. Butler Bey.

THE POETRY OF THE BARI DANCE.

By A. C. Beaton.

From the days of the early Pharaohs, through the periods of the rise and fall of Greek art and the domination of ancient Rome, and throughout the centuries of medieval and modern Europe, the history of the Bari people in the main is unknown. They probably came as conquerors from the East, but the epics of their victories are unsung ; they doubtless followed leaders of prowess in war, but their names have died ; their movement towards the Nile was at times checked and diverted and at times moved on with irresistible impetus but the histories of these vicissitudes are tales no longer told. These ancestors of the Bari were a proud cattle-owning race, whose language and culture spread over the conquered peoples, assimilating what could not be destroyed. This wave of conquest rolled as far as the Nile, where on its eastern bank, or just beyond it, its force was spent ; the flood-tide had turned. The years that followed were those of change and partial decay. The tribe split into sections, which divide and divide again until the individual owes allegiance no longer to his tribe but to his village ; the cattle-owners take to agriculture and disperse about the grain lands ; feuds lead to internecine strife and the once conquering bowmen are routed by the spearmen, who have pressed on their heels.

The lives the Bari lead today differ little from those of their ancestors, they build the same huts as they did when the mad Cambyses campaigned so disastrously in Egypt, they grow the same crops as when the Merovingian Kings held sway in central Europe and their cattle eat the same sort of swamp grass as grew when Drake was pillaging the treasures of Spain. In the rains they hoed and sowed, in the autumn they reaped and in the dry weather from November to March they brewed beer and feasted. Throughout these ages at births and marriages, harvests and feasts, initiation ceremonies and anniversaries, in times of pride and prosperity or of adversity

and death, they danced to express their joys and sorrows, and today, when emotions call for release, the drums will be set up on the dance floor and in the flickering light of a wood fire or beneath the pale radiance of the moon, feet will move to the throb of the drumbeat and the chorus will swell throughout the forest or ring back from the wall of the mountains. The drumbeats are probably centuries old, devised in some forgotten past, and the plainsong may be as old as the Monkish chants, but the words of the songs, where archaic, reach back only a century or so, and, where modern, may date from but yesterday. But, modern though some of these songs may now be, they will be forgotten in a decade, and even those that survive fall into desuetude, as the pagan bard adopts a religion and turns his talents to a new subject. Such religious songs have already been heard and will gradually supplant the pagan dirges that lament death in such words as :—

Far has Lodu, far departed
To the world of ghosts. Ill omened
Is the country of our father ;
Evil fated is our country,
Is the land that we inhabit

while the teachings of the churches will eradicate the fear of witchcraft, so prominent at present in the lives of those who sing,

Who bewitched thee, who, O Lado ?
Who bewitched the sire of Subek,
Brought the breath of death upon him ?
Dead is he and cold the ashes
That the fire of Death deserteth.

I have previously collected and translated a number of songs heard at the village dances, but for some reason or other a large number of them are either funeral odes or songs of lamenting. Although such doleful subjects as death and defeat are not to be wondered at in the mouths of a people, who have long lived in awe of the dark

things of night and on guard against the arrow that flieth by day, the Bari are not entirely a melancholy race, and the translations I give here will show them in more cheerful moods and remind Father Spagnolo that, although it is some years since he gave me the originals, I have not entirely forgotten them.

There are three essentials to a Bari dance, the music of the drums, the melody of the chorus leader and the words sung by the dancers. The drumbeaters open the dance by striking a well-known tattoo or by opening the beat of a song for which the dancers have shouted. There are usually five drums of different pitch, each capable of giving off a variety of notes according as to whether it is struck with the stick (a plain piece of wood), the knuckles or the flat of the hand, or muffled by the placing of the palm of one hand flat on the drumskin. At the appropriate moment, the chorus leader of the song intones the first line of the song and before he has finished, the dancers have started the song in full chorus. At the intervals during the performance, the voice of the leader is heard above the rest, as he leads them off on another movement, and as the cadences rise and fall, the dancers move round with a shuffling motion. The women may be in the centre or will run round in circles or with a ring of men facing inwards towards the drums and another ring of women facing outwards towards the men, they will approach or retire from one another, each facing a chosen partner. The songs sung are usually the product of the local poet, but traditional lyrics have survived, songs have been imported from neighbouring villages and I have even heard a village dance for a whole night to songs sung in a foreign language. I wondered at the time how many dance-halls in Europe could give a similar performance. Away from the river the ostrich-plume headdress, the leopard-skin cloak, the legbells, the buffalo tails, the shining brass armlets and the paint make the whole a colourful and animated scene, but among the sophisticated the dance dress is rarely seen, and the dance is a much tamer affair in consequence. Despite this the same rhythm sways the body, the same words swell out and the emotions are released. This is the only poetry the Bari know and these are the thoughts to which they give expression :-

1. SONGS SUNG AT THE JUMPING DANCE.

In this dance the youths and girls face one another and, while the rest are dancing, a young man will step to the middle and leap several times into the air. Similar leaps[1] are a feature of round dances and are performed by both sexes. The *Kusende* as it is called is danced not to drums but to the beating of a short ebony rod against a long ebony stick and the leaper moves towards the girls as he jumps.

1.

We will go," said the Losiwa,
We will go unto our Leader,
Unto Lado, son of Loro.
We, who have no marriage cattle
For the maiden of our wooing,
Whither can we fare to find them?

A literal rendering of this song would be, " The Losiwa said yesterday, " They go to the Chief, to Lado Loro, there are no cows for marrying you, O Murye, salivaless is your mouth. Whither do you throw your body?"

Murye is a generic name for woman; 'beloved' would best translate it. A salivaless mouth is not unnaturally admired.

2.

Whence my brother came your cattle?
I have none. Whence came they, Wani?
Take, O Pitya, thy lover
To the home of Lado Loro.
She is fair beyond all others.
None is fairer than Kasiki.

The last two lines in the original are, " That girl was born a girl indeed, Kasiki was born as it were another girl." The meaning is that she is superior to and different from the ordinary run of girls.

(1) Before a girl will attempt such a leap, she will catch her cotton fringe between her legs, hold her breasts on one arm and with the other hand will keep down her hind apron, and while in the air she will clink her anklets together.

Lado Loro is alive today and is a son of the notorious ' Aloron ' (a misrendering of Loro) of Baker's day. As he is rich in cattle, he may pay Pitya's brideprice for him, if Kasiki wins his approval and Pitya will repay the bridewealth by working for him.

3.

Hapless are the poor Losiwa ;
Men say evil words against them,
Listen, Jima, Son of Köji,
My beloved glances at me,
And her look is full of yearning.
Lo, her mother weepeth for me.
Bring my lover, O Batiti,
For she sits beside her mother,
Sits and watches for my coming.

Although the singer of this song is loved by the girl and approved by her mother, he has no cattle with which to arrange a marriage.

4.

Lightly, Kako, leave your husband.
Why should Tombe, child of Köji,
Be rejected by Namurye.
She was young at her betrothal.
Tombe plays with her in secret.
Leave, O Murye, the Igari ;
If you join not the Losiwa,
God will punish you in anger.

As an instance of the difficulty of understanding these songs, I would quote the Bari words for ' Lightly,' the first word in this song. They are *Ko minya*, which means ' with your ornaments.' To the European this might suggest the sort of trick that Jessica played on Shylock, when she eloped with Lorenzo, but to the Bari its connotation is ' without difficulty.'

The line ' Tombe plays with her in secret ' is in the original ' Tombe nips like rats,' and my first impression was of a wife's

faithfulness being nibbled away at, but the woman has yielded and the amorous game has started.

5.

I will ask my fate of Kudwöt,
I will ask the son of Jökö,
Whence came death upon my father?
Who will now arrange my marriage?
Death has seized upon my father.
Who will now arrange my marriage?
For my father is gone from me.

'Whence came death upon my father?' rendered literally is 'My maggot came whence, the one which did evil to my father?'

The reference here is to the consulting of a 'diviner,' a common practice in misfortune or on the eve of an enterprise.

6.

Thee it is we talk with, Lodu,
Poni's Brother; whence thy cattle?
In our hearts we bring good wishes.
From our hearts comes nothing evil.
'Tis with thee we speak, O brother.

The third and fourth lines here in Bari are, 'The heart has not provoked us, which is made cold, is made cold.'

II. The Girls sing the Praises of the Youths.

7.

To Lado.

Let my praises fall about thee
Fall in showers round thy shoulders,
Thee I love, though others hate thee.

Word for word the Bari runs, 'Praise is sweet. You are thrown at with the calabash of my mother. That you should be thrown into the river is not my wish.' If the young man's prospective mother-

in-law approves of him, she will naturally wish to give evidence of her regard ; she will do so by waving a calabash containing a little oil over his head.

8.

To Morbe.

Morbe suffers no opponent
To forestall him in his wooing.

9.

To Monobek.

Tall and slender, lithe and active,
How thy ways do win upon me.

A literal rendering of this song would be, "Tall tree, colobus monkey, you smell like fermenting beer, stout tree."

10.

To Bemor.

Supple are thy limbs and upright
Is thy carriage. When thou smilest
White the teeth that flash a welcome.

Literally translated this is, "Thin arrow-shaft, without a paunch ; he cleans his teeth with milk and spits it out—clean one."

11.

To Loro.

All the maidens cluster round thee,
As when fruitpickers in autumn
Round the laden tree assemble.

12.

To Kulang.

Where the shadow falls, O Kulang,
Clean the line thy body showeth.

The original of this song is laconic in the extreme, 'O Leju, pipestem shadow.' The long Bari pipe is fitted with a slender stem ; a slender figure is also admired.

These songs give some idea of what the Bari girl looks for in a youth—an upright carriage, a slim, well-knit figure, active limbs and white teeth. The Bari idea of feminine beauty is similar—a young well formed body, firm rounded breasts, active limbs and white teeth, while a girl born of good family will be eagerly courted. What constitutes facial beauty apart from white teeth and flashing eyes, I have been unable to discover. I once tried the experiment of asking a number of youths, which was the prettiest in a group of girls, whose features varied from one I myself regarded as ugly to a fifth, who appeared to be well-featured. The replies varied greatly, as was perhaps only natural, but the chief summed the matter up by saying, "Why do you ask which is the prettiest? They are all young and equally desirable."

III. The Women's Dance (Nyale).

13.

Come anoint thyself with unguents,
Jobe glances back upon thee.
Far, oh far away our mothers,
Jele's daughter are they greeting,
And the sheeptails fan about her.

Part of the dance decoration consists in the tying of buffalo-tails and sheeptails to the right elbow. With these the young men will flick at anyone they admire as the dance progresses.

14.

I am courted by a suitor,
Loku seeks to wed him with me.
Tongun Kako courts my favours,
And my father smiles upon him.
If their cattle had not perished,
Long ago had I been wedded;
Take ten cattle to my father,
And the Gila youth will woo me.

15.

Sleeps our great grandmother's spirit
Peacefully or is it wakeful ?
Go and pray unto her spirit,
Ask if we have done our duty,
Sleeps she peacefully, O Tombe ?

16.

Hark the whetting of the dagger
For adult initiation !
See the knife upon the whetstone !
Early come our youth to suffer
Their adult initiation.

The Bari initiation ceremony consists of the prising out of the four central teeth in the lower jaw. It is a time of feasting and dancing.

" I have heard the ' riik-riik ' of the teeth. The knife of the experts," is the literal rendering of the first two lines of this song. The word ' riik-riik ' is onomatopoeic representing the noise made when a tooth is wrenched out. This prising out of teeth is done with a sharp twist of a knife.

17.

I am lazy, no one courts me,
In my father's house I linger,
Idle am I and I linger
In my father's house uncourted,
No one sings me songs of marriage.
Bring sweet words, O Sire of Kose,
Bring sweet words to me, O Lömi,
Marriage is not yet my portion.

18.

Now my slandered heart is breaking,
Breaking, Kiden, child of Swaka.
What the words I heard of Juru?
Why do slanders come upon me?
Evil words have soiled my honour
And my heart in death is breaking.
Take away this slander from me,
Heed not those, who have abused me,
I defy my evil speakers,
They, who whisper my destruction.

The last four lines here are, 'Take away these words to the fence from which the evil speakers come. Why should I be cut in small pieces, O you other people?' The words referred to are the slander and the cutting in small pieces means being slandered.

19.

This poor maiden is demented,
By all men is she rejected
And with evil words they scorn her.
Childless is she and they scorn her
That her womb has born no offspring.
Mad is she. Look not upon her,
Thou, O Rainchief, son of Pŏni.

IV. The Round Dance.

20.

Red with blood the river runneth
And they heed not. Red the river
With the battle joined about it,
Heedless were they of their river;
Mödi's stream is spoil of battle
'Neath the circling of the vulture.

The battle songs are usually couched in plain terms, but there are one or two phrases which require expounding. 'Heedless were they of their river' in the original is 'Play with the river, play with it' which is not an injunction to the people to disport themselves, but means 'if the river is taken from the owners in battle, it will prove that they were only playing with their river and not looking after it as a precious possession.'

21.

We must face the foeman's onset,
We will battle with the Böri,
And our spearmen are assembled.
Be our council undivided
And our answer in our spearheads.
Wake the music of the battle,
For Narenya lows at even.
Master, lead us to the battle
With no flinching from the struggle.
Give our answer with our spearpoints.
Kuye lows and all about us
Gather foeman to her lowing.
Let us headlong to the struggle.
Lime lows, when night is falling,
Kuye lows, while we are sleeping,
And our village is surrounded.

'Be our council undivided' literally rendered would be 'I do not sit at night with words from outside.' A gathering round the fire in an evening is a favourite diversion of the Bari. At such gatherings they tell folk tales and discuss the gossip of the village. While the talk is local and homely, all is well, but if there is 'talk from outside,' such would in pre-government times almost mean that the

enemy was on the move. The meaning here is that, although there is a war impending, the village must not let the 'talk from outside' disturb their council and not that they must disregard the rumours of war.

22.

Firm emplanted are our ramparts.
Gulumere is defended.
We will up against our foemen,
We will wrest their river from them;
Sire of Jada, all our children
Weep in anger at this battle
And Swakiri walks lamenting.
May our fates be kindly to us.
Let us to the fight, O Jada.
We will fight and may our warcry
Echo all about out borders.
We will up against the Moru.
Loud our warcry, fleet our arrows;
We will battle with the Moru,
For the foe, who comes in secret,
Came by night to raid our cattle,
Lie in death about our ramparts.
Let their land be ours to plunder.

The literal translation of the line 'Gulumere is defended' is 'Gulumere is loaded.' As the opening of the song is about the preparations for the defence of Gulumere, the word 'loaded' may have for the foreign translator any number of meanings, *e.g.*, loaded with refugees, loaded with food or perhaps groaning under the weight of war. To the Bari its meaning is quite concrete, 'Gulumere is loaded

with the weight of wood that has been used in the construction of its stockade.

23.

All our lowing herds of cattle
Stand with sucking calves about them,
Drink in rivers of the sunrise
And the name that we are given
Is the "Enemy Despoilers."
Rivers in the land of Loku
Are the drinking of our cattle,
Countless as the sand our cattle
And the ears of all our cattle
Bear the cutting of the Gila.

24.

What is this our leader sayeth,
'Evil-fated is our country'
This the fate our Leader telleth,
That our tilth is dry and sterile,
That the land is apt for famine,
Fruitless stand the crops about it.
Hark, O Gwonget, Son of Kimbo,
Wealth of riches brings no guerdon.
Thick the grass about our village.
Are we fated? Speak, Tyoro,
Rich in cattle we are helpless.
Like a leopardess attentive
To her suckling cubs he paceth,
Bura goeth. Let our begging
Win the ear of those who watch us.

"Wealth of riches brings no guerdon" in the original Bari reads 'The hand cannot even with ornaments.' The arm with ornaments connotes the rich people of the village. Even they are helpless in the face of famine for all their wealth.

25.

Mödi, have we then no weapons
For the valour-testing battle?
Shall our foes not feel our onset
And must Guri sound with weeping
That we flinch before the challenge?
Have we breath but for lamenting,
Homes but booty for despoiling,
Hearts but fit for lamentation.

V. Another Round Dance.

26.

Shame, O mother, to deceive us
With a bowl thus unreplenished,
When thou brewest thou dost grudge us
And dost hide the mead we crave for,
Givest us no meat for feasting.

Literally this song is: "She deceived us indeed, our mother-in-law deceived us with a small gourd. This mother-in-law, when she has beer does not perspire. Daughter of Yikwang, the mouth is sweet with meat." The small gourd means that there is no beer for the suitor's friends to drink. Even when she has beer in the house she hides it and shows no sign (sweating) of having made any. The reference to meat is ironic 'Our mouths would taste sweet, if she had given us any meat.'

27

Where the wealth that Joda boasts of
That he comes with this his wooing?
Where the riches that he boasts of
That he courts thus empty-handed?
Could he bring not one small chicken?
Could he seek no store of cattle
For his wooing? Without cattle
There shall be no talk of wooing.

28.

When the sky is bright with morning,
Red with blood shall run the river,
Red with blood, O son of Tombe.
Lo, our cattle are bewitched
Of a spirit. O Nyömuding,
Let it forth that we may see it.
Like a leopardess it cryeth
With her newborn cubs about her.
Like the bird that calls at even,
Shrill the cry when night has fallen.

29.

I am searching for a husband,
One, who is not ever eating.
One, whose hair is left unshaven.
Tombe eats not in the daytime
And with him I would be wedded.

30.

Marry with the 'Foreign-garbed'
For the 'Hoebringers' are idle,
Sleeping till the sun has risen.

The 'Foreign-garbed' and the 'Hoebringers' are age classes.

VI. A Round Dance to songs sung by those in attendance on the Chief.

31.

Mödi speaks and this his order,
'Let my Fishers be not summoned.'
Swaka speaks and speaking orders,
'Let my Fishermen be summoned.
'Where, O Fishermen, where are ye,
'Ye who dwell about Sooro?'
Let no order issue from thee
That we bend ourselves to labour.

The Fishermen, *tomonok ti Kare*, are a class of serfs engaging in work that no freeborn Bari will perform. They do little cultivation and rely on the Chief for sustenance. The hunters, *Yari*, and blacksmiths, *tomonok ti yukit*, fall into the same category. They all rely on the Chief to provide them with cattle for marriage. Intermarriage with freemen is rare.

VII. The Jumping Dance.

32.

I was conquered by her glances
And her eyes did win upon me,
Murye glanced and with her glances
Melted me in love towards her.
Her I choose whose charms have won me,
Her whose beauty makes me love her,
Me she won from far Bunyoro
And her love knows no resisting.

The Bari is, ' The girl meets with us, you will see ; Murye meets with us, you will see ; choose the spotted cows, choose the dappled cows ; my relative, they gripped (or pinched) speech ; We are from Bunyoro.'

The translation in verse is very free, but it represents the feelings behind the actual words. The usual preliminaries to courtship are amorous glances, of which the backward glance of a girl over her shoulder is most significant. When the interest of the male has been either aroused or encouraged, a meeting is the next step. So that when the singer of this song states quite simply that the girl of his choice will meet with him, that represents the climax of all the preliminary attraction. The reference to dappled cows is ' I have chosen for my beloved a girl attractive above all others, just as the cattle owner prefers to acquire dappled cattle.''

"They gripped speech" implies that at first the singer had no thought of wooing, but the maiden's beauty so prevailed upon him that although he did not intend to speak to her, he found himself forced to do so and was then conquered by her charms and fell in love with her.

Those are the songs the Bari sing and in them can be heard the laments of the unloved and the joy of the lover, the boasts of the conquerors and the fears of the defeated, the shame of the scorned and the pride of the successful. Their hopes and fears play alternately through the songs, jokes and jibes are interspersed with love of country and yearning for marriage cattle. There is a grim realism in the songs of the hovering kites and the rivers that run red with blood. There is an appreciation of beauty in the praise of a slim, upright figure. Although the majority are direct in their conceptions, there is a poetic imagery in the likening of the much admired youth to the fruit tree round which the fruit pickers gather.

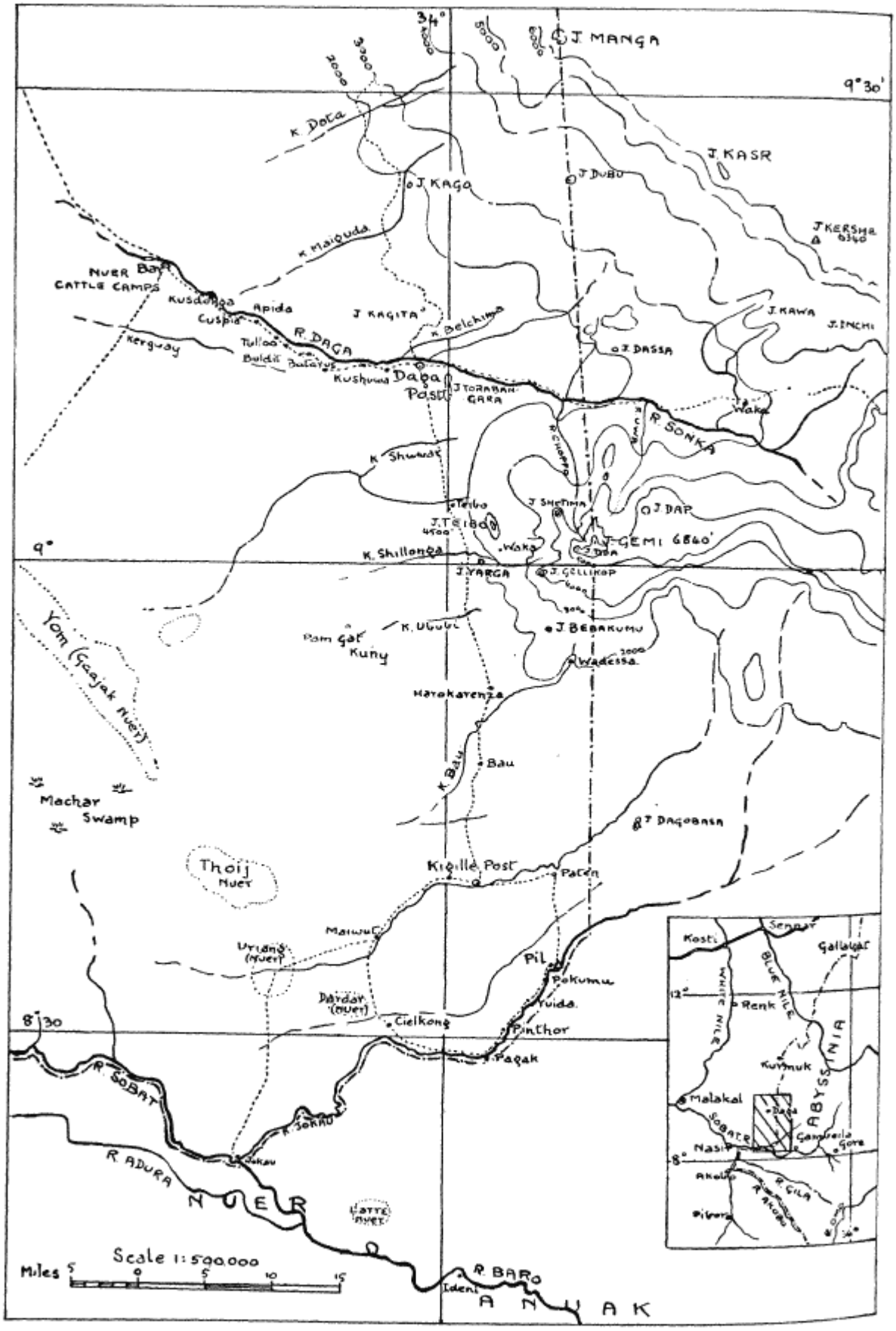
The directness of thought is, of course, not always apparent to the foreigner and many of the songs require a detailed explanation of the meaning that lies behind the actual words. Here the stranger is at fault in much the same way as a pagan student of English literature would be when faced with the opening lines of Paradise Lost. For, just as the lines.

> Of Man's first disobedience and the fruit
> Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
> Brought death into the world and all our woe,

take for granted a knowledge of the teaching of the Old Testament, so many of these songs require for their interpretation not only a knowledge of the background to Bari life and their general customs, but also an understanding of the references to more local events and to that more intimate part of a people's attitude to the life they and their families live.

In translating these songs, after a lapse of two years from the time I left the country of the Bari, I have not only been able to recall

scenes of almost daily occurrence, but have been also reminded that behind and apart from all official contact, the Bari were living lives, with the intimacy of which I was but little familiar and thinking thoughts to which I was all but a stranger, for, when a man speaks, he speaks with his lips, but when he sings, the words come from his heart.


34°
9°30'
9°
8°30
J. MANGA
K. Doca
J. KASR
J. KAGA
J. DUBO
J. KERSHA
K. Maiguda
NUER Bay
CATTLE CAMPS
Kusdunga
Apida
Cuspia
J. KAGITA
K. Belchima
R. DAGA
Kerguay
Tulloo
Buldit
Batatyt
Kushuwa
Daga Post
J. TORABAH GARA
J. KAWA
J. INCHI
J. DASSA
R. SONKA
Wake
K. Shwaat
Terbo
J. SHETIMA
J. DAP
J. GEMI 6840'
J. TERIBA
Waka
K. Shillonga
J. YARGA
J. GELLIKAP
J. BEBAKUMU
Yom (Gaajak Nuer)
Pam gar Kuny
K. Ubuur
Awadessa
Matokatenza
K. Bau
Bau
Machar Swamp
J. DAGOBASA
Thoij Nuer
Kiolle Post
Paten
Maiwut
Uriang (Nuer)
Pil
Pokumu
Ruida
Dairdar (Nuer)
Cielkong
Pinthor
Pagak
R. SOBAT
R. Sokau
Sokau
R. ADURA
NUER
Jotte Nuer
Scale 1:500,000
Miles 5 0 5 10 15
R. BARO
Idem
ANUAK
Kosti
Sennar
Gallabat
BLUE NILE
WHITE NILE
Renk
Kurmuk
Malakal
ABYSSINIA
Daga
Gambaela
Gore
Nasir
Akobo
R. GILA
Pibor
R. Akobo

THE KOMA.

By F. D. Corfield, M.B.E.

I. INTRODUCTION.

The main excuse for writing this account of the small group of peoples that I have for reasons given below called Koma, is that so far as I have been able to ascertain nothing about them has ever been committed to paper before. A fundamental interest of any primitive tribe or collection of peoples is to trace their affinities, if any, with other tribes and to determine to what group of peoples they belong and to anticipate the conclusions it can be said that the Koma appear to have no affinity whatsoever with any tribes in or near this area in the Sudan. So I hope that perhaps this account may enable someone else to solve this problem.

In the course of a season it is only possible to visit the Koma country once or twice for a few days at a time and much of this time is taken up in travelling. Even if more time were available the smallness of these communities and the comparative lack of administrative problems they offer would hardly warrant much time being spent on them. So the notes that follow are not much more than a bare catalogue of habitat, language, history and some of their customs. They will add little to the sum total of our knowledge of the primitive mind and the forces that influence it. Little attempt has been made to make them comprehensive or to interpret them. In any case this is hardly possible unless one is able to find out something about their religion and innermost beliefs and this as is known is well nigh impossible by hurried questions through an interpreter. They have for the main part been compiled from odd records made two or more years ago, which have in many cases proved inconsistent and I have had no opportunity of revisiting this area and filling in the lacunae that have become apparent.

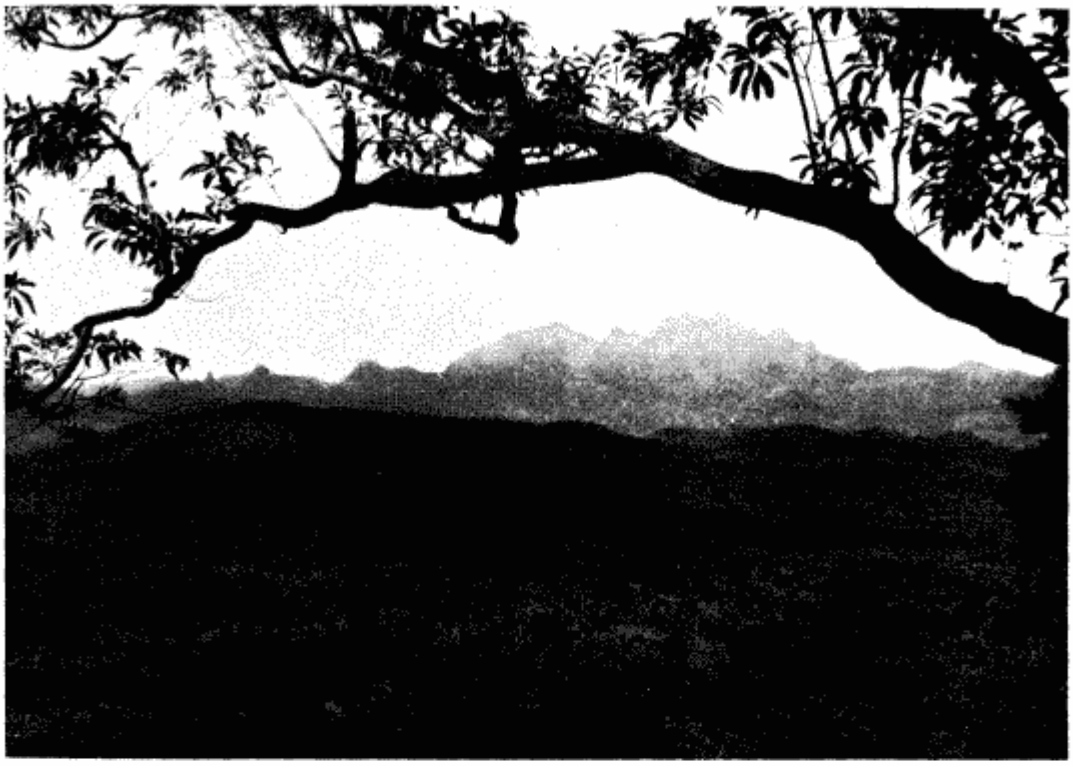
But their history for the last 40—50 years also has an interest as a record of slave-raiding at its worst. Other areas may have had as bad a time but I doubt whether any area could have had a worse one. For 40 years up to 1924 hardly a year passed without some village of these unfortunate peoples being devastated. Until a few years ago, since when the younger generation have had a chance to grow up in security, a large proportion of the population consisted of decrepit individuals who had become prematurely old. Their malformation is evidence of the tribulations they have suffered and the few who survived emasculation are living witnesses of the cruelties they suffered.

II. HABITAT.

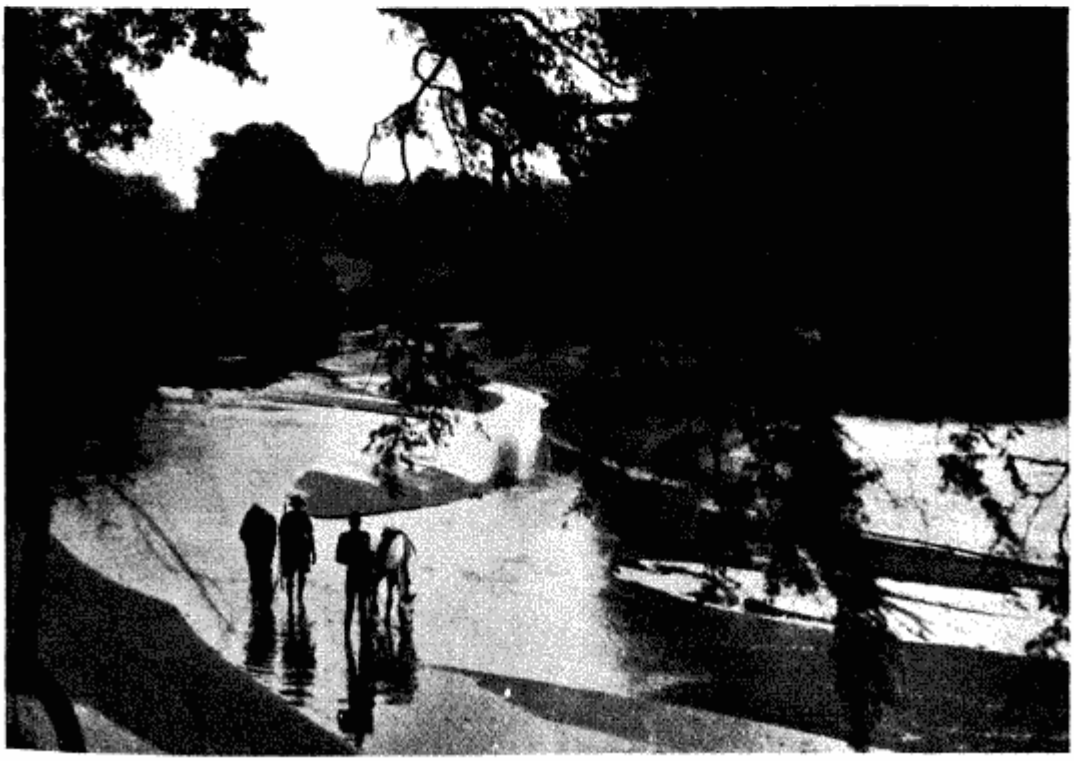
The area inhabited by these tribes is dominated by the mountain of Gemi (Plate 1) which rises to the height of 6,840 feet. It forms the westernmost outpost of the Ethiopian highlands, the last final effort of these highlands before they give way to the interminable plains of the Upper White Nile. The grandeur of its height is increased by the steepness of the slope that falls to the plains. It is at the end of a short range that juts out from the highlands and that forms the watershed for the Daga River on the north and the Lau and Jokau on the south.

The area is bounded on the north by the river Dota that rises from the western slopes of Gebel Manga and on the south by the Jokau river. The international boundary with Ethiopia that runs north and south through Gemi forms the eastern boundary and the plains the western one.

The most important watercourse is the Daga (Plate 1). This river which in its upper reaches is called the Sonka springs from a mountain of that name and flows the whole year in its upper reaches. In early February, 1933 I came down this valley from Kelim in Western Abyssinia. The river tumbles and rests in a series of rocky falls and pools. To the south is the mountain range that ends in Gemi, to the north and running north-west is the Abyssinian escarpment 6,000 feet high that ends in Gebel Manga. Its banks are lined with enormous trees and at that time the air was laden with the scent of the wild



MOUNT GEMI (6,840 FT.), FROM YARGA (S.W.).



DAGA RIVER IN FEBRUARY.

jasmine bushes. It is a small river of rare beauty. At Daga Post some 35 miles from its source it runs in a sandy bed 150 feet broad with banks 15 feet high. Shortly after leaving Daga Post the valley broadens out and is one of great fertility. The river winds through it, sometimes in open cultivation dotted with doleib palms. At other times through the densest tropical forest that gives shelter to buffalo and elephant, and the small and shy bushbuck. By the time Bar is reached a further 20 miles to the west, the river splits up into several streams and a little further west it loses itself in the northern end of the vast Machar Swamp. A few miles west of Daga Post it ceases to flow January to April, but pools are left and water can be found elsewhere in the sandy bed.

The next most important river is the Lau (Nuer) or Wursa (Galla). It rises from the southern slopes of the Gemi range and flows south west. By the time it reaches the frontier it has left the mountains and foot hills and runs through wooded undulating country in a bed 100 feet broad with banks 20-30 feet high. Its banks are thickly wooded and it flows here from May to January and in the dry season large pools are left that harbour the occasional crocodile. It again at its western end loses itself in the southern end of the Gaajak Swamp.

The Jokau (Nuer) or Garre (Galla) which is on the southern boundary rises on the western slopes of the huge mountain mass of Tulu Walel (10,800 feet) 50 miles away. When it reaches the frontier it is a winding stream 70 feet broad with banks 20 feet high that are clothed in the densest forest and jungle. It flows from April to February. These rivers carry down an immense amount of water during the height of the rainy season (July to November) and between the Dota and the Jokau there are many other river beds, deep cut, that are more local but which flow with torrential force after heavy rains. The biggest are the Maiguda, Teibo and the Bau. They all lose themselves in the Gaajak Swamp. It is doubtful if any of this water ever reaches the Nile. If it does, it will not do so until the end of the rainy season, as at the beginning of the rains water from the rising Baro (Sobat) flows up the Machar and other courses into the swamp and so impounds all water that comes down by these rivers.

When the Baro falls in December and the swamps drain into it again some of the water that has come down from the hills may find its belated way back into the Baro or by the way of Khor Adar in the north to the Nile.

The whole of this area is well wooded, the nature of the trees changes as the altitude drops. The peak of Gemi and the eastern slopes are covered with dense forest that is typically Abyssinian and with large areas of giant Bamboo. The Sudan side with the exception of the water courses is not so densely covered. Down to an altitude of 3,000 feet, Frankincense grows in the forests. As the level drops the soil appears to be mainly quartzite gravel and up to the height of 2,000 feet the most common trees are Habil (*Combretum Hartmanianum*), Subakh (*Terminalia Brownei*), Khush Khush (*Stereospermum Kunthianum*) and Sabaha (*Anogeissus Leiocarpus*), a large graceful tree not unlike the birch. Further down where the soil is getting an admixture of the heavier "cotton soil," there are large areas of Heglig (*Balanites Aegyptiaca*) and various Acacias. The most prominent and imposing trees near the rivers are various species of Ficus together with Duraba (*Pseudo-cadrala Kotschyi*), the Sausage tree (*Kigelea Aethiopica*), Gardenia Lutea, Camel's Foot (*Bauhinia*), Aradeib (*Tamarindus Indicus*) and an occasional Tebeldi (*Adansonia Digitata*). On the lower reaches of the Jokau there is the weird Candelabra Euphorbia (*Euphorbia Abyssinica*). In most of the valleys there are Doleib Palms (*Borassus Flabellifer*) and a few Dom Palms (*Hyphaene Thebaica*).

It is in May, the early rains, that this area is at its best. The trees are clothed in every shade of green and the ground is covered with a soft green carpet of grass. Numerous bulbs are in flower, orchids, lilies, giant purple "croci" with an occasional slender gladiolus. Many of the slopes are carpeted with a beautiful blue flower, not unlike the English Periwinkle. A paradise for the Sudan.

About 15 miles north east from Daga Post just on the Sudan side of the frontier there is a hot mineral spring. The water issues from a cleft in the granite rock at the foot of a small isolated hill called Dassa in a small steady stream at a temperature that can just be

borne. This spot was deserted when I went there but it is occasionally visited by Galla and people from Beni Shangul suffering from rheumatism and tertiary syphilis. There is another hot spring a few hours east of Wadessa across the frontier near a place called Kongoli which is also deserted but visited for medicinal purposes. The Koma are not afraid to visit these springs and appeared to treat them as ordinary natural phenomena.

Game is plentiful. There are possibly 150 elephant that wander between Daga and Kigille and that are a source of temptation to Abyssinian poachers. Buffalo abound in the forests and I once surprised a herd on the slopes of Gemi at a height of over 5,000 feet. The Koma say that buffalo seek the mountains when they calve. Roan antelope, thiang, waterbuck, reedbuck, gazelle and giraffe are plentiful in the lower regions, especially in the heglig tree areas and on the higher ground there are harte-beest. Warthog, harnessed bushbuck, duiker and dikdik are found where the forests are denser. Lion and leopard are often heard but seldom seen. Near Jokau large herds of white-eared cob graze on the edge of the swamps and in the Gaajak swamp the beautiful and rare Nile lechwe (Mrs. Gray's cob) has a natural sanctuary that should preserve it for all time. In the hills near Dota in the north I once followed a small herd of greater kudu.

III. NAME, LANGUAGE AND DISTRIBUTION.

It is often a matter of difficulty to find the correct name for a tribe or group of tribes. In the old reports the people in this area are called sometimes Burun and sometimes Koma or Komo.[1] The area to the north of the Yabus river in the southern Fung is called by Arabic speaking people *dar el burun*. And if one of the inhabitants

(1) (a) Sudan Monthly Intelligence Reports 1901. To the south of the Yabus are Burun under Mek Komo of J. Seima near J. Banga. The Koma and Aman are not connected with the Burun. They are under Mek Yasin wad Daud of Fadasi (in southern Beni Shangul). He is of Fung extraction and he and Sheikh Khogali are quarrelling with the Galla over their suzerainty.

(b) S.M.I.R. 1903. Dedjazmatch Joti is reported to have raided the Burun on the Sonka (Daga River).

(c) S.M.I.R. 1904. Dedjazmatch Joti suggested that he should again take over the Komo area (Abjalla-Pil) which is inhabited by the Kogo on exchange for the Nuer country north of the Baro.

of the Daga valley who happens to speak Arabic is asked what his tribe is he will almost certainly answer *burunawi*. Burun is in fact the name of one distinct tribe in the southern Fung, but it has come to be used generically for all the many tribes that inhabit that area,[2] many of whom speak languages that are mutually unintelligible.[3]

In the area that is being discussed in these notes (*i.e.*, from the Dota to the Jokau) there appear to be at least two language groups, and I propose to adopt the name Koma as being the most convenient one for these two tribes. It is in fact a word that the Galla use for the negroid people that happen to inhabit this particular area of the no-man's land between the mountains and the plains, although I have heard it used with more particular reference to the Madin (see pages 130 and 157) group who live on Mount Gemi.

Before discussing names for these two language groups, I will mention briefly the other tribal names that appear either in reports or on maps relating to this area.

MAU. Near Saio the capital of the Galla Province of Wallega there is a mountain called Mau and this name also appears on the map as the name of a tribe inhabiting the Anfillo area. I have not seen any of these people but they are said to be lighter in colour than the other neighbouring negroid tribes and tradition has it that they have some Portugese blood in them.[4]

AMAN. This name appears on the map in the vicinity of Mount Banga. It is not known to the inhabitants of the Daga valley, but odd collections of negroid peoples still live on the slopes of Mount Banga. When I passed through this area in 1933 I saw two typical negroids who were described to me as Koma.

(2) The Nuer also have one word for all these tribes *Cai*.

(3) For information on this area see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Ethnological Observations in Dar Fung* S. N. & R. Vol. XV Part I, 1932. See also Seligman *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, Darfung page 420.

(4) From 1480 to 1630 the Portuguese sent many expeditions to Abyssinia, in the first instance to seek out the fabulous "Prester John" and obtain his aid against the encroaching Moslems in the Near East, and latterly to save the Abyssinian Christian Kingdoms from the onslaughts of Moslem hordes under the famous Somali Ahmed Gran. An interesting account of this little known interlude in the history of Abyssinia is "*The Romance of the Portugese in Abyssinia*" by C. F. Rey.

UDUK. Sometimes but probably incorrectly referred to as Korara.[5] They live on and south of the Yabus near the frontier. The people of the Daga valley know them as Kebeirka. I believe that the Galla also call them Koma, but as they are now known and recorded as Uduk there is no point in including them with the Koma. And apart from a short note on the history it is not proposed to deal with them in these notes as they lie just outside the area under discussion and I know very little about them.

GANZA. Marked on the map near Mount Manga and the Dota river. The Koma of the Daga valley say that the village of Dota which is now deserted was once inhabited by Kebeirka who were raided by the Berta, so it is probable that Ganza are the same as the Uduk.

KOGO OR KWOGO. A tribe called Kwogo still live on the upper reaches of the Lau river and some people speaking their dialect live in the Koma village of Pil. This dialect is understood by the people of Pil so it is probable they are a branch of the Ciita group (see below).

To return to the division or classification of the two Koma tribes under discussion. When Chief Agifai of the village of Kusgulo on the Daga was asked what the name of his tribe was he replied Bikul. But it appeared subsequently that this was the name of his particular section. The people of Buldiit replied that they were Dana, but this turned out to be the name of the area in which they lived. When they were asked for the name of the people who live on the slopes of Mount Gemi they replied that they were called Fuin. (Now *fuin* is a Nilotic stem meaning foreigner and is of the same root as the Nuer word *buin* used for Abyssinians in particular. This is of some interest in connection with the origin of the name Fung about which there has been so much discussion.)[6] So I asked the people of the Daga

(5) E. E. Evans-Pritchard *Op. cit.* pp 18 and 32.

(6) Westermann *The Shilluk People* p lii.
J. D. P. Chataway "*Notes on the History of the Fung,*" S. N. & R. 1930.
L. F. Nalder, C.M.G., C.I.E., C.B.E., "*Fung Origins*" S. N. & R. 1931.
E. E. Evans-Pritchard. *Op. cit.* pp 56-58.
Seligman. *Op. cit.* p 424 footnote (2).

and Kigille areas what they called their language and they said Ciita and I have therefore adopted this as the name of their tribe. Similarly the people on Gemi said their language was Madin or Marin and I have called them Madin.

The approximate populations of the Ciita and Madin tribes, are 2,000 and 700. The former are divided into three dialect groups, the Kusgilo group near Daga Post and the Kigille group which are almost identical, and the Buldiit group which shows greater variations. Vocabularies are given in the Appendix.

There are also in this area one small Berta village of 45 inhabitants and three small Anuak communities on the Jokau with a total population of some 130. These are not included in the above totals.

The inhabitants of the villages in the Daga area in particular are not solely Koma. Several villages contain odd collections of Abyssinian refugees many of whom have an admixture of Galla blood and some of them Berta. They probably number about 300-400 and are included in the above totals.

There is one other neighbouring tribe that I will comment on, the Maban,[7] who have contact with the Koma in the area where the Daga river disappears into the swamps. The Koma who call them Kwoina (Nuer call them Tōm) say that they are related to the Dinka. This supports Dr. Evans-Pritchard's observation that the Southern Burun group (Ulu, Jumjum and Maban), although culturally they appear to have little in common with the Nilotic, show definite signs of miscegenation with the Dinka.[8]

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(7) H. G. Wedderburn-Maxwell. "*The Maban of the Southern Fung.*" S. N. & R. 1936.

(8) E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Op. cit.* p. 57. Besides certain oral traditions Dr. Evans-Pritchard bases his conclusions on the large percentage of Nilotic stems in this group and the tendency among the Jumjum to dolichocephaly. As the Maban live nearer the Dinka and the Nuer and their language shows a greater proportion of Nilotic stems it appears reasonable to assume that they are at least as closely miscegenated as the Jumjum. Confirmation of this will have to await the taking of head measurements, but it does seem probable that the measurements taken from Dr. Pirries unpublished records, which show a C.I. as high as 79 were not taken from the Maban as Dr. Seligman suggests (*Op. cit. p.* 418.)

IV. HISTORY.

The first mention of this area in Official Records is that of 1901 referred to in footnote. (1) The Gallas mentioned in this footnote are the Wallega Gallas who were at that time under their chief Dedjazmatch Joti. He was the last independent King of these Gallas. A few years previously they had made their last stand against the Amharic expansion under Menelik II and had been defeated at the Mountain of Cundi near Gore by Ras Tessama Nado. They then became vassals to the Amhara overlords.

For over 20 years after this date no attempt was made to administer this area owing to its inaccessibility, but reports refer to a whole series of raids and rumours of raids that well nigh exterminated these people, the fate of many small tribes near the Western frontier of Abyssinia. And they existed only as small fugitive communities, living a few years here and a few years there. Before this date nothing for certain was known about them and I can trace no record that any travellers have ever visited this area. Those that travelled in the southern Fung never appeared to have come so far south. And those that sought the sources of the Nile never got so far east. (G. Lejean in his book *Voyage aux Deux Nils* (1860) mentions this area (p. 121) and states " Les Berouns occupent le pays Doul Kourmouzieb, Abu Gonès jusquàu Saubat." (Doul is near Kurmuk.) The Ciita and the Madin appear to know suprisingly little about their earlier history and have no traditions of ever having migrated to these parts from elsewhere, except that the Ciita of Maiwut say they once lived on the Yabus River 50 miles north of the Daga. The Nuer have a tradition that these Koma are related to the Murle (Beir) tribe of the upper Pibor river and the Boma Plateau to the south. The tale is that they both used to live together, but quarrelled over a calf and divided. The Murle went off with the cattle leaving the Koma with the grain (n.b. the Murle are essentially a cattle owning tribe and the Koma are cultivators). The only factor that might confirm this is a certain physical resemblance between these two

peoples, as opposed to the Nilotics they are thick set and muscular. But apart from this they appear to have nothing in common. There is not the slightest connection between the two languages and the customs are quite dis-similar, so I think that this legend may be dismissed.[9]

It is possible that the struggle for existence may account for the loss of traditions. The Madin say that they have always lived on Mount Gemi and that their original home was not far away and just east of Mount Dap. The Ciita say that Buldiit on the Daga River was their original home and that they did not once live further away in the Abyssinian highlands. But in the Abyssinian highlands to the east there are still many small pagan negroid communities that have survived the Galla invasion and expansion of three centuries ago. And it is not improbable that these Koma once lived there and were driven out by the Galla and sought sanctuary in this No-man's land between the highlands of Abyssinia and the swamps of the Upper Nile.

The Uduk in fact have such a tradition. An old man aged about 80 and living at Chali near the Yabus told Mr. J. F. Tiernay in 1930 that their original home was some five days to the east of Arwa *i.e.*, beyond the Galla country. This is confirmed by Mr. J. D. P. Chataway[10] and may possibly be identified with the area marked Shankalla on the 1 : 1,000,000 map of Abyssinia (Lat. 9° 50′ Long. 36° 40′) some 200 miles away. In his grandfather's time they moved into Galla country as they could no longer stand the continual enslaving at the hands of the Amhara. But here their fate was little better and they moved again to Berzam just south of the Yabus. His first recollection as a small boy was being raided by the Nuer. This would be about 1860 and fits in with the Jekany Nuer migration from

(9) Since writing the above Mr. C. B. Tracey informs me that when he was at Gambeila some years ago, the small community of Koma still living at Bongo (see later) told him that they had a tradition that they came originally from the vicinity of the Boma Plateau to the south. So although the legend of relationship may be dismissed the Nuer tradition may be founded on the fact that they once lived together.

(10) E. E. Evans-Pritchard *Op. cit.* p. 32.



FIG. 2.—FROM KIGILLE VILLAGE.

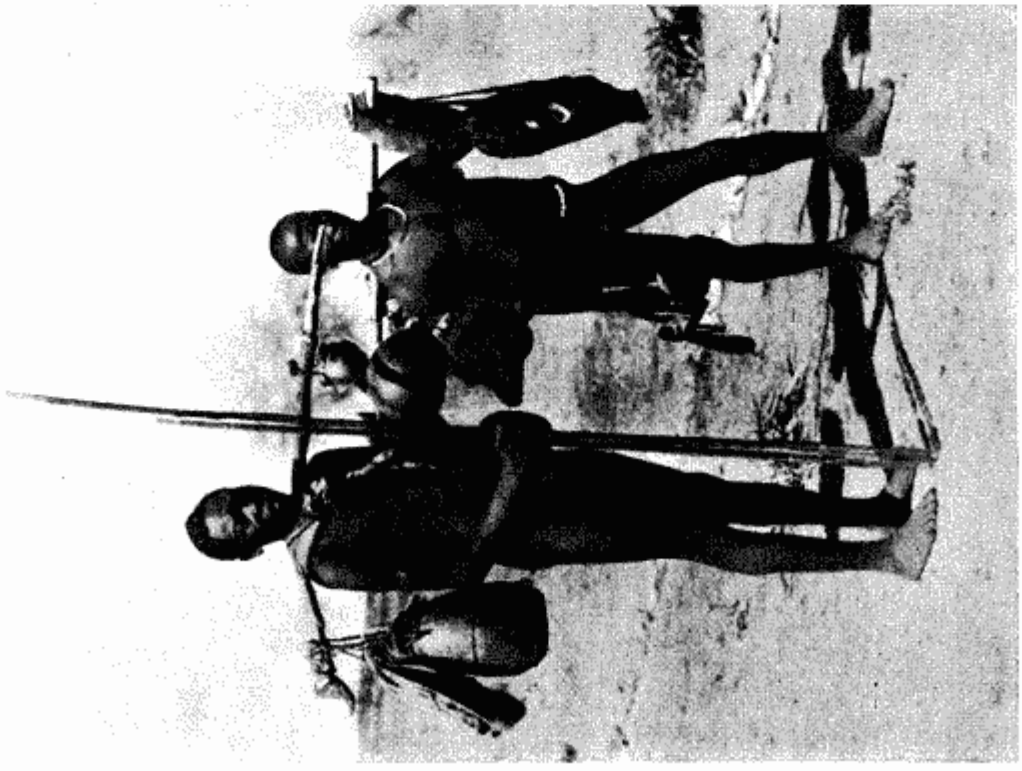


FIG. 1—FROM DAGA AREA.

the west of the Nile that took place 80—100 years ago. The next contact with the outside world that he remembers was being raided by the Dervishes (see next paragraph).

So much for the Uduk. To return to the Ciita group Agifai, the Chief of Kusgulo near Daga Post, who is about 65 years old says that the first record of the outside world that his people talk about was the arrival of a Dervish band when he was a boy. They managed to capture a few guns from the Dervishes but as they did not know how to use them they sold them to the Galla. An interesting sidelight on the date of this Dervish incursion is found in the book *Vers Fachoda.*[11] In 1898 the Bonchamp Mission after having crossed Abyssinia and having failed to make contact with Marchand at Fashoda were retiring along the Baro back to Abyssinia. At Ilea [12] they met an old Arab who said that he had been a member of a Dervish band and he related that the band had left the Blue Nile near the frontier of Gojjam (presumably near Fazogli) and had skirted the Massif of *Beni Choukouls* (Beni Shangul) [13]. After raiding and ravishing all the people they found en route, they arrived at Deng on the right bank of the Sobat (about 15 miles east of Nasir). The Nuer wishing to see the last of them and hoping no doubt that they would perish in the swamps told them that to the south there lay a marvellous country. So they marched over the swamps along the right bank of the "Adjoubba" river (probably the Akobo) until they saw the escarpment of Kaffa rising up before them. To their surprise they heard of an immense army of Abyssinians under Dedjazmatch Tessama Nado operating in the neighbourhood. At the same time Dedjazmatch Tessama received reports of this large band of marauding black Arabs. They were mutually afraid of each other and they

(11) Charles Michel. *Mission de Bonchamps, Vers Fachoda, à la rencontre de la Mission Marchand, à la travers L'Ethiopie*, pp 186 and 307.

(12) Possibly Olea Lat. 8° 11′ Long. 34° 20′.

(13) Shankalla is the Amharic word applied to all negroid people and signifies "black skinned" in contrast to the "red skinned" Amhara. It is applied to slaves and is used in much the same way as the word "Sudani" is used by the Arabs. Beni Shangul is the Arabicised version and is applied to that part of Abyssinia between the Blue Nile and the Yabus river.

each retired and the Dervishes returned on the route by which they had come. A remarkable journey as Gemira is some 400 miles from Fazogli. This took place in 1890 and this band of Dervishes is no doubt the one referred to by the old Uduk tribesman and by Chief Agifai and may also be the band under Ali wad Rahma mentioned in the Sudan Intelligence Report for February, 1908.[14]

This date, about 1886—1890 appears to be a turning point in the history of these Koma. Before that date they had paid tribute of ivory to the Galla and except for an occasional tax collecting incursion, there was, according to Chief Agifai, comparative peace in the land. After that date they were raided from all quarters by Dervish, Berta, Nuer and Galla, and by 1924 when Daga and Kigille Police were founded only a remnant of these unfortunate communities were left. This date was the focal point of three factors that coincided to disturb this area. From the west the expansion of the Nuer had reached the Abyssinian frontier. On the northeast Sheikh Khogali el Hassan of Beni Shangul and other Berta[15] and Arab sheikhs and become independent. (Before the Mahdia there had been a Turkish Government Post in this area.) And in the Galla country in the east there was unrest owing to its absorption by the conquering Amhara of Menelik II.

I will give a short account of the vicissitudes of these people from 1890 to the present day. They were so beaten from pillar to post that even this is not easy. But by fitting in the Official Reports with their own accounts it is possible to trace the major episodes.

The Dervish raid was an isolated event and it passed over the country like a swarm of locusts and went. It was the persistent raiding of the Nuer that definitely started the Koma on their 30 years wanderings. They first fled to Teibo. The old men said " We must

(14) S.M.I.R. Feb. 1908. Nuer Chiefs at Kwanylualthon (Nasir) asked for permission to recreate their villages on their old sites whence they had been driven by the cruel raids of Ali wad Rahma.

(15) The last independant Berta community had existed under the Berta Mek of Kutu, but they had been beaten up by the Galla in 1903 and lost their independence. Most of them sought refuge with and became subject to Sheikh Khogali.

stay here and hide in the forests, if we go further east towards the land of the Galla we will be finished. They will seize us all and not one will be left." But the majority would not listen and leaving the old people behind at Bidua near Teibo where they still are, they went and met the fate that the old people foretold. In 1903 a big raid by Dedjazmatch Joti is reported as having taken place.[16] His Galla went far and wide and reached the Burun on the Yabus. The survivors remained behind and were joined by parties who managed to escape. But about this time the third of their enemies became more persistent and in 1908 a horde under a Berta, Khamis Khasha descended on them from Kirin in Sheikh Khogali's country.[17]

In the meantime Dedjazmatch Joti had died and was succeeded by his younger brother Fitaurari Mardassa. Joti had maintained reasonable control over his chieftains, but the latter became more independent under Mardassa and went their own way and the Koma say that after Joti's death raiding increased in violence. Warragarra as the Daga Valley is known to the Galla, was considered by Joti as part of his ancestral domains together with the population that supplied him with cotton and ivory. And although he started raiding these Koma it is probable that his underlying idea was the conservation of his property. He took as many of them as he could catch to the highlands to save them from falling into the hands of his rival Sheikh Khogali. In 1910 the Galla raids became so formidable that the remnant of the Koma sought refuge among the Nuer at Uriang. The Galla followed them there and forced the Nuer to vacate Uriang for the time being. Another party consisting mainly of old women and children who were unable to make their way south doubled back on their tracks and sought refuge in the heights of Mount Gemi. But the Galla followed them up and in their efforts to escape many of them fell from the precipitous heights and were dashed to death in the ravines below.

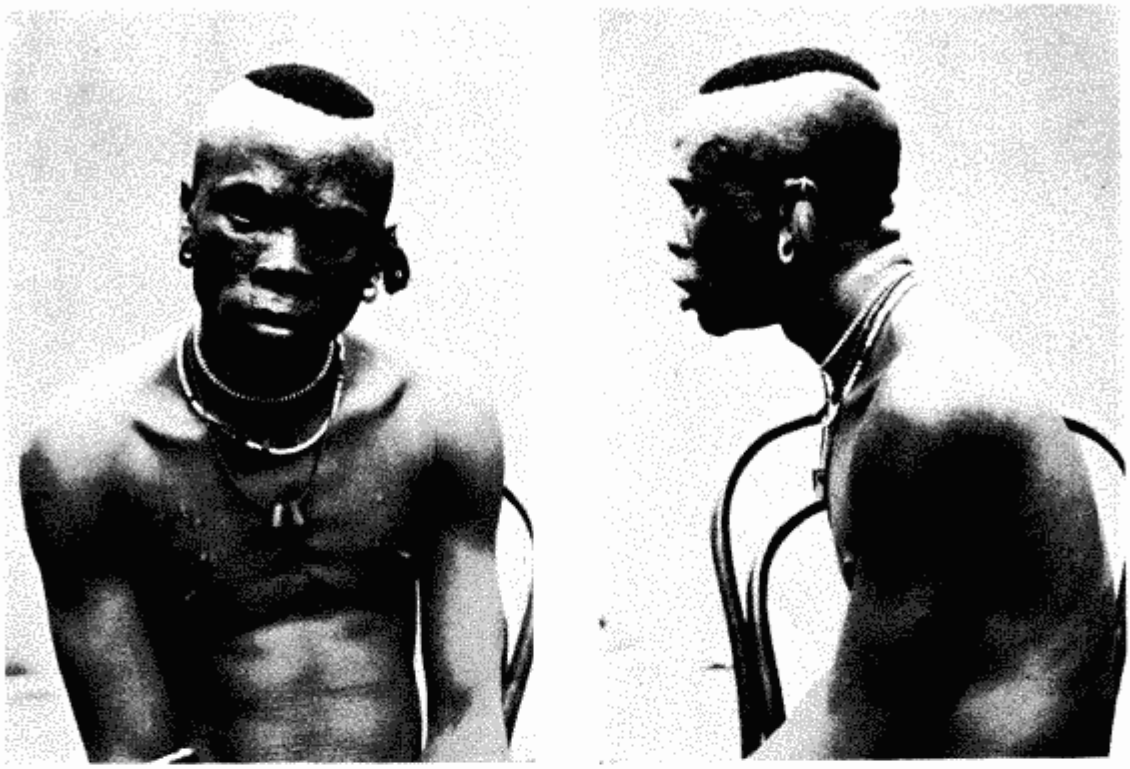
But the call of their homeland was strong and the scattered remnants kept on returning and the tale of raids continued. For

(16) S.M.I.R. 1903.

(17) S.M.I.R. 1908.

the next few years those from Sheikh Khogali's country under a notorious leader called Bimbasha predominated. In 1912 when the Daga valley was visited it was found almost deserted as the result of the ravages of this Bimbasha, and there was evidence of cruel mutilations. A few of these unfortunates who were emasculated while still alive by these raiders and the Galla have managed to survive and are still to be seen, poor miserable specimens of humanity. This raiding by Sheikh Khogali brought about a clash between him and Mardassa as the latter considered Warragarra as his hunting preserve and in retaliation he raided and wiped out the village of Dota that was considered to be part of Sheikh Khogali's preserve. After this it is said that these two came to an agreement that the Daga valley should again become the boundary between them and that only the Galla should presumably have the right to raid these Koma. But Sheikh Khogali still appeared to consider the Koma fair game as in two raids in 1917 under one, Manassi, the majority of the Koma at Buldiit were carried off to Beni Shangul together with their Chief Tulloo.

It was about this time that the Madin of Mount Gemi were dispersed from their homes in the Uwa valley near Mount Dap by a Galla, Fitaurari Fanta. Some went down to the Daga valley, another party went off to Bonga near Gambeila where they still are and a third party sought refuge in the foothills below Beigi in Sheikh Khogali's country. This latter party numbering some 300 persons returned to the Sudan in 1935. In 1918 Fitaurari Nigau Ashana, a nephew of Joti descended on Teibo. He no doubt would have said that he was tax-gathering but to the Koma all these forays were as raids. He continued on down the Daga valley until he reached the Nuer in their cattle camps at Bar. The small fugitive communities in this area took refuge with the Nuer and Fitaurari Nigau threatened to fight the Nuer if they did not give them up. Mut Dung their chief said that as the Koma had taken refuge with them they would not give them up and offered to fight. Nigau thereupon retired. According to the Nuer they so impressed Nigau with their power that when Mut Dung complained that one of Nigau's men had stolen a Nuer rifle, he returned the rifle and had the thief beaten in front of them.



FIGS. 1 AND 2.—KOMA FROM MAIWUT.
Pitted face due to smallpox.

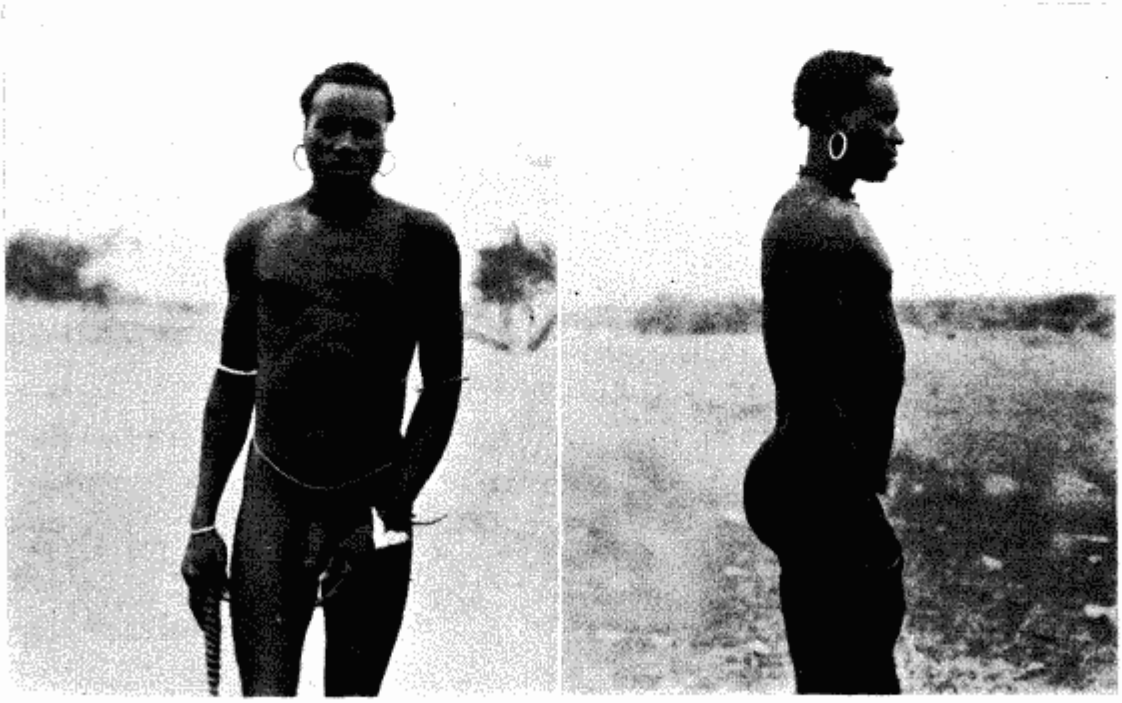


FIG. 3. FIG. 4.
In his right hand is Tiang Horn Snuff Container. Elbow Ornaments are made from the shoulder blade of cattle. Probably copied from Nuer.
KOMA TYPES.

The Nuer raids were in a different category to those of the Galla and the Berta. The latter were actuated in the main by two motives, slavery and blood lust.[18] The Nuer in their expansion from their homeland west of the Nile, either absorbed or dispersed those Dinka and Anuak that occupied the country they went into. It was the same with the Koma. They did not seek to kill them but to capture them and absorb them into their social system.

It had been impossible to administer and protect this area while the Gaajak Nuer resisted administration as they barred the approach and this had to be postponed because of the Great War. In 1920 a large Patrol subdued the Gaajak Nuer sufficiently to enable civil administration to start in 1921. In 1923 the first administrative visit was made to the Koma area. At this time there were only one or two communities left in the Kigille area. The rest of the Koma had taken refuge with the comparatively larger concentration in the Daga valley, and Tulloo, mentioned above, who had escaped from Sheikh Khogali was recognised as Chief. But this did not end their tale of misfortune as only a few days after the departure of Mr. J. M. Lee, the District Commissioner, an expedition led by Fitauraris Fanta and Hosanna (also called Oda) and despatched by Dedjazmatch Birrou, the Amhara Governor, descended on the valley. Tulloo the newly recognised Chief and several others were carried off, six Koma were killed and many more wounded. Tulloo subsequently died in captivity. So it was decided to form Police Posts at Kigille and Daga.

In 1924 the despatch of the Police was hurried forward as reports of another incursion down the Daga were received. By the time the Police had reached Daga most of the raiders had retired eastwards across the frontier. But a camp of those still in the Sudan was rushed with Police by Mr. E. G. Coryton and rifles horses and stores were captured. A permanent Police Post was founded at Batarus and was two years later removed to its present site near the village of Kusgulo. A Police Post was founded at Kigille.

(18) The prowess of a Galla hunter and raider was judged by the number of buffalo tails and trophies of emasculation he could hang up outside his front door.

So 1924 became another turning point in the history of these Koma and ended the thirty to forty years of tribulation and sorrow. Since that date there have been no raids by either Galla or Sheikh Khogali's people. In 1931 Abyssinian Anuak from the Baro River raided the village of Pil, but the Abyssinian Government paid compensation and in 1932 and 1933 the Nuer carried out two minor raids both of which were amicably settled. On the formation of the Posts the small fugitive communities that had sought refuge in the mountains and forests started returning to re-found their villages and this movement back to the Sudan has continued ever since.

I was only able to find two traces of earlier history in this area. Between Kigille and Maiwut there are some old village sites that are said to have been Dinka. They are recognised as slight mounds in the forest and by the presence of sycamore trees. They are only a few miles from the present permanent Nuer villages at Thauj, which was originally Dinka and is in fact named after an old Dinka Chief. It is therefore reasonable to assume that prior to the Nuer invasion of some 70 or 80 years ago the Dinka extended as far east as the Lau river. And secondly on the small conical hill of Yarga near Teibo there are evidences of human habitation. On the hillside I found pieces of pottery on sites that had been artifically levelled and also balls of white quartzite about three inches in diameter that had been artifically rounded. The Koma know nothing about this site and say that they have never occupied it, so the date and the inhabitants remain unknown. I had a Nuba policeman with me and he said that similar stones are found in the Nuba Mountains.[19] The Koma do not know how to make these stones nor do they use them.

V. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, DRESS ETC.

The Koma on the whole are medium of stature with thick-set muscular bodies, and a tendency to steatopygy. Their hair is short and woolly and the skin in its natural state is dark but as they

(19) C.W. Beer. *Note on Manufacture of Nuba Stone Knob Sticks.* S. N. & R. Vol. XVIII—Part II p. 294.

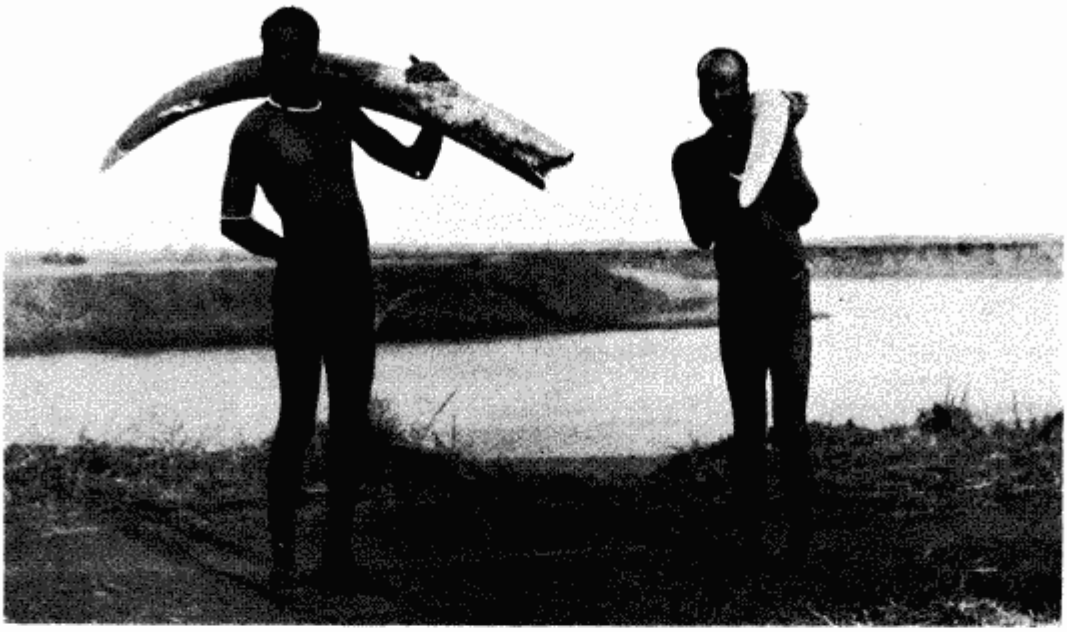
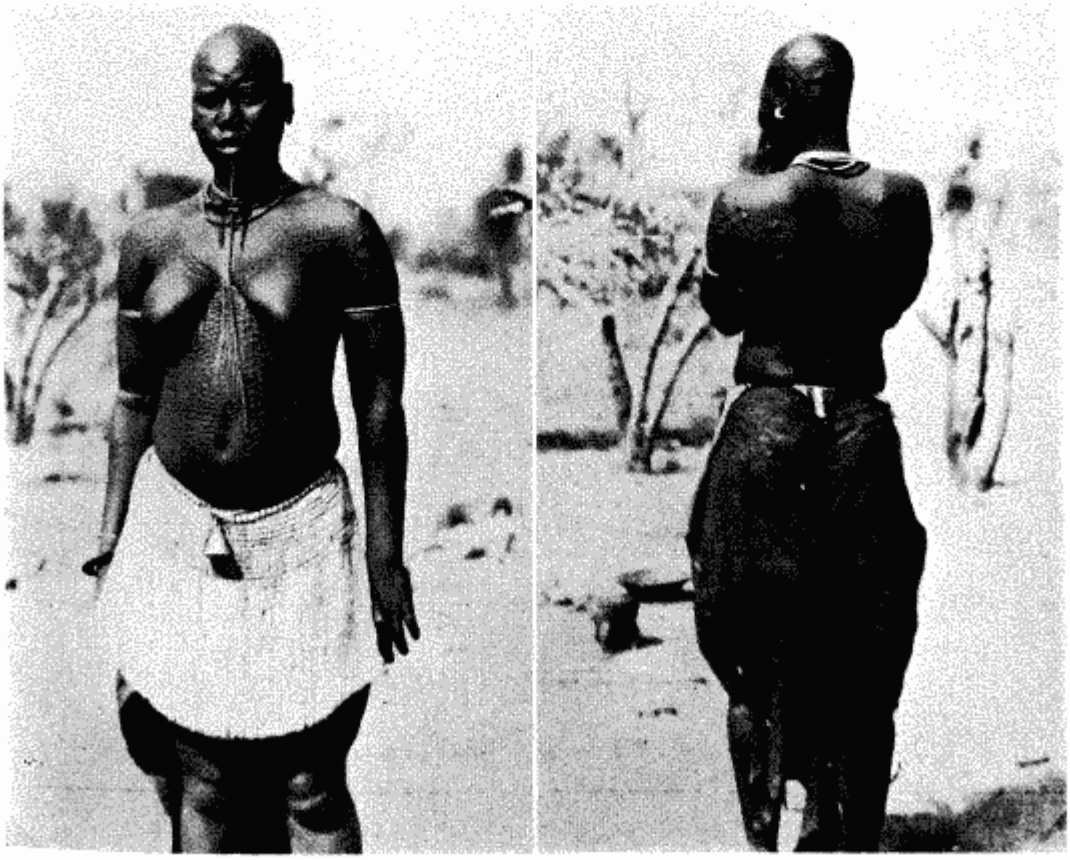


FIG. 1.—KOMA WITH TUSKS OF IVORY CAPTURED BY POLICE PATROL FROM ABYSSINIAN POACHERS.



FIGS. 2 AND 3.—KOMA MARRIED WOMAN FROM KUSGILO VILLAGE WITH OSTRICH EGGSHELL SKIRT.

are continually rubbing their bodies with a mixture of simsim oil and 'red ochre'[20] it appears lighter in colour. Although no measurements were taken they appear to be mesaticephalic (medium headed). Physically they are a complete contrast to their neighbours, the Nuer. (See Plates II-V.)

Men normally go naked but there is a tendency, more marked in the Daga area where the Galla and Berta admixture is greater, for the wearing of clothes to increase. The clothes and ornaments worn by the girls and women are shown in the photographs. Except when very young they always wear some sort of pubic covering of which there are two main types. One is a leather apron on which are sewn in regular lines small pieces of ostrich egg-shell, darker pieces being used to form irregular rectangular patterns. To this is sometimes added a waistband of cowrie shells. In the case of married women the buttocks must also be covered with a leather skirt. The other type is a plain leather skirt usually in two pieces, fore and aft, which overlap, or a more attenuated affair which is gathered together between the legs. Small girls will sometimes wear just a small flap.

The head is either shaved or the hair is worn short. In the latter case it is nearly always covered with the mixture of oil and red ochre and matted into small lumps. Some of the youths in contact with Nuer will bleach their hair in the Nuer style with cattle dung ash. Men and women cicatrize their bodies and shoulders. There are no well defined patterns but the raised spots usually run in parallel or concentric lines. Boys and girls have the four lower incisor teeth removed at puberty and the girls also have their lower lip pierced, through which they stick a piece of iron.

There is one physical infirmity that is so common that it might almost be classed as a tribal characteristic, Hydrocele. The majority of the men in middle age show some enlargement of the scrotum. It is an affliction that they treat with philosophic calm and until it reaches an advanced stage it does not unduly inconvenience them either in

(20) This "red ochre" which is called *toko* and which they use extensively is dug out of the ground at a place called Bazala in the hills near Dota. Many other tribes in the southern Fung also use a similar substance.

their ordinary or in their sexual activities. The Koma word for Hydrocele is *kuk* and when going through exemptions to the Poll Tax lists it is a common occurrence to hear that so and so can no longer cultivate because of his *kuk*. I remember on one occasion chief Bekona explaining that so and so's *kuk* was so large that when he wanted to go and visit a neighbour he needed the assistance of two boys. This somewhat Rabelasian criterion of Tax exemption was put forward without a glimmer of a smile. It was considered a commonplace. With the improvement in communications it will be possible to afford some relief and perhaps discover the cause of this endemic complaint.

VI. SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

The village or small group of villages appears to be the unit of their organisation and at the head of each such community is a hereditary chief. Each such unit has a name and this name they say is that of the ancestor who founded the clan. These ancestors were not related, they were created as such. So the patrilineal clan may be considered the basis of their social organisation. In the case of the Madin two of the bigger clans are :

BOSHU

?

Leigan (chief)

Safun — Shermia (chief) — Neisa (chief)

Buli (present chief)

GARI

?

Moasa (chief)

Zigil — Mukki (chief)

Tafu (present chief)

On the death of a chief his son would not necessarily succeed him, the chieftainship would go to the leading member of the family. The same applies to the Ciita group, *e.g.*, Agifai the chief of the Bikul clan was the nephew of the former chief Akatfui although the latter had sons. But owing to the ravages of the slave raids these clan groups are not so compact as they were and quite a number of people do not know who their father is. These chiefs have no autocratic powers and matters that may arise would be discussed with the elder men. Neither the Madin nor the Ciita group recognise a definite head chief of their tribes, although in times of stress they would tend to follow the lead of the most influential of the clan chiefs.

There is no association of certain groups with certain species of animate or inanimate things so Totemism is not a factor in their social organisation. In cases of illness the medico-religious experts (see later) may forbid the eating of certain meats or fruits. Such a prohibition is called *kai* and appears to be purely arbitary and cannot therefore be classed as totemistic.

Nor are there any age sets.

VII. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, MARRIAGE AND DEATH.

Childbirth is treated as a purely normal function. There is no particular preference for male or female children. The more natural desire for a son as the firstborn is compensated by the increased marrying capacity of the family if a daughter is born. After the birth of a child a goat (if one is available, and if not, a chicken), will be sacrificed and eaten and beer will be drunk. The birth of twins is not considered a misfortune, but there is a danger that they may grow up weakly unless a more extended sacrifice takes place. Twins must be married on the same day.

A child is kept at breast for about two years *i.e.*, until it can speak. During this period the husband must have no sexual intercourse with his wife. (*n.b.* This is the only prohibition attaching to marital intercourse.)

PUBERTY. There are no definite initiation ceremonies and with the exception of the removal of the four lower incisor teeth in both sexes and the piercing of the lower lip of the girls mentioned above, there is no mutilation. Neither sex is circumcised. When however the youths reach the age of puberty a good hunter will take them out and explain to them more fully the arts of hunting. Otherwise their education in tribal lore and ethics is undertaken by their parents.

A certain amount of sex play between boys and girls may take place but with the advent of adolescence it is frowned on and pre-marital intercourse is not encouraged. If intercourse is known to have taken place it may lead to trouble between the two families and the parents of the boy may have to pay compensation. If the girl becomes pregnant and the youth is not in a position to marry the girl (see marriage below) his parents must compensate the girl's parents. He has no right to the child.

MARRIAGE which may take place at any time of the year is by exchange of female relations, *i.e.*, sisters if they are available, if not cousins. Polygyny is allowed but it is not usual as there is not a sufficient surplus of women (*n.b.*, as the accumulation of worldly wealth has nothing to do with marriage, the number of wives any one man may possess is directly dependent on the number of surplus female relatives). No property changes hands, neither is the husband under any obligation to perform any service for his parents-in-law.

As may be imagined marriage by exchange of sisters does not always proceed smoothly. *B* whose sister *A* proposes to marry may have strong personal objections to taking *A*'s sister as a wife. But in practice it is said to work quite well as good wifely qualities and not physical attraction are the basis of a successful marriage and the odds are that *A*'s sister will make as dutiful a wife as *B*'s sister whatever she may look like.

A will decide that he wants to marry *B*'s sister. There are no formal discussions at this stage, but he will employ a mutual friend as an intermediary to broach the question to *B*, and by *B*'s reactions to these preliminaries he will know how the land lies. When he is reasonably certain that his venture will meet with success he will

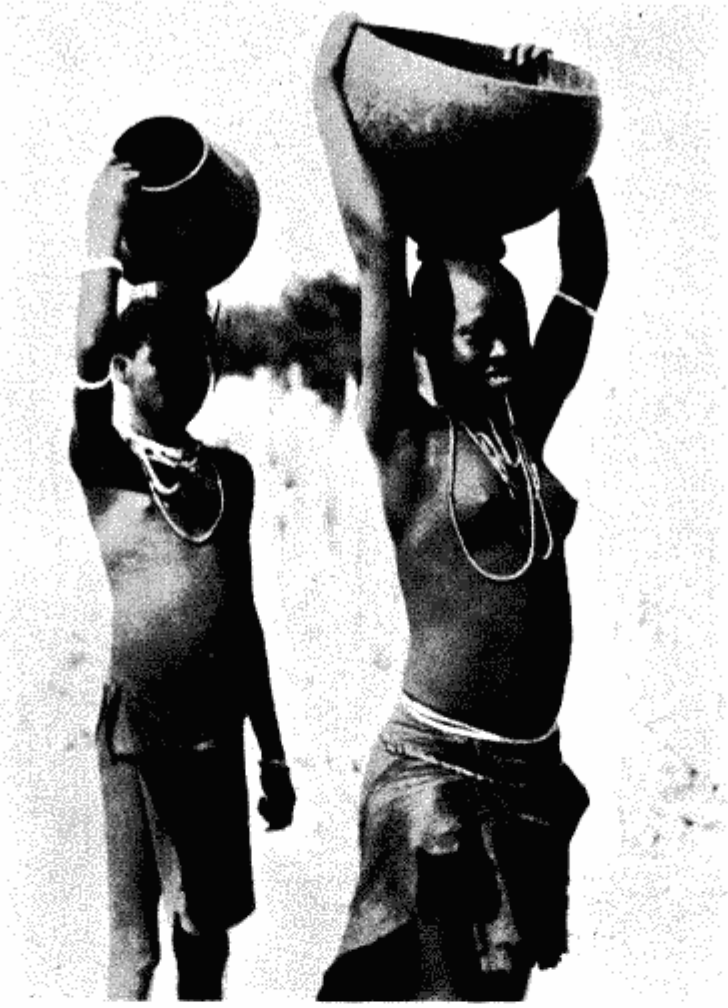


FIG. 1.—GIRLS FROM DAGA AREA.





FIG. 1. FIG. 2.
GIRLS OF MARRIAGEABLE AGE FROM KIGILLE AREA. ONE WITH OSTRICH EGGSHELL FORESKIRT. THEIR BODIES ARE COVERED WITH ASH.

collect up some friends and go one evening and kidnap *B*'s sister, take her away to his home and sleep with her forthwith. If he has laid his plans well *B* will realise what is up and will go and take *A*'s sister. The two families will meet, a feast will be held and the double marriage will be a *fait accompli*.

If however *B* objects to *A* as a brother-in-law or *A* has no suitable sister either ready for marriage or in the offing, the abduction may lead to a fight. But the old men of both families will endeavour to settle the matter, and *B* may be persuaded to take some other female relation of *A*'s provided her brother, if she has one, has not already earmarked her as a *quid pro quo* for his own matrimonial adventures. So although there is a certain spice of uncertainty attached to a Koma wedding the ground has usually been well prepared beforehand and although the relatives of the girl may make a show of resentment at the abduction it very rarely leads to any trouble. In fact the majority of marriages may be described as abduction by consent.

Barrenness is an absolute ground for divorce and *B*, if his sister does not bear a child, will have to hand back *A*'s sister. If however the childlessness of *A*'s wife is due to the known sterility of *A*, *A* may allow his wife to become pregnant by some friend of his (he, *A*, will be considered the father of the child). And provided the two families can agree to the double divorce involved, divorce can take place on the grounds of incompatibility.

If the husband dies levirate is practiced and his brother or nearest male relative will take the wife into his household and any children she may bear by him will be considered the children of the original husband. The newly married wife leaves her parents' home to live with her husband, *i.e.*, the marriage is patrilocal. It is the duty of the man to avoid his mother-in-law. He must not go into her homestead if she is there and it is he who must hide himself if he sees her coming along the road. This avoidance only lasts until his wife has borne him a child. He will then invite his mother-in-law to his house and give her beer and a goat if he possesses one. The compliment will be returned and the avoidance will be off.

They say that originally the clans were exogamous units, but owing to the break up of the clans due to the harried existence that has been led the last three generations marriage within the present village unit takes place. But the marriage of near relations is forbidden, relationship would be considered near if it can be traced through three or four generations. Intermarriage between the Ciita and Madin tribes takes place but the Madin say that this is a comparatively recent innovation and that a few generations ago they only married among themselves.

DEATH AND BURIAL. When a person dies the relations come into the hut in which the body lies and wail and drink beer. They do not however stay long with the body as their friends come and take them away before they are too overcome with grief (or beer ?). An ordinary man will usually be buried the day after death but an important man such as a chief or Rainmaker may remain up to four days before burial. Previous to this lying in, the body is stripped of all ornaments and is rubbed with the paste of simsim oil and red ochre. The limbs are covered with as many beads as the family and relations can collect together and the body is then wrapped in a cloth.

The grave is near and at the rear of the hut. A hole is dug about 8 feet deep and at the bottom a cavity to take the corpse lying at full length is hollowed out on one side. The corpse is lowered into the grave and placed on a skin and another skin is laid on the top of it in order that it will not come in contact with the earth. Males are laid on their right side facing east and females are laid on their left side also facing east. A goat is sacrificed, or if available a young bull, and the heart and other intestines with the exception of the lungs are removed, mixed with simsim oil and placed in a gourd. The head and the four legs are severed and the carcase less these extremities together with the gourd full of intestines are placed alongside the corpse. The inner cavity is then fenced off with sticks and plastered up with mud to form an airtight compartment and the grave filled in.

The widow and family will stay in the hut for a year. At the end of this period they used to open up the grave and place some more meat and beer with the bones, but nowadays they only dig a small

hole in the top of the grave, pour in some beer, fill the hole in and smooth it over with mud plaster. The hut is then deserted.

The only answer that I could get to the question " What happens after death ? " was that death was the end of all. A more explicit answer to such a question was hardly to be expected without a deeper inquiry into their beliefs, an inquiry which a lack of time prevented. But the burial customs appear to indicate some belief in an after life.

VIII. RELIGION, MAGIC AND MAGICO-RELIGIOUS EXPERTS.

I had no opportunity of witnessing any of the ceremonies that are to be described. My informants were Koma who spoke either Arabic or Nuer, mainly the latter. In such cases the recording of practical details does not involve much difficulty. But a great difficulty arises when attempting to delve into the mystical aspects of the ceremonial as one's informants are limited to the use of words which may be and probably are used to express entirely different concepts. In Arabic (or at least their particular version of it) one is almost limited to two words *Allah* and *kujur*, the latter word covering the whole gamut of pagan practices and beliefs. In Nuer the vocabulary is more extended but the interpretation hardly less easy. A lack of the knowledge of the indigenous language could to a certain extent be overcome if one had the opportunity of witnessing a number of ceremonies, but as stated above this was not possible. Therefore in what follows the descriptions may be assumed to be reasonably accurate. But although my limited attempts to interpret or label the religious side of the ceremonies may be said to give some indication of the category of the supernatural beliefs of the Koma, they should be treated with reserve as they make no claim to either accuracy or finality.

As the ceremonies connected with rainfall are all important, like those of most African tribes, and are bound up intimately with their magico-religious beliefs, they will form the basis of my remarks.

Every village in the Ciita group has its local magico-religious expert, whom I will call a " Man of God." He is a man on whom

"God" or the "Spirit of God" (see later) has descended. This office is hereditary in that it remains in the family although the Spirit does not necessarily descend from the father to the eldest; it may go to a younger son or to a nephew. Each village also has a special hut of the same design as an ordinary hut, which is built communally and which is called *ku'u War* (hut of "God"). It is sacred and only the "man of God" is allowed inside. Tied to the roof of the hut is a bunch of a scented herb (*Ocimum basilicum or menthaefolium*), Arabic (*Abu Rihān*). Within is kept an earthenware bowl.

When rain is overdue the whole village will collect round the "Hut of God" every householder bringing a chicken. The exact procedure appeared to vary slightly in different villages but the essentials were the same. The following is a description of what happens in the village of Kusgulo near Daga. The "man of God" will take the earthenware bowl out of the hut and fill it with water and place it in the middle of the assembled villagers. He will take one of the chickens by the head, someone else holding it by the legs, and will cut its head right off throw it onto the ground and put its head into the bowl of water. The "will of God" is shown in the way the chicken dies. If after its death paroxysms it comes to rest with its feet up in the air then rain will fall within four or five days. The rest of the chickens will be slaughtered plucked and roasted over fires and eaten. They will sit round for the rest of the day drinking beer, blowing on their reed whistles and beating drums. The expert himself does not eat the chickens.

If the beheaded chicken jumps right into the bowl of water it will rain straight away, an event sufficiently unlikely to render the prophecy a reasonably safe one. If the chicken comes to rest on its stomach the expert will say that it is an indication that "God" has not yet shown his hand. They will pray asking for rain and the meeting will disperse and reassemble in a few days time if rain is still wanted and repeat the performance. This is not therefore a ceremony to produce rain by magic. In that it appears to be a divination and propitiation of the "Divine will" it might be described as semi religious.

There is also a separate class of experts who have power over rain itself. At that time there were three such people in the Ciita group called, Abuli, Aperkandi and Diribei. The two former were also chiefs of villages, and their office is hereditary. Each of them possesses a special spear and a small earthenware pot described as being similar to that used by the Nuer for milk. These are considered sacred and are kept apart. When rains are due at the beginning of the rainy season they should stand their spears in the small pot and pour water over the blades. I am not very certain on the following point but I gathered that each of these experts acted individually and of his own free will, but the performance of this ceremony was a social obligation. It would appear therefore that these experts are true Rainmakers in the accepted meaning of the term.

If the lack of rain continues to be serious then these Rainmakers have either not performed their ceremony or have not performed it properly, *i.e.*, they have performed it with their hands and not with their hearts. They would be bound up and would have water thrown at them and water would be sprinkled on the roofs of the huts in their village. If rain still refused to fall then the people must have sinned and "God" was annoyed and wished to punish them. Nobody must fight or quarrel or beat their wives or children and to atone for their sinfulness the people would be sprinkled with the blood from a goat or failing that of chickens sacrificed by the village expert, *i.e.*,the "man of God." Although the ritual of the rainmakers appears to be a desirable preliminary to the fall of rain it is as far as I could ascertain a separate ceremony to that previously described. And the fact that the final failure of rain is blamed not on the inefficiency of the rainmakers (*n.b.* a possible preliminary inefficiency is rectified by soaking them with water) but on the community as a whole it is possible that this rainmaking was not part of their original beliefs but has come in from outside. The ritual use of spears (or stones) and water for rainmaking is common throughout the Southern Fung [21] and if the above supposition is correct it would tend to confirm my

[21] Dr. Seligman *op. cit.* p. 24.

conclusion that these Koma have technically little or no connection with their neighbours.

In the case of illness the sick man or a relative if he is too ill to move will go with a chicken or a goat (which will be sacrificed) to the village expert. Whether sickness or misfortune is considered due to witchcraft or magic I was not able to ascertain for certain. Plate VIII Fig. 1 is a photograph of a small " shrine " erected on the hut of the local village expert at Kusgulo. It contained a bunch of *Ocimum basilicum* (*Abu rihan*) [22], a small gourd that had contained some food and a string or two of beads. I was told that it had been put there by a man in the village who had been ill and who had sacrificed a goat and that it was an offering to *War* in order that he should recover. It may have been magic against witchcraft but I gathered from my informant that the illness was considered as having come from *War*.

Although it is improbable that these people are free from witchcraft and magic there was not much evidence of it. The following incident has some bearing on their attitude to the question. On visiting Kigille Post after an absence of six months Appolong the chief of Kigille village brought forward one of his youths with the complaint that he had come back from Nuer country with a root known amongst the Nuer as *mutthiang*. This root is considered a powerful bad magic with the power of killing people, and the Nuer obtain it from Dinka country. Appolong wanted the root to be burnt by the Government and the youth to be fined on the grounds that the possession of this root was anti-social. I did not follow the matter up any further and this episode does not indicate that the Koma have no magic but it does show that they object to the presence of foreign magic against which they presumably have no antidote.

Although every village has its local expert (" man of God "), the fame of one may, owing perhaps to some chance shower of rain, extend beyond his village and he will be consulted by people from other villages. Such a one was a certain Abamachima (see Plate VI) who was the

(22) See page 146 this herb would appear to have some religious significance. It has a strong scent.

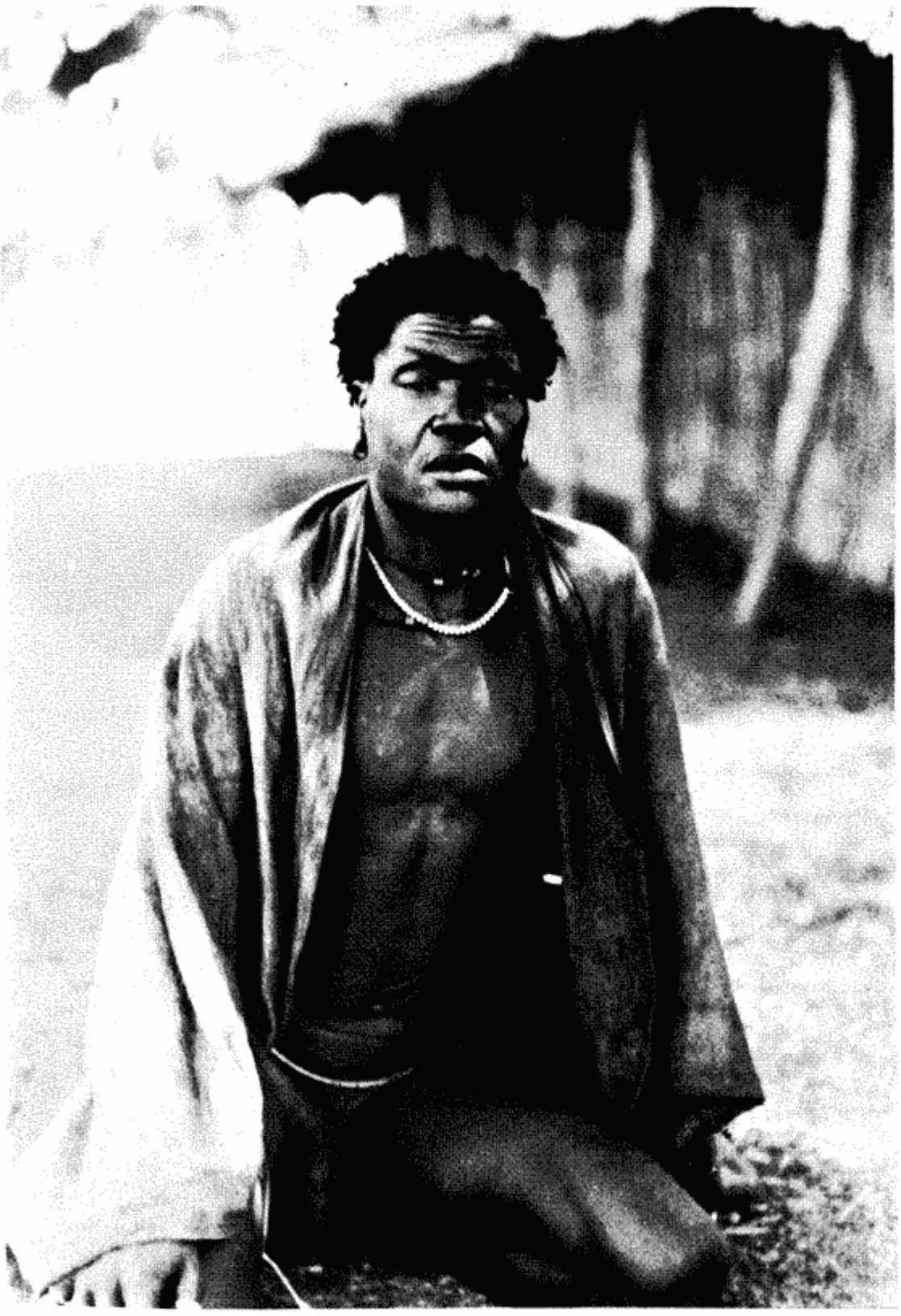


FIG. 1.—ABAMACHIMA. MAGICO-RELIGIOUS EXPERT FROM MAIWUT.

local expert for Maiwut village. He specialised in locust control and rose to fame some eight years ago during the bad locust seasons and migrated to the Daga valley where he set up as the general expert for the whole Ciita group. Many Nuer came to consult him. Those who wished to avoid the ravages of the locusts would bring some seed to him with a chicken. He would sacrifice the chicken and sprinkle the seed with its blood asking "God" to protect the crop from locusts. But in 1934 he had become so notorious and was being consulted so frequently that there was a general movement against him, not on the grounds that he was a fraud but because his success necessitated the use of so many sacrifices that there were no goats and very few chickens left in the district. The people just could not stand the pace, economically. He himself adopted the attitude that he could not be held responsible for this state of affairs. He was merely an agent acting for *War*. His own chief pressed for his return to his village on the grounds that it was his duty to look after the welfare of his village first and that since his departure their crops had been bad, so he was persuaded to return.

The idea of communal sin mentioned previously appeared to be strongly developed as I came across it in connection with the affairs of Abamachima. I asked them how it was that in spite of Abamachima's reputed success the locusts still managed to do such expensive damage. They attributed this not to his failure as an intermediary with "God" but to the prevalence of sin in the community as a whole.

Among the Madin the beliefs and practices are very similar. Each village or group of villages has a *ye Wal*, a "man of God," but they have no resident rainmaker. There is only one rainmaker whose name is Gwas Gugu of the Kukulu clan and still lives in Beni Shangul on Mount Banga. But only in the event of dire necessity would they dare to visit him as they were afraid of recapture by Sheikh Khogali's people. He has some sacred spears which he places in an earthenware pot and over which he pours a mixture of water and honey. He also sacrifices black animals, bullocks, goats or chickens. Normally when they wanted rain they would just pray to *Wal*, they are his people and he would not want to see them die. The use of the word

prayer for the communal effort of the Koma is perhaps a euphemism. The whole village collects together with a variety of flutes, pipes, drums and xylophones on which they perform. Among the Madin the chief instrument is a wooden horn about three feet long. The underlying object of this gathering however appears to be invocation to " God."

In the foregoing I have used " God " as the English equivalent of *Allah* (Arabic) or *Kwoth* (Nuer) with which their words *War* (Ciita) and *Wal* (Madin) were translated. But it was obvious that the concept of *Allah* was far in advance of their religious development, neither does the Nuer concept of *Kwoth* fit in with their beliefs. *Kwoth* is used to express a complex range of religious entities, the Spirit that is associated with the firmament, many lesser spirits and rain etc. Apart from the ceremonies and incidents mentioned I was able to find out very little about their fundamental beliefs and all that I could ascertain was that *War* or *Wal* has no direct connection with either the sun, moon or rain. He is all-present and has no offspring. So generally speaking I think that we might say that the Koma believe in an Omniscient Spirit who watches over their welfare, and who is probably connected in some way with the firmament as the word for sky in the Buldiit dialect is *mu'a yis*, which means " the belly of God."

IX. ECONOMIC LIFE.

The Koma are essentially agriculturalists. The presence of Tsetse fly (*Glossina Morsitans*) in the valleys of many of the streams prohibits the keeping of cattle although goats manage to survive for some time in the " fly " areas. But in the villages of the Daga valley itself which is reasonably free from " fly " there are a few small herds of cattle that they have obtained by sale from the Nuer or Galla.

The rich soil of the valleys and the adequate rainfall (estimated about 50 inches a year) allow them to grow a variety of crops and obtain in some cases two or three harvests in a season. They cultivate maize, a slow maturing millet (*sorghum*), ground nuts, sesame, sweet

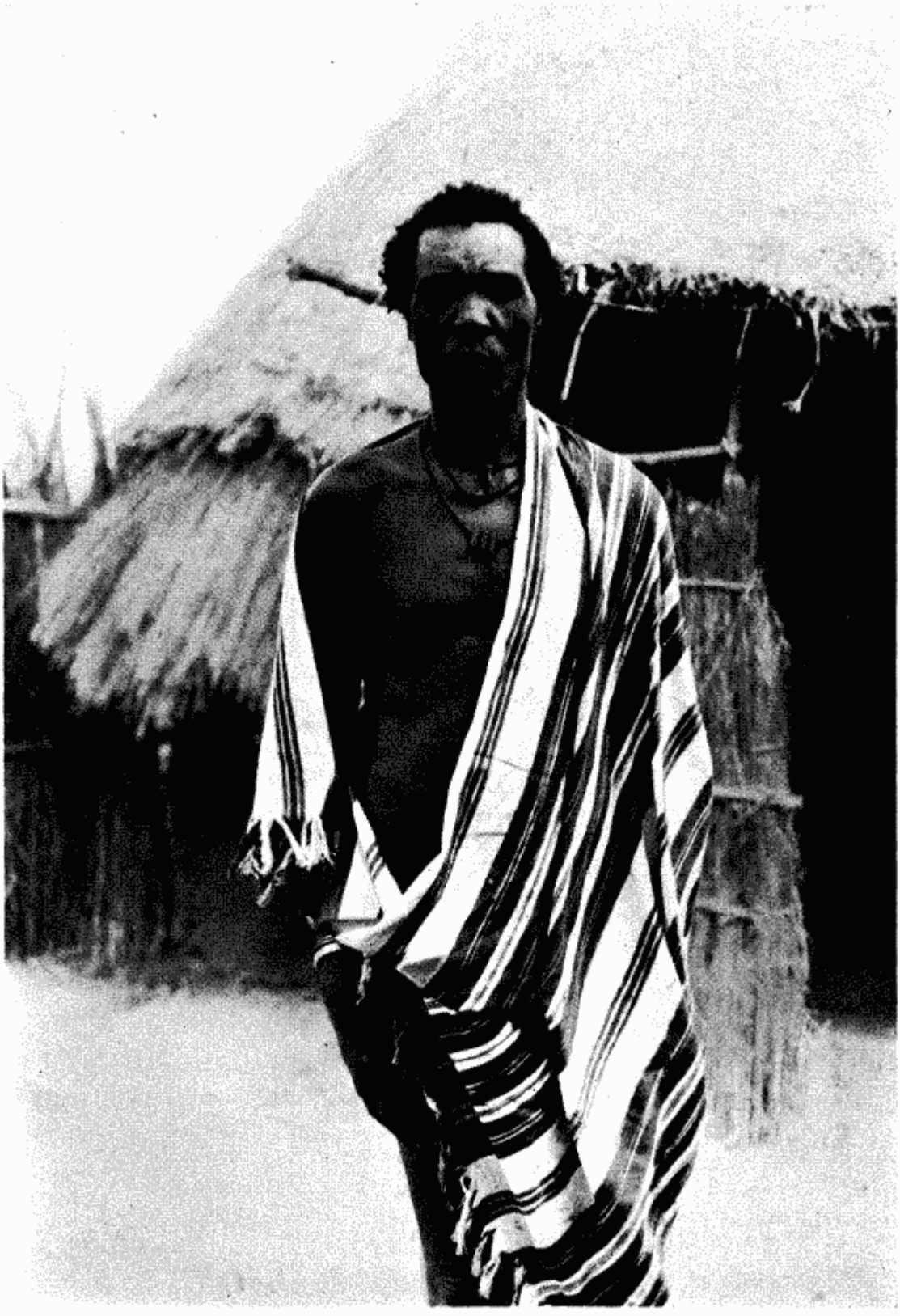


FIG. 2.—TURUK WIABUOT, CHIEF OF CIELKOŋ.

potato, manioc, castor oil, bahmia (*hibiscus esculentus*), red pepper, cotton and tobacco. Bananas and pawpaws were introduced some twelve years ago and thrive. In the Daga area the main outlet for this produce is eastwards up the escarpment into Galla country. The Galla drive down small herds of heifers and bring with them spears and Maria Theresa Dollars. The cattle they will usually drive through to Nuer country where they will exchange them for sheep and goats. They will return with these to Koma country and exchange them for cotton and sesame oil and dried fish, another item of barter. But the extent of this trade is not very considerable.

The cultivation areas are cleared out of the thick forest in the lower lying valleys and out of the thinner scrub in the higher areas and are usually near the villages. There is no individual ownership of land but a family will continue to cultivate the area that it has cleared. Owing to the extensive area available land disputes are almost unknown and any differences that might arise would be settled by the chief. The whole family take part in cultivation and there is no division of work between the sexes. Every householder pleases himself when he wishes to start cultivation and there is no particular ceremony but he may take some seed to the village expert ("man of God") with a chicken which will be sacrificed to ensure fertility or to give it protection from locusts. The two chief implements used are a short handled hoe and a small axe, the metal parts of which are both imported.

In many of the villages pigs are kept and are allowed to wander about in the forest feeding on roots and the fruits of trees. To supplement their meagre meat diet they hunt the game that abounds in their country, but this hunting is spasmodic. They kill antelope and the smaller animals by stalking with a spear but use firearms for buffalo and an occasional elephant. The use of firearms is technically forbidden but it is the shortage of ammunition rather than the fear of being found out that limits their use of them. They also dig pits for elephant but not with much apparent success. In four years I only heard of one case in which an elephant fell into one of these pits. It

was a calf and was rescued by its parents before the hunters arrived in sufficient numbers to kill it. The pit is a plain one and has no wooden stake in it.

Before proceeding on an organised hunting expedition the "chicken oracle" will be consulted. The hunters will go to the hut of the local expert and will sit down in a circle with their arms placed on the ground in the centre. The expert will take a chicken and asking "God" to show him whether the expedition meets with His favour, will slaughter the chicken in the usual way by cutting its head right off over the pile of arms. The body will be placed on the arms. If after its death struggles it comes to rest on the arms all is well and all the hunters may proceed on the expedition. If it dies outside the circle of arms it is a sign that "God" has not yet shown his hand, and the performance will be repeated with another chicken. If this second chicken again manages to struggle outside the circle of arms before dying there is a compromise and only those who are sitting in the half circle on the side opposite to that on which the chicken died may go hunting.

The usual type of spear that they carry and which they buy from the Galla, has a bamboo shaft and a small blade. They also use a larger blade which they buy from the local Arab merchant at Daga or Kigille. The big fighting spear of the Nuer is rarely seen. Bows and arrows are also used for hunting the smaller game but they are not very common and may have been copied from some of the tribes of the southern Fung where they are more common. The boomerang which is also common in the southern Fung is made and used but it is considered essentially a boy's weapon. The firearms which they used to buy from the Abyssinians are of the usual old Fusil Gras type, 60 to 70 years old.

Fishing does not start until about November or December when the rivers have ceased to come down in spate and consist of a series of pools connected by shallow running streams. There are only a limited number of such pools that are sufficiently large to hold decent sized fish and each pool has an "owner" *i.e.*, someone in whom the fishing rights are vested. There are no boats on any of these rivers

(except on the lower reaches of the Jokau which belong to the Anuak), so fishing which is mainly done by spearing has to wait until the water in the pools has sunk to a sufficiently low level to allow the fishers to wade. When the "owner" of a pool decides that fishing can commence he sends round word and those who wish to fish assemble on the bank. The procedure that follows probably varies slightly in the different localities and this is a description of what happens in a pool near Daga that is "owned" by one Agila. The "owner" consults the long suffering chicken, he cuts off its head and throws it into the pool. If the chicken manages to struggle towards the bank all is well and the pool may be fished. This they do by wading backwards and forwards along the pool in a line spearing and driving the fish from one end to the other. If the chicken sinks or dies on the surface where it was thrown on no account may the pool be fished that year as anyone eating the fish would die, and to warn people off a stick is stuck in the bank. A stick is also placed in the bank sometime before the ceremony to warn people that the pool has not yet been tested. Whether this ceremony is considered as a sacrifice to "God" (or to a possible Spirit of the pool) or as a testing of "God's" will (an oracle) I did not discover but I would incline to the latter view. Everyone fishing would hand over one fish to the "owner" of the pool.

For a pool near Tulloo lower down the Daga a different ceremony takes place. As before the owner of the fishing rights places a stick in the bank and when he decides to fish the pool he takes a handful of grass, sets fire to it, waves it over the water and throws the embers into the water. The stick is removed and fishing commences. This pool is near the Nuer cattle camps and they are expected to and in fact do respect the taboo before the stick is removed. I was told that in this pool the fishing rights are vested in the descendants of a man who was drowned in the pool. I did not ask what was the basis of the rights in the other pools.

The fish are opened up, cleaned and dried in the sun, a row of such fish can be seen in Plate VIII. Considerable quantities of this dried fish are sold to the Christian Galla for use on their many Fast days.

The villages which are not stockaded like those of the neighbouring Anuak, conform to no particular plan and the houses are usually crowded together in a forest clearing (see Plate VIII). But there is now a tendency for villages to spread out and for small communities to build away from the parent village. This is no doubt a natural tendency which they are able to follow as conditions are now settled and the danger from raiding has passed. The walls of the huts which are always circular are made of small tree trunks interlaced with laths, usually of split bamboo and plastered on the inside with mud. The roof in spite of the heavy rainfall is not steeply pitched and the thatching, if it can be graced by that name, is very poor indeed. Grass is spread over the roof and roughly bound here and there to the roof timbers and the whole affair then covered with a coarse net made of creepers to keep it from being blown away. This description applies in particular to the huts of the Ciita group. Most of those of the Madin group are bigger and of a better construction and show a Galla influence. The eaves are often extended and rest on an outer ring of supports to form a circular verandah. The doorway faces in any direction to suit the convenience of the owner and the layout of the village. Separate small huts raised on a platform are built for the grain store and for chickens. Goats and sheep are kept in a palosade built of small tree trunks and roofed over. These are stoutly built to withstand the depredations of leopards and hyenas and the occasional lion. The homesteads are rarely fenced round in any way.

Before building a house a chicken will have its throat cut. If when dying it pecks the ground it is a bad sign and another site will be tested. When a favourable site has been found the menfolk of the household will cut the wood and bring it to the site and the women will collect the grass. When all is ready, all the neighbours will help in erecting the house and are given beer. Women are responsible for bringing all water that is needed and for plastering the inside of the house when the walls are finished.

The commonest form of basket is a primitive semi-circular affair about two feet to three feet in diameter and consists of a framework of

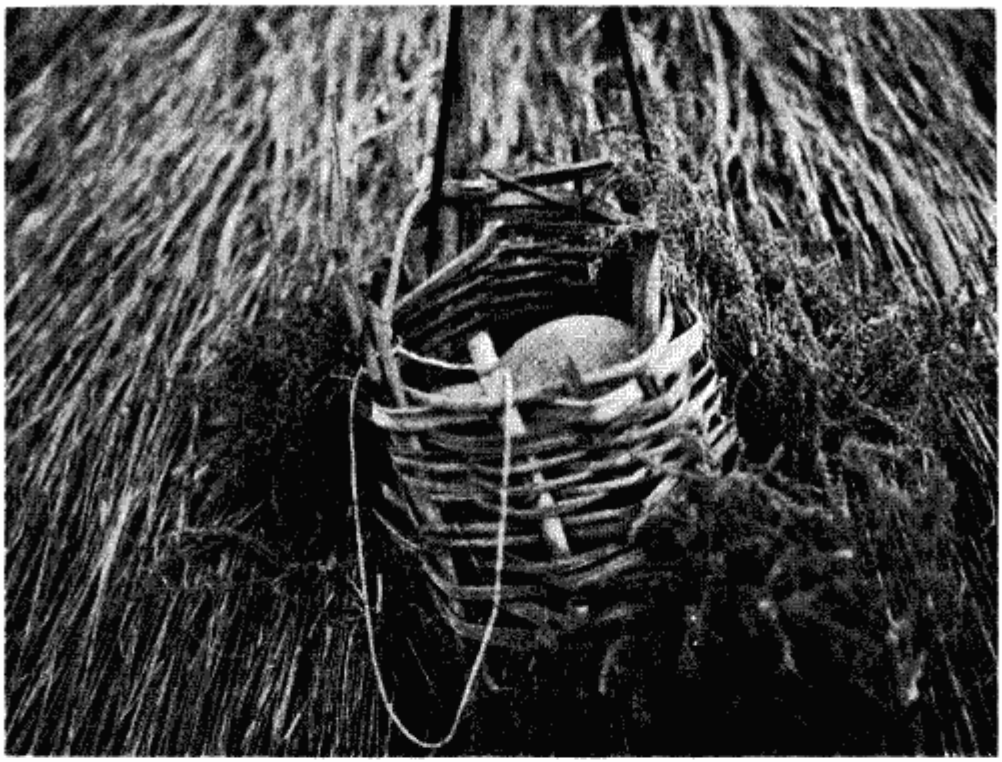


FIG. 1.—SMALL SHRINE BUILT BY A SICK MAN ON TO THE ROOF OF THE HUT OF THE LOCAL MAGICO-RELIGIOUS EXPERT, KUSGILO VILLAGE.



FIG. 2.—KUSGILO VILLAGE. NOTE FISH HANGING UP TO DRY AND BELOW A BALE OF COTTON. ON RIGHT IS GRAIN STORE.

thin branches lined with leaves (see background of Plate II). The more valuable produce is carried or stored in skins. In the village of Wadessa (Madin) I saw an ingenious method of storing maize in the cob that I have never seen before. The cobs are bound round each other with grass rope in an ever increasing spiral until the affair is about three feet in diameter. This solid "wheel" which is two cobs broad with the tips of the cobs to the inside and just overlapping, is then hung from the roof of the hut.

Water is kept in large earthenware bowls about two feet in diameter and conical in shape. These are made during the rains with soil taken from anthills, and are slowly dried before they are burnt.

Tobacco is very often mixed with a species of dried groundsel and the smoke is drawn through water in a simple form of hubble-bubble pipe.

The Koma possess a variety of musical instruments and the following is a list of those used by the Madin section together with their names. *Shet*, horn of the Roan Antelope; *ki babuba*, the horn of a Waterbuck; *tulu*, a small wooden whistle of varying length to produce different notes; *bwupu*, a long wooden horn about three feet long; *malakata*, a type of piccolo; *gwanzo*, a five stringed mandoline; *shein*, drums; and a species of xylophone.

Fire is made by drilling with a backwards and forwards motion of the hands a hard piece of wood into a softer piece of wood held on the ground with the feet. While on the subject of fire I must mention a pleasant social custom that struck me as definitely "carrying coals to Newcastle." One afternoon about two miles from a village we passed an old lady struggling along with a large log of wood on her back on her way to the village. I was told that she was on her way to visit a sick friend and when on such a visit it was customary to bring some wood with you in order not to use up your sick friend's supply while you sat and chatted. I commended this custom but as dead wood is to be found everywhere I asked why the old lady did not pick up a piece much nearer the village, and I was told that it would not be considered polite to take wood from near the village. I

suppose on the same grounds that we would hardly pick our bunch of flowers from the front garden of sick friends when visiting them.

Generally speaking the Madin appeared to have a higher material culture than the Ciita. Their houses are better built, the villages are tidier and their implements are better made.

I will add a short note on crime. The Koma proper are particularly law abiding and thieving and fighting are very rare occurrences, and would be punished by fining. Murder was said to be almost unknown, but in the unlikely event of it happening a female relation would be handed over as "compensation." A certain amount of adultery takes place but even that is not common and the punishment is a fine of about 20 Maria Theresa Dollars (about £E. 2) or its equivalent in animals.

CONCLUSIONS.

Linguistically the Koma appear to have no connection with their neighbours in the Sudan. This is based on a comparison of vocabularies. It can, I think, be definitely stated that their languages have no affinity whatsoever with the Nilotic group. Whether they do in fact belong to the same group of languages as many of those in Dar Fung could probably be determined by a study of the grammatical construction of these languages. But in view of the linguistic chaos that prevails in this area and the smallness of the many tribes, it is improbable that this will ever be undertaken. The probability is however that they are members of the same group although they may not be closely related.

Physically they bear a resemblance to many of the Dar Fung tribes. But this similarity is emphasised by the marked dissimilarity between them and their neighbours the Nilotes and definite evidence may have to await an anthropometric survey.

Here and there their customs are similar to those of other tribes in this area but this can be said of many tribes that are derived from different stock. Burial is definitely of the same pattern although perhaps a little more complicated. Rainmaking, another fundamental

institution bears a superficial resemblance but as stated on page (147) it is not improbable that the use of spears and water, an essentially Nuba-Fung characteristic, is borrowed, as it appears to be more in the nature of a " sideshow " than an integral part of their beliefs. But there is one ceremony of fundamental importance which differs from that of all their neighbours and that is marriage. The exchange of female relations combined with abduction is I believe considered one of the most primitive forms of marriage and with one exception I have not heard of it being in force in any other Sudan tribes. The one exception that I have found is recorded in a short account of the Keili area north of Kurmuk in some old Fung Province (now Blue Nile Province) Notes.

The inhabitants of this area are described as mostly Berta with Tornasi Hameg at Keili itself and a few Ingessana at J. Kukuli and it is stated that marriage is by exchange of sisters and a sisterless man can only marry a widow though a cousin may sometimes serve for a sister. They have their own language which is superficially distinct from others in the district. (*n.b.* it is possible that they may be a small colony of Koma related to the Daga ones.)

These notes on their customs together with the vocabularies, may enable an affinity to be traced with other tribes in the Sudan. I however think that the lines of affinity will be traced to Abyssinia to the east and southeast. The Uduk their northern neighbours almost certainly came from the Abyssinian Plateau in comparatively recent times (see page 132). In 1934 Mr. G. L. Elliot Smith and I travelled across Abyssinia through Galla country from Gambeila to Addis Ababa and we came across one or two odd " pockets " of Shankalla (see footnote No. 13) still living in the lower lying thickly forested areas. Captain E. N. Erskine, C.M.G., M.C., who was British Consul for many years in Western Abyssinia, tells me that the Galla sometimes refer to the tribes living near the Escarpment in the Gurafarda area as Koma and that it is not improbable that the name Koma is synonymous with *Goma* which is the Galla word for the escarpment, the hinterland between the high plateau and the plains.

I think therefore that there is little doubt that the Koma, who may be grouped with Negroes of the Nuba-Fung group, came to these parts from the Abyssinian Plateau and were driven thence by the Galla who swept up onto the Western Plateau some three centuries ago and occupied the country after the ravages of Mohammed Gran (see footnote No. 4).

This conclusion bears out Professor Seligman's suggestion [23] that the more negro representatives of the tribes of Dar Fung probably link up with the Shankalla tribes of the Abyssinian borderlands.

APPENDIX

VOCABULARY

English	*Ciita*		
	Kusgilo	*Buldiit*	*Madin*
Adultery	hagap	cagal	hagap
anthill	kai	kokai	ga
arm	kwei or mit	kwei or mit	kolo
arrow	ts'ai	ts'ai	mash
axe	wii	yit	yi
baboon	cari	deik	dau
back	cwutĭn	tsok	
bad	koo	sita	cegĭn
bamboo	ts'iu or kup	ts'iu or kup	ts'iu
baobab (Adansonia digitata)	pwi	gaso	
basket	rukka	rukka	luka
beard	shwimĭta	guntor	
beer	zwi	suit	cuwi
bird	diu	dit	asŭp
black	issi	nsit	zi

(23) C. G. Seligman. *Races of Africa* p. 88.

English	*Ciita*		
	Kusgilo	*Buldiit*	*Madin*
blacksmith	wukup or kumgong	taidam or kitasdam	yikŭp
blood	tsamma	tsamma	bash
bone	cwe	cwe	cumma
boomerang	kwala	kwala	
bow	mak	mak	hamka
boy	adim	adim	at
bread	ma'a	bĭnta	
breast (female)	tcayi	kuot	sas
brother	hamima	amu'ina	kambim
buffalo	baz	cumazit	gwas
bull	akas im pi	ratin	sangabib
bullock	amulim pi	amulim pi	
buttock	tsatush	kulma	
cat (domestic)	aduri	nyau, samut	aduri (Galla)
(wild)	bakaka		
cattle	pi'i	pi'i	kufigubi
chicken	ka'a	ka'a	waga
chief	koro	koro	yikoro
cold	sim	sim	akisharish
cornbin	tamba	tamba	tianĭp
crocodile	okogu	laŋa	bisa
cultivation	putwi	matwi	apu
daytime	tai cari tai kaga (M)	tai cari	tai
dog	tin	tin	kau
ear	ts'e*	kai'i*	se*
earth	ta tin	ta tin	
earthen pot	ti	tia	tsi
ebony	tsai	tsai	

English	*Ciita*		
	Kusgilo	*Buldiit*	*Madin*
egg	kumu	kumu	womi waga
elbow	silka	sil	
elephant	baiye	dukan	gwa
eye	shyi	dhi'i	yambi
father	baba	baba	aba
finger	ciker	alcatin	yaminkolo
fire	wutti*	wutti*	wutti*
fish	watca	watca	was
foot	wuɔn	cok	kiŋcok
giraffe	keik	keik	tage
girl (small)	adimbaba	diba	bo'oo
goat	mi'i	mi'i, tiŋ	mi'i
God	war	war, yis	wal
good	nkai	pida	bulĭn
gourd (eating)	muna		
(drinking)	kurra	shurra	kutta
grass	cuku	co'o	ciic
grave	sakumuk pikus (M)	sakumuk	yanĭbe
groundnuts	kulum	akur	akur (Galla)
guineafowl	suk	nambogo	zuk
hair	cwiye	cudai'i	cwiye
hand	bittekwey, bittemit	bittekwey, mamit	ciŋkolo
hartebeeste	azinta	azinta, sidi	kworke
head	pakwŭp	pakwŭp	
heavy	ntika	ntika	buali
hoe	kwurri	kwurri	gasha
honey	tam	tam	dam
hot	nshari	nshari	basin

English	*Ciita*		
	Kusgilo	*Buldiit*	*Madin*
house	ku	ku	gubi*
hunger	tat	tat	shatai
hyena	atapai'e	atuma	akertage
iron	kagum	tiwan	gisa
jackal	awur	awataba	
knee	kwatil	kwatil	
knife	shipa	shipa	shipa
leg	wul	siina	cok
leopard	bakesa	gibi	kesira
light (weight)	mpot	mpot	mpotiish
lion	zuwa, tob	jil	dwob
man	okas	okas yedidi	yigwaŋ
meat	cuma	cuma	cum
milk	kwei, tiish	kwei	kwo
millet	kurri	berai	yamma
moon	adwa	adwe	apai*
mosquito	tash	tash	mimi
mother	badi'i	badi'i	ada
mouth	ta'	ta'	ita
new	ntaikis	ntaikis	tandazesh
night	makima pak (M)	wo'siit	kinsĭnĭ
nose	cuc*	cuc*	ʃcuc*

English	*Ciita*		
	Kusgilo	*Buldiit*	*Madin*
oil	cin	yin	yen
old	oton	kebibi	suara
ostrich	wut	rotai	
palm (doleib)	sugu	sugu	
palm (dom)	basha	djijok	
path	wupŭr	gerabut	kiŋkuma
penis	sus	dis	
poison	tca	tca'a	korisha
rain	dĭba	dĭba	wo
rainmaker	warindiba	jok	yiwal
red	kappa	kappa	kelli
river	ceci	kusi	tsii
rope	tirra	shul	cwi
sacrifice of animals	agatorme atot ka'a	agatorme	unatorme
salt	tash karo (M)	tash	bărătă
sand	piosa	piosa	push
sandals	gurum	gurum	
scorpion	dagi	dagi	dagi (Galla)
sesame	dippa, shiin	dippa	bu*
shoulder	kalak	kaloŋ	
sister	bamima	bamu'ina	bakuman
skin	dinsa	dinca	yis
sky	dibi	mu'aa yis (belly of God)	
snake	zo	dutĭn	dasho
spear	nakka, uri	tuoŋ	tom

English	*Ciita*		
	Kusgilo	*Buldiit*	*Madin*
stick	akasi	tila	
stomach	pumaa	mu'aa	kimi
stone	zowa	yauwa	osh
sun	ṭai	tai	ti
tamarindus indicus (ardeib tree)	mu'u	mu'u	
termite	sese	sese	tses
testicle	luta*	longo	
thirsty	lukci	dukki	shaiduyi
thorn	twi, kaka	kaka	kaka
toe	bittewɔn	kiker	yamincok
tongue	litta*	litha*	let*
tooth	cei'i	cei'i	ciyi
tree	tca	tcatca	sa
vagina	kebi	pit	
village	kuskal	wat	
warthog	gutar	gutar	wap
water	ci'i zi'i(M)	yi'i	yii
white	mpata	mpata	mpatiish
woman	bapa	bapa, kumu	bamic
young	wopal, kini	pal	ipal
one	didi	didi	dedi
two	cuka	cuka	suin
three	tusu	antis	dijin
four	ŋwan	ŋwan	dwagani
five	mutakwei	ampuga	busi

English	*Ciita*		
	Kusgilo	*Buldiit*	*Madin*
six	kanedidi	kalikwadîdi	kanendidi
seven	kanicuka	ankadikocuka	kenennisu
eight	kanitusa	andweikwatis	kenedish
nine	kaniŋwan	andweimitŋwan	kenedwoga
ten	mutakweicukein	andweimitsuka	koshinkoru
twenty	mutiis	—	telinjibagidi
hundred	there is no word		

n.b., counting is done by turning in the fingers first of the right hand then the left. If the number exceeds ten a helpful bystander will carry on with the toes of the left and right feet. After that another bystander will lend his fingers and toes, but twenty is the limit of counting for which they have words.

Notes on the vocabularies.

1. The spelling is based on the Rejaf Language Conference, the palatilised *t*, which approaches the *ch* in church being represented by *c*, *ng* by ŋ, and the open *o* by ɔ. The open *i* and *u* I have marked short. These languages are very staccato, especially in the case of Ciita and sounds such as zwi, fwi and ts'i are very much in evidence. I did not go into the pronunciation sufficiently thoroughly to adopt the special consonants recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Culture, although many of them would have been applicable.

2. The Ciita language has three dialect groups, the Kusgilo group near Daga Post and the Kigille group which are almost identical (words marked M are local Kigille variations) and the Buldiit group further west along the Daga River which show greater variations.

3. Those words marked with an asterisk are the same as Uduk. 46 words only were compared and of these 3 appear to be common to all three groups, Uduk, Ciita and Madin. In the Ciita group 2 more appear to be of similar origin and in the Madin group 4 more. In

comparing the Ciita group with the Madin, 27 out of the 122 words compared are similar, but of these 3 are Galla. These three groups therefore have very little in common and are almost certainly entirely different languages although they may belong to the same linguistic group.

4. None of them bear any resemblance to any of the Burun group of languages recorded in E. E. Evans Pritchard's note (*Op. Cit.*). Nor to Berta.

5. I have also been able to compare these vocabularies with one of the Murle tribe who live in Akobo District to the south and they have nothing whatsoever in common.

6. Only 7 words have Nilotic affinities and these are almost certainly borrowed. These Koma are in very close contact with the Nuer. Of the two dialects in the Ciita group 54 out of the 150 words are different. This may appear to be an unduly large proportion for two dialects that are classed together but a considerable number of these words are names of animals for which local names are likely, and it is probable that others are synonyms. Although the Ciita, unless they are bilingual, understand neither the Uduk nor the Madin, they converse among themselves with perfect ease, and these two dialects are therefore undoubtedly closely related.

A NOTE ON BIRDS NOT PREVIOUSLY RECORDED FROM THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

By F. O. Cave Bey, M.C.

IN January 1935 I started collecting birds in the Southern Sudan and at that time I was a complete novice in ornithology and I had, therefore, to start at the very beginning. I was fortunate in obtaining the services of a native skinner from the Khartoum Museum, and in the three months he was with me he trained a local boy in the preparation of skins.

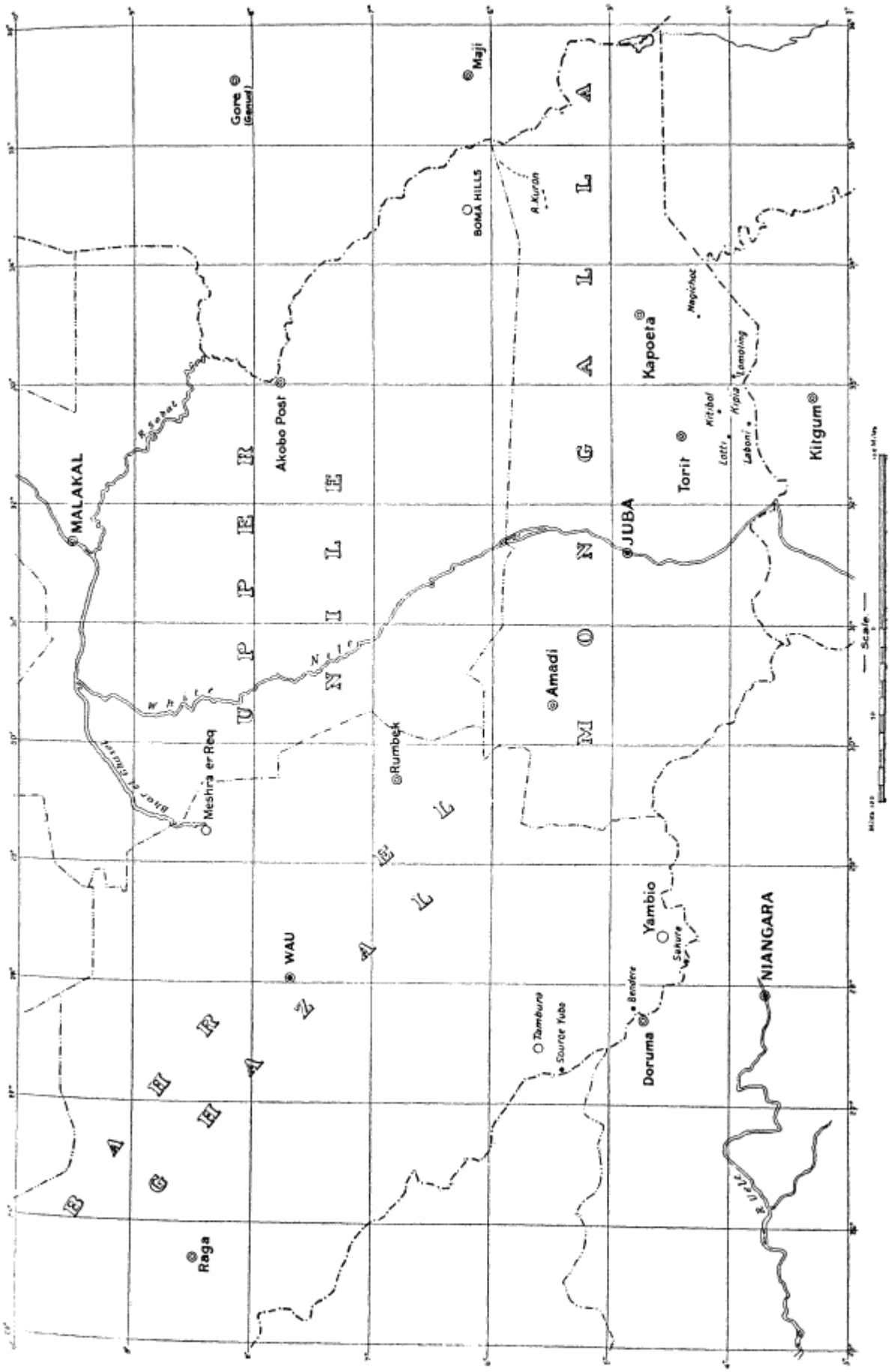
My collecting has been carried out in four main areas, Wau and the surrounding country of the Bahr-el-Ghazal; the Zande District, mostly along the Nile Congo Divide along the borders of the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa; the mountains of the Southern Sudan lying to the East of the Nile; and the Boma Plateau in the south eastern Sudan near the Abyssinian border.

The first, Wau, can be dismissed in a few words for the country is mostly typical Savannah and much of my time was spent merely collecting to improve my own knowledge and to teach the local boy how to skin, for I had not the time to do my own skinning.

My collecting areas in the Zande district were mostly thick savannah, with gallery forests overflowing from the Congo and French Equatorial Africa along the river beds. These forests are happy hunting grounds and revealed several of my additions to the Sudan list. The area is largely restricted on account of Sleeping Sickness and therefore has not had much attention ornithologically, though we have to thank the sleeping sickness for producing Doctors Cuthbert Christy and H. M. Woodman who devoted what leisure time they had to the study and collection of birds. Although I have referred to these forests

as happy hunting grounds I have never had the time to spend more than a day or two here and there and therefore have achieved little beyond the collection of a few skins from these forests.

The mountains to the East of the Nile are nearer to my station and perhaps on that account have yielded more additions to the Sudan list. Starting from the West there are three main groups of hills likely to be of interest to ornithologists, the Imatong Mountains with which might be included the Acholi Hills ; the Dongotona Mountains ; and the Didinga Mountains. The Imatong rise to just over 10,000 feet and are more extensive than the other two. The Dongotona, a small group, rise to about 8000 feet and the Didinga although mainly at about 6000 feet rise in one peak to 9000 feet. I have only been able to visit one or two places in the Imatong and Didinga Mountains, and I have not visited the Dongotona at all. In all these groups, however, the valleys and ravines are filled with rain forests some of which lie at considerable altitudes. In all there are grassy hillsides and all are uninhabited except at the lower altitudes save that in the Didinga the natives graze their cattle on some of the higher slopes. The Latuka used to live in the Imatong Mountains and have only evacuated them in comparatively recent years. In all three groups the southern and western slopes seem to be more luxuriant and seem to get more rain, though I have no figures to prove this. The Imatong certainly have more water than the Didinga where water is on the whole rather scarce. All three groups are completely separate from each other and I have been told that the Imatong Mountains are geologically different to the Didinga Mountains. I cannot leave these groups of hills without referring to Lotti Forest which lies at the foot of the Acholi Hills which are the south western extensions of the Imatong Mountains. Lotti is a patch of forest some 8 miles in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 miles in width at the widest part ; one end stretches up into the hills. It has produced a great number of the records published here and as I have only worked one corner I hope it may still prove a fruitful place for study. It is a great haunt of elephant.


Gore (Genui)
Maji
BOMA HILLS
R. Kuron
Akobo Post
Kapoeta
Magwhot
Kitybol
Lotti
Kipia
Lemolong
Laboni
Kitgum
MALAKAL
R. Sobat
JUBA
Torit
White Nile
Amadi
Meshra er Req
Bahr el Ghazal
Rumbek
WAU
Yambio
Sakura
NIANGARA
Tambura
Source Yubo
Bendere
Doruma
Raga
R. Uele
Scale
Miles

The last area, the Boma Plateau, has only been occupied since the summer of 1936 having before that been unadministered territory. It is therefore quite unworked ornithologically. The plateau is not large and the word plateau is almost a misnomer, for it has an undulating top with numerous hills rising from it. In the ravines again there is forest, though different from the previous area. I am told that these forests are similar to many in Abyssinia from which indeed it is only separated by a small plain lying at about 3000 ft. whilst the Boma itself does not rise much above 5500 ft., the greater part being even lower than that. The Boma Plateau is completely separated from the Didinga Mountains by a large grassy plain, some 60 miles or more across, which being cotton soil is generally either a swamp or completely waterless. I am most grateful to El Bimbashi J. H. R. Orlebar who collected a number of birds for me on the Boma Plateau and it is due to his industry that I have the pleasure of noting certain of the records published here.

My collections were all sent to the British Museum (Natural History) and I am much indebted to Mr. N. B. Kinnear and the Staff of the Bird Room for the privileges and help accorded to me in working out the collection and in particular I am indebted to Mr. J. D. Macdonald for working out the identifications and for supplying me with the list of new records for the Sudan which is published below. Whilst realising that this list falls short of what is desired, particularly as regards field notes, I feel that the fact that these birds are to be found in the Sudan should be published partly to assist future workers in the Southern Sudan and partly so that there may be some record available when the Catalogue of Sudan Birds may be re-written at some future date. The classification and nomenclature follows that in Sclater's Systema Avium Aethiopicarum.

NOTE.—Numbers shown against specimens mentioned are the author's serial numbers.—*Ed.*

NEW RECORDS OF BIRDS FOR THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

Falconidae.

1. *Accipiter brevipes* (*Severzow*)—*Levant Sparrow-Hawk.*

888 Boma Plateau 4500 ft. 25.12.36. ♀Juv.

This Levant Sparrow-Hawk had not previously been recorded south of the latitude of the Sinai Peninsula until Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby shot an adult male near Mecca on 16th January, 1936.

Phasianidae.

2. *Francolinus lathami ? schubotzi* (*Reichw*).—*Schubotz's Francolin.*

980 Source Yubo. 12.2.37. ♂

This beautiful francolin is found in the forest and was obtained for me by one of my boys. On distribution the race should be *F. l. schubotzi* but the males are not distinguishable from those of *F. l. lathami*. This one had the testes enlarged.

3. *Pternistis leucoscepus infuscatus* (*Cab.*)—*East African Barethroated Francolin.*

827 Kuron River. 1.11.36. ♀

This seems to be the common francolin in this locality.

Columbidae.

4. *Columbia arquatrix arquatrix* (*Temm & Knip*)—Olive Pigeon.

396 Lotti Forest 3—4000 ft. 2.10.35. ♀

576 Imatong Mts. 3000 ft. 11.11.35 ♂

Fairly common in the forested ravines of the Imatong Mts. and Didinga Mts. and the Acholi Hills.

5. *Turturœna delegorguei sharpei.* (*Salvad*).—Elgon bronze-naped Pigeon.

1053 Lomoling, Imatong Mts. 8000 ft. 1.6.37. ♀

This, the only bird I have seen, was obtained by me at 2.30 in the afternoon in the forest just below Lomoling. It was sitting quietly high up in a tall tree of the forest. The ovaries were slightly enlarged.

6. *Streptopelia lugens* ? *Rüppell*—Pink breasted Turtle-Dove.

833 Boma Plateau. 5000 ft. 2.11.36. ♀

This is the only bird I obtained and it was sitting in a bush not far from precipitous cliffs. Although the race of this specimen is somewhat doubtful I record it here as the species has not been found in the Sudan before.

7. *Tympanistria tympanistria fraseri* (*Bonap*).—West African Tambourine Dove.

413 Imatong Mts. 3000 ft. 11.11.35. ♂

749 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 9. 3.36. ♂

855 ,, ,, 3-4000 21.11.36. ? ♀Juv.

Not common. Keeps to thick bushes of the marginal forests and secondary growths. Keeps low down and is difficult to see.

749 had the testes enlarged.

8. *Aplopelia larvata larvata* (*Temm & Knip*)—Lemon Dove.

663 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 9.1.37. ♂

Rare ; the only specimen I have come across. It was obtained by my skinner in thick bushes near the ground in the depth of the forest. The testes were enlarged.

Musophagidae.

9. *Turacus schuetti finschi* (*Reichw*).—Blue-winged black-billed Lourie.
714 Bendere. 15.2.36. ♂
This, the only specimen I have seen was found in the secondary forest. Its movements were similar to *Turacus leucolophus* for which I at first mistook it but the absence of the white crest was very marked. Bendere is opposite to Doruma, over the border in the Congo, from where the type came.

10. *Corythœola cristata cristata* (*Vieill*:)—Blue Plantaineater.
238 Bendere 28.4.35 ♂
611 Lotti Forest 23.11.35. ♂
Common locally, but always in the forest or on its edges. I have also seen it at Source Yubo and Dr. H. M. Woodman informs me he has seen as many as 20 together. They are not very shy and I have known one remain in a tree although I have fired at another bird on a neighbouring branch.

Meropidae.

11. *Melittophagus variegatus lafresnayii* (Guer)—Abyssinian Blue breasted Bee-eater.
951 Boma Plateau. 14.2.37.

12. *Melittophagus oreobates* (*Sharpe*). Cinnamon-chested Bee-eater.
384 Lotti Forest. 3-400 ft. 1.10.35. ♀
564 Kitibol, Imatong Mts. 5-6000 ft. 10.11.35 ? o
Fairly common in the forested areas.

Bucerotidae.

13. *Bycanistes cristatus* (Rüpp)—Silvery-cheeked Hornbill.
899 Boma Plateau 4500 ft. 29.12.36. ♂
941 ,, ,, ,, 29.1.37. ♂
I have only found this bird on the Boma Plateau where it is fairly common. Unlike *B. subcylindricus* it does not appear to be exclusively a forest bird for I have seen it in fairly open country.

14. *Lophoceros melanoleucos geloensis* (*Neum*)—Gelo River Crowned Hornbill.

916 Boma Plateau 4500 ft. 3.1.37 ♂

15. *Lophoceros fasciatus* (*Shaw*)—Black & White-tailed Hornbill.

703 Bendere 14.2.36 ♀

704 Bendere 14.2.36 ♂

They offered a right and left as they came high over the trees in a forest clearing. I saw several on this date, but have seen no others either before or since. Both these birds were in breeding condition.

16. *Lophoceros camurus camurus* (*Cassin*)—Red-billed Dwarf Hornbill.

702 Bendere 14.2.36 ♂

This specimen was also in breeding condition. I saw several of these birds between 14th and 16th February but neither before nor since.

17. *Ceratogymna atrata* (*Temm*) Black Wattled Hornbill.

239 Bendere 28.4.36 ♂

Rare. This was one of a pair and the only ones I have seen. Obtained in the forest.

Strigidae.

18. *Strix woodfordii bohndorffi* (*Sharpe*) Niam-Niam Wood-Owl.

747 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 9.3.36 ♀

748 ,, ,, ,, 9.3.36 ♂

These were both shot on the same day in the depths of the forest, one by myself in the morning and the other by my skinner in the afternoon. I have come across no others.

Caprimulgidae.

19. *Caprimulgus poliocephalus* ? (Rüppell).

785 Acholi Hills near Laboni 4500 ft. 22.3.36. ? ♂

This nightjar was flushed from the ground at midday.It flew a short distance and settled on the ground again where it was shot on a pathway running through open grass amongst the steep hills. The racial identification is somewhat doubtful but the species appears to be new to the Sudan.

Capitonidae.

20. *Gymnobucco bonapartei cinereiceps* (*Sharpe*)—Uganda Grey-throated Barbet.

567 Kitibol, Imatong Mts. 5-6000 ft. 10.11.35 ♀
580 ,, ,, ,, 5000 ft. 11.11.35 ♂
731 Bendere 26. 2.36 ♀
792 Acholi Hills near Laboni 5500 ft. 22. 3.36 ♀

Not uncommon, they appear to be widely though sparsely distributed amongst the hills of the Southern Sudan. I have not come across very many and they were all in the hills except for the Bendere specimen. They seem to come out to the open spaces near the forest as well as remaining in the forest.

21. *Pogoniulus pusillus uropygialis* (*Heugl.*)—Abyssinian Red-fronted Tinker-bird.

803 Louyok, Nr. Kapoeta 2000 ft. 28.3.36 ♂

22. *Pogoniulus leucolaima nyansae* (*Neum*) Uganda Lemon-rumped Tinker-bird.

641 Nagichot, Didinga Mts. 6500 ft. 12.12.35 ♂

From its monotonous note it must be common both here and in the Imatong Mts. Its note is ventriloquistic and I found it hard to be sure from which direction it came. It was obtained by driving it out from a clump of bushes.

Indicatoridae

23. *Indicator variegatus variegatus.* (*Lesson*)—Scaly throated Honey-Guide.

751 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 9.3.36 ♂

This, the only specimen seen, was observed going in and out of a hole in a tall tree in the forest. The racial identification has been decided on distribution.

Timaliidae.

24. *Turdoides leucopygia omoensis* (*Neum*)—Omo White rumped-Babbler.

893 Boma Plateau 4500 ft. 28.12.36 ♀
897 ,, ,, ,, 28.12.36 ♂
923 ,, ,, ,, 10. 1.37 ♂

I have only found these birds on the Boma Plateau where they were behaving after the manner of typical babblers.

25. *Illadopsis rufipennis barakae.* (*Jackson*)—Uganda White-breasted Akalat.

776 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 18.3.36 ♂

Rare. This, the only specimen seen, was obtained under thick bushes in the forest, where it was skulking on the ground. It was not alarmed at my approach but kept hopping away and was very difficult to see. It was in breeding condition.

26. *Psendoalcippe abyssinicus abyssinicus* (*Rüpp*)—Abyssinian Hill-Babbler.

1013 Nagichot, Didinga Mts 6500 ft. 27.5.37 ♂
1035 Kipia, Imatong Mts. 9000 ft. 30.5.37 ♂

No. 1013 was flitting about in a small tree near a forest stream ; it was some 15-20 ft. from the ground. No. 1035 was in secondary growth, and was flitting about like a warbler, and was close to the ground.

Pycnonotidae.

27. *Pynonotus barbatus schoanus* (*Neum*)—Abyssinian Bulbul.

869	Boma Plateau	4500 ft.	24.12.36 ?	♂
989	,,	,,	30.4.37	♂
992	,,	,,	1. 5.37	♂
994	,,	,,	2. 5.37	♀
995	,,	,,	2. 5.37	♀
996	,,	,,	4. 5.37	♂

The common bulbul of the Boma though I have not come across it elsewhere. All except 869 and 992 were breeding.

28. *Bleda syndactyla woosnami* (*O-Grant*)—Uganda Bristle-Bill.

389	Lotti Forest	3-4000 ft.	2.10.35	♀
764	,,	,,	12. 3.36	♂

Both were in breeding condition. Although I have only obtained these two specimens I think it is probably not uncommon in Lotti.

29. *Boeopogon indicator chlorosaturata* (*v.* Som)—Uganda White-Tailed Greenbul.

390	Lotti Forest	3-4000 ft.	2.10.35	♂

Although I have paid many visits to Lotti this is the only specimen of this bird I have obtained.

30. *Phyllastrephus fischeri sucosus* (*Reichw*)—Olive Greenbul.

456	Nagichot, Didinga Mts.	6500 ft.	17.10.35 ?	♂
572	Kitibol, Imatong Mts.	6000 ft.	10.11.35	♀
863	Acholi Hills near Lotti	5000 ft.	22.11.36	♀
1017	Nagichot, Didinga Mts.	6500 ft.	28.5.37	♂

All were obtained in forested ravines and the three places are far from each other so that this bulbul is evidently widely distributed among the hills of the Southern Sudan.

31. *Phyllastrephus hypochloris* (*Jackson*)—Toro Olive Greenbul.

615 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 24.11.35 ? o
768 ,, ,, ,, 12. 3.36 ♂
777 ,, ,, ,, 13. 3.36 ♂

Not uncommon in Lotti Forest. The last two were in breeding condition.

32. *Phyllastrephus albigularis albigularis* (*Sharpe*)—White-throated Greenbul.

613 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 24.11.35 ? o
670 ,, ,, ,, 9. 1.36 ? ♂
783 Laboni Forest ,, 21. 3.36 ♂
857 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 21.11.36 ♀

Shot in dense bush in the forest. I could hear one quite close to me fluttering from bush to bush for some time before I saw it.

33. *Stelgidillas gracilirostris gracilirostris* (*Strickl*)—Slender-billed Greenbul.

381 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 1.10.35 ♀
445 ,, ,, ,, 13.10.36 ♂
446 ,, ,, ,, 13.10.35 ♂
447 ,, ,, ,, 13.10.35 ? ♂
614 ,, ,, ,, 24.11.35 ? o
1057 Source Yubo ,, 11. 6.37 ♂

This seems to be one of the commonest bulbuls in Lotti Forest.

34. *Andropadus curvirostris* (*Cassin*)—Cameroon Sombre Bulbul.

391 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 2.10.35 ♂
671 ,, ,, ,, 9. 1.36 ♀
673 ,, ,, ,, 9. 1.36 ♂
579 ,, ,, ,, 10. 3.36 ♀
864 Acholi Hills near Lotti 5000 ft. 10.3.36 ♂
1058 Source Yubo 16. 6.36 ♂

Like *Stelgidillas g. gracilirostris* this seems to be a fairly common bulbul, but they both keep to dense bushes and are hard to see. No. 864 was shot low down in a forested ravine.

35. *Stelgidocichla latirostris eugenia* (*Reichw*)—Uganda Yellow-whiskered Bulbul.

1014	Nagichot, Didinga Mts.		27. 5.37	♂
1015	,,	,,	28. 5.37	♀
1016	,,	,,	28. 5.37	♂

They make much noise with their wings flitting about amongst the branches and leaves of medium sized trees.

Muscicapidae.

36. *Alseonax minimus* (*Heuglin*)—Pygmy Dusky Fly-catcher.

560	Kitibol, Imatong Mts.	6000 ft.	9.11.35	♀
998	Nagichot, Didinga Mts.	6500 ft.	25. 5.37	♂
999	,, ,, ,,	6500 ft.	26. 5.37	♀
1022	Iaro, Imatong Mts.	7000 ft.	29. 5.37	♀

37. *Alseonax cinereus cinereus* (*Cassin*)—Ashy Fly-catcher.

382	Lotti Forest	3-4000 ft.	1.10.35	♂
440	,, ,, ,,		13.10.35	♀

Both were shot inside the forest.

38. *Dioptrornis fischeri* (*Reichw*).—White-eyed Slaty Flycatcher.

573	Kitibol, Imatong Mts.	6500 ft.	10.11.35	♂
640	Nagichot, Didinga Mts.	6500 ft.	12.12.35	♀
1024	Iaro, Imatong Mts.	7000 ft.	30. 5.37	? o
1033	Kipia, Imatong Mts.	9000 ft.	30. 5.37	♀

All were shot on the edge of forest and would seem to be fairly common. No. 573 was in breeding condition.

39. *Chloropeta natalensis schubotzi* (*Reichw*)—Kivu Yellow Flycatcher.

1042	Kipia, Imatong Mts.	9000 ft.	31.5.37	♂
1055	Lomoling, ,, ,,	8000 ft.	1.6.37	♂

Both were lone birds shot in strips of forest.

40. *Megabyas flammulatus* (*Verr*).—Shrike-Flycatcher.

732 Bendere 26.2.36 ♀

Rare. This female, whose ovaries were enlarged, flew across an open glade, just before dusk and perched on a high branch above me, on the edge of the forest.

41. *Diaphorophyia castanea castanea* (*Fraser*)—Chestnut Wattle-eye.

388 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 2.10.35 ♀
435 ,, ,, ,, 13.10.35 ♀
436 ,, ,, ,, 13.10.35 ? ♂
666 ,, ,, ,, 9. 1.36 ♂
667 ,, ,, ,, 9. 1.36 ♀
753 ,, ,, ,, 9. 3.36 ♂
766 ,, ,, ,, 12. 3.36 ♂

Fairly common in Lotti. I generally found these birds flying amongst the highest trees in small parties.

42. *Diaphorophyia jamesoni* (*Sharpe*)—Jameson's Wattle-eye.

665 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 9. 1.36 ♀
754 ,, ,, ,, 9. 3.36 ♂
773 ,, ,, ,, 13. 3.36 ? ♂.

Rare. I have a note that the ovaries were enlarged in the case of No. 665. I only saw one of these three specimens alive; it was flitting from one bush to another close to the ground, in the depths of the forest. So minute a bird was very difficult to see.

Turdidae.

43. *Turdus olivaceus* ? (*Linn*).—Olive Thrush.

1041 Kipia, Imatong Mts. 9000 ft. 31. 5.37 ♂
1052 Lomoling ,, ,, 8000 ft. 1. 6.37 ♂

The races are difficult and require further study but these birds seem to be close to *elgonensis*. They were obtained on rolling grasslands with small patches of forest close at hand. The species has not previously been recorded from the Sudan.

44. *Cercomela familiaris omoensis* (*Neum*)—Omo Spekvreter.

958 Boma Plateau 4500 ft. 21.2.37 ♀
959 ,, ,, ,, 21.2.37

The races are difficult and the plumage of these birds much worn, but it would seem that they can safely be put with *C.f. omoensis*.

45. *Saxicola torquata axillaris* (*Shelley*)—Kilimanjaro Stone-Chat.

1038 Kipia, Imatong Mts. 9000 ft. 31.5.37 ♀
1039 ,, ,, ,, ,, 31.5.37 ? o
1040 ,, ,, ,, ,, 31.5.37 ♂
1044 ,, ,, ,, ,, 31.5.37 ♂
1051 Lomaling ,, ,, 8000 ft. 1.6.37 ♂

These birds were all obtained in the high grasslands, often where the ground was slightly swampy. Although placed as *S.t. axillaris* the races are rather difficult and require further study.

46. *Cossypha cyanocampter* (*Bonap.*)—Blue-shouldered Robin-Chat.

770 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 13.3.36 ♂
771 ,, ,, ,, 13.3.36 ♂

Rare. The only two specimens I have seen. Both skulked along the ground in the forest, but one came out and stood for an appreciable period on the forest road.

47. *Cossypha natalensis*—(*Smith*).—Red-capped Robin-Chat.

772 Lotti Forest. 3-4000 ft. 13.3.36 ♀
991 Boma 4500 ft. 1.5.37 ♀

Several were seen flying low in the forests of the Boma Plateau and at Nagichot, Didinga Mts. but they are skulkers and not easy to see once they have entered a bush. At Nagichot one kept flying past me, once within a foot or two of my head, but I could never see it once it entered a bush. No. 772 had the ovaries enlarged.

48. *Alethe poliocephala carruthersi* (*O-Grant.*)—Uganda Brown-chested Alethe.

750 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 9.3.36 ♀

Rare. This, the only specimen I have seen, was shot on the ground in the depths of the forest. Its ovaries were enlarged.

Sylviidae.

49. *Seicercus umbrovirens mackenzianus* (*Sharpe*)—Kenya Brown Flycatcher-Warbler.

569	Kitibol, Imatong Mts.	6500 ft.	10.11.35	♀
1043	Kipia, ,, ,,	9000 ft.	31.5.37	? o
1050	,, ,, ,,	9000 ft.	1.6.37	♂

50. *Bradypterus cinnamomeus* (*Rupp.*) Cinnamon Swamp—Warbler.

1037	Kipia, Imatong Mts.	9000 ft.	31.5.37	♀
1045	,, ,, ,,	9000 ft.	31.5.37	♂

Obtained in thickets near a stream. No. 1045 had the testes enlarged.

51. *Apalis cinerea cinerea* (*Sharpe*)—Brown-headed Forest-Warbler.

1023	Iaro, Imatong Mts.	7000 ft.	29.5.37
1031	,, ,, ,,	7000 ft.	30.5.37.

Found in the flat topped trees on the hillside between Iaro and Lomoling.

52. *Sylvietta virens baraka* (*Sharpe*)—Uganda Green Crombec.

767 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 12.3.36 ? o

Rare. This, the only specimen seen, was shot in the forest.

53. *Cisticola brunnescens* ? (*Heugl*).—Brown Grass-Warbler.

1028	Nr. Lomoling, Imatong Mts.		8000 ft.	30.5.37	♂
1029	Nr. Kipia,	,, ,,	9000 ft.	30.5.37	? o
1034	,, ,,	,, ,,	9000 ft.	30.5.37	♂
1046	Kipia,	,, ,,	9000 ft.	31.5.37	♂
1047	,,	,, ,,	9000 ft.	31.5.37	♀

Rear-Admiral H. Lynes, C.B., C.M.G., has very kindly identified these birds for me and has pronounced them to be *C. brunnescens* but he requires further information from the spot before deciding on the race.

54. *Cisticola cantans belli.* (*O-Grant*).—Uganda Singing Grass-Warbler.

223	Tampura		1800 ft.	24.4.35	? o

55. *Cisticola brachyptera hypoxantha* (*Hartl*).—Uganda. Shortwing Grass-Warbler.

295	Wau		1500 ft.	28.7.35	♂

56. *Cisticola brachyptera zedlitzi* (*Reichw*).—Abyssinian Shortwing Grass-Warbler.

882	Boma Plateau		4500 ft.	25.12.36	♂
900	,,	,,	4500 ft.	29.12.36	♂
901	,,	,,	4500 ft.	29.12.36	♂

All from grassy orchardlike country.

Hirundinidae.

57. *Hirundo abyssinica abyssinica* (*Guer*).—Abyssinian Smaller Striped Swallow.

925	Boma Plateau		4500 ft.	12.1.37	♀
937	,,	,,	4500 ft.	28.1.37	♀

Campephagidae.

58. *Coracina caesia pura* (*Sharpe*)—Elgon Grey Cuckoo-Shrike.

562 Kitibol, Imatong Mts. 6500 ft. 9.11.35 ♀
565 ,, ,, ,, 6500 ft. 10.11.35 ? o
566 ,, ,, ,, 6500 ft. 10.11.35 ♂
997 Nr. Nagichot, Didinga Mts. 6500 ft. 25. 5.37 ♀

Nos. 562 and 566 were in breeding condition. Not uncommon at Kitibol and I would expect to find it well distributed in the Imatong Mts. which I have not yet sufficiently worked. All were killed in the forest except 997 which was shot on a lightly wooded hillside.

Dicruridae.

59. *Dicrurus modestus ugandensis* (*v. Som*)—Uganda Velvetmantled Drongo.

1067 Sakure, Nr. Yambio 19.6.37 ♂

Two birds were on top of a dead tree in the thick bush on the edge of a forested ravine. Sakure is on the borders of the Belgian Congo.

60. *Dicrurus sharpei* (*Oust*).—Sharpe's Square-tailed Drongo.

758 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 10.3.36 ♂

Although only this one was obtained, and that in the forest, I think it is possible I have often mistaken it on sight for *D. adsimilis divaricatus*.

Prionopidae.

61. *Prionops cristata omoensis* (*Neum*)—Omo Black-winged Helmet-Shrike.

944 Boma Plateau 4500 ft. 3.2.37 ♀
945 ,, ,, ,, 4500 ft. 3.2.37 ♂

The latter had the testes enlarged.

Laniidae.

62. *Laniarius funebris funebris* (*Hartl,*)—Slate-coloured Boubou.

458	Torit	2200 ft.	18.10.35	♂
475	,,	,,	22.10.35	♂
485	,,	,,	25.10.35	♂
494	,,	,,	26.10.35	♀

Fairly common. All were in breeding condition.

Paridae.

63. *Parus funereus* (*Verr*).—Dusky Tit.

380	Lotti Forest	3-4000 ft.	1.10.36	♂
757	,, ,,	3-4000 ft.	10. 3.36	♀

Rare. Both were shot in the forest. In No. 757 the ovaries were enlarged.

Oriolidae.

64. *Oriolus nigripennis* (*Verr*)—Black-winged Oriole.

386	Lotti Forest	3-4000 ft.	2.10.35	♂
660	,, ,,	3-4000 ft.	9.1.36	♂

Presumably fairly common in Lotti Forest, but on sight they are very difficult to distinguish. Both these specimens had the testes enlarged.

Nectariniidae.

65. *Nectarinia famosa* ? (*Linnaeus*)—Malachite Sunbird.

1036	Kipia, Imatong Mts.	9000 ft.	31.5.37	♂

I have only seen two of these beautiful sunbirds and they were both in grassy glades with a stream, wild flowers and small shrubs. This specimen had the testes enlarged. The race is undetermined but the species has not been recorded from the Sudan before.

66. *Nectarinia tacazze* (*Stanley*)—Tacazze Sunbird.

1026	Nr. Lomoling, Imatong Mts.	8000 ft.	30.5.37	♂
1027	,, ,, ,, ,,	8000 ft.	30.5.37	? ♀
1054	,, ,, ,, ,,	8000 ft.	1.6.37	♂

Fairly common. I saw several on "Red-hot pokers." These specimens are not distinguishable between *N.t. tacazze* and *N.t. jacksoni*, but the species is new to the Sudan.

67. *Cinnyris venustus falkensteini.* (*Fisch & Reichw*).—Kenya Buff-breasted Sunbird.

646	Nagichot, Didinga Mts.	6500 ft.	12.12.35	♂

68. *Chalcomitra amethystina doggetti* (*Sharpe*)—Kenya Highlands Amethyst Sunbird.

1007	Nagichot, Didinga Mts.	6500 ft.	27.5.37	♂

69. *Cyanomitra olivacea ragazzii* (*Salvad*)—Shoa Olive Sunbird.

710	Bendere		14. 2.36	♂
755	Lotti Forest	3-4000 ft.	9. 3.36	♂
774	,, ,,	3-4000 ft.	13. 3.36	?♂
854	,, ,,	3-4000 ft.	20.11.36	♀
1021	Nagichot, Didinga Mts.	6500 ft.	28. 5.37	♀

Common.

70. *Anthreptes collaris ugandae* (*v. Som*)—Uganda Collared Sunbird.

434	Lotti Forest	3-4000 ft.	13.10.35	♂
708	Bendere		14. 2.36	♂
709	,,		14. 2.36	♂

Not uncommon. I have generally found them just on the edges of forest. No. 434 had the testes enlarged.

Ploceidæ.

71. *Bubalornis albirostris intermedius* (*Cab.*)—Kenya Buffalo-Weaver.

849 Khor Lakiya 1800 ft. 5.11.36 ♂

These birds are to be found in the thorn and scrub bush which lies about half way between Kapoeta and the hills on the Abyssinia border.

72. *Ploceus bicolor mentalis* (*Hartl.*)—Uganda Dark-backed Weaver.

862 Lerua, Nr. Lotti, Acholi Hills 5000 ft. 22.11.36 ♀

Rare. This is the only specimen I have come across and it was obtained in a forested ravine.

73. *Ploceus insignis* (*Sharpe*)—Brown-capped Weaver.

791 Acholi Hills above Laboni 5500 ft. 22.3.36 ♂

Rare. This specimen was got on heavily bushed hillside with forest below and in the ravines. I have seen one other specimen near Lomoling in the Imatong Mts. where the features are practically the same except that Lomoling lies at about 8000 ft.

74. *Ploceus melanogaster stephanophorus* (*Sharpe*)—Uganda Black billed Weaver.

790 Acholi Hills above Laboni 6000 ft. 22.3.36 ♀

The only specimen I have seen and it was obtained on a heavily bushed hillside with forest below and in the ravines.

75. *Ploceus nigerrimus* (*Vieill.*)—Vieillot's Black Weaver.

225 (a) Azande country 24.4.35 ? o

348 Nr. Li Rangu, Yambio 2300 ft. 17.9.35 ♂

No. 348 was from a large colony nesting in a tree with *P. cucullatus feminina.*

76. *Ploceus capitalis capitalis* (*Lath.*)—Yellow-collared Weaver.

143 Wau 22.2.35. ♀

77. *Coliuspasser ardens laticauda* (*Licht.*)—Red-naped Whyadḥ.

936 Boma Plateau 4500 ft. 28.1.37 ♂

78. *Nigrita canicapilla schistacea* (*Sharpe*)—Sotik Greyheaded Negro-Finch.

763 Lotti Forest 3-4000 ft. 11.3.36 ♂

Shot inside the forest. The testes were enlarged. This is the only one of these pretty finches which I have seen.

79. *Cryptospiza salvadorii* ? (*Reichw*)—Crimson wing.

557 Kitibol, Imatog Mts. 6500 ft. 9.11.35 ♂
571 ,, ,, ,, 6500 ft. 10.11.35 ♀

These specimens were shot in the forest close to ground. They were difficult to see and I have found them nowhere else. The racial identification remains in doubt but the genus has not been recorded from the Sudan before; they are nearest to *C.s. salvadorii and C.s. ruwenzori.*

80. *Pytelia melba belli* (*O-Grant*).—Central African Melba.

510 Torit 2200 ft. 31.10.35 ♂
534 ,, ,, 5.11.35 ♂

Fairly common. Both specimens had the testes enlarged.

81. *Lagonosticta rubricata rhodopareia* (*Heugl*).—Abyssinian Fire-Finch.

926 Boma Plateau 4500 ft. 13.1.37 ♂
972 ,, ,, 4500 ft. 25.3.37 ? o
975 ,, ,, 4500 ft. 28.5.37 ♂

Although the racial identification is somewhat doubtful they certainly seem to be nearest to *L.r. rhodopareia,* but the species has not previously been recorded from the Sudan.

82. *Lagonosticta rubricata congica* (*Sharpe*)—Uganda Fire-Finch.

1062 Sakure, Nr. Yambio 18.6.37 ♂

The racial identification here is also somewhat doubtful, but the specimen seems to agree best with *L.r. congica*. Obtained from a flock.

83. *Coccopygia melanotis ? kilimensis* (*Sharpe*)—Kenya Yellow-bellied Waxbill.

1003	Nagichot, Didinga Mts	6500 ft.	26.5.37	? ♂
1004	,, ,, ,,	6500 ft.	26.5.37	♂
1008	,, ,, ,,	6500 ft.	27.5.37	♂

Found in small flocks in old overgrown gardens and similar thick bushes. There was some difficulty in distinguishing them between *C.m. kilimensis* and *C.m. quartinia* but on the whole they seem to agree best with the former.

Fringillidae.

84. *Poliospiza striolata striolata* (*Rüpp.*)—Streaky Seed-eater.

561	Kitibol, Imatong Mts.	6500 ft.	9.11.35	♀
1037	Nr. Kipia, Imatong Mts.	9000 ft.	30. 5.37	♂
1048	Nr. Lomoling, ,, ,,	8000 ft.	1. 6.37	♂
1049	Lomoling, ,, ,,	8000 ft.	1. 6.37	♂

Often found in flocks, and they were often to be seen perched on a thistle.

85. *Spinus citrinelloides kikuyuensis* (*Neum*)—Kenya Citril.

1009	Nagichot, Didinga Mts.	6500 ft.	27.5.37	♀
1010	,, ,, ,,	6500 ft.	27.5.37	♀

NOTES ON THE FOOD OF CAMELS ON THE RED SEA COAST AND IN NORTH EASTERN KORDOFAN.

By R. C. Maxwell Darling.

IN the course of investigating locusts, the writer has travelled largely by camel, over most of north eastern Kordofan and the Red Sea coast. Observations have been made on the plants preferred by grazing camels, and the opinions of natives asked as to which plants they consider of most value.

Native opinion varies considerably, as camel owners from regions where there is heavier rainfall and more abundant grazing naturally look askance at the poorer regions. Conversely the owners of herds which flourish on scanty grazing regard the richer country with suspicion, owing to the greater prevalence there of flies, ticks and disease.

The following notes are concerned with the common fodder plants in each district, and do not claim to be in any way exhaustive.

At the end will be found a list of the plants mentioned with Arabic and sometimes Tu Bedawi (Bega) names. The Arabic names are those used in northern Kordofan and the Red Sea names are mostly from Amarar sources. In the text Arabic names are used if known ; failing the Arabic, Tu Bedawi ; if the latter is not known the scientific name is used.

The Red Sea Coast.

On the coastal plain, up to and including the more easterly hills, the rain usually falls in the winter. The quantity is small as a rule though much greater than the rainfall at the same latitude on the Nile during the *kharif*. Owing to the fact that the rains coincide with cold weather and that the coast is more humid than inland, a small amount of rain has far more effect on the coast than would the same quantity inland during the *kharif*. The mists which come in from the sea at night during December and January are also very beneficial among the eastern hills,

This winter rain is extremely variable from year to year, and very spasmodic in its distribution. North of Port Sudan the rainfall is nearly always less than it is between Suakin and Tokar, and becomes scantier towards the Egyptian border. In these northern parts the country usually gets rained on only in patches, and some parts may be rainless for two years or more.

As a result of the smaller rainfall, the annual herbs and grasses do not often become tall enough for camels to eat, as they are usually cropped off by sheep and goats, while still small. The diet of the northern camels is, therefore, largely composed of trees, shrubs and tussock grasses.

The common trees and bushes are *Samr, Sayāl, kittir, tisanu* and in khors *marakh* and *arak*. Small undershrubs which camels eat are *singit* and *gafereib*. Two perennial tussock grasses are *tumam* and *gharaza*, and a common succulent herb, *haleluk*. These plants form the staple diet near the hills, and anywhere where the ground is stony. The grasses, of which *tumam* is the best, are green after rain, and yellow the following year if there is no more rain, at which stage they may still be eaten by hungry camels, If there is no rain for another year, the tussocks become grey, and the roots seem to die. The trees are at their best when the young shoots are coming out, which camels eat thorns and all. When the thorns are hard, the camels pick the leaves from between them. This type of grazing seems to produce good results, but it naturally takes longer for a camel to fill itself with tree grazing than when there is grass. The pods of *samr, sayāl and selim* are of value in the summer and *haleluk* is also eaten when dry.

In certain places, apparently where there is clay below the sand, the succulent salty bush *adlib* is abundant. With the exception of the Khor Baraka, this bush is not usually found further than three miles from the sea. South of Port Sudan, it forms an almost continuous strip down the coast. In the northern parts, however, there are big stretches where stony ground continues right down to the sea, and *adlib* does not occur. This bush and various other plants which grow near the sea are eaten only by camels that are used to them. *Adlib* is to some extent independent of rain, but, when rain

does fall, small grasses such as *yedab* and various kinds of *elab* spring up more luxuriantly in an *adlib* area than on the harder ground.

Although these salty plants form a large part of the food of some herds for a good part of the year, it is doubtful if camels thrive on such grazing unless they get good grasses and herbs during the winter.

It may be mentioned that camels which are used to this type of grazing seem easier to acclimatise to Kordofan, than hill camels. But their feet will not stand stony going. The Banagir strain of camels is said to exist mostly among the northern Hamadorab (Bisharin), whose grazing is partly *adlib*.

It is of interest that the best riding camels are bred in the regions with the lowest rainfall. This applies to Kordofan as well, where the most northerly tribe, the Hawawir, breed the best type.

On the coast south of Port Sudan, the rainfall, though still very variable, is normally much heavier than in the north. Large khors are more numerous which bring down clay and silt, so that the soil on the plain near the sea is richer. In a good season, such as the winter 1933-34, there is a luxuriant growth of annual herbs and grasses, which grow to a height of about 8 inches. As in the northern parts, trees and bushes, other than *adlib*, are numerous only on the harder ground which mostly occurs near the hills, where the small plants are fewer.

The commonest annuals which are eaten by camels are *yedab*, of which there are two kinds one of which is like a small *heskanit and elab*, which corresponds to the grasses called *go* in Arabic. These are grasses and are eaten in the summer, when dry, as well as when green. Herbs are *dreisa*, *ghareir*, *okwad*, *hamadib*. The two latter are leguminous plants and are probably the most nourishing. Camels grazing on these plants fill themselves quickly and fatten in a short time. This annual vegetation comes up much more slowly than *kharif* grass, doubtless owing to the cool weather. It is not usually tall enough for a camel to crop until about 23 days after the first rain. But it may remain green for 3 months.

In places where there is rain cultivation of *dukhn*, each cultivator may allow his own camels to graze on the corn, before it is finally

given up. The heads of grain seem to be very fattening, but the *gassab*, unlike that of *dura*, is of little value and rather purgative.

In the south as in the north, there are camels which exist largely on *adlib*, notably those of the Shaiab and Nurab near Tokar.

In Tokar delta working camels are fed on *temeleika* where this is abundant after rains. Young *temeleika* is good and fattening, but once it has seeded, it is extremely purgative. *Um Gelagil* is also considered good by the Tokar cultivators. This is a plant with a powerful smell, and camels will not eat it unless they are used to it; Arabs in Kordofan have told the writer that it is poisonous. A climber, *Rhyncosia elegans*, is also fed to camels on the delta, but they will not eat it if there is anything better. In the summer, *dura gassab* is the staple diet and is said to be good, with grain.

With regard to grain, a large amount of the corn which a camel eats passes out unchanged with the droppings. In the experience of the writer, grain will not fatten a camel at all rapidly, when the grazing is very poor. Crushed grain (*derish*) was found more efficacious in this respect. This can be obtained wherever there is a corn mill. The cost of crushing it by hand would be prohibitive.

Up the khor Baraka, camel grazing consists of *adlib* and *tamarisk* trees. Camels used to this diet, principally those of the Ashraf, drink frequently. They are of little use where this grazing does not occur, unless they can get some sort of green fodder, or are grain fed.

NORTHERN KORDOFAN.

The camel grazing areas in northern Kordofan may be divided into the southern part which is *goz*, the central part which consists of hard sand, clay and stones, and the northern sand country where *gizzu* grazing may occur in the winter.

Bara lies at about the southern limit of the country in which camel herds can be kept throughout the year. Even here ticks are said to be so numerous as to kill camel calves.

The grazing on the *gozes* round Bara is composed of *heskanit*, which is the only grass eaten much, and the following undershrubs, *kharata*, *tektaga*, *marekh*, *nattash* and *danaban* and a herb *simsim el*

gumal. Trees are also eaten during the rains, but they form the staple diet, with dry *heskanit*, during the winter and early summer. The commonest trees eaten are the gum tree, *hashab* of which the pods are of value, *sidr*, and the bush *marakh*.

During the rains, most of the Kordofan herds move to eastern Darfur. The *gozes* here are more thickly wooded than those in Kordofan. The commonest trees are *maarab* and *kittir*, of which the former is eaten a good deal by camels. But the best grazing on the Darfur *gozes* is *bagheil*, *heskanit* and *gerin*. *Bagheil* and *gerin* do not occur in quantity on most of the *gozes* in Kordofan, the flora of which has apparently been altered by cultivation.

On the harder ground in northern Kordofan, common trees browsed on are *samr*, *sayāl*, *selim*, *gafal* and *shuheit*. The two latter produce leaves very soon after the first rain. The best undershrub is *singit*. On the hard ground *siha* occurs. This is a small prickly herb with a blue flower. It may be the same as *bagheil* but the Arabs distinguish between the two. It is considered the best camel fodder both when green and dry.

The commonest annual grasses on the hard ground are *go'*. There are several species to which this name is given. One of them is the grass which is brought dry into Omdurman in the winter, to sell for fodder. This grass is eaten by camels both when green and dry, but they seem to prefer *heskanit*.

In the more northern parts the country becomes a widely undulating plain of red sand with very few trees, bushes or perennial plants. If these parts are rained on during the *kharif*, the *gizzu* vegetation comes up about the end of September and may remain green till the end of the winter. In the Hawawir *gizzu*, east of the Wadi el Melik, the only common plants eaten by camels are *agul*—a spiny undershrub, *nassi*—a tussock grass, and *derma*—an undershrub like *singit*. The latter is the best. These plants were the only common ones when this area was seen by the writer in January, 1933. In the Darfur *gizzu* some other plants occur, of which *sa'dan* and *khashein* are good grazing. *Tumam* also occurs in the *gizzu*, and some Kordofan camels

eat it. Camels used to *tumam* on the Red Sea coast will often give up eating it on the Kordofan *gozes*, where it becomes coarse and woody owing to the animals not grazing on it.

Herds of camels in the *gizzu* go for some months without water. The Rashaida also use the term *jazzin* for herds which go without water when there is green grass on the Red Sea coast in the winter.

Generally speaking there is a very wide range of plants on which camels can feed and thrive. But they take some time to get used to unaccustomed types of feeding. One hill camel owned by the author was taken to Tokar, where the only food obtainable was *dura gassab* and short grass, apart from grain. This camel would not touch either forage for 4 days, and it was 12 days before he would fill himself properly.

A camel that is used to being handled will often eat anything which its owner puts into its mouth. By hand-feeding it in this way a camel may be got to eat a new kind of forage quickly.

LIST OF PLANTS MENTIONED.

Scientific Name.	Arabic.	Tu Bedawi.
Trees and Bushes.		
Acacia tortilis Hayne	*Samr*	Sanganeib
A. ehrenbergiana Hayne	*Selim*	Delau
A. verek Guill. & Perr.	*Hashāb*	Hashab (occur only occasionally—on hills
A. mellifera Benth	*Kittir*	Tikr
Zisyphus Spp.	*Sidr*	
Commiphora africana Engl.	*Gafal*	Kam'. or Humet
Commiphora sp. (?)	*Maarāb*	
Lycium persicum Miers		Sānu or Sununt
Leptadenia spartium Wight	*Marakh*	Agwēb
Salvadora persica Linn	*Shau*	Arāk
Combretum aculeatum Vent	*Shuheit*	
Suaeda fructicosa Forsk		Adlīb
Undershrubs.		
Indigofera paucifolia Del	*Singit*	Singit
I. suaveolens Jaub. & Spach	*Singit*	
I. bracteolata D.C.	*Derma*	
Salsola sq.	*Gafereib*	Gafereib
Tephrosia incana Graham	*Kharāta.*	
Pavonia kotschyi Hochst	*Tektāga.*	
Polygala triflora Linn	*Marēkh*	
Crotalaria thebaica D.C.	*Nattash.*	
Bouchea marrubifolia Schauer	*Danabān*	
Fagonia cretica Linn	*Agūl*	Shikīa
Perennial Tussock Grasses.		
Panicum turgidum Linn	*Tumām*	Shūsh
Lasiurus hirsutus Boiss	*Gharaza*	Tabbas
Aristida papposa Trin. & Rupr.	*Nassi.*	
Annual Grasses.		
Cenchrus catharticus Del	*Heskanīt*	
Cenchrus setigerus Vahl		Yedāb
Chloris virgata Swartz		Yedāb
Aristida adscensionis Linn	*Go'*	Elāb
A. funiculata Trin. & Rupr	*Go'.*	
Annual Herbs.		
Zygophyllum simplex Linn		Halēlūk
Tribulus terrestris Linn	*Dereisa*	Shigshig
Indigofera arenaria A. Rich	*Khasheir*	Hamadīb
Crotalaria microphylla Vahl		Okwād
Heliotropium undulatum Vahl	*Gharier*	Gwareirab
Aristolochia bracteata Retz	*Um Gelāgil*	Hāmyai
Gynandropsis gynandra Briq	*Temeleika.*	
Sesamum alatum Thonn	*Simsim el Gumāl.*	
Blepharis spp.	*Siha & Bagheil*	
Monsonia senegalensis Guill	*Gerin.*	
Neurada procumbens Linn	*Sa'dān*	Shigshig
Blepharis linariacfolia. Pers.	*Bagheil.*	
Blepharis edulis. Pers.	*Siha.*	

Long vowels are marked ā, ī, ū,

The writer's thanks are due to Mr. R. E. Massey who identified most of the above plants, and to Messrs. Kennedy Cooke, G. E. R. Sandars, and E. J. M. Wallis for suggestions.

BRACELET FIGHTING IN THE NUBA MOUNTAINS.

By F. D. Kingdon, M.C.

Among the manly sports indulged in by the Nuba, perhaps the most interesting is the bracelet fighting of Jebels Niaro, Kau and Fungor, those isolated hills some thirty miles west of Kaka.

The Nubas inhabiting these hills, though surrounded by Arabs, with whom they are now on quite friendly terms, have kept their own customs to a remarkable extent, and show very little sign of becoming arabicised. So far are they from any other extensive group of Nubas, and so different in their habits and customs, that at present they are administratively under Nazir Radi Kambal of the Awlad Hameid. They may grow a certain amount of cotton to enable them to pay their tribute, but they show very little desire to purchase it back in the form of clothes. Nearly everything connected with their daily life is governed by Nuba tradition and subject to a *sibr*—a word that might almost be translated as an excuse for communal drinking of beer.

All young men have to take part in the bracelet fighting for a number of years as part of their training for manhood. They are not allowed to marry until they are 18 to 20 years old and as a result most of them have a very fine physique.

The bracelet used is a murderous looking weapon made of solid brass: the outside is concave with two sharp cutting edges and its weight between one and two pounds. It is worn on the inside of the left wrist and firmly attached by means of packing. Fights take place soon after the harvest or at any other time by arrangement and are always between different hills. Only hits on the head count and a win is determined on points by the referees. Women do not attend the fights and take no part until the contests are over, when they produce the beer.

There is a lot of ritual before the fights start and the first of all is the characteristic challenging shout, produced with the head thrown

back and to the side and the hand moved across from the mouth as if it was pulling the cry from the mouth. It is certainly awe inspiring and blood thirsty and is similar to the shout Nuers give before they attack. The challenge is taken up all round and the cry echoes round the hills. Then the young men of each hill parade in single file sometimes kneeling and sometimes running. Painted with various coloured clays in most fantastic patterns and with their bodies well oiled they present a gruesome picture.

The arena is now cleared of small stones and the older men and boys take their seats on the surrounding rocks which form a perfect and picturesque grandstand.

Each youth in addition to wearing the bracelet carries a thick stick and as the various parties reach the arena the files break up and sticks are wielded and brought down with a resounding bang on sticks held horizontally over the head with both hands.

Eventually order is restored, and the two referees, who play a very important part, appear. Almost before one realizes it the first contest has begun. To start with the stick is held firmly with both hands in a horizontal position but after a few preliminary crouching skirmishes the sticks are thrown aside and the contestants close and wrestle, each one trying to bring his bracelet down on his opponent's head. Hits elsewhere are hardly noticed and blood soon begins to flow. From the position of the bracelet on the inside of the wrist any form of open boxing is quite useless and only indulged in by the timorous, who fear to close. If the pair are too long in getting to grips the spectators very soon express their disapproval. If persisted in, and this frequently happens especially with young boys who have not fought before, the referees stop the fight.

Once the two have closed, the fight becomes a wrestling match, because it is only when one is knocked off his balance that it is possible to get in a blow. Most of the serious blows are given as the two fall locked in each other's arms and the thud of the brass bracelet on the skull is a most unpleasant sound. The minute they are on the ground

the referees seize them and prevent the fight continuing until both have been raised up, still locked in each other's arms, and set firmly on their feet.

The fight continues until one has obviously had enough, when it is stopped by the referees. One good blow on the head producing as can well be imagined a flow of blood is generally sufficient though the defeated man almost invariably continues to try and get at his opponent or at least to run round the arena to show the spectators that he, at any rate, is still game for more.

Between the various fights the young men prance about the arena and indulge in the stick display already described.

One of the most interesting and certainly most necessary features of the sport is the careful refereeing. The two referees, bearing on their heads many honorable scars to show that they have been through the mill, though apparently taking a very casual interest, in reality watch every movement, and the lightning way they seize the fallen fighters and pinion the bracelet arms shows real skill and a full appreciation of the dangers of the sport. Their word is law and the calm way they keep hot tempered and blood thirsty youths under control is very striking. At the least sign of any temper the culprit is sent off the field accompanied by the jeers of the spectators: if it is at all apparent that the fight is in any way unequal it is stopped. Among their many functions they frequently pick up handfulls of sand and dab it on any bleeding wounds or on any part of the bodies becoming too slippery to grip.

The sport is admittedly very manly, but not apparently as fatally dangerous as it looks. Only one death is recalled in the past twenty years. This must be due to two things—the difficulty of hitting with the inside of the wrist and the excellence of the refereeing. There is certainly nothing half hearted in the way some of the fights are contested.

A BEGA GAME—"ANDOT."

By T. R. H. Owen.

In Volume VIII of Sudan Notes and Records, Mr. R. Davies published an account of various native games. The article, comprising mainly games current in the West, did not include the game which I may designate by its Bega name of *Andot*. This rather attractive name bears the unlovely meaning of "Manure pellets," and designates the wherewithal for play, namely forty-eight pellets of dry camel droppings, which are arranged in twelve scoops in the sand.

Sand and camels being ubiquitous over most of the country north of Kassala, the game is played by all the Bega tribes, Bisharin, Amarar, Hadendowa and others. It certainly penetrates into the Butana, but I do not know if it has ever taken on further west and believe it to be principally a Bega pastime.

It is somewhat akin to Um el Banat and Mangala as described in Mr. Davies's article, having certain common features with each, but is a wholly distinct game. It is better than the former, and over the latter it has the advantage of being less interminable; even so, a pair of skilful and evenly matched opponents will occasionally carry on indefinitely, neither able to score an advantage over the other. Speaking generally, such Alekhines and Capablancas flourish in inverse ratio to the mental level of the neighbourhood; the thicker, wilder and more benighted the "Fuzzy," the more likely is he to be an expert at *andot*. But many sheikhs and elders also enjoy the game. Herdsmen, with little else to do, will sometimes play it for a day together under the sparse shade of an acacia; and it is never used as a medium for gambling, nor have I ever heard of tempers being lost over it.

I have wasted many hours at the game. Perhaps they were not really wasted. Though Bega tribesmen have as good a sense of humour as their fellows, they by nature joke wi'deeficulty especially in Arabic. There is no easier passport to their acquaintance and confidence than a game of *andot*. It is for this reason that it is

worth writing an account of the game, which must in itself make dull reading. Moreover the game, once mastered, is great fun to play.

I made a handsome little wooden board with twelve scoops in it, substituted marbles for camel-dung, and took the game to Messrs. Thomas de la Rue in London. But after due consideration they concluded that it needed too much skill and concentration to attract the British Public.

The game begins with twelve scoops, or houses, six of one player's and six of the other's, and four counters in each. Each corner house is known as *t'gilma* "the head," each middle one as *t'ala* "the neck," and each of the central ones as *t'kishia* "the slave."

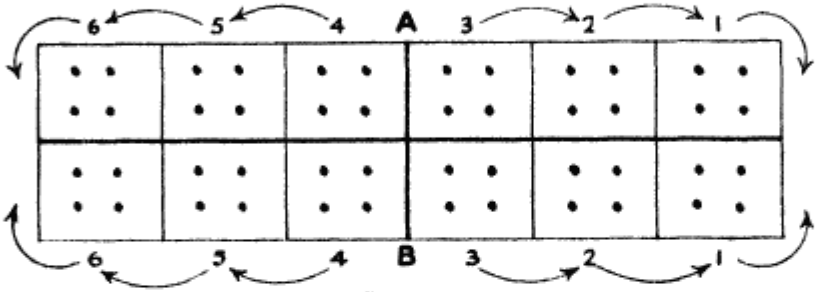


FIG. 1:

The Counters are played as shown by the arrows, those from the three houses on the player's right anti-clockwise, those from the three on his left clockwise.

Each player plays in turn and there is no advantage in having first move. He takes the counters from any of his six houses and drops them round, one in each successive house: *e.g.*, B begins, and plays from house No. 2 and the board looks as in Fig. 2. A replies from his No. 1 and the board looks as in Fig. 3.

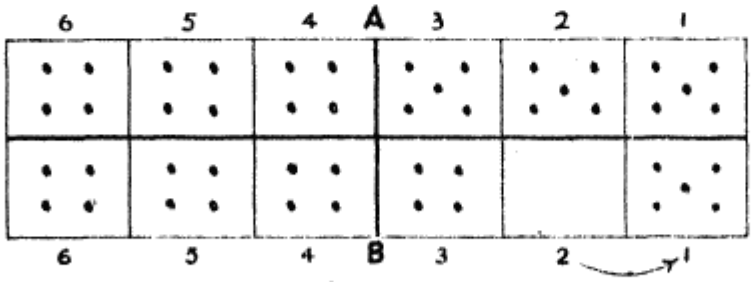


FIG. 2.

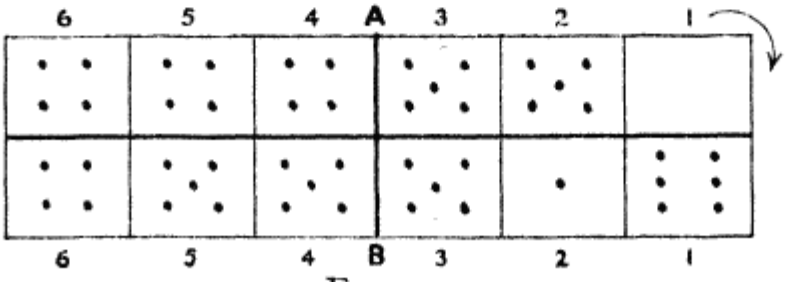


FIG. 3.



A GAME OF ANDOT IN PROGRESS.

Play proceeds on these lines. The object is to establish a base, by dropping the last counter of the throw into a house which has three in it, thus completing a quartette. The player is then said to have begotten a daughter (*ōt ifari*). Daughters may be begotten in any of the opponent's houses or in one's own two corner houses, but not in one's other four. Thus in Fig. 4, B by playing from No. 3 can score a daughter in his own No. 1, or by playing from his No. 6 can score in A's No. 1, but he can not play round the nine counters in No. 2 to score in his own No. 5.

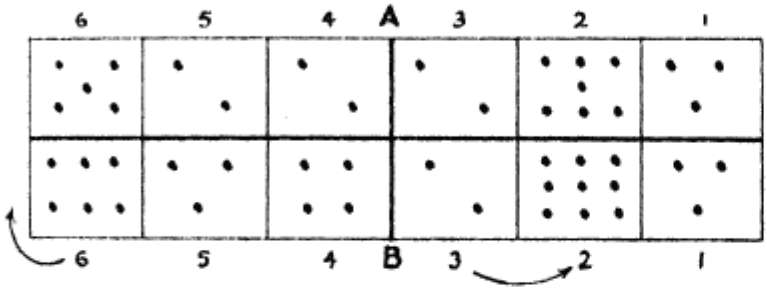


FIG. 4.

Once a daughter has been scored, a mark is put against that house, and the counters from it cannot be taken up and played with. Every counter that falls into it stays put and will count to the father of that daughter at the end. Every time that he drops a counter in, as he plays them round, he is said to give her a drink, and will call *Gwa*, "Drink."

There is unlimited scope for skill in manoeuvering the opponent into giving you a chance to score a daughter. Once you have a daughter, the object is to score another one if may be, and anyway to get as many counters as possible into her. In most games each player gets at least one, and there remains much room for skill in the end game, securing that the bulk of the remaining counters fall to your daughters and not the enemy's.

When all the counters have fallen into daughters' houses and there are no free ones left to play, each player adds up the number of counters in his daughter or daughters, and the one who has most wins. There are degrees of victory; if a man wins by a big margin he is said to have taken a donkey (*meik*) off his opponent.

There are one or two minor rules to be observed. A daughter cannot be scored in the opponent's houses by moving a single counter : *e.g.*, in Fig. 5 B cannot move the counter in his No. 1 to score in A's No. 1, though he can move the counter in No. 5 to score in his *own* No. 6.

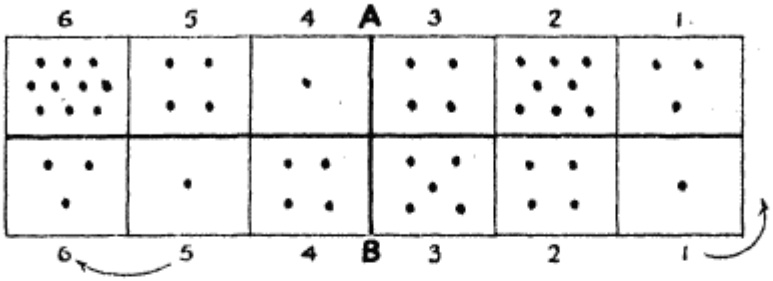


FIG. 5.

In Fig. 6 if A moves the one counter in his No. 1 into B's empty No. 1, B may not with his next move repeat the process and throw it back whence it came. This is to prevent an endless up-and-down stalemate occurring.

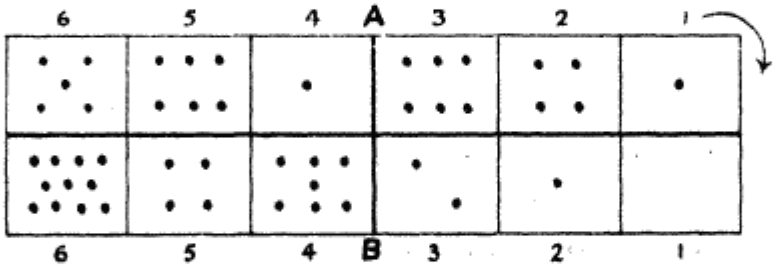


FIG. 6.

If one player has no counters to play, as may occur towards the end of a game, the other goes on playing, until some counters fall into the first player's free houses, which he can then play, *e.g.*, in Fig. 7 it is B's turn : but he has nothing to play. Therefore A plays again. All the counters in his 1, 2 and 3 are bound to go to his daughter in B 1, but when he plays the four in his No. 5 it will give B a couple of counters to play, and incidentally to put into his own (B's) daughter.

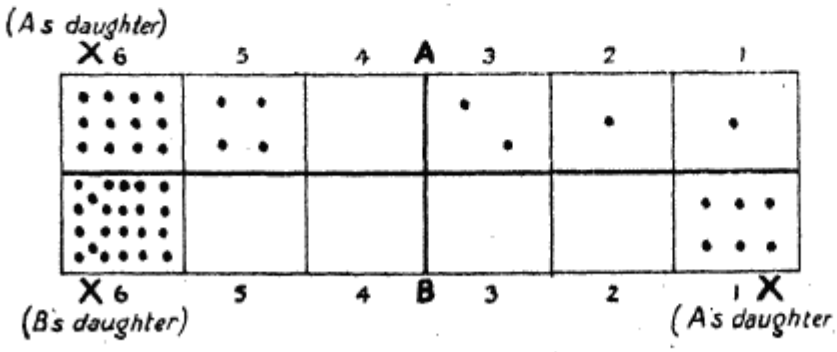


FIG. 7.

There is no limit to the number of counters that may be collected in a house before it is played from: sooner or later they will have to be played out. I have seen over 36 counters collected: it takes a deal of foresight to divine the result of a move that will take you three times round the board and then a bit. In Fig. 8 A has collected 25 counters in No. 5, and by playing these he will score a daughter in his own No. 6, the twenty fifth counter completing a four.

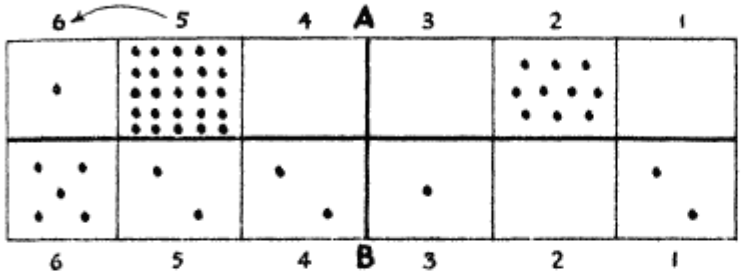


FIG. 8.

The distribution and combinations of counters are as illimitable as the combinations of cards at bridge, and as great skill is required to estimate the outcome of a move as to foresee the result of a move at chess. And to think that Yo-Yo swept England!

SOME NOTES ON THE KHALIFA ABDULLAHI FROM CONTEMPORARY SUDANESE SOURCES.

By J. A. Reid.

Origin and Family.

More than a hundred years ago the Khalifa's great grandfather, Sheikh Mohammed El Wawi Abdullahi is said to have set out from Tunis on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He was reputed to be a Sherifi by descent but there is some reason for thinking that he had Berber blood in his veins from his mother's side. The conquering Arabs almost invariably married wives from the local population among whom they settled and as Mohammed El Wawi's family are said to have resided in the neighbourhood of Tunis for a considerable period, it is not unlikely that they married into Berber or other non-Arab stock. This would explain the non-Arab traits in the Khalifa and his relations.

Mohammed El Wawi settled in Dar Taeisha, Darfur, and married a Taeisha wife of the Gubarat section. He acquired a considerable reputation as a holy man and his charms and medicines were reputed to be specially efficacious. After his death, his son, Ali Kirar, and his grandson, Mohammed Taur Shein continued their pilgrimage journey; Ali Kirar died at Hegeilig in Dar Rizeigat but Mohammed Taur Shein carried on eastwards until he reached Dar Gimma and was persuaded by their chief, Sheikh Asakir Abu Kalam to settle at Abu Rukba. He also had a big name as a *fiki* and is said to have established contact with the Mahdi long before the latter declared his mission. He had five sons (1) Yacoub (later the Emir Yacoub), (2) Abdullahi (later the Khalifa Abdullahi), (3) Yusef, (4) Sammani, (5) Haroun. He advised them to seek out the Mahdi so Yacoub started off on the quest. However he was persuaded by Sheikh Bereir at Shabasha on the White Nile to join the Sammania Tarika. Abdullahi, the second son, went to Aba but hearing that the Mahdi had left for the Gezira he followed him and found him building a tomb

in memory of Sheikh Ghurashi El Zein at Tayiba near Hassa Heissa. Tradition relates that the Mahdi and the Khalifa recognised their affinity at their first meeting and that the Khalifa threw himself into the work of building the tomb and laboured with his own hands. In any case he quickly established a position of ascendancy with the Mahdi much to the annoyance of the latter's relatives and became one of the select band of what were afterwards known as "first disciples" (Abkar El Mahdi).

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND GENERAL CHARACTER.

The Khalifa is described by Sudanese contemporaries as a well built thick set man of average height, light brown in colour, with a round face marked by smallpox and a slight limp, the result of a horse accident. He is said to have had a resounding voice and a pleasant genial manner.

As to his character, in English literature he is generally depicted as a brutal tyrant, a hypocrite and an impostor. This is not borne out by Sudanese tradition which says he was a simple liver, a strict observer of Islamic rites, a kind husband and father, a generous host and a brave fighter. It is admitted that at times he was forced into drastic action by dissensions at home and fears from abroad but it is argued that as he lived in rude times, his actions should not be judged by modern standards. In any case there is no doubt that he possessed amazing personality and high administrative capacity. He was inordinately conceited and unusually suspicious but these inherent defects were exaggerated by his absolute power and his self-made position which was threatened by the Ashraf and other disaffected elements. Although the Khalifa was almost illiterate, his mind was both acute and tenacious and in action he was quick and resolute. In summary he was neither better nor worse than the typical Baggara chief of his time though he had much greater organising ability.

TROUBLE WITH THE ASHRAF.

The so called Ashraf was the name applied to the Mahdi's relatives. They were a jealous, intriguing crowd prepared to use any available means to gain their ends. They were a constant embarrassment to

the Mahdi during his lifetime and they were bitter opponents of the Khalifa during his whole career. They tried to persuade the Mahdi to dismiss him and appoint their own nominee but the reply was a long official proclamation by the Mahdi showing their inherent interdependence (viz " he is of me and I am of him " etc.).

After the Mahdi's death, the Ashraf left no stone unturned to bring about a *coup d'état.* They wrote to the Emirs Abu Girga and Khalid Zugal to march on Omdurman with their armies, they swore in adherents " to smash the Khalifa" and they hoped after the expedition to Egypt to establish an independent kingdom. All these attempts were frustrated but for the first seven years after the Mahdi's death, the Khalifa's position was anything but secure and his actions must be judged accordingly. The imprisonment of Khalifa Sherif, the execution of certain leading Ashraf, the removal of arms, drums, flags etc., from the " Aulad El Balad " armies to the *Beit El Amanat* were measures which strengthened the Khalifa's power but right to the end he was constantly faced with the unremitting intrigues of the Ashraf and the passive opposition of the Aulad El Balad.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION.

There is no doubt that the Khalifa possessed first class organising ability. The Mahdi recognised this by appointing him the first Khalifa and giving him almost unlimited executive power.

PROVINCES.

These consisted of Dongola, Berber, Kassala, Gezira, Kordofan, Darfur and Bahr El Ghazal. Each was under an Emir with his army quartered on the people and his staff of Kadis, tax-gatherers, treasury etc., at the capital. The Emir on appointment received verbal instructions from the Khalifa and referred to Omdurman any matter of major importance. Each Emir was closely watched by the Khalifa's agents and any sign of disloyalty meant immediate recall. Beyond the provisioning and upkeep of the army, the collection of taxes and the punishment of disaffected elements and the confiscation of their property, there was no administration as we know it. Public order

was unsatisfactory and even in Omdurman there were numberless thieves and brawlers.

ARMY.

This was under the supreme command of Emir Yagoub, the Khalifa's brother, whose banner was the famous Black Flag. Towards the end of the Mahdia, the Emir Yagoub lost authority because the Khalifa's eldest son, Sheikh El Din took over the Jihadia or black mercenaries who had the largest rifle strength. The army was organised on a semi-tribal religious basis. Each Khalifa had his own force and under him were the Emirs (Generals) and Magaddams (Colonels). Money and supplies were provided by the *Beit El Mal*, and each Khalifa, Emir and Magaddam had his cash allowance and grain provision and the man in the ranks was given a ration (when available). There were periodical military reviews by the Khalifa in Omdurman and there was constant fighting in one area or the other. The morale deteriorated rapidly after the arrival of the Taeisha and other Baggara from the west and the enormous concentration of troops round Omdurman. The disaster to Emir Abdel Rahman Negumi's army at Toski in Egypt shows how far this deterioration had gone.

FINANCE.

Everything was concentrated on the *Beit El Mal* (Treasury) in Omdurman with its *Amin* (Treasurer) in charge. The main taxes were the Koranic *Futra* and *Zaka*, but when funds ran low, there were levies on rich citizens and of course the confiscation of property of condemned persons. The *Beit El Mal* had a number of agents (Ummal) who supervised tax collection in the Provinces and each Emir in charge of a Province had a small treasury of his own but its accounts were sent to the *Beit El Mal*. The latter was responsible for the pay and provisioning of the army.

JUDICIAL.

There was a big panel of over 40 judges in Omdurman to whom the Khalifa referred all important cases. Judges were also sent out to conduct special enquiries in the Provinces. The court procedure

and the law administered were based strictly on the Koran but in practice there was a lot of deviation. The Khalifa professed not to interfere in any way with Kadis and alleged that if the latter made mistakes or were unjust, he (the Khalifa) had no responsibility. Nevertheless the Kadis received definite hints of pleasure or displeasure from the Khalifa and they were at their worst when dealing with a relative of the Mahdi, or of the Khalifa. Many of the Kadis were corrupt and Khalifa Sherif alleged at his trial that the corruption of the Kadis was the cause of the discontent of the Ashraf with the Khalifa.

Posts and Communications.

The posts were carried by camels which were the property of the Khalifa. Over long distances they worked by relays. There were no cleared roads. All official posts were brought to the Khalifa's house, sorted by his clerks and replies decided on by the Khalifa the same afternoon or evening. Private letters were carried as a favour and delivered without any tax. Under the prevailing conditions, the postal service was reasonably efficient.

Trade.

On the whole trade was allowed a fairly free flow. The debasement of the coinage was a serious handicap and the disturbed public security destroyed confidence. Nevertheless a number of merchants continued to trade regularly with Egypt. Sometimes out of suspicion the Khalifa would confiscate a merchant's whole stock in trade on the charge that he was trading in contraband.

TRAVELLING IN THE "OLD DAYS" IN THE KUKU COUNTRY.

By The Rev. F. J. Finch.

The Kuku country is unique in its dissimilarity from any other part in the whole of Equatoria. It has always been considered an isolated and un-get-at-able piece of terrain, and this owing to the geographical features which have helped to make it so. On the East stand two formidable mountain ridges with steep escarpments running parallel, while beyond them flows the Nile with its swift current. To the south lies Uganda, while to the west and north the uninhabited bush stretches mile upon mile. It will readily be understood that such geographical features would necessarily tend to affect the circumstances and life of this people in isolation.

The title of this article is perhaps not happily conceived, as it does not profess to deal with internal travel in the Kuku country, but refers to travelling abroad, outside the part domiciled by the Kuku, and the period in time is prior to 1910 A.D. If one throws one's mind back to such a time the mind immediately conjures up a picture of a time of unrest and uncertainty, of tribal raids and wars, so that in the eyes of these primitives a journey abroad was an adventure of no small undertaking; besides the many fears of enemies, ghostly and human, there was the dread of illness and the possibility of dying in a strange country far from the ancestral haunts. Such conditions, however, did not deter the bolder spirits from journeying abroad.

According to Kuku custom the prospective traveller had several duties to perform, before he thought of venturing on the world outside, in another country. The first thing was to give notice of one's intended journey to one's own people, and it was considered a very bad thing if a man went abroad without mentioning the fact to his own folk. Then he would receive instructions, as to how to behave in foreign parts, details regarding the road or track he was to take, any prominent

landmarks which would help him to find his bearings, would be told to him, and all this by the members of his clan or group who had previously undertaken this particular journey.

The next step was for the prospective traveller to go to his chief and tell him of his intention to go on a journey, and the chief invariably replied saying "*Iti 'bura ko gwe do alo'but i jölö inot*" which can be translated strictly as, "Go thou well and remain thou strong in thy journey" or as we should possibly say to-day, 'Bon voyage and good health and good luck in your journey.' This in fact amounted to the man going out with the blessing and good-will of his chief. The wisdom of the Kuku tradition speaks in the mouth of the elders, which always says that if you have not been first instructed regarding the proposed journey, you are most certainly going to a place of future troubles and afflictions in the part to which you go.

After this comes the blessing of the prospective traveller by the elders. At a fixed time the man goes before the elders who perform this ritual or ceremony of blessing him. They first call for water to wash their own hands, which is done by pouring water on them out of a pot. This act has to be performed outside the door-way of the hut. The hands now being clean, the elders next spit of their spittle into the palms of their hands, and with this they perform the anointing of the traveller, first on the forehead and then on the heart. This the elders do one by one, beginning with the most senior, and so on in order of precedence in the clan or family group of the man going abroad. Thus the man receives the blessing of all his elders. I have tried to find out the significance of the anointing of the forehead and of the heart, but there is some doubt as to its full significance now-a-days. The Kuku say this is what used to be done and it is according to Kuku custom, but they are hesitant as to the implications thereof. It appears that the anointing of the forehead possibly implies that the man needs this blessing, to enable him to be alert and awake, to be fully able to meet all the emergencies and dangers which will lie ahead of him. That of the anointing of the heart possibly implies the putting of a protection on the 'main-spring" of the human frame, and that he will be remembered in the affections of his people.

Now-a-days the Kuku say, that in their various age-grades, they do not take much notice of this custom of receiving the blessing of their mothers and fathers, that the only thing they understand is the showing of due and proper respect to both parents and elders.

When the traveller has returned again in his travelling, and has arrived in his own country, he must in no circumstance go straight to his own village. He must first send a man to report to his brethren that he has arrived back again. The brethren then must find a hen's egg which they take with them to the place in the road where the returned traveller is awaiting their coming. The man must then crush and trample on this egg with his foot. The Kuku in common with most Africans do not eat eggs, and the squashing of the egg with the foot is done, as a sort of blessing, but it is really to ward off any evil consequences that might ensue. (A similar case recently came to my notice, when a chief here wished to put his "blessing" on a well which the District Commissioner had had dug to combat the menace of guineaworm, but the said chief was so drunk when he went to perform this ritual, that instead of crushing the egg on the built-up stone portion of the well-mouth, he threw the egg down the well, to the great consternation of his elders. This chief was not putting an evil spell on the well, but did this to make the well 'safe' and ward off any evil or harm that might follow through drinking the water of the well.) The traveller thus crushes the egg as a sign to his people that God (ŋun) has brought him back strong and well. Also it is done to show that everything that he has done wrong or committed while abroad is surely left there, and that the consequences cannot follow him or bring harm to his people. Again this shows that the smashing of the egg is a sort of spell which is performed in the belief that evil is thus warded off.

The traveller is now free to return to his own village, and to live in happiness, having made sure that there is now nothing that can harm him, or any evil influence that can now remain upon him, and so he casts the fears of his journeying to the winds.

THE USE OF PLATES AND SAUCERS TO DECORATE HOUSES IN LOWER NUBIA AND UPPER EGYPT.

By J. Gwyn Griffiths,
with a commentary by Ibrahim Ahmed Ibrahim.

During a stay of four months at the Egypt Exploration Society's camp in Sesebi, near Delgo, Halfa, I noticed that a common feature in the construction of the mud houses in that neighbourhood is the use of china plates and saucers to decorate the portion of the wall above the door or main entrance. Frequent examples occur in the villages of Sesa, Kasanta, Handika, Gorgod, Delgo, Sudla, Tura and Koka. The most common arrangement of the objects in the houses of these villages is triangular.

At first sight it appears that their only purpose is to decorate. Mohammed Kheir, the *hakim* at Delgo, informed me that the people place them in their houses simply *'alashan fantasia*. Mr. G. W. Grabham, Director of Antiquities, who is thoroughly acquainted with the customs of the whole of the Sudan, stated that in many cases these plates and saucers are arranged in the form of a cross.* He suggested that originally they were all arranged in that way, having reference to Christianity ; but that later, when Christianity receded, the custom was retained by many in ignorance of its origin, and that in many cases the sign of the cross was no longer followed ; and that in all cases the conscious purpose did not now refer to Christianity but merely to decoration.†

It is possible however that the converse is true, and that the objects were used in the first place as ornaments, and later acquired a religious or magical significance. That was the view, some years ago, of Professor

*Only a few of the examples seen by me were arranged thus.

†Cf. A. P. G. Michelmore *A possible relic of Christianity in Darfur* in SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS 1932, Part 2, pp. 272-273. Speaking of the relics of Christian practices, he says, " These relics consist largely in making the sign of the cross or in going through motions reminiscent of Christian baptismal rites."

A. M. Blackman, who directed the recent excavations at Sesebi, and who was also excavating at Buhen, near Wadi Halfa, in 1910. The following was his description and explanation of the custom. *

" An interesting case of a how a new custom springing up is, after a time, given some magical signification comes from Lower Nubia. Over nearly every house door china plates are fastened up. In some places the people said they were merely an ornament, in others—a village called Meris and at Dehmit—the people said they were put over the door to ensure there always being plenty of bread in the house. The Omda of Dehmit said that it was only in the last ten to fifteen years that Nubian servants in hotels and European houses had brought such plates home with them. Till then plates had never been used for bread, if anything had been used for bread it was, and indeed still is, the flat basket (*tabaqa*). I never saw a single instance of a *tabaqa* fastened over a door."

To this it may be objected that the percentage of hotel servants among the natives of Lower Nubia was never so high as to cause the almost universal adoption there of a custom like this. Even today it is true that the natives view with pride the souvenirs brought back by their relatives who serve in the hotels.† But it is incredible that a persistent feature in the construction of houses should owe its origin to this socially exalted minority.

It is very interesting to observe that the same custom obtains in Upper Egypt. Miss W. S. Blackman, in her anthropological study of this region, states that it is of frequent occurrence.‡ " The house-doors are often decorated with a china plate or saucer fixed into the masonry above the lintel, *as a charm against the evil eye.*" (The italics are mine.) She has thus no doubt that the real purpose is magical and is connected with a belief which is still very prevalent in both Egypt and Nubia. In Upper Egypt it appears that pieces of old

Some Egyptian and Nubian notes in *Man* 1910 pp.25-29.

†One of the children working at Sesebi wore a woollen garment with the inscription " Shepheard's Hotel."

‡*The Fellahin of Upper Egypt.* Harrap, 1927, p. 30.

carving are similarly placed in the portion of the wall adjacent to the door, and with the same purpose.*

(*The following comments on the foregoing note have been received from Ibrahim Effendi Ahmed Ibrahim, Lecturer of the School of Engineering and an inhabitant of Dongola.*)

I agree with Miss Blackman that these plates are put to protect the house from the evil eye. In many cases the plates were arranged in what looked like a cross with a plate in the centre and four saucers round it. In some of the older houses, they used pebbles of different colours for the same purpose.

The people there are strong believers in the evil eye, and their way of preventing it, is not to give the chance to those famous for their evil eyes to concentrate their look on something considered beautiful, magnificent or pleasing.

The galoose builder will stick up bones, rags or anything conspicuous and ugly-looking at the corners of the house he is erecting and he never fails to move them upwards as every new layer is added.

The midwife or more generally the grand-mother will always mark a cross with antimony (*kohl*) on the forehead of the newly born child.

The child of the well-to-do is dressed in a *gallabia* made up of two or three different colours to disharmonise the appearance.

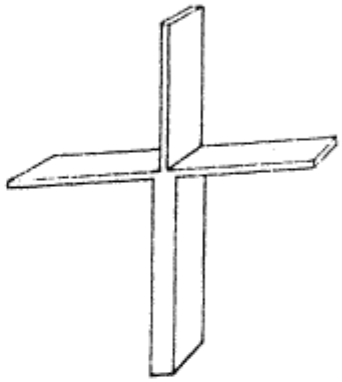
The child is sometimes given a nickname. My own name during the first four years of my childhood was *oshi* which stands for negro or slave in Berberine.

As to the use of the cross I still remember certain instances connected with it.

*W. S. Blackman *ibid.* p. 224: "It is also the custom to protect houses from the evil eye, and various decorations are employed for this purpose. Sometimes a plate or saucer is plastered into the wall just above the main entrance, or pieces of old carving, picked up from an ancient rubbish mound, may be let into the masonry round about the door."

The mother, whose children die while they are still young, will always mark a cross on the wall of the room where she gives birth to her new child. It was only when I attained the age of about 25, that my late mother allowed the room where I was born to be replastered and the cross covered. This cross is marked with the stuff that is first excreted by the child on the day of his birth.

A popular toy during the date harvest is the *kag-kag* which is made of the stem of a bunch of dates. It is generally about 12 or 15 inches long and the top part is divided into three parts, the two side ones being bent down to form what looks like a cross. One or more are generally prepared by the person cutting the bunches and either given to a youngster if there is one near by or if not, he will invariably stick them up on the pile of dates.



The grain used to be and is still stored in a *shoona* which is a large unbaked mud and *zibla* vessel about 3 feet in diameter and 5 or 6 inches deep. The only marks on the plain outer face of the old *shoona*, other than the two projecting stones or footrests for getting into the *shoona* and the circular hole at the bottom for taking out the grain, are the crosses near the top of the *shoona*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS,

SIR,

Do not the paths of comparative philology sometimes lead us periously close to the residence of the notorious Egyptian poet Sheikh Zubeir, the author of *Ala Kaifak*?

To quote recent examples in your pages :—

(i) Vol. XIX, p. 193.

Ret (or *Reth*) a sound meaning King among the Shilluks, a people who moved north from the southern swamps in the 16th century A.D.

Ret the rendering into Latin script of an ancient Egyptian word meaning a minor official (Is the pronunciation certain ?)

Therefore the Shilluk word derives from ancient Egypt.

(ii) Vol. XIX, pp. 308-309.

A connection is traced between the tribal name *Tungur*, the Arabic participial *Ma'agur*, the Berber *Tumagira*, and the place name *Tibesti*.

The Name *Shau Dorshid* is derived from the Berber *Shu* and the Arabic *Sid* and *Dar* transposed.

Therefore the last *Tungur* King is identified with a Bornu Sultan whose mother was of the Bulala.

(iii) Vol. XX, p. 300.

Mongur—Darfur Arabian—a Palestenian bead.

Manguru—Congo Zande—an imported bead.

Their H.C.F. is found in Mongala—an Indian word for Mars.

It ill becomes the ignorant to decry the knowledgeable, but over-emphasis on a possibly fortuitous linguistic resemblance often

decreases the verisimilitude of an otherwise sound and convincing narrative.

There is in the State of New South Wales a place known by the aboriginals as *Nimittibul,** which was the name of the inner wall of ancient Babylon. Find us now a bas relief of a Sumerian holding a throwing stick (or a banana) and we have the premises for a syllogism of infinite possibilities.

K. D. D. HENDERSON.

To the Editor, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

SIR,

The article on "Nubian Origins" by L. P. Kirwan in SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. XX, Part I, presupposes a racial connection between the Red Nuba who were living north of Merowe two centuries before Christ and the blacks who came north more than five hundred years later.

The assumption seems to be that the decaying Kingdom of Napata was flooded about 300 B.C. by negro or negroid Nuba from the south. These men imposed their name and language, but lost their pigmentation through intermarriage with their neighbours.

The decay of Napata is said to have been due to a weakening of the original Libyan strain by black blood, so that it is difficult to understand how conquering black invaders could have found a sufficiency of northern blood remaining to change their hue, a process proverbially difficult for the Ethiopian.

Furthermore an invader from the south would have to deal first with Merowe, as did the X-group subsequently. Yet Merowe survived Napata by five hundred years.

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*We feel that a chance has been lost by not drawing an inference from the resemblance of this name to a certain insect pest encountered in the Nile valley.—Ed.

There seems therefore to be some support for the view that the Red Nuba had no racial connection with the black, but came to the river from the north and west bringing into the Dongola area a fresh infusion of Libyan blood.

The name would then be a local name, perhaps the legacy of Napata as suggested. It is noteworthy that Aezanes refers to "the peoples of Noba" and it seems quite possible that the names Noba, Nobai, Nobadai and Nobades were applied loosely to the inhabitants of the area through various ethnic changes, just as Nuba is applied to-day in southern Kordofan to a number of different stocks whose only common characteristic is that they were forced to take refuge in the hills.

As the existance of a Nubian name and language in this area is an important point in the southern theory I shall return to it later. Meanwhile an examination of the literary evidence does not show anything incompatible with a northern origin.

The Nobai are first heard of in Eratosthenes living "in Libya" beyond the western frontiers of the Nile Kingdoms and stretching northwards from the latitude of Merowe, *e.g.* in the country at present occupied by the Hawawir and Kababish. Strabo puts them north of Merowe still but not necessarily nearer to Assuan. With Pliny they move down to the river. With Ptolemy they are across.

All this points to pressure by a Libyan people from the desert, who would clash with the Blemmyes as soon as they crossed the Nile. It would then be natural enough for Diocletian to import their northernmost section for the defence of the Dodekaschoinos and equally natural for the immigrants to combine subsequently with their relatives to lay the foundations of Silko's power. Procopius or his informants would be unlikely to invent such a story after the X-group influx from the south.

This influx led up to the invasion of Aezanes, which in effect saved the northern Kingdom from the fate of the Meroites, so that the black blood became a source of strength instead of weakness, enabling Dongola to hold off the Arabs from the weaker hybrid towns of Makuna and Soba. He is careful to differentiate between the

Reds and the Blacks, and his loose use of the name Noba is paralleled later by the use of Ethiopia to include all the Nile Kingdoms including Axum itself.

Remains to consider the Nuba of southern Kordofan.

These tribes were the Wales of the eastern Sudan and have afforded refuge through the ages to the broken remnants of innumerable negro tribes. The north western corner of the group, round Dilling, is inhabited by a people who speak Hill Nubian, a language whose affinities with Barabra are commented on by Professor Zyhlarz.

These people, although darkened like their Baggara neighbours by an admixture of slave blood, are noticeably redder in skin than their black neighbours and possess marked characteristics, particularly a big straight nose, which are definitely non-negro.

They have affinities with the indigenous inhabitants of the El Odaya hills (Lat. 12°N Long. 28°30'E.) and of Kaja, Haraza, etc., in northern Kordofan. In at least one case (J. Tabbag) they drove out the blacks as recently as the last 150 years, and the local evidence of a nomadic past in the north (*e.g.* the horse *sibrs*) is considerable.

A Nuba from J. Kaja Katul in northern Kordofan whom I met on Tabbag told me that although he could not understand Hill Nubian he could recognise similarities. He said: "These people are our cousins and we all came from behind J. Meidob long ago."

There seems little doubt that when Dongola fell in the 14th century the Arabs found them in much the same country as they held in the time of Eratosthenes. They drove them slowly south leaving scattered settlements until they were forced to take to the hills. The northernmost hills were occupied first and subsequent arrivals had to pass on southwards. The Arabs naturally applied the name to all the hill peoples, using Turug equally loosely as an alternative, Anag being reserved for the builders in stone and brick and Hamag for the indigenous peoples of the Gezira.

Of one thing we can be certain on this local evidence *viz.*, that the Hill Nubians were not in southern Kordofan until some time after the fall of Dongola.

K.D. D. HENDERSON.

To the Editor, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

SIR,

In the review of "A Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province" on p. 322 of the 1937 Vol. of SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS. I read: "Mongalla itself was not occupied until 1906, and did not give its name to what was recently known as Mongalla Province until 1914."

I imagine the Reviewer is quoting from the book when he puts this in his review? If so I am afraid the dates are not quite accurate. I was appointed as Inspector, Mongalla Province, in 1912 or 1913, and the Governor, Captain R. C. R. Owen, had been there for some time then. Verification of this should be obtainable from the Civil Secretary's office, or the monthly Army List of that year. I am not quite sure of Mongalla being occupied in 1906. Whishaw Bey told me that he had been sent up there to choose a place for the Headquarters of the future Mongalla Province. As I was with him and the XIIIth Sudanese on the Blue Nile 1906/1909 he must have gone up either before 1906, or after 1909. As the SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS are history it does not seem right to pass over dates which are not quite accurate.

H. BEAUMONT,
late *Senior Inspector*,
Mongalla Province.

*The records for Mongalla Province in the Civil Secretary's office show that Captain A. Cameron was the first Governor, from 1906-1907 and Major R. C. R. Owen succeeded him from 1908 to 1917. When the name Mongalla Province was first used is not shown. On p. 228, Vol. XI, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS (1928) will be found a note about the name showing that the word "Mongalla" never existed.

Perhaps some reader can throw light on the subject.—Ed.

REVIEW.

HISTOIRE DU RÈGNE DU KHÉDIVE ISMAIL. TOME III. L'EMPIRE AFRICAIN, PREMIÈRE PARTIE (1863-1869). PAR G. DOUIN (SOC. ROY. DE GEOG. D'EGYPTE. 1936).

This picture of the Sudan in the time of Ismail the Magnificent is painted on a vast canvas, with a wealth of detail which gives it a very special interest for all who are concerned with the present-day administration of the country. Nearly five hundred large pages illustrated by twenty-five maps and plans go to a description of the state of the Sudan and its history during but little more than one-third of the reign, so that it seems probable that two more volumes of similar size will be required to complete the picture on the same scale. The work is based on profound researches in the Egyptian, British, and French archives of the period, amplified by reference to the writings of contemporary travellers of many nationalities and to a few modern histories, among them that of Sir Harold MacMichael. The product of this immense and scholarly labour is a narrative which is in the highest degree authoritative. It is indeed difficult to imagine that M. Douin's book will ever be displaced from the position to which it is clearly entitled as the standard work of reference on its subject.

The instalment under review begins with a description of the Sudan at the end of the reign of the Khedive Mohammed Said Pasha and covers the Governor-Generalships of Musa Hamdi Pasha and Gaafar Sadek Pasha and part of that of Jafar Mazhar Pasha. Separate chapters are devoted to the Kassala revolt of 1865, the cession of Suakin and Massawa by Turkey to Egypt, and the British campaign in Abyssinia (the expedition to Magdala). These are of great general interest; but for readers familiar with the Sudan of to-day or yesterday perhaps the most interesting pages in the book are those which deal with the domestic problems of the country, as they presented themselves to the Administration of the last century, and the solutions of them adopted or envisaged; for many of these problems reappeared, after the chaos of the Mahdia, for consideration under new conditions,

by new minds, in the light of other traditions and a wider experience than those of "the first Turkiya."

The Sudan of the period comprised the *mudirias* of Dongola, Taka (more or less the modern Kassala), Kordofan and the White Nile, while the *mamuria* of the Fung and the *gism* of the Bahr el Ghazal were just emerging as administrative entities. Kordofan connoted the regions around El Obeid, Um Ruaba, Um Dam, Bara, Kagmar, Katul and Kaga Soderi. The populous western district of modern days was regarded as a desert, separating Kordofan from Darfur. The marriage of Berber with Dongola, then in fact and not only by tradition the dominant partner, was already becoming unstable for reasons, to be glanced at presently, which were to lead first to a separation order and later, in our own time, to a reconciliation, with the predominance transferred to Berber.

The principle that the Sudan, thus constituted, should be administered under a single head was by no means firmly established at the beginning of the reign of the Khedive Ismail. In 1857 Mohammed Said Pasha, fearing, it seems, the power which so large a command might give to an ambitious Governor-General, had suddenly divided the country into four mutually independent *mudirias*. This arrangement did not last, but in 1865 Ismail Pasha himself decided to create three independent administrations. In his case, the motive was different. Suakin and Massawa had been added to the Sudan; and he was not encouraged by the results of the administration of the country up to that date to believe that one man could successfully direct the development of so vast an area. But this consideration could not prevail against the internal difficulties and external dangers attendant on the scheme of partition, which was therefore cancelled very soon after its promulgation.

In the same year, 1865, the problem of communications with Egypt was studied by British engineers appointed by the Khedive, who wished if possible to be independent of the Red Sea route, since it could be closed to him by any of the maritime Powers. A first suggestion was to use the Nile from Assouan to Wadi-Halfa, a railway from Halfa to Orda (Dongola), the river again from Orda to Abu Dom,

and finally a railway to Metemma; but the engineers ultimately recommended that a railway should be constructed along the whole of this route, to avoid the expense of many handlings of goods and the purchase of steamers. This scheme had to be postponed, *sine die*, on account of its great cost. Thus lack of money, coupled with the cession by Turkey to Egypt of Suakin and Massawa, led the Khedive to divert his attention to the development of the Berber—Suakin and Kassala—Suakin roads. From that moment began the shifting of the centre of gravity from west to east which later enabled El Damer to supplant Dongola as the headquarters of the Northern Province.

The slave trade occupies a large, perhaps the principal, place in this volume, which recounts in considerable detail the operations of the traders in "ivory and ebony" on the upper waters of the Nile and the means adopted for getting the human spoil to the open market of Arabia and the clandestine market in Egypt, in spite of the efforts, not always wholehearted, of the Viceroy's officials in the Sudan. The attitude of the Khedive was always correct, but his intentions were thwarted both in the Sudan, where private interest and the systems of recruitment and tax-collection in vogue combined to perpetuate slave-raiding in one form or another, and, in Egypt, by the venality of subordinate officials. River patrols were established on the White Nile, but even when their efforts were serious they were easily evaded by the well-informed traders; while the other routes—from Wadai to Siwa, from Dar Fertit and Darfur to Assiut, and from Gallabat via Suakin and Massawa to Arabia and Suez—carried a steady flow of slaves in spite of official prohibitions. The failure of piecemeal efforts to suppress the traffic finally led the Khedive, in 1869, to adopt the suggestions of Sir Samuel Baker for the annexation of the territory of the Upper Nile, which offered the attractive combination of national aggrandizement, economic development, and humanitarian endeavour for the civilisation of backward peoples and the suppression of the slave trade in the Nile valley.

The story of Baker's expedition falls in the next instalment of M. Douin's work. So, also, does his account of the conquest of Darfur, but this event, too, casts its shadow before it on the pages of the present volume.

Ismail Pasha recognised that the success of an expedition against Darfur would depend on " knowledge of the forces of that country, the exploration of practicable routes, calculation of the number of men and animals which could be watered with the drinkable water available in that region and of the transport possibilities for troops, artillery and munitions." A certain Mohammed Nadi Bey was sent on a mission to the Sultan of Darfur to study these matters and make a report. He seems to have first discovered tebeldis at Dudia, after which village he carefully notes the watering capacity of the trees in terms of men and horses. These calculations will remind some readers of the preoccupations of 1915, while a passing reference to " Ahmed Ibn El Melih, Sheikh of all the Homr (*sic*) Arabs, who lives at Um Shanga" will belatedly confirm those who held, in 1927, in the face of the denials of the dissidents, that there was traditional justification for uniting the whole Hamar tribe under his kinsman, the present Nazir.

The account given of the relations between the Khartoum Government and the Nuba Mountains throws instructive light on the more recent history of that sub-province. Incidentally it shows that the Nuba were already, in the early sixties, well-provided with rifles, which were regarded as the principal reason of their recalcitrant attitude—so much so that the Governor-General requested the Khedive to take energetic steps to prevent all export of arms to the Sudan.

These are but a few samples of the matters, great and small, which find a place in this volume. A bare mention of some of the other subjects dealt with must suffice—for example, the finances of the Government, the organisation and recruitment of the army, public security, the first problems of eduction and public health, and the origins of flood irrigation. But enough has been said to indicate the great interest of the narrative for the modern administrator who, reading it, will come across, not only the roots of many plants now bearing fruit, but also the ancestors of some of his Sudanese friends. He will be grateful to M. Douin for the rich and abundant fare now provided and will look forward with pleasure to the volumes still to come.

R.D.

THE CAPE-TO-CAIRO DREAM.

By Lois A. C. Raphael.

New York (*Columbia University Press* 20*s.* 6*d.*)

By a curious accident of history the Sudan has become the graveyard of at least half a dozen railway projects which have met their death variously. Some, like Ismail Pasha's railway scheme of 1871-76, to carry the railway to Khartoum and El Fasher, perished from lack of funds. Some, like the abortive Suakin-Berber railway of 1885, failed by reason of the vagaries of Imperial politics. Others died from a demonstrable lack of usefulness or from sheer stupidity of conception. To-day their memory is buried among the pages of Parliamentary papers and newspaper files of the last seventy years. Alone among the unrealized railway projects intended to traverse the Sudan the Cape to Cairo railway exercised a permanent influence upon the development of Africa.

Dr. Raphael's book deals compendiously with the history of the Cape-to-Cairo idea. Hers is a thesis in the grand manner : an almost Teutonic marshalling of all the available evidence, a detailed review of the rise and decline of the idea, capped by a really informative bibliography and a full index. By reason of its magnitude her work lacks form but, on the whole, she has been able to discern the wood from the trees. Her patient scholarship has been well rewarded by the achievement of a complete record of this incredible railway which for twenty years, from 1894 to 1914, was firmly believed by British and Continental public opinion not only to have been planned but to be in actual course of construction.

From the outset the Sudan has occupied an important place in all Cape-to-Cairo projects. Lord Kitchener is said to have insisted on the use of the 3ft. 6in. gauge in the construction of the original Luxor-Assuan line in opposition to Lord Cromer who, for reasons of economy, favoured the metre gauge. Two of Kitchener's biographers interpret this to mean that Kitchener was eager to assist the Cape-to-Cairo plan from the northern end by adjusting the gauge of the Luxor-

Assuan line to conform to the standard of the South African system then being extended northward into Rhodesia.

It is tempting to assume with Dr. Raphael that the choice of gauge was dominated by the Cape-to-Cairo idea. The facts, however, indicate a less romantic inspiration. In 1895, when Kitchener was planning his strategic railways to Dongola and the Atbara, there already existed at Wadi Halfa a partially equipped depot for a line of 3ft. 6in. gauge. This depot contained four or five locomotives and over sixty units of rolling stock. To the south lay thirty miles of 3ft. 6in. track which only awaited repair. The Sirdar could scarcely have rejected so useful a gift. Whatever idealistic motives may have fired his imagination economy and common sense dictated the gauge of the future lines.

There were other reasons. The gauge of 3ft. 6in. was a practical compromise between the standard and the metre gauges. In South Africa as in the Sudan it had proved its suitability under pioneer conditions. In 1899 in the House of Commons a Member asked whether the Government would take steps to have the gauge of the Uganda railway made similar to that of the Nile Valley railway in order that the two systems might be linked together. The answer was that as 260 miles of the Uganda line had been already laid assimilation of the gauges was impossible.

Meanwhile Rhodes' dream had become national property in a manner doubtless surprising to Rhodes. The formula of the 'Cape-to-Cairo All Red Route' became the catchword of the British public. At home the railway was powerfully advocated at local political meetings and in bar parlours. A wave of expectant ecstacy swept the contracting fraternity off its feet. Dr. Raphael has missed this intimate reaction on British and even American opinion. On the 2nd September, 1899, *The Times* reproduced a report from a Kansas City newspaper to the effect that an order had been placed for 500,000,000 cubic feet of American yellow pinewood for the construction of the Cape-to-Cairo railway. The American newspaper modestly suggested that this was the largest single order known in the history of the lumber trade. It

might also be hazarded that this was the largest attempt at share-boosting in the history of African railways.

After the Boer War the British press resumed its interest in the Cape-to-Cairo railway. From about 1902 (the year of Rhodes' death) in the columns of *The Times* and other leading newspapers the Luxor-Assuan railway, the Sudan Military railway, the Mashonaland railway and all the other railways in the neighbourhood of the route became the 'Cape-to-Cairo' railway. The press ignored the technical aspect of the project and saw only the glamour. Between 1902 and 1910 people read so much about the Cape-to-Cairo railway that they came to believe in it as they believed in Beecham's Pills. Fortunately for British prestige in Africa the Cape-to-Cairo enthusiasts were not called upon to build and operate the line.

Unmoved by the drift of British railway policy in Central Africa *The Times* persevered in its Cape-to-Cairo idealism. To *The Times* every north-south development from the Nile to the Zambesi was a potential Cape-to-Cairo line. What appeared to be a diversion of the Cape-to-Cairo railway from Broken Hill northwards towards the Katanga mines was explained: 'This deviation of the direct Cape-to-Cairo railway does not imply any departure from Mr. Rhodes' original scheme. It was in fact one of the possiblities foreseen by him.' Describing this deviation in 1908 Sir Charles Metcalfe contended that Broken Hill should be regarded as the junction of two great trans-continental lines—the Trans-Saharan and the Cape-to-Cairo. The *Transsaharien* was then being strongly advocated in Paris by the Colonial party. As for the Cape-to-Cairo section: '..... if we can get our Government to see that the best business policy is to join up what is called the Uganda railway to Khartoum, the Germans making the 600 miles through their territory, the Cape-to-Cairo dream will be practically complete ..... the people who laugh at such a scheme are those who do not realize the enormous possibilities of Africa. The time had gone by for the assimilation of the gauges or for an All Red Route: this was a practicable compromise.

As late as 1910, at a time when public interest in the Cape-to-Cairo railway had noticeably slackened, *The Times* coolly announced

that another section of the Cape-to-Cairo route had been opened, namely the Wad Medani-Sennar section of the Sudan Government Railways and, when this line had been carried into Kordofan in the following year, the same newspaper assured its readers that 'This section from Kosti to El Obeid will not, however, be on the through Cape-to-Cairo route.'

Dr. Raphael might also have made play with the influence of the Cape-to-Cairo idea on the map of Africa, for the cartographers of Empire, unusually sensitive to topographical change, at once fell into line with public opinion and, from the end of the century, maps of the kind seen in the schools and homes of England began to depict the 'Cape-to-Cairo Projected Railway' coursing complacently through the midst of the water-logged barrier of the *sudd* on its way from Sennar towards the Mountains of the Moon. So powerful was the influence of the Cape-to-Cairo idea upon geographical opinion that even to-day, twenty years after it has become certain that the Cape-to-Cairo railway will never be built, the 'Projected Railway' may still be seen in popular maps bravely striding the swamps of Equatorial Africa.

It is outside the scope of a review to pose the contentious question whether the Cape-to-Cairo railway was a genuine aspiration or a gigantic bluff. There is no evidence to question the motives of the designer. Rhodes was a realist in business and in politics even if he was no railwayman. Unhappily he and his colleagues popularized the project at a period when public opinion in Great Britain was singularly misinformed as to the geography and economics of Africa. The more practical of its exponents insisted that such a line was intended to be a link connecting a series of lateral railways running to the coast rather than a through route for trans-continental traffic. But what the public and the press envisaged was a vast fantastic caravan route for imperial trade, a conception which was at once the nightmare of the railway engineer and the terror of the traffic manager.

After 1910 even the press realized the difficulties inherent in the popular version of the plan. From about this year public enthusiasm

in Great Britain was drawn away to the more exciting themes of Agadir and Irish Home Rule. Even *The Times*, so long its unswerving advocate, lost interest in the project and the British contribution to the development of trans-continental transport, which had seemed in the beginning to promise so much, ended in a miscellany of minor African railways. So much so that a Frenchman, M. Foucart, visiting the Sudan in the winter of 1913-14 on an economic mission, excused himself from making any mention of the ' chimérique Cape-Caire, qui excite, à bon droit, l'hilarité des fonctionnaires soudanais'.

In Dr. Raphael's otherwise carefully compiled work it is unfortunate to find evidence of careless proof-reading. Still, this does not seriously detract from the merit of so knowledgeable a contribution to the history of African transport.

R.L.H.

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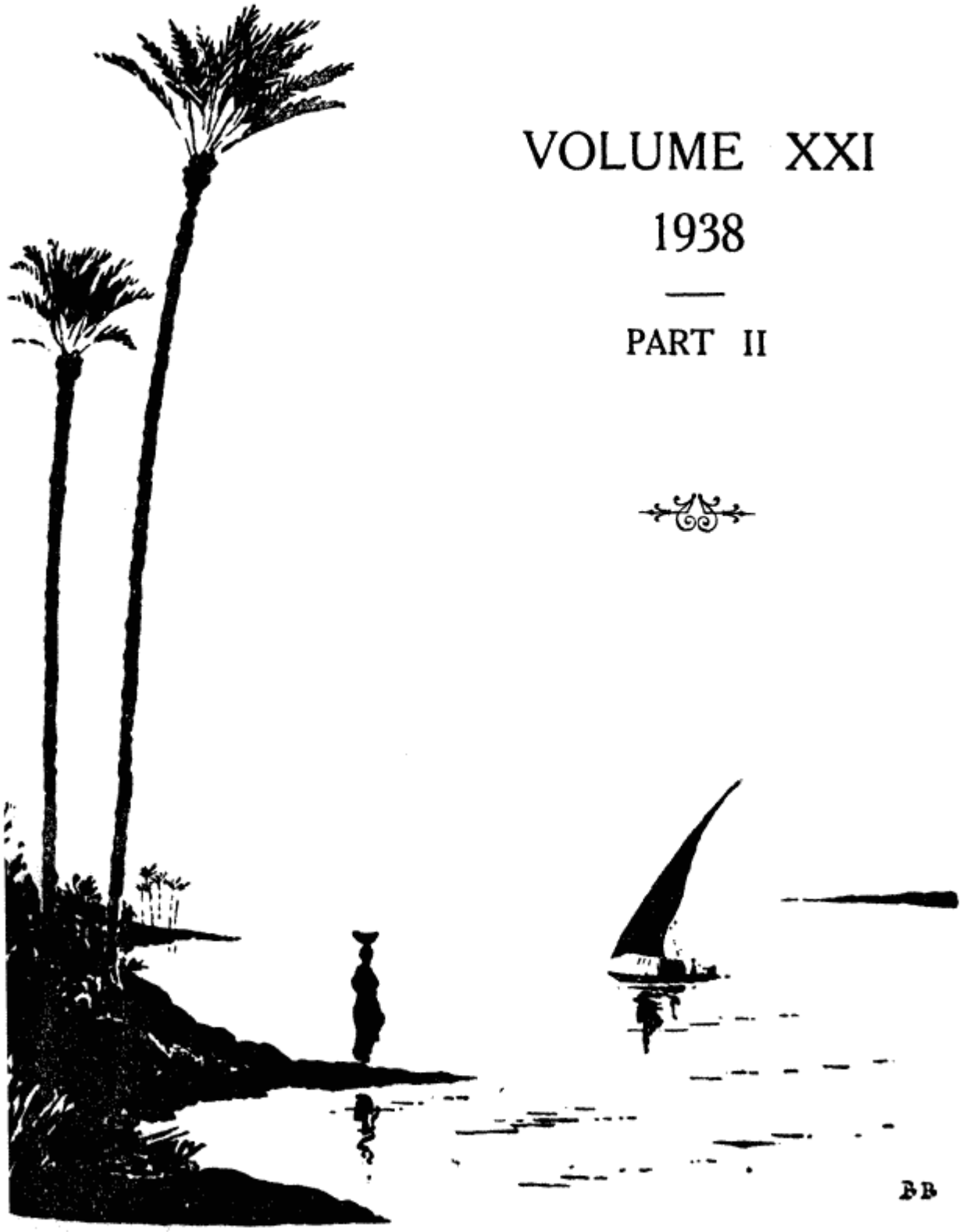
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Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

adopted by the Editors of *Sudan Notes and Records*

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

VOWELS.

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

DIPHTHONGS.

ـَي—ai (as in aisle).

ـَو—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*osh.

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

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EDITORIAL.

We would draw the attention of readers to the letter from Mr. J. B. Bowers and Mr. P. Hogg published on page 346.

Everybody who takes an interest in the birds of this country will agree that it is time some work were produced which will be of use to the layman and field observer in the Sudan, and it is hoped that all who have any information to contribute will give the writers of this letter the assistance which they request.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

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NUBA AGRICULTURAL METHODS AND BELIEFS

By G. W. Bell.

The following note is not a scientific report. It is the result merely of observation of agricultural methods and a simple questioning of the cultivator in the eastern half of the Nuba Mountains. Such information as it contains will be common knowledge to many who have served for any length of time in the area. It is essentially an appendix to the wider subject of a general economic survey and its chief value lies in that it may form a basis for further study and research.

The religious, magical and social aspects of agriculture play a very great part in Nuba life as indeed they do in the life of nearly every primitive community. Although the methods of farming and the forms of belief connected therewith differ in detail from hill to hill, and from one language or culture group to another, the underlying basis will be found to be generally the same, and the note is therefore divided horizontally into sections of the main subject. An attempt to discuss Nuba methods of agriculture from the point of view of each tribal division, with the necessarily closely related religious connections, and with the significance of each rite and belief, would require many years of close and expert study.

The patriarchal and the matriarchal systems exist side by side in the Nuba Mountains and in a study of agricultural methods the point is worthy of note. The matriarchal system in primitive culture finds its origin in a scheme wherein the men of the tribe, confining their activities to hunting, left the care of cultivation to their women. The importance of hunting as a basis of livelihood in the course of time

diminished, that of agriculture increased, and consequently the position of the women of the tribe, the property owners, became of greater significance. Later the woman's elder brother became her "male legal adviser" and thus the children became the heirs of their maternal uncle and not their father.(1) Although differences in the system of inheritance still exist in the Nuba Mountains,(2) the share between man and wife in the responsibility for the family's livelihood has crystallised, and while the man bears most of the burden of cultivating the more distant and important crops, the woman remains primarily responsible for those grown about the homestead.

The advent of the present Government and the introduction of money and cotton are already beginning to bring about fundamental changes in agricultural life. It was the custom formerly for every young man to assist his parents in cultivating until such time as he married. With the spread of money-producing crops the communal method is tending to change to one more individual, and young men, though still maintaining the co-operative or *nafir* system of farm labour in the production of food crops, prefer to run an independent allotment where a money crop is concerned.

The sections below have reference to the main food crops grown in the Nuba Mountains, that is to say heavy and light grains, *simsim*, *ful*, Indian corn and *lubia*. A mention of tobacco and other subsidiary crops will be made in a separate paragraph.

SEED TIME.

As in the case of the harvest, as we shall see later, the time for the sowing of all the principal crops is closely regulated and controlled, and depends on the opinion of the leaders of the community rather than on the view of the individual farmer. Among Arabs, both in the Sudan and elsewhere, the position of the Pleiades at sunrise is generally taken as an indication that the time for sowing has arrived,

(1) See "The religion of later Primitive People"—Rev. W. Schmidt—Catholic Truth Society.

(2) The following hills in Eastern Jebels district follow a matriarchal system of inheritance:—Korongo, Tabanya, Mesakin, Koko Limon, Toicho, Acheron, Talodi, Kau, Fungur and Nyaro.

and although the same has been adopted by the more Arabicised Nuba communities, the general practice is by observation of the sunset and sunrise, and the relative position of the sun at these times to certain stones on the hill tops.(3) The observer, whether the rainmaker or a committee, waits for the sun, in its fall to or rise from the horizon, to come in line with these stones before permitting the first sowings of grain to be made. The sun method is used generally throughout the whole district, but only in the case of the early crops, terrace grown *najjad* in particular, and the sowing of heavy grain and *simsim* is left to individual opinion, or until, in most hills, "the cattle can graze upon the new pasture."

The methods of sowing are two: burying the seed in the still dry soil where it lies to germinate after the first heavy fall of rain known as *rammal*, and dibbling the grain in the already moist earth. The methods vary in individual hills but in general, and in Korongo, Limon, and parts of the Moro and Allira in particular, *najjad* and *simsim* are "*rammalled*," heavy grain dibbled. The practice probably depends upon the consistency of the soil.

The ceremonies which are connected with the actual sowing of the first crop vary too. In most hills a blood sacrifice of a pig is usually made, but in general the Nuba seem to prefer to reserve their agricultural ceremonies until the grain is gathered, and a harvest thanksgiving is made. Nevertheless the grain *kujur* usually plays his part in the sowing rites by giving a small portion of grain to each individual cultivator to mix with his own seed. The *kujur's* plot is generally the first to be sown and often ceremonially so, with every farmer in the village assisting. In Korongo, where an old man, by the name of El Atash, is "Lord of the grain," and in the Mesakin hills, wrestling matches are held immediately before the light grain is sown. A hole is then dug in the ground and a portion of seed grain, mixed with ashes, buried.(4) A pinch of the earth dug from the hole is then taken

(3) Todorlian in Turum.
Tamba in Koko Limon.

(4) In Tira a man protects his ripening grain from thieves by scattering wood-ash along the boundaries of his cultivation. Were anyone to pick the grain after this precaution he would suffer a painful swelling of the belly.

away by each man present to scatter over his own plot and cultivating tools, and so ensure their fertility. In the Mesakin the ceremony is concluded by an interesting salute to the sunrise ; the whole gathering of *kujur* and cultivators stands facing the east ; twice they raise their arms swiftly and in unison, and twice allow them to fall slowly to their sides.

A further particular of the ceremony in Korongo centres round a "dik dik," an animal of evidently religious significance in Shatt and the Mesakin as well. The villagers scatter to search for a "dik dik" which must be captured alive and before the grass grows long. Were the capture of the animal delayed until it had eaten the long grass the crops, it is believed, would fail. The "dik dik" being caught is given *merissa* and dies, although it is not slaughtered. The carcase is then eaten by the elders and children only, and a year of good crops is assured.

In the Moro a ceremony known as " saluting the grain " takes place during the time of early growth, and similar rites are probably practised in other hills. When the young plants have reached a height of 12 or 15 inches each cultivator, accompanied by his wife goes to his farm taking with him a bowl of beer and a cow's horn of *simsim* seed. Standing at the edge of his cultivation he cries out in a loud voice "*ah-oo ah-oo*" a summons to the grain and an invitation to it to grow well and rapidly, and then as offerings to the powers of fertility he sprinkles the *simsim* over the nearest plants, and taking his wife by the hand empties the beer over the *sibr* stone that stands in every field.

HARVEST.

Far more elaborate and complicated rites however surround the harvest, and particularly the harvest of the first fruits, than any other stage of Nuba agriculture.

The first crops to ripen are *najjad* (the light terrace-grown grain), Indian corn and *lubia*, and the first fruit ceremonies usually embrace all three. The drinking of *merissa* as a thank-offering, and a ceremonial gathering of the first of the early crops, cutting of which is most

strictly prohibited until the ceremony has taken place, seem to form the main features of these first-fruit thanksg'ving rites.

In the Moro hills, the notion of self-congratulation appears to take precedence over the idea of thanksgiving. The first harvest is preceded by a solemn meeting of grey-beards. These old men gather, each with a bowl of *merissa*, at one of the stone circles which are to be found all over the hills. Seated round the circumference each in turn rises, walks to the centre, takes a sip of *merissa* from a communal bowl, and then slowly proceeds round the circle solemnly shaking hands with his companions. After all have performed the circuit each drinks the *merissa* in his bowl.

In the Mesakin Tuwal range a certain stone, buried in the earth for the remainder of the year, forms the centre of a ceremony held immediately before the first fruits are gathered. A plot of ground is cleared by a party of old men, who are "lords of the grain," the stone is unearthed and anointed with *merissa* and permission is then given for the early crops to be harvested.

In Kinderma, and probably Tira and Atoro too, the ceremony is more complicated. It seems that there is no *kujur* in charge of the rites but that the procedure is known to all, and a day for the ceremony fixed by general agreement. Each householder having previously prepared a supply of *merissa* goes out into his cultivation and picks a head of each of the two main early crops, *najjad* and Indian corn. These he carries home, and gathering the whole of his family with him inside his house, strips the grain heads and scatters the seed in all directions over the floor, where it is eventually eaten by the fowls and pigs. Eating or even cutting the grain before these rites have been held is strictly forbidden, and disregard of the custom would be followed for the transgressor by a painful swelling of the stomach and eventual death. The complaint is said, however, to be curable by anointing the penitent's belly with ram's fat, or the fat may be burnt and the patient made to sit enveloped in the smoke.

In Toicho and Turun, where the rite is known respectively as *boicho* and *amudhi*, the essentials of the ceremony appear to be the same although the grain is scattered, not inside the house, but to the

four corners of the field, and is squirted with a mouthful of *merissa* before being stripped from the cob. A similar fate, as in Kinderma, is said to follow those who disregard even the smallest details of this important rite.

In Acheron the newly-cut grain is gathered in heaps and each man present at the ceremony squirts a mouthful of *merissa* over it, while the future fertility of the land is ensured by scattering over the earth a powder made of crushed stone prepared by the *kujur*.

Further south at Buram, between Korongo and the Mesakin hills, two separate ceremonies are held for the first cutting of the *najjad* and the *lubia*. Early in the morning, from each plot a selected head of grain is cut, placed in a bowl containing ashes, and the whole buried in the ground, with the head of grain alone appearing above the surface. The afternoon is given to wrestling—itself a fertility rite—and the grain is allowed to be harvested on the following day. A ceremonially cut head of grain so dipped in ashes is believed to prevent disease, and the foreheads, chests and shoulders of children are often marked with it. The first cutting of the *lubia* is confined to women, while the men celebrate the occasion by carrying lighted torches of grass and uttering loud triumphant cries.

In the Koalib hills in the north, two ceremonies are held before the light grain may be harvested and these are separated by a period of 20 days. As the early grain begins to ripen, usually in the second week in August, the first advanced heads are tasted by the *kujur* and the crop declared fit for human consumption. From then on until the second set of rites is performed, all the first fruits—*najjad*, Indian corn, *lubia* and *tibish*—may be plucked and eaten, but not cut with a knife, and disobedience of this custom entails permission to the *kujur* to go to the transgressor's house and spear the first goat or pig he sees. For the second ceremony large quantities of the new grain are picked, ground, made into *merissa* and at a general gathering solemnly stirred by the *kujur* with a switch from the *tikko* tree. The *kujur* and his *wazir* then sit side by side and a smear of the *merissa* is applied to the temples, foreheads, navels and the right big toe of each. Each then tastes the *merissa* and loudly sniffs to the right, left and centre



KORONGO CULTIVATOR WITH HIS EBONY HOE.



STONE CIRCLE AT VMM-GABRALLA IN THE MORO HILLS, KNOWN AS DHABONGA.
SCENE OF HARVEST FESTIVALS.

As a rule the rites connected with the gathering of the later and heavier grain are apparently less important, but their connection, particularly in the Moro hills, with the admission to adult rank of the senior boys' and girls' age-grades is worthy of record.

Admission into the status of those eligible to marry is dependent, among the Nuba of the Moro, upon the approval of the aged, and an annual ceremony, known as *Sibr El Matrag* (the switch ceremony) is held immediately after the harvesting of the heavy grain crop. At this ceremony the younger boys and girls are thrashed by their elders, while the senior age-grade of young men and women, hitherto unmarried, are for the first time exempted, and so admitted into adult status. At Buram no ceremony accompanies the actual cutting of the heavy grain, but the date for the retirement of those girls who have attained puberty and not yet married, into close seclusion, almost imprisonment, within the *suweiba* (grain bins), is fixed exactly three months after this second harvest. The girls remain so concealed for 2 or 3 months, venturing out only at night, until on their release they appear with great festivity and are admitted into the rank of marriageable young women.

The north wind that blows with great violence at times during the winter months is liable to cause destruction to the ripening crops, and there exist several rites for preventing the wind damaging the drying grain. In the Moro, those old men who are known to have influence over the wind make a tour of the cultivations to forestall any subsequent visitation, while in the Mesakin, the men of the village will set up a series of queer crying shouts if they have reason to fear that a wind storm is approaching. In Atoro a branch of a tree known locally as *maklolo* is laid upon the ground and a heavy stone placed upon it, in the belief that strong winds will thus be prevented from destroying the early ripening crops.

As soon as the lighter headed grains reach a full size, though as yet unripe, the stems bearing the ear are broken over, four or five feet above the ground, and the heads and stems of several plants are so bound together that the ears lie hanging downwards, enclosed within a kind of rough cage formed by the gathered stems. Thus protected,

to some degree, from birds, locusts, the wind and the rain, the ears lie for several weeks until they are easily and rapidly cut. The best heads are chosen for the following year's seed and are preserved suspended from the centre beams of the hut, where the smoke from the hearth prevents the ravages of insects.

Threshing of the heavy grain starts usually in January, and as soon as ever it is over, work begins on cleaning and dunging the hill terraces against the first of the coming rains. The Nuba are earnest and industrious farmers and there is no period of the year in which they are not engaged on some stage of their livelihood. New plots for the year following are usually chosen during the rains by the evidence of a rich growth of grass ; the grass is cut early and allowed to lie upon the ground, and during the following summer the trees are felled and the dry grass set on fire. The Nuba make comparatively little cultivation on the *harig* system, chiefly owing to their habit of burning the grass during the winter when hunting rats and other small game.(5)

The value of crop rotation has long been known to the Nuba, and although the details vary, a rough system obtains over most of the Jebels area. In Tira, Atoro, Heiban and the Koalib, heavy grain sown on a newly cleared plot is maintained for 3, 4 or 5 years. As soon as it is noticed that a grass known as *be'd* or *di'an*—much beloved by and extremely fattening for pigs in particular—is increasing at the expense of the grain, the plot is turned over to *simsim*, for *simsim* is a good fertiliser, and is regarded by the Nuba as being almost as valuable an agent for reviving tired land as animal manure. Two years under *simsim* are followed by two years under groundnuts and the plot is then allowed to lie fallow for at least 2 years more before the rotation begins again. In Korongo and the south a more intensive system is practised, grain and *simsim* together, alternating with grain alone, are sown for five years, after which the exhausted land lies fallow for four at least, before

(5) The normal *harig* system is as follows : The cultivator does nothing to his plot until after the first rains. When the new grass is about 6 inches high he fires the old dry grass and then sows, avoiding thereby much of the burden of early hoeing. The following year little grass will grow on the plot which will be left fallow. The third year may produce a sufficiency of grass for the system of firing to be employed again, but many *harig* lands take three rainy seasons to recover a sufficiently heavy grass crop for burning. The word *dimili*, used north and south of Heiban for terraces, is said to be similar to the Dongola word of the same meaning.

being farmed again. In Limon two years under grain and *lubia* are followed by a year under grain alone, and then three years fallow. Sometimes a period of two or three years under heavy grain is followed by a similar period under *najjad*, while that in turn is followed by a year or two under *simsim* before the ground is either allowed to lie fallow or turned over to small plots of groundnuts, for groundnuts, it is said, never exhausts the ground in which it is grown. In nearly every field of grain *lubia* is also planted, as much for the good of the soil as for the sake of the crop itself.

LAND TENURE.

Memory, among the Nuba, of the early systems of land tenure does not go back beyond Arab times, and it seems possible that Arab predatory raids altered the customs then existing. Among them the spirit of co-operation has always been strong, and a system of exclusive ownership was probably unknown so long as there existed land in excess of the labour with which to cultivate it. But with the Arab invasions, the Nuba who had hitherto occupied the plains unmolested were forced on to the upper slopes, terrace cultivation came to be adopted, and the area of cultivable ground vastly diminished. As a result of safe access to the cultivation of the plains being restricted, a system of privately owned and saleable land came into existence—originating it is believed in the Koalib—which still survives today particularly in Shwai, and to a greater or lesser degree over the whole area except in the Korongo hills and among the Nuba of Talodi. The Shwai Nuba have a word *karani*, meaning village plots or allotments, and *karani* are the subject of frequent litigation. They consist of the highly manured ground surrounding the houses, are regarded as much as private property as is the house itself, and quite small plots are regularly bought and sold for sums of a pound or more. Over the greater part of the rest of the district a similar system obtains, terrace and garden cultivations are frequently bought and sold, but heavy lands in the plain never so, except in the solitary case of Koko Limon. Here all land, except that on which groundnuts—a crop regarded with the gravest suspicion for its reputation as a cause of

leprosy and venereal diseases—are grown, are subject to sale. Here too, as in the rest of the area, every man is free to open up for himself new land in the plains and a plot so cleared and cultivated remains the property of the owner for ever, or until, in the case of this hill only, the seventh year of its lying fallow and unattended. After that time, in the case of Koko Limon, the plot can be claimed and re-cleared by anyone. Although in Korongo and Talodi land can never be bought and sold it can be lent, as it can in the case of plain lands only in the Moro, by private agreement, and a goat or two paid as rent. All land then in Korongo and Talodi, once cleared, remains the private property of the family, can, as elsewhere, be inherited, and can never be alienated by sale or prescription. All over the district, boundaries between terrace allotments are clearly marked, usually by stones, while a line of extra tall grain, or natural features, trees and khors generally serve to show the dividing line between farms in the plain. A striking feature of Nuba cultivation, noticable particularly from the air, is the regularity of the shape of their plots which often stretch from the foot of the hills in long narrow parallels far out into the plain.

Division of Labour.

In all Nuba communities share of responsibility in a common plot of cultivation stands more as symbolic of family unity than anything else. Generally speaking crops are divided into those for which greater physical strength is needed, and for which the men are responsible (heavy grains and *simsim* grown far from the village) and those cultivated about the homestand (light grains, Indian corn, groundnuts and vegetables) which can be easily controlled by women. The division however is not rigid and belief in co-operation allows the women to go far afield and assist in weeding and picking the heavy grain, and the men to help in the plots nearer home. Two duties nevertheless appear to be strictly reserved to women throughout the district, the carrying of cut grain from the field to the threshing floor and the cultivation of groundnuts. Again, the duties of threshing are similarly divided, the men making themselves responsible for the heavy grain, the women generally for the light.

NAFIRS.

In southern Kordofan and the Nuba Mountains, and in other parts of the Sudan, there exists a system of co-operative farming known generally as the *nafir* from the Arabic word نفر which has among its meanings that of a tribe combining to resist invasion or to perform any communal service. Within a village, individual cultivators agree to assist one another in turn, particularly during the period of hoeing by arranging to meet and work together on one another's plots. The host provides *merissa* for his guests and a dreary and often otherwise lonely work is rapidly completed in an atmosphere of co-operation and good cheer.

Another interesting example of the same co-operative spirit existed until recently in Tagoi in a system of communal village *suweibas* kept against times of famine.

In general the farming implements used today by the Nuba are similar to those employed by the Arab cultivator, but a few survivals of the tools of an earlier age are worthy of record. In the Koalib, although the iron-bladed short-handled hoe is growing in popularity, the long *kash kash* is still extensively used. This consists of an ebony or iron blade of the usual hoe type, with a ten or twelve foot bamboo shaft surmounted by an iron ring upon which are strung half a dozen smaller rings. The movement of the shaft sets the iron rings jingling with a sound encouraging to the solitary husbandman. This tool which is also used in dibbling, and can only be wielded by the operator standing up is found employed as far south as Allira. In Heiban, where a shorter ironshod implement is in use, the men stand to hoe and the women squat, while in Tira and Atoro and further south both men and women squat or kneel.

Finally a word on the implement used throughout the Nuba Mountains for threshing. This consists of a heavy wooden weapon the size and shape of a cricket bat. The newly gathered grain is stored temporarily in a circular enclosure surrounded by a heavy thorn fence. The ears are then transferred to a similarly shaped enclosure built upon a slab of flat rock, and surrounded by a low stone wall, wherein the cracks and crevices have been cemented over with a mixture of mud

and cow dung. Here the grain is beaten out from the ear, winnowed in the wind, and finally carried away to store.

Apart from cotton, tobacco forms the principle non-food crop in the Nuba Mountains. The method of its cultivation in small scattered plots makes an estimate of the yield difficult, but the total area under tobacco is not less than 500 feddans and at a conservative estimate a feddan yields 1000 rotls. Apart from a small export trade to the south the whole of the Eastern Jebels tobacco crop is consumed locally. Tobacco is grown in two ways; the *kharif* crop sown in June in the vegetable allotments within the village and picked in late September, and the artificially watered winter crop sown beside wells and *serrafs*. The full-grown plant is stripped of its leaves every 15 days during a period of 2 or 3 months. The plots are artificially manured with animal dung and wood ash and the *serraf* sowings are daily watered during the morning and at sunset. The tobacco most famous for its strength and purity in the Eastern Jebels is that which comes from Allira and Acheron. Half a picking is laid out and dried in the sun and then pounded, and half is pounded while still green and damp; the two are then mixed together and worked by hand into the shape of half a sphere, weighing about a rotl and known as a *katkur* or *junga*. Tobacco is grown in Korongo and Mesakin, in Tira and Atoro, but the type in these hills is less pure, particularly in the last, where it is mixed with the leaf of the *digndign* which gives it a particularly bitter taste. The leaf is smoked in pipes by the aged, both men and women, it is taken in the form of snuff, or chewed together with a piece of rock salt. On the whole consumption is confined to the more elderly, for maidens and dandies object to the strong perfume it gives to the breath.

In addition to the principle food crops, the cultivated vegetables and the money crops grown in the Nuba Mountains, there exists a vast range of uncultivated edibles which furnish in normal times a welcome change to an otherwise monotonous diet, and which in times of famine may well form the only available supply. The list is a long one and only a few of the principle wild foods are mentioned here. *Tibish*, a kind of cucumber is cultivated, especially in the Koalib, but also grows wild. *Nebak*, the fruit of the *sidr* tree grows all over the jebels,

and the small red cherry-like berries of this and the wild fig both of which ripen in February and March are delicious. The new shoots of the baobab (*tarag*) which appear in the early rains make a good salad when mixed with *simsim* oil, while the pith from the fruit itself, known as *gungulais* is eaten in the early winter. The *dom* nut is eaten in the raw state, and the kernel of the *doleib* after the nut has been buried in the early rains and allowed to sprout, is boiled and taken as a vegetable, known as *haluk*. The outside flesh of the *doleib* is eaten raw. *Lalob* (the fruit and also the kernel) and the leaves of the *heglig* when boiled are both eaten, but the latter only during times of great want. The fruit too when eaten raw is an effective aperient. Again, in famine years, two grasses *koreib* and *danab el kelib* are prepared as *asida* while *um beichi*—also eaten raw—and *shingil*, a kind of root, are boiled, dried and then ground to make a similar dish.

On the leaves of the *arad* in September a small green caterpillar called *dud mana* is found. This, when boiled three times, each time the water being boiled away, is said to be an extremely appetising dish. Similarly the red, black, and white *heglig* caterpillar is much sought after, especially it is said by barren women. A grain pest known as *annayu* which appears in September, a kind of stink-bug, is collected from the caves and eaten both raw or boiled. Indeed there are few insects, locusts and so on that the Nuba will not eat, although a number of these creatures are by custom forbidden to full grown men. In particular certain ants are freely eaten by women but avoided by men for fear of a painful swelling in the testicles which indulgence in this kind of food is said to cause.

I am grateful for help in the composition of this note to Captain A. L. W. Vicars-Miles and Mr. E. S. Colman.

THE WESTERN DINKAS, THEIR LAND AND THEIR AGRICULTURE.

By J. M. Stubbs and C. G. T. Morison.

The Western Dinkas, who now number some 140,000 persons, living along the Lol, the Chel, the Pongo and the Bahr El Arab, are a branch of the Raik who in turn originate from the Agar Dinkas. They probably began to push westwards from the River Jur some 300 years ago, being forced to expand by an increasing population. It seems that this movement was a gradual occupation of new country carried out by successive generations, rather than an armed invasion. They met with little opposition, making friends with the iron working Jur tribes of the south-west and driving the *Lewel*, a legendary cattle-owning tribe of dwarfs, north across the Bahr-el-Arab. To these *Lewel* are attributed the numerous man-made mounds found throughout the lower reaches of the Jur and Lol rivers, but the only other evidence that they ever existed is to be found in the folk stories of this area, according to some of which they are still to be found living as spirit men in the depths of the great swamps to the north-east.

All clans of the Western Dinkas own cattle and in each are found the wealthy cattle-owning families who form the aristocracy of this area. It is they also who have the biggest and best cultivations while the poorer classes rely largely on fishing to supplement their smaller harvests.

Cattle are regarded as common property of the clan only so far as it affects the welfare of the clan as a whole, otherwise their ownership is narrowed down to the much smaller circle of the inner blood clan which corresponds to a European family.

But if the Dinka has been mainly known to the outside world as a devoted owner of cattle, the Western Dinka deserves also to be known as a cultivator, and this is a combination which is rare among primitive people.

Casual and indifferent cultivators are common in Africa, as in other primitive communities, and the vast area of land available has not tended to make them careful of the natural resources of the soil.

Here in the flood plains of the Upper Nile conditions are different, and the area of land which is available for the growing of crops is all too small. Grazing for his cattle is no doubt the Dinkas first consideration, and for this purpose he was confined to the alluvial plains by the presence of the Arabs to the north, and by the fact that *tsetse* fly was only too abundant in the forest region to the south and west. The demand for grazing for his large herds would mean a semi-nomadic existence in these flood plains using the first dry pasture in the rains and gradually moving away as the country dried up, to the last remaining green herbage near the permanent rivers. But unlike some other pastoralists, he cultivated the soil, and for this purpose the drier portions of the flood plain were his only hope, and it is on these islands in the *toich* that his villages are to be seen today.

The area of land in each case may not be very large, and so it was necessary to devise some kind of cultivation that would ensure a reasonable crop and also to invent some way of keeping the land sufficiently fertile to produce crops indefinitely in the same soil. This he has achieved with great success and by resort to a complete and conservative system of mixed husbandry. This has been done in other places in Africa, as for example in some of the islands in Victoria Nyanza, where population is high and available land short; or in some measure by the Hausa farmer in northern Nigeria in making use of the herds of Fulani cattle, but probably nowhere more successfully or more intensively than by the Western Dinkas on the alluvial terraces in the flood plains of the Lol.

The secret of the Dinkas which has made this possible lies in the complete and absolute domestication of his cattle. It is sometimes urged that farmers in England would find certain management problems easier if their cattle were accustomed to being tethered as are cattle in many parts of the continent of Europe. Dinka cattle are always tethered at night each to his own appropriate peg, tethered so closely that with the dung and urine voided during the night the soil is continually receiving a very considerable access of material from outside sources, sufficient with the very rapid turnover which that climate ensures, to maintain the soil in a condition of adequate fertility.

Once and sometimes twice in each season is the cultivated land of these islands in the *toich* manured in this way, so that by grazing outside in the day time and by close tethering on the arable land at night, the Dinkas have found it possible to keep these precious areas under permanent cultivation for many generations. Nor is this the whole story for the hoe cultivation is deeper and the subsequent weeding more thorough than is usually seen in African cultivation.

In order to understand more completely the system of Dinka agriculture, and its close link with cattle ownership, it will be advisable to describe first of all the typical design of a Dinka village.

The villages vary in size according to the extent of the *toich* island in which they are situated, from a few homesteads in the smaller areas to as many as five hundred in the larger ones.

The villages are in every sense of the word permanent, and are always inhabited by the older men and women who remain there even when the younger people are away with the bulk of the cattle on the far off grazings.

The Wut.

Associated with every village is the *wut* or communal village cattle steading, which should be described first as it is undoubtedly a relic of the tribal dwelling places in pre-village days, when the Dinkas were wholly pastoral tribes living off their cattle, in the swamps.

The word *wut* has three meanings. It can be applied to the cattle forming a cattle camp, the camp itself or the sub-tribe to which the cattle belong. When used here it will of course apply to the camp only, to which the cattle are brought at night when they are grazing during the late rains on the home grazings close to the village. Here they are tended by the young men, and much of the dung that accumulates here is used for burning and producing smoke which helps to keep down the flies and mosquitoes.

The site of a summer *wut* is always chosen on high ground, generally on one of the artificial mounds mentioned before. The cattle are tethered by clans on the highest ground round which one or more

wut shelters are built for each clan. These are mushroom-shaped shelters about 12 feet in diameter and raised three or four feet from the ground on wooden props, the top being covered by a thick layer of earth.

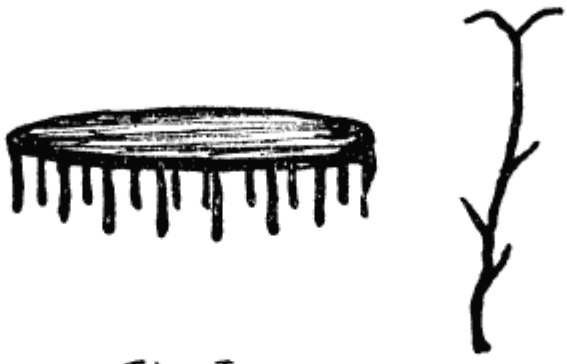


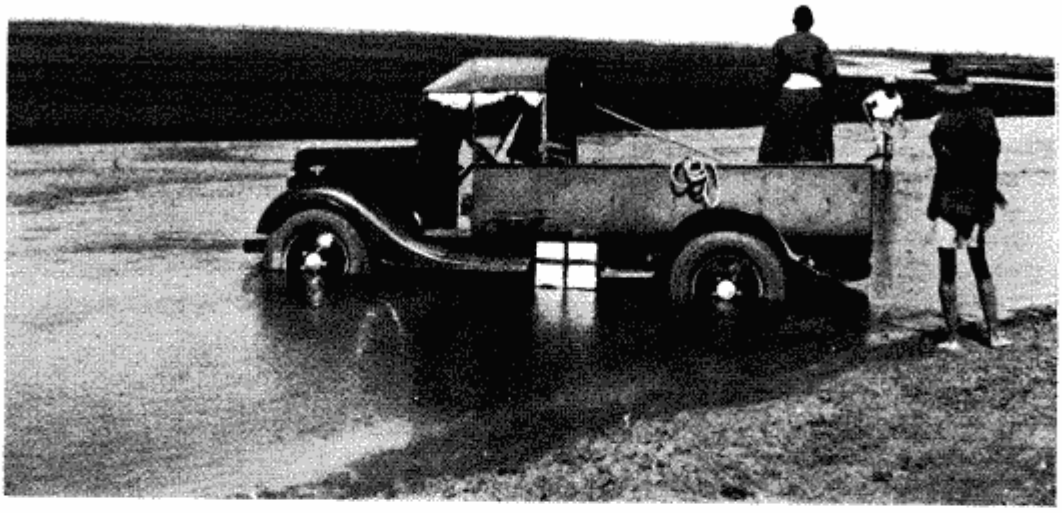
Fig. 1

The construction is simple being a rough circle of forked supports with a centre support slightly higher than the rest. The tops of the outer supports are bound with a circle of brushwood or grass and then the bearer timbers are placed closely from the circumference to the centre support, and the whole is covered with turf and earth.

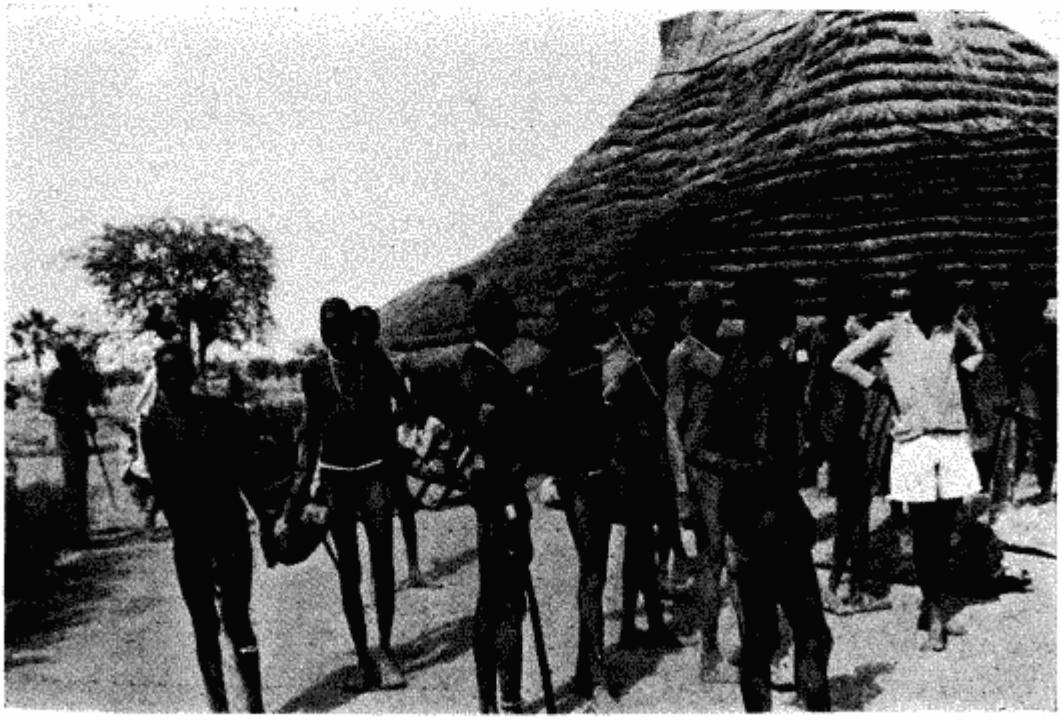
Alongside each clan's shelter is planted a cut sapling with the top terminating in V-shaped twigs representing the horns of a bull and with three or more forks towards the foot at a convenient height from the ground. On these are hung the cattle-ropes, gourds and other equipment of the clan. Besides the dung-smoke fires which are lit among the tethered cattle each shelter has its fire around which the herdsmen sleep.

A large *wut* will have 30 or more shelters.

Each homestead consists of one or more dwelling houses according to the number of wives which the man has, a grain store and a *luak*, or cattle house, which is the largest and most important of all the buildings. This collection of buildings, which are good and particularly well thatched, are essentially those characteristic of any agricultural



TOICH NEAR WINEJOK.



DINKAS AT MADOL.

community, and correspond to the dwelling house, the barn, and the cattle house of any European farmer.

The dwelling house is built on piles. It is interesting to speculate on the reason for this. The most obvious one is that this type of house was devised to make life easier in a country that is flooded for several months in the year, but against this lies the fact that those Dinkas who live nearest the permanent swamps, where flooding is more severe, build their dwelling houses on the ground (viz. the Raik Dinkas), and the house on piles is only common to those tribes that inhabit the higher plains, such as the Agar or Western Dinkas.

Shortage of timber in the swamp areas is the probable reason for this and it is possible that the house on piles is evolved from the *wut* shelter, the idea being conceived of building a weather-proof house on its top.

The dwelling house is small, seldom being more than 12 feet in diameter. It is circular in construction with a minute porch and double doorway, being raised four feet from the ground on stout piles cut from hard wood. On top of the piles are laid the main bearers which are covered with lighter timbers and then with a layer of mud forming a platform rounded off to the shape of the hut. On this is built the circular wall and porch, about six inches thick at the bottom, diminishing to four inches at the top, and about three feet high. No timber reinforcement is used for the wall, but grass is kneaded into the clay. On the top a circle of brushwood is bound to holes in the wall, and then the building is ready for the roof. This is sometimes made separately on the ground and then the brushwood ring is lifted on later, being part of the roof construction. The roof has no centre support and is made by lashing together with brushwood two lengths of timber placed end to end and bending them at the joint to form an angle of 45°. The bases are then lashed to the ring on top of the wall and two more poles are dealt with similarly and placed at right angles to the first forming a pyramid. Just below the apex a second brushwood ring is bound forming a bed for the remaining roof timbers. To these are bound many circles of a continuous grass or brushwood rope, each circle spaced at one hand's length from the lower one.

Grass used for thatching is the stiff variety found on the *toich* which is cut about 3 feet from the top. It is then bound into small bundles each 2 inches in diameter.

Thatching is started at the bottom of the roof by lashing the grass bundles, base downwards, between the rope encircling the roof-timbers and a second one placed immediately over it. This continues until the circle is completed, a lashing taking place at every third bundle. The upper tie-rope of the last layer of grass then becomes the base for the next layer which is placed a step higher covering all but five inches of the lower one. The top is finished off with a cap of grass and sometimes ornamented with bull's horns.

The *luak* or cattle house is built on the ground. It is circular and in size varies from 15 to 30 feet in diameter. The Dinkas have not yet learned how to draw a circle but make a very fair freehand effort by walking round and dragging one foot on the ground. A narrow trench is then dug as foundation, in which is built the wall. This is four feet high rising to five feet at the door which is only eighteen inches wide at the bottom and three feet at the top. The wall is of similar construction to that of the dwelling house except that as it goes up it leans outward to take the weight of the roof timbers.

The roof construction is quite different having a very substantial centre support. This consists of six or more forked poles of the same length planted in a circle about three feet from the centre of the *luak* and leaning outwards at an angle of 15° from the perpendicular. These are about 9 feet high and on their top is lashed a ring of brushwood. The roof timbers are then laid from this ring to the wall, being tied only at the top. Above the ring there is as yet nothing and this apex is constructed similarly to the roof of a dwelling house, being built on the brushwood ring. The same methods for binding the roof timbers and thatching are also employed.

In house building the work is divided between the men and women, the former being responsible for timber and walls and the women for thatching. All lashings are done with a light rope of plaited grass made by the women.

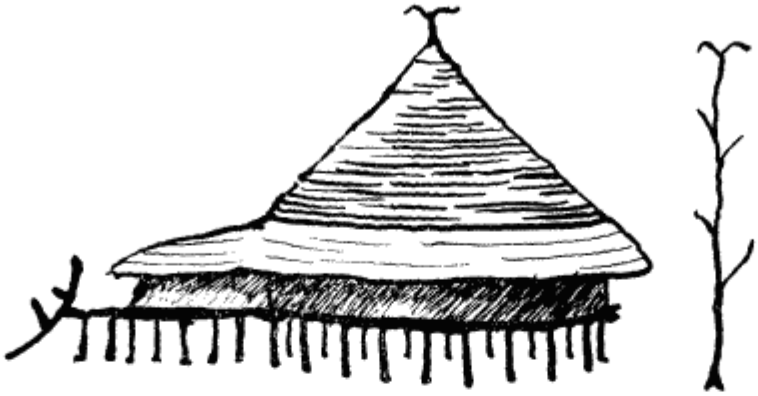


Fig. II
Dwelling House.

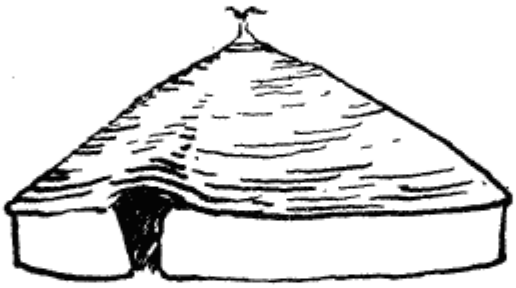


Fig. III
The Luak.



Fig IV
Construction of Luak.

The arable land is found immediately round the house and while the area under cultivation by each family varies considerably, it is probably about 1¾ acres per taxpayer, and the total extent of permanent cultivation may easily, in the case of the larger villages, amount to many hundreds of acres. The land is for the most part clean and well cultivated, and shows a high degree of skill on the part of the cultivators.

The general climate is such that with a rainfall of about 40 inches there is a dry season of about six months.

The rains begin about May and increase in heaviness through the next few months, and the flood water begins to appear in a normal year in June and reaches its height in early September.

The whole cultivation of the Dinkas depends upon rainfall and the arrival of the flood, as it is impossible to begin to cultivate the soil before the rains begin and the crop must be ready for harvest before the flood reaches its height. This means that a crop, to be suitable, must be something that reaches maturity quickly and whose whole growing period is not more than three months.

Crops.

The staple food of the country is the quick maturing *dura* which is harvested from 80 to 90 days after sowing. There is a number of varieties of this grain all equally popular. One type is grown mainly for the sake of stalk which has a considerable percentage of sugar if chewed as soon as the grain ripens.

Next in importance to millet comes the red variety of sesame and both hard and common ground nuts. Both these need a light sandy soil found in the *gok* country but rare in the *toich* land.

Maize is grown but only in small quantities and eaten as a fruit or vegetable and never pounded into flour.

Beans, marrows, yams and manioc, all of which are grown by the neighbouring ironstone tribes are not cultivated, the reason given being that the cattle would eat them when they are turned into the cultivation after the harvest.

IMPLEMENTS.

The only implements used in agriculture are an axe, a hoe, a forked stick, and for harvesting a spear-head for cutting the grain stalks and an old spear shaft for threshing.

The axe is primitive but practical, being a wedge shaped piece of soft iron 8 to 9 inches long and of equal thickness with its broad end ground to an edge. This is inserted, point first, into a hole in the knotted end of a stick some 18 inches long which forms the haft.

The hoe is a flat disc of soft iron from 5 to 7 inches in diameter with a tongue at the base with sides curved up to form a socket into which is fitted the hoe shaft, a straight stick about 5 feet long (Fig. V).

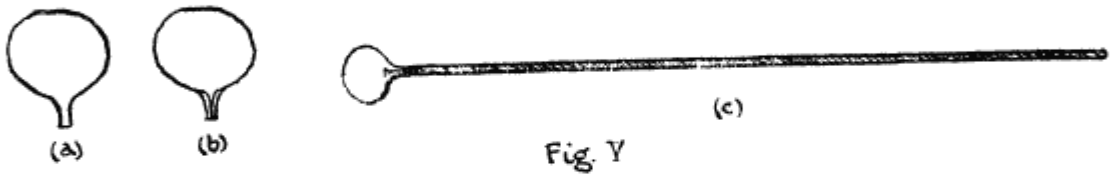


Fig. V

The forked stick is about 5 feet long with prongs of six inches.

None of the metal parts of these implements are made by the Dinkas. They were formerly bought from the neighbouring Jur tribes who not only worked the iron but extracted it from the ore. Now imported metal largely replaces this.

CLEARING NEW GROUND.

There are two methods of this, depending on whether the ground to be cleared is grass or forest land.

(a) *Grass.* Towards the end of the rains when the ground is sodden, the thick tufts of *toich* grass are up-rooted by deep hoeing and left on the surface to dry out. When thoroughly dry, before the next rains start, they are raked into small heaps, burnt and the ashes scattered.

(b) *Forest.* Here the grass is weaker and can be eradicated during sowing. Fully five months before the rains the undergrowth is rooted up and the larger trees ringed. When these have dried out they are

either burned down or felled with an axe. The wood is then collected and heaped round the remaining tree stumps and burnt. The ashes are scattered.

In both types of country animal manure is not deemed necessary the first year but where the soil is suitable sesame or ground-nuts are nearly always the first crops.

The importance attached to the action of termites on the manure and waste matter lying on cultivations during the dry weather is of interest. It is believed, and there is ample evidence to justify this belief, that the soil benefits from the destructive habits of these insects and for this reason farm land is never cleared of dead vegetable growth until immediately before sowing takes place.

Movement of Cattle and Manuring.

As already stated, in all but abnormal circumstances the cattle are owned by families; some may have but two or three cows while others have herds of 6 or 7 hundred. All the cattle of a sub-tribe with the exception of the very old animals and possibly a few cows in milk kept back by the richer families, have during the latter part of the dry season been herded together by clans in a sub-tribal cattle camp on the winter grazing grounds. There they stay till the Pleiades is seen low down on the western horizon, when the Dinka knows the cultivating season is near. The herds are then driven back to the villages and split up among their owners who tether them on their cultivations by night during the sowing of the crops. This begins about the middle of May and is finished by the end of June. Once the crops are sown the cattle are no longer needed in the villages and are sent back to recognized camping grounds in the *gok* where they stay till harvest, when they are brought back and turned into the cultivations to eat the waste products of the harvest, while the herdsmen enjoy the harvest festivities. At this time the arable land is too sodden to tether animals on at night and the cattle are kept in sub-tribal *wuts*, near the villages, or in the *luaks* if accommodation is sufficient. As the country dries up the herds start grazing the home plains and in the case of rich families are often tethered on the farm lands by night.

(Plate II b). This however is the beginning of the fishing season and few of the poorer families take the trouble to manure at this period, being busy fishing while their animals are cared for by the clan herdsman. When the home grazings are eaten off the herds move to the distant winter grazings completing the cycle.

SOWING.

Before sowing and immediately before the rains the ground is roughly cleared of old millet stalks and the larger weeds (but not of grass), which are heaped up and burnt, the ashes being scattered.

Goat's and other animal manure which has accumulated from the daily sweepings of the *luak* is scattered on the lowest ground in the immediate vicinity of the homestead and after the first rain this is sown with millet seed. The cattle have by now returned and all available animals of each family are tethered closely on a patch of arable land, the position of the pegs being changed each night. As the rains fall the area so manured is sown.

Sowing is done by first marking an area of about 10 square yards inside which the seed is broadcast. This area is then dug up with the hoe, growing grass etc. being turned into the ground with the seed. The cultivator usually kneels at work, and holding the shaft with both hands drives the hoe into the ground with all his force at an angle of about 30°. When the area marked out has been tilled in this manner it is raked over with the forked stick and the grass and weeds lying on the surface are collected. This finished, another area is marked out and the process repeated until all the manured land has been sown.

Sesame, when grown as a separate crop, is sown in the same way except that the sowing is done after the ground has been turned and the seeds are merely raked into the soil. When it is grown mingled with the millet the sesame seed is raked into the soil in bare or thin patches after the first weeding.

Ground-nuts are first shelled and then planted separately on tilled ground. No attempt is made to plant in drills the nuts being distributed 8 or 9 inches apart.

WEEDING.

Two weedings are made in a good cultivation but only one is essential. This is the first weeding which is done as soon as it is possible to distinguish the millet from the grass shoots that come up with it. The second weeding is done when the millet is from 3 to 4 feet high and a good cultivator takes care to loosen the earth round the roots of each plant.

Sesame is treated as millet but ground-nuts of course are only weeded once.

BIRD SCARING.

As soon as the millet heads appear they must be protected from the finches and pigeons, who if left unmolested, would destroy half the crop. In each cultivation one or more scaffolds, 15 feet high or more with a platform on top, are built. From dawn to sunset one of the family is posted up each, armed with a short stick and a liberal supply of wet clay for ammunition. This is made into pellets, and slung by the stick at trespassing birds. It is surprising how effective this method of scaring birds is.

REAPING AND THRESHING.

As soon as the millet crop ripens the heads are cut off high up on the stalk and kept like this in baskets in the grain stores. There remains as yet six weeks to two months of rains and nothing is done to the bulk of the harvest till the dry season. When this comes an area of ground about 8 yards in diameter is covered with a mixture of mud and cow-dung and allowed to dry off. On this are placed the millet heads and the grain is threshed out with spear shafts, swept up and stored in large narrow-necked baskets called *koks* which are kept in the grain store and in the *luak*.

Sesame is grown only on ground above high flood level, is sown later than millet and matures towards the end of the rains. It must be cut green before the pods dry, split and scatter the seeds. The plants are cut near to the ground and tied in bundles on a wooden frame placed over ground prepared as for threshing. When the plants dry the seeds are shaken out, swept up and stored.



THATCHING AT MADOL.



DINKA HOMESTEAD AT DINGALAJOK, SHOWING MANURED LAND.

Some mention must be made of the close association of religious beliefs with agriculture. It would be impossible to go fully into these here but it should be realised how important they appear to the cultivator. In clearing land he must not harm certain grasses or trees; the seed grain must be blessed before sowing or the harvest will fail; rain or relief from birds and other pests may be obtained by offering sacrifices, and after harvest no newly grown food may be eaten before giving thanksgiving for the crop. With the harvesting coincides the return of the cattle and for the next three months the entire Western Dinka population is living in the villages. It is a time of full stomachs and dancing with unlimited beer, drunken brawls and spasmodic clan fighting.

It will be seen from this description that the interesting feature of Dinka cultivation lies in his utilization of cattle, sheep and goat manure to ensure the continued fertility of his arable land. He makes use of the accumulated manure from the *luaks* for his earliest cultivations, and closely tethers his cattle on the fields for the later portions of his main crop.

The whole method of agriculture can be most clearly understood by considering the cultural operations in relation to cattle movements during the calendar year.

In the month of May the cattle which have been far away from the villages on the *toich* of the Bahr-el-Arab or on the Twij country return to their own home village, and with them the young men and the girls who have been looking after them during the long period of dry grazing in these far off pastures.

The large herds are then split up into small ownership groups and after feeding during the day on the fresh growth of grass on the home grazings are tethered closely on the arable land at night.

The work of cultivation continues through May and June, the land which lies lowest and which is reached first by the flood water being sown the first, and that which will be reached by the flood-water last at a later time.

In this way a succession of crop is obtained which is easier to deal with at the time of harvest.

At the beginning of July the cattle go to the high *gok* forest in charge of the young men and the unmarried girls, who are responsible for the milking of the cows, while the married men and women remain behind on the villages to do the weeding and keep the cultivations clean.

By the end of August the earlier portions of the crop have begun to ripen, and by the early days of September the harvest will have begun.

During September, October and November the harvest is gathered. The cattle also have returned from the *gok* forest and consume the *dura* stalks on the very wet arable land during the day, and at night are tethered in the communal *wuts*.

In the month of December as the country dries up the nearby grazings of the *lil* and the home *toich* become available.

There is not much manuring of the arable land at this time of the year. The clan leaders however frequently order the entire clan cattle to be tied up in their farms and thus get the benefit of concentrated manuring after harvest.

The average man does not trouble to herd his own cattle at this season of the year, but allows them to go into the communal *wuts*.

In January, February, March and April as the home grazings become exhausted the cattle are taken further and further away, either to the Bahr-el-Arab or to the Twij district, where they remain until the beginning of May when they return to their villages and the serious work of manuring and cultivation begins.

During this time when the bulk of the cattle are away from the villages, certain milking cows and the sheep and goats are kept at night in the *luaks* and find what pasture they can in the dried up country close at hand.

This manure from the *luaks*, especially the goat manure, is highly valued for early crops of *dura*, and it is never burnt but spread thickly on the ground in the neighbourhood of the homesteads in those parts of the land which are most low-lying and which flood first.

Such is the Dinka year, and such is his method of agriculture. It represents a conservative method to which he was driven no doubt

in the first instance by the small amount of land available and which was dictated by the large number of his cattle.

It is also a skilful and resourceful method which he has devised and one which should be capable of further development by the introduction of other crops, or of some form of rotation.

We have stated that in our view his standard of living can be improved by improving his agricultural output. Much manure is wasted in the communal *wuts*, but the principle of mixed husbandry is there and only needs some economic encouragement for further development.

MINOR SHILLUK SECTIONS IN THE BAHR EL GHAZAL.

By the Reverend Father Santandrea.

INTRODUCTION.

It is my intention to make clear the names, position and mutual relations of the smaller groups of Shilluk stock that migrated to, and still inhabit, the Bahr el Ghazal.

I have found no printed literature on the subject except a few articles in Sudan Notes and Records, and these articles do not embrace even the names of all the tribes of Shilluk stock. Evans-Pritchard, besides the Jur (Luo), mentioned the Dembo and the Shatt. Tucker adds the Maŋaē, a Luo enclave living near the narrows on the Jur river.

But even a simple look into Government lists of non-Dinka tribes in the Aweil District shows that the list we gather from these authors is incomplete ; in fact another sub-tribe, the Shilluk, is placed there on the same footing as the Dembo and Shatt. This is confirmed by all more recent maps, where lots of Shilluk chiefs are recorded by the side of, and intermingled with, Dembo ones.

Thus I was led to inquire into the subject, my first conclusion being the existence, though not a very evident one, of a numerically strong settlement of Shilluk in the vicinity of Aweil. Further a confrère of mine, well acquainted with that part of the Province, having been invited by me to push on inquiries where I could not go (in the North), brought to light some more names of Shilluk-Luo speaking sub-tribes as being distinct from the others hitherto known. This upset me altogether, and I made up my mind to inquire diligently and to get to the bottom of the problem.

My first trip among these people, just meant to sound the ground, was in August 1933. Having got a lot of information from some of the oldest men in Chief Kaŋi's territory, I went on to the so-called Shilluk and paid a visit to their Chief, Uŋwec. This stout jolly man, well acquainted with British officials and local chiefs, and intelligent

about local and racial matters, though somewhat indulging in exaggerations and self-praise, seemed the best fitted man to supply me with the still wanting information.

Never would I have thought to come out of his conversations, which were full of claims to Shilluk blood and boasting of Shilluk origin, with the conviction that he and his people are no more Shilluk than any other so-called Jur.

Thus a scheme which I had already drawn up of the minor Shilluk tribes was again upset, and the problem became more involved than ever. Upon which I made up my mind to travel through the country of these Luo-speaking pockets and examine them one by one to get the clue of that puzzling riddle. This I did in February, 1934. After a due halt at Uŋwec, I went on, stopping at every Rest House to make the necessary inquiries, as far as Aweil : thence I pushed northwards to Nyamlel making also a trip along the Raga road not to lose any opportunity of getting help for my studies from Chiefs, old folk, clerks, etc.[1]

Since then during my three years' stay in Jur land (Kayango), I had the opportunity of returning to Dembo-Shilluk land where I spent some weeks, visiting people in their homesteads and gathering new material which was then embodied in the following notes.

I. THE JUR'S NICKNAMES.

From the very beginning I would like to impress upon the reader that much of the following discussions comes to a question of names ; a question which is too often neglected and not seldom altogether overlooked by easy-going writers, whereas others, posing as pendanticism haters, disdainfully despise it thus showing either incompetence or lack of courage to encounter the intellectual hardships of research. Names, if well applied and thoroughly understood, may easily lead to useful and unexpected discoveries ; on the contrary, names wrongly applied and misunderstood, often lead to false conclusions and only hinder research.

(1) Of the old men questioned by me, I cannot help mentioning here the well known *Tikitiki*. His name is found in big maps close to Kaŋi, a little way south. He was, we may judge, over 80 years old, but still alert and full of fun. He died in 1933.

Therefore, before attempting the description of the minor Shilluk tribes, I think it useful to go back for a while to the Jur-Luo, and see what they are nicknamed, especially as it affects the smaller tribes here dealt with.

Both Arabic-speaking people and Europeans call them *Jur*, after the Dinka fashion ; *Jur* means a foreigner in Dinka. Their real name is " Jo-Luo," *i.e.*, " Luo People." According to recent suggestions the plain name " Luo " should be adopted ; but what we are going to say about the " Shilluk-Luo " will support the use of " Jo-Luo " instead. All other Luo-speaking pockets, Dembo, Shatt, Shilluk, name them *Abat*, a nickname which some do not like but others have grown so accustomed to hear that they show no objection to it. Even the far away Jur-Beli of Rumbek District call all the Jur-Luo generally *Abat* or *Jur-Abat*. What *Abat* means I could not make out with certainty ; anyhow it must be a very old nickname as it has spread so far and wide.

A suggestion may be made in this connection, that it was originated by the name of a Jur-Luo sub-tribe that really existed on the right bank of the River Jur. In fact a group of clans, who may be said to form a sub-tribe of that name (*Abat*) live on the Tonj road not far from Mbiri Mission.

Abat, as said above, is applied to all the Jur. Two other nicknames exist for the Jur living on the right bank of the Jur and those living on the left : the latter call the others *Ya Kwac*, and are called in their turn by the former *Ya Gony*. *Ya Kwac*, means " people of the leopard," but no reason could I find for such a denomination. As to *Ya Gony*, no such word exists in Jur. A sub-tribe of that name exists there however, which fact may easily have caused the name to be applied to the whole lot on the right bank of the Jur. Such a nickname was known also to Schweinfurth. (2)

2. THE MINOR TRIBES' NAMES AND NICKNAMES.

An exposition of these names will help the reader to a clearer understanding of the whole problem. In Government maps and lists we

(2) *The Heart of Africa.* Vol. I p. 190.

find them divided up into three sub-tribes, the Dembo, the Shatt and the Shilluk, such being their commonly accepted names amongst Arabic-speaking people and a good few tribes in the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

But what are their real names ? The answer to this query should rather be one of the conclusions of the present essay, but I put it at the very beginning in order to avoid further confusion : their real names are respectively Bwɔdho or Bɔdho, Thuri and Luo. They are not generally known as such even by their kinsmen, the Jur. The eastern Jur (on the right bank of the Jur river), as they live far away from them, have but a nebulous notion of their minor brethren of the west : some call all of them *Bwodhe*,[3] but some make a distinction between *Bwodhe* and *Shatt*. None goes further than that. The Jur of the western bank, being more in contact with them, go a bit further ; all of them call the Dembo *Bwodhe*, and the Shatt *Thurna* or *Thurina*, thus approaching closely to their real names. But with regard to the Shilluk, they are neither consistent nor uniform in their denominations. Some are heard to style them generally *Bwodhe* ; whereas some prefer to name them *Shilluk*, after the common fashion. A good few elderly men call them by the names of their chieftains' clans ; not unfrequently too the name *Dëmo* is heard, from which the word *Dembo* was probably originated[4], a name formerly applied to both Dembo and Shilluk.

The Shilluk call the Dembo *Bwodhe* or *Bwɔdho*, and the Dembo in their turn name them by any of the different names used by the Jur. At times though, especially if asked in their own language, they occasionally assert that the Shilluk's real name is *Luo*.

As a final remark it is interesting to notice that the Ndogo-Golo and kindred tribes call both the Dembo and Shilluk *Luya*, a word evidently derived from the latter's real name *Luo*. It might have happened that they first came in contact with the Shilluk, from whom they knew that they were *Luo* ; as the Dembo and Shilluk had a similar home, language and customs, this single name was applied by them to both sub-tribes.

(3) *Bwodhe* in the singular, and *Bwodhen* in the plural. It will be noticed that the Jur word *Bwodhe* differs only very slightly from the real Dembo name *Bwɔdho*.

(4) See further on under heading " The Dembo."

3. THE SHATT OR THURI.

I think it better to begin by the Shatt, for no special difficulty exists about them. Though closely akin to the Jur with whom they may be said to form a single tribe, they do not boast of their Shilluk origin ; nay they do not seem to suspect of it either. Very little is known about their former history. Chief Mboro (the Ndogo Chief) says that, when the Ndogo lived at Deim Zubeir, the Shatt were their neighbours and used to be on friendly terms with them, even so as to marry Ndogo girls at times. Very likely these Shatt formed the old Sopo settlement spoken of below. From old Jur men I heard that at the time of the Arabic settler Genawi, *i.e.*, some sixty years ago, the paramount chief of the Shatt was Mahmud, at the head of the Kuru section of the Shatt.

Ill-united among themselves, as are all sub-tribes of Jur-Shilluk stock here, the Shatt inhabited mostly the vicinity of the Kuru River, mainly along its middle course, whence they were ordered lately to move on to the Wau-Raga road. Another Shatt settlement was to be found up to a few years ago near the Sopo River, close to the Banda Chief Nasr. Now they have been joined to their tribesmen along the Raga road, where they dwell between Khor Hajar and the Kuru River.

Fairly numerous groups of Shatt still live on the Nyamlel-Raga road, west of the Dinka, under the Dinka chief Lual Dau.

The Shatt enjoy a wide-spread fame as " forest hunters " [5] and even " men hunters " : their neighbours, such as the Ndogo, Bai and Bviri, are afraid to meet them in the bush, and frightening stories of their atrocious ferocity go round the country almost yearly. Facts must have happened in the past that gave ground to such fears, but at present their wild passions have cooled out. Besides that they had become partially Islamized under the influence of the western Arabs : the fact of seeing them wearing long *jallabias* and wide *sirwals* (pants) and hearing them speak an Arabic patois pretty fluently gave strength to the popular opinion. But all that was only a fashion, which is bound to disappear by degrees.

(5) *Cf.* article by Dr. A. N. Tucker, Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. XIV p.50.

Nowadays in visiting a Shatt hamlet one has the impression of finding oneself in Jur country : the same types are seen and the same language heard. Only the expert will notice little by little the points of difference existing between the two tribes : complete sets of teeth, a jollier and less proud bearing, and, in meeting elderly men, a somewhat luxuriant show of *jallabias* and Arabic language, quite unusual features in real Jur country far away from Wau.

As matters stand now, the Shatt present very little danger for the future ; brought as they are under regular government control, no scope is left for plundering or misusing others.

As hinted above, their language little differs from Jur ; though not well acquainted with Jur, I could always make myself understood by them through the medium of Jur.

As far as somatic likeness is concerned, if seen at their homes wearing only the customary loin-cloth (*abɔŋo* in their language), lots of Shatt could be taken for Jur. This applies especially to children of both sexes and women. But in a lot of grown-up men visible points of difference from the usual Jur type are noticed. No teeth are extracted, the colour of the skin is less dark, and the whole body—a bit shorter and more roundish—shows clearly a less pure race. In fact the Shatt have mixed more freely than the Jur with neighbouring non-Nilotic tribes, the Ndogo, Bai and other western people. The following is a list of some Shatt clans living on the Wau-Raga road : Laani, Teneny, Ubeni, Puarjak, Piyaca, Gurara. Clans settled along the Raga-Nyamlel road : Ubeni, Puarjak, Pebaga, Piyaca, Gurara, Luali, Sinyiyada, Pabivora, Pudiaŋ, Pujevodo, Pamana, Pudiya, Purogo, Pajuli. As can be seen, the two setlements are divided by distance, but clans are intermixed.

The real name of this tribe is that which I have mentioned at the very beginning : it is *Thuri*. All the Shatt I met, though coming from different parts of the Province, were unanimous, when asked in their language about their tribe, in their answer : " We are Thuri." As seen above also, the Jur of the Wau-Aweil road call them *Thurna* or *Thurina*, an evident slight corruption of their real name. The name of the language is the same : *dhe Thuri*.

To complete this report on the Shatt, mention must be made of a small Shatt settlement at Akwaŋ Laŋ, near a rocky hill called by the same name, lying between Chief Majak Akot's home and Marial Bai [6], which I visited early in 1936 as well.

In connection with the Shatt, one notices a special type of pile-huts of their own, at times extremely elegant and cosy. The hut itself, though built in the usual way with wooden posts and mud, is encircled in a mat-work made with that sort of reed called in Arabic *sharganiya*. The place below is likewise surrounded by a similar mat-work with an entrance for people to go in ; it is used either as a kitchen or as a resting place from the sun.

THE DEMBO OR BWƆDHO [7]

As said above, the Jur call them *Bwɔdhe*, but they claim unanimously *Bwɔdho* as their real name. *Dembo* is said to be a corruption of *Demo* or *Dimo*, the ancestor of all the Shilluk hordes in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, according to a tradition. But it is not easy to state why such a name was chosen to style this tribe. Personally I think that the supposition of *Dembo* being simply a corruption of *Demo* etc., is anything but clearly proved ; anyhow I cannot understand why only this group should have been called after the great hero of all the Luo-speaking people. I would myself hazard the following opinion. Dembo was, until recently, commonly applied both to the Dembo proper and to other Shilluk.

Now the outstanding clan of the Shilluk in the vicinity of the Jur are the *Demöi* of Chief Ungwec Ajɔŋo. Besides that, at least two real Dembo clans also share the name *Demôi*. Anyone can see that the passage from *Demöi* to *Dembo* by some pronounced obscurely, nearing *Demõ*—is quite easy. Instead of *Dembo*, *Dombo* is often used also in Government documents, though in my opinion the spelling *Dembo* should be preferred.

(6) The hill is the highest to be seen in the country for a good few miles. It is rich in quartz and other interesting stone formations. They grow on top of a sort of plant (rather big) which I saw nowhere else except on top of Mount Telgona. The two Dinka men who accompanied us on our trip did not know its name. Its bark is peculiarly thin, and by that time (February) was coming off like a snake's skin by itself.

(7) N.B.—" Ɔ " is pronounced very open; " w " is just slurred, and by some left out altogether, thus remaining BƆDHƆ.

The Dembo live at present on the Wau-Aweil road, north of the River Kpango, called by them, as well as by the Jur *Kwaŋo*. We may divide them into two main groups: the Kpango and the Kyom Dembo. The former live mainly near the Kpango River, and are now under the Shilluk Chief Uŋwec; the others live on both sides of the Khor Kyom, mainly north of it, thus being quite close to Aweil town, and are ruled by the chief of the Dembo, Adam Yom.

The Dembo resemble more the Shatt than the Jur. The colour of their skin is still lighter than the Shatt's, and their stature still broader and shorter. They do not take off their lower incisor teeth: only a few elderly individuals are found who have done so. They are more easily approachable and more serviceable than the Jur, but seem to be at the same time more inclined to tricks and deceit.

On the whole, both somatically and morally, they are not unlike the Belanda-Bor (*i.e.*, the Jur-Luo speaking section of the Belanda), who claim in fact direct descent from the Dembo. This tradition exists not only amongst the Belanda but also among the Dembo. Some tell the story in the very same way as do the Bor; others relate different versions of the splitting up of the Bahr-el-Ghazal hordes from the main Shilluk stock, and later the separation of the same into several tribes distinct from one another.

It is interesting to notice that elderly Dembos call the Belanda-Bor by the name of *Rodi*. According to them, the Bor used to call the Dembo in their turn *Podi*. No further explanation could I gather of these names.

My Jur friends, with whom I travelled in Dembo country, would tell me that they could understand what the Dembo said only when talking face to face with them, or at least quite close to them; but they could not understand them from a distance whereas they did not experience such a difficulty in listening to the Shilluk whom we visited as well.

Like the Belanda, the Dembo are, generally speaking, smarter than the Jur; they get more easily civilised, kind in action, neat in dress, respectful in manners. Unlike their kinsmen, the Jur, they

easily pick up new crafts and fashions. They like to build upon a sort of palisade made of strong posts, to keep the interior of their rooms free from snakes, scorpions and the like, besides damp. This custom is common to the Shatt and, to a certain extent, also to the Shilluk. Dembo graves, as I saw them, are the same as the Belanda-Bor's, and consequently as the Bongo's. As the country inhabited by them at present is a comparatively new home, it is difficult to find interesting monuments of the kind. I was lucky enough to come across one of them, namely the grave of Dimo Ango, situated some seven miles south of Aweil, in the bush, close to his abandoned house. He was famous for having killed, of old, Zande men at war. The grave mould is the same as the Belanda's: a heap of soil and stones surrounded by stakes to support them. In front of it, three funeral posts are placed. The central one has a man's figure carved on top, a work of considerable value: the carver, I was told, is a Shilluk of the Kuru settlement (see below). The two other posts have only notches on top: one has three and one has two. All the young men I asked for an explanation were unable to give any answer. A few old men though, who knew the grave well, told me that those two posts simply represented the two wives of the deceased Ango, the notches being meant to signify women's breasts. Later on old Luo and Huri men of the three tribes assured me that each notch represents a man killed at war, such being the old custom. In greeting one another, only persons of more or less equal authority shake hands. An inferior greeting a superior will approach him on his right side, half-crouch before him bending a bit his left shoulder, on which the superior or elder person will place his right hand in answer to the greeting. They tell me that they share this custom with the Shatt.

Arabic and therefore Mohammedan influence has penetrated Demboland more deeply than Shattland.

As a result of their contact with Arabs from a very old date, we find that the Dembo wear clothes to a large extent, namely ***sirwals*** and *jallabias*, even more than the Shatt: seldom will a grown up Dembo be found to wear only the customary loin cloth of the Jur.

We must recognise that the Dembo were in old times, more than any other tribe of Shilluk stock here, under the sway of the Bahara settlers, thus becoming easy prey to the influence of their customs and beliefs. In fact Schweinfurth speaks of the Dembo as having been brought under tribute by Ali Amoori, who ruled them from his main *zariba* on the Kpango River, situated not far from the actual Wau-Raga road. They must have been fairly numerous by that time, as the Kpango was called, according to the same traveller, *Bahr-el-Dembo* ; very likely, however, both the Dembo and the Shilluk were included under this single denomination ; they were all called *Luya* by the Golo, Ndogo and smaller kindred tribes.

I confess, however, that, notwithstanding my painstaking inquiries I could find no trace of Ali Amoori in the traditions of these people. I have met several very old individuals, amongst them Tikitiki and Chief Adam Yom's uncle, who were grown men at the time of Gessi's campaign, but none had ever heard of him.

They all speak of Genawi, a powerful Dongolawi settler of great authority, as having ruled the Jur of the Aweil road, the Shilluk and, partly, the Dembo and Shatt. My Jur and Shilluk informants would speak only of his settlement on the Kpango River; near the spot where maps mark Dem Genawi. It is about 6 miles north-west of Kangi, which locality in its turn is found on the Wau-Aweil road, some 47 miles from the former. The Dem was situated in a charming spot, on the side of a hill sloping gently down to the river, only 1½ miles away ; it is surrounded by a circular entrenchment, and the ruins of two houses built with raw bricks can still be seen. Both inside and outside the entrenchment there are numbers of huge doleib palm trees which give the spot an unusual beauty.

Another fairly numerous group of Dembo lived on the western bank of the Kpango, not very far from the river.

But the bulk of the Dembo inhabited further west, at Moro[8] a locality only some six miles from the River Kuru (called Cyle by

(8) Near Moro was built, later on, Areya, a sub-district of Chakchak. May not Moro be a corruption from *Amoori* ? I am inclined to suspect so, as I found great difficulties in fixing its spelling owing to the uncertain pronunciations of my informers—a fact suggesting a foreign name.

the Dinka and all the Shilluk-stock tribes here). There, they say, was Genawi's main settlement : a huge *zariba* with full accommodation of all kinds, well, huts, stables, cultivations and the like.

The chiefs of these Dembo all belonged to a single clan, the Pakeer ; amongst whom the foremost in power and prestige was Kwomo. He is still famous now, and his name is celebrated in native stories of olden times. His stick is still kept, like the royal sceptre of famous European kings, as a relic in Utum Bedo's house[9], the deposed Dembo chief. Orders were sent out with Kwomo's stick ; fights were stopped instantly (they say) at its appearance in the midst of enraged crowds ; and when after a severe drought, all the tribesmen gathered for the rain-making ceremony to drink the customary beer and throw up into the air the customary dura seeds, Kwomo's stick was lifted up by the chief towards heaven, while his rain-stones were brought out in the sunshine and anointed with oil to make the rain fall upon the thirsty fields of the Dembo.[10]

After the Government had permanently settled in the province, the Dembo were easily arranged along the old Nyamlel-Dem Zubeir road close to which they lived. Later on they were ordered to move on to the new Wau-Dem Zubeir road, where they settled mainly in the vicinity of the well known as Khor Ganna. At last, only some ten years ago, they were definitely moved on to the Aweil road, north of the Kpango, where they are at present.

Here the Dembo are not yet isolated from other tribes, so as to form a unique independent group ; they still live mixed with the Shilluk. This may have resulted from the lack of proper knowledge about the two kindred tribes and of their different groups. So it happened that a good number of Dembo were put under the rule of the Shilluk chief Uŋwec Adoŋo, whose home is south of the Kpango. These Dembo belong to the old Kpango settlement, and live close to

(9) I wanted to see this stick, but Utum Bedo had gone to Moro with the stick and the rain-stones, where he died in Jan. 1936. I am told that it is a walking stick, used of old to send round with the chief's orders ; it replaced the written order of nowadays, or the seal or ring in use in other places. It is called by the Dembo *apuri* and by the Jur *apudho*.

(10) A fact reminding of the chiefs' rainmaking power, as existing in a number of tribes.

the same river, on the northern bank. (A few Shilluk too, it must be remembered, live under the rule of the Dembo chief). The Dembo number about 525 taxpayers.

The clans of the Kpango Dembo are Mayo, Pakeer, Peliny, Demöi, Depwoc, Padeŋa. Clans under Chief Adam Yom : Briere, Pakeer, Burpiom, Birbiam, Agwara, Fijulu.

I do not know about other clans, but the Pakeer, the head Dembo clan, is sub-divided into a number of sub-clans, almost considered as real independent clans. The five main ones are : Pumwo, Ufoyo, Palodi, Pokworo, Pajaro. Others are : Lubo, Lueyo, Penyimwomi.

Having cleared the position of the Dembo, there remains very little to say about the Shilluk.

It is regrettable that such a misleading name has been applied to this section of the Shilluk invaders. It is true that it suggests by itself their Shilluk origin, but the same name could then be applied to all other sections in the Bahr el Ghazal, as they all stand on the same footing with regard to their descent from the Nilotic tribe. Their real name is *Luo*.

If you ask any native from the bush, not acquainted with Arabic or with the modern fashions of Aweil town and road—if you ask, I say, any such native of this group what his tribe is, he will invariably answer *Luo*.

But one might ask whence the name *Shilluk* came ; and I must confess that such a query is very difficult to answer. Suggestions may be given though, which I think explain the fact fairly well.

It must be acknowledged that the tradition of their Shilluk origin has almost died out altogether among the Shatt and Dembo ; only well read men (so to speak) have heard of it, but bush-dwellers know nothing about it. On the contrary, such a tradition is very much alive among the Jur, who, as we have said, claim *Jɔ-Luo* or *Luo* as their real name ; but they do not boast so much of it. The soi-disant Shilluk not only acknowledge their Shilluk descent, but have kept that tradition even more alive than the Jur-Luo and boast of it. Owing to the fact that they were often confused with the Dembo,

both tribes being called *Bwodhe* by the Jur-Luo and *Luya* by the Ndogo, they felt the need of distinguishing themselves from them by a special tribal name. So they kept *Luo* for their home use (as the Dembo kept on using *Bwɔdho* and the Jur *Jɔ-Luo* for their home use) and adopted *Shilluk* as their Arabic name. They were already accustomed to take up personal Arabic names for public and Government use ; and now they have taken up an Arabic tribal name as well, in the same way as the Bwɔdho were called *Dembo* and the Jɔ-Luo *Jur*. The difference lies in the circumstance that *Jur* is a Dinka name taken up by the Arabic-speaking people and *Dembo* seems likewise to have had a foreign origin, whereas *Shilluk* seems to be of home origin, *i.e.*, to have been claimed by the tribesmen themselves (or at least by their chiefs) as their Arabic name.

Notwithstanding the similarity of their names, the Luo make a distinction of names between themselves and the Jur-Luo. In fact they call them *Abat*, which differs altogether from their name.

But if told that the Abat claim *Luo* as their real name, they answer — " Well they are *Jɔ-Luo* whereas we are simply *Luo* ". In fact, the phrase " Jur Boys " will be translated in Jur *nyethen Jɔ-Luo*, whereas the Shilluk will say *nyethen Luo*. There is a slight, but real difference.

The Shilluk-Luo lived, together with the Dembo and north of them, between the Kuru and the Kpango rivers. We may divide them into two main groups : the northern and the southern Shilluk. The latter's history is strictly linked to that of the Dembo and of the Jur round Kaŋi ; they were all subject to Genawi, centred upon his *zariba* on the Kpango, already spoken of. Their home chief was Mäna, succeeded by his younger brother Ajɔŋo, the father of Uŋwec, who was made of late the chief of all the Shilluk tribe (except the Kuru settlement). But the main settlement of the Shilluk lived farther north-west on, or close to, the Kuru River. Though nominally brought under rule by government, and not exempt altogether from Genawi's taxations, they were in a condition of semi-freedom.

The power was in the hands of a single paramount chief, Yämo Kon. Having gained the confidence of the local authorities whom he

served highly satisfactorily, he brought all the neighbouring Luo and Bwɔdhɔ under his sway. Shatt clans as well, who lived on the right bank of the Kuru River, willingly submitted to his fair rule. Backed by the Dinka who inhabited the same bank farther north reaching as far as Nyamlel and with whose chief Akot he was on friendly terms, he had little to fear from the inroads of the slave-traders. At the highest of his prestige he was given the Arabic name of *Wadelmak*, a name which stuck to him and his successors for ever. As a mark of his almost absolute power, old men still like to tell that, whereas marriage arrangements have always been painfully long and costly for all the Luo, only Wadelmak was exempted from the general rule. When a solemn *karama* was being held at his home, he used to come out with his *nyɛro* (*korbag*) and hit with it one or two of the most beautiful girls there gathered : upon which they were his wives for ever.

Not unlikely it was by this time that the name *Shilluk* started to be used in order to distinguish his own tribe from the Bwɔdhɔ, commonly called Dembo, in dealing with the Egyptian authorities. In fact Wadelmak greatly boasted of his common origin with the Shilluk, claiming direct descent from Dimo from whom his ancestors had inherited the sacred spear in possession of his family. It was kept in a purposely built hut and was supposed to be possessed of a double power, rain-making and war-charm, thus assuring good crops and certain victory in war to its happy possessors.

Gessi's campaign brought about the defeat of the Khartoumers and the Shilluk southern section was deeply upset by the departure of their Dongolawi lord, Genawi : Ajɔŋɔ, their chief, fled to Dinka friendly chiefs in the east but not to fall victim in the confused anarchy which always follows the decline of a great power and the rise of a new one. Later on he returned to his fatherland, where he regained his place as a chief.

But Wadelmak's rule flourished more than ever. His power was to come to an end at the time of Karamallah's invasion. Having rallied to Dem Zubeir together with other chiefs, he probably showed too much zeal for the old Government, in the Emir's opinion, and was consequently put to death. His younger brother, Awɛya, succeeded

him, taking up the name of Wadelmak, but their star was declining. The man who benefited most by the general confusion and disorder was Utyek, named by the Luo Utityek, the son and successor of the Dinka chief Akot. Kind to friends and shrewd with enemies, he had already acquired considerable power both among the Dinka and the neighbouring Luo hordes of all kinds. He succeeded in escaping from Karamallah's troops, and going back to his home on the Kuru where his power was rapidly growing from year to year : the neighbouring Luo under Awɛya, though friendly, had to submit to his domination. During the time of Karamallah's campaign he must have gained great ascendency over the tribes living in the neighbourhood of Dem Zubeir so that fugitives from Zande inroads sought a refuge at his home. His fame having spread far and wide, numerous groups of Ndogo, Golo and especially Bai fleeing before Zemoi's hordes came to settle under his rule. Utyek is best known under the name of Cakcak (usually spelled Chakchak), his Arabic name, which might also be a corruption of the Luo *Utityek*.(11)

After the coming of the French into the Province and especially after the present Government had settled permanently in the country, the Luo's Chief, Awɛya, regained to some degree his independence. At his death he was succeeded by his eldest son, Wãla. But a sad event befell them which was to bring misfortune and endless evils to the whole clan (the Dedia) and mainly to the Chief's own family. During the Dinka revolt headed by Ariandit (1922) a band of furious youths broke through Wãla's village by surprise, driving before them the horror-stricken Luo. A bloody fight ensued and an indescribable confusion during which Wadelmak's sacred spear was carried off, never to be retraced. The Dinka who stole it was reported to have died without telling where he had hidden it. This (says Wãla) was the source of all evils which afterwards befell his family, as well as of

(11) *Cf.* the article by Dr. Tucker, p. 50. The account given therein about the movements of the Luo is inexact. Only the Luo-Shilluk and partly the Dembo and Shatt may be said to have flourished under Cakcak (a Dinka), but not the real " Jo-Luo " proper. The latter had settled for long roughly in their present home, where the Italian travellers Antinori and Piaggia found them as early as 1860 (east of the River Jur) and where, a little later Schweinfurth found them (east and west of the Jur).

those which will befall them in the future. In later years Wäla was ordered to move with his people south of Aweil, half-way between the town and the Kpango River. There did he move; but numbers of Luo preferred to remain in their old homes on the Kuru, under the already familiar rule of Cakcak, the grandson of the famous Dinka chief. At the end of 1933 Wäla Wadelmak was discharged from office, all his subjects falling thus under Chief Uŋwec Ajɔŋo formerly the head of the southern Luo only.

To make this historical account as complete as possible, mention must be made of a woman, Barani, who gained some fame here towards the end of the last century. She belonged to Wadelmak's clan, the Dediä, and, her children being too young to rule the portion of land allotted to their dead father, took in her hand the power. By this time the Luo had been ordered to settle along the Wau-Nyamlel road, north of the Kpango, but most of them would run back to their old homes in the bush. Barani, faithful to Government orders, stuck to the road, and soon found herself at the head of all the Luo who gradually came to comply with the Government rule, by settling along the Nyamlel road. By the way, all the Luo I asked told me that Barani's position, according to tribal rules, was an extraordinary and temporary one: extraordinary, because they never heard of any such other case: temporary, because she was to hold the power only for a time—till her children were able to do so for themselves.

At present Goaki, her brother's son, is the *wakil* of the Dediä and allied clans, near Wadelmak's home, of course under the paramount chief Uŋwec Ajɔŋo.

General Remarks.

The Luo-Shilluk are more like the Jur than the Dembo and Shatt in physical structure: they are tall, fine-looking fellows, usually a bit taller and broader than the Jur, especially those living in contact with the Dinka with whom they intermarry at times. The colour of their skin too is of a deeper black than the Jur's, making a fine racial type. Individuals though are met in a considerable number little differing from either Jur or Dembo or Shatt, as they frequently inter-

marry and settle in the midst of such kindred tribes, thus losing much of their tribal characteristics. Like the Shatt and Dembo they build their houses high up on wooden palisades; but they are not so consistent in this practice.

On the whole it may be said that their racial type is almost the same as the Jur's, but their customs, with a few exceptions, are like the Dembo's and Shatt's.

Their dialect has a lot of words different from Jur, as well as Dembo and Luo-Shilluk, but sounds, grammatical structure, etc., are closer to Jur, so that the Jur find no difficulty at all in understanding their dialect even in its minute details. This applies especially to the southern Shilluk (south of the Kpango), for the northern ones are less influenced by the Jur, and more by the neighbouring Dembo.

From all this it follows as a natural conclusion that this so-called Shilluk tribe lacks originality. For a long time they even lacked a proper name, being confused with the Dembo. Mixed with the Dembo, they can be easily taken for Dembo; mixed with the Jur or Shatt, they easily pass for Jur or Shatt. Of late they have taken much to Dinka intercourse, customs, practices, etc., and some have lost together their tribal character, being incorporated in the big Dinka body.

But on the other hand an important feature of both Dembo and Shilluk must not be overlooked, viz.: that they had and still have to some extent a political organization by far superior to the kindred Jur-Luo. Though we find among them, of old, only one great chief and a minor one, they were possessed of great power as I gathered from a number of witnesses, including some outside the tribes.

As for the Dembo, Utum Bedo is still looked upon by tribesmen as the only legitimate heir of their old chiefs; he still has the powerful *apuri* and the rainstones of his ancestors. As far as the Shilluk are concerned, Wadelmak's heir, though deposed, is still considered as the successor of their greatest chief, whose power extended far and wide.

Chief Uŋwec, the legitimate heir of their minor chief, has far greater power than any Jur-Luo chief; he is feared, revered, listened to, paid homage and tribute to, by his subjects. He often performs the duty of a priest-king, especially where the rainmaking ceremony is concerned.

(A) THE MANANĒR.

They have been spoken of by Dr. Tucker in his previously quoted article (p. 51). So far neither any of my confréres here nor myself were able to pay a visit to these swamp-dwellers at their homes. I am able though to add some notes kindly written for me by Father P. Golin of Kwajok Mission, who was lucky enough to meet Deŋ Akol, the Manaŋēr's chief, from whose information these notes were drawn.

The Manaŋēr do not form a proper "Shilluk Section," *i.e.*, a sub-tribe of the great Luo tribe. They are but an agglomeration of refugees from Jur-Luo land in time of wars and confusion brought about first by the Arabs' raids, and afterwards by the bloody competition between the Dinka and the Azande. Some of them affirm to have come from the left bank of the Jur River, and some from the right bank: some more seem to belong to the Shilluk-Luo sub-tribe. Their chief claims to be a relative of Chief Kaŋi, a Jur.

They number between 1000 and 2000 souls, says Father Golin: but this estimate is far from being exact. At present they keep very little of the Jur customs, language, etc.: the youngsters, are practically Dinka, though still sticking to their Jur origin and name. They live mainly on fishing, which they carry on in the Jur "narrows," their home.

(B) THE JUR OF KOR ACOR.

This Jur colony in Dinka land live some 18 miles north of Gogrial (or "Gaŋrial"). They seem to have left Jur land in more recent times than the Manaŋēr, maybe after Suleiman's defeat and the departure of the Arab settlers and slave-dealers. They have kept Jur ways and customs to a certain extent. They grow a considerable lot of sesame, groundnuts and the like, according to their tribal agricultural traditions.

When carrying on my inquiries in Jur country, I heard that these Jur are said to belong to Bak's people, a *wakil* just north of Kaŋi.

I understand also that elderly men are still to be heard speaking Jur well.

CONCLUSIONS.

The Shilluk-like speaking tribes in the Bahr el Ghazal present problems and difficulties, the principal of which I will point out at the end of this succinct description. Scattered far and wide as they are, under a superficial superstructure of new modes of life and thought varying from tribe to tribe according to different places and different currents of foreign influence, they show a large stock of common inheritance, a sure mark of common origin. In fact their racial unity as far as the Jur-Luo, Shilluk-Luo and Shatt-Turi are concerned, cannot, be—and actually is not—called in doubt. The Belanda-Bor and the Dembo-Bwɔdhɔ are excepted, as their neighbours, the Jur and the Shilluk respectively, deny any relationship with them. But are they right in doing so ?

The Bor and the Bwɔdhɔ are reported to tell old-world stories of their descent from Uto and Maggi, Nyikaŋo's half-brothers. But at present such traditions are not very alive in these tribes and almost seem to be borrowed from elsewhere : in all likelihood they are bound to fade away in a very short time, whereas similar legendary tales are deeply rooted and as fresh as ever among the neighbouring Jur and Shilluk-Luo. If there is anything historically reliable in the Belanda-Bor's story, it is the fact of their origin from the Dembo-Bwɔdhɔ, for it points to a fact of comparatively recent date and is confirmed in the Dembo's traditions. But here again the Dembo do not boast of their Shilluk descent, which is flatly denied by their neighbours, the Shilluk-Luo.

With regard to their beliefs, it may be noted that totemism is in full swing among the Jur, appearing in a variety of forms. It is found also, though I cannot state in what degree, among the Shatt and also, on a smaller scale, among the Shilluk-Luo. On the contrary the Bor, in spite of a number or quasi-totems or perhaps simply taboos mainly consisting in tabooed plants, can hardly be described as being possessed of real totemism. In my several trips in Demboland, no trace of totemism or taboos could I find, except imported ones from the Jur or Shatt or Shilluk through mixed marriages, both husband and children being bound to their wife's and mother's totem.

On the other hand the Bwɔdhɔ dialect, only very slightly differing from Luo, and the Bor one, whose vocabulary (if not its structure) is closely akin to it, form the strongest objection to any denial of their common origin, though their racial type has much degenerated from its pure original stock. Might not totemism, as existing among the Jur and kindred tribes, be ascribed to Dinka influence as Prof. Seligman ascribes it for the Shilluk ? [12] Somatic changes in the Bor's type are easily explained by their having mixed freely for over a century with the Belanda-Bviri who were and still are far more numerous than themselves. More or less the same may be said of the Dembo. After all do not quite a lot of Shatt resemble more the Dembo than the kindred Luo ?

Thus the problem remains unsolved.

Another point is worth bringing to light. We have often spoken of the Shilluk origin of these tribes, going so far as to call them, after the common fashion, the Shilluk in the Bahr el Ghazal. But is that right ?

Prof. Seligman, who is probably the best authority in the matter adopts the opinion of the Rev. Father Hofmayr, saying that "the Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation." [13] There seems to me to be a vague hint of this fact in both Shilluk and Luo traditions where it is stated that Dimo, the Luo's ancestor, was the elder half-brother of Nyikaŋ, the founder of the Shilluk nation: it was Nyikaŋ who left his ancestors' home to seek a new one.

If this opinion is adopted, it will be easier to explain all the differences existing among the Luo tribes in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, for their shifting to their actual homes should then be ascribed to a very ancient date. Time and foreign influences may easily account for such changes however deep they be. Distance, enmity, and a long period of slave raids, may have totally separated the Bor and Bwɔdhɔ from the kindred tribes, thus causing tribal traditions of their common origin

(12) *Cf.* "Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan," by C. G. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman, pp. 41-43.

(13) *Cf.* the above quoted work, p. 38.

to fade on both sides. For on the other hand the fact that, in spite of their old-world separation, they still keep (as far as the Bwɔdhɔ are concerned) unchanged the same language as the other Luo, stands as an extremely strong argument for their common origin with the other tribes of Luo stock.

THE LUO AND THE DINKA.

As seen above, the minor Luo peoples, and especially the so-called Shilluk, came in contact with the Dinka and finally fell under their sway. In order to clear up this point I made a trip into their old country and that of Cakcak. I give here in as concise a way as possible the result of my inquiries.

A map should be consulted where the old path-way from Wau to Nyamlel is shown.

At Cyɛlko I spent some days, but I was rather disappointed in my inquiries, for the people had been told about my coming and aim, and the old men I questioned on the matter, being for the most part Dinka, took up a decisively aggressive attitude towards the Luo, biasing all their answers on account of tribal pride and prejudice.

At Cyɛlko there live some groups of Shilluk-Luo. Men, and especially youngsters, seem to cling to Dinka modes discarding all sorts of clothing, but no Luo girl of any section could I find clotheless. The Shatt-Thuri, who live there in small groups, always wear clothes, except perhaps very young boys. Ndogo and chiefly Bai women, a tiny remnant of their old colonies, can still be met at Cyɛlko. One of Cakcak's sons, himself the son of a Bai woman, told me that among his father's wives there were three Bai and one Golo.

But the bulk of the Luo here, who are said to live near Wadelmak's old home between the River Kuru and the Aweil road, I was unable to visit.

With regard to my conversations with the Dinka at Cyɛlko. They wouldn't hear of any Luo having ever been a chief: they always were under Dinka sway. When I asked them about Wadelmak's spear, at first they denied knowing anything about it; but, on my insisting that I was well informed on the matter, they admitted that the Wadel-

maks had a spear, but a small one, made by themselves and not got from " Jwɔk." (14)

In fact, they added, if it had been from " Jwɔk," it would not have been stolen with impunity : it was no more than an imitation of that belonging to their Dinka lords. Akot got his own from heaven while he was bathing in the river. It is now, they told me, in the hands of Majak, and is kept inside a room purposely built for it, where there sleeps, according to a set rule, one of the late chief's widows. At present Majak's mother sleeps in it. On my desiring to see it, I was told that it cannot be taken out *sākit* but a goat should be slaughtered : and this should be done by night.

At my query " how were the Wadelmaks led to make a spear of their own as an ensign of their power," they told me the following story. At the death of Kon Wadelmak (the old) the sun refused to shine for a time, awe filling the horror-stricken people : Kon's children, at that sight, cried out " Surely we are chiefs' progeny." Upon which they soon got their own spear ready.(15)

Now trying to get together the various threads that make up the Luo's historical traditions, I have compared the information I got from the Dinka at Cyɛlko with that I got from old unbiased Dinka men at Nyamlel, besides their own home traditions. The outline of the whole thing is as follows.

Tɔŋ, who was born far away, east of the River Lol, was the father of Akot (the great), who was born in his turn in the vicinity of Aweil : so at least by that time, the Luo were independent from the Dinka. Majak, Akot's son, was likewise born there. Under these two chiefs, who occupied the land between the Aweil-Nyamlel road and the Kuru, the Luo came into contact with the Dinka. In connection with which fact a story is told. Akot's sister, while walking in the forest

(14) I quote the very word of the speakers, as they were talking Jur-Luo. Most of them can speak, and almost all understand, Luo : *e.g.*, Chief Majak, his mother and several of Cakcak's widows who are all Dinka. This fact, perhaps unique in Dinka country, shows that Luo blood is mixed with local Dinka to a great extent, sometimes the aboriginal element (Luo) prevailing over the foreign one, that of the conquering Dinka.

(15) The story of the sun being obscured at old Kon Wadelmak's death is well known among the Luo. I heard it also from Chief Uŋwec.

near Cyɛlko, happened to be seized by a Luo man and raped. At hearing of it, Akot made a *kujur* (I quote the Arabic word used by my informants) by which he made all the Luo women sterile. The Luo, aware of the evil charm working upon them, made due reparation for the offence and gave their chief's daughter to him in marriage. Thus the Luo became in some way subject to Akot's family.

It is not difficult to understand that they became by that process not subject, but allied to the Dinka, as my Nyamlel informants told me. Under Majak it seems that groups of Luo and Thuri did really join his people, to seek their protection against the Khartoumers; but from all I could gather, Wadelmak's family kept on ruling their own land. At Majak's death, his son Utyek (the famous Cakcak) was still too young for chief's duties, and it seems that his cousin Duaŋ Marial held the power all over the country between Cyɛlko and Nyamlel. By this time the Mahdia had begun bringing confusion and disorder everywhere. By Karamallah's time Cakcak was grown to full age. But here my informers do not agree. Some say he went to Dem Zubeir, where the Emir had summoned all local chiefs, and was ordered by Karamallah to go and gather to him all his friendly Dinka chiefs: but, back home, he heard that Wadelmak, who had gone by a different way, had been put to death by Karamallah. Thus he refused to obey the tyrant's orders. Some say he never went there. Some go as far as to say that he was not yet a chief by this time, being too young, but that the power was still in Duaŋ's hands. At Duaŋ's death (roughly at the time of Zemoi's invasions) Cakcak's rule started and soon grew far and wide. Anyhow we may gather from the preceding accounts that real Dinka dominion over the Luo was exercised only after Wadelmak's death at the hands of Karamallah: only a vague form of protection might have existed before that time.

ANDRÉ MELLY'S VISIT TO KHARTOUM [1] 1850.

By G. O. Whitehead.

André Melly, who claimed to be a descendant of Christopher Columbus, was a prominent and successful merchant of Liverpool. He had been born at Geneva in 1802, had migrated to England in 1822, become naturalized, had married an Englishwoman, daughter of a Bury cotton-miller, and had organized a successful business in Liverpool. In the years 1825-26, when he was 23 years of age, he had held the English agency for Mehemet Ali,[2] and had dealt largely in cotton ; he was said to have imported the first bale of Egyptian cotton and the first bag of Egyptian beans into England, and had established his commercial reputation in Liverpool by his sound judgment during the economic crisis of that year. By 1850 his family had grown up ; his son Charles Pierre had finished his apprenticeship to a London firm, George had been for two years in the Liverpool office, and Louisa had left school. It was the moment to carry out a long planned tour up the Nile valley. André Melly was an enthusiastic entomologist. The care of his collection was the absorbing occupation of his leisure hours. He would work at his hobby for an hour or two before breakfast, and was always able to detach his thoughts from the anxieties of his business when he was thus engaged. "Morning and evening," says a relation, "he was always busy with his insects, arranging, cooking them on wet sand, pulling them to pieces to study

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(1) Both André Melly and his son George wrote about their journey to Khartoum, the former in a number of letters to his friends in England subsequently collected and privately published under the title "Lettres d 'Egypte et de Nubie" 1852, and the latter in a book "Khartoum and the Blue and White Niles" 2 vols. 1851. They were only in Khartoum for a week but their notes upon the people they met there, when augmented by other information, make an interesting commentary upon the early days of the history of Khartoum.

Inverted commas have not been used for all the passages, quoted verbally or nearly so and incorporated in this account, from the above works and from Emilio Dandolo's "Viaggio in Eggitto, etc ·" (see below).

(2) His connection with Egypt was through a Genoese firm Viollier, Grabau and Co., with whom he had served as a clerk during the years 1819-22. This firm was the European agent for Mehemet Ali. A trader named Grabau was carrying on business in Kordofan and at El Obeid between 1840-1848—very likely one of this same Swiss-Italian firm.

their anatomy, reconstructing them with gum, and classing them in his collection, which was more neatly arranged than any private or public collection known. He had often to do with very tiny beetles, and I can fancy that I still see him minutely examining them without his spectacles, which on those occasions he raised up to his forehead." He looked forward to adding to his collection in the course of his journey. At his Liverpool home he already had a magnificent collection which illustrated the entomology of many distant parts of the world, Africa, India, South America and China. To-day it forms about a quarter of the collection of coleoptera in the Natural History Museum of Geneva, to which it was presented by his widow, Mrs. Melly, in 1861.

After equipping themselves at remarkably moderate cost in Cairo the party proceeded up the Nile and reached Wadi Halfa on November the 26th 1850. On the 28th their journey across the desert began. They had in all twenty camels, of which eleven were for the heavy baggage. One of them was loaded with the hen coop, which contained three turkeys and fifty hens, a large bag of rice and the kitchen table. The Mellys were attended by three servants: Abdel Fateeh el Daireh, the dragoman, who had "been mentioned with praise in some well known works on Egypt," and had been recommended by Mr. Walne, the English Consul in Cairo; Mahomet el Daireh, his brother, valet and *suffragi*; and Abbas, who had the reputation of being the best cook on the Nile, who had served Miss Martineau and Lord Northampton and who fulfilled all the expectations that his testimonials aroused. In addition to the domestics, there were two sailors, the *sheikh* of the camels, and nine camelmen. The Mellys' dragoman knew his business and the eleven days journey from Wadi-Halfa to Dongola passed without accident or serious inconvenience. Abdel Fateeh was the first to stir in the morning, and about four o'clock he would wake the other two servants. While the travellers dressed and breakfasted, the work of striking camp proceeded. Shortly after six o'clock the Mellys and their guide started off; soon the dragoman who had been giving orders to the baggage train still occupied in loading, would trot up. As they moved over the desert in the cool

of the dawn George Melly would read Shakespeare aloud to the others who rode four abreast just in front of him. But soon the sun would grow too hot for reader or listener to pursue this form of recreation. At mid-day a halt was made, and in the shade of a palm-tree and a small tent lemonade and ale were drunk. After a time the sumpter camels used to pass by and Abbas the cook would ride up for instructions about the evening's camp. The Mellys would start off again in the middle of the afternoon and arrive at their night's halting-place to find their evening meal of Irish stew and soup à la Julienne ready for them. "After dinner, appeared journals, books and dried flowers; these with stuffing birds, and a little social conversation, filled up the hours till our early bed-time. Then the sleep on our mattresses on the hard ground, was sleep such as I have rarely enjoyed before or since."

It was not unusual at this date for European travellers to adopt Turkish or Arab dress, for no standard tropical costume had then been elaborated. Mr. and Mrs. Melly, however, dressed much as they did in Liverpool, except that Mrs. Melly shrouded herself in shawls to protect her from the early morning cold and the mid-day heat, while Mr. Melly wore a pith helmet of the kind recommended by Sir Charles Napier for the use of the troops in India. George wore blue trousers and a red shirt, a top-coat "containing something of everything in the sporting line" and a tarboush and turban which could be arranged in a variety of ways to give protection from the sun. Charles preferred to wear a wideawake and a turban; his sister, Louisa, wore an immense straw hat. Both the ladies used sunshades.

On December 2nd, as they were about half-way in their journey across the desert, the party met a fellow European. He was a Frenchman, or more correctly an Italian of Savoy, named M. Vaudey. For twelve years he had been secretary to Clot Bey, but fifteen months earlier he had shared in his master's fall and had turned his hand to trade in the Sudan. With Mr. Petherick he had made a journey to El Obeid and was returning to Egypt with the prospect of a net profit of £3,000 when he had sold his gum at Alexandria. He was anxious to learn all that had been going on in Europe for the last year, and

treated the Mellys with every kindness, but he did not offer any of the maps and books about the country, among them a copy of Caillaud's "Voyage à Meroe" which caught André Melly's envious eye. This unfortunate man, who was appointed a few months later to be Sardinian consul in Khartoum, was killed in the course of a brawl with the Baris of Gondokoro, which occurred in April 1854 as a result of the accidental shooting of two native boys.

The party spent four days at Dongola and left on the 12th of December. The delay had been caused by a difficulty in procuring a new set of camels. This time they took eighteen, for the party had been reduced by the dismissal of the two sailors, who had proved troublesome. George had been forced to spend much of his time, during the days in Dongola, bathing his eye, which had become inflamed. But the condition had improved when at last they were ready to start. By the evening of the 12th the party were in the desert of Agab Teschagoa. When their camp had been prepared the family settled down, each to his favourite occupation: André wrote his letter-diary, George read Shakespeare, and Charles Macaulay's History of England. They waited impatiently for their half-past seven dinner, for André Melly, like a true son of Geneva, did not forget to celebrate his home-town's annual féte, the *escalade*, the glorious deed by which the townsmen of Geneva had repulsed, on December 12th, 1602, the almost successful attempt by the troops of the Duke of Savoy to capture the town, after they had scaled its formidable defences. When dinner came wine was brought, and all drank to the health of Geneva and of all Genevese wherever they were.

On the 16th after four days the travellers struck the Nile once more at Merowe, crossed it, and after changing their camels, started to cross the Bayuda desert. On the evening of the 24th they drew close to the river near Wadi Bacharah, and on the 25th kept Christmas at Saial. Abbas, the cook, rose to the occasion and André Melly sets down the menu:—"une dinde parfaite, des poulets farcis à la turque, du mouton sauce aux capres, du riz au currie, des gâteaux de pommes de terre, plum pudding, et custard pudding, le tout arrosé d'ale, de champagne, et de St. George en négus." The next day, after a journey



through pleasant acacia woods full of brilliant birds, only, thought André Melly, to be equalled for their number in Brazil, the party arrived at 5 o'clock in sight of Khartoum. "On a boundless plain below lay the junction of the two Niles; next we observed the white government house and the minarets of Khartoum, and then the broad White Nile stretched as far as one could see as it merged into the horizon. It looked like the end of the world almost, as we gazed on the two rivers, sulkily flowing side by side, that would not fraternize as they rolled along. Lastly, appeared the boundless deserts beyond the town, making it look like a bulwark against barbarism, and an outpost of civilization."

André Melly reached the capital of the Sudan at an interesting point in the development of the Nile valley under European influences. For years Mehemet Ali, who had died in the previous year, had been innoculating the country with doses of western progress. He employed Europeans to search for coal and gold; from time to time he investigated the question of a canal between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; he was even prepared to pull down the Pyramids to build a barrage across the Nile. Active and ingenious Frenchmen were behind most of his projects. Their presence was partly a consequence of the Napoleonic invasion; that extraordinary military adventure inaugurated a remarkable scientific tradition in the treatment of Egypt's problems and this was later reinforced by the advent of a number of engineers and St. Simoniens [3] in 1833-34. Italians, too, had begun to seek their fortunes by flight from their struggling and unhappy land, and were already being encouraged in a vague colonial ambition by the cool and astute Cavour.

André Melly, himself a product of the triumph of the middle classes in the evolution of European trade and commerce, had his own interests in Egyptian commercial development. But with all his knowledge of railway shares, California mines, and the like, this shrewd and capable Swiss with his practical pursuits, did not attempt during his six busy

(3) Sir Francis Galton made a journey to Khartoum in 1845 and on his way met d'Arnaud, the engineer of the port of Mahmudieh and the explorer of the White Nile whom he describes as the best of the Saint Simoniens and who not only encouraged him to continue his journey to Khartoum, but directed the whole bent of his future career by stimulating his interest in scientific problems, among them apparently the great finger-print question.

days in Khartoum to probe beneath the surface or to detect the deeper trends that lay beneath the bright and curious scenes of European life in Khartoum. Melly was a politically minded man. In his early days in Manchester he had spoken publicly in favour of reform and even been pitched from the platform into the crowd. He was a thoughtful and active supporter of "all the great Liberal measures which were debated, and ultimately carried from the year 1829 onwards: Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, the Emancipation of the Slaves, Municipal Reform, the Abolition of Tests directed against Dissenters from the Church of England, the Reform of the Poor Law, and the abolition of all Monopolies and Protectives Duties". Thus his friend Mr. Henry Romilly, son of Sir Samuel Romilly, describes with a dignified wealth of capitals the enlightened views of the Liverpool merchant. Yet when he found himself at one of the great centres of the abominable African slave-trade, among men who knew of all its horrors, even if they did not benefit from them themselves, his reformer's instincts seem to have remained strangely dormant. While in Cairo during October he had visited a slave merchant who dealt with traders at Sennar and in Kordofan and from what he learnt he judged that the life of a slave in lower Egypt was not oppressive.

During his stay he came across everyone of note. He met with the best side of the life led by Europeans in Khartoum, their ready friendliness and easy hospitality, he saw their strange collections of animals, stuffed birds and White Nile curiosities, and heard their eager discussions of the prospects for the expansion of trade and exploration of the Nile. Yet unlike Mansfield Parkyns and Bernard Taylor he seems to have perceived little of the darker side of the life and activities of the European colony, or if anything of this came to his ears, he did not record it. All he learnt was that there was friction between Latif Pasha, the Governor, and the European traders over the restriction imposed by the Government upon their trade. Latif Pasha called all the Europeans with the exception of the much respected Dr. Peney, liars and "cattivi;" and Brun-Rollet, the Savoyard trader, described the Governor as narrow-minded. After the Mellys had gone the quarrel which was brewing flared up over

the departure of Brun-Rollet's flotilla for the south in November 1851, a dispute in which Brun-Rollet with the assistance of Dr. Reitz, [4] the Austrian consul, and of Vaudey, the Sardinian consul, got the best of it, for Latif Pasha was shortly after recalled and commerce and navigation on the White Nile was declared free.

At half-past eight on the morning of December 27th, André Melly and his son George, leaving Charles to cure his bird skins and keep the ladies company, set off by boat for Khartoum. The Governor shewed them the most ingratiating courtesy: he would provide them with a house in place of their three tents; he would have his own *dahabieh* prepared to take them down to Berber on their return journey; camels should be ready for them there; and their letters should be sent by special messenger to Assouan. After taking leave of the Pasha George and his father visited the house [5] set aside for them: it was situated on the river side next door to the Pasha's *harem*; then, after looking over the *dahabieh*, they went on to the *suk*, then to the house of the head apothecary where they met the European colony who came dropping in—"a very respectable circle of Frenchmen and Italians." After that back in a boat lent by the Pasha, with a crew of ten sailors, to spend the night of the 27th in their camp on the banks of the White Nile.

The next day (Dec. 28th) as soon as Mr. Melly was in the house provided for their reception there arrived a succession of visitors. The first to appear was Dr. Peney, chief medical officer to the forces, who had travelled widely in the Soudan, and who ten years later was to be so nearly first in the race to discover the sources of the White Nile, had he not died of fever near Gondokoro on 26th July, 1861. Melly was delighted to find that he was born at St. Genix and that his mother possessed a property next to Sergy. Consequently he knew all the well-known names of Geneva, though he had pursued his medical studies at Montpellier and Paris. After him came Mr. Romello of Turin, the chief apothecary, who had courteously sent on

(4) Constantine Reitz was the agent for a company which had been formed to introduce small steam boats for commercial purposes south of Khartoum. He died of fever on his return from a journey undertaken to Abyssinia with Theodor von Heuglin (1853).

(5) Said to have been the one afterwards occupied by General Gordon.

before him a basket of fruit and flowers. He had been absent from his home for twenty-seven years but stayed on to qualify for his pension. [6] After that a polite note from one of the three priests at the Catholic Mission.

> My Lord,
>
> I hope you will accept a little fruits from the garden of your servants, minister of the Catholic Church, or rather from your garden in this cyty.
>
> Yours servants,
>
> Emmanuel Pedemonte.

André says that Father Pedemonte called in person and describes him as "un superbe homme à immense barbe." He had once been a soldier in Napoleon's army. George does not mention the visit. Then Monsieur Brun-Rollet put in an appearance. It is said of him that he reached Khartoum as a cook, and had rapidly made a fortune, trading as Khawaga Jacoub. Since 1844 he had made several journeys south, and he had returned from the first of these with a Bari chief Nyigilo, who had become his friend and who upon returning home acted as his agent in the Bari country. The Mellys liked him: George found him "a particularly quiet, gentleman-like Frenchman," André "by far the most agreeable man that we have seen." Later in the day Mr. Melly seems to have paid a second visit to the Governor, and there to have met some of the Turkish officials. Many of them were virtually in exile and their talk was much of their discontents and misfortunes or of rumours and hopes that the Viceroy, Abbas, was ill or that there was likely to be a change in the supreme direction of Egyptian affairs. Two of these men, Rifa'a Bey and Bayoumi Effendi, had received their education at the École Polytechnique in Paris, and had risen to high positions in the public instruction in Egypt, but had now been sent to Khartoum on the pretext that they were to open a school there. Such were the dismal beginnings of education in Khartoum—classes of unwilling Soudanese and two

(6) Prof. Almagia gives his name as Ignazio Lomello (Gli Italiani nel Bacino Medio e Superiore del Nilo 1840—1890.)

disgruntled Egyptian officials who had tasted the pleasures of European culture.

On the 29th December André Melly and his son returned the visits of their new friends. First they went to Lomello's house, where they met Dr. Peney and one of the Roman Catholic priests. After that to Brun-Rollet's house to see his collection of animals and curiosities. M. Rollet told them how he had already presented such a collection to the Museum at Vienna, and later on the Mellys bought or were given his latest collection which consisted of spears, musical instruments, and wooden and horn spoons probably from the Bari country. This collection now exists in the Free Public Museum at Liverpool. Once again Brun-Rollet dilated on the prospects of trade in the south and the harvest to be reaped from a well-furnished expedition of which he would be head. It seemed, perhaps, an opportunity to stir the interest of a wealthy Liverpool merchant, but André Melly thought it a very chancy affair and did not encourage the idea of an expedition, though his son George was fired with the idea of seeing monkeys further south. It seems to have been in Brun-Rollet's house that Mr. Melly met a Maltese and an Italian with interests upon the White Nile but whose names he did not record. The Maltese was probably Andrea del Bono who had arrived in the Soudan in 1848 and whose name is often mentioned in books of Nile exploration. It was his men whom Speke and Grant met as they marched north from their great discovery in 1861 and who accompanied the two Englishmen up to Gondokoro.

In the evening Monsieur Brun-Rollet came to dinner and stayed late. He talked of his expeditions and of methods by which trade could be extended : how steamers could be used to tow the *dahabiehs* upstream, and how at latitude 4°, that is in Bari territory, the country might be colonized. If Brun-Rollet really did hope, as seems possible, to interest Melly in his projects, and if Melly had financed an expedition, as he might well have done, since the cost would not have been great, it is interesting to think how this descendant of Christropher Colombus would have helped to solve the great geographical problem of the 19th century. For Brun-Rollet, in contemporary opinion, was one of the

most likely men then operating on the White Nile to be successful in tracing the river to its source.

The next day, December 30th, at 7 o'clock in the morning when Mr. Melly was recording the reading of his barometer, Latif Pasha, the Governor, arrived accompanied by an officer, two janissaries, and a pipe-bearer. He stayed for two hours, grumbling about the European colony, and explaining the military establishment kept in the Sudan. He invited the Mellys to dinner, but since the ladies could not have gone, and the time of departure was drawing near, Mr. Melly instead invited him to come to dinner with them, and the Pasha, after accepting on the condition that he should come after nightfall, so that he might not be seen, remarked that he would bring his friend, Ali Bey Hassib, the Governor of Berber, whom the Mellys had already met on the previous day.

After lunch a visit was paid to the Catholic Mission. The Provicar, Dr. Ignatius Knoblecher, was absent in Austria where he was collecting fresh funds, but three priests were there, Father Zara, Father Pedemonte and Father Angelo Vinco. All three had accompanied Dr. Knoblecher when he paid his first visit to the south, and had reached Mt. Logwek, the hill behind Rejaf. Angelo Vinco was soon to return and in fact started about a fortnight later on January 12th, 1851, with the assistance of the trader, Brun-Rollet, who seems to have held a high opinion of him. The Mellys saw the school, the chapel, the library and the garden upon which the missionaries lavished such pains. And there were two camel loads of White Nile curiosities which the Mellys were asked to accept.

That evening the dinner to the Governor and his colleague took place. First there arrived the Pasha's head-cook and servant, bearing fifteen little dishes containing a variety of hors d'oeuvres and salads. The guests smoked their pipes before dinner was served. André Melly again gives in detail the dishes that Abbas, the cook, had prepared: " un excellent potage de pâtes de Gênes, du saumon d'Écosse (apporté de Liverpool), sauce piquante, un hachis, pâté de pigeons, rôti de mouton, plum pudding, omelette aux confitures, outre légumes, pillau, etc." The salmon had come in hermetically sealed tins purchased

at Fortnum and Mason's —an early example of the use[7] of that famous firm's products since their earliest Christmas catalogue of tinned foods had only appeared in 1849.

Ali Bey Hassib only drank lemonade, but the Governor took two glasses of grog, and there was champagne as well. Talk which had been forced at first became more lively, and when Mahomet set fire to his beard as he put a dish on the table, the fun was great. Upon Mr. Melly regretting that he had no cigars to offer his guests, the Pasha immediately sent for six boxes which he insisted upon his host keeping for his return journey. Meanwhile in true Soudanese style, Mr. Melly's servants entertained eighteen of the Pasha's retainers in the kitchen. At ten o'clock after an interesting talk upon the state of the country, the party broke up.

The 31st of December was the party's last whole day in Khartoum, and as before the Mellys spent it in the exchange of numerous visits. Before eight o'clock the servants of Khorshid Bey, governor of Nuba, and of Musa Bey, governor of Kordofan, announced the approach of their masters. However these notables did not stay very long, and seemed only to have come to take a look at the ladies of the party. During the morning Louisa and her mother paid a visit to the Pasha's *harem*, while the boys, Charles and George, starting at sunrise made an expedition on camels to a village up the White Nile, Mr. Melly after accompanying his wife and daughter to the *harem*, went on to watch the Pasha transacting business. Here the scene was all gravity. Mr. Melly sat with Latif Pasha on " the great cushion," while the rest of the officials used European chairs. The Pasha was dealing with his correspondence ; he would select one letter out of four or five, and pass the rest to a clerk seated on the floor. *Effendis* would enter and submit papers to the Pasha, while *muraslat* kept coming and going.

Later in the day Charles and his father went to see the collections of a certain Monsieur Nicola, a Tuscan naturalist, at that time absent on the White Nile. They found a number of horribly sculptured

(7) The use of tinned food dates back earlier than most people think. Nicolas Appert, a Frenchman, experimented in preserving food in tins ten years before the battle of Trafalgar ; Darwin had " between 5 and 6 thousands canisters of preserved meat " with him aboard the *Beagle* in 1831, but it was not till the American Civil War of 1861 that the industry received its greatest stimulus.

" fetishes." These were probably some of those Bari ancestor-figures which the Khartoum merchants used yearly to bring back from around Gondokoro under the impression that they were idols. They form an interesting link between the wooden carvings of the Bongo in the west and of some of the Abyssinian tribes to the east.

There were some stuffed birds as well, " a stuffed ant-eater of great size," and some living animals. Later George bought a gerboa in the street which became a great favourite with Louisa on their homeward journey, till it died near Berber.

In the evening a quiet dinner was given to Dr. Peney that " well informed, placid, and agreeable" Frenchman, and to the apothecary Lomello. Mr. Melly would have asked the priests as well, and the Maltese Andrea del Bono, who had lately become a Mohammedan and taken the name of Latif Effendi. But his table was too small and the plates too few.

With the first day of the new year, came the time for the Mellys departure from Khartoum. The *dahabieh* was rowed down past the Governor's house and the junction of the two Niles in the morning and was anchored opposite Saial by 11 o'clock, but it was not until four o'clock that it finally got under way. The inhabitants of Khartoum vied with each on the last two days in showering gifts upon the party. The Governor had sent charcoal and other necessaries ; Ali Bey Hassib had sent bouquets for the ladies ; Dr. Peney had done his best to find a guinea-worm for Mr. Melly, though the latter had begged him not to bother ; Father Pedemonte and Father Zara placed on board the boat an enormous banana plant covered with fruit, which made a pretty effect but was rather inconvenient ; Lomello provided two chairs, unprocurable in the *suk*. In return the Mellys had given him forty potatoes and another basketful to the fathers. This was a welcome gift to a Khartoum garden, for though efforts had been made to cultivate potatoes they had previously arrived in a rotten condition. Lastly from some unknown donor had come an enormons basket of vegetables to save the servants having to purchase them on the way.

The dragoman had gone round the town tipping officials and had also purchased a little nigger-boy for £5.8.0. "who seems to me a bad bargain," noted Mr. Melly, " not only because of the high price but

because his physiognomy is unintelligent and distinctly savage"—no doubt some poor little pouting Nilote.

The Khartoum community took this fortunate opportunity to send letters to their friends. The regular post was bad; years might pass before residents in Khartoum received letters by that means and they were sure that many of the letters that they despatched never reached their destination. Consequently Mr. Melly's portfolio was stuffed with letters for Upper Egypt, Cairo, Alexandria, Constantinople, Naples and other parts of Europe. So with a slight north wind against it, and eighteen Soudanese to ply the sweeps, the *dahabieh* moved downstream at about five miles an hour.

That night André Melly recorded "Charles is a little out of sorts, and I have caught cold—a bad beginning for 1851. These trifling indispositions will be finished to-morrow and in that expectation I wish you a good night." The next day Charles was still low with fever and had a pulse of 50, but André Melly himself had got over his cold. Charles gradually recovered during the next few days and was able once again to return to his hobbies, and procured some bats which were well worth dissecting. His father too got out his butterfly net and went hunting insects. The party did not disembark at Shendi which they reached on January 5th, but the next day they started at five o'clock in the morning to make a five hours excursion by donkey to see the pyramids of Meroe, where Mrs. Melly made three sketches and Mr. Melly and the boys explored and measured.

The journey down the river was full of interest with its abundant wild life, its flocks of geese and cranes and wild-fowl, its crocodiles lying like logs upon the banks or rocks, and an occasional glimpse of a hippopotamus, but it was nearly over, and at 5 o'clock on the 7th of Janúary the Pasha's *dahabieh* came to its moorings at Berber, where the party met with an impressive reception. The following day a Frenchman, M. Lafargue, paid them a visit. He was a native of Bordeaux and must have been one of the senior European residents in the Sudan for he had arrived in the country as far back as 1834 and had made the expedition of 1840-41 up the White Nile with the German Werne and the Frenchmen d'Arnaud and Thibaut. He carried on a trade in gum with Kordofan, and made "annual expeditions up the

White Nile" to his trading station near Gondokoro; he was reputed to have grown wealthy, had married an Abyssinian wife, and preferred living at Berber to Khartoum whose European residents he dubbed intriguers, forever getting up petitions, protests, and addresses to the consuls, of which he disapproved. This criticism probably referred to M. Brun-Rollet's activities. He died at Berber in 1860.

The Mellys left Berber on the evening of the 8th January, but on the 13th they were obliged to stop at a village named Gagee or Geiga, on the east bank of the Nile about twenty miles south of Abu Hamad, owing to the indisposition of Mr. Melly. He had not been well for some days and on the morning of the 19th of January he died. He was buried in the local Arab cemetery, wrapped in a shroud which had come from Mecca and was given by a local sheikh. Later Latif Pasha had a monument in brick built over the grave, and some years later John Petherick was charged by the family with the task of bringing from England and having set up a memorial tablet. For some years the Englishman's grave in this distant spot was a feature recorded by travellers and tourists. Then in the Mahdi's days the gravestone was wrecked, and today a plain stone has been erected to mark the place.[8]

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(8) The white marble slab, taken out from England by Petherick, was inscribed as follows :—

Peregrino Rispetta la Tomba dello Straniero.
In Memory of
G. MELLY, OF LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND.
Born at Geneva, 12th of May, 1802;
Died at Gagee, near this spot, 19th of January, 1851.
Returning from Khartoum, whither he was led by a love of science and natural history, accompanied by his family,
consisting of his wife, two sons, and one daughter,
he was here attacked by fever,
and died in his tent after five days' illness.
This tomb was erected over his grave in 1851, with unsolicited courtesy,
by Latif Pacha, then Governor of the Soudan; and
in November, 1859, this tablet was sent from Liverpool by Mr. Melly's family,
who are indebted to the kindness of Mr. John Petherick
for bringing and placing it here.

Mrs. Petherick who records the inscription (the G. as the initial is an error adds that " at the foot of the tablet a sentence in Arabic is carved, to the same purport as the Italian one at the Head." *Travels in Central Africa vol. 1 p. 46.* In the Memoirs of Charles Pierre Melly published in 1889 it is said that " Abbas Pasha caused a mosque with a fountain to be built over the tomb, and a well to be dug in memory of the white traveller."

On the morning of the 24th of January, two Milanese refugees, by name Trotti and Dandolo, were riding south from Assouan. They sighted a caravan approaching in the opposite direction. In the distance their guides could not be sure who the newcomers were. They looked like Turks with their white turbans . . no, like merchants. No : at last could be clearly distinguished two green silk umbrellas and two hats of straw. They were ladies, two European ladies. The Italians hastened forward, and waved their hats and their hands. There was no need to ask to what nation the ladies belonged ; what woman, save an Englishwoman, would ever have dared to confront, in green umbrella and straw-hat, the ardours and the fatigues of the desert ? There was half-an-hour's exchange of news. The Italians learnt of the Mellys' sad loss, and were furnished with details upon places and people on the journey that lay before them. Then with a clasp of the hand, like old friends, they parted. (9)

And so farewell to that admirable Victorian family, (10) to Mr. Melly with his solid scientific interests, to Mrs. Melly and her landscapes, to Louisa and her gerboa, to serious Charles with his bird-skins and his bats, and to friendly, sociable George.

(9) Emilio Dandolo " Viaggio in Eggitto etc." Milan 1854—pp. 204-205.

(10) The Late Dr. John Melly, whose heroic and Christian work in Abyssinia is recorded in a book " John Melly of Ethiopia, " is a descendant of the Melly family.

A NOTE ON INGESSANA MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

The following information was recorded in 1926 at Soda. The Ingessana live in the Tabi Hills in the Darfung Area. We know very little about them.[1]

Girls and boys are often betrothed at an early age, sometimes before puberty. When a man desires to marry a girl he visits her father and makes him a present of tobacco for himself and for his near kinsmen. A youth's father acts on his behalf in these affairs. If the girl's father is agreeable to the proposal he accepts the tobacco and places it on a shelf in his hut. He then summons his brothers—and maybe also his wife's brothers—distributes the tobacco among them and asks their opinions about the marriage. If they wish to oppose the marriage they refuse the tobacco. The girls' father would not reject the advice of his relatives. If the suit is accepted the bridegroom presents his future father-in-law with a sheep.

Before making a proposal a man consults his brothers and uncles and obtains their consent. When his suit has been accepted his kinsmen also make gifts to the bride's kinsmen : his father and brothers present tobacco to her father and brothers ; his maternal uncle gives two sheep to her maternal uncle ; and his paternal uncle gives a sheep to her paternal uncle. If he has no uncles his brothers make these gifts.

Bridewealth is paid by labour in the cultivations of the bride's kinsmen over a period of several years. During this period the bridegroom frequently visits his bride, but in the company of friends. If he has congress with her it is in secret. Status does not exempt a man from working in his father-in-law's cultivations. A religious chief (*aur*) or a secular chief (*sen*) is not excused.

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(1) See C. G. Seligman: "Note on Jebel Tabi," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VIII, 1924, pp. 111-114; E. E. Evans-Pritchard: "A Preliminary Account of the Ingessana Tribe in Fung Province", idem, Vol. X., 1927, pp. 69-83 ; and J. W. Robertson: "Further Notes on the Ingessana Tribe," *idem*, Vol. XVII., 1934.

Not only the bridegroom, but all his kinsmen, have to work in the cultivations, the bridegroom's father often working more than the bridegroom himself. All those kinsmen whom the bridegroom calls *bau* "father," and *awl* "brother," may be called upon to assist his father-in-law in cultivating and hut-building. The bridegroom, and members of his family, work for several years for his father-in-law, but more distant kinsmen are only expected to assist on special occasions, and are then usually provided with beer. However, it is important that these more distant kinsmen should fulfil their obligations, for I was told that if they do not assist their relative's father-in-law from time to time he may consider himself slighted and break off the engagement.

If it is surprising that so many relatives on the bridegroom's side are affected, it is yet more surprising to find that a very large number of the bride's kinsmen may claim their services. A man does not commence his bride labour in the cultivations of his father-in-law, but in the cultivations of his father-in-law's brothers. I was told that if an uncle or nephew or sister or cousin of the bride's father wants assistance in cultivating or in hut-building he informs his relative who tells his son-in-law to collect a work-party. The workers are rewarded with beer on such occasions. Thus the payment and reception of bride-labour involves a wide system of relationships on both sides. Persons are more or less affected by the custom according to the nearness of their relationship to the betrothed parties.

I was also told that a man's affines are expected to help him to pay bride-labour, namely the husbands of his sisters, his brothers' wives, and the brothers of his own wives (if he is already married).

The payment of bride-labour continues for a number of years while the bride is reaching womanhood. Before her wedding and the consummation of her marriage some bride-cattle must be paid and when they have been paid service on her kinsmen's cultivations ceases. The payment of animals is quantitatively ill-defined and is of little importance compared with the payment of service. If a man is rich he may pay as many as six cows which are distributed among the bride's kinsmen. An average payment for persons who are not wealthy

is from ten goats and sheep and a small quantity of *dammur* cloth to thirty goats and sheep and a large quantity of *dammur* cloth. Pigs also often form part of bride-wealth. If the bridegroom is likely to make a good husband and son-in-law the bride's parents do not press for a big payment. In the event of divorce these payments were returned to the bridegroom's people, but I did not hear that any compensation could be demanded for bride-labour[2].

Weddings take place in the ceremonial season of *bal*, at the commencement of the new rains. The whistle which is played at weddings cannot be played at other times. The bridegroom and some of his male friends go to the bride's home and ask for her. They sit outside the enclosure and the bride's mother sends out *kisra* to them. When they have eaten they return the bowl filled with tobacco. It is said that if the bridegroom is very angry at having had to wait a long time before being allowed to cohabit with his wife he may rush into the homestead and begin to grind *kisra* himself as a protest. While the young men are eating outside, the female relatives of the bride anoint her with fat and adorn her with ornaments. Afterwards the bridegroom and his friends rush into the homestead, seize the bride, and drag her to her husband's home. The bride resists this rape of her person and her female relatives rush to her defence and beat the young men with sticks.

A feast is later held at the bridegroom's home and all his kinsfolk are invited to it. While the feast is in progress female relatives of the bride come and sit outside the bridegroom's enclosure and chicken, pork, *berilla*, and other kinds of food are sent out to them. They bear this food, or some of it, home with them. The bride goes back with them on their return.

Two or three days later an *auritshalk*, a performer, accompanied by assistants, arrives at the bride's homestead and conducts her to her husband's home. The performers dance, play the *rababa*, and manipulate wooden images and phalli, often in a very lewd manner.

(2) Mr. J. W. Robertson says, in 1934, that the development of an export crop is leading to a recognition that bride-labour is wealth returnable at divorce (*op. cit.* pp. 120-121.).

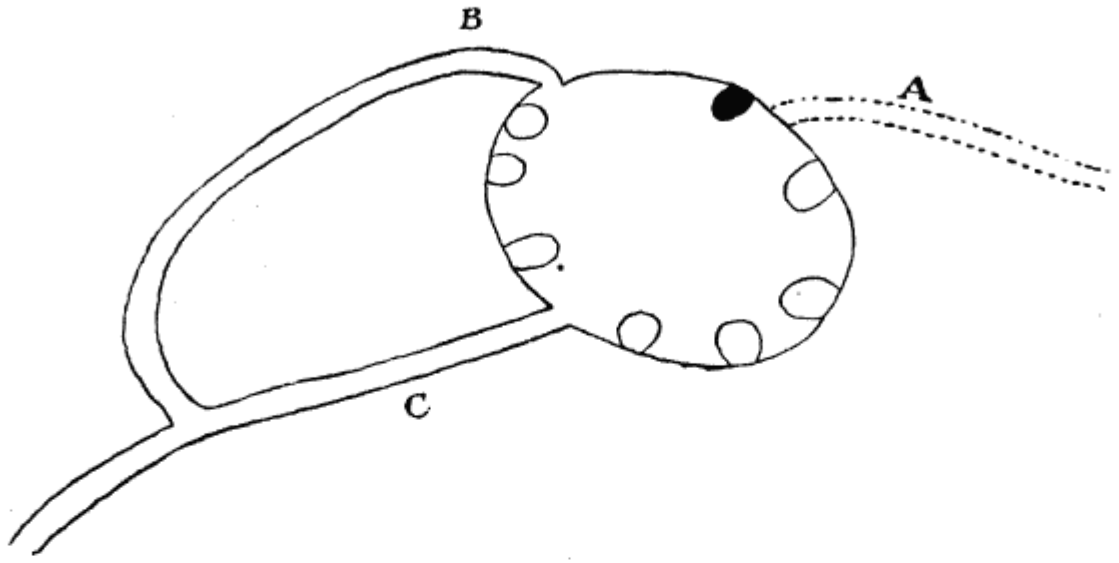
Bride and bridegroom sit on a bench and men and women creep up behind them and cut off the tufts of their hair which were left after a previous shaving of their heads. The bride is then anointed with fat and led home by her girl friends with a cloth over her head. Her friends sing and shout and they carry away with them gifts of fowls.

When the party reaches home the *auritshalk* takes two pigs, presented by the bridegroom, spears them in the throat, and lays their bleeding bodies on the threshold of the kitchen hut. He takes hold of the bride and walks her backwards and forwards a few times over the blood of the pigs. I was told that this was done to make the marriage fruitful. The *auritshalk* receives half a pig and the rest of the meat is eaten by those present in the bride's homestead.

When the bride's hair has begun to grow again she goes, accompanied by a small girl, to her husband's home. She carries *kisra* and her companion takes this into her husband's homestead, while she remains outside. This act appears to conclude the wedding ceremonies, though there is further playing on the whistle and dancing and antics of the performers, in the evenings in both homesteads. I need only add that the above account is obviously scrappy and that it is entirely based on verbal information, since I had no opportunity of witnessing any of the ceremonies.

After the wedding the husband builds for himself a hut in his wife's homestead. When it is completed he and some of his male friends go to his wife's homestead and play on the whistle outside, where food and beer are presented to them. Afterwards all return home except the husband and two companions, who enter the new hut with the bride and her sister. Here more food is eaten, the husband abstaining, and they anoint themselves with fat. The couple are then left alone to consummate their union. At cock-crow the husband leaves for his own home or, if it is far, for the home of a nearby friend. He visits his wife every night and departs at dawn for about a month, on each occasion entering his hut through a small opening in the *zeriba*. At the end of about a month his father-in-law closes this miniature entrance and in future he enters the homestead by a normal-sized entrance, though it is not the entrance used by his

parents-in-law. He continues to use a separate entrance till a child is born, after which event he uses the same entrance as other members of the homestead. The sketch below is of an actual homestead.



A—Entrance used by son-in-law for about the first month after marriage.

B—Entrance used by son-in-law until birth of child.

C—Entrance used by son-in-law in common with his in-laws, after birth of child.

●—Hut of bridegroom.

O—Huts of in-laws.

At Soda the bridegroom is expected to stay in his wife's village till after the birth of his first child, though I believe that the period of residence is shorter in other parts of Ingessana country. Some husbands stay longer but this depends partly on conditions of soil and water and partly on their relations with their parents-in-law. Of three informants one remained in his father-in-law's homestead for eight years, one for four years, and another, who is still resident there, for six years. Often, when a husband builds a homestead elsewhere, he builds it near that of his parents-in-law. Some husbands, on the other hand, go to reside near the homesteads of their fathers.

A man must treat his parents-in-law with great respect. Although he lives in her homestead he avoids his mother-in-law. He hides in the bush if he sees her coming along his path. He never enters her sleeping hut or kitchen. If he wishes to give her tobacco or other small presents he slips them round the door of the hut into the woodwork at the sides. If either son-in-law or mother-in-law wishes to converse with the other, he, or she, squats outside the other's hut while the other remains inside. The husband does not avoid his father-in-law. His father-in-law gives him ground to cultivate. The husband assists his wife's family in their cultivations, but voluntarily, and they assist him in his cultivations. They also assist one another in matters of food.

A man's brothers have rights of access to his wife. When one of them visits the husband his wife places food and beer before him. If he wishes to remain the night with her he tells her so and, if she is willing, her husband leaves them together. The decision rests with the women. I was informed by all those I questioned that the husband would not be angry at the exercise of this fraternal privilege. It is difficult to say to what extent it is actually exercised, but the impression was received from statements of informants that it is commongly exercised by true brothers while in the case of classificatory brothers it is only exercised when the husband has more than one wife. I was told that the custom was weakening under Arabic influence.

The levirate is practised. Usually it is the eldest brother who takes the wife, even if there are unmarried younger brothers. However, the wife herself may refuse to live with the elder brother and if she elects to cohabit with a younger brother her decision is accepted. But she ought to live with one of the brothers. During my residence at Soda a widow, a daughter of Chief Nurifa, was visited by a man unrelated to her dead husband and while she was with him in her husband's hut it was surrounded by her husband's brother and some of his friends. The man escaped by charging through them whirling his *kolbeda* in the air.

I add to the above account the following isolated statements which I find in my notebooks. If a man elopes with a girl her father

and uncles seize his cattle and the chief then intervenes and compels the man to return the girl and pay a bull which is killed and eaten by the girl's relatives and the elders. If a man makes an unmarried girl pregnant he must pay a bull to the girl's relatives, who eat it. If he possesses cattle he must also pay a cow to the paternal uncle and a cow to the maternal uncle of the girl, and grain to her parents. If he does not possess cattle he pays goats or sheep. An adulterer has to pay cattle to the husband, a cow each to the paternal and maternal uncles of the girl, and much grain to her father. He also sacrifices a goat. In past times a man found committing adultery with a woman would have been killed by her husband.

MORE RARE BIRDS OF THE SOUTHERN BAHR EL GHAZAL

By H. M. Woodman.

The border territories of the southern Sudan are inhabited by a wealth of bird life. The south-western corner is particularly interesting in that it is the meeting place of fauna and flora of three regions, although it probably cannot boast of quite such a range of unexpected species as the mountains of the southeast.

In the former region there are certain birds which are rarities, which one is only likely to encounter after acquiring a fairly intimate knowledge of the likely localities in which they would occur, and how restricted those localities can be. But, generally speaking, there is much that is unfamiliar and relatively unknown to the Sudan, which can be seen by any naturalist or passer-by, who has the opportunity and the inclination to wander into the bush. The few rarities would by no means preclude such a one from being well rewarded.

There is always that lurking proclivity in the White Man's nature to want to unearth something new ; in this case a new species ; but in this respect he is much less likely to meet with success than one would anticipate. It is almost safe to say that careful watching, even of the multitude of unfamiliar, well camouflaged and half concealed passerine birds of the remotest forest thicket, will fail to disclose any species new to science. New sub-species are just within the bounds of possibility. But intermediate and intergrading races are always likely to be found and give a thrill which, I suppose, is quite inexplicable to any but a keen ornithologist. Further discoveries of extension of range of any given species, from one avifaunal region into another, may always turn up and make bird-watching the more interesting. It is a few years too late to find much that will surprise the ornithologists of the British Museum or add to their unsurpassed collections, nevertheless there are big gaps in their knowledge still to fill concerning, in particular :—(1) Nesting habits, eggs and young, in view of the fact

that the breeding season may vary in different parts of Africa, (2) Field notes in general. So many skins have been collected for museums, but comparatively few of the rare birds have been watched and their habits authentically recorded. These two points apply very much to a number of birds in the south. There are races like the Nightjars and Pigmy Rails for example which, because of their nocturnal or environmental tastes, leave us ignorant of the simplest facts about them, their calls, nesting habits or eggs. There are others like the Hartlaub's Duck, which, though the commonest breeding duck of the southern border, is still shrouded in mystery as regards its nest and eggs, neither of which have ever been seen although Major Larken and I have both seen ducklings a few weeks old with their unique capacity for climbing.

In some brief notes contributed to Vol. XIX part 1 of this Journal (1936) I drew attention to eighteen species of this district, most of which were new to Bowen's Sudan list, but I realised that the absence of any account of field characters or habits rendered the notes of very limited value to the practical bird lover.

Unfortunately the collection of skins is a far easier matter than the collection of reliable field notes.

In giving a brief account of another eighteen species (thirteen of which are new additions to the Sudan list, although six of these are included in Captain Cave's list) I am adding what few field notes I know after a longer but all too brief acquaintance with their haunts and habits. (Birds marked * are new to the Sudan, those included in Captain Cave's list are marked†).

Order GALLIFORMES.
Sub-Order GALLI.
Family PHASIANIDAE (Game Birds).

1. *Dybowski's Double-Spurred Francolin, Francolinus icterorhynchus dybowskii* (Oust).

There is one common, large, yellow-legged, brown-spotted francolin found throughout the district, namely Heuglin's Double-Spurred, *Francolinus icterorhynchus icterorhynchus*. But there is supposed to

exist a sub-species called *F. i. dybowskii*, first described in the northern Bahr el Ghazal, which is rather darker than Heuglin's.

Chapin regards the birds from the Uelle district of the Congo as this species. Bowen called my first skins, six years ago, *dybowskii*. Few authorities accept the differentiation and Bannerman would have called them all Heuglin's. Nevertheless Dybowski's probably exists and the point can easily be cleared up if sportsmen would save a few of their skins from west of Wau, the Bo road, Tonj and Yei districts and send them for comparison to the Sudan Government Museum, Khartoum. It nests here in September.

I have never seen Schlegel's Francolin, which occurs again in the grass plains of the northern Bahr el Ghazal, but it should occur here as the French ornithologist, Berlioz, finds it further west in this latitude and remarks that it and the Niam-Niam Parrot have a similar distribution.

Order CUCULIFORMES.
Sub-Order CUCULI.
Family MUSOPHAGIDAE (Plantain-Eaters).

†2. *The Giant-crested or Blue Plantain-Eater, Corythaeola cristata* (Vieill.).

This is by far the largest of the Plantain-Eaters, and is not a rarity in those localities where tongues of the Equatorial forest follow the streams, and consist of mahogany and other of the larger trees. In such places they occur in little parties of two or three, or in colonies up to sixteen or more in number.

They are not likely to be mistaken for anything else as they are nearly two feet long, predominantly dark blue, green on the belly and chestnut on the thighs. A thick black crest is a conspicuous feature.

The booming note of this bird, and the musical flight of the Casqued Hornbill, are two of the most characteristic sounds in the forests of the Congo border.

They have a fascinating habit of alighting low down on a tree trunk or branch and "shinning up" it with the agility of a monkey.

The White-crested Touraco also possesses this habit, of course, but to a less marked degree.

In flight overhead they seem enormous and, in parts of West Africa, are popularly known as " forest pheasants." Many have seen them in recent years in the Acholi and Imatong Mountains, and it is remarkable that they have not appeared before in the Sudan list.

Sub-Order PSITTACI.
Family PSITTACIDAE (Parrots).

3. *The Niam Niam Parrot, Poicephalus crassus* (Sharpe).

One specimen only of this has been taken before, in the Sudan in 1936 (Christy). It is a distinctly rare bird.

It is rather larger and very much browner than the so-called Sudan Brown Parrot (*P. meyeri meyeri*). It has none of the bright yellow, and very much less of the green, than the latter bird. The head, breast, wings and tail are brown, the underparts and rump green. The head and bill are more powerfully built than in the Brown Parrot. Its note is unknown, and I have had no chance of observing its habits.

Order CORACIIFORMES.
Sub-Order CORACIAE.
Family ALICEDINIDAE (Kingfishers).

4. *Uganda Blue-Breasted Kingfisher, Halcyon malimbicus prenticei.* (Mears.)

This is a beautifully coloured deep blue bird which might, at a momentary glance, be mistaken for the common Grey-headed Kingfisher (*H. ecocephala*). It is distinguished from the latter by being obviously much larger (3 inches longer) with very deep blue wings and, in the shade, these look almost black when folded on the back. The breast is pale blue.

It seems to frequent relatively heavy forest or secondary forest, not necessarily near water. It is not very shy and has a shrill screeching note which, on the only occasion I heard it, I thought was the Grey-headed Kingfisher.

Family BUCEROTIDAE (Hornbills).

The following four Hornbills are not described in any detail because this family are such ungainly, distinctive, fantastic looking birds and have, with very few exceptions, enough individuality of their own, to be easily distinguishable from one another. Once seen their distinctive markings make the species self-evident.

†5. *The Red-billed Dwarf Hornbill, Lophoceros camurus camurus* (Cassin).

I must confess that, at a distance, I have confused this bird with the common Red-Beaked Hornbill (*L. erythrorhynchus*). Actually it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches shorter, and, although it has a bright red bill this is much deeper, and the whole bird is more stockily built than the common species. I was with Mr. W. Ruttledge when he recognized the species without any hesitancy and collected a specimen. It frequents the tops of fairly high, but not usually the highest, trees of the forest. It possesses the usual slow undulating flight of hornbills.

†6. *The Black and White Tailed Hornbill, Lophoceros fasciatus* (Shaw).

This bird possesses a gaunt, lanky, loose-limbed, completely inelegant appearance, grotesque in its heavy deliberate movements and flight.

It is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches longer than the common Red-billed Hornbill. The back and neck are black, the breast white and the bill big, heavy and yellowish horn coloured, with a black tip.

I have not seen it in parties of more than two or three. It likes to alight in the tops of high trees in the heaviest forest but will fly out also, with its awkward and steeply undulating flight, into the secondary forest.

7. *The Black and White Casqued Hornbill, Bycanistes subcylindricus* (Scl.).

This is a large, conspicuous and most impressive bird two feet six inches in length, black and white with a heavy casqued, almost black, bill.

It is again a bird of the heavy forest and is not easily approached. I have never been near enough to make certain that one is not sometimes

confusing it with the closely allied White-Thighed Hornbill (*Bycanistes albotibialis*) which should occur in similar localities. The sound of its flight is remarkable and can be heard some hundreds of yards away. It is a musical swish. One bird sounds rather like a small flight of swans coming over. If they occur in any given area of forest their flight is certain to be heard, if not seen, between dawn and sunrise. Later in the day one sees them less seldom on the wing.

Unlike most hornbills the flight is level and not the usual undulating movement.

†8. *The Black Wattled Hornbill, Ceratogymna atrata* (Temm.).

This is an even bigger bird than the last and the plumage is almost entirely black. I have only seen it once, and will leave the account of it to Captain Cave, who has recently become more familiar with it in the Torit District.

I am inclined to think it is rare on the Congo border.

These four hornbills are all new to the Sudan list.

Sub-Order PICI.

Family CAPITONIDAE (Barbets).

*9. *Chapin's Hairy-breasted Barbet, Tricholaema flavipunctata chapini* (Bannerman).

This race was not known until 1924. It is about eight inches long, and rather sombrely marked for a barbet, having a brownish-black back, spotted with yellow, and a pale yellow breast heavily spotted with black. These markings render it inconspicuous in the forest.

I have only obtained one male. It is one of the rarest birds in this list.

Order PASSERIFORMES.

Sub-Order OSCINES.

Family PYCNONOTIDAE (Bulbuls).

The interesting feature about this family is that once one begins to search in the Southern forest regions, beyond the range of the two common Sudan Bulbuls (*Pycnonotus barbatus arsinoe* and *P. tricolor minor*), one enters the realm of a host of new species, whose habits and colour are much like one another, though quite distinct from the

common species. Frequenting heavy foliage to which many of them love to cling with skulking elusiveness, and being plain and well camouflaged by their lack of ornament, they are most difficult to watch and differentiate. This, I believe, accounts for the very small number at present in the Sudan list.

Within 3° of latitude south of Li Rangu, Souteden, the Belgian authority, has recorded seventeen species other than those known here. I can only add three species to the list. Captain Cave can, I believe, add a further three or four, but there should be at least another half dozen which will come to light when some keen observer can find the time to identify them.

*10. *White-throated Leaf-Love, Atimastillas flavicollis soror* (Neumann).

I mentioned in my last notes the existence of the *Yellow-throated Leaf-Love* (*A. f. flavicollis*).

The markings are practically the same as the latter except for the white throat. It is bigger than the common Yellow-Vented Bulbul, being 9 to 10 inches long. The back and chest are olive brown and it has no crest. It has a number of exclamatory notes but no proper song. Its habits are restless but elusive, and it is careful to keep well concealed. It is most difficult to say if it is really rare.

Bannerman mentions that it occurs from W. Africa across to Maridi, although it has not appeared before in Bowen's list.

*11. *Slender-billed Bulbul, Andropadus gracilirostris gracilirostris*, Strickland, or *Chagwensis*, Someren.

This is much smaller than the last being only eight inches long. It seems to be rare. Its markings are olive green above, grey underparts and almost white throat and vent. I have not heard its note and cannot add anything to the very scant field-notes that exist on this species.

It belongs much more to the southern Congo than the list of "missing" species that should occur here.

(A more technical note is perhaps worth recording here:—a sub-species *Andropadus gracilirostris chagwensis* was described by Someren in 1915 from the Kakamega forest. This was regarded as a synonym for *A. g. gracilirostris* by Sclater, and not included at all

by Bannerman. Yet a comparison of a series shows the following differences (a) Throat a shade greyer. (b) An olive wash on the under-parts. (c) Under wing-coverts brighter yellow. These points apply to the skins from here.

In the opinion of the Swedish authority, Gyldenstolpe, the sub-species (*chagwensis*) should be retained, and in that case the bird I have described is one of this sub-species.

A few skins from various parts of the extreme south would establish whether both sub-species occur in this country.

*12. *Little Green Bulbul, Andropadus virens virens.* (Cassin).

This is extraordinarily like the last in the field, except that the throat is more olive green. It is also said to be indistinguishable, except in the hand, from the Sombre Bulbul, (*A. curvirostris*).

It has one feature however that easily distinguishes it. It sings almost incessantly throughout the day with a not very varied, but quite melodious, voice. Some of its notes are comparable with those of the Song Thrush.

I have also found this the most approachable of the forest bulbuls. Its dull greenish colouring makes it difficult to pick out, although it will sing in the same thicket for hours at a time. Skins from here are identical with those from the Ituri forest.

Family TURDIDAE.

Sub-Family SYLVIINAE (Warblers).

13. *The Uganda Green Crombec, Sylvietta virens baraka.* (Sharpe).

This is a small olive-green warbler remarkable for its diminutive tail (which does not appear to exist at all until the bird is handled) and long beak, about one third the total length of the bird.

In the field it has some resemblance to a female sunbird but its habits are quite different, being Nuthatch-like; it runs up branches and clings to heavy foliage where, needless to say, it is often very difficult to see.

There are two Crombecs well known in the Sudan—the "Kordofan" crombec (*S. brachyura microura*) and the "Uganda" crombec (*S. brachyura dilutior*), which latter is known from Lake No down to the

Ruwenzori mountains. This bird differs from them in being olive-green instead of brownish on the upper side, has a less marked eyebrow stripe and a grey breast instead of buff or cream.

It is known in the N.E. Congo and is, as far as I know, the only one that occurs here.

Family MUSCICAPIDAE (Flycatchers).

†14. *White-eyed Swamp Flycatcher, Alseonax cinereus cinereus* (Cassin).

This is distinguished from the two Swamp Flycatchers already known in the south by the latter being brownish and not unlike the Spotted Flycatcher, though greyer.

This one is a uniform bluish grey with a greyish white breast. It does not frequent the river banks like most of the genus and, in the field, it seems identical with Cassin's Swamp Flycatcher, but can be distinguished from it by the fact that it is found away from water. I have seen a grey flycatcher on river banks flying out in typical flycatcher manner to seize insects and return to its perch, and imagined that this was *A. cinereus cinereus* which I had previously obtained in the forest. But this river bird may be *Alseonax cassini*. The only noteworthy difference is the small white eye-streak which is not possessed by *A. cassini*. There is little doubt that both Cassin's and the White-eyed Flycatcher occur here although I only have skins of the latter.

One other note may be of value. The colouring and size of the bird and those of Reichenows Wren-Warbler (*Prinia leucopogon reichenowi*), described as new in my last notes, are very similar. The habits of the latter are warbler-like and are characterized by the usual tail-cocking, whereas the former is typically flycatcher-like in behaviour. And there should therefore be no difficulty in distinguishing the two.

Family LANIIDAE (Shrikes).

15. *West African Nicator, Nicator chloris chloris* (Valenc.)

There is only one skin in the Sudan collection but, in forest undergrowth near water and along streams, lost beneath tangled vegetation

and deep shade, it is not uncommon. It has a loud echoing note often heard in these places ; but it is not so frequently seen except when it emerges to hunt along the edge of forest glades.

It is predominantly green and yellow with a very deep bill. The wing coverts have rather conspicuous yellow spots on the tips. The breast is greyish, though in this respect the species here seems yellower than the W. African typical race.

It is larger than the Sulphur-breasted Bush Shrike.

Family PLOCEIDAE (Weavers).

*16. *Black-necked Weaver, Ploceus nigricollis nigricollis* (Vieill.)

This weaver occurs in savannah country near Li Rangu. I have no field notes on it.

*17. *Dybowski's Twin-Spot Weaver, Clytospiza dybowskii* (Oust).

This is a small seed-eating weaver found, usually, on the ground where it seeks its food. It is much less common than the Uganda Twin Spot (*C. monteiri ugandensis*) which also occurs here, and is a very handsome dark slate little bird with a black belly and tail. Each lower breast feather has a pair of round white spots. The back is dull red.

*18. *Savannah Black-bellied Seed-Cracker, Pirenestes ostrinus maximus* (Chapin.)

This is a fairly large weaver with a very wide stunted bill, built for seed-cracking. The head, neck and tail are crimson and the belly black. It frequents tall reeds in marshy areas of forest, and is rare.

THE BURIAL OF A NUBA MEK AT DUNGER.

By K. J. Nobbs.

On the 16th February, 1938, there was buried at Dunger, some seven miles south of Heiban, a Nuba chief with whom we were familiar. Death was caused by a grass fragment getting into the eye and causing temporary blindness and although his sight returned within a few days, apparently blood-poisoning set in and he died a few days later. The head and abdomen were badly swollen.

We found his body outside his huts lying on an *angareb* and the sword of office and personal ornaments beside him. The body was decorated with beads and rubbed with cow dung and the head done up in red ochre. A large number of mourners mostly women were present. It was noticeable that the blood relatives seemed more distressed than the four wives. A short dance was performed before the body was taken to the grave, to the accompaniment of two drums.

Several yards of calico were sewn together with *za'af* and the draped body was borne hurriedly along the track.

About a mile along the track the company halted beneath a big tree and beside the tribal altar. Here after a fresh outburst of grief the chief's animals were herded together. Two or three goats were caught and brought to the body. The hand of the dead man was momentarily made to grasp the hind leg of the animal suggesting a last token of farewell. A yearling bull was also dragged to the bedside for him to grasp and take leave of, this time the tail being placed in his hand. The animals, both goats and cows, were then driven past and then the body was again lifted and taken 200 yards or so to another tree a short distance from the grave.

The grave was dug in soft soil but in a rocky locality and beside the graves of the dead man's father and relatives marked by a circle of stones and an earthenware pot in the centre. A hole about 5 feet in circumference and four feet deep was made and then a cavern dug out from a hole at the base just large enough to allow a man to squeeze through, and in a south easterly direction. Five goats of uniform

size were killed by beating with a heavy stick, an operation of considerable brutality as the animals would recover to be beaten again and again.

The dead body of the chief was washed but not left shrouded in the calico. It was then lowered by the elder men feet first into the grave and placed in position by one inside who had preceded the body. The dead goats were then handed in but no excreta were allowed to mix with the loose soil. These, with water and grain, provided adequate food and company for his journey. Only women who were blood relatives of the dead man were near the grave. His sons, wives and all other women were at a distance. The hole at the base of the first excavation was covered over by a large stone and plastered with mud after which the earth was pushed back into the outer hole. No earth is allowed to touch the body. Ten piastres, a portion of the dead man's wealth, was pressed upon us as *Karama*.

Mek Lima had been chief of Dunger for 20 years but had lived in Atora following a military expedition against Dunger (Uru). All the mourners seemed to speak Atora and the younger element of Tira speaking youths appeared to be absent. Wailing ceased when the body reached the grave.

His two sons, with whom we were familiar, informed us a week or two later that one of their father's brothers died four days later as their father's spirit was calling him to accompany him.



PREPARING THE SHROUD.



MOURNERS DANCING IN BACKGROUND.



HURRYING CORPSE TO THE GRAVE.



DEAD MAN GRASPING GOAT'S LEG.



FAREWELLING A MEMBER OF HIS HERD.



SLAYING THE GOATS. THE EXTERIOR HOLE OF GRAVE IS ILLUSTRATED.



THE MOUTH OF THE GRAVE SHOWING STONE USED TO COVER ENTRANCE.





THE TWO ELDEST SONS OF THE MEK OVERCOME WITH GRIEF (IN BACKGROUND).

THE CURIOUS CASE OF BAYIN ABDULLA

By C. B. TRACEY

The following case has been extracted from the Police Records of Khartoum North Merkaz :—

On Saturday 1st December, 1934, Bayin Abdulla is alleged to have gone down to bathe at the Meshra which lies just east of the Khartoum North Dockyard. There at all states of the Nile the water is deep : and runs under the barges and craft tied up inside the Dockyard with considerable force.

Cases of drowning have occurred here : and except at low Nile it is dangerous for all save strong swimmers. Bayin, by birth a Furawi, could not swim. He is a typical Furawi of middle age with very bright eyes.

On Monday morning, Sabila, the wife of Bayin, went round to his friend, Mohammed Yousif, and told him that Bayin had not been home since Saturday : and that she had heard that some clothes had been seen on the river bank. Taking the Sheikh and Bayin's son with them, they went to the river bank and after a search, the son came upon all Bayin's clothes : among them, was his father's number No. 41. They took the clothes to the Police Station : and the matter was duly registered by the Police Officer in the information book : and the clothes were locked up in the Deposit Cupboard. The District Commissioner was informed.

All agreed on the probable fate of Bayin : and he was mourned by his relatives.

Mohammed Yousif, the friend, was suspicious however and on Tuesday evening confided to the Police that Sabila and her son had perchance done away with Bayin and put his clothes on the shore. No suspicion being too foul for a policeman, they laid hands on Sabila and her son that night : but on interrogation the following morning there appeared no reason at all to believe the imputation and they were released by the Police Officer.

Wednesday morning, December 5th, broke with a bitterly cold wind and the ferrymen of the early morning boat crossing the Tuti Khor from Tuti saw in the half light what they imagined was a tree trunk thrown up on the sand. They went over to it and found a stark naked body, prone and unconscious on the sand. The head was at the water rim, the body in the water. They turned him over and found him still alive. So they carried him up to the village of Sababi and revived him with warm *semn*. It was Bayin, weak but alive and he had a curious story to tell. He was taken to the Police Station and told his story : and he stuck to it in all its meagre but astonishing details. He told it to the District Commissioner. He has stuck to it since and believes it to this day.

" I went down to bathe on Saturday " said Bayin Abdulla, " and left my clothes on the bank. I went into the water up to my waist : and behold a *djinn*, large, white (he had a long beard) arose behind me and seized me by the elbows. He dragged me down between the barges : and there he imprisoned me for a long while. After a time he said to me ' Stay here ! I must go and walk in the town of Halfayet. If you shout for help I will return and drown you.' So he departed and I was afraid : but presently I thought of the good Fekki Tayib (Sheikh Ahmed el Tayib el Sommani : *obiit* 1824 A.D.) and I called upon him and he came and wafted me out from among the barges and laid me on the sand. There is no Power and no Might save in God."

A good story as stories go. So good that it created wide-spread interest. The unofficial jury of village life investigated it, pried into it, twisted it : and finally approved it. " There is no Power, and no Might save in God."

The sceptical police eavesdropped on the village with care : the murder motive was looked into—wine—woman—song—all rational explanations failed. Bayin's was the only story to fit the facts.

The District Commissioner signed the dossier " Noted : " and the facts he had noted were these :—

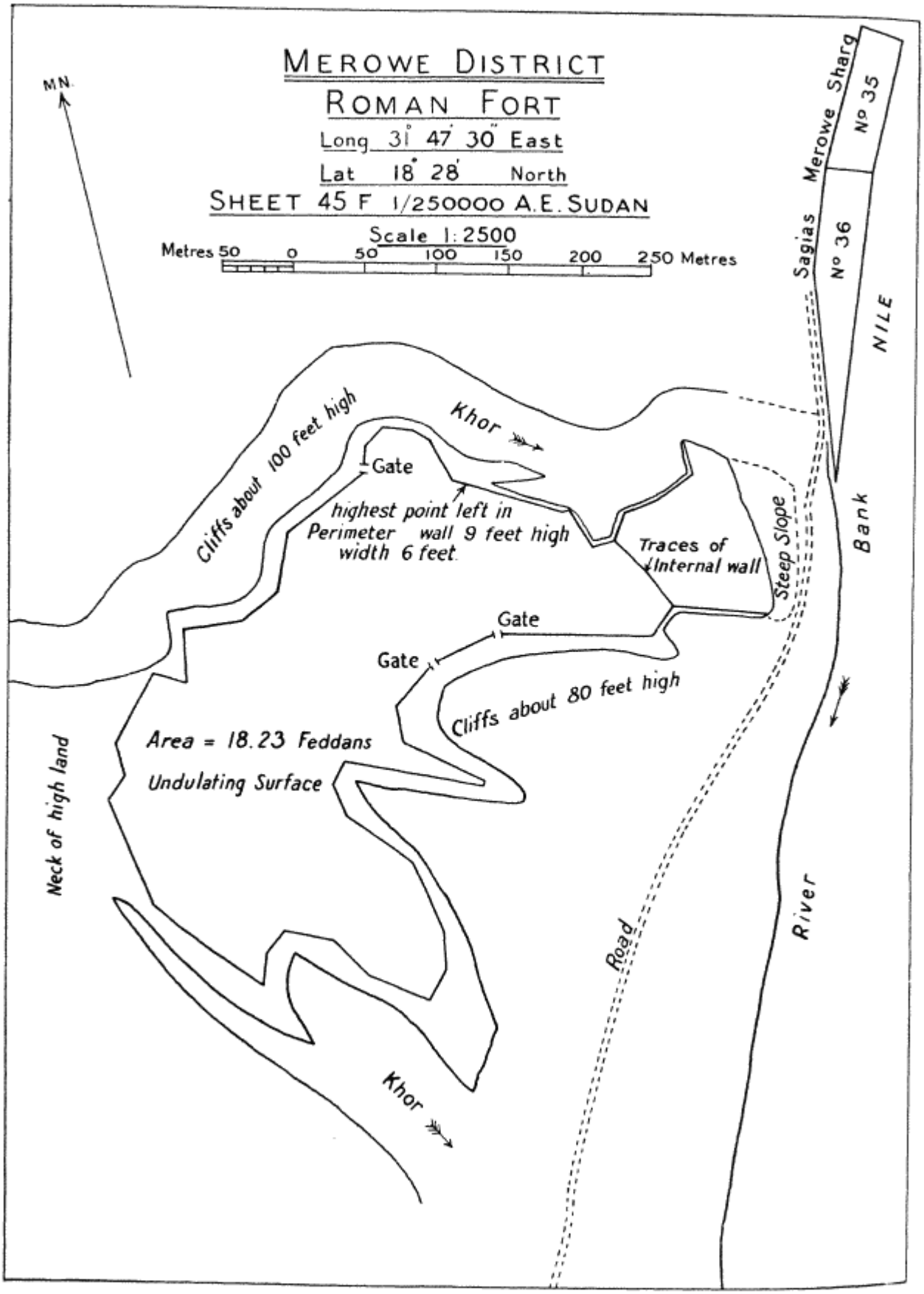
1. All Bayin's clothes were in the Deposit Cupboard from Monday morning till Wednesday : and Bayin—a poor man—had no other clothes.

2. Bayin's body was found face down in the water WHERE HE WOULD HAVE BEEN FOUND IF HE HAD BEEN DROWNED AND DEAD. (The current from the Steamers Department side lies in over the shallows in December and floating objects get caught there).
3. Bayin's body was found on a bitter cold morning, naked, far out from the town (a long way to walk and lie down before dawn for the sake of verisimilitude).
4. It is impossible to follow the bank from the bathing place to the Khor. The whole Steamers Department lies between, with two submerged fences on the steep shore. To get from one point to the other, one must pass through the town.
5. Bayin cannot swim.
6. Bayin was possessed of those bright eyes so often to be seen in the Mad House.
7. Bayin believes he is telling the truth : and so do most people in the town of Halfayet.

BUT where WAS Bayin Abdulla from Saturday till Wednesday morning ?

It does not make sense.

" O day and night ! but this is wondrous strange !—
And therefore as a stranger give it welcome
There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamed of in your philosophy."


MEROWE DISTRICT
ROMAN FORT
Long 31° 47' 30" East
Lat 18° 28' North
SHEET 45 F 1/250000 A.E. SUDAN
Scale 1:2500
Metres 50 0 50 100 150 200 250 Metres
M.N.
Merowe Sharg
Nº 35
Sagias
Nº 36
NILE
Khor
Cliffs about 100 feet high
Gate
highest point left in Perimeter wall 9 feet high width 6 feet.
Traces of Internal wall
Steep Slope
Bank
Gate
Gate
Cliffs about 80 feet high
Area = 18.23 Feddans
Undulating Surface
Neck of high land
Road
River
Khor

A ROMAN FORT IN THE SUDAN

By Major G. W. Titherington.

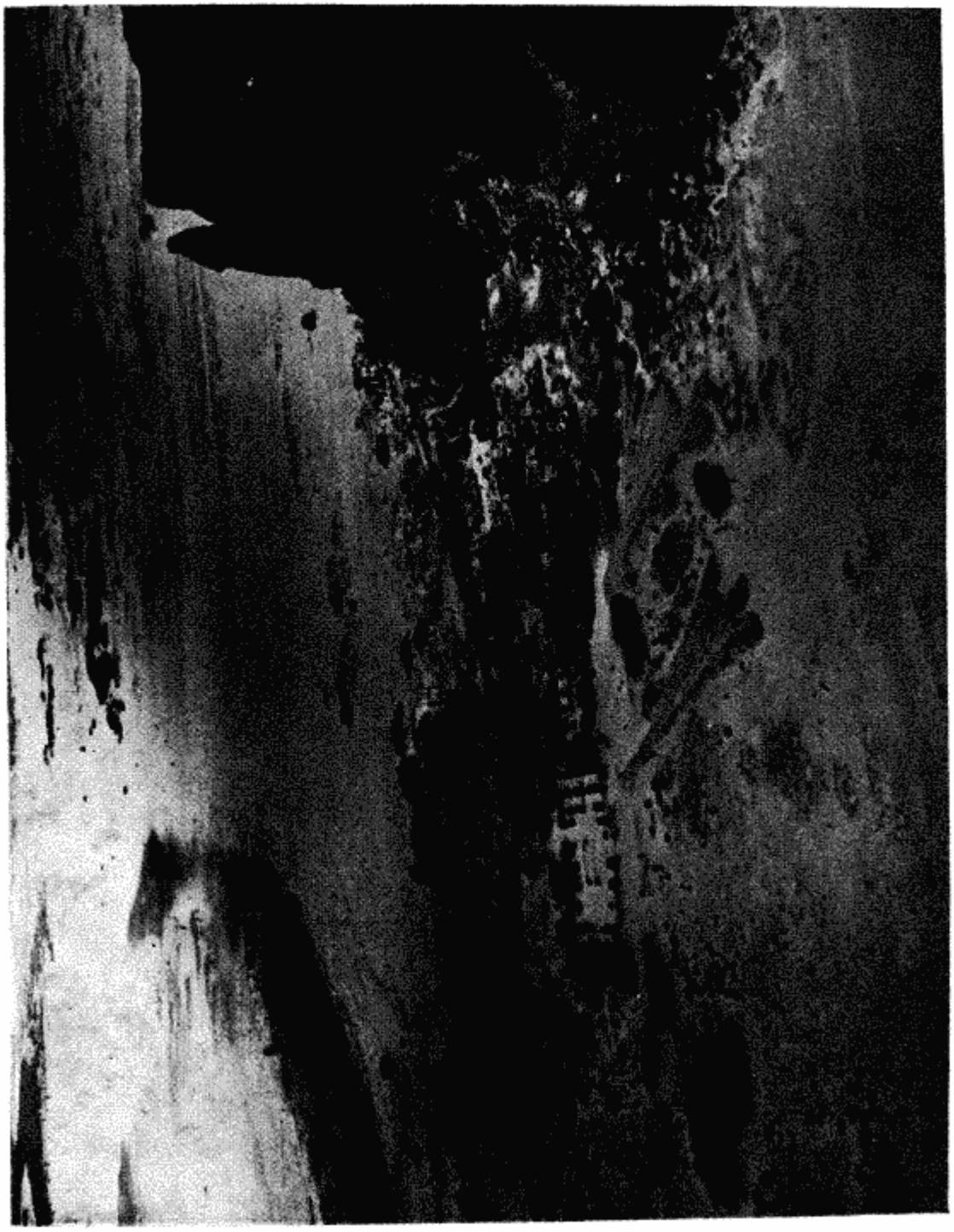
Six and a half miles downstream of Kareima Railway Station on the right bank of the Nile the map marks a Roman Fort. If correctly ascribed this is an interesting relic, for just as Scotland contains the most northerly visible traces of the Roman Army's penetration so this is the most southerly. Two centurions however in Nero's reign explored as far south as the Sudd apparently. The remains themselves do not give proof of their origin for the shape of the perimeter is irregular, following exactly the lip of steep ground, and the construction of the wall shows a local method common to many ages. The position was chosen with a masterly eye and was an extremely strong one with protected access to water. It encloses about 18 acres and the neck of level ground, always the weak point of promontory forts, is short. The photographs and plan give an idea of the remains and their surroundings.

The position is an interesting one giving a view over almost the whole of what was once Napata and Contra-Napata, now Merowe and "Merowe East." This was the capital of "Ethiopia" and in the sixth century B.C. the capital of Egypt too, ruled over by King Tirhaqa. He was the most powerful of the XXVth Dynasty and belonged to an invading line of Libyans who had come in from the West. From this Fort the site of his palace and several Temples built or restored by him can be seen. The view extends to the "Holy Mountain" of Berkal where the ram-headed Amun was worshipped in a series of masonry Temples for over 2,000 years at the base of its 300 foot cliff of sandstone. Previously this commanding rock probably had a phallic attraction which has lasted to the present day for the rock-cut shrine is still resorted to by local women. From the top the royal pyramid fields at Kuru and Nuri can be seen in the distance.

In 23 B.C. a Roman army provoked by raids of "the Ethiopians" on Assouan invaded their country under the Prefect Gaius Petronius. At the head of 10,000 infantry and 800 horse he defeated the Ethiopians

more than once, took Napata by assault and destroyed it and then returned to Egypt. Strabo has told the story in the 7th book of his Geographia : he was a personal friend of Petronius and had been in Assouan a year or two before the expedition. He says that the ruler of Ethiopia was a one-eyed queen of man-like character whom he calls only by her title, Candace. Surviving carvings indicate that the invention of corsets known long before this in Crete had not penetrated to the Sudan or were unsuited to the climate. Reisner states that this Queen was buried in Pyramid Berkal X and was the last queen of the Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata, which was never again a rival of Meroe whose remains are visible near Shendi.

The remaining walls of most of the Temples are stained red in places by fire and Griffiths found incinerated ivory in the Treasury at Merowe which can still be seen. During the next reign—that of Netekaman—an Egyptian craftsman was again brought to Ethiopia probably primarily to restore the damage done to the Temples at Napata by the Romans, but in spite of this the Egyptian tradition continued to die. During this reign Hellenistic bronze objects in the tombs indicate either gifts brought back by embassies to Alexandria or objects sent up to Meroe in trade.



Jebel Berkal and Temple Ruins.

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"ROMAN" FORT NEAR MEROWE, SUDAN.

REVIEWS.

THE ROYAL ENGINEERS IN THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

(REVIEW AND COMMENTARY BY G. W. GRABHAM.)

The book "The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan" by Lt.-Col. E. W. C. Sandes, D.S.O., M.C., R.E., is one that no future student of the recent history of the development of the Nile valley can afford to ignore. It is a model of convenient arrangement and the outlines of the chapters in the table of contents permit very easy reference. It is fully documented yet pleasantly and attractively written. It is the sort of book one picks up to refer to some particular matter and then reads on. The first appearance of the Royal Engineers in Egypt is due to Lt. Lacy who accompanied the Turkish Army across Sinai in 1800 and was present at its defeat by the French at Heliopolis. His presence with the Turks was due to the British Government's concern about the safety of the route to India. More Royal Engineers came to Egypt with the expedition in 1801 under Sir R. Abercromby. In 1807 there was another expedition to Egypt under General Frayer with yet more Royal Engineers but the affair was unfortunate and much prestige was lost before the troops were withdrawn later in the year. Apart from suggestions, the Royal Engineers took no part in the construction or development of the Railways etc., of the overland route or the Suez Canal which placed Egypt in the prominent international position she now occupies. In such a book there are bound to be some errors. Thus we read of Saidis from *northern* Egypt, and the Giza Pyramids being of yellowish *sandstone*, but he is not the first who has mistaken the limestone.

But our concern with this book is its record of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the only part it deals with of the great belt of the Sudan which stretches westwards across Africa. There are the figures of Gordon and Kitchener who tower above all others.

Gordon does not seem to have achieved anything in the Sudan as an Engineer. The Kerma railway was being built. £450,000 had

been spent, it was complete to Sarras, the formation prepared for a further 21 miles and much material had been bought. He advised its abandonment and instead recommended opening up the Nile route to Khartoum by means of steamers with tramways around the cataracts, a system which Col. Sandes remarks would have been laborious to maintain and commercially unsound. Had the railway been running to Dongola or even to Kosha in 1884 it would have been of great assistance to the Gordon relief expedition.

Gordon's introspective and fanatically religious state of mind is shown by some of his letters and his references to the book "Watson on Contentment" which was kept handy. Col. Sandes rebuts the suggestion that Gordon's education had been slight by remarking that as a cadet he gained a commission in the Royal Engineers in competition against the cream of the public schools of England. He seems, however, to have had few intellectual resources for he complained that conditions in Khartoum were unspeakably dreary and was at a loss as to how to employ his time.

Kitchener, on sick leave from Cyprus, was present at the bombardment of Alexandria but it was not until January, 1883 that he obtained his first appointment in the Nile valley as second in command of a cavalry regiment of the Egyptian Army then being re-organised under Sir Evelyn Wood. In the pages of Col. Sandes' book his career can be followed first as Intelligence Officer to the Gordon Relief Expedition, then as Governor-General of the Red Sea Littoral and afterwards as Sirdar through the Nile campaign until his departure after laying the foundations of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan of to-day. He visited the Sudan again first in 1902 to open the Gordon College and then on his return from the East and last in the supreme position of British Agent and Consul General in Egypt. Kitchener's ability is displayed in many ways. An inscrutable countenance, commanding presence and stature are poor bases for disguise yet such was Kitchener's command of Arabic that he was able to go ashore at Alexandria. He and Col. Tulloch disguised as Levantines travelled to Zagazig and returned with notes of the enemy's dispositions and defences. Subsequently in 1884, Kitchener disguised as an Arab set out from Korosko and

eventually arrived at Dongola. Then he went to Debba where he was an important link between Gordon and the outer world. Two Arab spies were captured but Kitchener could get nothing out of them. Subsequently a third spy was captured and imprisoned with the others. They promptly began to talk and exchanged confidences: then the third spy demanded to be taken to Headquarters. He was Kitchener. Col. Sandes' book is replete with good stories. Kitchener was wounded in the neck in a skirmish at Handub and had to go to Cairo for treatment. While talking to a friend, Kitchener had a fit of coughing and said he had swallowed something. A doctor was called who gave him a purge. On the following day Queen Victoria wired for precise details of the patient's condition and progress. The doctor, probably a frugal Scot, sat down to draft a reply "Kitchener passed good night," wrote he. He scanned it. It was incomplete and gave no details. Then by happy inspiration he added the magic words "and bullet." There are many tales of Kitchener's economy. May we say frugality? But it was a happy chance that placed this man in supreme command of a campaign where he was not trammelled by petty regulations. Cromer had complete confidence in him. Col. Sandes mentioned the use of donkeys to transport coils of telegraph wire but the late General Sir Herbert Jackson Pasha told me of the episode. When in 1897 the time came to go forward from Merowe to Abu Hamad all the available camel transport was needed for the troops but the telegraph was wanted too. It was proposed to try how the coils of wire could be loaded on donkeys. Kitchener sketched a saddle that he though might serve and in due course a day was appointed for the trial which took place on the river bank while Kitchener watched from his steamer. They tried various ways to put the coil on the saddle but all without success. The coil would not go over the donkey's head or forelegs. The failure was duly reported. Then Kitchener gave instructions: "Lay the coil of wire on the ground. Back the donkey so that its hind legs are within the coil. Lift the coil on to the saddle." The thing was done. But those who had failed got no thanks and the failure was remembered against them throughout the campaign.

After Omdurman came the rebuilding of Khartoum. Gorringe was recalled in November, 1898, from the Gedaref Relief Force by a telegram from Lord Kitchener "Proceed at once to Khartoum to start rebuilding, £20,000 available commence with palace." The new palace was intended as a visible sign that the occupation intended to stay. It was built as far as possible on the foundations of that immortalized by the death of Gordon. The shape of the windows on the ground floor differed little from those built by Ismail Pasha Aiyub. All plans were submitted to and approved by Kitchener who was in Khartoum daily. The streets were laid out and 7000 trees ordered for the Avenues. Colonel Sandes is surprised that no detailed drawings of the Palace or other early buildings of the new Khartoum are now to be found in the metropolis but this is to be accounted for both by the rapid deterioration of paper in the hot dry climate and also by the vicissitudes which have affected the responsible organisations. Lt. M. R. Kennedy, R.E., who had joined the Egyptian Army in July, 1899 acted as Director of Works in the interval between the departure of Gorringe and the arrival of Friend whom he succeeded in 1904. On one occasion he was directed to plan a building and after having worked most of the night on the drawing, submitted it next day for Kitchener's approval. Kitchener examined it, then opened a drawer. "This is my idea," said he as he produced a drawing on which he must have worked for many hours. The book contains a very full account of the early development of Khartoum and Kennedy is justly described as one of the finest Engineers the Corps has ever produced.

The development of the harbour and town at Sheikh Barghut on the Red Sea is described. The advantages of the harbour were noticed by Lt. C. M. Watson, R.E., on September 5th 1874 when he and Lt. Chippindall passed it and arrived at Suakin. It was discussed with the captain and pilots who agreed that it was the best in the vicinity. Possibly Watson had other opportunities of studying the place in 1886 when he returned as Governor of the Red Sea Littoral. The building of the railway from the Red Sea to the Nile started from Suakin but to Kennedy belongs the credit for presenting the advantages of Sheikh Barghut with the result that it was accepted as our harbour nor has

anyone, entitled to judge, ever doubted the soundness of the decision. Col. Sandes records that the name Port Wingate was proposed for this new harbour and town. Had it been adopted in preference to Port Sudan it would have been a worthy memorial to the Governor-General who nursed the young country almost to maturity. For some years a good deal of criticism was levelled at what was said to be the extravagantly large size of the quays and buildings but Kennedy had taken the precaution to obtain in each case the approval of the head of the department directly concerned so that if blame there was it rested on their shoulders. Actually while the ignorant were still talking of this "extravagance" they suddenly, in about 1923, awoke to the fact that the accommodation was no longer adequate and more berths for ships must be provided. My first visit to Port Sudan was in July, 1907 when I was sent by Kennedy to examine Khor Arbat. An elaborate scheme had been prepared involving a reservoir and masonry dam and the nature of the foundations was the immediate question. Having examined the site, I was soon convinced first of the very great difficulty of obtaining proper foundations for masonry across the valley filled with saturated gravels and second that the gravels would yield all the water required. After a rapid examination of the valley in the course of a trip to Gebeit, I telegraphed my conclusions to Kennedy and no more was heard of the proposal to build a dam.

Col. Sandes might have said more about Kennedy and the development of irrigation in the Sudan. Kitchener told him to submit plans for the Gezira and he naturally came to me for some of the facts. Since 1909 I had been concerned in geological studies of Sennar, first a general examination which indicated Mekwar, the present Sennar, where there were outcrops of dolerite, as probably the best site, then the study of the results of pits and borings made with the object of finding the distribution of sound rock. I had also examined the river channel upstream as far as the Abyssinian boundary to study possible alternative sites. There were meetings in Cairo when Kennedy presented his schemes and it is said that Kitchener paced the room and listened while Kennedy and Sir Murdoch MacDonald argued. The Great War supervened and Kitchener departed but had he remained, possibly he

would have produced his own scheme for the engineers to carry out. In one of Kennedy's schemes, the dam was placed at the Ganis rapids immediately upstream of Roseires where geological investigations had shown that conditions were very favourable for foundations and construction. A dam might have been built there for a fraction of what was spent at Sennar. Perhaps, some day, this project will be considered again. Kennedy installed the pumps for the Taiba and Barakat experimental farms. Work on the last had to be done against time to get the water on in time for the 1914-15 season.

Col. Sandes mentions that the Sennar dam was completed at a cost of £E. 8,250,000 but the total cost including the canalization and also the interest during the period of construction, which for some funds extended to about twelve years, was near £E. 13,000,000. Had it been realised that the cost was to be so great, the dam might not have been built. Sir Murdoch MacDonald, would have had one less dam to his credit but on the whole, even with the present low prices of cotton the Gezira Irrigation Scheme is a benefit to the country.

The valuable work of Sir Henry Lyons on the geology of the Northern Sudan is noticed. Also the work of the Royal Engineers in helping to preserve various Egyptian antiquities including Abu Simbel. Col. Sandes tells of Kitchener's scheme for bringing the colossal statue of Ramses II from Memphis and erecting it near the Central Railway Station at Cairo. Somers Clarke the architect and Egyptologist told me the story. He happened to be at the Residency. Kitchener greeted him with the remark " Just the man I wanted to see," and unfolded his scheme for bringing in both statues. They would look well and the visitor would find these splendid representatives meeting him, so to speak, on his arrival. Somers Clarke listened with due respect, and then asked " Would you put little bob on a high pedestal or big bob on a low one ? Because, you know, they are not the same size." That was the last of the project for removal of both statues. Then Somers Clarke continued and remarked that the visitor on arrival was usually so much concerned to see if he still possessed all his various traps that he could take little interest in such monuments. Moreover, if he returned later to look at them in that maelstrom of traffic, he

would probably lose his life in the process. Well, in that place we now have the "Awakening of Egypt."

This remarkably comprehensive book can be confidently recommended to all interested in the Sudan. They will enjoy reading it and profit by it. It is published, price 18/-, by the Royal Engineers Institute at Chatham.

G. W. G.

DEATH BY MOONLIGHT.

By Robert Henriques. (*Collins* 15/-).

Mr. Henriques' title suggests a thriller, and his book is not devoid of thrills, but they are thrills refreshingly different from those so monotonously served up by the Crime Club.

The book contains a straightforward tale of a two-months trip to Darfur Province, the main purpose of which was to shoot lion and leopard by night. This purpose was abundantly fulfilled.

The trip is described from start to finish with a wealth of amusing incident. The style is intimate and racy, and the author has succeeded in passing on the personal thrill which he got out of the journey, and in making his reader one of the party. He goes as an amateur and not as an expert, and the reader can accompany him on equal terms.

Mr. Henriques seems to have got more than his fair share of exciting incidents out of the rather tame form of sport of " sitting up " for lion.

His criticism of the Gimr villagers is perhaps a little harsh. Refusal to follow in cold blood and in thick bush a leopard wounded by a stranger might well be classed as justifiable caution rather than cowardice. These same Gimr can be brave enough hunting lion when their blood is up.

A two months' journey can hardly be expected to yield more than the most superficial knowledge of a primitive country, but Mr. Henriques has achieved more than this. He has previous experience of the Sudan, and on this trip he had the advantage of having with him as a companion a retired Government official who possesses an extensive and intimate knowledge of the fauna and inhabitants of Darfur.

The book, therefore, besides containing an interesting and unexaggerated account of the shooting trip, shows an insight into the spirit and customs of the country seldom to be found in a book of this type.

The author discusses, in digression, several matters of major interest to the administration and inhabitants of the country and, with the

exception of a few minor inaccuracies, such as his interpretation of the Mohammedan laws of inheritance, his views are the expression of a well-informed opinion.

The book is illustrated with a number of photographs, mostly quite good, but it is a pity they are scattered haphazard throughout the pages with little reference to the text.

Humourous and readable, Mr. Henriques' book provides good entertainment and sounder information than most books of its type.

E.H.N.

CORRESPONDENCE.

From a Letter Received from Mr. H. R. Hulbert.

DEAR SIR,

Having been a resident of Suakin and having lived in some of the houses described, I was greatly interested in the compilation of the "Story of Suakin," and wrote to Mr. R. Pope, of the National Bank of Egypt, who in turn was able to obtain the aid of Kamel Bey Ibrahim Gabrial, who was Mamour there over twenty years ago, and their courtesy has enabled me to add the following:

Kamel Bey mentions the fable of the Seven *Ginns* as happening in the reign of Sultan Selim I of Turkey (*circa* A.D. 1509) but says that it is unlikely to be the origin of the name as Suakin was known long before that. He does not however give *Sawwa Ginn* but *Sava Ginn*, *i.e.*, seven *ginns*. *Savat* in Ahmaric means "seven." He states that the Beja and Hadendowa tribes used to pronounce it *Suakim* and explains that in the ancient Egyptian language, (? Coptic) KIM means "black" and SA "place," hence "place of the blacks."

The *Beit El Gidad* was so called because it was the last new house built by Abdel Kerim Bey Shennawi and, at the beginning of the Mahdia, was occupied by British Officers. Lord Kitchener lived in it once. During the Great War I remember Coptic religious services being held in the ground floor.

The history of the "old church" referred to on page 279, Vol. XX, is related by Kamel Bey as follows; it confirms what I have always understood.

On the site were originally a few huts and a tumble-down mosque, and it was purchased from the father of Hassan Eff. El Mizayin by the Austrian Mission of Khartoum, who cleared the site and built the church referred to. It was not in use during the Great War nor was it lent for services, and is now said to be a garage. Close by the church there was a house which passed through several hands until Brewster

Bey, the then Director of Suakin Customs under the Egyptian Government, bought it, extended the accommodation on the first floor, and sold it to the Mission for use as a residence for members of the Mission and as a school. Both Mr. Pope and the writer lived in it, and I recall in one unusually large room the lower parts of the walls bore paintings of ecclesiastical coats of arms, above which were coloured scenes of elephant-hunting and hippopotami, and a vivid fight between natives and troops wearing fezes. These pictures, which were marred by repairs to the walls in gypsum or white coral, were doubtless painted by one of the Missionaries who had had actual experience of the scenes depicted as they were so natural and realistic, but I understand they have now disappeared.

Much of the old woodwork of Suakin, especially of the glass-less windows, was, I believe, teak ; few nails were used in their construction and the round wooden pegs holding the joints together permitted the windows to sag when opened. Roofing and floors were also timber, the latter covered in some cases with coral concrete. Sanitary arrangements were primitive and consisted, in the larger houses, of a shaft common to all floors down to sea-level, each floor having a sloping channel to the main shaft, and conditions were, as can be imagined, unpleasant at times.

THE EDITOR,
SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS,
KHARTOUM.

DEAR SIR,

In reference to Professor Griffiths' note in your issue Vol. XXI, Part I pp. 217 *et seq* and his article in " Man " (May 1938, No. 68 pp. 68-70) :—

I noticed this practice first in 1908 when I travelled up the Nile for the second time with my wife. It was conspicuous at Luxor, Aswan and Elephantine Island. Inquiries on the spot both by myself and my Sudanese servant elicited the sole response " *alashan fantasia*." I thought then it was a form of charm similar to the prevalent custom of attaching horseshoes to doors or over doors in England.

With regard to it being a survival of a Christian practice, the use of halos for Christ and the saints was adopted long after the Muslim era. It must not be overlooked that the " Black Stone " (a meteorite) is fixed in the wall of the Qaaba at Mecca. The influence of the pilgrimage upon Muslims throughout the world and more especially upon the Egyptian *fellahin* can only be appreciated by those who like myself were intimately connected with it. Although there was Persian influence and a numerous Jewish colony at the island of Elephantine prior to the Christian era this Egyptian cult is a modern one. It does not appear to be directly connected with a similar practice found in East Africa, Java etc. I regret that I cannot agree with Lane Poole's theory regarding the *modus operandi* of charms against the " evil eye " which has been endorsed by subsequent writers. A great deal of research has taken place since Lane Poole wrote and speculative theories have had to give way to actual facts. The value and purpose of most charms are what the believer in them places upon the object used as a prophylactic. In many cases users of charms consider that their efficacy is lost if their purport is known.

Yours faithfully,
A. E. ROBINSON.

To Those Who Are Interested In The Birds Of The Sudan The Following Appeal Is Made.

We hope one day to produce a book on the Birds of the Sudan which will serve to introduce those who spend part of their lives here to the commoner birds which they are likely to meet.

Books already exist by the use of which most of the Sudan species can be recognised ; and of such Bannerman's " Birds of West Africa " is by far the best. (The last volume is not yet out.) The skilled user can also identify many species from Bowen's " Catalogue of Sudan Birds "—perhaps all if he will shoot them and examine them with scientific thoroughness.

But the mere identification of a species is not much of a thrill. What we want to know is how a bird lives, where it builds its nest, when it lays its eggs, what it eats, in what sort of country it may be found, whether it migrates, has it one wife or many, and if monogamous, does it remain faithful like the Raven to its one wife or try a new one with each season. Some birds have no song ; they can only croak or scream or chitter or churr or cheep. Some have a song ; nay, some even sing duets with their wives, like the Fork-tailed Drongo and Vieillot's Barbet. These are the things which make T.A. Coward's " British Birds " in the Wayside and Woodland series so exciting a book to read.

Something of this sort we want for the Sudan.

But two people in the course of their Government service are unlikely to see all the corners of the country. So we ask others who sympathise with our project and would like to help to send us contributions from the store of their local knowledge. Naturally articles on birds should be sent as in the past to Sudan Notes and Records. We hope to receive the more casual notes which people may make from time to time, on one bird's song, on the finding of

another's nest with 3 eggs of such a colour in a heglig tree (on such a date), and on a third's disappearance in October southwards and reappearance at the beginning of the following rains. We want facts about birds, and nothing which is not known by the author indubitably to be a fact should be sent, unless it comes under the heading of native stories or fables.

In order to provide a basis of order, and to suggest subjects on which information is required, we append the following scheme of headings.

Description of bird in the field.

Features which distinguish it from similar species.

Type of Country in which found.

If migrant, dates and extent of migration.

Nesting :— date of nesting period :
situation of nest, and composition :
number and description of eggs :
description of young birds :
monogamous or polygamous :
solitary or gregarious nesting.

Song and Call notes.

Food.

Flight.

General notes on habits.

Local Native names and stories about birds.

Mr. Bowers has agreed to be mainly responsible for the pictorial side of the work, photographs, colour photographs, drawings and paintings. Anyone who can help on this side please write to Mr. Bowers.

J. B. Bowers, Esq.,
Nahud, Kordofan, Sudan.

Mr. Hogg has agreed to be mainly responsible for the letterpress, and anyone who can help him please send their letters to :

P. Hogg, Esq.,
Soderi,
Kordofan,
Sudan.

Observations noted down at the time they occur in a diary or note book are usually the most accurate and valuable ; and we would beg of those who consider seriously giving help to the work that they use this means of recording their observations.

Signed : P. Hogg,

J. B. Bowers.

FOREWORD.

The entries in this index to the first twenty volumes of *Sudan Notes and Records* consist, of necessity, largely of transliterations of Arabic words and names, but the transliteration of any particular name appearing in the journal has varied both with time and the taste of the individual contributor. It has not been found possible to adopt an entirely consistent treatment of these variant spellings. Some, *e.g.*, "Amara," "Omara," "Umara," have been allowed to remain; others have been standardised in the form most commonly used. Thus, "Mohammed" has been adopted in preference to the more correct "Muhammad," and the article "el" rather than "al." Diacritical signs, and the convention (') to denote the initial ع in such words as على and عبد have rarely been used in the journal, and they have been omitted in the index.

The names of Europeans are indexed in the usual way, surname first, but native names are given as usually written, *e.g.*, Osman Digna, and not Digna, Osman.

Under the heading of "Sheikh" (which includes "Shaikh" and "Shaykh") will be found only those individuals who are never referred to without the title. Those who are sometimes mentioned as "Sheikh," and sometimes by name only, will be found indexed under the latter. The same remarks apply to such titles as "Sayed" and "Sherif."

Throughout the volumes of *Sudan Notes and Records* there are frequent references to such well-known works as MacMichael's *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Bruce's *Travels*, etc. It has not been thought necessary to index such references, nor the names of the authors of books in the Bibliographies appended to certain contributions to the journal.

In the index, the various volumes of the journal are denoted by Roman numerals. In volumes VII and IX, the pages of the two parts constituting each volume were numbered separately, and in these cases the small figure in brackets, *e.g.*, VII(2) or IX(1), indicates the part required.

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