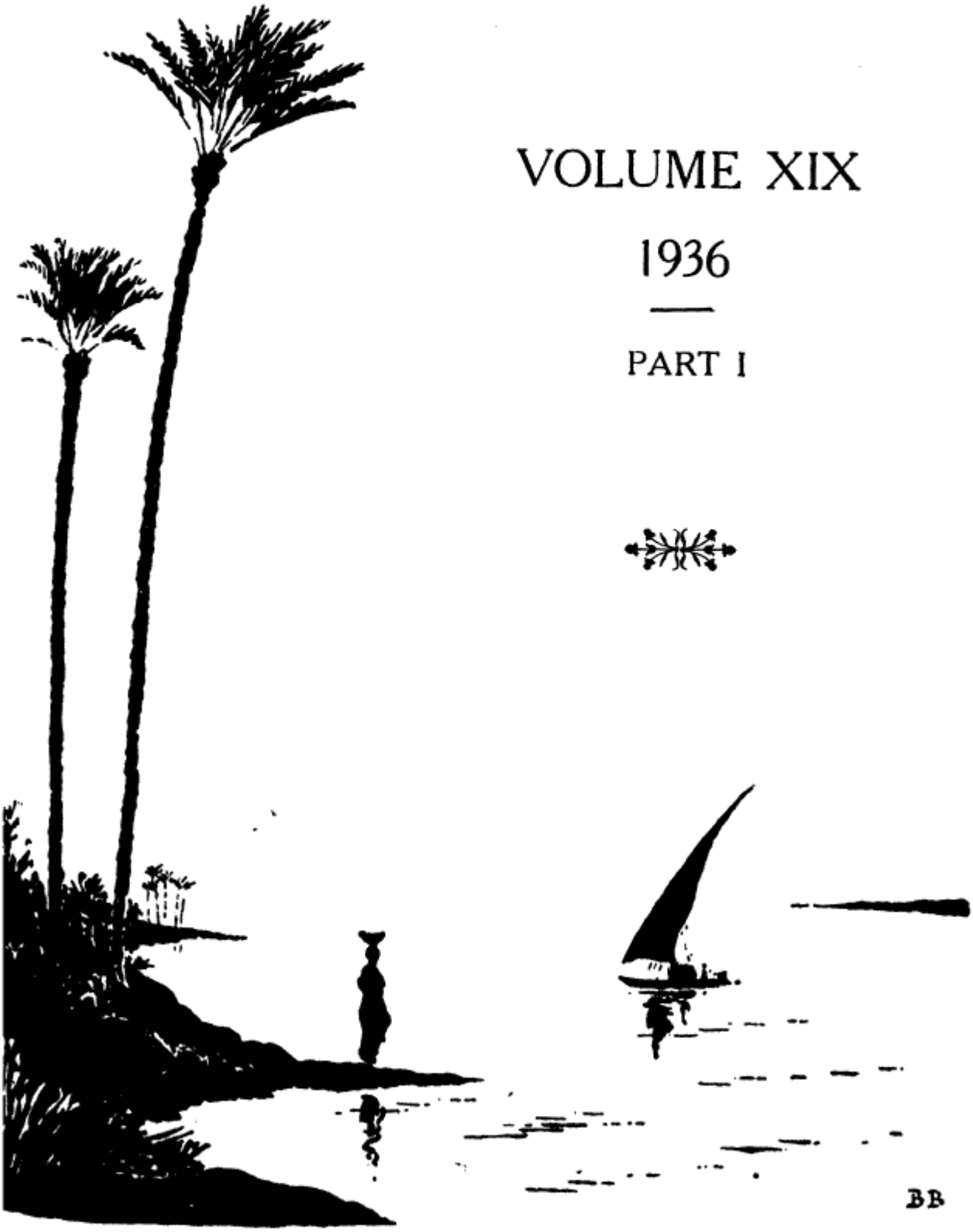
SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS



VOLUME XIX

1936

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Vol. XIX, 1936.

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

VOWELS.				DIPHTHONGS.
fatḥa	a,	lengthened	ā	ـَي —ai (as in aisle).
kasra	i,	„	ī	ـَو —au (as in mauser).
ḍamma	u,	„	ū	

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ة) is omitted.

NOTES.

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

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

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

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

EDITORIAL.

It is with the greatest regret that we have to record the death of Major General B. Mitford, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. The first instalment of his "Diary of a Subaltern on the Nile in the 'Eighties and 'Nineties" appeared in Part II of Volume XVIII last year, and further extracts will be published in Part II this year.

The Committee take this opportunity of thanking all contributors to the present number, and in particular Mr. John Walker, Assistant Keeper of Coins at the British Museum, for his interesting note on the Coinage of Ali Dinar.

Sudan Notes and Records has now been in existence for nearly twenty years, and has become a mine of information on a very wide variety of subjects. An Index to Volumes I–VI was issued in 1925, but since then we have not found a bibliographer willing to undertake the task. Mr. L. F. Nalder, who has just retired from the Sudan, leaving us in his debt as one of our most regular contributors, has made a Subject Index up to the current volume. We hope to amplify this and make a complete index for publication with Volume XX next year.

With the publication of an index, subscribers whose sets of *Sudan Notes and Records* are not complete will in many cases wish to obtain the earlier numbers. Most of them are available and can be obtained from the Hon. Treasurer, but the Committee will undertake to reprint the others if a sufficient number of applications is received.

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Obituary Notice

MAJOR-GENERAL BERTRAM REVELEY MITFORD, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

BORN 6TH FEBRUARY, 1863—DIED 23RD FEBRUARY, 1936.

THE death took place on Sunday morning, the 23rd February, at 12.45 a.m., of Major General Bertram Reveley Mitford, late the Buffs and East Surrey Regiment—Gentleman at Arms.

He was the son of Major H. R. Mitford, The King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, and entered The Buffs as a Lieutenant in 1882.

He joined the Egyptian Army in September, 1886, and served in that Force until October, 1891, rejoining again for special service in the Sudan from April, 1896, to January, 1897, when he returned to the British Army, becoming D.A.A.G. in Guernsey from September, 1897, to July, 1898.

Readers of *Sudan Notes and Records*[1] will have been especially interested in Mitford's first article, printed in Vol. XVIII (1935), entitled "Diary of a Subaltern on the Nile in the 'Eighties and 'Nineties." The Diary is continued in Part II of the current volume and will be concluded in Vol. XX next year.

This Diary deals in considerable detail with Mitford's five years' service in Egypt and the Sudan, and recounts the actions at Sarras and Gemaizeh and the Battle of Toski (August, 1899) when the Dervish Army, under the redoubtable Emir Wad en Nejumi, invaded Egypt and was utterly defeated and its leader killed by the Anglo-Egyptian Force under Sirdar Grenfell. Mitford refers very modestly to the part he took in these actions and the various skirmishes preceding them, but the writer of this notice, who was at that time Director of Intelligence of the Force, can testify to the conspicuous gallantry and the soldierly qualities Mitford displayed throughout these operations.

[1] Published by McCorquodale & Co., London.

He closes his Diary with the prophetic words : " I left Egypt on the 1st October, 1891, but I bear in mind ' He who has once drunk the waters of the Nile will return thereto,' and trusted that it might come true. It did."

Returning to the Sudan in April, 1896, Mitford was attached as a special service officer to the Egyptian Army for the following eventful eight months, which marked the early stages of the reconquest of the Sudan, and it is a matter of profound regret that his untimely death cut short the further record of his interesting experiences, which would have dealt with the Dongola Expedition of 1896, in which he was Brigade Major of the 2nd (Sudanese) Brigade, being mentioned in Despatches and receiving the Brevet of Major. He again reverted to the British Army, but on his return to the Sudan, 1898, he rejoined the Nile Expeditionary Force on the Headquarters Staff and was present at the Battle of Khartoum, which gave him a further " mention " and a Brevet Lieutenant Colonelcy. He also took part in the Relief of Gedaref and as Chief Staff Officer he was present at the operations on the Blue Nile and with the Kordofan Field Force ; later on he was on the Staff in the first advance against the Khalifa in the Spring of 1899, but—to his infinite regret—he had to return to the British Army before the operations took place, which resulted in the final defeat and death of the Khalifa in November, 1899.

Mitford's next campaign was in South Africa, where he was on special service from November, 1899, to January, 1901, and was A.A.G. South Africa from April, 1901, to June, 1902. He was present at the Relief of Kimberley, the actions at Paardeberg, Poplar Grove, Pretoria, Diamond Hill, and Rhenoster Kop, and subsequent operations in Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and the Zululand frontier of Natal. He received six clasps to the two medals and the D.S.O. In June, 1902, he was promoted Colonel and appointed A.A.G. Transvaal District, and held that post till July, 1905. From December, 1906, to April, 1910, he commanded the 9th Infantry Brigade at Portsmouth, and then retired with the rank of Brigadier-General. He had been made a C.B. in 1907, and in 1912 was appointed one of the Gentlemen-at-Arms.

In the late War he commanded the 72nd Infantry Brigade from 1914 to 1917, taking part in the battle of Loos and the Somme. In March, 1917, he was appointed to command the 42nd Division, being present at

Passchendaele, and was promoted Major-General in February, 1918. He was mentioned three times and was made a C.M.G. in June, 1917.

General Mitford married in 1890 the Hon. Etheldreda Mary Manners, youngest daughter of the second Lord Manners, and had three daughters, one of whom is the wife of Captain Sir Offley Wakeman, Bt., late Grenadier Guards.

For some time before this gallant and capable soldier passed away, he had suffered considerably from the effects of the many hardships incidental to campaigning in tropical countries, but up to the last he maintained a keen interest in the various episodes in his eventful life, and had he lived, there is little doubt he would have continued to write up and publish further extracts from his Diary.

During the latter years of his life, Mitford took a great interest in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, serving for some time as a Member of its Council. He specially devoted himself to the study of Heraldry, and worked out the family trees of Mitford and Broughton (his mother's family) and his own connection by marriage with the Manners family, and he was ungrudging in his readiness to help others engaged in similar enquiries.

It is not unlikely that his love of research was inherited, his great-great-grandfather having written a history of Greece early in the 18th century.

His appointment to the King's Body Guard in 1912 was to him a matter of very genuine pleasure and satisfaction.

In the words of his widow, " he was a devoted husband, son and brother, and almost the happiest time of his life was in the Egyptian Army, with his beloved IX Sudanese Battalion."

It was in these early days that he and the writer were thrown much together, and in his passing he feels he has lost a gallant old comrade and friend, whilst the Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms has to mourn the death of a very loyal soldier, and one who had rendered devoted service to his King and country during his long and varied career.

REGINALD WINGATE.

London.

30*th June*, 1936.

ZANDE THEOLOGY.[1]

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

I.

ABOUT no subject in social anthropology is there more conflict of opinion than about primitive theology. It would not be surprising to find disagreement among students of comparative religion about the meaning of facts recorded by fieldworkers, but there is often complete lack of unanimity among fieldworkers themselves about primitive notions in the same ethnographic field. The Azande of the Nile-Congo Divide are a case in point. Early travellers such as Schweinfurth and Junker give us very little information about their religious ideas and, among those who have had later and more intimate contact with the people, Colonel Bertrand makes Mbori a culture hero of Zande mythology like Ture, about whom there is a cycle of amusing stories told to children around the evening fire.[2] Major Larken tells us that "*Mbali*, the Deity, the Creator of all things good and evil, appears to be an all-pervading spirit whose dwelling-place is supposed to be at the heads of streams that rise in the dark overgrown ravines, or in the great trees that grow in such places. Good fortune and bad flow from him alone. No moral sense is attributed to him. He is not pleased by good, or angered by evil deeds. He is a blind Providence—a glorified god of luck."[3] On the other hand, Mgr. Lagæ[4] and Captain Philipps[5] portray a personal God, kindly creator and father, moral ruler and judge of the universe, to whom men pray in humility and in faith.

Hutereau does not mention a Supreme Being among the Azande of the French Congo. Perhaps we are to understand his opinions about

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[1] My fieldwork was financed by the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan with additional assistance from the Royal Society and the Trustees of the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Fund.

[2] Colonel A. F. Bertrand in preface to *Azande*, by A. de Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, and notes to de Calonne's text.

[3] Major P. M. Larken, "An Account of the Zande," *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. ix, 1926, p. 42.

[4] Mgr. Lagæ, *Les Azande*, 1926. Figures in brackets after quotations from Mgr. Lagæ's writings refer to this book. His previous article, "Notes sur les êtres suprasensibles chez les Azande," *Congo*, 1921, was incorporated in *Les Azande*.

[5] Captain J. E. T. Philipps, M.C., "Observations on some Aspects of Religion among the Azande ('Niam-Niam') of Equatorial Africa." *J.R.A.I.*, 1926. The numbers in brackets given after quotations from Captain Philipps refer to this paper.

Mbori by what he writes of bad ghosts called *Bali* : " Certains defunts deviennent *Bali* ou *Engese Ingisi*, parcourent les plaines ou les forêts la nuit et s'attaquent aux personnes isolées. D'après les indigènes le *Bali* est visible pendant un instant pour la personne qu'il guette, il a l'aspect d'un être humain recouvert d'une peau de poisson."[1]

This diversity of opinion cannot be wholly due to religious convictions, or the lack of them, but must also be attributed to the amorphous, indefinite, character of the facts themselves which allows emotional and intellectual selection on the part of observers. For were Zande notions about their Supreme Being expressed in an organised ritual so great a disparity of opinion could scarcely have arisen. Herein lies the main difficulty of giving a balanced account of Zande notions of their Supreme Being. There are no shrines or other material evidences of worship; there is but a single public ceremony associated with his name and this is performed on rare occasions ; prayers are individual and private ejaculations of more or less stereotyped expressions ; and there is an unique myth about him. The fieldworker therefore has to rely upon a judicious interpretation of these scanty evidences supported by native commentaries which, in the absence of clear-cut doctrines, are often un-illuminating and contradictory. All I can do in this paper is to describe the different situations in which Azande act towards Mbori and speak about him, and to show how their ideas about him are related to other notions contained in their culture. If my descriptions and those of my fellow fieldworkers sometimes seem sparse and our interpretations vague, this must, in part at any rate, be attributed to paucity of organised ritual and absence of formulated dogma.

When speaking of Mbori I have often rendered his name in English as " Supreme Being," but I wish it to be understood at the outset that I do so without prejudice to a conclusion about the Zande representation of him. Indeed I had better say at once that I cannot altogether agree with Mgr. Lagæ's description of Zande theology, but I hasten to add that this is the only major point in Mgr. Lagæ's book on which I feel that it is necessary to join issue with him. I have the greatest respect for his accuracy on all matters of fact and pay homage to my distinguished predecessor in the study of Zande culture. It is with regret that I feel bound

[1] A. Hutereau, *Notes sur la Vie Familiale et Juridique de Quelques Populations du Congo Belge*, 1909.

to challenge his interpretations, and those of my friend Captain Philipps, of Zande ritual. In the spelling of " Mbori " I have followed Canon and Mrs. Gore's Zande Dictionary[1] which conforms to the decisions of the Rejaf Conference, which was advised on orthographic matters by Professor D. Westerman, but I have retained the spellings " Mboli " and " Mbali " in quotations from other writers.

Captain Philipps says that he has been at pains to record only references to the Supreme Being from Azande of the bush and has discarded remarks made by persons who have had contact with Christians or Mohamedans. He also says that he has not obtained his professions of belief by questioning Azande about the Supreme Being, but by listening to spontaneous avowals overheard rather than elicited by him. Mgr. Lagæ, on the other hand, though he has tried to eliminate possible Catholic influence, seems to have relied upon Christian converts, or boys attending a Catholic school, for most of his information, and to have received it in texts written for him by his pupils. In my opinion the danger of using information supplied by informants who have been in contact with Europeans and Arabs is often grossly exaggerated, but undeniably the dangers are great when the subject is that of religious ideology. In my own view Zande ideas about Mbori are vague on the conceptual side and are little attached to institutions. I have found that in these circumstances Azande are not ill-disposed to accept European opinion and incorporate without difficulty, though often grotesquely, into their loose beliefs about Mbori, the certain dogmas of Christianity and Islam, backed as they are by the cultural superiority of the bearers of these religions. I speak of Azande of the bush who learn here and there an odd piece of doctrine, often from boys who have left the mission or market with scanty notions of teachings of Christ or Mohammad, and I am not referring to Christian converts of long standing.

We may contrast this readiness to accept foreign deistic concepts which, being theological notions, do not contradict indigenous thought because there is really very little to contradict in this sphere, with the determined intellectual resistance Azande oppose to ideas which contradict convictions which have to be expressed in social routines, e.g. their faith in oracles, their devotion to the ruling class, and their opinions about the

[1] *A Zande and English Dictionary*, compiled by the Rev. Canon and Mrs. E. C. Gore, 1931.

position of women in society. I found that they were open to correction on theological questions but not on such matters as these. Considerable caution has therefore to be exercised when using information supplied by boys who have studied at mission schools for they may unwittingly substitute Christian or Moslem ideas for the vague beliefs of their own culture, beliefs which are moreover the expression of age rather than of youth.

Major Larken has often been so careful to record genuinely native thought that he has marked passages derived by direct questioning. My own information was gathered partly by observing ceremonies and partly by systematic enquiry from regular informants, some of whose answers I took down in the form of texts. I have tried to make it clear when I have elicited information, when it has come my way by chance observation, and when my informant has been a boy who has studied at a mission school, and I have noted what were the situations in which spontaneous reference to Mbori occurred, and what were the psychological reactions of informants to the questions I put to them.

II.

Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps are quite decided in their view of Mbori. Mgr. Lagæ writes, " The idea of a Supreme Being is deeply anchored in Zande mentality . . ." (66) ; " for the Zande there is no doubt about the existence of Mboli. It is not a question for discussion . . ." (66) ; " the influence of Mboli is not able to be neutralised by anything. Intervention of Mboli is the ultimate explanation of sickness and death . . ." (66) ; " The Supreme Being, Mboli, appears as the great master of everything, disposing of everything as he pleases without one being able to counteract his activity " (67). The Azande " know at least that he is the great Chief, that he has made all and that no one can do anything against him. The universe is his property ; the animals of the bush belong to him ; even the stars are his work. Mboli sees things and hears what is said. He does not remain a stranger to his handiwork. He intervenes continually, not only causing illness and death, when it pleases him, or producing abnormal phenomena, but he intervenes in daily life, as he pleases, above all to chastise men when they commit evil.

The Zande feels himself in respect to Mboli in a state of complete dependence . . ." (67); "The Zande is penetrated with the universal action of Mboli . . ." (67); "There is no doubt that the Zande attributes to Mboli supreme authority, a power which nothing can neutralise, the unquestioned right to interfere in everything, since the universe is his handiwork. The Zande accepts all that without discussion, without ever blaspheming. In fact he is afraid of the Supreme Being. Although he does not know what happens after his death, he knows that on this earth he can fall under the blows of Mboli. The Zande is far from regarding the Supreme Being with the indifference which some wish to attribute to primitive man. His individual life is altogether penetrated with a reverent and respectful worship of the Supreme Being. One may say that the Zande is deeply religious" (69). Mgr. Lagæ sums up by saying that Mbori applies sanctions to wrongdoers. For example he will send thunder to kill a bad man. Azande believe that by prayer bad actions are pardoned to them by Mbori.

Captain Philipps tells us much the same as Mgr. Lagæ. "Mboli makes himself felt to the Zande in every phase of his daily activities. He is not, as are so many African deities, so much a god-to-be-propitiated. He is rather to be prayed to in order to avert evil, inflictable or inflicted by spirits. He is a 'fixed power divine which moves to good,' though haltingly. His general tendency is felt to be benignant. But if he is slow to anger he is slow also to good. His response to prayer is sluggish. He needs to be constantly reminded of the good disposition or merit of the human individual in order that his benignant potentialities may be stimulated and put into action on the individual's behalf. But, woe betide the Zande who calls casually or overweeningly to the Supreme Being, or who represents himself to be practising virtues or merits which he does not in reality possess. Hence it is to their negative virtues that would-be suppliants most frequently draw attention in protestation or in prayer. *Mboli* appreciates the moral virtues as they are conceived by the community, who feel themselves consciously to be beneath his ubiquitous and absolute dominion. He intervenes frequently in daily life to chastise ὕβρις by the stroke of illness, or to loose the bolts of death upon those who have neglected or inadvertently laid shame upon the *Manes* of their clan . . ." (173). "The usufruct of earth, air, fire, water and the animals of the chase, are consciously held to be conceded to men by *Mboli*, who the

majority of Azande consider to have caused them to be brought into existence . . ." (173). Captain Philipps concludes, " *Mboli* appears to be continually present in the Zande subconsciousness. Nay, the idea of the presence of *Mboli* seems to hover at the edge of the Zande consciousness more strongly than that of the occasional though dreaded spirits who, though more acutely active, appear to fill only a secondary rôle in Zande life " (175). He adds that, " The reverence and respect shown to *Mboli* appear to be universal, and to date from a period considerably anterior to European occupation " (175).

Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps have had long experience of the Azande and speak their language, so that their opinions are not lightly to be set aside. Yet it is remarkable that neither Major Larken nor I have found the concept of a God who takes an ever-present interest in the world, rewarding good and evil, the guardian of moral law, an omnipotent, omnipresent, benevolent, personal, monotheistic, being, and that we have not found such a belief distinct from other mystical notions nor always on the threshold of Zande consciousness so that it is frequently and readily evoked.

Colonel Bertrand and Major Larken naturally do not give detailed information in support of their view of Mbori, but the accounts of Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps are well documented. Indeed, the subject has evidently been of primary interest to both of them; Mgr. Lagæ's description of the Supreme Being is his first paper on Zande Customs and Captain Philipps' article is his sole contribution on the Azande. Captain Philipps follows Mgr. Lagæ so closely that we may consider their opinions together. These are formed from interpretations of three types of evidence, (1) prayers offered to Mbori, (2) the meaning of personal names, and (3) a ceremony carried out during periods of drought and other national misfortunes. I have attached my own observations to their accounts under each of these headings and have added further material.

III.

According to Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps the Zande prays daily to Mbori. He does so specially when anything goes wrong, for example when he has a sore on his hand or foot, exclaiming, " Alas *Mboli* you do not grant me fortune," or, " Alas this affair which is troubling me,

if *Mboli* wishes it, it is sufficient for it to cease " (67). Thus also a pregnant woman blows a mouthful of water on to the ground from time to time and tells Mbori that she has not stolen the goods of another and that she is in his hands for good or for ill (68). But even if nothing in particular is troubling him, a Zande offers up his daily prayer. Captain Philipps remarks, " The audible use of prayer to the Supreme Being is more frequent among the Azande than among any African race of whom I have direct or indirect knowledge. I would hazard the opinion that the average untravelled Zande of the bush seldom passes a day of his life without a spoken prayer to *Mboli* " (176). When the Zande performs his daily ablutions his final act is to wash out his mouth with a handful of water and " he expectorates it on the ground nearby, using one of the many variable formulæ according to occasion." One may cite a typical prayer which one very frequently hears if one sits and smokes a pipe unobtrusively with them by a twilight fire. *Bangile aboro wene nga yo dunduko. Kina lo, Mboli, nikasapa ga aboro gbwanga ni lengo,* " in my eyes all men are just (to me). Verily it is thou, *Mboli,* who art a judge over us " (176). Mgr. Lagæ gives another of these prayers to Mbori : " If I have failed in anything, if I have spoken words of anger, all is finished. I blow out water as a sign of my good-will." He adds, " In entirely native surroundings, this type of prayer to *Mboli* is made so to speak each morning." He further tells us that there is a solemn and occasional prayer which Azande utter when menaced with misfortune or on the eve of a serious happening, for example a pregnant woman will utter it. It runs : " Father, as I am here, I have not stolen the goods of another, I have not taken the goods of another without recompense, I have not set my heart after the goods of another, all men are good in my eyes . . . *Mboli,* it is indeed you who settle the differences between us who are men " (70). Mgr. Lagæ quotes a Zande as saying, " A thing deteriorates among the Azande, maybe a pot, maybe a gourd, maybe a hut, maybe anything else, and the Zande says : 'It is the doing of *Mboli.* It is *Mboli* who has said that the thing must perish.' One invokes the name of *Mboli* about all things among the Azande. The Azande think about *Mboli* in reference to everything " (68).

Mbori also figures as an object of address in situations of sickness and death. Mgr. Lagæ tells us that a visitor to a sick friend will blow out a mouthful of water in a spray to the ground as a sign of his good-will,

saying that he is innocent of causing his friend's illness and asking Mbori to drive away the witch who is responsible for it, and that if a man dies and his relatives use magic in vain to avenge themselves on the witch who has murdered him and no one dies as evidence of guilt, they will say that it is not a witch after all but the Supreme Being who has killed him, for Mbori is sometimes made the direct cause of death (66–67). Captain Philipps says that the Supreme Being often causes or permits death to supervene—in the words of Azande, " Mboli has let the heart-beats fade " —and according to both these observers death by thunder is particularly attributed to the Supreme Being. Mgr. Lagæ tells us that when there is a violent storm threatening his safety the Zande, knowing that the Supreme Being sends the thunder-beasts to punish wrongdoers, takes a mouthful of water and blows it on to the ground, saying, " If I have fallen short in anything, there, it is finished, I blow water as a sign of my uprightness " (70). Captain Philipps writes that during violent thunderstorms one may frequently hear Azande pray to Mbori to protect them from the thunder-beast : " The remarks actually reproduced are those most frequently overheard in the mouths of different Azande on some dozen occasions : *Mi adinga ga boro ahe te*—' I have not stolen things of any man.' *Ga Mboli pai du !*—' Mboli's affair it is ! ' *Ka Mboli aidanga te, ka mi kpinga haleme ya !*—' If Mboli dost not desire it (then) let me not die to-day ! ' " (174).

When travelling in the Congo with nine conscripts for the Moto gold mines Captain Philipps noticed that after crossing a river of any size they washed and filled their mouths with water and spat it out in a shower to the ground. As they did so " each in turn said with a quiet and simple reverence : *Mboli, ka mi kpinga ku watsa yo ya !*—' *Mboli,* may I not perish in Watsaland ! ' (Watsa is the distributing centre for the Moto mines) " (176–7).

Although I have never heard Azande pray for aid to Mbori, on a number of occasions I have heard them use such expressions as " Oh Mboli, you have not done well with me," in situations of unhappiness as when a man had lost his hens, and, " It is the affair of Mboli," when referring to something beyond human knowledge. People will also sometimes say that " if Mbori helps me I will do so and so." I was told that this is a new expression and that in the past they only used the expression " If Mbori is well with me," e.g. " If Mbori is well with me I will marry."

To supplement the data already quoted I transcribe from my collection of texts other prayers which informants have told me are sometimes uttered to the Supreme Being. Though the physical union between man and woman is the cause of procreation in the eyes of Azande, they nevertheless believe that it would not take place if Mbori were not a complementary cause. In one of my texts a man admonishes his son, exclaiming, " Oh my son, I have already reasoned with you and you have not listened to my words. Man does not come out of wood. You see this vast extent of country, it is Mbori alone who made it, and he controls everything in it. It is he who put a spirit into my father so that he begat me and it is Mbori alone who put a spirit into me so that I begat you my son." During pregnancy Mbori is said to be fashioning the child in the womb and I was told that one should never wake a sleeping woman who is with child lest one should disturb the Supreme Being at work and cause the child to be deformed.

Azande will say of anything that is mysterious to them, such as sleep, " Mbori in truth does wonderful things." They say of sleep, " Sleep is the younger brother of death ; what wonders does Mbori perform ; a man thinks when he lies down to sleep, sleep like death, that he will wake again with life though he does not know why he wakes, because sleep is like death."

When visiting the home of a sick man a Zande will take a draught of water and blow it in a spray to the ground and say, " Oh Mbori, this man who is sick, if it is I who am killing him with my witchcraft, let him recover." He blows water and utters this prayer as a declaration of his innocence and in order that, if he is inadvertently responsible for the sickness, the man may recover and he may save himself from death at the hands of avengers. Thus Azande say : " The blower of water does not die," meaning that a witch by blowing water cools his witchcraft and hence avoids murder and retribution.

Another text reads : " Old men when washing in the morning wash their faces and rinse out their mouths and then blow out the water ' fushiya ' and say, ' Oh Mbori, I do not steal the goods of men, I do not wantonly commit adultery with the wives of men, oh Mbori, let there be a test between me and men (i.e. if I have committed an offence let me die but if I am innocent, let me live) ; may no man give me his stolen thing so that

I eat of it and die, but may magic settle the affair equitably between me and the thief since it is not I who stole the thing (i.e. the medicine made by the owner of the stolen object to kill the thief). If perchance there is witchcraft within me let me not injure anyone's gardens with it but let the mouth of my witchcraft cool, let it spend its force upon animals in the bush, animals which dance on the graves of my relatives. Oh Mbori so! you have not granted me good fortune. Oh ghosts of my fathers, in what depths of poverty am I plunged! Of a truth you do not watch over me, for if you watched over me you would see that I catch animals to eat since I look like dying after the death of my father."

An appeal to Mbori is often coupled, as in the last quotation, with an appeal to the ghosts. In another text a man says, " Oh if Mbori is good to me to-day an animal will rush into my net and I among all these many people will kill it. Oh what about it! I wait for long gazing into my net. Oh so! indeed the ghost of my father has deserted me."

When a prince gives a case against a man the loser may say to his opponent, " Mbori between me and you," or " Mbori himself will settle the dispute between me and you before we die." This is a *Zunga*, a test or challenge, and if the man's opponent in the case dies or suffers some grave misfortune shortly afterwards, they say that Mbori has settled the case against him. Men also say, " If I die first my ghost will go to rest in the earth to make a case against you in front of Mbori." I heard of a man whose knife was stolen from another. When the owner of the knife died he appeared in a dream to a friend and told him that he was awaiting the thief to make a case with him before Mbori. Everyone got to know of this dream and when shortly afterwards the thief died, he was said to have been summoned by Mbori to answer the case brought against him.

Though I have never observed a Zande praying to Mbori during morning ablutions, Azande have told me that people will occasionally do so, especially old men, at the time of new moon. One informant told me that a man would say, " Oh Mbori, do not let me die this month. Oh Mbori, let me live to see another moon." Another informant said that a man might utter these words, " Oh Mbori, deal well with me this month. Oh Mbori, let me obtain spears this month." New moon is the time when a man will go to his prince's court and ask him for a gift of spears.

When Azande pray to Mbori they often bend their arms at the elbow with palms of the hands uppermost as they do when asking pardon or assistance from a prince.

It is mainly upon the evidence of these and similar prayers that Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps rely to sustain their representation of the Zande Supreme Being. Leaving general criticism to the conclusion of this paper I wish to make a few comments upon the use of prayers as evidence of Zande notions of Mbori. When pieced together and presented in bulk by an ethnologist they appear to furnish overwhelming evidence for systematised doctrine, but in real life they are never so presented but are dissociated phrases evoked in various situations of grief, anxiety, and fear, and have in their context of utterance emotional rather than conceptual significance. They are an idiom of emotional expression in certain situations. In so far as there is a religious doctrine it is found in the prayers themselves. We who are brought up in the poetic imagery of sacred books, are conscious of doctrines which are not only expressed in prayer and worship, but which at the same time explain and justify prayer and worship. But we shall seek in vain for such doctrines among the Azande and there is a grave danger lest we try to construct from their prayers a picture of a God which we would visualise were we to utter them.

Furthermore, there has been a selection of situations in which the word " Mbori " appears and this is lexographically inadmissible as it limits its range of meaning. For just as we in our culture hear the word " God " pronounced with many different implications, as " I believe in God the Father," " God help us ! ", " My God ! " and so forth, varying in doctrinal significance from a standardised statement of belief through responses to grief and fear to expletives uttered in anger or exasperation, so also the Zande uses the word " Mbori " in many different contexts. Besides the prayers cited above, one frequently hears the phrase, " *Mbori amangi e*," " Mbori did (or made) it" when a Zande sees or hears something unusual, as when he sees some strange product of European manufacture. Once when I read out to a song-leader the text of a song he had composed he exclaimed "Mbori !". The phrase is equivalent to our "By Jove !", or "Good Heavens !", or "Well I never !". To take another example : I once heard an old man tell his son to go a message for him and when the youth started to argue his father uttered several expletives of mingled

amazement and anger such as " By the limb of king Gbudwe," and concluded " *Mbori amangi e,*" " Mbori has done it." The utterance of the man whose hens had disappeared, " Oh Mbori, you have not done well with me " ought, I consider, to be translated in our own idiom, " Oh I never have any luck," and we ought not to suppose that he was attributing to the Supreme Being guardianship of his fowls or believed that if there had been divine intervention he would not have lost them. I have heard a youth who was being chaffed because girls did not care to flirt with him on account of his looks reply in anger that if he was not good-looking Mbori had made him so. I have heard a man remark in envy of another's marriage " Mbori gave her to him—it is his wife " which means " Well some people have all the luck." Azande also speak of a great king who has died as " Our Mbori."

A further point concerns the frequency with which Azande mention Mbori in prayer or otherwise. Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps claim that Azande pray daily to Mbori but I have never heard these prayers although I have been on the look-out for them and present when in the early morning during ablutions, around twilight fires, and in thunderstorms, they are said to be spoken. Furthermore, though my informants said that people sometimes pray to Mbori, especially old men and at the time of new moon, as far as I could gather they themselves did not call upon his name. Major Larken, who has been in intimate contact with the Azande for more than twenty years, tells me that he has only once heard a Zande pray, the occasion being when a man asked Mbori to protect him from the rainbow which is believed to be a large snake. I do not question the authenticity of these prayers—many occur in my own texts quoted on preceding pages—but I doubt the frequency claimed for their expression. I doubt also the justification for such sentences as " The idea of a Supreme Being is deeply anchored in Zande mentality " ; " The Zande is penetrated with the universal action of Mboli " ; " His individual life is altogether penetrated with a reverent and respectful worship of the Supreme Being " ; " Mboli makes himself felt to the Zande in every phase of his daily activities " ; " He (Mbori) intervenes frequently in daily life " ; " Mboli appears to be continually present in the Zande subconsciousness " ; and so forth. I do not wish to set up myself as a better authority on the Azande than Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps, but as a fieldworker I must record that I have never heard a Zande pray and that I have seldom heard people utter

his name, and then only as an ejaculation of emotional intensity and with only the vaguest suggestion of doctrinal significance. I must confess also that I have found the greatest difficulty in obtaining either information about Mbori or arousing any interest in him, as I explain further on.

A specific problem suggested by these Zande prayers to the Supreme Being concerns the causation of death. To ask a Zande whether Mbori kills men is like asking a Christian the same question. He knows that sooner or later everybody dies and he supposes that Mbori is aware of their death and permits it. But in sickness and death he thinks of witchcraft as their cause, and not of Mbori, who does not interfere in such matters, and he seeks to cure disease and avenge death through magical and oracular processes against witches and not by prayers to Mbori. Nevertheless, it appears that death is sometimes vaguely attributed to Mbori when no other cause can be discovered. One man told me that Azande will occasionally consult the poison oracle about a sick man, asking it " Poison oracle, this man who is ill, it is not witchcraft, it is not magic, it is Mbori, poison oracle kill the little fowl." But they only do this if all efforts to attach responsibility to a witch or magician have failed, and even if the poison oracle kills the fowl to the name of Mbori and the man dies they avenge his death upon some witch, because witchcraft is always a factor in death, and since to omit vengeance would be a stain on family honour. Azande have also told me that on the death of very old man people may say, " Mbori killed him, all his days were finished," or, " Mbori has taken our relative." Sometimes also people will say of a very old man, " He has lived long, his days are ended by Mbori. His little stick is finished." Mbori is here pictured as breaking off bit by bit the stick of life, just as a Zande breaks the stick when he is counting point by point his statement of a case or is reckoning spears. " Our fathers said, ' Child, Mbori himself breaks off your little stick of days. When he comes to break off the final pieces your days will be ended.' "

Zande notions of causation are complicated and vague. I have dealt with them at length in a forthcoming publication and will only remark here, in elucidation of the part with which Mbori is credited in the causation of death, that whilst Azande have a hazy idea that he is aware of all deaths, he is not explicitly considered a factor in causing them except in the case of very old men. If a man dies in his prime his death is attributed to an interplay of natural processes, diseases, dangerous beasts and reptiles,

spear-wounds, falling granaries and so forth, with the action of witchcraft. Witchcraft, being the only cause allowing intervention, is selected as the socially relevant one and a lengthy process of vengeance is based upon it. But when a very old man dies, to these causes is added the notion of the Supreme Being as not only aware of the death but of permitting it, even encouraging it, as the ordained end of a natural existence. Nevertheless, vengeance upon a witch will be exacted, however old the man is, for even granted his great age as the natural cause of his decline and the permission of the Supreme Being as the explanation of man's allotted span, it still requires a witch to give him the final push into the company of ghosts. Both the natural cause, age, and the accessory factor of the Supreme Being's encouragement, are thrust into the background by the necessity of vengeance which requires a notion of witchcraft as the cause of all deaths, except those of people who, in the old days, were themselves put to death as witches. In reference to the death of a leper I have heard it said that leprosy is *ga mbori pai*, the business of Mbori, rather than due to witchcraft. Leprosy may come from eating a tabooed animal, or from incest, or even from contact with an insect that walked over dung which a man has excreted in a riverside wood. But whatever may be the participating cause witchcraft is always the agent which provokes retaliation.

IV.

The second type of evidence quoted by Mgr. Lagæ consists of an analysis of Zande names containing the word "Mbori." He considers that they demonstrate Zande notions about the Supreme Being. "The Zande," he writes, "is so penetrated with ideas about the Supreme Being that sometimes he gives his children names which embody a complete doctrine" (68). He gives the following list: Daduwamboli (Who is as Mboli), Mbolinabilo (Mboli sees you), Mbolimanagile (Mboli made me), Mboligihe (Mboli hears it), Udimboli (Appreciated Mboli), Humboli (Thing of Mboli), Ngbamboligbwe (Mboli is very good), Kumboliyo (At Mboli's place). To these names I may add Mboli (Mboli), Gambolipai (Mboli's affair), Mbolizingbwali (Mboli has closed my lips).

Whilst it is true that these names bear witness to belief in the existence of a being superior to man they do very little to define his attributes, though Mgr. Lagæ makes them bear a doctrinal interpretation which in

my opinion they do not express. He does not mention that princes frequently bear the name of Mbori, and it is hardly consistent with the picture of an omnipotent All-Father that men should bear his sacred name. Also when a man gives to his son such a name as Ngbamborigbe (Mbori is very good), he means simply that he is pleased and there is little reason to suppose that on this or on many other occasions upon which the name *Mbori* is mentioned by Azande that they are conscious of paying homage to the deity any more than when an Arab bawls out, " Ya Abdallah! " he is conscious of having uttered the name of God. But this is not the whole point, and I have purposely mentioned the name Abdallah to bring out the rest of my objection, for in the case of an Arab who calls his son Abdallah we happen to know that there is a doctrine which explains historically how the name came to be used by Arabs, and that this doctrine defines the attributes of God, but we would not attempt to derive from an Arab's use of the name an elaborate doctrinal concept and say the Arab is so penetrated with ideas about the Supreme Being that he gives his children names which embody a complete doctrine. To anybody acquainted with the Arabs this would sound absurd as religion sits very lightly on their shoulders. Zande names which contain the word " Mbori " when viewed in the light of their method of naming in general cannot be used as evidence for the existence of a formulated doctrine defining Mbori as a supreme and beneficent father or of conscious devotion of Azande towards him, for they are in origin little more than idiomatic expressions of satisfaction and in use no more than names are to us.

It is necessary, moreover, to know not merely that such names are occasionally given to children, but also the context of their endowment. The name Ngbamboligbe may have been given as a joke or out of a feeling of exuberance, and there is no reason why we should suppose that it was given out of a feeling of gratitude or respect. The attitude of Azande towards the Supreme Being as registered in their names can only be ascertained by noting how their endowment and expression are associated with psychological states and doctrinal comments, and not by merely writing them down on paper and afterwards making a lexographic dissection of them. I have never observed that Azande show any more sense of awe when uttering names in which Mbori occurs than we have in uttering such names as Christopher. I was only able to trace the occurrence which suggested the endowment of a name in a single instance. One of my

informants was named Mborizingbare (Mbori has closed my lips). I asked the youth's father, prince Rikita, why he had called his son by this name, and he said that when he was asked by what name he would call his son he made this reply which meant " I really cannot think what to say."

V.

The third type of data instanced by Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps is a description of public ceremonial in honour of the Supreme Being. In times of drought, when there is danger that the crops may die from lack of moisture, or in times of serious pestilence, a ceremony takes place at the suggestion of ghost-diviners (*aboro atoro*) who are instructed to initiate it by directions from Mbori or from the ghosts of the dead in dreams, in cultivations and at sources of streams. However it is necessary that the prince's poison oracle shall confirm their dreams before the ceremony takes place, and if the poison oracle gives confirmation the prince tells his deputies to instruct the ghost-diviners to organise locally in each district a ceremony which is usually called *maziga*. Ghost-diviners are people who are able to communicate with the ghosts of the dead, usually through dreams, and are generally women.

Mgr. Lagæ does not describe the ceremony in detail as he did not have an opportunity to witness it, but Captain Philipps, who has watched it taking place, writes, " The bearers of the offering of first fruits had, in this instance, been called for by the chief amid an approbation of the people in increasing procession from house to house. Thence they moved with simple cadenced song towards the open table rock which gives birth to the source of the river and looks out over the whole countryside. The songs appeared to consist of chorused invocations of a very limited variety. Considerable alarm and despondency were created during our stay at the neighbouring village by a bursting storm which, occurring during the night, washed off a large proportion of the offerings into the stream below. Passing next morning about dawn on my way to shoot, I was an attentive witness and hearer of the impromptu meeting held on the spot by the earliest passers-by" (177). He says that the ceremony is usually held about December in the Zande month of *Bandulo*, the month of mists, but if this is so it can hardly be intended to counteract drought as the

Azande do not plant their crops till the end of March, and as in December the millet is ripening in the cultivations the last thing they want is rain. Mgr. Lagæ says that it is held at the commencement of the dry season and only once a year but not necessarily each year (71). This is a time when drought may destroy the millet harvest since it is still growing and needs moisture. Similarly I was told that it was held either when the young shoots of millet needed moisture (it is planted in August) or in the springtime (about May, in the Zande month of *malekoko*) for the benefit of all crops.

Major Larken describes the ceremony as in honour of Baati and not of Mbori. His description is as follows[1] : " In the case that came under the writer's notice, no altar was raised, but only a small space was swept at the rocky lip of a ravine, and in that space a heap consisting of leaves of pineapple, bananas, elusine, sweet potatoes, ground-beans, *kpagu* and *ngbazi*, had been placed by the people.

A song is sung while the gifts are brought—

E, E, Baati, O.

E, E, Baati ti ali yo (E, E, Baati has tumbled down from above),

Ndu ko kati (His leg is broken).

(Chorus) : *E, E, Baati O.*

I have only once had the opportunity of witnessing the *maziga* ceremony and could not make use of this to any great extent as I was in high fever at the time and it was only towards the end of the ceremony that I became an eye-witness. On this occasion, in the month of August, there was a severe outbreak of cerebro-spinal meningitis which caused many deaths. The prince, Gangura, had consulted his poison oracle to find out whether the epidemic would cease if the *maziga* ceremony were held, and learning that this would be the result he sent for a well-known ghost-diviner and instructed her to commence the ceremony, which she organised with the aid of several other women ghost-diviners. In the early morning the women of several settlements collected in the house of the leading ghost-diviner and from there commenced to visit neighbouring cultivations through which they charged, rushing in all directions, shouting and singing, and swinging sticks into the air to bring them down with strokes to the earth in time to their songs. Besides sticks they carried in their hands leaves of manioc, sweet potatoes, and other food plants which

[1] " Impressions of the Azande," *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1927, p. 121.

they gathered from homesteads and cultivations as they passed through them. They were preceded in this romp through gardens and cultivations by a small boy beating on a leather-topped drum. Men kept out of their way partly because it was not their business to take part in a woman's ceremony and partly because the women become excited and do not observe, indeed are not expected to observe, the usual rules of seemly conduct. The spirit-diviners and others among the women who accompany them perform a kind of belly dance which in ordinary times would be considered indecent and would not be allowed. I was told also that these ghost-diviners may make obscene gestures with their hands and utter expressions which are only permitted on rare occasions of prescribed licence.

The women finally gathered together in a homestead at the edge of the settlement in which I lived and I hurried out to meet them as soon as I heard that they were there. Only women took part in the ceremony and the few men who, like myself, were onlookers, happened to live nearby and could hardly have avoided being spectators. On the whole they seemed to regard the antics of the women as a joke. These were dancing wildly in the centre of the homestead and one of them was now beating the drum. They waved leaves of food plants in their hands and beat the ground with sticks singing various songs, usually consisting of a single sentence, for example :—

Maziga oo Baati oo
and
Uwa uwa uwa Mboli ooo maziga ooo
and
Mbori di wiru be re Mbori ooo
and
Buba akpi te Mbori ako ako kpiyo ani ga ga.

No translations can be offered for the first two lines other than the explanations suggested below of the words *maziga* and *Baati*. The third line might be translated " Mbori has taken his son from me, Mbori ooo," and the fourth line as " My father has died Mbori alas, alas, death, we have departed." During the singing and dancing the leading ghost-diviner became possessed with ghosts and twitched and trembled and shook as though she had convulsions. Some of the other women beat her on the back and poked their fingers into her ears. They must have danced

thus for half an hour when, preceded by the leading ghost-diviner, they rushed off at the double along a path to a stream singing,

" *Maziga oo oo ee ee uu uu*
Baati ti ooo uu uu oo ooo
Baati ti ali yo nduko kiti.

Maziga oo oo ee ee uu uu"
" Baati fell ooo uu uu oo ooo
Baati fell from on high and broke his leg."

On arrival at the stream head they continued to sing for a while and to beat the drum. Finally they cleared an open space on the floor of a shallow chasm at the head of the stream and placed their plants there. It seems that they may place them instead on a granitic outcrop near the head of the stream. At this point the leading ghost-diviner swooned in convulsions, and the ceremony came to a conclusion. The women oiled their bodies in the bush and made themselves presentable before returning to their homesteads. I was told that on the following morning the ghost-diviners ate special medicines—ghost medicines—known only to them. The country was laid under a kind of general interdict against eating manioc leaves and the oil-bearing plant *ndakö* (Hyptis Spicigera-Sch.), because the senior ghost-diviner had been given an order to this effect by the Supreme Being in a dream and her dream had been confirmed by Gangura's poison oracle.

These descriptions may be supplemented by several native accounts. According to one informant (Kuagbiaru) " In the past all Azande used to think about Mbori as dwelling mainly at the heads of streams rather than in other places. They also thought about Mbori as being under the earth because when a man dies they bury him in the earth where Mbori is.

" In a year in which food plants do not bear well for Azande they collect on a certain day, shortly after sunrise, and go about ululating with a great noise. It is the same with rain also. If rain does not fall to make their crops grow they perform this ceremony at a stream head, because they all believe that Mbori is at the heads of streams and that if they go there to cry out for rain he will surely give it to them.

" But now a good number listen to the teaching of the missionaries and think that in fact Mbori is on high because the missionaries always tell them that this is so. But the people who do not live near the Government station still retain the ideas of their fathers, for their fathers used to honour Mbori at the heads of streams in the old days. Most people still say to-day that Mbori is in fact at the heads of streams because when they go to celebrate *Baati* at the heads of streams Mbori will grant them rain on that day on which they go to celebrate *Baati*.

" Azande speak thus about Mbori, ' Alas Mbori has become bad ' ; they say this when a relative has died and they say that it is Mbori who has taken him. Also they say thus at a house of mourning, ' Alas that Mbori is aloof, Mbori has wearied, Mbori has done an unworthy thing, Mbori is responsible for happenings, Mbori has been wanton.' All such expressions are uttered by those who are sad, by blind persons and lepers, by those whose relatives have died and those who cannot rise from poverty. These people speak all these things to the name of Mbori.

" It seems to be their cry of anguish to Mbori ; but they do not know what to say. If they see a bad man with many fine wives, they say, ' People have married all the women except me, Mbori is being unworthy.'

" All these sayings Azande have in no wise given up ; they still speak them about any small matters which trouble them ; they say it is indeed Mbori who has done it thus.

" If you ask a Zande to-day he would tell you that Mbori is certainly at the heads of streams. It is thus that you will hear it on the lips of all Azande."

A Zande Christian (Zuzu) gave the following account of the ceremony : " That which Azande used to do is as follows : In the past people used to say that Mbori dwells at the heads of streams. People collected together to perform the ceremony of *Baati*. They say that Mbori is at the heads of streams and near limonite outcrops. They performed the ceremony of *maziga* and rain came down and poured greatly. People went and straightway gathered (in the ceremony) all fruits, ground-nuts and sesame and sweet potatoes and leaves of manioc and fowls' eggs and bananas and every kind of produce to perform the ceremony of *maziga* and *Baati* to bring down rain upon their crops and cultivations so that refreshed

by rain they might spring up, for if rain does not fall the plants will not spring up. Mbori gives rain and the crops spring up and that is why people perform the ceremony of *maziga*."

A third account was as follows: " People rise early and go out to beat *maziga* on account of the seedlings of plants. They say, ' Let plants flourish, let this world be fruited to men here, because if there be no food all men will die. Mbori grant it to us who are ghost-diviners.' They then commence to sing a song:

Maziga ooooo baati oowo.

When they arrive in the cultivations they begin to break off heads of millet and *kpagu* and ground-nuts and earth-beans and *mele* and heads of *abakpa* and *detiro* and to collect fowls' eggs. They beat all the cultivations and then their leader says ' Let us go to the head of the stream to present these things to Mbori.' Well they begin to go and arrive there.

" She tells them to remain on the bank and she collects all these things and takes them and throws them down in the chasm. Then she begins to tremble and starts the song of the ghosts for her companions and they respond to Mbori. She says to them, ' Let us go home, the ghosts are chasing me, let us go.' They commence to depart."

A fourth account was compiled from statements of three women who were leaders in the ceremony I witnessed a day or two after it had taken place. Their statements were taken down by my Zande clerk in my presence.

They said: " *Maziga* is held when the country is quite dried up and rain refuses to fall. Those women who are ghost-diviners have already notified all their women friends, and at dawn they all collect each carrying food plants and none lacking these. They take a leather-topped drum and give it to a small boy and he walks ahead of them and beats it. People proceed singing many *maziga* songs. They go and arrive there and the ghost-diviners descend right into the chasm at the stream head. While they are there the boy beats the drum up above on the bank. They wait there for a long time and then suddenly emerge and tell the people that the ghosts praise their offerings and that their rain will fall on their millet. The ghost-diviners say that when they are in the chasm the ghosts speak to them. When they go to wait in the chasm the ghosts speak words to them and praise the food plants that the people have brought with them."

They also said : " It is the ghosts who speak about *maziga* that men must go and beat it at a stream head. When rain has not fallen for a long time it is the ghosts who say to a ghost-diviner that she shall tell the people to go to cry *maziga* at a stream head so that rain may fall. The ghost-diviners tell everybody to gather together in the early morning to go and cry *maziga* because thus the ghosts order it. The people gather together, men, women, and little children, with a great noise, plucking heads of manioc in the gardens and leaves of many food plants. They go singing these songs." (Here follow songs. Some are similar to those already recorded while others are not transcribed because they do not shed light on the meaning of the ceremony.)

The manner in which each of these women became ghost-diviners was also recorded. One was called Nabaru. " Her father had gone to the wars in the army of Gbudwe and the ghosts made her dream. They said to her in a dream that she must not eat those things which her mother will prepare (because she was in mourning). In this, her dream, she saw the corpse of her father on a bier and men carrying it home. She woke up because it was a terrible dream. In the morning, at dawn, she looked up towards the path and people came bearing the corpse of her father. Messages from the ghosts came to her ever afterwards. *Ngbisi* began from that moment to take up its place in her throat. *Ngbisi* is the little voice in the throat of a man. Only not many ghost-diviners possess it. They ask *Ngbisi* about the future and it reveals everything. But not many witch-doctors possess *Ngbisi*, only a few of them."

The second woman, Naakadumu, recounted that, " She went to scoop out water to catch fish. She continued for some time to scoop out water and caught a crab by one foot and one claw and caught a frog. She returned home and when she arrived put water on the fire to boil. She took the crab and threw it into the water and threw the frog in after it. When the water got too hot for the crab, it clambered out of the pot and made off in haste to the head of the stream. It ran and ran and entered into a hole. Naakadumu found the tracks of the crab and tracked it till she arrived at the stream head. She saw the hole and put her hand into it and seized the crab. She had just seized it when it cried out aloud like a man. The horror of it came upon her and she jumped up in haste with a cry and fled. She continued to run shrieking and fell into a cave. People

took a leather-topped drum and came and stood at the mouth of the cave and beat it and after a while she came out. They took her and returned home with her. She refused all food but ate flies for food. The ghosts continued ever afterwards to trouble her."

The third woman, Nambua, said that," She died and they dug a grave for her and everyone wailed. Her spirit went forth and appeared at the place of ghosts. She was just looking about when all her relatives collected and made a circle around her. It was her mother who said to her, ' What have you come here for ? Get up and go whence you came. Go away quickly.' She departed from amongst these people and her eyes at once opened. Everyone ceased wailing and she began immediately to wake from death and recovered completely."

The songs sung during the ceremony are quite unintelligible without native commentary and even to Azande they are little more than rhythmic chants devoid of meaning. The ghost-diviners say that they refer to the Supreme Being having turned his back on the people and are above all on the theme of death. It is of particular interest to know what, or who, are *maziga* and *Baati*. According to Captain Philipps the word is *beleti* contracted from *ba*, father, and *eleti*, cultivations, and he concludes that the word therefore means " father-(of)-cultivated fields," and he says " This may not unreasonably be taken as an attribute of *Mboli*, one of whose principal functions consists in acting as the spiritual landlord of the *A-zande* (*sande, sende*) or people-of-the-soil " (178). According to Mgr. Lagæ and Major Larken the word is compounded of *Ba*, big, and *eti*, cultivations, and they conclude that it should be translated " big cultivations."

Major Larken speaks of *Baati* as a distinct personality and in his account of the ceremony does not even mention Mbori, showing that his informants certainly did not emphasise the Supreme Being in association with it. He writes of *Baati* that he " inhabits the sources of certain streams which rise in deep ravines, shaded by great trees, or rock outcrops which have a spring at the foot, and it is by revelation in a dream that his dwelling-places are known, divination (oracles) not being resorted to for the purpose of discovering them."[1] He comments " What the people imagine Baati to be is difficult to say. Were he accepted as a spirit, or as a personification of the deity Mbali, he would undoubtedly be accorded the neuter gender,

[1] " Impressions of the Azande," *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1927, pp. 120–121.

and the penultimate line of the song would be : *Ndu ru kati.* He must have either a multiple personality or the power of responding to calls made for him at his various haunting places ; and yet the Azande interrogated replied, ' *Ko wa boro,* he is like a person,' again using the masculine *ko* and not the supernatural neuter, *u.*"[1]

In a text written by a Christian convert the word appears as *batita* which means " great ancestor." Though it is evident that this is an elision in writing *Baati ti,* Baati fell, it shows clearly that the boy did not understand the sense of what he was writing and how very little meaning the song conveys to Azande. We are disappointed if we anticipate that it may summarise a myth. The word *Baati* is known to Azande only in this song and it is noticeable that Zande songs in general soon lose whatever meaning they may once have had and that at any time are seldom more than partly understood by those who sing them. They retain only sufficient grammatical form and limited sense to serve mnemotic purposes as accompaniments to rhythm. To most Azande *Baati* is the ceremony itself but as in one of the songs his leg is said to have been broken they think that he may have been somebody who had something to do with Mbori. The senior prince of Yambio district, Rikita, told me that *Baati* and Mbori were the same person and that the song came to a ghost-diviner in a dream. Another old man told me that *Baati* is the son of Mbori and he is spoken of as such in one of the songs quoted. I discuss later on the possibility of Christian influence through some, perhaps early, channel which would account for Mbori having a son whom he took from men (the ghost-diviners say, however, that this line means that they are weeping for their dead children), and who fell down from on high and broke his leg.

Mgr. Lagæ says that there are two ceremonies, the ordinary one being known as *baeti* and the other, carried out by an important person living near *Dungu,* being called *maziga.* This second ceremony is carried out on a path. It is possible that the first ceremony is one to bring rain and the second a ceremony to end pestilence, but in the Sudan Azande do not appear to distinguish between them. None of my informants knew what *maziga* meant beyond the action of the ceremony. Here again the word only occurs in the single context where it is a symbol for the whole ceremony. Thus one says *ta maziga,* to celebrate *maziga,* just as one says *ta*

[1] " Impressions of the Azande," *Sudan Notes and Records,* 1927, p. 121.

baati, to celebrate *baati*. The meaning of the word might be *ma ziga*, to place an antidote, *ziga* being the usual word for magical antidotes, but it would be hazardous to attach importance to this or any similar guesses. Mgr. Lagæ does not suggest a meaning for the word and Captain Philipps and Major Larken do not mention it at all. Nevertheless the meaning of *ta maziga*, the usual expression in the Sudan, or *ta baati*, is at once suggested by the ceremony itself, the part which is stressed both in action of women who perform it and which is emphasised by Azande when describing and commenting on the ceremony, is the beating of the earth with sticks by the women as they run through the cultivations and gardens. *Ta maziga* or *ta baati* is therefore " to beat (*ta*) the *maziga* " or " beat the *baati* " and as in fact what they actually beat are the large cultivations in which are sown the principal crops millet, sesame, oil-bearing plants, peas, beans, and manioc, the inference of Mgr. Lagæ, Captain Philipps, and Major Larken, that *Baati* is compounded of *ba*, big, and *ati*, cultivations, is probably correct though in this case it is a puzzle how they came to be personified.

Neither Mgr. Lagæ nor Captain Philipps have any doubt that the ceremony is held in honour of Mbori, the Supreme Being, and that Azande are expressing in it their theological doctrines. Mgr. Lagæ writes, " Great droughts and floods have on many occasions destroyed entire harvests. The Zande still recalls that in the past invasions of locusts have destroyed everything. Would not this be a punishment from Mboli ? It is necessary to make a public offering of all kinds of food to Mboli, not only to obtain abundant harvests and freedom from all illness, but also to purchase in some way the right to use the goods of nature " (70–71). Captain Philipps, who speaks of Mbori as the " spiritual landlord of the Azande," writes of this ceremony that it is " one of the few manifestations of communal tribute to the Supreme Being," and he concludes that " the offering is in the nature of an insurance against defective productivity, and also, perhaps, is a tangible recognition of the power of *Mboli* to concede or to withhold the full usufruct of the earth " (177).

In watching the ceremony and in talking to Azande about it I have never received an impression of such a devout and poetic interpretation as is drawn by these two observers. In the ceremony itself there are no signs of deep reverence for a Supreme Being. Also I could not elicit from Azande theological notions which would explain the custom. What they

had to express they expressed in action and they had little more to add by way of commentary. Always I found their ideas about the songs and about the purpose of the rite were very hazy, and from Major Larken's description it is evident that such were also his impressions. They seemed vaguely to associate drought and pestilence with Mbori and to believe that if he were honoured by performance of the ceremony he could end them, but their notions could hardly be said to define relations between God and men. Indeed at these times of national peril their speech and behaviour furnish no evidences that we are able to co-ordinate into a coherent conception of a deity. The ceremony does not express religious doctrines so much as it is in itself the doctrine, and there are no further theological beliefs that can be called upon to explain it. Its two main actions in the eyes of Azande are undoubtedly the beating of the earth and the placing of leaves of food plants at the heads of streams.

Moreover several Azande have told me in good faith that the ceremony was carried out to honour the *atoro*, the ghosts of the dead. When I asked one informant why other people told me that it was performed in honour of the Supreme Being he replied that he did not know but that he himself had always been told that it was carried out in honour of the ghosts. The three women ghost-diviners considered that the ceremony had reference only to the ghosts. Also the royal class takes no part in the ceremony other than consulting their oracles whether it is desirable to perform it for they place offerings in their shrines and ask the ghosts of their fathers to stop the drought or pestilence. Rain is closely associated with the ghosts and when Azande wish to prevent rain from falling and spoiling their millet, spread out to dry in the centre of their homesteads in preparation for feasts, they appeal to the ghosts to prevent rain from falling. There can be no doubt that Azande do not clearly distinguish between the Supreme Being and the ghosts of the dead when performing the ceremony and that they think of them both together as the object of their ritual. On the other hand one informant, Kisanga, said that people ought to distinguish between Mbori and the ghosts.

Besides the Supreme Being and the ghosts it is thought that certain men have an influence over the rain and can stop it from falling and can therefore be persuaded in one way or another to withdraw their opposition and allow it to fall. In my own experience this belief plays very little part in Zande life and the people whom it concerns are

unimportant and unfortunate. Indeed I have only come across them by hearsay and during my residence in Zandeland have seldom heard of action being taken against them. Possibly they are more frequently found and have greater importance in Tembura District to the west of the area in which I resided, for Major Larken attributes social importance to them.

He says: "A general belief exists in rain-stoppers. The power of controlling rain runs in certain families, and descends from father to son, but the particular root of medicine used in the family must be made known to the latter, or he will not be able to exercise his gift.

"If a drought occurs, and there be living in the neighbourhood any person credited with such power, he may be tied up, or beaten or dipped in a stream or sluiced with water until rain comes. On one occasion, at Tambura, a rainmaker buried his rain charm with the body of his son, in revenge for the latter's death, which he suspected to have been caused by magic. A drought followed, and when the situation became serious the grave was violated and the charm thrown into the stream. Rain fell. In 1915, on July 23rd, a man came in to the District Commissioner to complain that he had been beaten by his neighbours for holding up the rain. On the 24th rain fell. On the 25th, his Chief came to make a formal complaint against him for his action in ruining the crops. In Chief Sasa's country crops were withering from a drought. Sasa sent for the man who was supposed to be responsible and had him dipped in a stream or beaten, and heavy rain fell at once. Similar conditions obtaining in Chief Gbefe's country, the Chief sent a message to one of his subjects, whose forefathers were known to have been rain-stoppers under the Vungara régime, to the effect that he would hold him responsible if the drought continued. It did not.

It seems to be the general opinion that rain-men only put forth their power when they suspect their Chiefs or neighbours of not sending them as many presents of food as they should. Chief Ninda, a most enlightened and exceptionally intelligent Vungura, shares his first maize crop with one of his men, fearing that if he does not do so the rest of the crop will perish through drought."[1]

It will have been noticed that in the texts I have quoted and in Major Larken's statement about Mbori that the Supreme Being is spoken of as living at the heads of streams. The text written by my Christian

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

informant speaks of it as an old belief while Kuagbiaru contrasts this belief still held by all Azande of the bush with the new belief that Mbori lives in the sky which he had heard from " people of the post " who have either been to the mission school or are to some extent aware of Christian teachings. Both emphasise the fact that in Zande belief Mbori resides at the heads of streams because the modern challenge to it has focused their attention on the point. Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps expressly state that Mbori has no particular dwelling place and neither mention that he lives at the heads of streams, yet this is about the only clear and unanimous belief that I found associated with his name. It is to these dark ravines that the souls of men go, when they die, to lead there the shadowy life of ghosts. Doubtless the association of both the Supreme Being and the ghosts with rain is connected with their residence in these moist ravines where water everlastingly bubbles from the ground.

To the information about Mbori given under the headings of prayers, personal names, and the ceremony in times of drought and pestilence, must be added a Zande creation myth known to many persons but by no means to all, even among the aged. I have heard several versions of it which differ slightly from one another. All agree in telling how Bapaizegino, or Bapai, who is the same person as Mbori, put mankind with the rest of creation into a kind of round canoe which he completely closed except for a small hidden entrance by which it could be opened. This entrance he closed with wax. Bapaizegino sent a messenger, in one version the Bongo (*Boöcircus euryceros isaaci*), to his sons, the Sun, the Moon, the Night, the Cold and the Stars, to say that he was dying and that they were to come immediately. All the sons of Bapaizegino received well their father's messenger at their homes and each showed him the path to the home of the next son, but it was the Sun alone who treated him with the consideration a messenger from their father deserved. Here we find Zande notions of royal obligations colouring the story. The sons of Bapaizegino should have behaved as a son of King Gbudwe would have done had a special messenger from his father arrived at his court. This is just the way a Zande king might have tested the princely character of his son. For the messenger, in one version, acting on his master's orders, chose the Sun on account of his munificence to be the greatest of the sons of Bapaizegino and explained to him the secret of opening the round canoe which contained mankind. He told him to look for a stain, made

with fruit of the *mbiango* (Gardenia Jovis-tonantis Walw.) tree, on its surface, and when he saw that he would know that there was the hidden opening.

When the sons of Bapaizegino arrived he told them that he had sent for them to open the round canoe of the universe and had it placed in the centre of them. Each in turn made an attempt to open it without success. When the Sun was called upon he saw this stain but pretended he had seen nothing and so appeared to meet with failure like the other sons. Their father upbraided them for their inability to open the canoe and the Sun then stepped forward a second time and scraped away with his nail the wax beneath the stain and with a great noise poured out men and beasts and trees and grasses and rivers and hills. The first clan of men to emerge were the Ambata, the First Ones, and the last clan to emerge were the Aboro, the Men, so-called because Bapaizegino had used up all the names he could think of on the other clans.

Hence it is that the Sun is king of all things and that none can hide from his face. The Azande say that the Sun is the greatest and that this is why men say, "Take care not to do it at night." Still, the night is good because termites fly in it. The Moon is bad because if it shines brightly the termites rise towards it instead of flying downwards to the flame which is held to attract them. Still, the Moon is also good and second only to the Sun for men say, " Wait for the Moon to rise before you do anything." Also the Stars are good because when you see Tungu, the Morning Star, you know that dawn is at hand.

This is the only creation myth if we except a late tradition which is found in one form or another among several other tribes in the Sudan and is, perhaps, diffused throughout Africa generally. In this myth, told to me by Rikita, the eldest surviving son of King Gbudwe, Mbori placed on a tree a spear, a shield, and a rifle, and gave choice of weapons to the Azande who foolishly chose the spear and shield and left the rifle to the Europeans. European domination is accounted for by this myth.

In their myth, known to many Azande, accounting for the origin of death I have never heard the name of Mbori mentioned. It is a typical African myth attributing death to fortuitous circumstances and runs thus : " Azande say that the cause of the moon not dying is that an human corpse and the corpse of the moon lay at the side of a grave. Then it was said,

' Let the frog and the toad jump with them over the grave. That corpse—let them jump with it over the grave and he will never die again.' The frog jumped over the grave with the corpse of the moon. The toad intended to jump over the grave with the human corpse but fell with it into the grave. Therefore they said about the moon that it would not die again but that man would die altogether. It is for this reason that the moon continues ; always it comes to daylight and grows old and changes into a little moon and rises again in the west. When the toad fell with the human corpse it meant that man would continue to die always and for ever. But people only think this story may be true for no one actually saw the thing happen."

Besides this creation myth there are certain natural objects which are explained by reference to Mbori. In Yambio and Maridi Districts there are numerous holes in rock outcrops, presumably made by earlier occupants of the soil, which are generally known as *fua Mbori*, footprints of Mbori. I was told that they were made by Ture, the main character in Zande folklore, when he ground his corn and crushed his sesame. This was ever so long ago in the time when Ture used to walk about with Mbori. Other Azande say that they are the footmarks of Mbori but that they do not know when or how he made them. I have also been told that they are the footmarks of the ghosts. One man even told me the Christian story of the Garden of Eden to account for these holes but in a form so stamped by Zande culture that it was a long time before I discovered its origin. Once upon a time there was, I was told, no bush, but only rich, open, country in the soft earth of which Mbori imprinted his footmarks. Later Mbori became angry with men and changed everything into bush and the ground hardened here and there into granitic rock in which the footprints of the Supreme Being are preserved. Major Larken tells us that fireballs are known as *hu Mbali*, God's property or thing.[1]

In the Tembura District there is a natural object known as *kura Mbori*, Mbori's whistle, which is known to the Azande of Yambio District by hearsay. Major Larken thus describes it : " Spirits of the deceased, if successful application be made to them and small offerings placed in the altar, will send rain."

[1] " An Account of the Zande," *Sudan Notes and Records*, p. 43.

Certain places, and perhaps certain spirits, seem to be more effective than others. For instance, the rock Wanga, in the Pambia Hills where Liwa, father of Tambura, lies buried, is a good place. It may be because this rock is vaguely connected with *Mbali* that it has a special reputation. For it possesses a curiosity in the *kura Mbali*, God's charm. The grey rock face is bare and sheer, rising precipitously for perhaps two hundred feet. At half its height there is a small hole, through which protudes what looks like the snapped-off root of a tree. This withdraws into the hole, or stretches out from it for a yard, according to whether rain is coming or the reverse, and is the *kura Mbali*. Moreover, if a gun were discharged against this rock, at all events in Chief Tambura's time, the man who fired it would be drenched by a storm before reaching home. But in spite of this it is Liwa's spirit and not *Mbali*, that is supposed to be the rain-giver here. It is said that only the application of Renzi, the heir of Tambura, or one of Tambura's surviving brothers, is certain of success, as Liwa probably would not trouble about the wants of any less important people."[1]

Besides these particular objects the existence of Mbori furnishes a general vague explanation of all natural objects. When walking in the bush with Azande I have often asked them the names of plants and for what purposes they are used and they have replied that a plant has no uses but is just a plant. It is not for men but Mbori just made it. Similarly if you ask them about granitic outcrops they say simply that Mbori made them. Also if you press a Zande to say where his fathers gained knowledge of magic and oracles, he will reply as a last resort, " Mbori gave them to us." Pretty well everything can be explained in this way. Especially abnormal natural objects, such as the whistle of Mbori described above, and any human abnormality, such as an abnormal birth, are attributed to Mbori. Thus Major Larken writes : " No superstitions appear to be connected with the hair, except that occasionally someone is seen with an abnormal growth which has never been cut. It is held that such hair is made to grow in profusion through an act of Mboli, and that the bearer of it would fall ill if it were tampered with. The late Chief Mainge of Maridi had a leonine head of hair, falling to his shoulders, matted and unkempt. He had never had it cut for this reason."[2]

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 45–46.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

Zande folklore is concerned almost entirely with a man called Ture who is the hero of numerous tales, and as he is sometimes mentioned in association with Mbori attention must be paid to him here. In a note signed (B) in de Calonne's book on the Azande we find the following statement : " It is generally accepted that Boli (Mbori) is the Zande God. I have not been able to find anything on this subject in the notes left by de Calonne. Boli (Mbori) seems to belong rather to the category of culture heroes like Tule (Ture). The fact that the native sometimes compares himself, or compares his ancestors, to Allah or to Dzambi, makes it clear that he has in no wise assimilated Christian metaphysical ideas but rather that Christian entities have been integrated into ancient Zande beliefs. The God of the Christian Zande is no more than a demi-God. In the same way the sexual prohibitions of the exogamous clan are extended to all those who have had the same patron in baptism."[1] (B) is doubtless Colonel Bertrand to whom we owe so great a debt for his arduous task of editing de Calonne's notes after his death.

Before mentioning Mgr Lagæ's reaction to this comment it will be as well to say that the Azande of the Sudan have been subject to far shorter and less intensive foreign influence than those of the Congo and that the question of direct Christian teaching in their ideas does not arise except among those who are living around a Government post or who have been educated at mission schools

Mgr. Lagæ does not accept with equanimity this suggestion of M. (B). He replies : " La question revient à se demander si les Azande assimilent Mboli à Tule. Tous ceux qui ont appris à connaître les Azande, doivent savoir qu'il y a, sur le compte de Tule, toute une série de légendes, qui constitue avec les fables et les contes animaux de folk-lore zande. Ces *sangbwa* Tule, contes ou dits de Tule, se racontent le soir autour du feu, au grand délassement des assistants. Voilà déjà un fait important. Car, qu'on ne s'y méprenne point, Tule n'est entouré d'aucun respect, pas plus que Uylenspieghel dans nos contes à nous Tule apparaît dans les différentes légendes comme un personnage qui se pique d'être plus intelligent et plus rusé que ses semblables, mais qui bien souvent est roulé d'importance par un plus malin que lui."[2] Mgr. Lagæ refuses to identify the author of the

[1] *Op. cit.*, Mgr. Lagæ refers to an article on dynamism by de Calonne in which the same statement, slightly differently worded, and under the same initial (B), appears, in *Notre Colonie*, October 1920, p. 10.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

universe with a liar, a thief, and in general a " bad hat." " De fait, les mensonges et les vols de Tule, mentionnés dans les légendes, ne se comptent pas. Toutefois, aucun Zande ne prend au sérieux les exploits et les mécomptes de Tule. Cela se raconte, on en rit, et le temps passe agréablement. Des représailles ne sont pas à craindre. Tule n'est qu'un personnage légendaire.

" Quel contraste avec le respect qu'ils témoignent à Mboli, le véritable Etre suprême qui régit leurs destinées. N'équivoquons donc pas, et n'imposons pas aux Azande des idées qui leur sont totalement étrangères. Eux-mêmes ne disent-ils pas de Tule : *ira sawiga nga ku*, ce qui peut se traduire en language européen : c'est un monsieur qui fait de sa poire. Ils sont loins de lui témoigner un soupçon de culte ou de lui adresser la moindre prière."[1]

Major Larken and Captain Philipps agree with Mgr. Lagæ's opinion of Ture. Major Larken writes : " The Zande equivalent of the fairy-story is the string of tales, called *Sangba Ture*, relating to the trials and experiences of a mythical personage named Ture, who was always getting into trouble and who was terribly henpecked by his wife Nanzagbe. There are scores of these tales, which are told to the children by their parents."[2] Captain Philipps says, " *Tulé* could perhaps best be described as 'a card.' The collection of the Asangbwa *Tulé* or tales of the *Tulé* form the daily fairy-tale literature of the people."[3]

On the whole my conclusions about Ture are like those of the authorities I have quoted. Certainly Ture belongs to the folk-lore rather than to sacred mythology. He embodies all the charm and humour of the average Zande and for this reason the stories about him never fail to amuse listeners around an evening fire. But do Azande believe that he exists or that he has ever existed ? It is very difficult to answer this question and perhaps the correct reply would be that they half believe in Ture. If you ask them they reply, " We Azande think that he must have been alive because our fathers have told us so." In a vague sort of way Azande think that he is still alive to-day for they say that the English captured him and took him to their country and that it is he who taught them how to make motor cars and the various other products of European manufacture

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 73.
[2] " An Account of the Zande," *op. cit*, p. 28.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

they have seen. Here again one can only say that Ture lives in the stories told about him. It is no use asking who he was or is because Azande only know him as the hero of a cycle of stories. Impossible things happen in these stories—animals talk and so forth—but this does not make Ture incredible to Azande. To them he is a real figure in the situation of story-telling. But since he lives in the stories nothing much is known about him outside them. Nevertheless he is sometimes vaguely associated with Mbori and is said to have walked about with him.

Both Mbori and Ture belong to the hazy supra-sensible world. The ideological representation of Mbori is no more developed than that of Ture and the proof that Azande advance for the existence of the one is the proof they advance for the existence of the other, the word of their fathers. Belief in Mbori is a function of certain emotional situations and he is therefore by the circumstances of human relations with him endowed with supernatural powers and given a vague transcendental personality. Ture on the other hand is never regarded as divine. No one prays to him or makes any ceremony in his honour. His personality is untrammelled by the necessity of having to furnish an idiom of emotional reaction and art has had free play in creating one of the most delightful characters in the unwritten literature of Africa.

It is also possible, of course, to ask Azande direct questions about Mbori—" This Mbori of whom you speak, who is he ? " If there were any formulated doctrines about him this would give Azande opportunity to enumerate them, if not as a complete dogma at any rate in bits. I have never been able to elicit any interest in, and have found that Azande are frankly bored by, questions about the Supreme Being. They are seldom able to give more than a vague statement of belief and after asking several men such questions the enquirer feels very confused about the Zande notion of a Supreme Being. Mbori is a big king of ghosts (" All Azande say that the ghosts are subject to Mbori ") but he can also assist people in this world although his sphere of influence is more directly among the ghosts who join him at the heads of streams, and if a man prays to the ghosts of his fathers they will ask Mbori to grant his request. It is possible for the ghosts to make cases among themselves before Mbori if they have not been settled justly by a prince during life. The ghosts can see Mbori, who seems to be generally considered to lead the same shadowy kind of existence as themselves, although Azande do not pretend to know

much about the life beyond the grave. Men occasionally visit the ghosts and may even see Mbori in dreams.

Most people say that Mbori is never seen in waking life and that no one knows what he looks like, but some Azande have told me that human beings have been known to see him, though this was not regarded as a privilege but as *hu kpele* or a thing of ill-omen. Some people say that he does not walk about the earth while others declare that he occasionally walks in mists. He is greater than ordinary ghosts. Some say that he has the features of a man but is a giant and carries a huge spear. Others say that ghost-diviners can see him at heads of streams or as he walks in the early morning on granitic outcrops. Yet others say he is a short man and wears tall feathers in his hat. I have even been told that Mbori was brought into the country by Europeans and that before the missionaries came Azande paid attention only to the ghosts, and these informants have maintained their testimony against conflicting native opinions.

My general objections to the representation of the Supreme Being as interpreted by Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps will have been already noted in the various criticisms of specific points which I have made. Mbori may justly be described as a God, as a spirit, and as a person, it is true, but the concept is very hazy ; indeed the very ideological vagueness of Zande belief allows us the more readily to read into it the notions of our own culture. The assumption is that because Azande invoke Mbori in a way that resembles our prayers to God he has a deistic doctrine similar to our own. From Zande behaviour we construct a concept in terms of our own thought. But I do not believe that Azande have any clear doctrinal opinions, for they actualise their beliefs, expressing them in rite and prayer, rather than intellectualise them and think of them in dogma and myth. In treating of Supreme Beings we are very likely to give to primitive speech a meaning which it does not contain, for we ourselves possess analagous modes of ritual behaviour and these are linked to patterns of thought through which we at once apprehend the behaviour of primitives by attributing to them as definite notions as our own. When dealing with magic and witchcraft there is so vast an ideological gap between our notions and primitive notions that there is less danger of apprehending their ideas by assimilating them to our own, and consequently we treat them behaviouristically as ritual responses and do not attempt to create for them an ideology that will explain them by seeming

to cause them. Indeed magic and witchcraft are difficult to describe for precisely the reason that we do not act as primitive peoples act in these respects and have no stereotyped patterns of thought relating to them. In treating of religion, however, we have only to translate primitive religious terms into our own language, and our interpretation of them is already made by the very process of translation. Once we have translated Zande words into such English expressions as " Supreme Being " and " soul," the notions and feelings these words invoke in us already intrude to colour our apprehension of the meaning they possess for Azande. Merely by translating " Mbori " as " Supreme Being " we ascribe to him supremacy which implies for us personality, omnipotence, benevolence, and other divine attributes. In my opinion Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps have inferred from Zande behaviour a doctrine by which they then proceed to explain the behaviour.

I have already made it abundantly clear that I have searched in vain for dogma and that I have found Azande bored by the subject of Mbori and unable to express more than the vaguest ideas about him, their most definite belief being in his presence at the heads of streams. Prayers and the ceremony in times of drought and pestilence are their beliefs and not merely the way in which they express an intellectual concept. Their story of creation alone gives them a mythological background and I have no evidence that the creation myth is called upon to buttress belief. It is known to only some people and seems to have little functional relationship to prayer and ceremony although this is suggested by their juxtaposition in an anthropological account.

This does not mean that we must refrain from all comment on Zande behaviour and from any effort to interpret it. It is true that any complete interpretation must take into account all cultural inter-relations, a task which is impossible here and must await a final account of Zande society. But even in this place one may attempt in a preliminary way to analyse the situations in which Mbori is invoked and even to show certain logico-emotional dependencies between religious categories.

It is clear that in all cases where we have actually heard Mbori called upon for aid and have not merely recorded Zande statements about prayer the situation was one of fear and anxiety and despair, e.g. in thunderstorms, when threatened by the rainbow, certain situations of pregnancy, in continual loss and misfortune, and in death. Mbori seems

to be especially called upon as a last resort when all other channels of assistance are closed. So that whatever other meaning may be contained in invocations to Mbori they have at any rate an emotional significance. Since I have heard the ghosts and medicines called upon in situations identical or similar to those in which Azande are said to call upon Mbori, these modes of seeking mystical intervention may be regarded as alternative and equivalent idioms of emotional expression.

Azande make no clear conceptual distinction between the Supreme Being and the ghosts and these notions overlap one another.

We have seen how in praying Azande intersperse their remarks to the Supreme Being with appeals to the ghosts, e.g. " Oh Mbori so ! You have not granted me good fortune. Oh ghosts of my fathers, in what depths of poverty am I plunged." Lagæ and I have recorded that Mbori is thought to be a creative factor in the birth of children but Major Larken quotes Zande authority both for the statement that " a baby is a gift from the spirits " (ghosts)[1] and also for the statement that a baby " is given by *Mbali* (the Deity) to the mother,"[2] showing here again the confusion amounting almost to functional identity between the Supreme Being and the ghosts. Grinding places in rock outcrops are said to be both footprints of Mbori and footprints of the ghosts. Where the Whistle of Mbori protudes from the face of the rock it is the ghost of Liwa who sends rain. I have even heard Azande speak of the soul as Mbori. In saying that in dreams their soul goes ahead to see if the way is free from misfortune they will sometimes speak of *mbisimore*, my soul, and sometimes of *atorore*, my ghost, and sometimes of *gi mbori*, my Mbori.

We have also noted that Azande are apt to speak of the rain ceremony as though it concerned both Mbori and the ghosts, or rather that they do not really distinguish between them. Also the ghosts are appealed to in drought to send down rain without Mbori being approached. It is the ghost-diviners who organise the ceremony for rain ; they sing ghost-songs and the ghosts speak to them in chasms at heads of streams. Indeed the ghosts are emphasised just as much as, if not more than, Mbori, in this connection. The three ghost-diviners who organised the ceremony I witnessed referred always to the ghosts and not at all to Mbori.

[1] " An Account of the Zande," *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[2] Id., p. 26.

Indeed it is clear that the relationship between Mbori and rain and the ghosts and heads of streams is one to which Lévy-Bruhl has applied the term " participation." These heads of streams where bubble eternal springs are the antithesis of drought and it is here that the ghosts and the Supreme Being reside and it is they who have mystical control over rain. The same participation may be observed in the notion of earth, for the dead are buried in the ground and are sometimes thought to reside under it, and Mbori also is associated with the earth and its fruitfulness and perhaps the main rite in the *maziga* ceremony is the beating of the earth. This inter-relation is also shown in prayers of potters who call alike on Mbori and the ghosts when they are digging for clay. They ask the Supreme Being to assist them, and beseech the ghosts to go away so that they may dig in peace.

It is also clear, from my experience, that Azande do not properly differentiate between Mbori and the ghosts in their notions of death and in their escatalogical beliefs. Indeed, it is in this confusion of representations that I see the main intellectual action of belief in a Supreme Being. When a man dies he goes to the ghosts at the heads of streams. But what happens to him then ? Azande say that a father's ghost will sometimes frequent his grave and will sometimes visit the homesteads of his children and take an interest in their affairs. But no one takes much interest in a grandfather's ghost and none at all in the ghosts of yet more distant ancestors. The notion of Mbori accounts in a vague and general manner for all the ghosts—" they go to where Mbori is," " they are with Mbori," say the Azande. I have no doubt that Mbori may be considered, that is to say that he is felt by Azande to be, a vague generalised unity of the ghosts of the departed. Their ideas about the ghost of a father are comparatively sharp and definite but ghosts genealogically further removed tail off into the notion of Mbori. Their individuality is lost and only the notion of Mbori remains to account for them.

It is of some interest to observe that Mbori is not given a personal gender but like the ghosts has what is sometimes called an animal gender. I do not want to go deep into this question but I may say that in Zande persons are given the personal pronouns *ko* (masc.) and *li* (fem.), while animals, the ghosts, the Supreme Being, certain of the heavenly bodies, and a number of vegetables and tools which have an especially intimate relationship to human beings, have the animal pronoun *u*.

In their intellectualisation of Zande feeling and action Mgr. Lagæ and Captain Philipps have not only constructed such a doctrine as we would require were we to feel and act as they do but have separated and given distinct conceptual individuality to notions which are confused in Zande mentality. They make of the Supreme Being one thing and of the spirits another thing, but to the Azande themselves they tend to form a colourless amalgam. Hence they appeal now to the one and now to the other as though they were the same and, as prayer is a function of situations of emotional stress and is expressed in the simplest of rites, the meaning of the one partakes of the meaning of the other since the meaning of both is almost entirely of an emotional and motor character and little controlled by ideological patterns. Not only is this the case but I would say that missionary influence rather than inculcating entirely new notions has rather the effect of breaking up a complex of ideas and giving to each an individuality of its own and distinct from the others.

Mbori is also associated with moral regulations and though he is not thought to be the direct retributive agent in breach of custom he is nevertheless felt to be a distant and final sanction. It seems that while leprosy assails a man on account of incest and ulcers waste him on account of retributive magic, Mbori is vaguely felt to permit these happenings or at least to do nothing to prevent them. The name of Mbori is sometimes associated in prayer with observations of laws and customs. However, when a sick man reminds Mbori in prayer that he is not a thief nor adulterer he means that he should escape magic made to avenge theft or adultery. I also found an opinion current that attributes to Mbori, though vaguely, responsibility for deaths by witchcraft or sorcery, for Azande say that he knows what is happening and does nothing to prevent it. Moreover it must be remembered that here again the association of Mbori with moral law does not ascribe to him sole authorship and responsibility, for I have heard Azande address medicines in a precisely similar manner saying that they have robbed no man, have committed adultery with no man's wife, and so on. On the other hand people do not seem to insist upon like virtues when addressing the ghosts. For the ghosts of a man's fathers are concerned only with intra-kin morality and are not a sanction of his conduct towards unrelated persons. Mbori being a sort of generalised ghost is associated with sanctions of conduct which concern the whole community. I have never heard Mboli's wishes quoted by a Zande as a

reason for doing anything or refraining from any action. Morals and the notion of a Supreme Being are not directly associated in Zande culture. It is not Mbori but magic that punishes evil-doers and Mbori's part is to furnish an explanation for the magic and its actions. As a rule conduct rests upon quite other than religious foundations and even when Mbori participates in sanctions his participation is of a distant and secondary nature.

Finally it emerges that the notion of Mbori furnishes a remote cause for anything and everything in the world. It is the horizon of Zande thought, an ambient haze into which every chain of causation ultimately fades. We have seen how Mbori is a kind of generalised ghost. The souls of men become ghosts and the ghosts go to live with Mbori and their personalities merge into his. We have seen also how he is a kind of generalised cause, being the single common participant in all causes. The immediate sanctions about which Azande trouble themselves are the chiefs, medicines, the ghosts of their fathers, private vengeance, and so on. But beyond all these and in the distance their single common factor is Mbori and this notion enables Azande to comprehend why the sanctions exist and how it is they work equitably. Magic, like *bagbuduma*, vengeance-magic, acts justly, that is to say it kills only witches and thieves and adulterers. But if you ask Azande from where they obtain such excellent medicine and why it works as it does they say that Mbori gave it to them and that perhaps he supervises its action, though they do not seem so sure of this. Azande do not think that Mbori directly avenges crime but he furnishes them with a justification and comprehension of vengeance.

As Mbori gave men magic and oracles so he is the final argument for the existence of anything at all. This is well shown in R.P.A.—M. De Graer's excellent paper on Zande leechcraft. He remarks that if one asks Azande about their drugs "'Who has shown you these remedies?' they will invariably reply 'Our ancestors.' If you continue and say to them 'And your ancestors, from whom did they obtain all these remedies?' reply: 'From their ancestors in their turn.' Until at last they declare to you: 'It is God who has first taught us the plants which may cure us.'"[1] If you take a Zande back step by step to the limits of his knowledge you will reach Mbori, whose name takes the place of understanding. He is the

[1] R.P.A.—M. De Graer, "L'art de Guérir chez les Azande," *Congo*, 1929, Tome I, p. 223.

horizon that rounds off knowledge and tradition. He made the sun and the moon and the stars, the rivers and plains and mountains, men and beasts and birds and trees. When Azande do not understand something, it is vaguely explained by citing Mbori. Man and woman beget children but Azande perceive that they alone will not account for conception because some people do not beget children, or wait many years before conception takes place. Conception also depends on Mbori and if it were not for his participation children would not be born. What is the cause of a monstrosity? Azande do not know but say, "It is the affair of Mbori." Who made the curious phenomena of nature, smooth holes in rock outcrops, an expanding and contracting tree root in a rock face, long luxuriant hair of men? "Mbori made it," say the Azande. Death is the most obvious limit to experience and beyond lies Mbori who personifies and accounts for the ghosts.

A final word may be said about the possibility of foreign cultural influences in a Zande notion of a Supreme Being. No proof of this influence can be offered but there are certain indications which compel one to admit at any rate the possibility of it. These indications derive mainly from the presence of ideas which do not seem to fit in with Zande culture and bear a foreign stamp. We cannot help noticing that these same traits that we would suspect as foreign on account of their cultural inappropriateness correspond with Christian teachings, and it is therefore possible that they are derived from a Christian source and were, perhaps, very early and widely diffused. We have seen that the name of Baati presents difficulties for he is said to have fallen from on high and to have broken his leg, while he is also said to have been the son of Mbori who took him away from men. Moreover, he is given the pronoun used for humans and not for the pronoun used for ghosts and spirits. The creation myth shows evidences of having been borrowed, for men and other creatures are said to have emerged out of a *kurungba*, a canoe or boat of some kind. Azande have probably only seen canoes among foreigners living on the banks of big rivers like the Uelle River in the Congo. It is curious, therefore, to find the canoe or boat as the central theme in their creation myth. It may be remarked also that Zande culture is very poor in mythology and that the only traditions comparable to the creation story in detail and completeness are stories concerning a great witchdoctor of the past who cut a river in twain to allow the Azande to pass over to

the other side and who eventually ascended into the heavens, reminding us in these two feats of Moses and Elijah. I have even heard Azande of the bush identify this person with the Christ of the missionaries. I have already recorded that some people say that Mbori was brought by the missionaries. It is remarkable also that Mbori is sometimes not even mentioned in connection with the rain-making ceremony and appears almost to have been incorporated into a performance directed towards the ghosts of the dead. It is impossible to determine whether these notions are due to old Christian teaching or not, and even direct Christian teaching of to-day is difficult to identify when it has been incorporated by Azande of the bush into their own traditions, as witness the story of the Garden of Eden related in this paper.

THE CAMEL IN ANTIQUITY.

By A. E. Robinson.

PART I.—BIOLOGY AND EVOLUTION.

OUR present knowledge of the Genus Camelus rests upon three sources of information. These are: (*a*) fossil remains found in the Old and New Worlds, (*b*) inscriptions which can be dated and (*c*) numerous rock drawings of undetermined age found in Asia and Africa but of which none is definitely pre-historic. The term "historical" used in this paper means and includes any period or culture subsequent to the "Egyptian Neolithic," which has been fixed *circ.* 5000 B.C. No attempt at equation of the African, Asian or European cultures has been made. Not only do views differ but it is doubtful if they were contemporary, and as far as possible speculative chronology has been avoided.

The purpose of the paper has been to compile from all the sources available whatever information would be useful to travellers, residents or archæologists in Africa or Asia regarding the history of the domesticated camel. Every effort has been made to test the accuracy of statements in the various "Natural Histories" published by recognised authorities and popular encyclopædias and where authorities have been cited in these works they have been consulted or investigated. Space precludes much detail and those who desire more complete or detailed information are referred to the authorities cited or to the special bibliographies of zoology and paleontology.

At present there are two distinct species of the Genus Camelus, viz., the Bactrian (two-humped camel) and the Arabian (one-humped dromedary). The dromedary is peculiar to Arabia and Africa but the Bactrian camel, although common in Egypt in the ninth and tenth centuries of our era, is regarded now as peculiar to Asia.

The two species were described by Pliny and differ in various respects. One of these is the period of gestation of the young before birth. This period is eleven months for the dromedary and thirteen months for the camel.[1] To the layman the fossils appear identical but there are

As the preparation of this paper in its present form would have been impossible without their help, I beg to acknowledge my thanks to Messrs. Sidney Smith, Francis Ellis (and his staff) of the British Museum, the late Sir E. A. Wallis-Budge, Professor Glanville, Mr. Guy Brunton, the staff of the Natural History Museum, Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Sir Peter Chalmers-Mitchell, Sir Frederick Hobday, Professor Yetts, Mr. E. T. R. Richmond and the Secretaries of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Royal Anthropological Institute.

some well marked differences between the skulls and teeth in the two existing species. In the camel the top of the skull is flatter from back to front and less compressed at the base of the muzzle; the teeth too are larger.[2] Both species have been described as "ships of the desert," but all our present evidence shows that these animals have adapted themselves to desert conditions in much the same manner as certain human races (nomads or outcasts) since the invention of agriculture. The two species of camels inter-breed and in 1902 there was a hybrid one-humped beast in the London Zoological gardens. As a general rule the Arabs sire the dromedary by a camel, but I have been unable to trace the parentage of the Zoo hybrid.[3] The result of cross-breeding has produced an unlimited number of one-humped breeds among the Arab tribes or peoples to whom they have introduced the animal.[4] Those which I have seen vary in colour from white to dark red brown and special breeds are suitable for certain areas and defined purposes. The dromedaries used by the various governments in Africa for patrols are carefully selected and usually pedigree animals which are specially fed and trained. Both species drink brackish water which other animals refuse, and they can go for long periods without drinking any water: they abstract sufficient moisture from rank green herbage or its roots.[5] If fed on straw or grain only they tire when working unless they are watered at least once in twenty-four hours.

Dr. Lepsius considered that the camel (Bactrian) and dromedary were not two separate species.[6] This view is quite inaccurate as the two humps on the thoroughbred Bactrian camel-foals develop rapidly after birth and the male and female dromedaries produce single-humped offspring, when mated.*

* The following biological notes apply to both species. The camelidæ or Tylopoda (i.e. padded-foot; not hoofed) include a comparatively small group of selenodonts of animals. These are the camel, dromedary and llama. Their limbs are long and have no traces of the second and fifth toes. In the upper jaw is a single pair of incisors. The stomach differs from that of the typical ruminants. The rumen has a smooth and not papillose wall and from it are developed the "water cells," diverticular with narrow mouths provided with a sphinctic muscle. The stomach has only three chambers and a very singular peculiarity of this group of animals is that the blood corpuscles instead of showing the ordinary mammalian round contours are elliptical.[7] The camelidæ walk on the last joints of their toes and fingers and the split lip of their pre-historic ancestors is retained in the species now.

The llamas (auchenia) differ from the camels by the absence of the hump and the dropping of one pre-molar, the dental formula being otherwise similar. These animals have "water-cells" [8] although they inhabit now countries where water supplies are adequate for horses or oxen. They are not as suitable for desert transport as the camel or dromedary.

Wild specimens of the Bactrian camel are found now in the deserts of Eastern Turkestan, between the Altenbagh Mountains and the Tarim River.[9] These animals seem to obtain their water supply about once annually from melted snow and are not known to visit any of the sources of water known to man. They are the legendary descendants of domesticated animals which survived from a great sandstorm which buried the inhabitants of a large area at some unknown period. Recent exploration apparently confirms such a view as considerable physical changes seem to have occurred in Central Asia during the historical period.[10] Rock pictures of at least three periods have been found, some of which might be associated with these animals, but at present no date can be definitely assigned to any. These feral camels, however, are more closely akin to the fossil Camelus Knoblochus (described by Nehring in 1901) and Camel Alutensis than any of the existing domesticated breeds.

There are no wild dromedaries nor is there any historical evidence of such animals. The dromedaries found in the Guadalquiver and described as wild[11] were the descendants of animals abandoned by the British Army after the Peninsular War[12] which had been imported into Europe. There are in Western Australia one or two herds which are now considered wild, but they originated from animals imported from Asia by prospectors and abandoned. These animals have proved much more destructive to vegetation than the existing rabbits.

The camel is considered to have originated in the New World and to have developed there from a small animal called a protyplus (Protyplus Petersoni) which has been described by Wortman as about the size of a jack rabbit.[13] This animal had fourteen teeth, and existed during the Eocene period. During the Oligocene period the animal developed into the Pœbrotherium which has been described by Professor Scott,[14] and its height was about that of a sheep but less than that of the llama of to-day. An important fact is that at that period there were no types referable to the Camelidæ of the Old World. In the process of evolution then came the Gompotherium and Protolabis, the latter a tylopod in which the full number of teeth was retained. In the Miocene period the Pro-camelus[15] or two-toed camel appeared and this animal is regarded as the direct ancestor of the camels and llamas, of which more than half a dozen species of Pliocene date have been found in the United States of America.

Some of these animals crossed to Asia by the then existing Behring bridge; the extinct large species found in China and the Camelus

Sivalensis of the Siwalik Hills (India), described by Falconer, are considered to be descendants of these American immigrants. During the Pleistocene period the animals travelled west and fossil remains have been found in Siberia (the Merycotherium Sibiricum) which have been described by Bojanus. This animal had three molars and Cuvier considered it as identical with the dromedary, but I understand that modern opinion is not unanimous. Fossils of both the camel (Camelus Thomasi) and a dromedary identical with the present species[17] have been found in Aurignacian strata in Palestine,[16] and in Pleistocene (quarternary stage) strata in Algeria.

In addition to the Camelus Knoblochi of Russia and the Camelus Alutensis of Roumania, fossil bones have been found in Punin (Ecuador)[18] and China[19] in association with human remains. Those in Punin were found with the bones of a mastodon, horse and a female human skull; a Mousterian (Neanderthal type) skull was found in association with a camel's tooth in Galilee (Palestine) and at Sjaro-osso-gol (China) part of a child was found in an early Aurignacian strata. All the evidence of the fossil period shows that the camel was not then a desert animal, in fact many of the remains associated with these fossils have been those of elephant, hippo, buffalo, bison, horse and deer. It is probable that the human remains are the results of cannibalism, but whether this is so or not, the animal remains are those of beasts hunted and not domesticated. With the exception of the tooth mentioned above no other fossils of the camel have yet been found in Syria or Palestine, and camel bones are rare in those areas prior to the middle of the second millenium.[20]

No fossils of the dromedary or the camel have been found in Arabia,[21] and the earliest rock pictures in Palestine or Arabia do not include these animals.[22]* Mr. Pomel's discovery in Algeria has cast considerable doubt upon the legendary origin of the dromedary.

It is now clear from the fossil evidence found there that the camel and dromedary were distinct species and lived in Africa in the Quarternary period when man inhabited the earth. The domestication of animals took

* It is therefore only logical to consider that the mention of camels in the Biblical story of Abraham's journey is merely an instance of contemporary influences similar to the Florentine pictures of Biblical life in which medieval costume is shown by the artist.

Migration has been traced from Arabia to Africa since the third millenium B.C.,[23] but the views of Dr. Musil[24] are now receiving more attention because desert exploration in Arabia has not revealed any signs of pre-Moslem abandonment of cultivation or desiccation which may not be more ancient than the close of the late pluvial periods in both North and South Africa. The late Arthur Weigall and other Egyptologists who have resided in Egypt consider that there is no evidence to support any theory that the pre-dynastic immigrants to the Nile from the east crossed the Red Sea. The theory that the First Egyption dynasty was founded by aboriginal Libyans (Getulians?) imposed upon negroid Badarians has been discussed by Professor Gordon Childe.[25]

place at some period prior to *circ.* 5000 B.C., at which time agriculture was introduced and man developed neolithic culture.[26] As far as is known at present the animals domesticated were the canines, bovides, cervides, equides, camelidæ, and elephants in the order named.

Beyond the fact that the Indian camel is smaller than the Bactrian and that the Wiros (? Aryans) adopted the animal at a late period after the ox, little is at present known of the camel before the first millenium B.C. south-east of the Indus.[27] It is called " long-neck " by the natives of Mysore.

Professor Yetts[28] informs me that the camel is not mentioned in archaic Chinese records and there is no evidence to show that it was used as a beast of burden in China prior to the first millenium B.C. The Tsiu axe of the Shang period (*circ.* XVIIIth–XVIth century B.C.) has a horse on the base and there is a bronze statuette of the camel of the Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). A slab of the Hiao-t'ang Shan (*circ.* A.D. 129) shows a camel and an elephant as tribute.[29] These may not be the earliest records but they are not legendary. The long-necked animals shown on fragments of painted pottery found at Nineveh and dated *circ.* 2500 B.C.[30] are not camels. With all due deference to the late Mr. Flammand I think that the animal figured on pottery found at Naqada (Egypt) and illustrated by him[31] is a not dromedary, but a giraffe. This animal is only found in Africa now and a different species apparently existed in the pre-historic period.

The pre-historic physiography of Africa has been much to the fore recently and I shall deal with the possible survival or development of the pre-historic camel in Parts IV and V of this paper, which contain the historical evidence and my conclusions.[32] *

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* This part of my paper should be read in conjunction with my others on the camel, viz.: " The Utfa or Camel-litter of the Arabs " (*Journ. of the African Soc.*, Jan. 1931), " The Mahmal of the Moslem Pilgrimage " (*Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Jan. 1931), " Rock Pictures " (*Journ. of the African Soc.*, Jan. 1931) and " Desiccation or Destruction, notes on the increase in desert areas and nomadism in the Nile Valley " (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XVIII, Part I). My letter in *Man*, No. 44, Feb. 1934, is to some extent confirmed by Commandant Cauvet[70]; I had not seen his work (*Le Chameau*, 2 vols., Paris 1925–6) or others in the bibliography of Dr. Monod when it was written. As the domesticated camel travelled west it is natural that its progress was recorded by rock drawings, both by its owners and those to whom it appeared as a strange beast. E. F. Pautier (*L'Islamisation de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, 1927) has dealt with the camel in cap. III in connection with nomadism.

The question of the introduction of the horse and camel into Egypt at the beginning of the historic period and their subsequent disappearance is fully discussed by Zippelius (" Das Pferd im Pharaonenlande," in *Zeitschrift fur Pferderkunde und Pferdezucht*; Wurzburg: XVII, 1900, pp. 125 *et seq.*). Mr. G. W. Murray (with whom I agree) suggests that domesticated camels were introduced by the Persians; *vide* " Graves of oxen in the Eastern desert of Egypt " (*Journ. of Egyptn. Arch.*: Vol. XII, 1926, p. 248). The historical evidence will be found in Part IV of this paper.

PART II.—OTHER DOMESTICATED ANIMALS.

As the historical evidence of the domestication of the camel or dromedary prior to late in the second millenium B.C. is principally of a negative character, some brief notes on the other animals domesticated by man or used as beasts of burden are desirable. Dogs or some species of canines are considered by some authorities to be the first animals which were domesticated by man. The ancient Egyptians bred hyænas for food,[33] and at the present time the generative organs of this animal are among those eaten in Egypt by barren women or used as aphrodisiacs. The practice of the Azande of the Equatorial Province of keeping and fattening dogs for food may be a survival, as the Chow dog is raised and fattened for food in China now.

As far as it is at present known, the ox was the first beast of burden. It was used for ploughing in Egypt during the pyramid age.[34] Models of men riding bulls (dated *circ.* 3000 B.C.) have been found at Khajé (Mesopotamia).[35] Rameses IV used carts drawn by six yoke of oxen in the eastern deserts,[36] and a wall painting at Thebes figures the Prince of Amaam in a bullock chariot.[37] Herodotus (writing *circ.* 440 B.C.) speaks of the ox-chariot in Europe, but it was discarded in favour of the horse. Cosmas has described the use of oxen in Abyssinia for transport[38] during the early part of the sixth century of our era. Abulfeda described the practice of the Zendj of Mombasa riding and fighting on oxen[39] as the horse could not exist there. At that time camels and sheep were consumed as food at Mogadiscio. The practice of riding oxen exists still in Kordofan and further west. Dr. Gsell attributed the practice of riding the ox to the Garamantes but it dates to an ancient period probably before the invention of wheeled traffic.

Asses are considered to have been domesticated in Egypt during the fourth millenium B.C.[40] Considerable difference of opinion exists regarding the dates of the domestication of the zebra, ass and horse and Dr. Gsell has dealt with the subject at considerable length. The Sumerians used a cart drawn by asses at an early period.[41] Herkhuf's inscription opposite Aswan records a caravan of 300 asses in the fifth dynasty. During the reign of Rameses II a mining party with asses died of thirst en route from the Nile to the Wadi Allaki gold mines. In the XIIIth-XIIth centuries B.C. the Lebu and Mashouasha Libyans had asses.[42]

There is a remarkable painting at Beni-Hasan in the tomb of Khnemu-hetep II, a governor of the eastern mountains under Usertsen II of Egypt. Attempts have been made to interpret this as a record of the visit of Joseph's brethren, but it records the visit of the Aāmu of Shu (a Semitic type of people) whose merchandise is shown loaded on asses. The men carry bows and their chief was named Abscha, and his title was Heq-Setu, which is the same as that applied to the Hyksos king Khyan.

Horse bones were found in a Mousterian strata (as pre. cit.) in association with a camel's tooth, but at that period the animal was eaten for food and hunted down. The domesticated horse first appeared east of Mesopotamia *circ.* 2000 B.C. and its introduction into Africa is generally attributed to the Hyksos. Contrary to published statements to this effect there is no mention of the camel or horse on the "Stele of the Vultures" in the Louvre, nor are these animals figured on this monument.[43] For many years the horse was only used in carts or chariots and the first military cavalry appear to be those of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.).[44] They were knights mounted on led horses conducted by slaves. Rameses III captured 93 chariots and 183 horses from the Libyans, and Menepthah who defeated Meryey (Mareui) the son of Ded (a Libyan chief) captured 120 horses from the Libyans.[45] It may be mentioned that the African Barb is considered to be a survivor of these horses, which were the result of cross-breeding between asses and zebras. There is no doubt that the horse has played a great part in the life of the Libyans and their descendants for some centuries. It is probable that the later practice of the Pharusians (south of Morocco) of carrying water in skins under the bellies of their horses[46] is traceable to Libyan sources as a stele of Sheshonk I, a Libyan who founded the XXIInd Egyptian dynasty, indicates the occupation of Dakhla and Kharga during his reign.

A very slight decrease in the annual rainfall (if of a seasonal character) would be sufficient to limit the area of the horse's activities by lack of pasturage. Archæologists now consider that the reason that the ancient residents on the hill sites and higher downlands of Europe moved down to the valleys during a period between 2000 B.C. and 500 B.C. was in consequence of a general shortage of water.[47] It is significant that that period was one of great development of schemes for the conservation of water in the ancient civilised world (Mesopotamia and Egypt). This shortage of water is attributed to a decrease in the rainfall and a general

rise in temperature and has been traced across an extensive belt around the earth's surface north of the Equator.[48]

Leo Africanus (b. 1494 A.D.) saw wild horses in North Africa which he states were hunted down for food by the camel-owning Berbers.[49] These animals were descendants of abandoned or escaped domesticated horses. During the last century a herd of reputed desert " wild " asses was hunted down to obtain a zoological specimen, and one of the animals in the herd was found to be a gelding. As most readers are aware the prehistoric horse disappeared in both the New and Old Worlds and the nearest type to it was re-discovered in Mongolia comparatively recently.

Classical writers have described the Scythians, Persians, Libyans, Garamantes[51] and other equestrian races of ancient times. At the Christian era the horse seems to have been a rare and valuable animal among the populations of Arabia and Abyssinia. The Libyans retained the use of the horse for long after the Christian era. Procopius[51] has described the tactics of the black moors (Lewata or Leuathæ) in making *zarebas* of their camels against the attacks of the Roman and Libyan cavalry, during the Vandalic wars. In this connection some of the rock-pictures which show horses tethered behind a mounted camel-man are not without interest,[52] and may be commemorative of some of these fights. French authorities consider that the camel was first adopted in Africa by a negroid race of cattle herders who might be akin to the cattle folk figured in the paintings at Jebel Oweinat.[53]

The Hamegs of the Sudan taught their horses to kneel like camels so that they could mount in armour.[54] This seems to me to indicate that they were originally an equestrian folk. The horses of the Iyrcæ were trained to kneel and I believe that at one time the Don Cossacks trained their animals to do so.[55]

Mules are used in many areas where neither horses nor camels can live. Cyrus used a four-wheeled mule wagon for carrying water.[56]

Leo Africanus rode an " adikran " Barbary sheep but it does not appear to have been used generally as a beast of burden.[57] This animal figures frequently in North African rock pictures.

PART III.—GENERAL NOTES ON THE CAMEL.

The following notes regarding the camel may be of interest. The smell of camels is particularly offensive to most animals. Horses and elephants are apt to get out of control. Cyrus the Elder is stated to have defeated the forces of Crœsus at Sardis (*circ.* 546 B.C.) by mounting his men on camels and then attacking the enemy horse which bolted.[58] In medieval times some elephants which were proceeding up a narrow street in Syria bolted and jammed themselves in such a manner that the building had to be partly removed to extricate one animal. The camel is very subject to attack from lions; they attacked the camels in the army of Darius in Asia Minor at places where the camel was previously unknown. The camel (and dromedary) were interdicted as food to the Jews,[59] and the Copts do not eat its flesh. The Moslem Egyptian fellahin are passionately fond of the flesh, however, and pay high prices for it as food. In Roman towns or at Roman posts the animals were not quartered within the walls. Many of these animal lines can be seen in the Eastern deserts now. The great Tripoli caravan bivouacked at Mex, some miles outside Alexandria, and pilgrim caravans at Damascus and Cairo were always assembled or bivouacked outside towns. The animal is most uncleanly and a host for numerous ticks which attack horses, mules, cows or dogs and produce a fever which is sometimes fatal to these animals.

The camel is a natural swimmer. Nordern noticed the animals swimming the Nile at low level. Ismail Pasha's army crossed the Blue Nile in 1820 by the men swimming the horses and camels and hanging on to them. In view of the great width and depth of water in the Nile at the pre-historic period it is doubtful if the camel could have crossed the Nile at certain geological periods unless the pluvial seasons and areas were reversed, i.e., the rains fell in Egypt instead of as in the tropics as at present or some conditions existed which might cause a very high flood level and a correspondingly low level.[60]

The sacrifice of camels is a Persian custom and the practice was common among the pagan and Moslem Arabs. The feast of Saleh and the practice of "Karama"[61] are pagan survivals. In pre-Moslem times the camel was tied to the tomb of its dead owner and allowed to die of starvation.[62]

The practice of making a scapegoat of the camel was common among the Arabs. James Bruce was an eyewitness of one such occasion where the animal was blamed as the cause of a tribal feud.[63] Frazer states that in cases of plague the camel scapegoat was strangled and when the herds would not drink the male animals were flogged.[64]

Camel bells are said to have been denounced by the prophet Muhammad.[65] Animals which are not trained to the use of belled mares or herd leaders are liable to panic. The equestrian Arab tribes defeated the Begas in the ninth century by fixing bells on their horses' necks and stampeding the camels of the Begas. Except among the Hausas, the general practice of slaughtering camels for food or sacrifice (the flesh is eaten in these cases as a rule) is to cut the beast's throat. The Hausas cut the throats of oxen, sheep and goats but kill the camel by sticking a knife into it.[66] Berbera was described by Ibn Batuta in 1330 as a town which was filthy with the blood of camels slaughtered there daily for food. Leo Africanus has described camels "as gentle and domesticated beasts."[67] Camels are savage, vicious and intractable animals. During the mating season the males are particularly dangerous and great care must be taken when any discharge from the cranial glands occur. Favourite tricks of the beast are to kneel (barrack) suddenly and then roll over the legs of its rider or any baggage loaded, or to charge head down without warning under a low out-stretched branch of a tree so as to scrape off any burden or rider on its back. The late Slatin Pasha, who had ridden thousands of miles and had had a lifetime's experience of camels, was severely bitten and savaged by one of his own animals when I was at Kassala.

Both the camel and llama are peculiarly adapted by nature to the extremes of temperature found on desert areas. The wool on the Bactrian camel grows very long and that from both species provides most of the clothing, tents, bags, rugs, ropes and similar articles in daily use. Fire is preserved by means of a little wool in smouldering dry dung. The Asiatic camels thrive now in the brackish marshes of the Euphrates and Tigris or the mouths of the Indus. During the last century the character of the Egyptian delta has changed so much by reclamation and irrigation that it is impossible now to make any comparisons with less highly cultivated areas. There are considerable areas in Africa where the camel cannot live and Barth's arrival with camels was regarded by the natives in

some places as a miracle. The camel is much inferior to the horse in tractability or speed, and for these reasons it is not so useful as cavalry or for drawing vehicles as the horse is in climates which support both animals. It is for these reasons that the Romans never seriously adopted the animal although they had several camel *alæ* in the eastern deserts, and the frontier posts used camel-men as despatch riders. They made extensive use of the camel for baggage purposes or carrying water supplies in their various campaigns, and in A.D. 363 the Prefect Romanus commandeered 4,000 camels from Leptis Magna (Tripoli) for military service.

James Bruce has described the practice of the Abbadeh camel-men riding back to back on camels so that the driver carried a spear and the rear man a bow. He gave long extracts from Livy to show that the practice had not changed from the Roman period.[68]

The Mahri* tribe bred a special breed of dromedary which was renowned for its size and speed. Some of these people were Christians apparently and they were deported from Arabia during the Persian persecutions of the sixth century. It is quite probable that these people had introduced the camel previously into Africa and they may have been the original inhabitants of the now deserted ruined towns of Somaliland.[69]

There are so many different breeds of dromedaries and camels that to the Arab they are virtually without number and it would be impossible to mention them in a paper of this description. The brands placed on the camels can be recognised by all the nomads and it may interest readers to learn that the camel brand of the Sultan of Aussa is a five-pointed star of similar design to that figured on the Axumite monuments and frequently found on other monuments attributed to star-worshippers.

PART IV.—HISTORICAL RECORDS.

The earliest known record of the domesticated camel is a theriomorphic vase which was found at Abusir-el-Melek and is now in the Berlin Museum.[71] It is claimed to be of Egyptian pre-dynastic manufacture (i.e., prior to 3400 B.C.) and to represent a kneeling camel. The period of manufacture (determined by the strata in which the object was found) may be correct, but the identity of the animal represented is not generally accepted by all the recognised authorities.

* The Mahri tribe of Hadramut is not considered by the Moslem Arabs as contemporary immigrants with the ancestors of Muhammad in Arabia. They were considered to be contemporaries of the "Tobas" or Himyarites.

Therio-morphic vases have been found at various sites in Africa and Asia, but those found in Punic or Carthaginian strata until the Roman period in Africa did not include representations of camels.[72] My daughter saw one recently at Baalbek which was made of red clay and had been dug up in the neighbourhood. It had been examined by experts and was considered to be of Persian manufacture and to date *circ.* 600 B.C. It represents a kneeling dromedary with two large earthenware jars on its back and is similar to one illustrated by Contenau (*Le Civilisation Phœnicien*).

Sir Wallis Budge wrote in 1906 that he had seen models of camels excavated from tombs which he dated at *circ.* 4000 B.C. (i.e., fourth dynasty) and in a letter to me he stated that these were dug up at Abydos but that he did not know what had become of them. Mr. Guy Brunton kindly informed me of two small pottery heads which were found in Egypt and may be intended for camels. One of these was found at Maadi (near Cairo) and is pre-dynastic but is only vaguely like a camel, and it is now in the Cairo University Museum. The other is of the proto-dynastic period and was found at Abydos[73] by Sir Flinders Petrie and is in the Museum of University College, London. A pottery head found at Hierakonopolis which is now in the Ashmolean Museum has been illustrated by Capart[74] who decided that it represented a camel, although the excavators originally considered it as the model of an ass's head.[75] Miss Caton Thompson found in the Fayoum a hair cord which is now in the Halifax Museum and which was in an undisturbed third-dynasty strata.[76] It will be seen that the evidence that the camel was domesticated in Egypt at that early period is by no means conclusive.

The pecked rock drawing near Aswan illustrated by Dr. Schweinfurth[77] in association with a man and an inscription of the sixth dynasty period is more doubtful evidence, as it is not certain that the drawing and inscription are co-eval although the technique is the same. There is a remarkable absence of figurines of camels among the antiquities excavated in Asia, Africa and India until of comparatively a recent date. Dr. Reisner found a horse cemetery of Libyo-Nubian period in Dongola but no contemporary traces of the camel.[78]

A relief from the Khabur valley, illustrated by Max von Oppenheim, represents a man riding a camel which some German archæologists

consider to be *circ.* 3000 B.C. and others 1500–1400, but Mr. Sidney Smith considers that there is no reason to believe that it was cut prior to 1100–1000 B.C.[79]

The earliest historical record of the domesticated camel is an inscription which mentions the two-humped camels as " udru " during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (*circ.* 1100 B.C.).[80] The earliest record of the domesticated dromedary known is on the bronze gates of Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.) and the animal is described as " gammalu."[81] This is the original root of the Semitic word " gammal " which is so much in use now and written by us as camel. Mr. Thompson gives the translation of gammalu as " the ass from the sea lands " and suggests that it was probably introduced by the Suti (Bedouin) *via* Erech.[82] As transliterations of the inscriptions vary very much I give them as they are published by the authorities cited. It would seem that " s " and " sh " may be alternative transliterations for some of these tribal names. Another record of Shalmaneser III is the stele he set up to commemorate his victory at Karkar.[83] This gives the details of the armies which were opposed to him by King Adad-Idri of Damascus, King Irkuleni of Hamath and King Ahab of Israel. These forces included 1,000 camels of the Arab Gindibu (*circ.* 853 B.C.).

The " Black Obelisk " now in the British Museum has a series of panels figuring two-humped camels (not dromedaries).[84] These include tribute of Shona, a king of Gilzan (near Lake Van). Those shown in association with buffaloes, elephants and apes came from the Persian plateau (Bactria-wards), but they are described as from Musri a district N.E. of Assyria.[85] The fact that tribute or presents are recorded from certain nations does not necessarily mean that the objects recorded are always the produce of the country under the direct rule of the king who sent them.

The Biblical account of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon (*circ.* 955 B.C.) at Jerusalem[86] presents no chronological difficulties similar to the mention of the camel in the Book of Genesis in connection with the visit of Abraham to the Pharaoh. The camel and dromedary were probably well established in Palestine and northern Arabia by the ninth century B.C. The fact that no camel bones have been found of an ancient character at the Arabeh copper mines[87] does not necessarily mean that the animal was not in use at that time. Dr.

Kammerer has endeavoured to identify Sheba with Assab in Africa[88] but it seems far more probable that the Queen who visited Solomon was one of the long line of priestess-queens mentioned in the Assyrian records. Queen Mavia, who invaded Egypt in A.D. 377[89] and later accepted Christianity, was probably the hereditary representative of the Queen of Sheba, and the Negusta Errum Fatima of Bruce[90] may have been a similar type of ruler. These ancient Arab queens were hereditary and their consorts were the leaders of their armies as sometimes occurred in the Meroitic dynasties.

It is unnecessary to trace the results of Assyrian pressure west of the Mesopotamian rivers but it seems clear to me that the tradition of Muhammad's ancestors that their original home was Mesopotamia is supported by historical evidence. Those who desire to do so should examine Dr. Glaser's records[90] as the only conclusion that one can come to is that the camel is and always has been the beast of the nomads and has not formed part of the fauna of the Minæan or Sabæan or other civilised people in Arabia prior to the first millenium before our era.

About 732 B.C. Tiglath-Pileser III received tribute from " the Arabs who dwelt on the bounds of the west." This included gold, silver, camels and perfumes from Tayma, Saba and Badana, all of which appear to have been sites in the north of Arabia. This king also received tribute from a Queen Zabibi and appointed a ruler over the Arabs (then in northern Arabia).[92] From the fact that the oldest known rock drawings in Arabia represent oxen it is possible that the camel-owning nomads travelled down the shores of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea and thus avoided the cultivated areas in which the presence of the camel would be certainly resented.[93] An inscription of Sargon II (*circ.* 709 B.C.) records tribute of gold, spices and camels received from Queen Shemshi (? Shemsi) of Arabia and Itamara of Saba. The last name is found among the Sabæan inscriptions but so far only a conjectural chronology from about 800 B.C. has been published.[94] About 709 B.C. the entire population of Samaria was deported to Mesopotamia and replaced by Cutheans and Arabs from the east.[95] These people seem to have been a restless element and in 703 B.C. Sennacherib drove the Arabs south to Adummatu (El Jol, Nefd). In 703 B.C. the Arab Queen Shemshi was replaced by Jati. Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.) invaded Arabia in 676 B.C. and deposed the Queen Te-el-Khum and took away the local gods from Adummatu. The deposed

queen was replaced by Queen Tabua and later the local gods were restored. It is significant that Semites, either Arabs or Phœnicians reached Shantung (China) about that date.

The remarkable success of the Assyrian invasion of Egypt in 671 B.C. is attributed to the use of camels by the eastern army. The Arabs took camels to Tel-Rifah where they met the Assyrians who reached Memphis and occupied it in fifteen days.[96] It is probable that Ashur-ban-ipal also used camels in the later expeditions of 668 and 661 B.C. The frieze now in the British Museum which was brought by Layard from Mesopotamia represents a Palmyrene Arab mounted on a dromedary and pursued by Assyrian cavalry.[97]

Nothing is really known of the history of Arabia during the first half of the first millenium B.C. Thousands of inscriptions have been found but they cannot be pieced together or reconciled with the legendary stories of Tabari. The camel was not among the animals represented upon the friezes recently excavated at Hugga (21 miles from Sanaa, the reputed site of Saba).[98] It is however evident that camel transport in Arabia was well organised during the early part of the sixth century. A Minæan inscription of *circ.* 526 B.C. records the gratitude of the merchants to Cambysses for the protection afforded by him to their camel caravans to and from Egypt.[99] It is most improbable that these merchants crossed the Egyptian frontier with their animals for reasons previously stated. The earliest Sinaitic rock drawings of camels, etc., may indicate places where the markets were held or the animals were grazed at that period.[100] When Cambysses decided to invade Egypt in 525 B.C. the Arabs had become so powerful that they had a monopoly of transport across the deserts and it was necessary for the king of Persia to obtain a permit of safe conduct for his army. The Arabs loaded their camels with water in skins and by these means the army of the Persians crossed the desert under similar conditions to the Assyrian armies previously.[101] The disastrous expedition of Cambysses to the Sudan was due to the shortage of food and not water as the route then was along the river bank. It is generally considered that camels were used for the Kharga expedition. This Persian force reached an oasis (considered to be Kharga) which was then inhabited by Samians (Aeschrionians), a white folk. Commandant Cauvet has traced affinities between

the Tuareg[102] and the Celtic or Gaulic mercenaries who appeared in North Africa and it seems clear that the springs at Kharga had been developed or wells sunk about that time.[103] Neither asses nor bullocks were then capable of carrying sufficient water in excess of their own requirements to provide the necessary supply for an army of five to ten thousand men. As recently as 1805 a large caravan of 2,000 persons and 1,500 camels perished between Timbuctoo and Tafilet because the wells were dry.[104]

In recent years attention has been drawn to hoards of empty earthenware jars which have been found on the desert routes. Herodotus described the method of making water-dumps with empty wine jars, but up to the present archæologists consider that the jars found are of the Roman period and unsuitable to contain water, as they seep.[105] Miss Caton Thompson has gone into the question at length and as some of the jars were found " in situ " empty and upright in the ground it is possible that they were defences to protect the guardians of the wells or roads from camel-raiders.[106] They were certainly not caches of food as the practice of storing grain in *Matmouras* (underground reservoirs) was practised by the Badarians.*

In 484 B.C. Egypt was re-occupied by Xerxes who employed 10,000 camel-men in his army on the march to Europe.[107] The camel was first introduced into Europe as a domesticated animal by him. It has been stated that camel-men were used constantly by the Assyrians and Persians to carry despatches from Egypt and Europe across the deserts to Mesopotamia since the seventh century B.C., but I cannot trace any historical record. The use of the camel by the Indians for gathering gold, and the methods adopted by the Arabians for gathering spices are obviously from hearsay.[108] They are an ancient form of disguising a trade secret before the laws of patent were thought of. Aeschylus about 200 years later described Indian women who rode camels astride and this appears to me to be another traveller's tale.[109] It should be noted that the original term " Arabitæ " was not applied to the natives of Arabia.[110] It was applied by the Greeks to the Arava or Dravidic people who were driven out of their country by Alexander the

* I do not agree that these jars were not water dumps. A jar saturated with oil and then dried in the sun will not seep. I should like to know the result of any local experiments. The date of the last jars found only indicates when the method *was discontinued.*

Great. It is therefore possible that Indian camel-folk were the Zott of the Indus. During the attempted occupation of Egypt by Antigonous (*circ.* 306 B.C.) a great camel convoy accompanied his army and fleet from Syria. There is no definite evidence that Alexander the Great or Ptolemy Soter actually employed the camel in Egypt but Ptolemy II certainly did. As there is evidence of friendly relations at that period between the Egyptian and Meroitic rulers it is not unreasonable to assume that the animal was known south of Aswan if not in actual use in the Nubian deserts. It is quite possible however that the traditional right of the Aidh tribe (plural Abed) to carry the mails dates from the Ptolemaic period.[111] Synesius in his letter No. 78 states that the Ethiopians (? negroids of Siwa or west of that place) had made some journeys with the Azgar (i.e., the Azdger Tuareg) to Cyrenaica and back during the reign of King Ptolemy II. It seems useless therefore to date the camel era in North Africa from such a late date as Cæsar's capture of the camels of Juba in 47 B.C. The earliest coin evidence seems to be *circ.* 65 B.C. as a coin of the Aemilia family commemorates the Roman victory of Pompey's legate over Aretas (of Petra). It will be remembered that Aelius Gallus used camels in his ill-fated expedition to southern Arabia.

No graffiti have been found yet of camels in the eastern Sudan or Upper Egypt which can be definitely assigned prior to the Ptolemaic period. There was a sculptured relief of a camel on the chapel wall of Pyramid No. 15 at Meroë (illustrated by Lepsius)[112] before it was demolished in 1905. At that time the view was accepted generally that the rulers of Meroë were a line of Queens and the controversy regarding the identity of Nastasen with the contemporary of Cambysses had not arisen. One of the pyramids excavated by Ferlini contained the bones of a camel and a horse, a camel-saddle, a horse-saddle, and metal bells on which were figures of birds and gods. Other pyramids excavated at Meroë prior to 1914 contained : (*a*) bones of horses, oxen, sheep and a camel, (*b*) a mass of human bones and some Græco-Roman objects.[113] Dr. Reisner has dated the bronze statuette found by him at Meroë as *circ.* 20 B.C.

With the exception of the Ptolemaic inscription found at Adulis no records prior to the Christian era have been found in Abyssinia to which a definite chronology can be applied.[114] It is evident that the camel

(dromedary) was domesticated in Southern Arabia prior to that date, and the probability is that the animal was introduced into Somaliland about 500 B.C. The first recorded camel census in Egypt was made in A.D. 151 by the Prefect Munatius Felix. In the Moslem era the horse was a rare and valuable animal south of the northern fertile belt of Arabia. The Meccans had 2,800 camel-riders and 200 horsemen at the battle of Ohud although 700 warriors wore cuirasses. The Moslems soon adopted the horse for warfare by using those they captured, and as a result several tribes became equestrian in Syria and Egypt where the camel was discarded. It was the infiltration of the Arab camel-owning nomads during the Roman occupation of Egypt that led to the Moslem occupation of Egypt and their colonisation of North Africa.

PART V.—CONCLUSION.

To summarise the available evidence; it is clear that a species of camel, possibly the dromedary, lived on the frontiers of Egypt during the pre-dynastic period and disappeared entirely from Egyptian knowledge after the third or possibly the sixth dynasty. This is the view expressed by Zippelius and modern Egyptologists. Opinion is divided upon the horse, and a rock drawing described by Weigall as archaic represents a plumed horse of the type of those in Abu Simbel temple, etc.

A considerable amount of information has been published recently regarding the variations in the Nile flood levels during pre-historic periods and since the era of cultivation until modern times. The low levels are unknown but it is probable that the Nile formed an impassable barrier to the migration of animals from the eastern to the western banks in the Aurignacian period if not at the later Badarian (a site on the eastern bank). The animal remains of a camel found by Miss Caton Thompson were however west of the present Nile. Much depends upon the question of the contemporary rainfalls and whether they were seasonal or not. There is no scientific data available at present to state definitely that the fauna from North Africa had no escape after the Sahara plateau could not support them. The present theory is that desiccation commenced by a diminution of the rainfall which commenced somewhere about the latitude of the great Nubian desert (i.e., 20 deg. North) and that it spread northwards. Recent geological field work has disclosed a similar period

of pluviation and desiccation south of the Equator by which the great Kalahari and other South African deserts were formed. There is no reason at present to consider that Arabia was not affected by the northern zone or belt of decreased rainfall.

The entire absence of any fossils of the dromedary except those found in the quarternary strata of Algeria renders Arabia both improbable as the place of origin of the pre-historic camel or the retreat to which animals resorted after the desiccation period. It is far more likely that the surviving animals went north and lived in the valleys which afforded them pasturage and water at that period.

There is certainly no evidence that the camel was used in Arabia Felix until a comparatively late period. The paved roads and deep wells (170 feet and more) described by Niebuhr are quite inconsistent with a neolithic culture or the present-day characteristics of nomads or camel-herders.

Camels are bred for food now by the savage tribes on the shores of Lake Rudolph but these animals are not aboriginal and they are traditionally of Arabian origin.

It is a significant point in the evidence against the survival of the camel or dromedary in Africa from the quarternary period that there is no known word for these animals in the original Carthaginian or Berber languages.[115] The statement of Lydekker that the camel is mentioned in an Egyptian ancient (XIVth century B.C.) papyrus was due to a misreading of the text, i.e., K-M-R instead of K-R-I (an ape).[116] The camel and goat are naturally such highly destructive animals that they are the ancient enemies of agriculturists. Their owners must have become outcasts and must have been forced to continue their nomadic existence at a very early stage in the history of agriculture, which it must be remembered was, so far as Egypt and Mesopotamia are concerned, entirely dependent upon rain or the rise and fall of the great rivers. It was not until *circ.* 2000 B.C. that the crops and herbage raised on inundated land were insufficient to maintain the people and their animals and that artificial means (irrigation channels, dams, etc.) were necessary to conserve and increase water supplies.

I therefore consider that the camel like the horse retreated into Asia where it evolved into the species (i.e., the dromedary and camel)

as we know them now, and that neither the horse nor the camel were domesticated prior to the dates I have given previously, viz., the camel *circ.* 1200 B.C. and the horse *circ.* 2000 B.C.[117]

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(2) R. I. Pocock, information by letter (Nat. Hist. Brit. Mus.).

(3) F. Beddard, p. 285 *et seq.*, " Mammalia," London, 1902.

(4) Masudi (d. 957 A.D.), " Prairies d'Or " (Meynard's edn., Vol. III, p. 4), writes as follows : " On a cité comme un example analogue les jeune chamelles Arabes qui, saillies par des sujets reproducteurs originaires du Kerman ou d'autres provinces du Khoraçân (camelus Bactrianus) donnent naissance aux espèces nommées Bokhti et Djemmazeh. Il n'y a jamais d'accouplement entre un chameau et une chamelle bokhti, et les meilleurs produits de cette espèce sont dus aux croisement du gros chameau á deux bosses avec les jeunes chamelles d'Arabie ; mais les espèces dites ' bedjawi ' et ' mahari ' peuvent produire aussi des chameaux bokhti."* The mules are invariably one-humped like the dromedary.

(5) D. Newbold, " A desert Odyssey " in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII, p. 49.

(6) Letters from Egypt, etc., No. X, Bohn's edn., p. 81, etc.

(7) Beddard, *op. cit.*, page 285 *et seq.*

(8) Idem.

(9) Lydekker, *op. cit.*

(10) E. J. Rapson, " Camb. Hist. of India," Cap. II, page 38 cit. Sir Aur. Stein, etc. See also Travels, etc., by Prealsky (1871–9) and Sven Hedin.

(11) A. N. Pollen, " Hunting Wild Camels " (Field, p. 511, April 10, 1931).

(12) C. W. Hobley, Esq., C.M.G. Letter, 8/2/1934.

(13) Bulletin of the Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., X, 1898, p. 93.

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(15) Illustrated by Nicholson and Lydekker (fig. 210, B. & C.) in their " Manual of Paleontology," Vol. 2, p. 1334, who also illustrate the skull of Camelus Bactrianus (fig. 1209, p. 1335) and regard the Camelus Sivalensis (India) as the oldest known species in the Old World and the Camelus Thomasi (Algeria) as a later form.

(16) Palestine ; F. Turville Petrie, " Researches in Pre-historic Galilee," 1925–6, p. 10 *et seq.*, and Dr. A. E. Garrod, " Stone Age of Palestine " ("Antiquity," June 1934).

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(18) Sir Arthur Keith, p. 312, " New Discoveries in the Antiquity of Man."

(19) Idem., pp. 249 and 277. The fossils at Tong-keon were Mousterian and those at Sjaro-osso-gol were Aurignacian. Fossils were also found at Chou-Kou-Tien. For other fossil remains of the camel see : Barnum Brown, " Prehistoric Steno-mylus," in " The Illustrated London News," 21/12/1929, p. 1089, and A. S. Romer, " Fossil Camel," in " Science," July 6, 1928, pp. 19–20.

(20) H. Frankfort " Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period " (Journ. Egypt. Arch., XII, 1926, p. 82).

(21) Letter of Capt. Guy Dollman, 14/4/1934, and letter of Miss J. M. Lucas (Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.), 5/9/1934.

(22) Cap. XII, verse 16, and Cap. XXIV, verses 61–64. These are sometimes cited as evidence that the camel was the first beast domesticated.

(23) Prof. Myres, " Camb. Anc. Hist.," Vol. 1, Cap. I.

(24) Alois Musil, " Arabia Petræa " Vienna, 1907, and J. de Morgan, " Revue de Synth. Hist." Tome XXXIV," Premières Civilisations," p. 179. Also works of St. J. Philby especially " The Empty Quarter," and Bertram Thomas, " Arabia Felix."

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(28) Letter of 23/8/1934.

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(36) Weigall, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

(37) E. A. Wallis Budge, " Egyptian Sudan," Vol. II, Pl., p. 326.

(38) Montfaucon's edn., p. 139.

(39) Renaud's edn., Vol. II, pp. 207 and 215.

(40) Dr. Gsell, " Histoire Ancienne d'Afrique du Nord," Vol. I, p. 228.

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(48) Nos. 10 and 32 *ante*, also " Mimbres Valley (New Mexico) " in " Illust. Lond. News," p. 543, 30/3/1929.

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(52) Monod, " L'Adrar Ahnet," p. 90, and a horseman leading camel, p. 84. (Contains extensive bibliography.)

(53) Dr. Jas. Murphy ; article illust. in colour (" Illust. Lond. News," p. 796, etc., 17/11/1934).

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(55) Herodotus, IV, 22. A horse-god temple was discovered in Mongolia (p. 185, " Discovery," May, 1925).

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(103) Miss Caton Thompson, *op. cit.*

(104) Jackson, " Morocco," p. 285.

(105) Herodotus, III, 6. Kamr-ed-Din (Journ. Scientifique, p. 596, No. 19, Paris, 1927).

(106) Idem., VIII, 28, and Miss Caton Thompson, *op. cit.*

(107) Idem., VII, 69–70, 125, 184–5 and, IX, 81, etc.

(108) Idem., III, 102 *et seq.* Similar stories are repeated later by the Roman authors.

(109) Camb. Anc. Hist., Vol. II, p. 394.

(110) Idem., Vol. I, p. 380.

(111) Makrizi, " Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks " (Quatremere's edn.), T.I., p. 257.

(112) Denkmaler, V, 28a.

(113) Wallis-Budge, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 288, 343, 399.

(114) Kammerer, *op. cit.*, p. 90, etc.

(115) Gsell, *op. cit*, p. 59.

(116) Letter from Professor Glanville.

(117) Abdel Latif (d. 1931) remarked upon the absence of camel's skulls in the ancient Egyptian tombs (De Sacy's edn., p. 204). An ethnographical map of the Eastern Sudan and Nile Valley was published by Sir Reginald Wingate in 1891 (" The Sudan Past and Present ") which shows the camel limits. The tsetse fly is mentioned in the book of Isaiah (Cap. VII, verses 18–19). See also " Description de l'Egypte," Report of Napoleonic Commission, 1809–1813 (Académie Française, Paris, 184–).

THE STORY OF KHARTOUM

(*Concluded*).

By C. E. J. Walkley, M.B.E.

IN 1874 Baron Rudolf Von Slatin visited Khartoum for the first time on his way to the Nuba Mountains. He returned to Austria in the following year. It was about this time, during Gordon's first tenure of office, that a Frenchman named Monsieur Marquet started a new industry in Khartoum—the sifting of gum by quality and size[1]; six years later he was referred to by Frank Power[2] as "the millionaire merchant here, and French Consul."

In 1878 the Austrian Mission lost seventeen priests and sisters from fever. Wilson and Felkin came through Khartoum and received a very kind welcome from Gordon, of whom they speak as one of the noblest men the century had produced.[3] Two years later Dr. Junker[4] arrived and stayed in a house which was well known as the residence of "Abu Khamsa Miyeh." This was the nickname of a former Governor whose habit it was to award a round five hundred strokes when sentencing offenders to the bastinado. The house was situated a little way from the river bank, between the Palace and the Mudiria of that day. In February of the same year (1880) Wilson and Felkin returned and noticed a great improvement in the town. They met Geigler Pasha, who was acting as Governor General, and were present at a great eight-day Moslem feast, for which tents were fitted up by each department of the Government—War, Finance, Interior, etc., each one gaily decorated with flags and lamps. The heads of departments paid visits to each other's tents every night, and the feast ended with a grand display of fireworks.

Mohammed Ahmed declared himself as the Mahdi in August, 1881, and the following year was taken up by the efforts made to dislodge him in Kordofan.

Ala El Din Pasha succeeded Abdel Gader Pasha as Governor General in 1883, just before the arrival in Khartoum of Hicks and his 10,000 Egyptian troops. The condition of the town and its inhabitants in that year, when Khartoum began to be virtually in a state of siege, was not happy.[2] There were 27,000 registered slaves in Khartoum itself, and the

[1] "Ten Years in Equatorial Africa," Major Gaetano Casti,, 1891.
[2] "Letters from Khartoum written during the Siege by Frank Power," A. Power, 1885.
[3] "Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan," Rev. C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, 1878.
[4] "Travels in Africa, 1875–78, Dr. W. Junker, 1890.

trade in slaves was in full swing again. The natives suffered heavily from taxation and corruption. If they wished to grow corn they had to pay for permission to do so. They had then to pay for the liberty to draw water from the Nile, and, having raised a crop, they had to pay for permission to sell it. If the crop was a good one their taxes were doubled, one half going to the Pasha, and the other to the Government in Cairo. If they did not grow corn they could not pay their taxes and were beaten and thrown into prison. No matter how they made a few piastres, they were taken from them to swell the income of some *bey* or *pasha*. Frequently their huts were pulled down, and their yards and fields torn up to find out whether they had hidden coins. If a native bought clothes for his wife or children, or mended a hole in his hut, it was taken as evidence that he possessed money, and he was doubly taxed.

An effort had been made here and there along the Blue Nile bank to substitute steam for oxen in working *sagias*. There were three engines between Mogren and the town, all rusty and disused.[1] Doubtless they became out of order for want of grease and cleaning, and their owners left them to their fate.

The Englishman's day appears to have been a leisurely one. Power was in the habit of rising at 4 a.m., and, after his morning tea, going to sit in the big place or square until ten o'clock, " under the great palm tree of Polycratus." There, at the café, he would meet the *pashas* and *beys*, and watch the hundreds of Arabs, blacks and slaves doing their marketing at the stalls and booths of the bazaar.

When Hicks Pasha's army was annihilated in November, 1883, the inhabitants of Khartoum were temporarily thrown into a panic; but Hussein Pasha Sirry, Colonel de Coetlogon (who had been left by Hicks with the depôt), and Power, Herbin and Hansel, the British, French and Austrian Consuls respectively, collected food, brought in the outlying garrisons, and strengthened the defences.[2] They drove a deep ditch and parapet, 1,540 yards long, across the level plain left dry by the subsidence of the river.

On 30th November, 1883, Monsieur Marquet gave a farewell dinner, as he was leaving Khartoum on the following day. The account of his

[1] " With Hicks Pasha in the Sudan," Col. The Hon. J. Colborne, 1885.

[2] " Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan," Major F. R. Wingate, 1891.

arrangements for the meal is interesting. He had a salon which Power considered superior to many in Paris, with wax lights, mirrors, ten servants in livery, cut-glass, silver and flowers. The dinner was thoroughly Parisian and was the work of M. Marquet's French chef. The wines included champagne, hock and claret, and, as M. Marquet spent large sums on his garden, there were green peas, mushrooms, asparagus, and many fruits from strawberries to pineapples.

There were definite signs of pessimism just before Gordon returned to Khartoum. Power could see no ray of light through the blackness from which the country's name is derived. Everyone in the capital seemed to have small-pox, and near the market from which the Europeans bought their food there were four horses and a lot of camels, dead for over five weeks, and their accompaniment of jackals and vultures. Smells were supreme and Power and Colonel Coëtlogon carried camphor to their noses all day.[1] The gardens along the Blue Nile continued to flourish, but the White Nile, when in flood, came up to the earthen parapet. This flooding was, all too soon, to facilitate the entrance into the town of the Dervishes.

As seen from the White Nile, the town presented the picture of a mass of dirty grey houses, above which rose the single minaret of the mosque. Between the river and the town was a sterile, sandy plain without trees or bushes. The entrance to the town on the west was by a long, narrow street, stretching to the east, and ending in the market. This street was dirty in the extreme, and was bordered by mud houses, the doors of which were their only openings to the street. Yet it was the best in the town, containing the Governor's residence and offices, and the houses of Turks, Copts and Arabs. In other parts of the town there was some semblance of regularity, but the houses, apart from the few good ones, were of a miserable type, consisting of sun-dried clay, cemented with cow-dung and slime. There was no hotel or inn, and travellers had either to lodge with a friend, or ask the Governor for a house, which was often a large and dirty courtyard surrounded by rooms. Restaurants did not exist, though there were a number of shops, owned by Greeks, from which alcoholic drinks could be obtained. Near the market place stood

[1] "Report on the Egyptian Provinces of the Sudan, Red Sea and Equator," Intelligence Branch, War Office, 1884.

the mosque, coffee-houses, brandy-shops, and so on. A Coptic school, an infirmary, a prison, and barracks also existed.

M. Hansel, the Austrian Consul, who had been in the Sudan about thirty years, was an outstanding local celebrity. At a reception by the Governor he is said to have presented a magnificent spectacle in a red coat, with large epaulettes, a long white waistcoat, and blue overalls. The most noteworthy resident in 1883, however, was the Dutch traveller, Schuver, who owned three boats, which flew the Dutch flag, and who lived in an isolated house among the palm trees outside the town.

Steamers were sent up from Egypt to Khartoum at three different times. The first four were sent up by Said Pasha, about 1860. Later, six were sent up by river, and three, in sections, across the desert, for the expedition of Sir Samuel Baker, in 1869.[1] Four others were brought up in sections, by the Suakin-Berber road, when Gordon was Governor General. The " Bordein " was one of those sent up for the Baker expedition. For many years after the reoccupation she lay drawn up on the river bank at Khartoum North, but she has now been reconditioned to appear as she did in Gordon's day, and is moored opposite the Palace. She is said to have received her name from a place in Upper Egypt, where Sherif Pasha, a former Prime Minister of Egypt, had an estate. Originally she resembled the " penny steamers " which used to ply on the Thames between London Bridge and Greenwich. When she had been armoured, under the superintendence of Colonel Stewart, there was a small space at the bow for the cable Then came a turret of baulks of wood, fastened together with iron pins. This turret, which contained one gun for firing ahead, was open at the top and bullet-proof, but not shell-proof. At the foot of it was the cooking-place, where slave girls baked bread for the soldiers and sailors, and behind it was the hatchway of the forehold, and a gangway on each side, for landing. Then came the foremast, to which a bucket-like arrangement was slung, for the look-out man. Behind this on each side were small cabins at either end of the paddle-boxes, between which was another turret of baulks containing one gun. Then followed the funnel and the boiler. The latter was partly above the deck, and was protected by logs of wood. The hatchway of the main hold came next,[2] containing dura, ammunition, firewood, loot

[1] " The Campaign of Gordon's Steamers," Col. Sir C. M. Watson, *Royal Engineers Journal*, Oct. 1888.

[2] Notes found at Merowe among the papers of Brigadier-General Sir H. W. Jackson.

of all kinds, women and babies, and goats for milk. Behind it came a deck-house, on the top of which was the wheel and a place for infantry. The after hold was the storing-place of the Commandant's personal loot. Round the sides of the ship were sheets of boiler-plate, except where the cabins and paddle-boxes were.

The "Bordein" did valuable work in the repression of the slave-trade, and in 1880 she was the means of rescue of Gessi's forces. When Gordon was first appointed Governor General of Equatorial Africa, Gessi was ordered to occupy the Bahr el Ghazal as part of a scheme for the suppression of the slave-trade, which at that time was said to be worth 2,800,000 dollars a year to Khartoum. On Gessi's return journey his ships were caught in the sudd.[1] Food and fuel ran short. The soldiers were reduced to eating the skins in which their belongings were wrapped, and then their shoes. Many deaths occurred and Gessi's steamer became surrounded by the decomposing corpses of men, women and children. At the end of eight weeks the position was so desperate that the soldiers were reduced to cannibalism, and lived on human flesh until they were found. When the "Bordein" arrived and rescued them it was more than twelve weeks from the time they were caught in the sudd, about 430 of the original 600 members of the expedition had died, and the remainder had given up hope.

Gordon, having been chosen to evacuate the garrisons of the country after the disaster to Hicks's army, arrived in Khartoum with Colonel Stewart, on February 18th, 1884, and received an enthusiastic welcome from the inhabitants. A little more than three weeks later the siege of Khartoum, which was to last for nearly 320 days, began. On May 20th, 1884, Berber fell, all telegraphic communication northwards was cut off, and a veil closed down on Gordon and Khartoum. Four months later, when the investment of the town had become absolute, Gordon completed the census of the town, and found himself responsible for the welfare of 34,000 people.[2] In the same month he records that a lot of hawks were haunting the Palace. He wondered whether they were destined to pick out his eyes, "for I fear," he wrote, "that I was not the best of sons."[3]

[1] "Seven Years in the Sudan," Romolo Gessi Pasha, 1892.

[2] "The Journals of Major-General C. G. Gordon at Khartoum," A. Egmont Hake, 1898.

[3] Proverbs xxx. 17.

The position had become serious before this was written, and Gordon and the inhabitants of the town were in a state of misery. In August Mohammed Ali Pasha, Gordon's " fighting Pasha," defeated Emir Abd el Gader at Gedaref and Sheikh El Obeid at Halfaya, but five days later he was himself defeated and killed. This was a serious blow to Khartoum and was followed by the Mahdi's summons to all the tribes to gather for the attack on the town, which became more closely invested.

In September, 1884, the " Bordein," with another steamer, was sent to Sennar to find grain.[1] The steamers got through with 10,000 bushels, though both were holed by Dervish shells, and had twelve men killed and wounded. The " Bordein " was repaired in the Khartoum Arsenal and was then sent down to Shendi to reinforce the steamers which Gordon had sent down to await the arrival of the Expeditionary Force. At the end of October she returned to Khartoum, bringing to Gordon certain news of the murder of Colonel Stewart, Power, Herbin, and some Greeks in the Monassir country, and carrying newspapers dated September 15th, the first Gordon had seen since February 24th. A week later the " Bordein " returned to Shendi, having run the gauntlet of the enemy's fire all the way down.

Gordon was coping with enemies inside the town as well as outside, for in November, 1884, he records the theft during the year of over 300 tons of biscuits, in the disappearance of which more than thirty of the principal merchants were engaged. Food was very scarce and a cow was worth £E.20. The natives complained that they had nothing to eat; but in the house of one complainant eight ardebs of dura were found, and, in another house, forty ardebs.

On November 25th the " Bordein " was back again in Khartoum with letters from Cairo for Gordon. Ten days before Christmas she left for north with the last post that left the town, and the final volume of Gordon's journal, with its pathetic concluding paragraph, " *Now mark this*, if the Expeditionary Force, and I ask for no more than 200 men, does not come in ten days, *the town may fall*, and I have done my best for the honour of our country. Good-bye."

The Dervishes were fast closing in on the capital and on November 17th, for the first time, they fired on Khartoum from three sides, Burri,

[1] " The Campaign of Gordon's Steamers," Col. Sir C. M. Watson, *Royal Engineers Journal*, Oct. 1888.

Omdurman and the White Nile.[1] The condition of the people was pitiable: the troops were in great distress and resorted to hunting down dogs to eat. Donkeys, horses and mules were killed for food, and 14 lb. of dura cost a hundred dollars, though it was difficult to get even that quantity. A fish caught during the night commanded a price of 50 dollars the next morning. The crops on Tuti Island were sown and reaped under the fire of the Dervish forts.[2] About 200 ardebs were produced, and Gordon purchased it at £E.12 the ardeb. Soon all the donkeys, dogs, cats, rats, etc., had been eaten, and the troops were reduced to eating the skins of animals, gum, and palm fibre, the latter being pounded and made into a sort of bread. They stood on the fortifications listlessly, lacking the strength to hold their rifles, and some of them deserted to the Dervishes. The civilians were even worse off. Many of them died of hunger, and there was nobody with energy enough to bury them. Both soldiers and civilians often approached Gordon with pale faces and sunken eyes to complain of their miserable lot, but Gordon was unable to help them.

On January 19th, 1885, a native of Khartoum named Omar Ibrahim deserted to the enemy. The Dervishes received him with open arms because they were in some doubt as to the condition of the troops in the town, and the position of the relieving force, which was making its way up the Nile. Their plan of first attacking the relieving force and then falling upon Khartoum was changed on Omar Ibrahim's information, and they crossed over to the East bank of the White Nile and collected at Nejumi's camp at Kalakala to the south-west of the town. Gordon, now white-haired with all the anxiety he had undergone, observed from the roof of the Palace this considerable movement of the Dervishes. He summoned a meeting of officers and ordered them to collect every male in the town over eight years of age, and to line the fortifications.

A 8 a.m. on January 24th, Sir C. Wilson, with two steamers carrying 20 British soldiers and 190 Sudanese, started from Gubat (Shendi) for Khartoum. One of the steamers, the "Bordein," ran upon a rock on the 25th, with the result that the steamers progressed only three miles in the next twenty-four hours. All the "Bordein's" stores were removed, and she was hauled off and refloated.

[1] "General Report on the Siege and Fall of Khartoum," Mohammed Nushi Pasha and other Native Officers, 1885.

[2] Journal of Ibrahim Bordeini Bey.

January 25th, 1885, was a gloomy one in Khartoum. Gordon was slightly ill and did not appear in public. Having seen the enemy concentrating he could not have doubted that the end was near. The Mahdi had received news of the defeat of his troops by the advancing Expeditionary Force and was preparing to strike the final blow.

By 3.30 a.m. on the morning of January 26th, the moon had gone down and it was very dark. The Dervishes advanced stealthily towards that part of the fortifications (between the present Gebel Aulia road and the White Nile) which had been destroyed at high Nile, and which, when the river receded, had become an open space from which ditch and parapet had almost disappeared. This destruction had never been made good, but the whole of the remainder of the fortifications was almost impregnable, the ditch and parapet forming an almost insurmountable obstacle. The Dervishes, shouting wild cries, and led by Wad el Nejumi, dashed over the open space and broke up into two parties. One party made their way along the parapet, slaughtering the soldiers as they went, and the other party broke through into the town. The inhabitants, roused by the shouts of the Dervishes and the rattle of musketry, must have known at once what had happened.

Thousands of Dervishes rushed to the Palace and crowded round it. For a short time none of them dared to enter, because they thought that the entrances might be mined. Eventually they rushed in. There is some doubt as to the name of the Dervish who first encountered Gordon,* who was apparently waiting for them beside the door of his Council Room. The Deverish, dashing forward with the shout, " O cursed one, your time is come," plunged his spear into him. Gordon, it is said, made a gesture of scorn, and turned his back, whereupon he received another spear-thrust, which caused him to fall forward. He made no resistance, and had he used his revolver it could only have delayed his death for a few moments.

Gordon's head was immediately cut off and sent to the Mahdi in Omdurman, while his body was dragged downstairs and left exposed in the garden, where many Dervishes came to plunge their spears into it. His head was exhibited on a tree at the southern end of Omdurman, and all who passed by stoned it. Thus, " by those for whom he lived he died."[1]

* NOTE.—Ibrahim Bordeini Bey says he was a Dongolawi named Taha Shahin, but, according to an authority quoted by Naoum Bey Shoucair, in his " History of the Sudan," the actual murderer of Gordon was Mohammed Nubawi Sheikh ibn Garar.

[1] " For the Grave of Gordon," Tennyson.

Ruthless bloodshed and cruelty marked the capture of the town.[1] Thousands of troops and civilians were slaughtered before orders were given to collect all prisoners of both sexes, jewellery, clothing and slaves. The 3,327 Bashi Bazouks and white irregulars, and the Shaigia irregulars, numbering 2,330, were nearly all killed in cold blood after they had surrendered and had been disarmed. When all the men, women and children who were left had been marched out the houses were ransacked, and the town evacuated.

Nicola Leontides, the Greek Consul, had his hands cut off, and was then beheaded.[2] Hansel, the Austrian Consul, was alive up to 2 p.m. when his chief *kavass*, who had been on bad terms with him, entered the courtyard of his house at the head of some Dervishes from Burri. Hansel was called down and was at once beheaded. Mulatte Skandar, a carpenter, who lived with Hansel, was killed in the same fashion, and his body, with his slaughtered dog and parrot, was soaked in alcohol and set alight. The Austrian tailor and oldest European inhabitant, M. Klein, who made the sign of the Cross before the Dervishes, had his throat cut with a knife used for slaughtering animals, in the presence of his wife and children. His eighteen-year-old son was speared to death.

The males of most of the Coptic families were killed and the women taken captive. The fate of one party of seven Greeks was a sad one. They were gathered together in one house. It was past noon, and they were rejoicing at having escaped the general massacre when a certain George Clementino entered. Clementino came from El Obeid and was in great favour with the Mahdi, who had used him as a messenger to Gordon. When the news of the fall of Khartoum became known in Omdurman Clementino hastened over to try and rescue some of his compatriots. Finding the seven Greeks he advised them to leave the house and go to that of Mandi, another Greek, who, with his wife and nephew, had escaped death. Clementino intended to collect all the Greeks in this manner, and then take them to Omdurman. The seven left the house with Clementino and were immediately met by a party of Ahmed Sharfi's Danagla, who were searching the streets to give the "coup de grace" to any wounded they found. The Danagla fell upon the Greeks and

[1] "General Report on the Siege and Fall of Khartoum," Mohammed Nushi Pasha and other Native Officers, 1885.

[2] "Ten Years Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp," Father Joseph Ohrwalder, 1892.

beheaded them, Clementino fleeing to Omdurman, where he lay seriously ill for some months as the result of witnessing the massacre of his countrymen.

In many cases the lives even of women and children were not spared, and those who survived had to undergo incredible torture to make them say where their money was hidden. Ibrahim Pasha Fauzi, a favourite of Gordon, was tied to a palm-tree for several days and flogged until he said where his valuables could be found.

When about four thousand people had been massacred the Mahdi gave orders that the survivors should be spared. The streets were strewn with headless corpses which were left unburied in the frantic hunt for plunder. The captives were collected and kept without clothing or food.[1] The slaves were separated from the others and were sent to the *Beit El Mal* in Omdurman with all the clothing, jewellery and money. The women were separated from the men, and the unmarried and good-looking were sent to the Mahdi's agent. The Khalifa Abdullahi El Taishi and the other two khalifas then made their choice, and then the Emirs in their turn, according to rank. The unwanted women were left to take care of themselves.

When complaints of hunger became so insistent that they could no longer be ignored the Mahdi authorised the issue of five milliemes a day to each prisoner. This payment continued to some time, but eventually most of the people were left to live as best as they could.

On the morning of Wednesday, 28th January, 1885, the steamers of the relieving force reached Fort Mukran (Mogren) to the west of Khartoum. They ascertained that the town had fallen, for they were fired on from both banks, and there was no flag flying on the Palace. They were forced to fight their way, and they extricated themselves with difficulty.

On the morning of the 29th January, the " Bordein " again ran on a sand-bank. She was refloated, but on the following morning was driven by a strong wind on to a shoal, from which she was removed with considerable difficulty. At 3.30 p.m. on the 31st, she struck heavily on a sunken rock once more, and immediately began to fill. She was run on to a sand-spit on Mernat Island, but all attempts to repair her were

[1] " General Report on the Siege and Fall of Khartoum," Mohammed Nushi Pasha and other Native Officers, 1885.

without avail. The hole in her was of great size and was soon several feet below the surface of the water. She was consequently abandoned as a total wreck, but was subsequently used by the Dervishes.

The evacuation of Khartoum was carried out by the Mahdi's order,[1] and those members of the population who were not sent elsewhere were made to settle south of the town, on the area on which the Deims now stand. The Madhi stayed in Khartoum from time to time, in the house of Babikr Wad Jarkok, whose daughter he married. Babikr was killed by the Dervishes and his body lay for three days in front of the house in which the Mahdi was staying. When any of his visits to the captured town included a Friday the Mahdi would pray on that day in the old Khartoum Mosque.

There was practically no destruction of buildings during the Mahdi's lifetime. His relatives made themselves at home in the best houses and gardens, the best dancers entertained them, and they lived a life of ease and luxury.[2] After the death of the Mahdi in June, 1885, the Khalifa began to look upon the prosperity of Khartoum with jealousy, which was eventually to lead to its destruction.

In April, 1886, very few houses had been destroyed, and the town was thickly populated by the Ashraf. Even then it was clear that the line of fortifications could not have been crossed, except at the one place on the western end. At intervals along the line there were strongly built forts, fortified with guns, and a little in the rear of the parapet were high structures which commanded the ditch. Behind the loopholes were small mud shelters, evidently built by the troops to protect themselves from the sun by day and the cold wind by night. The Messelamia gate, which was built of burnt bricks and cement, was in good condition though the iron gate itself lay against the side of the ditch. There were about one hundred and fifty bodies, shrivelled like mummies, still lying along the parapet, in which rats and mice had made their homes. It was impossible to distinguish the Egyptians from the blacks, for the sun had burnt and shrivelled all to the same colour. Here, where there had been bustling activity, now only the stillness of the tomb prevailed. Lizards crept out from beneath the skeletons, and darted off to take refuge under others. Desolation and desecration met the eyes in the little European cemetery.

[1] "Gezira Handbook," Intelligence Dept. S.G.
[2] "Ten Years Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp," Father Joseph Ohrwalder, 1892.

The crosses had been smashed and lay about in small pieces. Graves had been dug out and bodies disinterred. The grave of Bishop Comboni, who had died in 1881 and had been buried in the Mission garden (now the Mudiria), had been opened, but the memorial erected to his memory by the townspeople of Khartoum had not been destroyed. The church bells had been pulled down and lay in the garden undamaged.

During the autumn of 1886, the Khalifa, jealous of the Ashraf, who had completely established themselves in the town, and whose actions he could not satisfactorily supervise, determined to order the evacution of the town. In August the command was given to all to quit the town in three days. This was obeyed, and on the fourth day the destruction of Khartoum began. Houses were pulled down, ironwork and the woodwork of windows, doors and balconies were transported to Omdurman, and within a short time the place was in ruins. The arsenal and the *gubbas*, which stand now on the east side of Victoria Avenue, were spared. The materials taken to Omdurman were used in the construction of the Khalifa's house and other buildings.[1] Khartoum then became merely a heap of mud ruins. Over it slowly spread a mass of thorn bushes, which covered the sad remnants of the once thriving and populous capital.

So it remained for twelve years, with the country between it and Atbara, which, in the peaceful days before the Mahdia, had contained 3,000 sagias, almost depopulated. In Ohrwalder's words, the Mahdi's rule left behind it a hundred thousand massacred men, women and children, hundreds of devastated towns and villages, and poverty and famine.

On Sunday morning, September 4th, 1898, two days after the battle of Omdurman, the Sirdar and Headquarters crossed over to Khartoum on the gunboat " Melik," commanded by Gordon's nephew.[2] Representatives from all the commands of the Army were also ferried or towed over. The craft drew up alongside the stone-wall quay before the ruined Palace, and the soldiers took up their position. There was but little space between the embankment wall and the building, for the debris of bricks and stone nearby blocked up the former promenade facing the Blue Nile. The ruined walls and forts looked picturesque in their deep setting of palms,

[1] " The Sudan Past and Present," Major F. R. Wingate, 1892.

[2] " Khartoum Campaign, 1898," Bennet Burleigh, 1899.

mimosa and orange trees, and an odour of blossom and fruit was wafted from the gardens.

Two flagstaffs had been erected on the top of the wall of the Palace. The Sirdar stood facing these, with officers and men drawn up behind him, and a few paces in front of him stood four Chaplains—Church of England, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic. The Sirdar had been the first to land and walk towards the building, the windows of which Gordon had caused to be filled in, as a protection against rifle fire from Tuti. There were plenty of marks of Dervish musketry fire, as well as dents of shells and round-shot.

At ten o'clock, on a signal from the Sirdar, a British band played a few bars of "God Save the Queen," and the Union Jack was hoisted, while all stood to the salute. Then the Egyptian National Anthem was played by an Egyptian band, and the Egyptian flag was run up on the other flag-staff. Three cheers were given for the Queen, and three for the Khedive. Meanwhile the "Melik's" guns were firing a salute and, as the noise died away, the British band softly played the "Dead March in Saul," while everyone stood with bared heads. This was followed by the playing of a funeral march by the Egyptian band, to the accompaniment of shrill, wailing cries from the native onlookers. The Italian and German Attachés, and not a few others, stood with tears coursing down their cheeks. Prayers followed and then a lament played by the pipers, to the accompaniment of muffled drums, and the service ended with the playing of Gordon's favourite hymn.

When the Anglo-Egyptian force entered Khartoum the town presented a sorry spectacle.[1] Everything was in ruins and there was not one complete house standing. Every piece of wood had been extracted from the buildings, the walls having been battered in to facilitate the removal of doorposts, lintels, and window-frames. Here and there the new occupants were shocked by the sight of prostrate skeletons, left just as the bodies had fallen on that terrible morning of January 26th, 1885. The palm groves and fruit gardens along the Blue Nile remained. In these were found a few caretakers whose duty it had been to supply the Khalifa and his Emirs with fruit and other garden produce. The only remaining occupants of the town had slunk away on the approach of members of the relieving force.

[1] "Notes on Khartoum after the Re-occupation," (Unpublished), Colonel E. A. Stanton.

There appeared to be the remains of a meandering main street running through the town from east to west, and off this could be traced what were once the principal buildings. No trace remained of a roadway along the river bank, but there were landing places at intervals, one being to the west of the Palace. All the removable material from the Palace had been transferred to Omdurman, and the remains had the appearance of a building which had been gutted by fire. The upper floor, which had existed only on the north side, had been demolished for its stone and bricks, and a pile of debris as high as the window-sills lay in front of the walls. Although all the woodwork and the roofing were missing it was possible to trace the halls and rooms, and the staircase where Gordon fell, the site of which is now marked by a brass tablet. The old oval fish-basin and fountain, in the quadrangle on the south, remained, though it had been dismantled by the Dervishes; and the fruit trees, Gordon's rose-tree, and one or two foreign plants marked the garden of the once stately palace. The old garden covered only a small part of the present one, and was about two acres in extent.

A group of ruined houses stood on what is now the garden on the north side of the Government Offices, and a Dervish fort, with very thick walls, existed on the site of the present Governor's house and the War Office. Up-stream the grain-store stood where the Palace stables now are, and further east, and accessible only by a very narrow and dirty path, was the workshop. The present Public Works Department buildings occupy the site of the Ordnance store, arsenal, and general supply store. The only other store was the gunpowder magazine and factory, south of what is now the Veterinary Department buildings.

The old Government dockyard occupied the site at the Mogren. Near it a Dervish fort stood until a few years ago, when it was demolished in connection with improvements to the White Nile bridge approach. The dockyard disappeared by erosion of the river bank, and the only remaining links with it are the inhabitants of Hillet Mangara, at the Mogren, who are descended from the old dockyard workers.

The two domes and tombs on the east side of Victoria Avernue, in Abbas Avenue, which contain the remains of two Governors General—Mohammed Pasha Abu 'Udan (1839–1844) and Musa Pasha Hamdi (1863–1865)—and which were surrounded by the graves of senior officials and officers, remained intact. Mohammed Pasha Abu 'Udan was sum-

moned to Cairo but refused to go. An escort was sent to fetch him but was thwarted by his death from fever, aggravated, it is said, by poison administered by his wife, who subsequently had the tomb erected. Musa Pasha Hamdi died of small-pox, as did his wife. Here and there lay masses of human bones and skulls, marking places where the massacre had been heavy. In 1901 when Victoria Avenue was dug out through a bank of débris four feet high many skeletons were unearthed. They were all of persons who appeared to have been running towards the Palace or the river when they were cut down.

The old fortifications still existed, as they do in part to this day, though the outer ditch had filled up. Nothing remained of the Burri gate, but the site of the Kalakala gate can be seen where the Gebel Aulia road cuts through the line of the earthwork. The level-crossing to the east of Khartoum Central Railway station is still called by the natives "Bab Messelemia."

Certain parts of the town still retained their old names. For example, the quarter to the south of the present Mudiria was still called "Salamat El Pasha," and the site of the present Governor's house and garden, "Geneinat El Fil." At one time six or seven elephants were brought from India and were marched from Suakin to Khartoum, *via* Berber. Sir Samuel Baker intended to use them for taming elephants in the Southern Sudan. They are known to have left Khartoum, and to have arrived at Kawa, but nothing further seems to have been heard of them.

Immediately after the re-occupation the "Bordein" was put into commission again. In the winter of 1898 she carried from Atbara southwards an archæologist who had been invited by the Government to visit Merowe.[1] Her appearance then was not good. All her deck and cabins, and all her woodwork had been removed, having been used by the Dervishes to feed her fires, and all that remained in her were the iron deck girders, a narrow iron bridge behind the boiler, and the small iron platforms at each end. The funnel was pitted with bullet marks, so that very few inches of it possessed proper shape, and there was scarcely a particle of paint upon it. The hull was patched in dozens of places and the paddle-boxes were scarred and battered, no two floats being of the same size, length, or thickness, and the iron frames were bent into fantastic

[1] "The Egyptian Sudan," E. A. Wallis-Budge, 1907.

shapes. Her engines, however, were in working condition, and, though the cranks knocked, the shaft turned in badly worn bearings, the pistons needed packing, and the whole framework lifted at each revolution, she managed to progress against the current at the rate of a mile and a half per hour. Her boiler-plates were worn to an astonishing thinness, nearly all her tubes leaked, and, most amazing of all, there was no safety valve. When the engineer thought that he had too much steam, he had to open a tap projecting from the top of the boiler. When he had let out as much steam as he thought necessary, he would return to his stoking.

The present river embankment is built out some distance from the old one. There existed a small stretch of about two hundred yards of river wall in front of the Palace. Thirty years ago this wall could still be traced in the surface of the new embankment street.

The Mudiria and Egyptian Irrigation Department offices now stand on the site formerly occupied by the old Austrian Mission, which had a garden on the north side containing two avenues of palms in the form of a cross, running down to the river. The Mudiria is actually built on the old Austrian Mission foundations. The cracked bell which for some years was used to summon the workmen of the Public Works Department was dug up on the site of the Austrian Mission.

The rebuilding of the town presented what at first appeared to be an almost impossible task. The plan of work, in which Lord Kitchener took an active interest, provided for the laying out of the town in a series of Union Jacks, eminently suitable for defence purposes. In recent years most of the diagonal streets have been cut out. The first building to be started was, naturally, the Palace. The ground floor of Gordon's old Palace was used as far as possible as the foundation, and the new building was erected by enlisted artisans and local labour. It was ready for partial occupation at the end of 1899, and was first inhabited by General Sir John Maxwell, then Acting Governor General, and Lady Maxwell.

In order to start the first avenues cuttings from the Lebbek trees which had been planted in Wadi Haifa a few years before were brought by train. Lord Kitchener planted a thousand cuttings of Gummeiza trees in the Palace garden to provide avenue trees, but only one survived. It became known as " Kitchener's Tree." White ants claimed the remainder.

While the Palace was being finished the Government Offices were started and the foundations of several other buildings, including the Gordon College, were laid.

The first house actually completed was a temporary one on the river front, built for the Controller of Stores in what is now the garden of the Sudan Club. It was removed as soon as a permanent house became available. The Governor's house was completed in 1900, and the Government Offices at the beginning of 1901, when the departments moved over from Omdurman. Government officials continued to live in Omdurman until about 1904. They crossed over daily to Khartoum in a ferry which plied from the South Gate to the Post Office (now the War Office).

The foundation stone of the mosque was laid in 1900.

In the town the first two buildings to be erected were the Bank of Egypt (now Barclays Bank, D.C. & O.), followed by the National Bank of Egypt. The American Mission became active a few months after the re-occupation, soon after the Austrian Mission had resumed work on the site of their former headquarters. Ostriches were then feeding in what had been the Mission garden.

In 1900 a London Syndicate asked Lord Kitchener for mining rights in the Beni Shangul area. He agreed, provided that they built and maintained a hotel in Khartoum. Accordingly, the Grand Hotel came into existence in 1902. Two years earlier the Victoria Hotel near the Blue Nile, at the western end of the town, was opened. This hotel consisted of a number of one-storey bungalows, beside an open space on which servants' tents were pitched.

At this time people from Omdurman were still applying for permission to dig up the treasures they had buried in Khartoum before the fall of the town.

About 1901 the town was one vast brick-kiln. Bricks were being made wherever a piece of level ground had been cleared, and the kilns were usually operated near the site of the proposed building with a complete disregard for the blocking of streets or for the feelings of those whose temporary dwellings happened to be down wind. The non-native inhabitants at first showed little inclination to build in anything but mud brick, and it was only after several severe rain-storms had played havoc that they realised that permanent houses, though of slower growth, had a longer life.

The year 1902 saw a considerable increase in the population, including a large number of Greeks, but at the end of the year the appearance of the town was not encouraging. Barracks were built by soldier labour on the line of the old fortifications, and the completed Government buildings consisted of the Palace, the Government Offices, the British barracks, the ice factory, and about half a dozen officials' houses. The majority of the native population had erected lean-to shelters against crumbling walls, and in odd corners. Many houses had been begun, but few finished, and lack of material, and the absence of skilled labour, made the task of rebuilding the town seem almost hopeless. Four main streets, running east and west, had been partially brought into existence. They were River Avenue, now Kitchener Avenue ; Kitchener Avenue, which is now named Gordon Avenue ; Cromer Avenue, now Sirdar Avenue ; and Abbas Avenue, which retains its name. The town extended southwards as far as the present mosque.

In 1903 the native market, which had previously been in the old Mosque Square, was moved to near its present site, and in the next year Khartoum had definitely begun to assume the appearance of a town. The streets had been partically levelled and cleared of the ruins through which they were driven. A metalled road existed from the Palace to the hotel. The Gordon Statue had arrived, after having rested temporarily on the beds of both Thames and Nile. The Mudiria, the Military (now River) Hospital, and the Works Department were in use and more houses had been erected. In this year a large and increasing number of visitors came to the capital. In the town Mr. Angelo Capato and the Loiso brothers were the pioneers of construction. Both had erected imposing shops and other European inhabitants followed their example by building offices, shops and houses. In the southern part of the town the ruins were rapidly being converted into bricks and, apart from the ruins of the old mosque, which still exist, and those of the prison, it was only on the fringe of the town that there remained any considerable evidence of the old Khartoum.

Prior to 1904 the town was policed by Egyptian soldiers, but in that year a start was made with a civil police force. A bi-weekly newspaper (which went out of existence some years ago) was introduced, and Japanese rickshaws made their appearance in the streets. The mosque was completed ; there was not a house empty in the town ; and the winter

was marked by the visit of 480 tourists. This year also saw the beginning of the land boom. The price of land which had changed hands at two milliemes a square metre in 1902 rose to 200 milliemes. In the next year the price went up to 1,200 milliemes, and, twelve months later, to 2,500 milliemes.

The population increased by five thousand in 1905 and there was considerable building and town-planning activity on the part of the Government. Ten thousand trees were imported and planted in the town; the Central Prison was completed; Khedive Avenue was levelled, Sirdar Avenue was partially finished, and a steam tramway between Khartoum and Omdurman was opened. The water-works and the electric light installation were also begun in this year. At the end of 1900 three hundred oil lamps had been installed in the streets. They did not give much light but they did lessen the blackness of moonless nights up to 1906, during a period when the streets were so full of pitfalls and traps that a walk was attended by no little danger.

The installation of a proper water system in 1906 led up to the abolition of the old method of distribution of water in skins borne by donkeys. The whole of the town was honey-combed with wells, of which there were still over eight hundred in 1908.[1]

The first new river wall was erected outside the Palace to protect the foundations outside the old wall. The new wall was extended to the Public Works Department building in 1904 and two years later to the old ferry landing near the Sudan Club. In 1907 it was carried to the present Sudan Defence Force Headquarters. This ferry-landing was for passengers from the railway station at Khartoum North, the old building of which is now used by the Stores Department.

In 1907 a scheme for the protection of the river bank at Mogren was introduced. The work had to be done while the river was low and cost £E.40,000. This part, which is now the Mogren Quays, is much deeper and heavier than the remainder, partly owing to cracks having appeared in the earlier work. The foundations of the Museum and Economic Board, which later became known as the "foundations of the Town Hall," were begun on the low land to the west of the town. The design for the Town Hall was exhibited at the Royal Academy about 1906 by

[1] "Third Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories, 1908."

O. B. Hatchard. Subsequently the offices of the Sudan Light and Power Company were built on the foundations. The Civil Hospital was begun. Originally in 1901 the hospital had been housed in a private house near the old mosque, and it was here that the first British Nursing Sister, Miss Pye Moore, took up her duties in 1907. The present building was occupied in 1909. The Coptic Church was consecrated at about the same time.

The year was marked by heavy rains, and the railway to the north was washed out for nearly three months.

The year 1908, in which the Law Courts and Egyptian Irrigation Department offices were opened, was disastrous for those European inhabitants who had unwisely invested all their funds in agricultural lands. The value of the land fell enormously and the Europeans found themselves worse off, financially, than the natives.

The railway had reached Khartoum North in December, 1900, but it was not until eight years later that the Blue Nile bridge was begun. In the same year a new chain ferry between Khartoum North railway station and the capital was brought into use. The Blue Nile bridge and Khartoum Central station were opened in 1910 and a start was made on extending the steam tramway to Khartoum North. Embankment Street was completed, the Greek Church was consecrated, and over nine hundred foreigners, mostly tourists, came to the capital.

For many years after the re-occupation Church services were held in a room of the Palace. In 1912, however, on the aniversary of Gordon's death, the Anglican Cathedral was consecrated. The tower was added in 1931. One of the stained glass lancet windows at the east end of the building is dedicated to Philip the Deacon, whose baptizing of the treasurer of Queen Candace of Meroe resulted in Christianity reaching the Sudan. A chapel is dedicated to Gordon and in it hangs his prayer mat, and on one of the altar coverings is gold braid from his uniform.

Father Ohrwalder, who had settled in Omdurman after the re-conquest, died in August 1913. Had he lived another five months he would have seen startling evidence of the progress of events, in the arrival of the first aeroplane at Khartoum. This, a small machine which appeared inadequate for the journey, arrived on January 12th, 1914, flown by a Frenchman named Pourpe. He had flown from Abu Hamed to Khartoum,

a distance of 340 miles, without a halt—a considerable achievement at that time. An Englishman named McClean arrived two months later in the first " hydro-aeroplane."

The Kitchener statue was erected on the north side of the Government buildings in 1923. It is a replica of the Calcutta memorial, and the horse on which Kitchener is riding is Democrat, who was a well known race-horse in his day. He was withdrawn from racing as a three-year-old and was Lord Kitchener's charger in India for six years. When Lord Kitchener inspected the original model of the statue in London he did not like the horse and said he wanted to be represented on a quiet one like Democrat.[1] The Kitchener Memorial School of Medicine was opened in 1924.

In Gordon Avenue, opposite the tennis lawns of the Sudan Club, is a tomb about which little is generally known. This is the tomb of Sheikh Fayyit who came originally from Galioub in Egypt.[2] Up to 1907 there was a large tree on the other side of the road on the site now occupied by the bachelor quarters known as the " Yellow Peril." Sheikh Fayyit had a hut, a school and a guest room under this tree before the fall of Khartoum, and his reputation for piety was considerable. When the Dervish hordes swept over the town the Mahdi ordered that his life should be spared in spite of the fact that such views as he possessed were anti-Mahdist. The Dervishes, however, killed him and threw his body down a well.

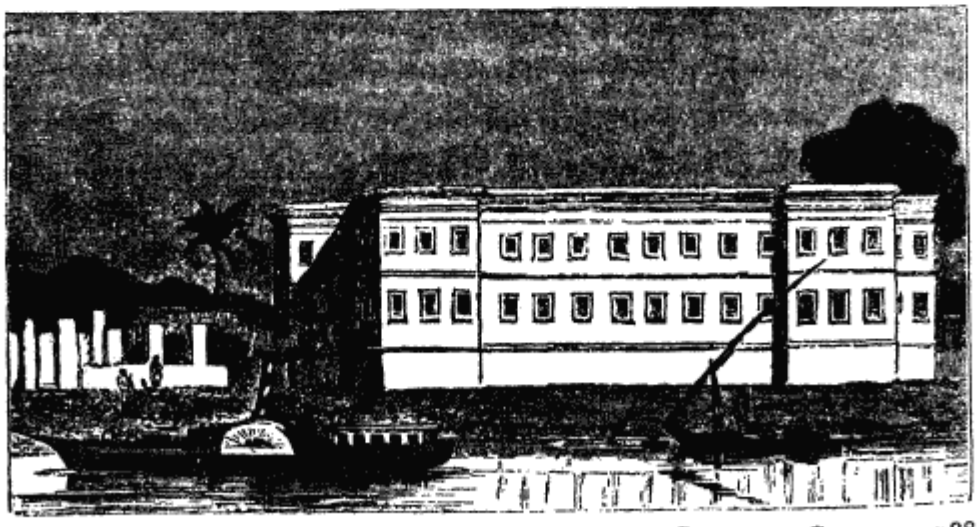
His daughter related the following story. One night her father appeared to three men in Omdurman in their sleep, telling them that the body lay unburied in a well near his house, and that they must go over to Khartoum to say prayers over it. The three men, greatly daring, came over, one of them swimming across the river after dark. They converged on the well from different directions and were panic stricken when they caught sight of each other, each thinking that the others were spies. Eventually they crept closer, and became aware that they were all there for the same purpose. They searched the well and found a number of bodies in it, so they scattered earth down it, said prayers and crept back to Omdurman.

[1] " My life as Soldier and Sportsman," Major J. Robson Scott.
[2] " Sheikh Fayyit's Tomb," E. G. Sarsfield-Hall.

The existence of the well was suspected and proved in 1913 when trees were planted there. The tree nearest the tomb would never grow beyond a certain height. At this time the story of Sheikh Fayyit's daughter had not been told. Women used to bring offerings of a sheep or a goat to the tomb and call out to any passer-by to come and eat. Donkey boys used to gather in great numbers for these feasts.

Another tomb which is situated on the west side of Victoria Avenue near the mosque is that of a *fiki* of the Mahas, named Sheikh El Imam Wad Hamed.[1] As his tomb is surrounded by a chain he is commonly known as Fiki Abu Janzir.

The shrine near the corner of the Veterinary lines (Block IX.A.E.) is that of Sheikh Mahmoud Abu Sheiba, a holy man of great repute who died before the Mahdia and was buried at Nofalab, north of Omdurman. The shrine was erected to his memory on the spot where he was seen in a dream by a devotee—a usual practice. Like others of its kind elsewhere it is called in Arabic "Bayan," which means "appearance." Many miracles stand to the credit of this Sheikh in local legend. The greatest was one by which, as punishment for having written an offending letter to him, he caused the instantaneous destruction by fire of the writer of the letter, his family, house and all his property. Among the practices still observed at the shrine is that of bridegrooms visiting it before they go to their brides on their wedding night.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KHARTOUM, RESIDENCE OF GENERAL GORDON, 1884.

[1] "Gezira Handbook," Intelligence Dept. S.G.

THE DUBAB AND NUBA OF JEBEL DAIER.

By A. R. C. Bolton.

(PLATES I—III AND MAP.)

IN 1933 a party consisting of Commander Whitehouse, Mr. Aglen, and myself, with guides and carriers, crossed Jebel Daier from Khor Tulbas on the west to Sidra on the east, exploring the mountain on the way. The route followed was haphazard as tracks used in the Mahdia were forgotten, and the Jebel had not been traversed by any of the present generation. The ascent of the west side was arduous to a degree, but the difficulties of the journey were more than compensated for by the rugged scenery.

From the central height, called Jebel Faggis, the mountain calls to mind a fortress, its citadels being the peaks which rise from the bamboo plateaux, and the heights around the outer edge forming its battlements. Over their broken outline the eye travels to the distant plains encompassing the Jebel. The panorama by moonlight from Jebel Faggis is an unforgettable memory.

There is a spell about the inner solitude of Jebel Daier. It impelled me to learn what I could about the mountain and its inhabitants, and this article is the outcome.

It aims at describing the Dubab, at supplementing what has already been recorded about the Nuba of Daier, and showing to what extent their beliefs and ceremonies have a common origin in the ancient lore of the Jebel.

CHAPTER I.

JEBEL DAIER.

The imposing mass of Jebel Daier, which lies South of Rahad, is familiar to every traveller who passes along the road between Kosti and Central Kordofan. Its name, the round mountain (دائر), is an inadequate description of the group of peaks within the high bluffs at the edge of the massif, which is forty miles in circumference.

In the centre the mountain is uninhabited and among the bamboo thickets in the ravines or on the wooded slopes no traces have been found of human dwellings. The middle of the Jebel is difficult of access, the soil is poor, and the few water holes barely suffice the needs of the monkeys and baboons and the predatory leopard.

At the foot on the west side lie the Dubab. On the east and south side are some scattered Nuba villages. These Nuba villages, other than El Ein and Kimla[1] on the south side, are independent of the Dubab, under their own Mek, but it seems that in the past their fortunes were linked up in adversity. MacMichael supposes that Daier as well as Tegale was raided by the Fung in the seventeenth century,[2] and he quotes Bruce [3] to show that in the eighteenth century Daier and Tegale supplied slaves and recruits to Sennar. In the eighteenth century the Ghodiat tribe, with headquarters at Jebel Kordofan, were vassals of the Fung and then probably began the connection between the Ghodiat and Dubab which is the reason for the Dubab being under the Omda of the Ghodiat to-day. Under the Turkish Government the Dubab used, on occasions, to fetch the tax of the Nuba of Sidra and pay it, through the Ghodiat, into the treasury at El Obeid, but the Dubab and Nuba must have been poor tax-payers as the Jebel was never entirely subdued.

In the Mahdia the Dubab and Nuba joined forces. Under Mek Kumbo of Kitra, a Nuba village on the north side, they withstood all the attacks of the Dervishes even though the redoubtable Hamdan Abu Anga in 1885 conducted a protracted campaign against them. The place where his force was ambushed in a deep ravine called Khor Tulbas, on the west side, is still pointed out by the Dubab with pride. Mek Kumbo's retreat was at Jebel Ongul, a peak in the heart of Jebel Daier (see map).

The Dubab and Nuba were emboldened by their success in the Mahdia to defy the present Government when it was set up, and a special expedition had to be made against them in 1904 before they were finally subdued.

The Dubab, considering themselves to be Arabs, preferred to revert to their old allegiance to the Ghodiat in spite of their long and successful alliance with the Nuba. In 1910 the Dubab villages and the Nuba villages of Kimla and El Ein, which had long been attached to them, were

[1] Since this article was written, Kimla has been put under the Mek of the Nuba.
[2] "History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I, p. 205.
[3] "The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan," p. 8.

placed under the Ghodiat. The Nuba village of Farla, though speaking the same language as Kimla, had been detached from the Dubab in the early days of this Government on account of a blood feud with Kimla.

Chapter II.

ORIGINS OF THE DUBAB.

According to genealogical trees[1] or *nisbas*, the Dubab are shown among the tribes which claim a Ga'aliin origin. They are shown as being descended from Mohammed El Dub, one of the seven sons of Kahtan, son of Sa'ad El Ferid. MacMichael concludes that there never was an eponymous ancestor Mohammed El Dub and that the Dubab are a slightly arabicised type of Nuba as are found among the northern hills.[2]

He contends also that their appearance in the *nisbas* is evidence of the movement from the river of Nubian Arabs into the parts of Kordofan north of the Nuba hills and of their fusion with the Nuba, which accounts for the linguistic similarities between the Barabara and Nuba. This theory that there is no racial connection but only a linguistic similarity, due to Barabara colonists, between the Nubians of the Nile valley and the Nuba of Kordofan who speak Hill Nubian (as distinct from two other language groups known as the Sudanic language group and the Bantoid or prefix language group), has a counter theory in the field against it. It is that the linguistic similarity between the Barabara and Northern Nuba is due to the fact that the Nuba brought their language from Kordofan to the Nile valley when they entered it as conquerors and imposed it upon the inhabitants of the valley in whom they were eventually absorbed.[3]

Any available evidence about the origin of the Dubab and of the Nuba of Jebel Daier may therefore have a bearing on this important issue.

The Dubab are Mohammedans in name, they wear clothes and they practise circumcision, but they are not acquainted with the Koran, they neither fast nor pray for the most part and they do not conduct their marriages, divorces, or cases of inheritance according to Sharia Law. If questioned about their origin they stoutly maintain that they are of Ga'aliin stock, but they have no knowledge of the Mohammed El Dub of the *nisbas*, and can offer no explanation as to the origin of their name.

[1] " History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I, p. 200.
[2] Idem., pp. 199, 211, and *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. II, p. 232, 233.
[3] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 141.

The Dubab live in thirteen villages, apart from the two Nuba villages attached to them, and an offshoot from El Ein called Debeilu (see map).

If one considers the so-called sections to which these villages belong and the meagre legends about their founders which it has been possible to extract only after patient enquiry, one is in a position to conjecture how the quasi tribe of the Dubab was formed.

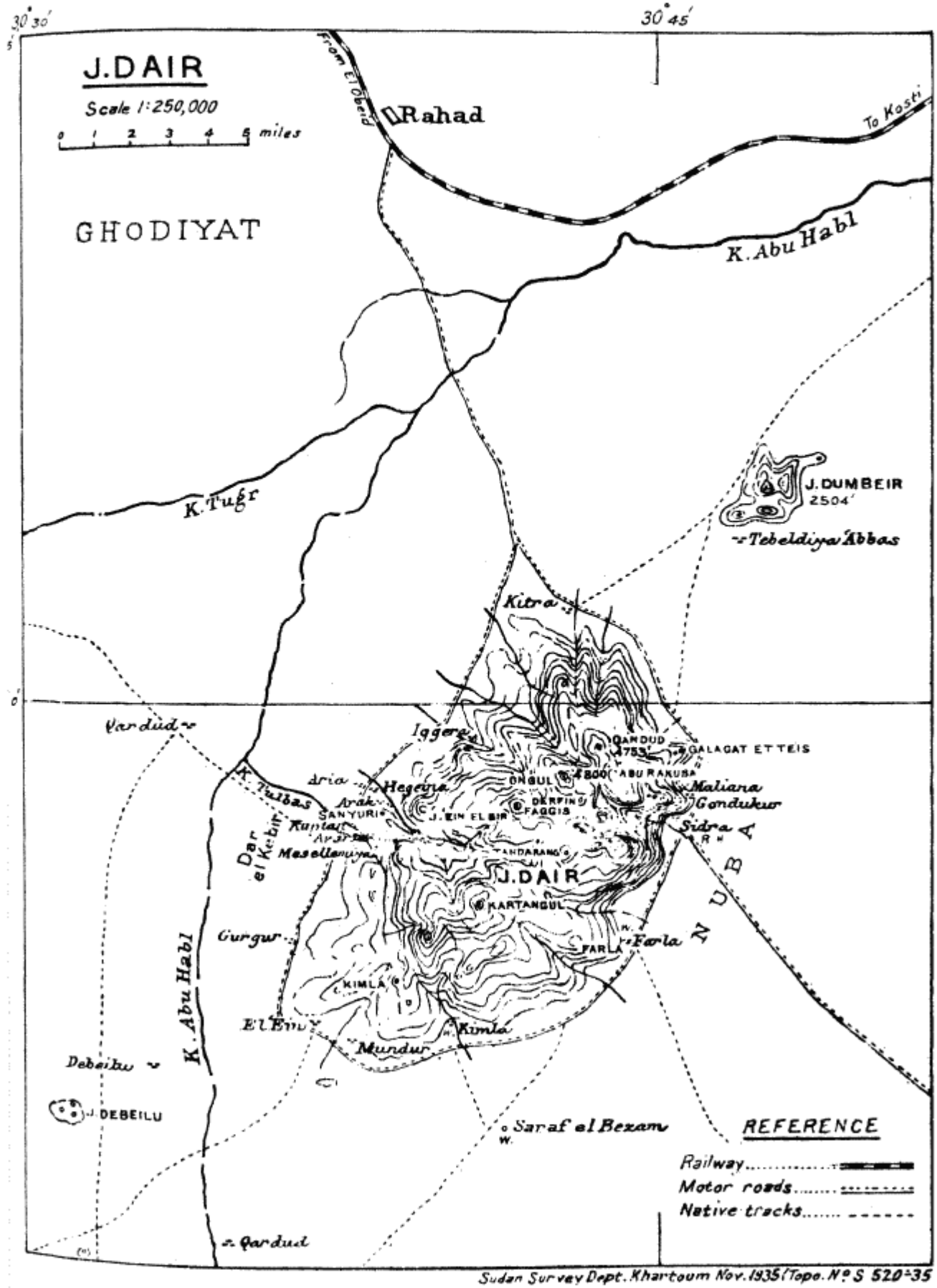
(A) The inhabitants of Iggera village form the section of the Mirafab which is divided into the subsections of the Hoshawin, El Gelawiin, Commandan, and Nafar Deifan. Their ancestors (gidud) were two brothers, Bushara and Ali, who came from the river via Rahad and first settled at Arak but were moved to Iggera by a sheikh of the Ghodiat, Ismail El Amin. There are also Mirafab at the village of Arania who claim descent from a Mohammed who came from the river. He was out hunting and his dogs came upon Kakarkurma, from the waist up a man and below a serpent, at the place where Arania village now stands. Mohammed said, " What are you ? " Kakarkurma, about whom more will be noted, replied, " I am lord of this land." The two came to terms and lived together in one place.

The Mirafab are a tribe of Ga'aliin origin who live between the Shaigia and the Ga'aliin proper north of the Atbara, and one conjectures that in the distant past a Mirafabi came to trade or seek refuge at Jebel Daier.

(B) The people of Kurtan village form the Kurtan section. They cannot name their ancestor but claim to be Ga'aliin. MacMichael thought that the Kurtan were extinct as a tribe,[1] but there is an Omodia of Kurtan at Id el 'Ud and Shegeig near El Dueim. They are the survivors of a horse-owning tribe of Ga'aliin stock who were expelled by the Hassania and Huseinat from Tura el Khadra, north of El Dueim. I am informed that they are not conscious of affinity with the Dubab, but the Kurtan section know of their relations at Id el 'Ud.

(C) Three villages, Arak, Gerdud, and Uran, form the Arakiin section. They say that their ancestor came from the river and that they are related to the Arakiin at Abu Haraz. The Arakiin are a sub-tribe of the Rufa'a who belong to the main Arab group of Guhayna. Their headquarters is at Abu Haraz near the junction of the Rahad and the Blue Nile. Since they call themselves Ashraf, they would be unwilling to admit relationship

[1] " History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I, p. 231.



Sudan Survey Dept. Khartoum Nov. 1935 (Topo. No. S 520-35

with the Dubab, but the connection of Jebel Daier with the Fung, under whom the Arakiin were greatly privileged, suggests that the claim of these Dubab is founded on fact.

(D) Two villages, Messelemia and Gurgur, comprise the Messelemia section. Their ancestor Hamed is said to have come with a large following from Tegale to the Nuba of El 'Ein, who, having no room for him, led him to Dar el Kebir, the present headquarters of the Dubab, and here the Messelemia settled. Another legendary ancestor of the Messelemia section is Abu Durus, of whom nothing seems to be known except that he was a Fiki, that is to say, literate.

The Messelemia proper are a tribe of the main Arab group of Guhayna. They were once powerful and were astride the White Nile, but that part of the tribe which was west of Kosti was defeated by the Baggara Arabs in the eighteenth century and scattered. The following of Hamed may have escaped from the Baggara, as, according to tradition, they were not among the first settlers at Jebel Daier.

(E) The people of Hegeina village are described as belonging to the Ghafal section of the Dubab and they believe that their ancestor was Um Nur of the Abdullab and came from the river. The Abdullab are a small tribe of Guhayna stock who, until 1690, acted as viceroys for the Fung kings at the junction of the Niles, bearing the title of Mangil, a term which was also in use among the Ghodiat of Kordofan.

(F) The villages of Mundur and Gerdud are Azazia, which is the name of one of the four main sections of the Ghodiat tribe. They contend that they are of Ghodiat origin and it is not disputed.

(G) A group of three villages, of which two are called Arania and one Aria, form the Arania section which is subdivided into :

(*a*) Niswania, who are admitted to be of Nuba descent,
(*b*) Bisharia, who claim to be Maagla,
(*c*) Megadim and
(*d*) Gereisia, both of whom know nothing of the origin of their name, which is a confession of an obscure hybrid ancestry.

The Arania believe that their ancestor was the Kakarkurma, half serpent and half man, who was mentioned above. He was the son of El Agharr who is described as *gidd* of all the Dubab and is said to have come out of a cleft in the mountainside and to have been in the form of a snake.

" *Hatt giddi el agharr* " (" By my ancestor the Agharr ") is an oath in common use, and El Agharr is supposed to have given the Dubab their ancestral customs.

The Niswania subsection have a particular *gidd* of their own called Ambarrak, who was also a son of El Agharr, and like Kakarkurma, was half a serpent and half a man. His name is not taken in vain, as a false oath on Ambarrak will result in the perjuror breaking his legs.

Chapter III.

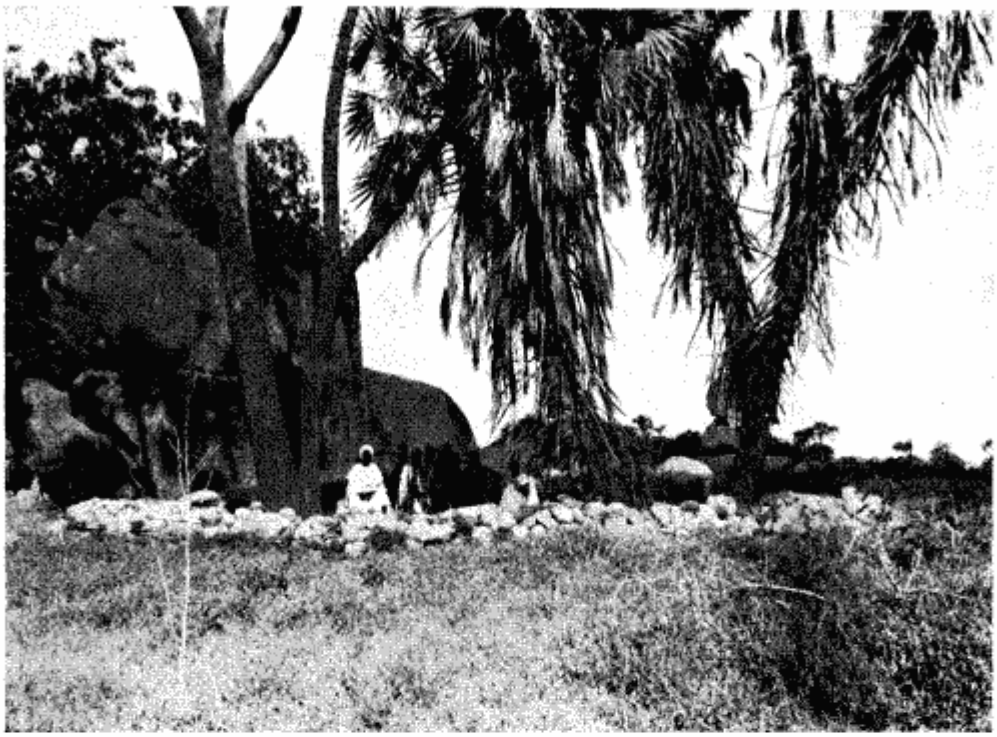
CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS OF THE DUBAB.

The ceremonies and customs of the Dubab are focused at Dar el Kebir where the Arania and Messelemia and some of the Mirafab live. It is the seat also of the head of the Dubab, which office alternated between the Messelemia and Mirafab.

The repository of the customary law of the Dubab is the Shawi, a council of *agawid* or elders, drawn from the four subsections of the Arania, which sits at Dar el Kebir. The Niswania subsection of Nuba origin always provides the president, who is called the *reis*. The term " shawi " is applied both to the elders in conclave and to the circle of stones on which they sit (see photograph, Plate I) and within the middle of which are placed the litigants.

The Shawi are now concerned primarily with cases of marriage divorce and inheritance, but before Government courts were established they used to hear cases of every description, always imposing fines which varied with the enormity of the offence. In the absence of definite proof, the Shawi would send a case to the ordeal by fire, having first decided on the penalty to be paid by the accused should the ordeal prove him guilty.

At Dar el Kebir, by the village of the Niswania, is a hut called *beit el mufraka*, a place which is venerated as if it were holy ground. " Mufraka " means literally a firestick. In the hut are kept two firesticks of the Gembil tree, two black horns of a kudu and four articles which are symbolic of the evil which will overtake a transgressor, an iron hoe, a palm leaf brush, the bone of a cow and a wooden rake. If an oath of great solemnity has to be taken the custodian of the *beit el mufraka*, who is





always from the Niswania (in the accompanying photograph, Plate I, he may be seen with the paraphernalia of his ritual), lights a fire with the firesticks and places the four symbols by it. The oath, which is sworn at the fire, is introduced by the words " hatt el mufraka."

The Dubab have no *sibr* or religious ceremony corresponding to the *sibr* of the Nuba on the occasion of the new grain, and of the harvest, but they have a *sibr el gerin* or *sibr* of the hunting horn. Before the day appointed, which is always in the winter, for the space of seven days two women are lodged in the *beit el mufraka* and four men from the Shawi stay in a shelter by it. On the day of the festival the two kudu horns are blown and the young men go out to spend the day in hunting. The spoils of the chase are brought to the *beit el mufraka* as offerings.

There are no *kujurs* or rain-makers among the Dubab, who have no seasonal ceremony for rain-making, but in time of stress when the rains are light and the crops are failing, a *kujur* is summoned from a Nuba village to hold a *sibr*. A black calf is slaughtered at the foot of the mountain and the people then pass in procession to a rock high up on the mountain-side. This rock has two fissures. Out of the north one came El Agharr, the snake ancestor. Out of the other fissure came his mate, a snake of his own kind. At the foot of the rock a black he-goat is killed and the *kujur* enters the small cave of El Agharr in order to commune with the ancestral spirit whose message he communicates to the people.

It has been told me by the Sheikh of the Dubab that on one occasion he saw a snake of the sort called Abu Kurukuru lift its head towards the *kujur* who bent over it to learn what message it had to give, and, because it was the ancestor of the people, this deadly reptile did the *kujur* no harm.[1] Abu Kurukuru is the usual term used by arabicised Nuba to denote a melanotic form of the Egyptian cobra, *Naje Haje* (Linn.), which frequents the caves of the Nuba hills. The name obviously is derived from " karkur," a cave.

There is a patent connection between Kurukuru and Kakarkurma, the ancestor of the Arania who was half serpent and half man (see para. (G) in chapter 2). Dr. Corkill, in whose company I made a journey round Jebel Daier, drew my attention to the unmistakeable resemblance, when viewed at a distance which was beyond the range of a camera, of the rock

[1] R. Davies noted that the Awlad Jifir and Jerafin subsections of the Awlad Surur section of the Homr Felaita claim that a red snake, Um Kuru-kuru, is their ancestor and that its poisonous fangs do them no harm. *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. II, pp. 232, 233.

between the two fissures out of which came El Agharr and his mate, to a cobra's neck with the hood distended and surmounted by the small malevolent head (see photograph, Plate II, where the neck but not the head can be discerned). In the cave I observed two platters on which incense is burnt when the *kujur* communes with the ancestral spirit of the Dubab.

A custom which earns the Dubab a certain fame is the trial by ordeal of fire, called *nar el Dubab*. I had the good fortune to witness a trial.

It was occasioned in this way. One man charged another with causing the death of his son. In the absence of proof against the accused it was decided that he had by his negligence contributed to the boy's death and he was required to pay a fine of cattle to the boy's parents.

The accused retaliated by making a counter charge against a relative of the deceased and demanded that he should stand his trial by ordeal. The challenge was accepted. As the boy's death had taken place in circumstances which precluded the guilt of those who were suspect from being established, no obstacle was put in the way of a settlement in accordance with the customary law of the Dubab.

On the appointed day, the challenger and the accused went to the *beit el mufraka*, where they were received by the custodian. He bowed his body to the east as if in prayer. Then by twirling one stick of the *mufraka* in the other, he lit a fire by which he put the four symbols. The accused, having crawled to the fire, at the instance of the complainant, who had crawled behind him, swore that he had not enlisted the help of a *Fiki* to obtain immunity from the ordeal, putting his hand on a stone by the fire. He testified that if he swore falsely the hoe would cut off his family at the root, the rake and broom would sweep it clean away, and his children would have no more life than the dry bone.

Retracing their tracks, the challenger and accused passed by the stones of the Shawi, to the hosh where the ordeal is held, which is always that of the Sheikh of the Dubab (see photograph, Plate III). In the middle under some stones a fire was lit of wood from the laot thorn (*Acacia nubica*) from off a grave. By hereditary right one of the Ghafal section (chapter 2, para. (E)) prepares the fire. He put an earthern vessel on the fire and threw into it a lump of fat and then a needle with one end transfixing a wooden button, after the elders and he himself had ceremoniously spat upon it.





The accused then presented his right hand to the elders for inspection. It was found to have a sore. The left hand was without blemish, but there was some disputation as to whether its use was seemly. The accused made no objection, however, maintaining with some bravado that he would if need be pick the needle up with his tongue.

He put his hand into the vessel and took the needle out of the boiling fat. Having shown it to the elders, he tossed it back. After he had been confined for some hours in a house, his hand was examined. It was found to be blistered. If there had been no sign of scalding, he would have been examined again after three days before being finally declared innocent.

Before the ceremony the Shawi had decided on the punishment to be meted out if the accused were proved guilty. It took the form of a fine in cattle, and so the first accused was reimbursed.

The fees for the ordeal are sixty piastres which are divided between the elders and the holder of the hereditary office of attendant. They are paid by the accused if he is guilty, otherwise by the complainant.

A similar ordeal by fire is held at Iggera, by the Mirafab.

The Nuba of Jebel Daier have been known to resort to the fire of the Dubab, which is famed throughout the surrounding countryside. The Dubab can give no information about the origin of the ordeal beyond saying that it was handed down from time immemorial.

I am informed that in the Eastern Jebels District the Nuba do not use the ordeal. Mr. D. Hawkesworth, having come across an instance of ordeal by fire in the Western Jebels, learnt from the old men that it was not an endemic Nuba custom but had been introduced by a *Fiki*. It may safely be assumed that the ordeal was copied from the Arabs. One reads in " Bedouin Justice "[1] of a somewhat similar trial by ordeal practised by the Arabs of the Sinai Peninsula, and Mr. Crowfoot, writing about the customs of the Rubatab, described an ordeal by fire used for the trial of women accused of adultery.[2] It is significant also that the Hawazma and Kawahla of the Eastern Jebels District used to and on occasions still do require women accused of adultery to clear themselves by fire since they do not hold the Koran in sufficient reverence. Their ordeal also takes the form of immersing the hand in boiling fat.[3]

[1] " Bedouin Justice," by Austin Kennett, pp. 109–112.
[2] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, p. 122.
[3] I am indebted to Mr. G. Hawkesworth for this information.

In marriage the Dubab follow the custom of the Arabs and marry in the family, and inheritance is patrilineal. It is customary for a man to pay part only of the bride price or *siyag* on marriage. Only after his wife has borne him two or three children does he pay to the brother of his mother-in-law the customary cow, called *suffah*, whereupon the marriage is ratified with much vocal accompaniment, " kurak " or " suffah."

Chapter IV.

ORIGINS AND CEREMONIES OF THE NUBA.

An interesting article has been written[1] by the Rev. P. D. Kauczor about the Afitti Nuba of Jebel Daier and their relations to the Nuba proper, by which term is meant the speakers of Hill Nubian as distinct from the Sudanic language group and the Bantoid or prefix language group. The author obtained his facts from an informant and not from first-hand knowledge, and it is therefore not surprising to find that he was misinformed on some points and that his description of some phases of the religious customs of the Afitti may be more applicable to days gone by than it is to the present day.

The inhabitants of the several Nuba villages at Jebel Daier belong to different clans. The people of Kitra and Tebeldia Abbas are Ditti. Those of Gondukur and Maliana are Unietti. Those of Sidra and Gardud are Afitti. The people of Farla are called Kodra, those at Kimla are Marnetti and those at El Ein are Kaldetti. The Ditti, Unietti, and Afitti speak one language. Kodra, Marnetti, and Kaldetti speak a different language, which is not understood by the first group and is the same as that of Kaderu and Dilling, and belongs therefore to the languages grouped under the classification of Hill Nubian.[2]

The clans are subdivided into sections, the Ditti into Teifertor and Komurnatti, the Unietti into Koglitti and Kogelditti, the Afitti into Hoshawin, Falataketti and Kumburtor. These are the main sections, which are distinguished by having a human ancestor of their own, or by the worship of a particular spirit, the term for which at Jebel Daier is " Kundi " or " Uru." The Rev. Kauczor notes that " Uru " in Nilotic Nubian means king.

[1] Published in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VI, Part I.

[2] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XV, Part II, p. 160, and Vol. XIV, Part II, pp. 159–161.



The human ancestor or *gidd* of the Hoshawin of Sidra was Fating, one of two brothers, Fating and Orian the lefthanded, who came " from the river," from Dongola, and were descended from Adam. The spirit or *Uru* with whom the Hoshawin and Falataketti communicate is Kolo. Other sections have their own *Uru* but all the *Uru* are in a sense subject to Kolo, who is addressed in prayer as " aba boil," which term has been translated God or Creator. It is somewhat confusing to learn that Kolo is said to have come from Jebel Dom and Jebel Ashtan. He did not, however, come in the form of a man for he was a spirit.

The *Uru* of the Kumburtor section of the Afitti is Kadgeili, the *Uru* of the Koglitti section of the Unietti is Kodufera, while the Kogelditti section of the Unietti have a lesser *Uru*. The *Uru* of the Kodra clan is Gebar. " Aba boil " is the name by which the Marnetti of Kimla and Kaldetti of El Ein know their *Uru*. Kotere is the *Uru* of the Teifertor section of the Ditti, while the *Uru* of the Komurnatti section is called Dimbeir. Dimbeir is said to have come out of Jebel Dimbeir, an outcrop of rock near Jebel Daier, which, so it is believed, he inhabits still in the form of a snake.

The chief of the *Uru* mentioned are Kolo, Kotere, Kadgeili, and Kodufera. Because the last three are subject to Kolo, the spoils of war used to be taken to the *beit el uru* of Kolo at Sidra.

The village of Sidra is the seat of the temporal and religious heads of the Hoshawin section of the Afitti which supplies the Mek of the Nuba by hereditary right. In addition to the Mek, who is the Government's representative, there is at Sidra the office of Sheikh, called in Nuba " Sirra debo," " sirra " meaning Sheikh and " debo " big. The holder of this office is versed in Nuba customary law and he is the custodian of the *beit el uru*, which is the centre of the religious life of the Nuba. It is where the spirit alights during the ceremony of a *sibr* and where solemn oaths are taken. There also marriages are celebrated and an oppressed wife may take sanctuary.

The impression gained from the article of the Rev. Kauczor on the Afitti that their religious observances are in the hands of *kujurias* or priestesses is misleading. There are now no *kujurias* at Jebel Daier but only male *kujurs*, and it seems that such *kujurias* as there were filled only a minor rôle. Katebin or Katebil, whose name the Rev. Kauczor often mentions, was in no sense a *kujuria* but the gifted wife of " the Sheikh,"

Shaib Baja Kodi, who was the religious head of the Nuba and was succeeded on his death in 1929 by a brother of the Mek, who had studied under Shaib Baja Kodi from his youth up. A *sibr* may be held even though no *kujuria* is present, and it is not men who are excluded from the *sibr* of the new grain and of the harvest, as is stated in the article referred to,[1] but women, who, with the exception of the *kujuria*, attend a *sibr* only as onlookers. When a *kujuria* is present at a *sibr* her utterances, when she is in a trance, are interpreted by a special person named "Obo" who speaks to the Sheikh in Nuba, and the Sheikh conveys the message to the assembled multitude. When the medium is a male *kujur* the Sheikh himself listens to the mutterings of the *kujur* and interprets their meaning to the people. When a *kujuria* is the medium for the message from the spirit Kolo, it is said that the *Uru* is riding a horse—"*uru rakib fi jawad.*" When a *kujur* is the medium it is said that the *Uru* is on the ground—"*uru ragid fi el wata.*"

Apart from the *sibrs* held for a special purpose, as when rain is urgently needed, there are three annual *sibrs* which are celebrated by the sacrifice of goats or sheep, and are the occasion for general rejoicings which are stimulated by liberal quantities of beer. The "*sibr el aish*" or ceremony of the newly sown grain is held after the first Simbera stork arrives. Before the harvest festival, "*sibr el dawaha*" (*dawaha* meaning a new head of grain), no one may eat of the new crop. The third festival, "*sibr el Teretrai,*" is held in the winter when there is leisure. It is an occasion for merrymaking and is without any religious significance.

Unlike the Dubab, the Nuba do not marry in the family. It is usual for a man to seek his bride from outside his own village. The bridegroom asks the consent of all the bride's relations but the final decision rests with her father or brother and does not depend on the mother's consent, as supposed by the Rev. Kauczor.[2] The bride price, *siyah*, which is equivalent of *mahr* in an Arab community, is paid to the bride's father or brother. The marriage is celebrated at the *beit el uru*. Two men, representing the bride and bridegroom respectively, clasp hands across a spear on the ground. The bride's representative is asked by the other for her three times and the reply given is "I accept." At each question and

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VI, p. 21.

[2] Idem., p. 21.

answer both men jump across the spear. Then the ceremony is sealed, the onlookers shouting and trilling their approval.

It is disconcerting to find that the Koran is used for the swearing of oaths when cases are brought before the Mek's Court, but the use of the book is only imitative and the Nuba are not familiar with its contents, nor has Koranic law encroached to any marked extent upon their customary law, the depository of which is the Sheikh.

There are a number of points of resemblance between the people of Kimla and El Ein and the Nuba of Dilling, who speak the same language. The name of their spirit, " Aba boil," resembles " Bil ipti," which is the name of the deity of the Dilling Nuba. The Government Sheikh at Kimla is assisted in his duties by two or more men of good repute called " Ginadi," and this term lingers on, though bereft of religious significance, to show that these Nuba once had the counterpart of the " Ginadi " who assist the Great Kujur of the Dilling Tribe.[1]

Dr. Corkill learnt that at Kimla there is a special custom in connection with the inoffensive Royal Python, *Python regius* (Shaw), which is known in the local tongue as Kurinyal and to the Arabs as Nawama, that is, " sleeper."[2] If the python comes into a house, the owner of the house winds it round his arm. If there is a married woman present, she anoints it with simsim oil, and it is taken out and let loose on the Jebel. The simsim crop would fail if the snake were not released. Dr. Corkill thinks that this custom, which has its parallels in the Koalib and Mandal Jebels and in Northern Kordofan, is probably a relic of a one-time fully developed python cult.

Chapter V.

CONCLUSION.

It has been pointed out that the Niswania section of the Arania living at Dar El Kebir, which is the headquarters of the Dubab, are of Nuba origin. The word is derived from " *niswan*," a collective noun in Arabic meaning women. The adoption of the name Niswania suggests

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XV, Part II, pp. 167, 168.

[2] This same name is also applied to the deadly Puff Adder, *Bitis arietans* (Merr), which is similarly coloured and equally torpid.

that the early immigrants to Dar El Kebir were chiefly males who took their women from among the indigenous Nuba. It is said that the language which was spoken until comparatively recently at Dar El Kebir, before it gave way to Arabic, was similar to the language of Dilling, and it may therefore be assumed that the Nuba who were the nucleus round which the Dubab community was formed were related to those of Farla, Kimla and El Ein.

Besides the strangers from the north, from whom some of the sections claim to be descended, the Jebel probably attracted to it runaway slaves from the Ghodiat and miscreants from different quarters, who had the common interest of self-protection from the wrath of the outraged master or the avenger. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that until recent years the hand of a Dubabi was against every man and that the Dubab are a somewhat ruffianly collection, addicted to robbery, violence and drink.

In this heterogeneous community the Nuba forming the Niswania section have perpetuated some of the Nuba lore which once permeated the whole Jebel. There is an obvious resemblance between the story of Dimbeir, who was the snake ancestor and is now the ancestral spirit of the Komurnatti section of the Ditti Nuba, and the tradition about the snake ancestor of the Dubab, who came out of a cave, in which he is still manifested when the *kujur* from the Nuba village of Farla communicates with a cobra on the occasion of a special *sibr*.

Both traditions are no doubt relics of the cult of the cobra which is encountered in the Nuba hills. At Jebel Fanda in Dilling District a *kujur* converses with a cobra which lives in a cave, near by which stands a *joghan* tree. In Gulfan Kurgul the Abu Kurukuru is not killed, and people seeing it say " it is a *kujur* " or " it is our father." The name for it is *Anabang*, which means a male ancestor.

There is a possible connection also between the cult of the snake and the awe in which the fire at the *beit el mufraka* is held. In an early widespread religion the sun and serpent are associated, the sun being the giver of life and the serpent the symbol of procreation. Allied to the worship of the sun is fire-worship, and there is therefore a connection between fire-worship and the serpent. This is the probable explanation of relics

of a snake cult and veneration of fire being found side by side at Jebel Daier.[1]

It will be recalled that the custodian of the *beit el mufraka*, before the ceremonial swearing which was a preliminary of the trial by ordeal, bowed his body to the east as if in prayer. It is as likely that here is a survival of ritual in connection with worship of the sun, from which fire-worship was derived, as that it is an imitation of the Mohammedan precept that in prayer the face should be turned towards Mecca.

It will be recalled also that the *gidd* of the Niswania section, who are of Nuba origin, is Ambarrak, half a serpent and half a man, son of El Agharr. It may be more than a pure coincidence that " ambarra " in the language of the Afitti Nuba of Sidra means fire.

The perpetuation of fire-worship in the *beit el mufraka* no doubt paved the way for the adoption of the ordeal by fire. It may have been introduced by the early settlers of Arab descent or have been copied subsequently from neighbouring Arab tribes by the descendents of these settlers after they had merged with the original Nuba inhabitants of the Jebel.

So it has come to pass that the so-called tribe of the Dubab subscribe to the belief in a snake ancestor, and at the *beit el mufraka* perpetuate the worship of fire, although not conscious of the origin of their ritual, while they still cling to the name of Arabs and Mohammedans and to an entirely vague conception of a religion based on the worship of Allah.

Mention has been made of the fact that the Dubab have no idea how their name originated, and are not aware that in genealogical trees their descent is ascribed to a Mohammed El Dub. In the absence of any

[1] Dr. Corkill writes: " There was a widespread religion in ancient times which has left notable evidence of itself in the folklore and records pertaining to Egypt, Sumeria, the Indus valley, Mexico and elsewhere. Its salient characteristic was a worship of the vital or generative principle in nature. Important cult objects were the sun, the phallus (the snake as a phallic and ancestral symbol), the vital fertilizing fluids of nature (sacred pools and rivers, etc.), wives of the Sun (priestesses, queens, temple-girls, etc.), trees (emblems of fruitfulness), and fire as the surrogate or avatar of the Sun. It seems that the cult may have derived from the Heliopolitan Sun cult of *circa* 3000 B.C. or earlier, to which Diffusionists attach basic value.

Anthropologists with a leaning towards the applied psychology of the Freudian School will perhaps find it easy to interpret the Dubab ordeal by fire as an appeal to the tribal ancestors, fire equating with the Sun, that is the serpent, that is the phallus, that is the ancestor.

Note that it is the lower half of Kakarkurma that is snake-like. I learn from Mr. J. A. Gillespie that, in the Western Highlands, if a snake is chopped in two, it is said the tail half will live until the setting of the sun. Again note the association of the Sun, vitality, and the dhallic half of the body."

evidence about an eponymous ancestor of this name, the derivation of the word Dubab is a matter of conjecture.

It has been shown that the Dubab are the descendants of settlers at Jebel Daier from among a number of different tribes. It is more likely therefore that the name Dubab was derived from Jebel Daier than from any particular group of settlers.

A possible explanation to which my attention has been drawn is that there is an Arabic word " dabab " (ضباب) meaning mist, and that in the rains the low-lying clouds hang over Jebel Daier, covering its higher places in a nebulous shroud. It is said that natives in the locality of Delami, when pointing out the Jebel, say " Jabal el Dabab." Against this theory, however, is the fact that " dabab " meaning mist is a word not used in common parlance.

The reader may already have been struck by the resemblance between the name Dubab and the most common word in colloquial Arabic for a snake, *dabib* (دبيب), with plural *dabaib*. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Arabs who came into contact with the mixed people of Dar el Kebir observed their regard for the cobra and the various forms of the cult of the snake at Jebel Daier, and gave the people living on the west side of the Jebel a consonant name which crystallised in the course of time into Dubab.

I would in conclusion like to express my indebtedness to Dr. Corkill for certain information relating to snakes, and to the Director of Surveys for the map. I am indebted also to Mr. Aglen and Mr. Longe for their help in preparing the map.

THE BARI: CLAN AND AGE-CLASS SYSTEMS.

By A. C. Beaton.

(PLATES IV AND V AND MAP.)

(1) CLAN SYSTEM.

THE Bari, the largest tribe in the Central District of what used to be Mongalla Province, inhabit the swampy ground to the north, and the ridges to the south of Juba extending on the west bank from the River Kaya to Simsima and on the east bank from the River Uma to Mongalla. There are a number of hills in their country but the only ones of any historical importance are Lado or Nyarkönyi (near Gordon's old station), Bilinian, where Baker fought a battle with the Bari, and hills about Sindiru, which is the home of the Bekat Limat Rainmaking clan. There are no subdivisions of the tribe with distinct names, apart from the fact that the people north of the Kit are commonly referred to as *Bari ti lobot*, the Bari of the North, while those south of that river are called *Bari ti loki*, the Bari of the South.[1]

Socially, however, this tribe is divided in a number of ways—divisions which cut across one another. First there is the distinction between the freemen (luitöt, *pl.* lui) and what Mr. Whitehead refers to as the submerged classes—serfs ('dupiet, *pl.* 'dupi), smiths (tumunit lo yukit, *pl.* tomonok ti yukit), fishermen (tumunit lo Kare, *pl.* tomonok ti Kare) and hunters (yaritat, *pl.* yari).[2] The latter, apart from the interest that attaches to them in the social scheme, are numerically unimportant, as they are little more than one per cent. of the tribe[3] and are decreasing in number. Second comes the division by status—the young boys (lupudyöt) and the young girls (kö'disi), the initiated (kalipinök), the warriors (teton) and the elders (temejik).[4] A third division is by Age-Classes, whereby the girls and youths of approximately the same age are on initiation grouped together and given a Class name. The number of such classes varies from village to village; a dozen is not unusual and

[1] It is interesting to note that the Southern Bari use a bent-handled hoe with a digging movement, while the Northern section uses a long straight-handled hoe, the function of which is to scrape.

[2] The elephant hunters (liggotot, *pl.* liggo) are sometimes freemen and sometimes serfs.

[3] Out of about 6,000 adult males, I could only find 69 non-free Bari.

[4] *Vide Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LVII, p. 420.

very often there are more.[1] There is also the distinction between the "Big Man" (ŋutu duma) and the "Ordinary Man," where the former includes Rain Chiefs, Chiefs, Headmen, Elders and Notables, and the Kör-bömön classification, where the Kör (*sing.* Körtio) are those "who know rain," which includes all members of the Rainholding Clans even though they are not practising Rain-Chiefs, and the bömön (*sing.* bömontio) are those who know nothing about rain.[2] Last but perhaps most important of all are the Clans which show the young Bari whether he is a joint-owner of communal land or merely a resident cultivator, to whom he is related and those with whom he may and may not intermarry.

The Clans ('duŋet, *pl.* 'duŋesi) are exogamous and patrilineal. Although many of them are to-day scattered, the distant member is still related to the rest and generally speaking the rule of exogamy is still observed and hospitality is still extended by him to visitors of the same Clan and to him when he visits other villages. Whether the old Clan loyalty goes deeper than this is doubtful. The Clan as a whole may be one of two types, the Single Clan and the Divided Clan, which is split into different groups between which marriage is sometimes allowed and sometimes forbidden. The Clans may thus be put under three headings, the Non-free Clans (there are no divided Clans among the serfs), the Single Free Clans and the Divided Free Clans.

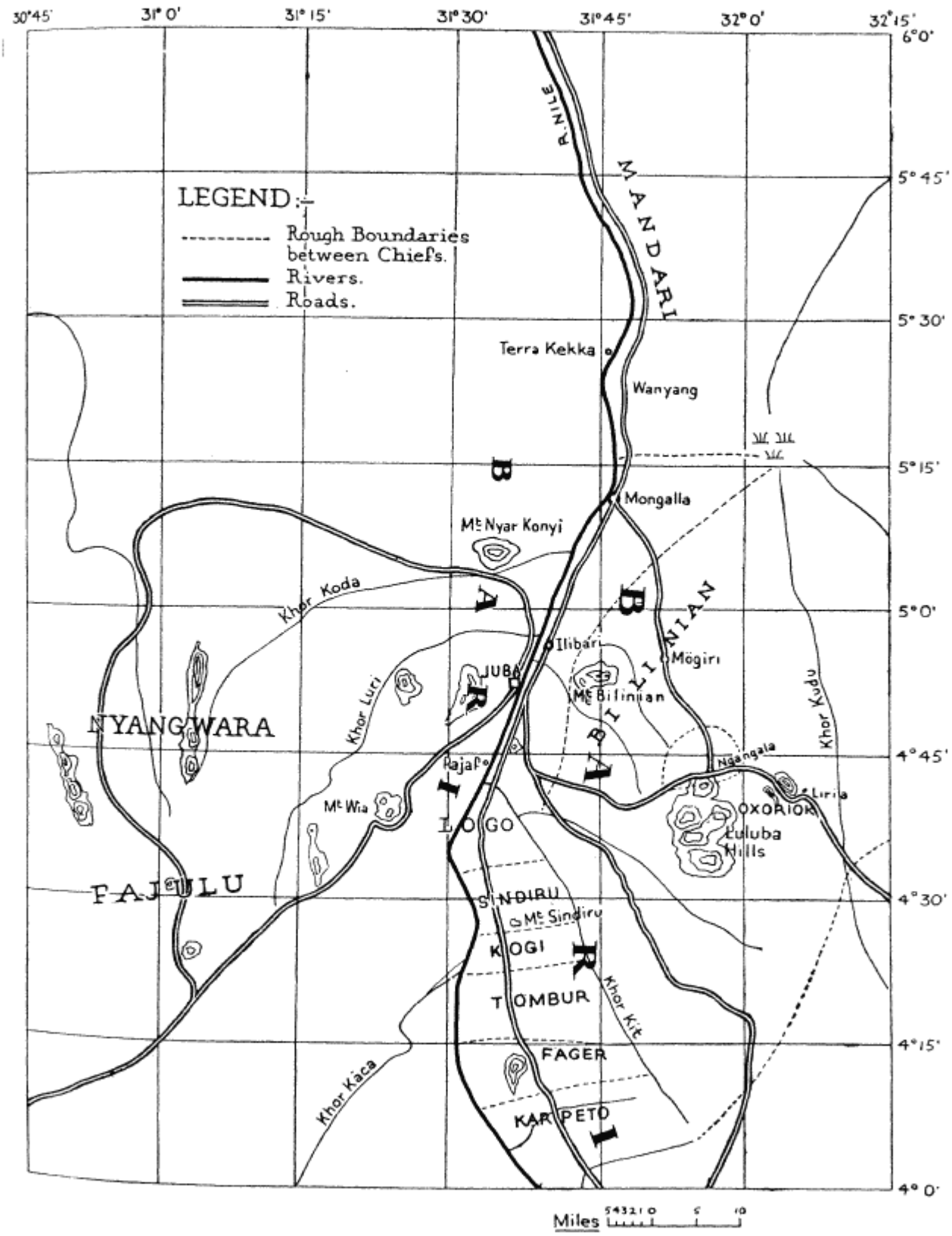
The Non-free Clans may be disposed of first. They are :—

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
Boŋkoloŋ	6	Fishermen at Uma.
Gara	7	Fishermen at Nyori.
Gola	6	Smiths at Bilinian.
Gunyak	16	Smiths at Bilinian and Tokiman.
Kutunyun	12	Smiths at Logo.
Kutuŋön		
Lomot...	7	Hunters at Tokiman.
Ludiri	2	Serfs at Tombur.
Lumankaro	10	Smiths at Bilinian and Sindiru.
Molodiang	1	Smiths at Tombur.
Rena	2	Smiths at Tokiman.

There are also a few serfs attached to the Bekat Limat, the big Rain Clan, but in one case at any rate a son has achieved free status. The numbers recorded in the second column in the above and the following lists represent the numbers of adult males known to exist and form a rough

[1] A short note of Age Classes by Father Spagnolo was published in "Africa," Vol. V, Number 4, p. 393, in 1932.

[2] *Vide* Seligman, "Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan," p. 246.



SKETCH MAP OF THE CENTRAL DISTRICT: MONGALLA PROVINCE.

basis for estimating the importance of a Clan. They do not, however, give an accurate indication of the original centre of the Clan, as the Bekat Limat who are found in the greatest numbers at Bilinian are known to have originated at Sindiru.

The Single Free Clans are one hundred and five in number. As the majority have very few members, only those clans with a strength of twenty and those about which something of interest is known are included in the following table :—

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
Börölö	30	Tokiman.
'Bunuk	184	Tokiman—Ilibari.
Gela	386	Ilibari, Nyori, Tokiman and Logo.
Gubatulu	76	Ilibari, Tokiman and Logo.
Kabidu	38	Ilibari and Nyori.
Kajiru	33	Tokiman.
Kamiak	29	Scattered.
Kanam	41	Tombur and Kogi.
Kariak	160	Sindiru, Tombur and Logo.
Keken	14	Scattered.
Könyum	12	Tombur.
Körumö	95	Ilibari, Tombur & Logo.
Kuli	82	Tombur and Uma.
Kwasa	60	Logo.
Loŋiri	46	Bilinian.
Lot	57	Sindiru and Kogi.
Ludara	190	Tokiman, Logo and Ilibari.
Lukananok	13	Tombur.
Lukömirwöt	11	Sindiru.
Lumbari	203	Tombur, Uma, Tokiman, Logo and Bilinian.
Lunyölu	12	Tokiman.
Moje	131	Kogi and Logo.
Möru	21	Tombur.
Nyöŋit	9	Tokiman and Bilinian.
Opero	20	Ilibari.
Panyigilo	159	Ilibari, Bilinian and Tokiman.
Poko	22	Uma and Tombur.
Poli	54	Tokiman and Logo.
Rela	22	Tokiman.
Reli	46	Tombur and Tokiman.
Rito	6	Kogi.
Tiali	20	Tokiman.
Togu	26	Tombur.

The smaller Clans are to be found mainly grouped :—

At Uma.—Gwoŋ (3), Logwale (14), Panyimur (4), Pini (3), Rolo (2).

At Tombur.—Dikulya (2), Garbo (14), Gitoŋ (4), Gwölö (16), Kursak (17), Lobuleju (4), Lumurieju (10), Lumurö (3), Polikerok (6), Paran (14), Ridikö (18), Yari (6).

At Kogi.—Kaliwaŋ (3), Komodyöt (1), Lomojuju (1), Nyayiŋga (4), Rego (5).

At Sindiru.—Monyaŋ (3), Orupi (4), Siwa (1), Wöli (2).

At Logo.—Barikwat (2), Bilo (15), Bori (3), Porole (5).

At Tokiman.—Baji (2), Jam (10), Kuriök (4), Lor (5), Matiyak (5), Morsak (3), Nowe (4), Puriök (1), Rensak (8), Römö (7).

At Nyori.—Gödöru (6), Göri (10), Kilio (3), Liri (7), Lokoŋa (9), Pörödöŋ (12), Wulikare (19).

At Ilibari.—Bubudo (4), Buju (9), Lomuka (4), Nanyi (17), Ruŋle (7), Soswat (6).

At Bilinian.—Dolo (8), Kwörijik (2), Limilien (4), Lodereŋ (6), Lokora (14), Malakönyum (1), Nyagi (1), Nyarkiteŋ (1), Panyari (8).

At Naŋala.—Belat (2), Boro (12), Gumo (1), Kalu'ba (1), Likino (10), Liŋere (1), Logir (2), Maye (3), Pajada (2), Römögi (1).

Some of these Clans venerate certain animals which they refer to as their brothers. The Kanam and Kuli will not kill the Ground Hornbill (Gwulukuk); the Kariak do not kill the Pied Wagtail (Kukuli)—if they see anyone do so, they claim compensation from the killer as for the death of a brother: in old days this was exacted in the forms of cows, but nowadays white stones will do instead, as the cows in this area are all dead. It is not likely that any Bari would kill the Wagtail, as it is generally believed to be the residing place of the dead grandmother's spirit. The Keken will not kill the Golden Oriole (Kaluguti); the Lot do not eat Jackal flesh, but they are not forbidden to kill this animal; the Ludara venerate the Dog (vide *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LVIII, p. 416); the Leopard respects and is respected by the Lukömirwöt and Lumbari as a brother (if a leopard should chance to kill a Lumbari by mistake, it would not eat the corpse); the Moje abstain from eating the heart of all animals in order to avert poverty; the Moru do not kill the Rat (Moru) nor eat its flesh, if others kill it; the taboo on Elephant and Pig flesh among the Rilo is recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LVIII, p. 417. The Könyum Clan does not burn the wood of the Lukokönyuni tree (unidentified), while both the Rela and Reli respect the Reli tree (unidentified).

The males of the Lot Clan will marry girls from the Dunkaliri but the girls of the Lot Clan will refuse any advances made by a man from the

Dunkaliri. The explanation of this is to be found in the following legend :— "Long ago Chief Rume of Kogi journeyed to the South and came back "bringing with him a wizard ('bunit) from the Lot Clan, who usually "lived in the sky but descended to earth in order to eat and to work good "among men. His name was Pisak and with him came his wife, whom "he had married from the Dungkaliri Clan. Rume took Pisak to his "house and said, 'What is this noise under the ground, which has long "troubled me ?' Pisak said, 'It is a great store of beans rattling,' where-"upon Rume dug at that spot and, finding the beans, proclaimed Pisak "the only true Wizard. Then he said to Pisak, 'Because of this you shall "be as my brother.' 'The sons of the Lot,' said Pisak, 'shall still marry "with the Dungkaliri women.' 'Agreed,' said Rume, 'but as I brought "you here and have made you my brother, the sons of the Dungkaliri "shall not marry with the girls of the Lot.'"

Later, when dearth was on the land, Pisak ordered a double human sacrifice. A 'dupiet boy attached to the Logura Clan and a freeborn daughter of the Bekat Limat were buried alive to bring fertility to the earth. An ancestress of the Lukananok Clan, called Kunguli, is said to have descended from heaven among the Kuku and later to have taken up her abode at Uma. They avoid drinking water from fresh rainpools.

It is said that when paying visits to fellow Clansmen, the Gela always leave some small gift, so that the man who has been visited should not either himself be killed by a lion, or have his cattle attacked by wild beasts. They do not like daughters as first born ; if one is born, the girl is given a male name until a son is born to the house, when that son will receive the name bestowed on the daughter and the daughter will be given a female name.[1] The Poli are remarkable in that they do not eat white ants and are occasionally forbidden to drink milk[2] and the Ruŋle are supposed to be related to the lion.

The Lunyölu are interesting in being part free and part servile. At Bilinian, the main ironworking centre among the Bari, the three members are smiths, but at Fager and at Tokiman, where the majority now are, they have all been emancipated.

The Nyöŋit are noteworthy for the same reason, though here the process has been reversed. At Mögiri, a hamlet attached to Bilinian, the

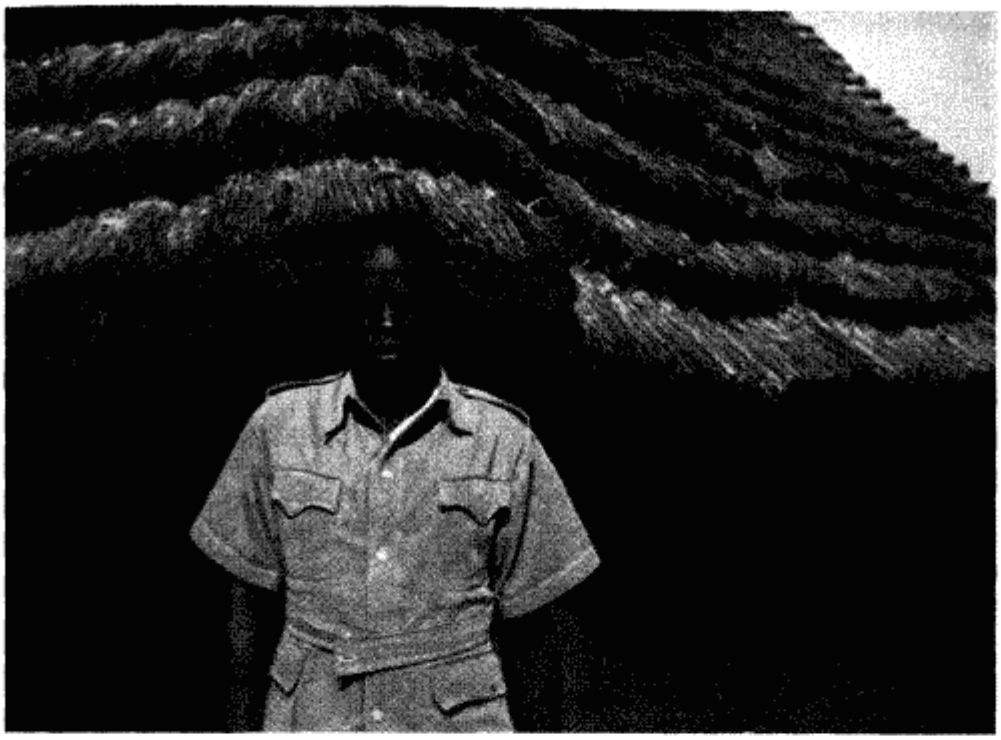
[1] Father Spagnolo, Bari Grammer, p. 314.
[2] Idem., p. 319.

Monyekak (literally Master of the Land) is a Nyöŋitio, but at Tokiman they are all of " smith " status. The emigrating party here have met a fate much different from the Lunyölu emigrants.

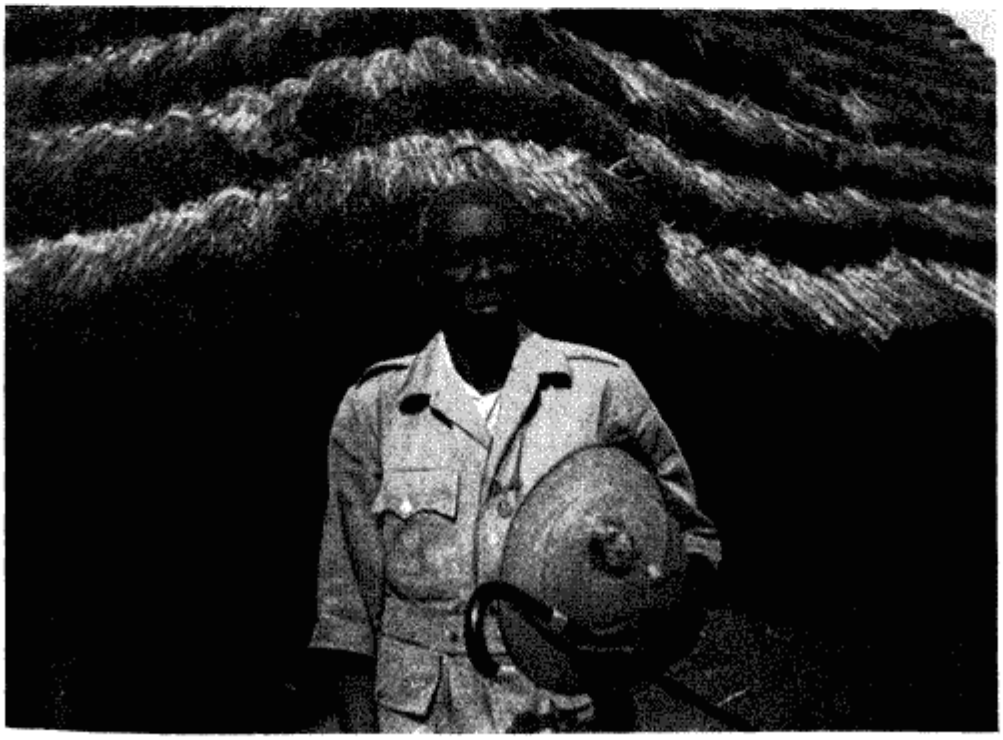
A current legend about the Lumbari and Duŋ marriage taboo (see under Free Divided Clans) recounts a story of a lost spear and a swallowed bead.[1]

" Long ago a man of the Duŋ Clan borrowed a spear from a Lumbari, " with which to protect himself on a journey. On his way he came upon " an elephant, at which he hurled the spear, only to see the elephant run " off with the spear sticking in its side. On his return, he went to the " owner of the spear, saying, ' The spear you gave me is lost. It is lodged " in an elephant's side.' ' What do you want of me ? ' said the Lumbari. " ' I come to offer you compensation,' was the reply, ' or take this spear " of mine, if you will.' ' Though you offer me spears in number like the " grass,' said the Lumbari, ' though you bring cows numbered as the " sand, yet would I not accept them. It is my own spear that you " must return to me.' ' Alas, how can I find the elephant ? ' said the " man of the Duŋ, ' it has now travelled far away.' ' That is your affair, " you must follow it until you find it.' Thereupon the man of the Duŋ " had grain ground for him and he set off to track down the elephant. " Far away he journeyed, ever in the track of his prey, and long years " did he spend in the task until his hair had turned white and he had " become an old man. Then one day he came upon the elephant, which " had fallen dead, exhausted at length by the wound, whereupon he burst " out lamenting in bitter anger, because he had been away from wife and " children so many years. Then he felt for the wound made by the spear " and, cutting open the flesh, he found the spear lodged inside, whereupon " he plucked it out and retraced his steps over the long road to his home. " On his arrival he found his young wife an old woman and the babies " he had left grown to manhood. Then he gave the spear back to its owner, " who said, ' Yes, that is mine, I accept it.' After two days the man of " the Duŋ took his skin and, spreading it under the grain store, sat on it " to thread some beads. A small daughter of the Lumbari, the owner " of the spear, sat down beside him and started playing with a bead. " She swallowed it and burst out laughing and said, ' I have swallowed

[1] *Vide* Spagnolo, Bari Grammar, p. 280 and p. 318, where, however, the rôles of Lumbar and Duŋ are reversed.



CHIEF MOLODIAN LOGUNU OF THE BEKAT LIMAT CLAN, AT BILINIAN.



CHIEF MODI SOKA OF THE LE CLAN, AT ILIBARI.

" your bead.' Great was his wrath, and he sent the girl back to her father, " telling her to tell him he wanted his bead. Thereupon the girl went to " her father saying, ' Father, I have swallowed a bead belonging to the " man who borrowed your spear, and he says I must give him back his " bead.' The Lumbari went to the owner of the bead, saying ' My daughter " has swallowed the bead ; how can I get it back ? ' ' How should I " know ? ' was the answer. ' That is your affair.' ' I will give you compensa- " tion,' cried the Lumbari, ' even to the tale of all my cows.' ' What " are cows to me ? ' replied the man of the Duŋ. ' Take this daughter " of mine as your own,' cried the distracted father. ' Years ago,' was " the answer, ' I went out into the bush for your sake while you remained " here for the birth of your daughter. Give me back my bead.' ' Must I " then kill my child ? ' cried the Lumbari. ' Yes, kill her,' came the reply. " Then was the child killed, her abdomen slit open, whereupon they " squeezed out her entrails and found the bead therein. This was given " to the man of the Duŋ, who received it, while the Lumbari buried his " daughter. Thus came the marriage taboo between these two Clans who " swore, saying ' Never shall there be forgiveness between us, even for " small matters ; this it is forbidden to us to do and so shall it stand " until we all come to an end,' and this prohibition still holds between " them and each Clan is greatly in fear of the other."

The Divided Free Clans are fourteen in number, but their subdivisions bring the total of exogamous units up to about eighty. In five of these the divisions are sentimental only, and marriage is forbidden between them. They are :—

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
1. Biajin	18	Bilinian.
Biajin Wodyo	61	Ilibari and Tokiman.
Biajin Kotetnakiteŋ ...	20	Ilibari and Nyori.
Biajin Tebe	20	Tokiman.
2. Le	99	Ilibari and Tokiman.
Leka	5	Bilinian.
3. Pelenyaŋ	64	Logo.
Pelenyaŋ Wurteŋ... ...		
4. Sera	102	Tombur and Tokiman.
Sera Bura	19	Tombur.
Sera Lotalama	22	Tombur.
Sera Togu	17	Tombur.
5. Sura Monosuk	10	Logo.
Sera Mulubur		

The story is told at Bilinian that long ago two uterine brothers had a quarrel with their half-brother, who, having no milk, asked his brothers

for some. When they refused, he drew off some blood from the neck of his cow and went back to them to ask for a larger gourd of his, which they had borrowed some time before, as he wished to pour the blood into that gourd. They refused to give it up, as they had some milk standing in it. He begged them to pour the milk into another gourd and give him his own back. As he again met with refusal, he seized the gourd and poured their milk out on to the ground. The two brothers cried out, " Wöidyo (Alas !)," whence their division of the Clan is dubbed Biajin Wodyo (a corruption of Wöidyo), while the half-brother's descendants became Biajin Kotet-na-kiteŋ, the Biajin of the Cow's Tail. The Biajin Tebe cut the ears of their cattle a little differently from the other Biajin.

'Dogale Gore, of the Panyigilo Clan, an ex-Chief of Mononyik, a hamlet attached to Ilibari, tells a story that an ancestor of his was once roaming in the bush when he came upon a wild race, the Biajin, who lived on the milk they stole from the udders of the female buffalo. He brought them back to Mononyik and civilised them.

The children of the Le Clan are not allowed to lie on their fathers' sleeping mats. The milker of the cows must not taste any of the milk he draws personally and if he should allow any to spill on the ground, he must scrape it up and give it to his mother, who will eat it with her food.

The remainder of the Divided Clans are perhaps the most important of all, both in respect of numbers in the case of Nyori and its manifold divisions, and of influence in case of the Beket Limat, which is the great Rain Clan.[1] In all there are nine such Clans, and members from the six largest of these may be found in almost every village. They are :—

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
1. Bekat Bet	12	Tokiman.
Bekat Limat	443	Bilinian, Ilibari, Sindiru.
Bekat Liparan	10	Logo.
Bekat Lobur	1	Tokiman.
Bekat Lokwe	1	Logo.
Bekat Mölösuk	23	Logo.
Bekat Manabur	185	Tokiman, Logo and Kogi.
Bekat Nyayeŋki	2	Logo.
Bekat Romo	4	Tokiman West.

The divisions of the Bekat arose from different causes. The Lokwe split off following a dispute over the inheritance of the rainpowers by a

[1] For a history of this clan, see *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XVII, Part II, 1934.

second son (Lokwe signifies the " party of the firstborn "). The Limat and the Manabur divided, when Manabur, angered at the death of his sister Juan, who was sacrificed to bring fertility back to barren women and an unproductive soil, led a secession to the hill of Kuli. Other divisions were made later to allow of inter-marriage between different groups of this large Clan.

The Bekat will not drink water that has dripped from grass, will not eat the heart of any animal, especially sheep, goats and cattle, prefer Soka or Swaka to Lodu as a name for second-born sons, nor will they ever cross the Kwe, a small stream running towards Tombur, because years ago one of their ancestors fell and broke a leg there.

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
2. Duŋ	145	Ilibari and Bilinian.
Duŋ Gunyak ...	11	Logo.
Duŋ Kaliri ...	293	Kogi, Tombur, Uma, Tokiman and Logo.
Duŋ Kömiti ...	47	Nyori.
Duŋ Köyö... ...	54	Nyori.
Duŋ Nanyi ...	5	Scattered.

Although the Gunyak are a non-free tribe of smiths, the Duŋ Gunyak are all freemen, while the Duŋ Nanyi are all serfs attached to the Duŋ Clan despite the fact that the Nanyi are a Clan of freemen. The Duŋ Kaliri do not cut the Liri tree and are said to be related to the elephant, an animal they will not kill. The Duŋ Kömiti will not eat the Kömiti (a fish identified by Spagnolo as *Clarias anguillaris*), otherwise they are violently sick. The Duŋ, especially the Kaliri section, have rainpowers second only in potency to those of the Bekat Limat.[1] Their relations with the Lumbari and the Lot Clans have already been recorded.

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
3. Kin... ... ... Kin Pakinyo	53	Tokiman and Ilibari.

Pakinyo means " Refusers of Food," but the reason for this name is not known. The members of this Clan are said to keep their newly born sons for ten days inside a house, lest, on being taken out into the open, they should change into wild beasts. This is probably due to the fact that lions and leopards, respected as brothers by this Clan, will leave

[1] *Vide Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XVII, 1934, Part II, p. 179.

the meat of any animal they kill to be found by the Kin and will on no account attack one of their human brothers.

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
4. Lo'bojoka Lojiŋ	36	Bilinian.
Lo'bojoka Mödi		
Lo'bojoka Rebo		

The new-born children of this Clan are not supposed to put foot to the ground until their mothers arise from their confinement.

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
5. Lokurya'ba-na-Mere	14	Naŋala.
Lokurya'ba-na-Kolye	3	Naŋala.
Lokurya'ba-na-Jogo	16	Naŋala.

The Lokurya'ba of the Mountain (Karukuduk), the Lokurya'ba of Kolye, an ancestor of the Clan, and the Lokurya'ba of Jogo an ancestor of the present headman at Naŋala have recently been divided to admit of intermarriage. It was at Naŋala that I first came across the Clan-splitting Ritual described below.

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
6. Roŋat	63	Ilibari and Logo.
Roŋat Ginyadaŋ	6	Tombur.
Roŋat Kasurak	15	Uma.
Roŋat Limat	80	Uma and Tombur.
Roŋat Lomale	21	Logo.
Roŋat Mokot-lo-Gugu	4	Uma.

The Roŋat is the original Clan from which the other sections split off. The reason for the Roŋat Lomale secession is unknown. The other four divisions came about in the south of the Bari District at Tombur and Uma. The father of the Clan was long ago pressed by his many sons to divide the Clan so that they might more easily find wives, and he seized on their occupations at the time of the request as a basis for the divisions. The Roŋat Gindyadaŋ (of the Snapped Bowstrings) were so called because they were restringing their bows, the Roŋat Kasurak (the smoothers of the Bowstring) were so called because they were trimming the loose ends from the new gut strings that they had just plaited, the Roŋat Limat (the Snippers of Calves' Ears) received this addition to their name because they were busy snipping the ears of their young cattle—a practice common to all Clans, each of which has a particular pattern. Lastly the Roŋat Mokot-lo-Gugu (the Roŋat of the grain store leg) received this sobriquet

because they were cutting wooden posts, on which most of the Bari set their wickerwork grain stores.[1] In each of these Clans the subdivisions have become to all intents and purposes separate Clans, as intermarriage between these subdivisions is tolerated. Father Spagnolo (Bari Grammar, p. 320) relates that the Roŋat do not burn the wood of the Liri tree, lest they should break out into boils and further that if food is stolen from them the same fate overtakes them.

There are three Divided Clans, in each of which the intermarriage of all the subdivisions is not tolerated. They are :—

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
1. Logura	151	Tombur, Kogi and Uma.
Logura Jamagor	13	Tombur.
Logura Kimak	53	Kogi.
Logura Jabur	1	Kogi.
Logura Manabur	5	Tokiman.

The Logura Jamagor and the Logura Kimak do not intermarry, but they marry freely with the other divisions. They do not drink water which has dripped from thatch ; it is said that they give firstborn girls the names of boys, and that, if a male child is subsequently born, it receives the male name previously bestowed on the girl, when the daughter is given a female name.[2]

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
2. Miŋi	57	Tokiman, Logo and Ilibari.
Miŋi Lobur	4	Tokiman.
Miŋi Nyaboni	55	Tokiman.
Miŋi Jomale	12	Nyori.
Miŋi na Lokoŋ	6	Nyori.
Miŋi na Jada	4	Nyori.
Miŋi Kimak	8	Kogi.
Miŋi Kotet na Kiteŋ ...	1	Tokiman.
Miŋi Goroŋ	4	Tokiman.
Miŋi Gwoŋga	6	Tokiman.
Miŋi Lopir...	2	Tokiman.
Miŋi Minswat	1	Tokiman.
Miŋi Kaliri	12	Ilibari.
Miŋi Juwök	6	Tombur.

The Miŋi Lobur are forbidden to marry with the Miŋi Nyaboŋi, and the Miŋi na Jada do not intermarry with the Miŋi na Lokoŋ ; otherwise intermarriage is allowed. Father Spagnolo relates that the Miŋi

[1] Sometimes long flat stones are used instead.

[2] Spagnolo, Bari Grammar, p. 317.

do not pierce their ears—a practice common to the Bari—lest they should become deaf, the Bari word for which (miŋe) resembles the Clan name.

Clan.	Number.	Main centres.
3. Nyori	60	Logo.
Nyori Posokiri ...	225	Ilibari, Bilinian, Tokiman and Logo.
Nyori Kimak ...	214	Tombur and Kogi.
Nyori Nyepo ...	77	Tombur and Uma.
Nyori Kuku ...	10	Bilinian.
Nyori 'Dogale ...	36	Ilibari and Tombur.
Nyori Jö-kö ...	9	Tokiman.
Nyori Pesek ...	6	Logo.
Nyori Manabur ...	2	Tombur.
Nyori Kuye ...	1	Logo.
Nyori Jada ...	13	Tokiman.
Nyori Panyigilo ...	9	Logo.
Nyori Gorbe ...	2	Ilibari.
Nyori Duŋ... ...	2	Tokiman.
Nyori Pajada ...	55	Tokiman.
Nyori Pagore ...	11	Logo.
Nyori Lugi ...	6	Logo.
Nyori Sulöŋ ...	7	Bilinian.
Nyori Lomuger ...	4	Logo.
Nyori Gerakomoŋ	3	Bilinian.
Nyori Gunyak ...	2	Ilibari
Nyori Bubudo ...	1	Ilibari.
Nyori Nyardiŋ ...	4	Logo.
Nyori Bermuk ...	1	Tokiman.
Nyori Wurteŋ ...	5	Ilibari.
Nyori Limat ...	1	Logo.
Nyori Saŋkori ...	9	Logo.
Nyori Rensak ...	10	Tokiman.
Nyori Yorja ...	7	Tokiman.
Nyori Jatu ...	?	—

Marriage is forbidden between the 'Dogale, Jökö, Kimak, Pesek and Manabur groups, but otherwise there is no restriction placed on intermarriage. The Nyori Jatu are said to exist but I have not met a member of this group. The Nyori are the largest Clan and the Kimak division have certain rain powers derived originally from the Chief of Kogi, a member of the Duŋ Kaliri. Heavy punishment is said to be meted out to any man who seduces a girl belonging to the Nyori and the men of the Nyori are supposed to marry two wives, otherwise their firstborn daughter is said to be doomed to die ; the necks of the Nyori girls are said to be particularly liable to swellings, if seized forcibly ; no Nyori will drink water that has dripped from thatch. The Nyori Kimak respect the frog.

To sum up, the Bari are divided into the following Clans :—

Single Non-Free	10
Single Free	105
Divided Free	14
Total	129

The subdivisions, however, of the Divided Clan raise to a total of 193 the number of units between almost any two of which intermarriage is allowed ; that is, generally speaking, for, in addition to the marriage bars mentioned above, there is the taboo that prevents a man from intermarrying with a woman of the same Clan as his mother, and a woman from intermarrying with the men of the same Clan as her father, while sometimes the prohibition is applied to the Clans of the grandmother and grandfather. In actual practice, however, there is great relaxation of these prohibitions.

It will be seen then that the reason for the division of a Clan is not always the same. Chief Fitia Lugör refers it to the Clan Head, who must have been an even more important person than he is now in the days when the Clan had not dispersed. " When the father of the Clan," he says, " saw their cattle growing numerous, he would call his sons together. To one he would say, ' Cut the ears of your cows thus,' and to another ' Cut thus,' until all were given their appointed cuttings. Then his sons and his son's sons would cut as they had been bidden, until the young boys grew up who had forgotten the name of the ancestor who had ordered the cuttings, when they would intermarry, one group with another." This simple explanation, however, does not cover all the known facts ; we have seen the sentimental reason for the division of the Biajin and for the secession of the Bekat Manabur, while with the Lokurya'ba of Naŋala the division was made explicitly for the purpose of marriage ; but whatever the reason, the result is usually the same—the breaking up of the Clan into groups, most of which may intermarry. The methods of division are again not uniform, for whereas the Bekat Sura, Lobojoka and Lokurya'ba are all divided into groups distinguished by their appended name, the remainder of the Divided Clans retain one group each which is still known by the simple Clan name.

A ritual, which, for the sake of brevity, I shall refer to as the " Endogamy Ritual," is performed when the law of exogamy has been violated and when sickness or adversity is deemed to be consequent upon that violation. This violation may arise in three ways—through ignorance on the part of bride or bridegroom as to the Clan relationships of their parents, through excessive affection on the part of the lovers which in isolated cases urges them to marry in defiance of convention, and through deliberate Clan-splittings which either the father of the Clan thinks

advisable or the young men of the Clan insist on. A case covering the first two of these is quoted in Mr. J. A. Driberg's " People of the Small Arrow," and organised Clan-splitting is exemplified in the above lists. At Naŋala there is a Clan which was split because of the young men's insistence.

The Lokurya'ba Clan, which is native to Naŋala, had long been in three divisions, the Lokurya'ba of the Mountain called Kurukuduk, the Lokurya'ba of our ancester, Kolye, and the Lokurya'ba of our ancestor, Jogo, but intermarriage between these groups had not been allowed. Now the Lokurya'ba index figure is 33 out of a total of 112 at Naŋala, while the remainder is largely made up of Clans with one or two members only and therefore with but few daughters. About 25 years ago, the Age-Class, called Wandityo, began to marry their Clan-sisters in defiance of the bans and presages of evil uttered by the old men. Later any illness or adversity that befel these incestuous families was referred to the evil attendant on endogamy, to exorcise which the Endogamy Ritual is performed.

The sick or unfortunate couple repair to the village of the bride's father or eldest male relative, who cuts a forked stick from the Mitikolye tree and stands in front of his house with the husband's Clan brother on his left holding a stick, and the wife's Clan-brother on the right, holding a spear. At a signal from the father the husband's relative runs to the left and the wife's relative to the right, round the house, crossing at the back and returning to their places beside the father. Each then pushes his stick or spear into the thatch and the father of the girl says :—

" Madaŋ ta, Komon kwe."
" Peace to you, my sons in law."

The Clan-brothers of husband and wife repeat the ceremony of running round the house and, when they are back in their places, the father says :—

" Madaŋ ta, Komon kwe ;
" Kwörinit lo Kisuk."
" Peace to you, my sons in law,
" And you, O rich in cattle " (the husband).

The circuit of the house and the exhortation are repeated for the third time. A female goat is now thrown on the ground on its side so that it lies with its back towards and parallel to the door of the father's house. The husband sits on its shoulder and the wife on its hip, while the ŋörinyi who is the son of the wife's sister holds its legs, and ŋörinyi who is



A BARI WOMAN. (THE LEAF GIRDLE DENOTES THAT SHE HAS RECENTLY BORNE A CHILD.)



BARI CHILDREN AT NANALA.

the son of the husband's sister holds its nostrils and mouth until the goat is suffocated. Both ŋörinyikö then plunge their knives into the stomach and cut in opposite directions so as to divide the animal in half lengthways. The brothers of the wife take the right side and another goat provided by the husband, while the husband's brothers take the left side. The latter cook and eat their portion on the spot, but the former take theirs away. After the feast each plucks his spear or stick, as the case may be, from the thatch and they all disperse to their homes.

The Clan is the main feature of the social organisation of the Bari. If he is of the Bekat Limat, he is a member of the great Rain Clan, is perhaps a Rain Chief, and is almost certainly a man of note. As a Nyoritio[1] he may be related to one of the chiefly houses. As a Gubatulutio he may be rich, but counts on that, and not on family prestige so much, for his influence. If he says he is a member of the Dwani or Kadipa Clans, he is known to be a settler from among the Kuku or the Madi and as such cannot be a " landowner." As a Boŋkoloŋtio he fishes at Uma, as a Gunyaktio he works iron at Bilinian, as a Ludiritio he is a serf at Tombur, and as a Lomotio he hunts from Tokiman. The Clan further limits a man in his choice of a wife—in any case, his Clan mothers and Clan sisters cannot marry him and the Clan sisters and daughters of his mother are likewise denied him, while as a Lumbaritio or a Nyoritio of the Kimak group there are further restrictions for him to observe. Some Clans lay on their members certain injunctions which range from the observance of certain customs at the time of a birth to the regarding of certain animals as brothers ; this side of Clan life is not pronounced and I have been unable to find any cases in which a Clan believed that the spirit of the dead man passed into the body of the animal venerated by the Clan. I was, after collecting this material, privileged by the kindness of Mr. E. Haddon to read the Haddon manuscript, in which the author states that he can find no evidence of totemism among the Bari Clans, and Professor Seligman states on p. 419 of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LVIII, " neither Mr. Driberg's inquiries nor our own yielded any hint of animal reincarnation among the Bari."

The Clan is closely connected with cattle, for the ears of the cow and bulls of every Clan are snipped, slit or cut to the Clan pattern—in fact

[1] In Bari a single member of a Clan is called by the Clan name with the suffix -tio or -tyo added.

'duŋet (Bari for Clan) means "cutting," so that when a man is asked what his Clan is, originally the questioner asked how he cut the ears of his cattle, and, although these cattle subsequently change hands many times, when sold or handed over as part of a brideprice, the ear marking still proclaims the cow that was born in the Miŋi Kraal or the bull that was the pride of the Biajin. The following are a few of these cuttings.[1]

BEKAT LIMAT.

LEFT EAR. RIGHT EAR.

COW.



BULL.



BEKAT MANABUR.

COW.



BULL.



[1] The animal is being looked at from behind.

CELA.

LEFT EAR. RIGHT EAR.

COW.



BULL.



KIN.

COW.



BULL.



LOBOJOKA.

LEFT EAR. RIGHT EAR.

Cow.



Bull.



MINI.

Cow.



Cut right ear off

Bull.



PANYIGILO.

LEFT EAR. RIGHT EAR.

Cow.



Bull.



PARAN.

Cow.



Bull.



SERA.
Cow.



BULL.



With the Clan organisation is bound up the question of land tenure—a subject which still requires a considerable amount of investigation and of which certain aspects do not admit of a universal ruling. In some areas, such as Ilibari, Bilinian and Tokiman, the boundaries are clearly defined by rivers and presence of other inhabited areas close by, whereas there are on both banks of the River Kit vast stretches of uninhabited land which doubtless in theory belong to one or other of the distant villages, but where presumably the settlement of a non-land-owning Clan and its eventual claim to possession would excite but little comment. There is apparently a large area of unclaimed land south of the Luluba Hills. The position and sphere of influence of the Monyekak has not yet been fully explored and any powers ascribed to him below may have to be modified when further information becomes available. There are, however, certain well-established principles which seem to apply universally. In every village, owing no doubt to the scattered nature of the Clans and the presence of immigrants from other tribes, there are landowning and non-landowning Clans and the right of the disposal of the land is vested in the Clan Head, who may or may not call in the Monyekak or the Rain Chief or both to assist him. The powers of the Monyekak outside his own Clan boundaries only extend to his duties as " Arranger " whereby his magical functions are called upon to bless the seed and the newly tilled earth and the crops, and to impart straightness of flight to the spears of the hunters. The question of land tenure comes into greater prominence when a village moves to another site. On such occasion the Monyekak divides up the new land among the landowning Clans. He cannot assign land to non-landowners, and once he has divided the land his right of disposal ceases, except in so far as he can allow or disallow the subsequent disposal of hoeing right by acceding to or refusing the requests of immigrants. His permission is, however, not always sought. He may sell

land belonging to his own Clan or arrange with the Clan Head concerned for the sale of other land and may set aside an area for sale to immigrants with the agreement of all the landowning Clans. The Clan Head is therefore a man of great importance, for he is responsible for the division of the Clan land among its various members, for the bestowal of hoeing rights on settlers, and the sale of land to purchasers. When a village moves to a new site neither Clan nor individual would dare to start hoeing before the land had been duly assigned by the Monyekak or Clan Head, but once the individual receives his portion, it remains his and his sons until the direct line is extinct. Each wife is allotted her own portion of her husband's plot and is responsible for the weeding and the cutting of the grain. The crops are hers and she uses them for her own, her children's and her husband's food, but generally speaking cannot otherwise dispose of them without her husband's approval. If a man's plot becomes too small as the result of later marriages, or if he is dissatisfied with it, he may apply to the Clan Head for an extra or a new allotment, while, if this is not available, he may purchase a portion from a neighbouring Clan for the price of a goat. The wife who receives this outside allotment would have her house built on it, and would be visited by husband from time to time. The woman's plot, in general, remains her possession, even after her husband dies, for in such a case the inheritor continues to hoe that plot for her, until a son by the former husband comes of age, when he will assume the duty of hoeing her ground for her, and of hoeing the land of any woman whom he in his turn inherits. When he marries, he also has responsibilities towards his wife. An application by a settler is usually made to his mother's brother (mananye), who usually has great affection for his sister's son. Failing this, the would-be settler applies to a friend of his in another Clan, after which the matter is submitted to the Clan Head. If he can afford it and declares his intention of staying, such a settler may purchase the land for a cow and a bull, but if he is plainly only a temporary resident, he will be granted hoeing rights without rent or tithe, although out of gratitude he may give a present to the Clan Head. Sale of land on a large scale is also possible but appears to be rare and not particularly popular. Among the Mandari, a tribe allied to the Bari, the villagers of Pökö started cultivating on land belonging to Bojo-Ajut, the inhabitants of which expressed perturbation, fearing that quarrels

might arise. The matter was settled amicably, but Bojo-Ajut refused to accept a cow lest the transaction should later be construed as a sale of land. If a man and his family die out, the land reverts to the Clan and may be assigned to a Clan brother who needs land for a new wife, or a young man who has recently married. If a whole Clan becomes extinct, it is said that the right of inheritance, not necessarily exercised, passes to the eldest son of the Senior Clanswoman, who will, of course, have married into another Clan.

The boundaries of the Clan land are known to all the members. Sometimes a rock, tree, stream or other natural feature serves to mark off the different areas, but where these are missing, a row of stones may be laid. The Clan with its settlers have sole rights in the collection of wild fruits and woodcutting over the waste land. In grazing and watering cattle, in hunting and sometimes in fishing, a certain latitude is allowed. Unless there were ill-feeling to prevent it, the stock of a Clan would be allowed to graze and drink on land belonging to their neighbours provided no damage was done to the crops. The same is true of villages. Game is frequently pursued into the land of neighbouring Clans and villages, and no objection is raised provided that the owners or Clan Head of the land in which the kill is made receive the right foreleg of the quarry as a gift. These principles receive, I think, universal acceptance, but detailed amplification will probably reveal differences of application.

The Clan system, touching as it does on all aspects of the life of the Bari, is vital to their social organisation. The Clan is an enlarged family in which the men of the same age look on one another as brothers, on their elders as fathers and on the rising generation as their sons. As is natural with families, they afford fellow members of the Clan both comfort in trouble and relief in distress, they afford one another mutual assistance and share in one another's rejoicing. If a Bari is fined, his Clan may subscribe to help him in needy cases, though the idle and unregenerate receive little help. His brothers will advise him about the merits of the girls of the neighbouring Clans, they will " tell the Clans " when he is choosing a bride, lest he violate the law of exogamy, they will give him presents of sheep, goats and cattle when he is collecting the brideprice for his marriage, and after he has married and settled down, they will cheerfully turn out in a body to help him with his hoeing and at the end of the day's work

will gather round his fire praising the cooking of his wife and drinking the beer that she has brewed for them.

(2) AGE-CLASS SYSTEM.

The Bari youth is moved by two loyalties, the first and most important to his Clan and the second to his Age-Class, and the words most frequently on his lips are "luŋaser" (my brother) and "ber Kwe" (my Age-fellows).[1] Despite the importance of the latter in the life of both the individual and the village, the scope of which will be dealt with later, there is but little that has been published about these Age-Classes. In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LVIII, p. 420, Professor Seligman records their discovery by Mr. G. O. Whitehead, late of the C.M.S. Juba, indicates their *raison d'être*, gives two lists from the villages of Bilinian and Nyarjua and describes them as "so largely a fighting organisation." In *Africa*, Vol. V, Number 4, 1932, p. 393, Father L. M. Spagnolo has published a short monograph entitled : "Some Notes on the Initiation of Young Men and Girls in the Bari Tribe," in which he devotes most of his space to describing the ceremony of initiation and giving eleven lists both of male and female classes. It is hoped that the present article may serve to amplify this knowledge, as it is based on lists of Age-Classes drawn from the majority of villages and hamlets in the Bari country.[2] The arranging of the Classes in their order of seniority was a task of great difficulty and I am uncertain of their complete accuracy. The correct order is however a matter of importance only to the village concerned, and gives no ground for making general inferences about the bestowal of names as indicating various ranks in the battle array. Professor Seligman says ". . . . the quality denoted by Losiwa (wild bees) fits well with the age and temperament of a young warrior or junior Age-Class as at Bilinian. If it is correctly placed at Nyarjua it should presumably refer to some specially plucky or demonstrative action." There is however no need to infer more than that at the time of initiation the young men of Bilinian and some years previously the now older men of Nyarjua displayed fighting qualities or fierceness of temperament.

There is no regular periodicity of initiation, a ceremony with which the naming of an Age-Class is intimately concerned. Much depends on

[1] "Ber" is used in two ways—as a plural of "Bertio"—an Age-fellow, and as a singular to "Beron," where it means a complete Age-Class.

[2] In 1932 I collected lists from 103 villages and hamlets, and although there may be others that I did not find, the majority of the ground has been covered.

the size of the village and the number of children who survive to the age of about sixteen. It is usual to think in terms of a four-year interval but this is not applicable to any but the larger villages, where naturally the numbers of children will necessitate some interval of about that length. Despite the ceremonial surrounding the forming of an Age-Class, there seems to be no chosen person to decide when this shall be done, and, although Father Spagnolo ascribes it to the coming of age of the son of a Chief, this will not account for the formation of every Age-Class. The decision seems to be made by the fathers of the boys approaching the age of puberty. In their evening talks they may have been long remarking on the growth of Wani or the strength of Lado, while 'Dogale may have mentioned marriage-cows to his family, or Subek may have already speared a young leopard that was after father's goats. At any rate the time seems ripe for an initiation and a general agreement is reached to send their sons to the tooth-extractor and to form a new Age-Class. While such a method works well enough in a compact village, it would plainly be impracticable for a larger area, much less for a tribe. The grades are therefore a village concern and in some cases one village will be divided into two sections each with its own Age-Class.[1]

Initiation centres round the extraction of the four lower incisors, which is performed early one morning by the " Kasayanit," who may be male or female. The scale of fees varies. In some places a calabash of milk is given, or the extractor receives a sum of money, or the affianced husband of the initiated girl will hand over a goat. Such girls as are not affianced will await betrothal, when the extractor is given a goat by the husband. A measure of corn may be the agreed fee or the " Kasayanit " may be given free food and beer during the two months feasting which follows the operation

Father Spagnolo has described the ceremony of tooth extraction, the various stages of cicatrisation performed on the girls, the taboos they observe and the feasting and dancing in which they indulge. I do not propose to cover this ground afresh, but merely to add a few details that have come to my notice. There is no uniform method of naming the Classes. The " Big Man " of the village, or his son if he happens to be among the initiates, will name them; it may be a nickname already assigned to them or they may have discussed the matter and chosen their own name.

[1] See Appendix, where a few representative lists are recorded.

It is the duty of the leader of the Class, Matat lo Ber, to feast his comrades, and on the anniversary of the ceremony to kill a goat for them. For two or three months after the excision of the teeth the youths and young girls live in the houses of the Headman or of a Notable, where they dance and are feasted by the mothers, who bring them beer and grain. The owner of the drums used at the dance also receives a fee such as a goat, 20 m.m. or a basket of grain. If there are few initiates, they sleep in one house ; if many, the girls in one house and the youths in another. Sexual intercourse between initiates is supposed to bring down an evil spirit on the Classes and, although isolated cases may occur, it is conventionally discountenanced. Many of the girls, moreover, are already betrothed to older men, and are merely awaiting initiation before joining their husbands. It is wrong therefore to regard these ceremonies as organised debauches. If a youth and his promised wife are both among the initiates, they may sleep in one another's arms, but any imputation that intercourse takes place is roundly rejected as unbecoming Bari morality.[1]

In all I have found about two hundred Class names, of which the more common, like Losiwa, Naringa and Lonure, occur in almost every village. They fall into six groups :—

1. War names.
2. Cattle names.
3. Sex names.
4. Character names.
5. Topical names.
6. Unclassified names.

1. The War Names.

There are a number of Class names which have obviously a warlike tone, but they cannot be regarded as equivalent to a warrior Class, because such names hardly ever appear in the same position in the lists of different villages, while in some cases that Class is now composed of old men. Further, the young and able-bodied in some villages bear names with a cattle or character connotation. To insist too closely on the warrior significance would postulate a system in which the individual entered a youth's Class and graduated through other Classes of warriors, reserves and elders. This does not apply to the Bari, who carry the same Class name with them throughout their lives. The only exception I have found is at Fager, where a Class thinned by death co-opts others to fill its ranks

[1] Other evidence goes to show that the standard of morality among the Bari is high.

from the Classes junior to it, but even at Fager there are Classes which are now extinct.

The War names are :—

Amuŋa	Those who hedge in their foes. (The contentious.)[1]
Akupir	Those with hair in their teeth from devouring vast numbers of their enemies' cattle killed in raids.
Kala Kupir	
Bangubangu	Those who pull their enemies about from side to side in the fight.
Böröwu	Those who swoop on their foes like kites on their prey.
Buriensuk	Those who rush out at the cattle of their enemies.
Dokgoro	The Spear Fetchers—who are spoiling for a fight.
Doŋkisuk	Those who drive off their enemies' cattle.
Goggi	Those who prevent their enemies from capturing their village. (The Rearguard.)[2]
Gwolongoro	Those who remain with their spears.
Jubudiaŋ	Those who kill all their foes.
Juryenga	Those who seek war. (The fearless.)[3]
Kakara	Those who rush into war with shouts.
Kimaŋ	Those full of fire.
Launtwan	Those who despise death.
Liökparan	Those who start the fight by day.
Lomeddya	Those who look on war.
Loridya	Those who repel their foes.
Lowela	Those anointed after victory.[4]
Lubere	Those who slap their foes (or, according to Spagnolo, lu-ber-e = the "Ber," Age-Class *par excellence*).
Midola	Those who are spoiling for a fight.
Mijingo	Those who are hard to conquer even if attacked at dawn.
Myiyugo	
Mokkido	Those who wrestle.
Mukkonyen	Those with closed eyes, because they fear nothing
Muruŋ	Those who plunge into a fight without waiting.

[1] Spanolo, *op. cit.*

[2] and [3] Spagnolo, *op. cit.*

[4] Spagnolo, *op. cit.* "With oil and red ochre as is the custom with warriors returning victorious from battle."

Nadepok	... ...	Those unable to fight. (This is the only name which in this group suggests inferiority.)
Nadugga	... ...	Those who hedge in their foes.
Namuja	... ...	Those who force their foes to yield.
Naringa	... ...	The Avengers (from riŋ = to punish).
Pabörik	... ...	Those who "refuse themselves," *i.e.*, will give themselves up readily to death.
Pajutwan	... ...	The Despisers of Death.
Patwan	... ...	
Pawökun	... ...	Those who will not retreat.
Riŋgamerok	... ...	Those who punish their foes.
Rujakidiŋ	... ...	Those who hunch up the shoulders in the fight.
Soroko	... ...	The Stabbers.
Sumba[1]	... ...	
Suwinga	... ...	Those who stop their enemies.
Tongamöru	... ...	The Tenacious[2]
Natonga	... ...	
Wördup	... ...	Those who despise their foes.

In all these names, with one exception, is embodied the idea of bravery and victory, with the exception of the Nadepok, but what they had done to deserve this nickname is not recorded.

2. The Cattle Names.

There are many Class names with cattle associations, but again these are not reserved for the cattle-tenders (a duty left to the boys and young men) for some of these are found at the tops of the lists and therefore apply to those who are now old men. They are :—

Duŋgusuk	... ...	Those who drive cows.
Gadöru	... ...	The grass guarders (*i.e.*, those who refuse to allow their neighbours' cattle to graze on their land).
Gwukle	... ...	Those with a pain in the belly from drinking too much milk.
Lomurie[3]	...	Red and white like cows.

[1] "An innumerable multitude," according to Spagnolo.
[2] "Like the marsh tortoise which bites and will not loose its hold." Spagnolo.
[3] This is one of the innumerable adjectives used by the Bari to describe cattle colouring.

Malasuk	... ...	Those who milk into their palms.
Matle ...	... ...	Those who drink milk.
Misuk...	... ...	A corruption of " Mimien Kisuk," which means " to have a pain because of cows "—the reason is that they cannot amass enough cows for marriage.
Moggakiteŋ	... ...	Those who seize cows.[1]
Monosuk	... ...	The Cow-Keepers.
Monoteŋ	... ...	The Herd-Keepers.
Monoje	... ...	The Cattle-Keepers.
Mulusuk	... ...	Those who abound in cattle
Nyarle	... ...	The Milk Lovers.
Nyarkiteŋ	... ...	The Cattle Lovers.
Nyarsuk	... ...	
Piri-Kiteŋ	... ...	Those fat with cows.
Pirisuk	... ...	
Piyateŋ	... ...	Those who ask for cows (because they are of an age to marry).
Tijukisuk	... ...	The Cattle-Watchers.
Walasuk	... ...	Those who walk after cows.
Woŋteŋ	... ...	The Lowing of Cattle.
Wurkiteŋ	... ...	The Cattle-Branders.
Yuggulwa	... ...	The Cattle-Herders.

As cattle play such a large part in the life of the Bari, it is not surprising that the Age-Classes have found names for themselves from this source. It was in a jocular moment that the Gwukle were named, while the Misuk earned their sobriquet from their poverty. The rest, however, signify abundance of cattle.

3. The Sex Names.

There are but few names of this nature :—

Dirago	... ...	Those on whom all the maidens' eyes are fixed.
Gwinyori	... ...	Those who cry for " nyori." Young girls sometimes wear a small front apron of iron chains or tubes, which they put off on reaching the age of puberty.

[1] *Vide infra,* " in the old days youths were not allowed to marry until they could seize a bull by the horns and retain their hold of it."

Jupuwate	...	...	Those who wear bracelets like the bracelets of women.
Loŋure	...	...	The bright-eyed who turn amorous glances on all women.[1]
Lo'dumun	...	...	Those who take the wives of others.
Lokwe	...	...	Those who stick feathers in their hair.
Lonyuma	...	...	Those tipped with a different colour. (The exquisites. Spagnolo.)
Malan...	...	...	Those who glisten with oil.
Maranga	...	...	Those who are hot and eager.
Napiya	...	...	Those in great demand.
Rujakonyen	...	...	Those who open their eyes wide with amorous glances.
Umbira	...	...	Tall and slender like the Umbira reed which grows on the banks of the Nile.[2] (Spagnolo.)

Although it is but negative evidence, it is perhaps not an unfair inference to make that, if the initiation ceremonies were scenes of unbridled licence, there would be a considerably greater underlying sex motif and many more such names.

4. The Character Names.

This is by far the largest group and the names seem to have been chosen with reference to some general trait in the characters of the members.

Batarabat	...	...	The Destructive.
Burugo	...	...	Those who have done wrong, but brazen it out.
Duŋkala	...	...	Those who tear at meat with their teeth. (The usual method of eating is to bite into the meat and then cut it off close to the mouth with a knife.)
Gwoloŋ	...	...	The tall (?).
Kalamonyit	...	...	Those with teeth in the belly (*i.e.*, greedy).
Kanyikwara	...	...	The Disobedient.
Kömiru	...	...	Brave as lions.
Kurömö	...	...	Those who take things without the owner's leave.

[1] According to Spagnolo, " a clamorous crowd."
[2] I have also had it described to me as meaning " Covered with oil."

Kurukak	Those who get others to cultivate for them.
Kwöru	Brave as leopards.
Limojoŋ	Those who stay in their places.
Lo'duka	Those who are so numerous that they cannot be punished.
Lojera	Those who steal in secret.
Lojurja	Those who do not fear.
Lomeran	The Drunk.
Lomini	The Brave.
Lomirjö	Those who satisfy.
Lonayuk	The Rough.
Lori	Hard like iron.
Losegga	Those who will have nothing to do with the words of others. (A boat is said to be "sega" when it is grounded in shallow water.)
Losiwa	Those who rush about like bees.
Lotikurju	Those who cannot hoe.
Lukala	The Insatiable.
Nakala	
Lumadak-Konyen ...	The Red eyed. (To have red eyes is a sign of bravery.)
Lumadak	
Luwaka	As numerous as grass.
Manbari	The Haters of Strangers.
Merkoloŋ	Sun drunk (*i.e.*, unwearied in battle).
Mernakoko	The Leopard's Skull (so called because they do not fear leopards).
Mertiko	The Intoxicated.
Mojuwala	Those who drink-the-walking (because they prefer to walk about while others are cultivating).
Mokaludaŋ	Those who run fast.
Moyukorege	Those who are so small that they can be covered with an upturned basket.
Namoyu	
Muggömere	Those whose numbers are so great that they cover the mountain.
Mukkoloŋ	Those who are so numerous that they darken the sun.

Muluri	Like red ants.
Mura	The unripe.
Na'buyuk	Those who are numerous.
Nadumba	Those who are always in trouble (or the newly initiated. Spagnolo).
Nagulun	Those who are seen above the rest.
Narenya	The Refusers.
Naruja	The Full Grown.
Nayinga	The Obedient.
Nerkulya	The Harvesters of Words (talkative).
Nonkulya	The Endurers of Words (those who bide their time if worsted).
Norkunu	Those who stand but knee-high.
Nurupit	Hard as stone.
Nyamunga	The Numerous.
Nyarbörik	The Self Lovers.
Kabur ... ... Lomukudit	Those who are numerous as grass.
Nyöbörik	The Self Eaters or Cheaters.
Pen-Kiman	The Fire Quenchers.
Peya	Like lightning.
Pugara	The Numerous.
Pusara	The Impatient.
Puyugu ... ... Nagwudu	Those who continue.
Renyaka	Those who deny of purpose trusting in their numbers to brazen out their crimes. (The Rebels. Spagnolo.)
Rioggamunu ... ... Nariogga	Those who trample on snakes.
Sirimba	The Quick Deciders.
Sokrina	Those who grow thin through punishment.
Tipiya	The Refusers of Questions, who resist the owners of goods they have stolen, when the owners come to ask for them.
Tologu	The Wise.
Wanyan	The Brave. (The Fleet. Spagnolo.)

Woŋki ... ... The Troublesome.
Worsuka ... ... Those who are angry if opposed.
Wube ... ... Those who reply badly to the Elders.

In all these names the significance is general, and those that imply inferiority, *e.g.*, Norkuŋu=the Knee-High, were probably bestowed by the elders. Those names suggesting impatience with authority may have been bestowed on the holders or chosen by them.

5. The Topical Names.

The names in this group are all results of some event or of some noteworthy characteristic, other than general, of the members.

Dinga... ... ... Like Dinkas (probably after a visit by some of this tribe or after the return of someone in the village who had journeyed to the land of the Dinkas).
Jenge... ... ...

'Domadaŋ ... ... The Slow Drippers (because, for some reason, the Class took a long time to fill).
Gela ... ... Like foreigners.
Girgis... ... ... Like Greeks.
Gopokon ... ... The Fat Wanderers (named at a season of plenty).
Kalamba ... ... Those who captured the food of others in a time of famine.
Laŋgaparan ... ... Those who sat by the fire in the day time.
Lukula'da ... ... Those who passed urine and fled in terror. (The anecdote is not preserved.)
Lwöki-ŋwajik ... Those who helped the children. (The tale is not told.)
Momorsaŋga... ... Those who collected round a large pot of food.
Morsak ... ... Those who have no Rain Chief.
Musungu ... ... This word is the title of the Belgian equivalent of the District Commissioner.

Noŋkure ... ... Those who endured thirst in a year of drought.
Noŋga ... ...

Nyardyaŋ ... ... The Lovers of Famine (because the Rain Chief sent sun on their land when they or their fathers disobeyed him).

Nyömudiŋ	...	... Those who eat outside by stealing the food of others in time of dearth. (Spagnolo translates "Misusers of Hospitality," because they eat up any food provided at once.)
Nyösukana	...	... Those who eat for nothing. (*See* Nyömudiŋ).
Pitundyaŋ	...	... The Survivors of Famine.
Sesera	...	... The Raiders of Far Lands.
Wörögo	...	... Those who wandered in time of famine.
Yamba	...	... The Leaderless.
Yösugwuru	...	... Those who eat in the bush. (*See* Nyomudiŋ.)

6. The Unclassified Names.

Some of these have no discoverable meaning attached to them, while the exact shade of meaning attaching to others I have been unable to discover.

Akin ...	...	... Shut (?). (Spagnolo spells it Akim, which he translates as "Overturners.")
Bönswöt	...	... The earshakers.
Dodo ...	...	... ? but said to be those who rush out to see the White Man.
Juba ...	...	... Place name.
Kartum	...	... Place name.
Kalaŋ...	...	... This has been borrowed from the Oxoriok.
Kumit	...	... ?
Kudyakana	...	... Those who blow to no purpose. (What they blow is unrecorded.)
Liankaŋo	...	... The Males outside.
Lotuko	...	... Tribal name.
Mögiri	...	... Place name.
Mula ...	...	... ?
Nakwenga	...	... ?
Namba	...	... A local pronunciation of the English word "number," which is used to describe a Poll Tax Disc.
Nambapuruk		... ?
Nindya	...	... Those who twist.

Nyökurök	...	...	The Dust Eaters. (This is in no way parallel to the English phrase "Bite the dust.")
Nyoŋki	...	...	Up and down.
Pereŋ	...	...	?
Pirisa ...	...	...	? (Probably a variant of Pirisuk. *See under* Cattle Names.)
Remo ...	...	...	Speared (?).
Rombur	...	...	?
Seregaŋ	...	...	?
Sugara	...	...	?
Wörule	...	...	?
Igari ...	...	...	? borrowed from the Oxoriok.

Words like Juba and Khartoum are obviously place names, but the reason for the choice is not apparent, nor could I discover any further amplification of the remainder of the names in this group.

Whatever the origin of the Class names may be, whether from war or status connections, it is clear that at present no such significance can be attached to them, for once a youth has been named a Losiwatyo, as a member of the Losiwa Class, he retains that title until his death.[1] The position of Chief is not a monopoly of any Class, as there are four quite young men holding this rank among the Bari, nor is marriage prohibited to any of the Classes at present, although in old days a youth was not allowed to marry until he could seize a bull by the horns and retain his hold upon it. In the old days the unmarried youths would sleep in the goathouse or cattle Kraal, but nowadays they nearly all build themselves houses, although occasionally two or three Age-fellows will share one house.

The distinctive dress of the Classes, which was usually donned for dances, has died out in these days of clothing and sophistication, except at Bilinian, Mögiri and Naŋala, where the dance Kit resembles that of the Oxoriok. Among this latter tribe a dance is a colourful sight. The young men are probably decorated with a few feathers, or carry a cow bell across the breast, others wear buffalo tails and skins, while the older men have enormous head dresses of ostrich plumes, wear leopard skins on their backs and may have one leg entirely covered with small bells; all will be oiled and painted with ochre and coloured mud. Some of the Class dresses are still remembered among the other Bari; for instance, the Loringa

[1] At Monoteŋ, Gwaraŋ, Domadaŋ I and Domadaŋ II, all hamlets of Tombur, there is only one Age-Class. They say it is an old custom of theirs to have one Age-Class only during the life of a Chief.

stick the feather of the Ground Hornbill in their hair, the Tipiya wear Pigs' teeth and the Niyugo anklets of snail shells. Where the decorations are still worn, they are looked on with great pride. No man would attend the dance without his proper dress and the less fortunate in this respect are at a disadvantage in the matter of partners compared with their better dressed fellows. At Naŋala I have seen a man drop out of a dance in disgust because, as the possessor of only one brass armlet, he was not accepted by the girls as a partner because all the other men were wearing two armlets. In the same village I tried to persuade a man, whose arm was badly swollen as the result of an ill-fitting armlet, to remove the armlet and wait until the swelling had subsided and have it refitted ; his own reply was, " All the girls will despise me at the dance."

Whether or not it is true, as Father Spagnolo suggests, that the Age-Class system is an organisation designed to foster the respect shown to Chiefs, the Age-Classes play a prominent part in the social life of the Bari. Two examples will serve to show in what light they are regarded. A number of Age-fellows had completed their period of training in an Elementary School and vacancies for the Intermediate School were being filled. All were accepted except one, who happened to be the son of a Chief. When I met his father, he was bitter in his complaints. " Great shame has been brought on my son," he said, " for all his Age-fellows have gone to the bigger School, while he alone has been left." On another occasion (this time among the Mandari, a Bari-speaking tribe to the north of Mongalla) the youths had all been paraded for admission to the Tax Lists and, as is not unusual, the whole of one Age-Class was present. The majority passed the test, but a few of them were excused for another year, until they had grown stronger. They followed me along the road pleading to be admitted with their fellows, as they feared to return to their village, where, they said, the scornful glances of the girls awaited them—a thing not to be endured. Age-fellows will afford one another mutual hospitality and are in honour bound to help one another, if occasion demands. They will lend one another money, goats, weapons and tools with great readiness, and will assist a fellow member at his cultivation in return for a brew of beer ; if one of their number is in difficulties when paying a fine, they will help him ; they will offer advice, if one of their number is choosing a bride ; they may give him part of the marriage price and will accompany him in a body to give him moral support at the " Nyerja " ceremony, when

the prospective bridegroom goes to his father-in-law with the final payment of the marriage price, which entitles him to claim his bride. There is, however, no right of access to the favours of an Age-fellow's wife. It is not unusual for a man who has frequently been assisted by one particular Age-fellow to arrange for him to marry into his family. Finally, at hunting feasts and other festivals, the village sits by Age-Classes, each receiving its appointed share of the meat, while at the dance that follows the Classes dance together, and as they dance, they sing their own songs extolling the numbers of the Mukkoloŋ, the wealth of the Cattle Lovers or the fearlessness of the " Despisers of Death."

APPENDIX.

I give here lists of Age-Classes for comparison with those given by Mr. Whitehead.[1]

Bilinian.	'Domodan.	Birindi.
(apud Seligman) ...	... ...	Mulure. Kiman.
A Kupir	A Kupir	Akupir.
Shuroko		
Amukonyen	Mukkonyen	Mukkoloŋ.
	Akim	Akim.
Bonshua	Bönswöt	Bönswöt.
	Soroko...	Soroko.
Limojoŋ	Limojoŋ	Limojoŋ.
Merkoloŋ	Merkoloŋ	Merkoloŋ.
Amuŋa	Amuŋa	Amuŋa.
Loŋure	Loŋure	Loŋure.
Luberi...	Lubere	Lubere.
	Umbira	Umbira.
Kelaŋ[2]	Lumadak-Konyen ...	Lumadak-Konyen.
Losiwa	Losiwa	Losiwa.
Amoron or Swodo[3] ...	Naringa	Naringa.

The name Bilinian is not a village but a district name, its component villages are Domodaŋ, Boyi, Bura, Miŋgero, Nyoŋki, Birindi, Siŋgi and Gitoŋ. There is little difference however between Mr. Whitehead's list and mine. In 1932 the oldest Age-Class on the Tax Lists was the Loŋure at both 'Domadaŋ and Birindi. Such men must be at least 50 years old and possibly 55. The youngest are about 18. Thus six Classes cover a period of 32–38 years. A few old men are still alive who belong to the

[1] *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LVII, p. 421.

[2] An Oxoriok Age-Class meaning " The leapers over the fallen in a race."

[3] Swodo (aliter Ocoda) is an Oxoriok Age-Class meaning " Carriers of Meat."

Amuŋa and Merkoloŋ Classes, and I believe there is an old Limojoŋtyo survivor. The other Classes are extinct.

Nerjua.	Nyarjua na Tikon.	Nyarjua na Mere.
(apud Seligman) ...	Lomirjo	—
	Sirimba	—
Jujuk	Lukala	—
Gole	Gogi	—
Loŋure	Loŋure	Loŋure.
Luberi	Lubere	Lubere.
Losiwa	Losiwa	Losiwa.
Naruja	Naruja	Lojera.
Jurieŋja	—	Loriŋga.
Na'dumba	Na'dumba	—
Namoya	—	—
Na'duga	—	—

MANKARO (hamlet of Ilibari).

Loduka.
Moggakiteŋ.
Lomirjö.
Loŋayuk.
Musuŋgu.
Loŋure.
Wurkiteŋ.
Yigari.
Kalaŋ.
Lumadak-Konyen.
Nariŋga.
Namba.
Dodo.

This list is interesting in that it has two Classes at the bottom which have names associated with the present Government, *i.e.*, Namba and Dodo, and two Class names—the Yigari and the Kalaŋ—copied from the Oxoriok. The oldest on the Tax Lists are the Loŋure. Counting four years to a Class the Musungu would be the Class names about 1899, soon after Chaltin reached Rejaf from the Belgian Congo.

SINDIRU.

As Sindiru is the centre of Bari History, I give the lists of all five component hamlets :—

Kwörijik.	Jabur.	Morsak.	Meji.	Wörögör.
Lomurie ...	—	—	—	—
Lomeran ...	Mulusuk ...	—	—	Launtwan.
Pitundyan ...	Monoja ...	Rujakidiŋ ...	—	Losegga.
Pajutwan[1] ...	Lubere[1] ...	Lubere[1] ...	Lubere[1] ...	Mukkoloŋ.[1]
Noŋkure ...	Limojoŋ ...	Rombur ...	Mukkoloŋ ...	Noŋga.
Wanyan ...	Sirimba ...	Renyaka ...	Loŋure ...	Pajutwan.
Losiwa	Losiwa ...	Monoja ...	Lo'dumun ...	Wanyaŋ.
—	—	Loriŋga ...	Nerkulya ...	Noŋkure.
—	—	—	Loriŋga ...	Losiwa.
—	—	—	Losiwa ...	—
—	—	—	Naruja ...	—

[1] These were the oldest men on the Tax Lists in 1932. The difference in the numbers of Classes referred to above is clear from these lists.

NOTES.

THE COINAGE OF ALI DINAR.

By J. Walker

(PLATE VI).

(Assistant Keeper, Dept. of Coins and Metals, British Museum, London, W.C.1)

IN the long story of money there are innumerable instances of emergency currencies. Whenever they occur they are always enlightening to the student of history and economics. The money of necessity issued some twenty years ago by a rebellious Sultan in the province of Darfur is not the least instructive example of this class of numismatic irregularity. The contemporary events are worth recalling.

Ali Dinar ibn Zakaria, who had become Sultan of Darfur following the defeat of the Khalifa Abdallah at Omdurman in 1898, had since that date rendered nominal fealty to the Sudan government and had paid an annual tribute. The outbreak of the World War, however, found him (in 1915) under the influence of German and Turkish propaganda, allying himself with the fanatical Senussi brotherhood in opposition to Britain. But before he could take the offensive against the neighbouring province of Kordofan he was attacked outside his capital of El-Fasher on May 22nd, 1916, by an expeditionary force from the Sudan under Lieut.-Col. P. V. Kelly. His army was defeated and the rebellious Sultan fled, but along with some of his sons he was killed by a patrol in November of the same year. Thus perished "a most depraved and inhuman tyrant."[1]

One great drawback experienced by Ali Dinar in making a successful advance was the absence of cash to finance the rationing and equipment of his troops. His treasury proved unequal to the task so he adopted the age-old plan of minting an enforced and base coinage. Struck by his authority and bearing his name upon them, these emergency coins—while they were actually an outward indication of his recently assumed independence—must have served but to proclaim all the more his financial embarrassment. For, unlike the illegitimate dollars of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, these coins of Ali Dinar were, with a few exceptions, not even

[1] As he is described by A. E. Robinson: "The Arab Dynasty of Dar For" (Darfur) in *Journal of the African Society*, Vol. XXVII (1927–28), p. 355. For the official notice of his deposition issued by Sir Reginald Wingate, see the *Sudan Gazette*, 1916, p. 572.

struck in base silver or bronze, but consisted of thin metal discs cut, for the most part, it is said, from old petroleum or kerosene tins and stamped with a crude imitation of the style and script of the current Egyptian piastre. These were forced into circulation among his subjects under penalty of mutilation or death. One can readily understand that their general acceptance was politic but not popular, and earned for the coin the local sarcastic appellation of *girsh radīnā* قرش رضينا, or *radina piastre*, so termed from the Arabic *radīnā*, "We are pleased" (to accept). Accepted they were, at all events within the Sultan's jurisdiction, and during the few remaining months of his lifetime. But on his downfall they were naturally worthless and soon passed out of circulation, so that already to-day specimens are quite scarce.[1]

As they are very imperfectly struck and the designs and legends are never completely discernable on any one specimen, the reproductions given here are derived from a combination of the elements of several of these grotesque attempts at coinage.

The following is the general description of the Ali Dinar coins (only one denomination being known) :—

Obverse.

Within circle, surrounded by an entwined design containing in each of its eight loops a hexagonal cluster of dots, the Sultan's name written in the form of an official Tughra or calligraphic emblem.[2]

Reverse.

Within circle, as on obverse (Fig. 4) :

٢٦	26
ضرب في	minted in
الفاشر	El-Fasher
١٣٢٧	1327

[1] Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie*, p. 90, does not indicate that any of these coins were known to him. There are eighteen examples in the Coin Cabinet of the British Museum; of these, ten were presented by Lt.-Col. Milo G. Talbot, three by Major R. R. Elderton (who had been at the time of these events Assistant Financial Secretary of the Sudan Government), three by Mr. A. J. Arkell, of El-Fasher, to whom I am personally indebted for one or two suggestions in connection with this article, and the remaining two by Mrs. A. E. Robinson and Mr. F. O. Farrell respectively.

[2] The only part of this that is decipherable with any certainty is the name of Ali (علي). For those who desire to see the intricacies and difficulties of Tughra decipherment, reference may be made to the illuminating article by Mr. Howland Wood : "The Toughra as found upon coins" in *The Numismatist* for July, 1905, and to the Encyclopædia of Islam, *sub voce*.



OBV.
EGYPTIAN PROTOTYPE.
FIG. 1.



REV.
EGYPTIAN PROTOTYPE.
FIG. 2.



OBV.
FIG. 3.



REV.
FIG. 4.

ALI DINAR COINS (TYPE A).



OBV.
FIG. 5.



REV.
FIG. 6.



OBV.
FIG. 7.



REV.
FIG. 8.

ALI DINAR COINS (TYPE B).

Several interesting points are to be noted in these legends. In the first instance the prototype of Ali Dinar's coin is obviously the old type of *yigirmi paralik* (or 20 para piece) issued by the Turkish Sultan Mahmud II,[1] with the Sultan's regnal year date 26 (=A.D. 1833) (Figs. 1 and 2). Instead of the mint-name Misr (مصر), *i.e.*, Egypt or Cairo, we have the name of the capital of Darfur, El-Fasher (lit. the Camp), and instead of the year 1223, the accession year of Sultan Mahmud II, we have the year 1327 (A.D. 1909), which was the accession year of the then reigning Turkish Sultan Muhammad V. In altering the accession year the engraver of the Ali Dinar dies forgot to alter the regnal year at the top.[2] The mistake, however, was discovered, because on later examples, which are also of even baser metal and cruder workmanship, the regnal year has been changed to 17 (١٧) (Fig. 8). As Ali Dinar came to the throne in 1899, the seventeenth year of his reign would be 1916, which, as we have seen, was the year of his enforced currency. We have, therefore, in this case the remarkable feature of these coins bearing a date of accession applicable to the reigning Sultan of Turkey, as well as a regnal year applicable to his vassal Ali Dinar of Darfur. The fact that a number of the coins of this latter type have the date 71 (٧١) instead of 17 (١٧) can only be due to another mistake on the part of the native engravers in placing the Arabic numerals retrograde (Fig. 6).

There are, therefore, two types of Ali Dinar's coins, an early type A with regnal date 26 (٢٦) (Figs. 3 and 4), and a later type B with regnal date 17 (١٧) (Figs. 7 and 8) (with variant 71 (٧١) (Figs. 5 and 6)). The average size and weight of type A are 1.05 in., 25.8 grs. (1.67 gms.) ; of type B 1 in., 25.5 grs. (1.65 grms.).

[1] Cf. Lane-Poole : Catalogue of Oriental Coins, Vol. VIII, p. 294; X, p. 198.

[2] The date 26 cannot possibly refer to Ali Dinar's own regnal year, since he became Sultan of Darfur in 1899 (*i.e.*, A.H. 1317) and reigned for but seventeen years altogether.

KOHL PINS.

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

(PLATES VII AND VIII.)

ON p. 243 of *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan* Sir Harold MacMichael figures one of two doublehead iron pins with dangling rings which he found with other objects at Faragab, 22 miles east of Bara in Northern Kordofan, and which he considered might have been used as hairpins or for applying *kohl* to the eyelids.

There is no doubt that the latter suggestion is the correct one, since these objects are still used as kohl pins (Arabic : *mirwad*) in Darfur[1] and further west. From a collection of kohl pins made recently at El Fasher and figured in Plate VII, it would appear that probably it was by way of the Lake Chad area that this type of kohl pin reached Darfur and Kordofan.

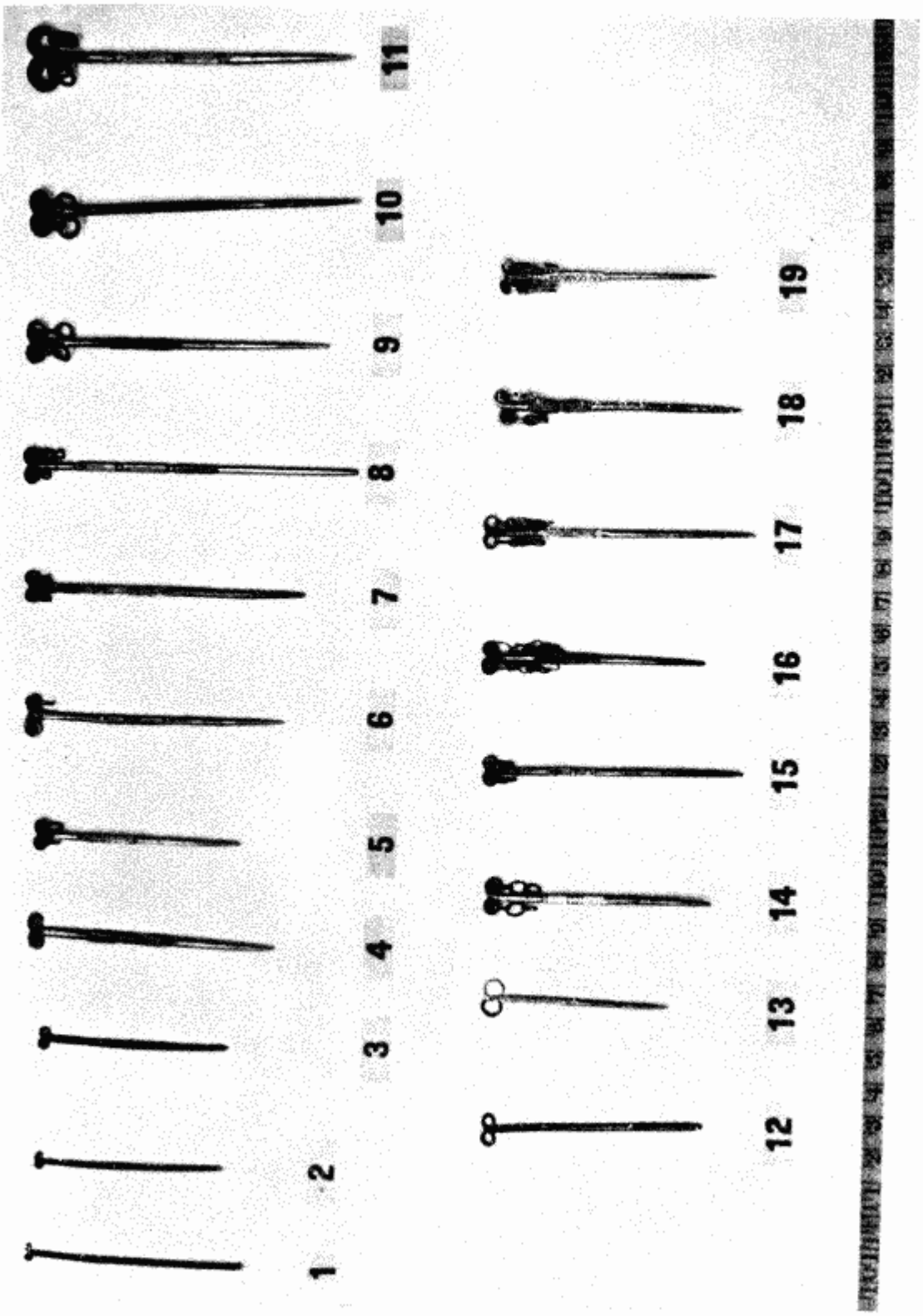
The fact that the simplest forms are now made in bronze and copper by Tuareg (Kinīn) smiths at El Fasher (see Fig. 2) and further west, indicates that it may have been this people who introduced this type of kohl pin into Negro Africa, where it has been copied in iron (Figs. 3 to 19 are all of iron) and somewhat enlarged and elaborated by the addition of dangling rings and other ornamentation ; while the discovery in 1931 of similar copper pins at Damghan at the south-east end of the Caspian in the Hissar III level, which has been provisionally dated 2000–1500 B.C.,[2] indicates a possibility that this type of pin was evolved in Asia before it reached Africa.

The immediate interest of the occurrence of these pins at Faragab is that, if the hypothesis of a Lake Chad origin is correct, the site at Faragab may be connected with the mediæval empire of Bornu or the Bulala " Kingdom of Gaogha," both of which appear to have spread their influence from the Lake Chad area over Darfur and probably Kordofan also. (It is unlikely, since Faragab is within the area of regular rainfall, that the iron pins found there are earlier than the middle ages, if as old.)

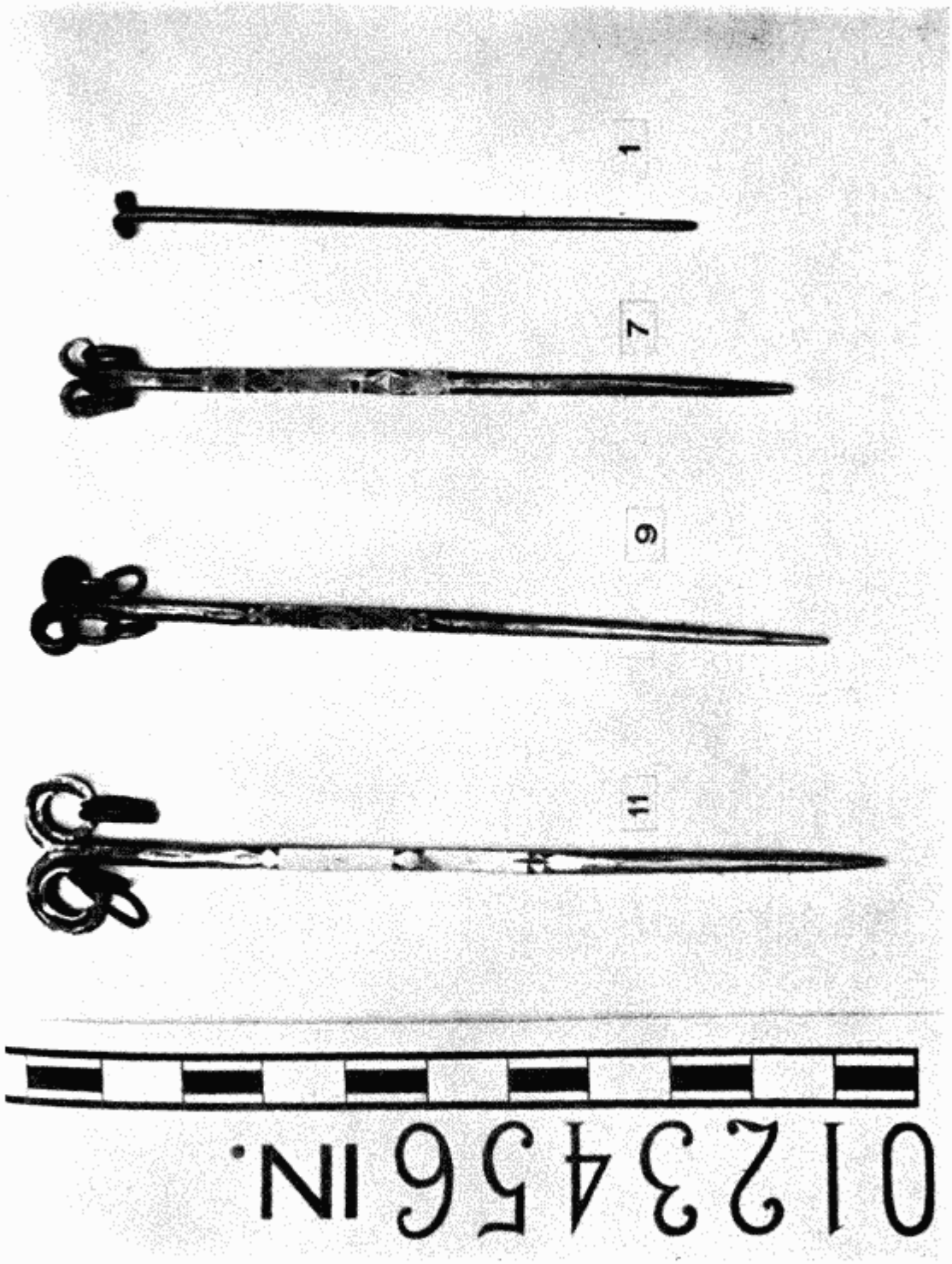
The following list gives the provenance of the pins illustrated, which were all collected at El Fasher, and except where otherwise stated were

[1] Although at El Fasher for seven days after a woman has given birth it is customary for her to wear one of these iron kohl pins in her hair whenever she leaves her house. Among the Birgid under similar circumstances the kohl pin is replaced by iron tweezers (*mungash*). The idea is that the iron frightens away the spirits (*jinūn*). Cp. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I, 305, and II, 385.

[2] See the *Philadelphia University Museum Journal*, Vol. 23 (No. 4), plate cxxi, B. H8.



A COLLECTION OF KOHL PINS MADE AT EL FASHER.



FOUR OF THE KOHL PINS SHOWN IN PLATE VII ON A LARGER SCALE.

obtained from pilgrims or labourers in search of work who were travelling eastward along the great trans-African high road, which runs from Northern Nigeria through El Fasher to the White Nile and beyond :—

Fig. 11 (which most closely resembles the Faragab pin).—A Budduma pilgrim from Bul on Lake Chad.

Figs. 12–14.—Ngūri in Kanem.

Figs. 15–17.—Mao in Kanem.

Fig. 18.—A Goraani from the Bahr el Ghazal which runs into Lake Chad.

Fig. 19.—Kotoko.

Figs. 9 *and* 10.—Bulala pilgrims from Ati.

Figs. 4–8.—The household of Sheikh Mohamed el Sennari Ahmed, who was chief scribe to the late Sultan Ali Dinar, at El Fasher. Fig. 8 is said to have been used at one time in Ali Dinar's palace. Fig. 4 is believed to have been made in El Fasher. It is not known where Figs. 5–8 were made.

Fig. 3 (iron) *and Fig.* 2 (bronze) were made by Tuareg, of whom there are a small colony at El Fasher.

Fig. 1 (copper) was made at El Fasher in 1935 by a colony of blacksmiths from Dar Tama in Wadai, the Tama having probably copied this type of kohl pin from the local Tuareg.[1]

Figs. 1–3 are the type in general use at El Fasher to-day.

The general type of these pins is constant, the top split so as to form a double ring or in some cases a double spiral, the upper part of the pin itself being plain and of a round cross-section, while the middle part of the pin has a square cross-section and is ornamented, and the lower part is plain with a round cross-section and tapers gradually to a blunt point.

If similar kohl pins are in use elsewhere it is to be hoped that they will be reported, if only to test the hypothesis as to their diffusion here put forward.

[1] These Tama say, probably correctly, that the *mirwad* is not used in their home country, and that in Darfur and Wadai it is only used in towns.

For a note on the *mirwad*, apropos of its use redhot by Sultan Arus of Wadai to blind a rebellious son, see Tunisi, *Voyage au Ouaday* (tr. Perron), pp. 82 and 632.

A NOTE ON BARI HISTORY.

By G. O. Whitehead.

MR. BEATON has put all students of Bari history in his debt by his study of the Bekat rainmakers. In the first place his genealogical tables provide a fairly secure framework for a century and a half of Bari history; in the second the traditions which he has collected help to give a clear idea of the position and fortunes of the Bari rain chiefs over that period. We are enabled to reach some interesting conclusions about chieftainship among this tribe: for instance, that while the position of the *monyekak* has probably always been stable, that of the *matat lo pioŋ* has been much less so. The latter has been frequently powerful, yet always insecure, and it is his claim to make rain that has been the reason for his widespread power and also for his dramatic falls. This claim has always been a course of disharmony, or at any rate of ups and downs in the relations of the *matat lo pioŋ* and his *bömön*; they have paid quietly for his services, they have often invoked him as their benefactor, and yet from time to time they have turned against him, accused him of concealing the rain, driven him from power and wreaked their vengeance upon him.

Since the history of the rain-making dynasty is so central in Bari history, it is worth while making the genealogical trees we now have as accurate as possible: this can be done by reference to European sources, since they provide dates which native information naturally cannot give.

(1) *Logunu.* Logunu was dead by 1845. A. M. Lafargue, writing in May of that year, says: "We have seen the successors of the Sultan Lagono . . . the eldest son of Lagono is now the sultan of the Chir and Berh (Bari)" (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Series III, Volume 4, pp. 159–60, 1845).

(2) *Subek.* This son was Subek. In 1849 he had to go into hiding for failing to produce rain. But he was not so unfortunate as a neighbouring rain-chief of Yapour (=Jabur) who was cut open in 1850 for the same reason (Brun Rollet).

There is no information to say for certain when Subek died, but it seems probable that he was not alive when Sir Samuel Baker arrived at Gondokoro. The evidence for this is Dr. Peney's remark that when he visited Bilinian in April of 1861 he spent the night with the *'bunit* Lado.

It is true that Peney's companion, Andrea del Bono, states that they passed the night with the chief named Giada (Jada) (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Series V, Volume 6, p. 55, 1863). There is evidently some confusion here, but it seems likely that, had Subek been living, we should have found his name recorded.[1]

(3) *Pitia Yeŋ ko Pioŋ*. Pitia was still alive in 1851–52. " Le vieux Pitia habite le village de Cendarou " was the information that the Austrian Missionary Angelo Vinco gave to Consul Vaudey when he came to Khartoum in 1852. (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Series IV, Volume 4, p. 528, 1852.)

(4) *Nyigilö*. It is about Nyigilö that we have most information, though much of it is not of a very serious character. Mr. Beaton says that he was a son of Molodiaŋ and a brother of Logunu; but Brun Rollet always speaks of him as a son of Logunu and a brother of Subek.[2] When Nyigilö was a young man he visited Khartoum and was there in 1845. Brun Rollet tells the story of how he made friends with him on his first journey to the Bari country in 1844. " The short duration of the dry season did not allow us a long enough stay to enable us to establish relations with the neighbouring tribes, from whom the Baris drew the ivory which they sold to us. So I sought to set up relations with them (the Bari), influential, active, and interested friends who could serve as intermediaries or as messengers to the clans in the interior, or perhaps as zealous protectors of the people whom I should leave in the country to carry on my purchases until the return of my boats.

" The brother of the king of Bellenia, named Niguello, appeared to me to unite the qualities which seemed to me necessary to my plans. We soon grew acquainted, and our mutual friendship became such that he was my messmate, and served me as cicerone with such zeal and good will that I could not but congratulate myself on having made his acquaintance. Soon we were so friendly that, after he had assured himself that my boat was not a house detached from the bank by the flood and carried off

[1] Mr. Beaton comments: " The people at Belinian seem to think that he [Subek] was alive in Baker's time, but if in '61 neither Peney nor del Bono name him, he may have been dead (or alternatively, old and ill and not executive chief, though still functioning behind the scenes).

[2] Mr. Beaton comments: " Nyigilö was definitely the son of Molodiang's old age—so I am told—and was therefore much more of Subek's age than Logono's. As a Bari, he would call Subek his brother, and although the son of the same father as Logonu, might possibly have called Logonu ' his father,' *i.e.*, clan father, as being a member of an older generation."

by the stream, but in reality a wooden building to which we had given wings to make it go where we would, he came and took up his quarters there with two of his wives and a few servants and would not leave again. ' I give myself up to you,' he said to me, ' I wish to know the country which produces the fruits and beverages which you have made me taste; I wish to see the manufacture of the stuffs and other objects I have admired here and which prove that you are a people far more clever than we are, who do not know how to produce anything like it. You shall give me some of all that, and I shall return rich and powerful to our country, either with you, or if you wish, with the people whom you shall entrust to me to buy ivory.'

" These proposals were too favourable to my designs to be refused: I took Niguello and his folk away with me, but that family aboard my boat excited the jealousy and perhaps the cupidity of the heads of the Turkish expedition with which we had been forced to make the greater part of our journey. Thus my friend was claimed from me as a subject of the Viceroy of Egypt, and he had to move with his suite on board the government boats. It was with great difficulty that I was able to get permission at Carthum that Niguello and his party, for whom I was responsible, could live in liberty, and that they were returned next year to their country.

" The deceptions that these travellers experienced during their enforced stay with the Turks were numerous; to place them at a distance from us, they were relegated to Auled Medinet, where they were often allowed to run short of everything. Despite that, Niguello became, in his tribe, the agent of the whites, who always found a great quantity of ivory in his possession. He is, above all, the friend of the Franks, whom he has learnt to distinguish from the Turks, whose bad faith he knows. With the gifts which we made him, he has been able since his return to take many wives, a circumstance that has made him very grateful; to-day he has twenty-two." (Brun Rollet, *Le Nil Blanc et le Soudan*, 1855, pp. 187–190.)

As Nyigilö was returning down the Nile, his mother, who had learnt of his approaching arrival, hastened to a spot named Djonga, on the river fifteen leagues from Bilinian, to welcome him. The Arab sailors were so impressed by this evidence of her affection and her delight at her son's return, that they thenceforth named the spot *Hellet omou Nikla*. (Lejean, *Voyage aux Deux Nils*, p. 74, 1865.)

In April, 1854, Nyigilö was concerned in the murder of Vaudey, the Sardinian Consul at Khartoum. One of Vaudey's men had ordered the discharge of a volley in sign of welcome to Ignatius Knoblecher, who was approaching the Austrian Mission Station in his boat, the "Stella Matutina." A Bari child was accidentally killed, and a large crowd of Bari gathered menacingly around the Mission Station. Vaudey, who was on his own boat, at some distance from the scene, mustered some men and went in the direction of the uproar: "Among them (the Bari) was that Nikla of whom I have spoken, and who, as he spoke Arabic, was the willing intermediary between the whites and his own countrymen. Nikla had taught the negroes that the rifle did not spout death in an uninterrupted stream, but that a pause was necessary to reload it, and during the fight, having heard an officer of M. Vaudey's cry: 'Haouaga, mafich baroud" ("Sir, there is no more powder"), he said to his friends: 'They have no more fire to load their pipes; when they have gone *toun* once more, fall upon them with your spears.'" (*Op. cit.*, p. 78.)

At last, in 1859 or 1860, Nyigilö was killed by the angry inhabitants of Ilibari. Lejean, who arrived at Gondokoro on the 22nd of February, 1861, learnt the circumstances of the rainmaker's death, and in his account of them adds one or two facts to what we already know. "On the left Ulibo revealed its huts grouped together on a little open ridge. A negro without weapons, his pipe grasped in his hand, made his appearance by the boat: it was a Bari of about six feet, built like all his fellow countrymen on the lines of a veritable Apollo. The dragoman who knew him, said to me: 'He is a very well-behaved man, and he is not like the rest of the negroes who have become beggars since they have had to do with the whites; you will be pleased with him. He is the chief of the smiths of Ulibo, half the village belongs to him.'

"I asked him news of Nikla, whom the majority of the travellers have called Niguelo, and who is well known through Brun Rollet's book. He had become the go-between between the Bari and the whites who used to go up the river. My negro, named *mata* Tchoka, or Tchoba (Swaka or Subek) blew a great puff of smoke from his pipe and, without looking at me, told me something like this: 'Ah, you used to know Nikla. Nikla was a clever man, but he certainly did not know his job as magician. For five years rain did not fall in our country. We are dying of hunger. We asked Nikla for rain; he promised it, he got cattle given him, and despite

his magical incantations rain did not come. We grew angry : then Nikla took his gun, and threatened to kill everybody ; we had to leave him alone. That happened last year for the third time ; then we lost patience, ripped up Nikla's stomach, and threw him into the river : he will not take advantage of us any more. It was my father that struck the blow, and after that he quite took his place, he is *bounit* and chief of Belegnan.' "

(5) *Swaka, tumunit* of Ulibo or Libu. It would be interesting to know more of Lejean's informant. Andrea del Bono gives Shoka (Swaka) as the name of the chief of Gondokoro at the time (*Nouvelles Annales de Voyage*, Vol. 3, p. 11, 1862), and this may be the same man. It is certain that there was a group of *tomonok ti kare* who lived at Libu, and owned land there. It was one of these who first met some strangers from the north and bore news of their arrival to the other Bari. A native text gives one version of this story :—

" Upon the arrival of the *gela* (foreigners) here among us they found a certain man at the landing place upon the river, called Lokoya. And they spoke and said : ' Lokoya, thou art chief.' And Lokoya said : ' Alas, and how am I to become chief ? Because I am a *tumunit* and my work is upon the river.' And they said : ' You are to be so.' And Lokoya said : ' Yes,' but he answered vainly, *i.e.*, for the sake of answering. And Mödi lo Bosuk was chief of the Panyigilo, also he was *monyakak*. And another man, too, was a big man ; his name was Loro lo Yiro. And Lokoya told him, saying : ' Verily, those strangers seized me at the landing place, saying I was chief, and I said : " Alas, it truly is not possible because I have my chief over there in Ilibari (the district of Gondokoro) on the further bank." ' And Loro lo Yiro said : ' Yes, Lokoya.' And forthwith he beat the drum which went *kir, kir, kir*. And then the whole of Ilibari gathered together at the house of Loro lo Yiro, and said : ' What is the matter, chief ? ' And he said : ' Verily, Lokoya says the *gela* have found him upon the landing place over there, and they all made him chief, and he refused, therefore has he come here.' And those people said : ' How is this thing to be ? ' And Loro lo Yiro said : ' Ask the chief, Mödi lo Busuk,' because Mödi was the great chief of the Panyigilo, and also was *monyakak*. And Mödi said : ' Loro, thou art to be [chief].' And Loro it was that became chief."

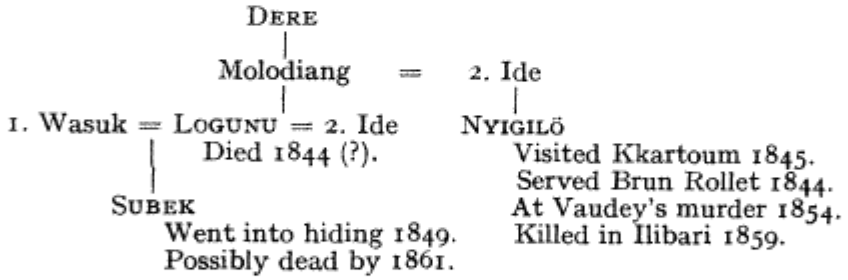
The interesting point of the story lies in the *tumunit*'s unwillingness to take on the duties of chief, apparently because of his inferior status and

occupation, the reference of the whole matter to the *monyakak*, who remains in the background, and the appointment of the important freeman, Loro lo Yiro, to be the chief to deal with the strangers.

It is, perhaps, possible that under the unsettling influence of the newcomers—traders and explorers—the *tomonok ti yokit* (smiths) and *ti kare* (fishermen) did take on duties that in a more tranquil period they would never have accepted. Still, Swaka's boast to Lejean that on Nyigilö's death his father became *'bunit* and chief of Belinian sounds hardly likely.

NOTE.—Mr. Beaton gives the name of the *tumunit lo kare* as Lokwaja Lokulu, the name of the chief to whom he brought the message Loro lo Lako, and says that the story refers to Baker's arrival.

GENEALOGIGAL TABLE SHOWING BELINIAN RAINMAKERS WITH DATES.



ARAB COURT PROCEDURE AND CUSTOMARY LAW.

By J. A. Reid and J. F. P. Maclaren.

Procedure.

THE complainant to an Arab Meglis or Native Administration Court is told to state his case. This he does, quite informally, not on oath, and if any point is not clear, he is questioned upon it by some member of the Court. Assuming he has a prima facie case, he is then given a summons to the defendant and told to bring his witnesses at the same time, if he has any, or if witnesses appear needful. On arrival of the defendant, he is asked by the Court whether he admits the claim or charge. If he does, the Court proceeds to assess the award or penalty. If he does not, the Court is faced with the necessity of reaching a finding on the facts, and it is here that their procedure starts to differ radically from ours. We would proceed to try the case with sworn evidence from both sides. The Arab never does. Such an idea is scandalous to him, for the reason, I think, that he feels that such procedure may practically compel someone to commit perjury out of loyalty to his own side.

Thus where there is a clash, the Arab Court asks the plaintiff whether he has any witnesses. If he has, these are heard unsworn. If accused (or defendant, Arabs do not distinguish between civil and criminal matters) has no witnesses plaintiff wins " on evidence." But accused has the right to demand that the witnesses then swear to their case. If plaintiff has no evidence, and the defendant has, the same rules apply *vice versa*. If both have evidence, and this evidence appears contradictory, the whole point for decision by the Court is which side shall be allowed to swear.

This is sometimes the most difficult point a Court has to decide. As far as I can make out from observation, *it is the side which the Court thinks most likely to be in the right which is allowed to swear*. There are two reasons for this, first to prevent perjury *per se*, and second to prevent people who are in the right having their rights sworn away by dishonest litigants. I believe the first weighs more than the second with many Courts. Once it is decided which side shall be allowed to swear, the case

is virtually settled. The results of swearing or failing to swear are decided before the oath is offered. There is no appeal against such a settlement, provided the procedure has been carried out properly. It is regarded definitely as a judgment with a divine sanction and, if it has been obtained by perjury, it is not proper for man to anticipate the wrath of God which will surely follow.

The case where neither side has any witnesses is in principle the same as above, except that in such cases it is always, I think, the defendant who is allowed to swear. I imagine the feeling here is that the oath of one man, the plaintiff, would not be sufficient to fix a charge or prove a debt against the defendant, whereas the latter's oath is enough to clear himself.

It will thus be observed that the Arab judgment is really obtained either by evidence or by oath, although the oath of one side may be added to their evidence in certain cases. This is radically different from British Legal Procedure.

Trial by oath is in a sense trial by ordeal. The oath is regarded as a dangerous thing to take, and a swearer risks supernatural penalties if he misuses it. Any oath, even a righteous one, is regarded as a serious matter, and one involving a certain risk ; for a man may unintentionally make a mistake, which might be visited upon himself or his family. Thus the less sophisticated Arab, and people of a pious disposition, will not take an oath about a trivial matter, and Courts will often for this reason persuade the parties to accept a settlement "*li rafa' el Yamin*," "to avoid swearing." By such settlements a plaintiff is often forced to accept half his debt, or a defendant to pay half a debt claimed even if he denies his liability. This often strikes a British mind as unfair, but it is a fairly general practice and based on the quite understandable reasons above-mentioned.

Real "trial by ordeal" still exists in certain areas. I have seen it used in Kordofan, where a man agreed to prove his innocence by picking a needle out of a pot of boiling *semn* (ghee) without being scalded. This he did to the satisfaction of the *Agawid* and was duly acquitted. Similarly a woman charged with adultery will pick a red hot axe head out of the fire and roll it in her hands. If they are burned, she is guilty, and *vice versa*. I should imagine, however, that this system is now very rare.

I have met one or two cases where the old Saxon system of " Compurgators " was used. A compurgator is a man who, not knowing the facts himself, and, therefore, being in no sense a witness, will swear to the credibility of his principal's oath. For instance, in 1927 the Kababish drove off a whole herd of camels belonging to the Kawahla Nas Wad Bilal. The theft was admitted but the number of animals disputed. Sir Ali El Tom said he would accept the oath on Um Dibban of the owner, the herdsman, and ten just men of the Nas Wad Bilal as to the number and ages of the animals concerned. The Kawahla pointed out that the only people who knew the exact number and ages were the owner and his herdsman, who would swear to them, while the ten just men would swear to the credibility of the former's oath. This was accepted.

In actual result, when it came to the point of facing the spiritual terrors of Feki Um Dibban, a sulh was made " *li rafa' el Yamin.*"

Customary Law.

The law or *custom* used in Arab Courts varies considerably in detail from place to place, and it would be impossible to give an account of it all in less than a small volume ; nor, I think, would it be of any great value, for it is always easy to ascertain the custom covering any point when it actually arises. It is far more important to know the procedure (as outlined above) than the actual law, for the procedure can be subtly warped so as to do grave injustice, whereas it is a difficult thing to over-rule a custom known to all concerned.

At the same time there are certain customs which are common to almost all Arab tribes. " Blood-Money " (*dia*) and the various sanctions and usages arising therefrom are accepted everywhere. The various customs connected with hospitality have wide recognition. For example, a murderer may find sanctuary under a stranger's roof. Again a traveller in a dreary desert land has certain very definite rights and privileges ; if one of his transport animals breaks down he is at liberty to impress into his service any animal he meets with. Even the cultivator when he starts sowing his " *bilad* " mumbles " *bismillahi li ghashi wa li mashi,*" which means that the passer-by may eat his fill, from his crop. Finally marriage customs are similar all over the Arab world and have changed very little since the days of the Prophet.

But the law applied is always, I think, founded on the *Sharia* in essential principles, with accretions, and in some areas modifications, suggested by local circumstances or the Arab preference for compromise rather than drastic action. The actual modifications, where they exist, are due to some very strong necessity. The Kababish, for example, and some other nomads depart radically from the Islamic Law of succession, giving daughters practically no share in their deceased father's herds. This is clearly a case where the *Sharia* had to give way to the ruling motive of preserving the tribal strength, for a girl might marry outside the tribe and take part of its wealth with her, a result which could not be countenanced.

But accretions are, of course, innumerable, and cover every phase of the herdsman's or cultivator's activities. It is rare to find any transaction between man and man that is not covered by some quite definite custom.

As regards criminal matters the Arabs really regard all offences by one man against another as torts rather than crimes. His only crimes are those against the " State "—i.e., disobedience to his chief, refusal to pay taxes, and so on. But certain wrongdoers, if they became so active as to be a public danger or nuisance, will fall into the class of criminals. Thus if I steal your camel, the Arab regards it in his heart as an affair to be settled by a cash payment between you and me. But if I go round stealing right and left so that nobody feels safe from my depredations, I become a public enemy and therefore to be dealt with criminally by the " State."

There is no definite criminal law, other than the *Sharia*, many of whose punishments have disappeared as not tolerated by the Government. In their place has arisen a scale of punishments by imprisonment and fine, based on the practice of the British Courts in the Sudan with which the people have been familiar for thirty years.

But in cases of hurt a well-known scale of damages exists in most areas ; these, where serious, are generally based on the value of a man (which varies in different districts), certain degrees of damage counting as " half-a-man " (*i.e.* loss of an eye or a limb), " quarter-a-man," etc. Minor damage is assessed in cash.

THE RUBATAB.

By F. C. S. Lorimer.

(MAP.)

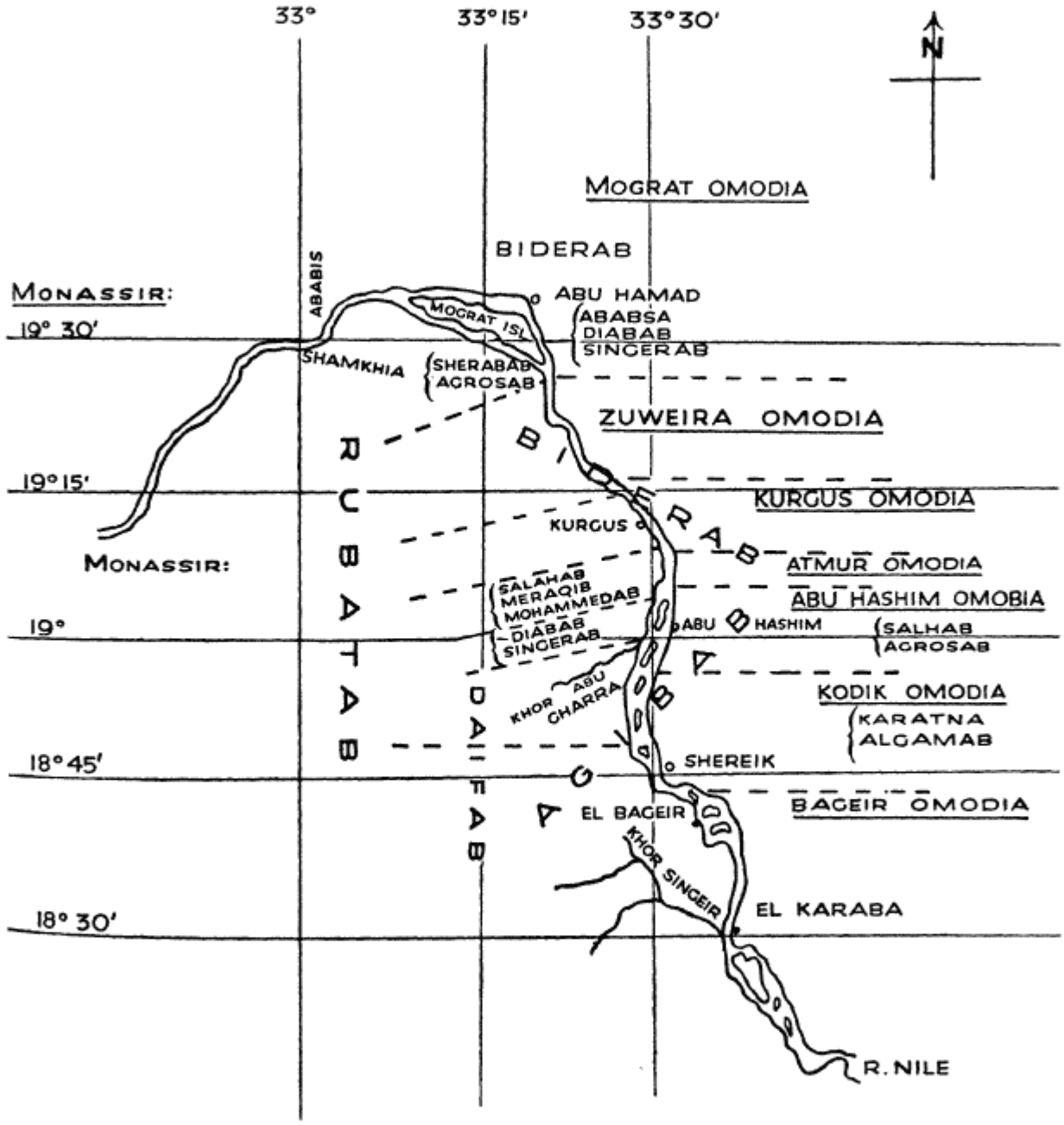
THE Rubatab tribe inhabits the country lying along both sides of the River Nile from Khor Singeir (lat. 18° 30′, long. 33° 41′) to Shamkhia (lat. 19° 30′, long. 33°) which is situated on the westerly bend made by the river from Abu Hamad to Merowe, a distance of about one hundred and sixteen miles.

The Rubatab country, though barren and unfertile, and offering few attractions and many difficulties to the native cultivator, is physically attractive. On the west bank there is only a very narrow strip of cultivable land fringing the Nile, but, seen from the river, or from the other bank, it presents a vista of brilliant green, made up of the different shades of many date palms, Acacia trees (of which about ten different varieties are found here), Dis and other river grasses, Sagia and *gerf* cultivation. The whole length of the river is dotted with green islands, some of which contain interesting archæological remains. The whole Rubatab area is rich in Meroitic and mediæval Christian remains which have been described and classified by various authorities.[1]

Inland on the west bank the land runs upwards in a gently sloping, pebbly plain, varying in width from a few hundred yards to two or three miles or more, to meet the long range of foothills which runs parallel with the river—a range of dark volcanic rock, in places quite low, in others attaining to quite imposing heights. Cultivation on the east bank is rare, and the main feature is a succession of long, rolling, almost white sand dunes which sweep down from the desert to the river bank and steadily encroach upon the strip of *gerf* which is slowly being swallowed up.

The Rubatab are a tribal entity closely akin to the Shaigia, the Jaaliin, and the Meirafab, with all of whom they have a common ancestry. They are also akin to their neighbours on the west, the Monassir, although not quite so closely connected with them. They claim to be pure Abbassiun, descended directly from El Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, and, finding their race factor in the Beni Abbas branch of the Koraysh, the Prophet's own tribe, they ignore entirely any possibility of a Nubian

§ See *Sudan Notes and Records*, "The Rubatab—Customs of," Crowfoot, I, 119–134, note, I, 293. "Abu Hamed District," H. C. Jackson, IX, (2), 1–36.



TRIBAL MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF SUB-SECTIONS.

element in their stock. They are intensely race proud, and every village can produce at least one ancient document setting forth at length their descent from El Abbas. Some of these pedigrees go as far back as Noah, some as far as the original Adam, and one I saw went even further—to the source of all flesh ! It starts in this fashion :—

> " God begot The Fire ; The Fire begot The Smoke ; The Smoke begot The Darkness ; The Darkness begot The River ; The River begot The Wave ; The Wave begot The Dust, and from The Dust sprang Adam the forefather of Mohammed."

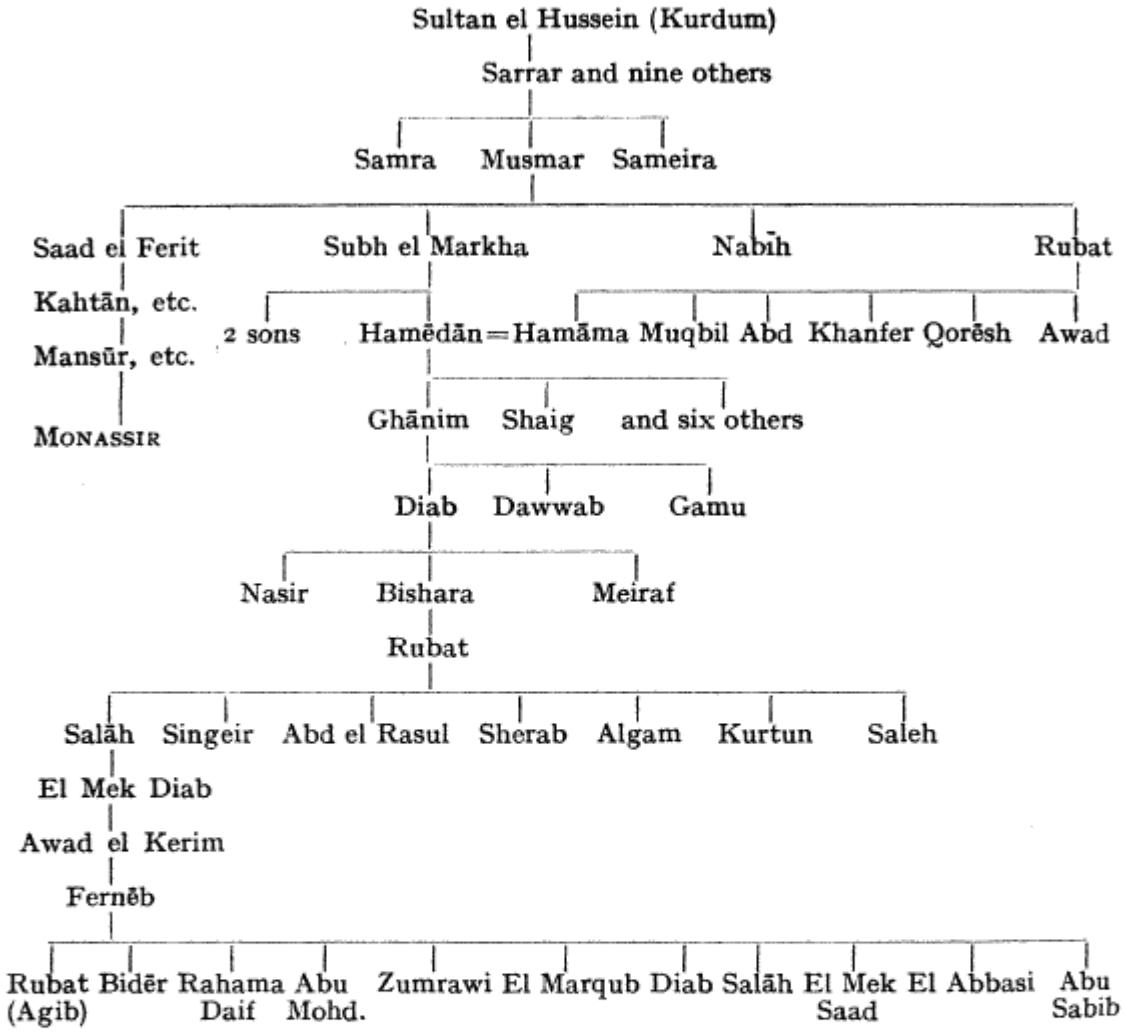
The claim to be of Abbassid stock is common to the whole of the Jaaliin group, but this distinction is denied them by MacMichael in his " History of the Arabs in the Sudan." Some of the Rubatab historians—and they all claim to be historians—hold that the close connection between themselves, the Shaigia, the Jaaliin, and the Meirafab is to be found in the fact that four of Bishara's sons were Shaig, Jaal, Meiraf, and Rubat. Others maintain that Hamāma, the mother of Ghānim, the progenitor of the Jaaliin proper, was a daughter of Rubat the elder, and hence the close connection of the Rubatab with the Jaaliin. Yet others believe that Shaig, the ancestor of the Shaigia, was the full brother of Ghānim, who, in addition to being the progenitor of the Jaaliin, was the grandfather of Bishara, from whom spring both the Rubatab and the Meirafab.

The first of these statements is, I think, incorrect, and from what I have personally been able to gather from my enquiries from the Rubatab and the Meirafab, the last two statements appear to be true. It seems that Ghānim, who is generally accepted (*vide* MacMichael, *op. cit.*) to be the ancestor of the Jaaliin, was indeed the son of Hamāma, the daughter of Rubat the elder, and also the brother of Shaig, and so the Shaigia-Jaaliin-Rubatab connection would seem to be conclusively established.

That the Rubatab are also closely connected with the Meirafab is beyond doubt. Actually they are more closely connected and more recently related to them than to the Jaaliin proper and the Shaigia. (I speak of the Jaaliin proper as distinct from the Jaaliin group to which all these tribes mentioned are generally considered to belong.)

The following table is the result of correlating all the various Rubatab trees that have been shown to me at different times, and also is the main substance of all the various stories of the Rubatab descent that have been

related to me. It is the Rubatab version, supported quite strongly by all the Meirafab whom I have consulted.



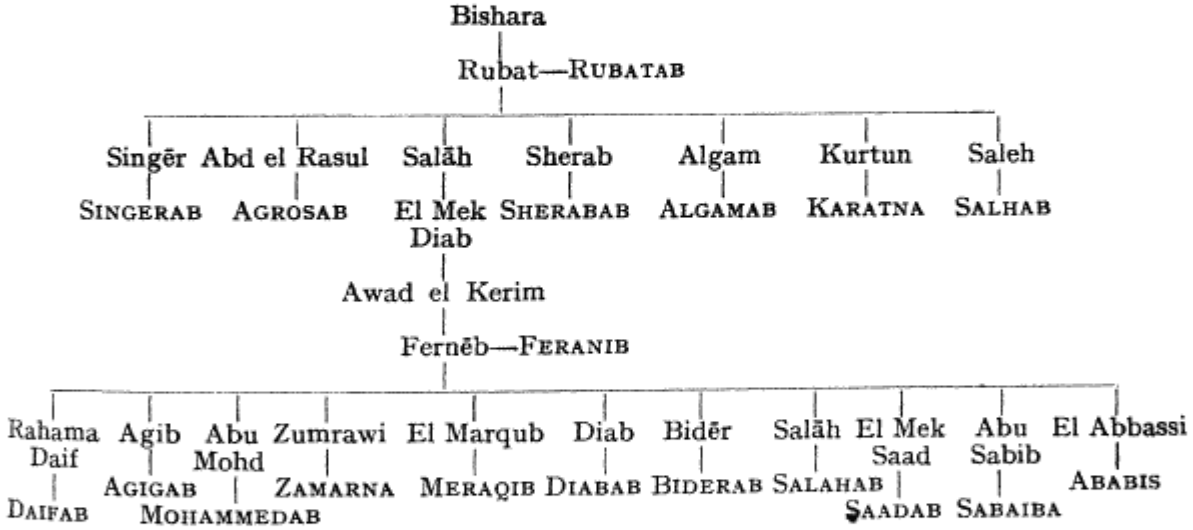
The Rubatab tribe is composed of seventeen sub-sections, of which the largest and most important are the Biderab, the Agibab, the Singerab, the Salhab, the Daifab, the Diabab, the Ababis, and the Mohammedab. Other smaller sections are the Agrosab, the Sherabab, the Algamab, the Karatna, the Zamarna, the Saadab, the Salahab, the Sabaiba, and the Meraqib.

There is yet another section claiming to be Rubatab, the Ababsa. These appear to have come to the Sudan at a rather later date than the rest of the Rubatab and seem then to have attached themsleves to the tribe. They claim to be descended from Haroun el Rashid, Khalifa of Baghdad, and have an exceedingly good opinion of themselves, not entirely shared by the rest of the Rubatab! I do not think they are Rubatab at all, and everything points to them being later arrivals in the country. They are mainly settled round the Abu Hamad area in the

Omodia of Mograt, though some of them are found right outside the Rubatab country, in Artoli of Berber District, and in Zeidab of Shendi District.

The seventeen sub-sections divide themselves into two groups. Those who are descended from Fernēb, the great-great-grandson of Rubat the elder, call themselves Feranib, and those who belong to the other sub-sections call themselves Rubatab proper. Actually they are all Rubatab proper, the Feranib being merely a separate branch of the main tribe. The Feranib are composed of eleven sections, the Agibab, the Biderab, the Daifab, the Mohammedab, the Zamarna, the Saadab, the Salahab, the Ababis, the Diabab, the Sabaiba, and the Meraqib. The remaining six sections constitute the " Rutatab proper."

The following table shows the descent and grouping of the various sub-sections of the Rubatab.



Although the Rubatab know little or nothing of their very early history beyond what is palpably legend, and content themselves with their fantastic family trees, the more recent history is well known. Under the Fung Kingdom of Sennar there were two Meks in the Rubatab. The country was divided into two sections, the Biderab ruling the northern one, which extended from Shamkhia southwards to Khor Abu Gharra (lat. 19°, long. 33° 34′), and the Daifab, the descendants of Rahama Daif, holding sway in the southern half, from Khor Abu Gharra southwards to Singeir. About 1819, two years before the coming of Ismail Pasha to conquer the Sudan, the Agibab section came to the fore in the person of Abu Higl, a man of outstanding personality, who subjugated the entire southern half of the country, and was finally made " agid " or Commander-in-Chief of the whole Rubatab forces. His administrative powers and

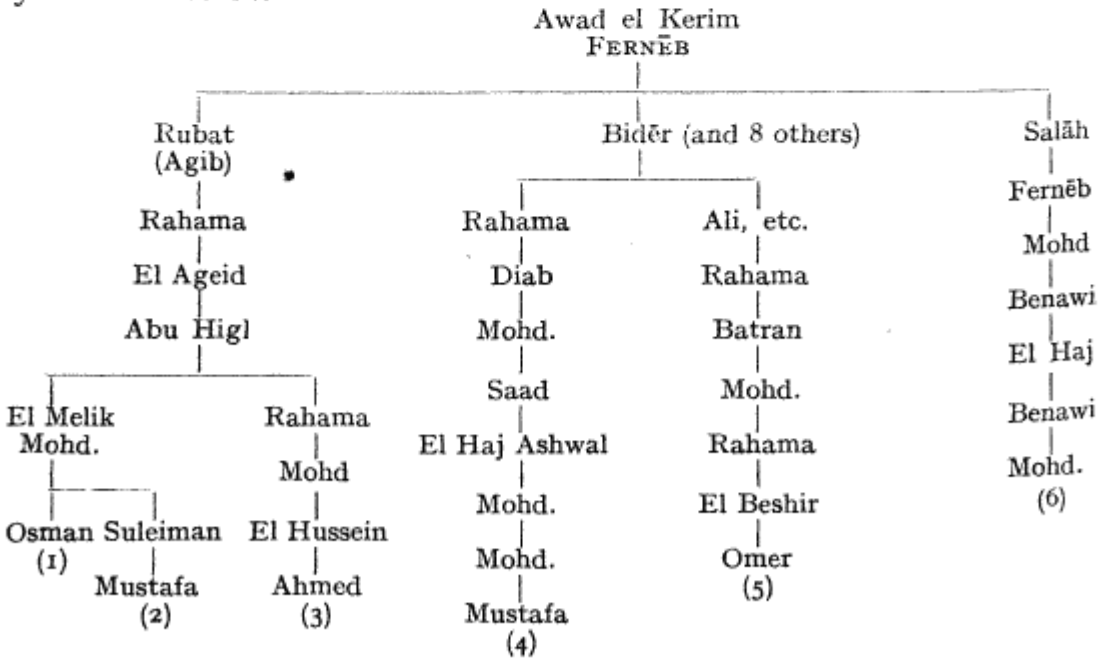
personal courage so impressed the Turks that they considered him to be Chief of the whole Rubatab country.

During the " Turkia " and the Mahdia the two Mekdoms were divided into three, and the Khuts of Bageir, Abu Hashim, and Mograt came into being. Mohammed Awadalla (Daifab) was appointed " Hakim Khut Bageir," ruling from Singeir north to El Turaa ; Suleiman Abu Higl (Agibab) became " Hakim Khut Abu Hashim," his territory being from El Turaa north to Atmur ; Beshir Rahama (Biderab) was " Hakim Khut Mograt," controlling the country from Kurgus to Shamkhia, the northern limit of the Rubatab.

Under the present Government three Omdas were appointed as above, and these three very shortly afterwards became seven, as they are at the present day.

The Agibab, during the Turkia and the Mahdia, were considered to be the ruling section of the Rubatab. During the present Government, however, their power and influence has rather waned *vis-à-vis* that of the Biderab section. This has been due to several reasons : it may be ascribed first to the capable personality of the present Biderab head, Sheikh Omer el Beshir, and secondly to the fact that since Abu Hamad Merkaz was situated in Biderab territory and far from the Agibab country, the former section came more into the limelight.

Here a table showing the descent of the present Omdas in the Rubatab may be of interest.



(1) Omda of Bageir	Agibab	(4) Omda of Zuweira	Biderab
(2) Omda of Kodik	Agibab	(5) Omda of Mograt	Biderab
(3) Omda of Abu Hashim	Agibab	(6) Omda of Atmur	Salahab

The Rubatab is the southern limit of serious date cultivation in the Sudan. There are over one hundred and seventy six thousand tax-paying date palms in the area, and the people depend largely on them for their livelihood. Cultivable land is scarce and poor, and with difficulty yields more than one good crop annually. Fodder and grazing for animals are scarce, and another hardship is that, unlike his neighbours on the more southerly reaches of the river, the Rubatabi possesses no lands at all for *seluka* cultivation, and all that he cultivates must be laboriously watered by the sagia wheel. To make matters harder for the sagia cultivator, very often, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Abu Hamad, hard rocky sub-strata shelve out underneath the sagias and necessitate hacking and hewing into the rock to make a well for the water.

The country has been very largely depopulated by the unfertility of the land, which, since the disappearance of serf labour, has driven large numbers of the young men further south in search of remunerative work.

Riding along the west bank one can see traces of large areas of land which were once under cultivation, but must nowadays lie fallow through lack of labour. I should say that in the not far distant past the narrow west bank strip of cultivation was, on an average, about half as wide again as it is now.

THE DESERT LOCUST.

By R. C. Maxwell Darling.

LOCUST swarms, as is generally known, are not present every year. They may invade a country every season for a number of years, and may then be seen no more for several years, after which the swarms again make their appearance.

Until recent years, everyone available was busy killing locusts when the swarms were present. When the cycle ended and no more swarms appeared, the matter was dropped. The result was that less was known about these insects than about many pests of comparatively minor importance.

Locust hoppers can be successfully killed on a large scale, but this method of dealing with locusts has two objections to its adoption as a permanent locust policy. In the first place it is very costly, although a successful campaign pays for itself by the crops it saves. Secondly, many countries do not kill their locust hoppers at all, or only destroy a small percentage ; so that in spite of a successful campaign one year, a country may be invaded the following season, as a result of neighbouring territories not having dealt with their locusts.

The only alternative is to try and discover what causes the beginning of the swarming-cycles, and, if possible, prevent their happening.

It was in order to investigate these matters that a scheme of research was initiated by the locust committee of the Economic Advisory Council in London. Funds were obtained by subscriptions from the Sudan and certain British colonies, and the executive power was vested in the Director of the Imperial Institute of Entomology, which Institute also undertook the work of correlating all the data on the movements and breeding of swarms. France, Italy and other countries agreed to co-operate in this work and to send their reports to the Institute, which is thus enabled to issue a full annual report on the locust situation in Africa and Western Asia. Some of these countries, notably France, also appointed entomologists for locust investigations.

There are three locusts of major importance in Africa. The Red Locust (*Nomadacris septemfasciata* Serv.) which occurs over most of South

Africa; the Tropical Migratory or "Hairy Chested" Locust (*Locusta migratoria migratorioides* R. and F.); and the Desert Locust (*Schistocerca gregaria* Forsk.). Four British entomologists have been investigating these locusts.

During the years in which swarms are absent, locusts are still present in the form of solitary individuals which differ in appearance somewhat from the swarm locusts, and were thought at one time to be different species. In certain places, these solitaries can, during a year when conditions are particularly favourable to them, multiply very rapidly and produce swarms. The localities where this can happen are called outbreak-centres, and the location of these is the most important part of the locust investigations. When all the outbreak-centres of a species are known, the prevention of outbreaks should be a fairly simple matter, provided that political difficulties do not prevent work being carried out in these areas.

The hairy-chested locust or *kabura* appeared in the Sudan in 1930 for the first time since the re-occupation. It is a tropical sub-species of the locust which occurs in Russia, and is found in many parts of the humid tropics including the Phillipines and Borneo. It is probably only at the peak of its swarming period that it penetrates into arid parts. The present outbreak of this locust in Africa certainly started in West Africa, whence it spread eastwards. The outbreak-area, which is said to be in the regions of the middle Niger, is being investigated by French entomologists.

The locust which chiefly concerns the Sudan is the desert locust, and it is this species which has been investigated by the writer.

Swarms of the desert locust may occur all over North Africa, Arabia, Eritrea and Somaliland, and in parts of Kenya, Abyssinia, India and Persia. There is also a small local area in South-West Africa. At the peak of a swarming cycle, they penetrate farther north to Iraq, Palestine, Syria and Turkestan. In fact, their possible breeding-areas coincide roughly with those of the one-humped camel. Swarms exceptionally migrate to places where they cannot live owing to conditions being too cold or too humid.

B. P. Uvarov, of the Imperial Institute of Entomology, who discovered that solitary and swarm locusts were not different species, but could be produced the one from the other, has divided the whole area of

distribution of the desert locust into five zones, as follows: the Morocco-Senegambian, the Algerian-Nigerian, the Sudanese-Arabian, the Somali-Kenya and the Indo-Persian. From the data on the movements of swarms, it appears that each of these units is more or less self-contained. For example, young swarms bred in Algeria in the spring probably migrate to Nigeria in the *kharif* to breed, and not to the Sudan.

In the Sudanese-Arabian area with which we are concerned, the whole of the Sudan north of about lat. 13° N. may be invaded by sexually immature pink swarms of the desert locust in May and June. When the rains have begun, the locusts become sexually mature, after which they lay eggs and die. Their offspring, emerging as hoppers, become adult during September and fly away, usually north-eastwards. It is these young swarms which do most damage in the Sudan. If they reach a winter rain area, such as the Red Sea coast or Arabia, these young swarms become sexually mature and lay eggs. Sometimes they, or their offspring, move to Palestine or Syria and breed in the spring, as it is too cold for them there in the winter. Finally the resulting swarms return to the Sudan and breed in the *kharif*.

The present swarming cycle of the desert locust started in 1926 and reached its peak in 1929–30, since when the swarms have become fewer every year.

Solitary desert locusts have a wide distribution and can be found in most areas subject to invasion by swarms. But they are usually confined to places with soft sand. The first question that arises is whether these solitary locusts can produce outbreaks in the whole area of their distribution or only in certain special localities. Fortunately, actual outbreaks (*i.e.*, the production of swarms from solitaries) have been observed on the Red Sea coast, once by H. B. Johnston in the winter of 1925–26, at Khor Arbaat near Port Sudan, and also by the author in Tokar district in the winter of 1933–34. We will now proceed to describe an outbreak and analyse the factors causing it. In the winter of 1933–34 there had been no swarms present, so that there was no danger of confusion.

The Red Sea coastal plain may be roughly divided into three belts running north and south. The belt near the hills has a soil of hard sand and gravel with stony patches, and bears trees, mostly *samr*, in varying density. The central belt is an open plain with very few trees. Its soil

is hard where it is flat, but it is overlaid for the most part with soft sand, in small hummocks or larger dunes. The characteristic vegetation of this belt consists of the tussock grasses *tumam*[1] and *gharaza*.[2] The belt nearest the sea is composed typically of small sand dunes overgrown with the salty, fleshy leaved *adlib*[3] bush. The surface of these dunes is hard in the south but looser in the north. These give way to salt flats by the sea.

The rains on most of the Red Sea coast normally come in November and December, while odd showers and drizzle may continue later. In a good year heavy rains may continue till the end of February, or even later. But these winter rains are extremely capricious, and some areas may go for a year or two without any rain. The rains are usually heavier to the south of Port Sudan than they are farther north.

Unlike most animals, locusts do not have their sexual organs fully developed as soon as they reach the adult stage, but need some special stimulus before they can become sexually mature and breed. This stimulus in the case of the desert locust appears to be rainfall with its accompanying increase of atmospheric humidity. They also need moist soil in which to lay their eggs.

When the first rains come in November, the old solitary adults which have been present since the last season become sexually mature and lay eggs. They may lay more than one batch of eggs, but most of these old adults are usually dead by the first half of January. Their progeny, hatching about the end of November, mostly become adult during the second half of January. If there is no more heavy rain, these young adults do not become sexually mature, but remain in the field in an immature state throughout the summer, during which time most of them die. The survivors breed when the rains come in the following November.

These solitary locusts are not numerous enough to damage crops or attract attention. Their hoppers are green, inactive and very inconspicuous. If, however, about a hundred of these green hoppers are reared together in a cage, they become very active, lose their green colour and acquire the black and yellow markings of swarm hoppers. It is this crowding together which induces the change from the green, inactive, solitary

[1] *Tuman* — *Panicum turgidum*, Forsk.
[2] *Gharaza* — *Lasiurus hirsutus*, Boiss.
[3] *Adlib* — *Svaeda fruticosa*, Forsk.

hopper to the black and active swarm hopper. The question arises as to how this process can take place under natural conditions in the field.

The first point to investigate is where the largest numbers of solitary locusts normally occur. It is possible to find odd specimens of these insects almost anywhere on the Red Sea coastal plain. They are common on the sandy tussock-grass belt in the middle of the plain, and also in the sandy beds of khors. The only places, however, where they are at all abundant are the patches of rain-grown *dukhn*, which are confined, except for the Khor Baraka, to the *adlib* belt of the coast. This cultivation mostly occurs south of Suakin. The term " abundant " is used relatively. In November, eight adults might be seen in a mile's walk among the *dukhn*, while only two might be seen in the same distance among the tussocks. In February, when the numerous progeny of these locusts are adult, thirty to fifty might be seen among the *dukhn*, and ten to fifteen among the tussocks.

Although solitary locusts are most numerous among cultivation in the *adlib* belt, they are rare on the firm *adlib* dunes outside this cultivation. In other words, cultivation renders these dunes suitable for solitary desert locusts. This is due to the cleaning and " hishing " which loosens the sand surface and alters the vegetation. Where cultivation occurs only in khor-beds, which naturally contain loose sand, the above remarks apply to a lesser extent.

Solitary locusts prefer loose sand to any other soil for the following reasons :—

(i) It dries up more slowly than hard sand or clay, so that moist soil is available for oviposition near the surface, for some period after rain. This is accentuated by the wind blowing away the dry sand on the surface and exposing the moist sand below. This is particularly noticeable on the gently sloping side of a wind-blown dune.

(ii) Loose sand usually supports some more or less evergreen plants, which on hard ground become dry in the summer. These provide the locusts with green food during the dry season.

These patches of cultivation, which are mostly found south of Suakin, thus provide the solitary locusts with favourable conditions in the midst of rather unfavourable country. On the unflooded parts of the Baraka delta near Tokar, the strong winds have produced a great deal of loose

soil. Among the flooded parts this is mostly in the form of silt dunes, which become more sandy towards the edges of the delta. The silt dries up more quickly than sand, but is otherwise suitable for locusts. Such rain-*dukhn* as is grown on the delta is usually sown round these dunes, and here again solitary desert locusts are most common.

It is clear that, if the locusts could multiply rapidly, and still remain in these restricted areas of cultivation, the hoppers would become crowded, which condition, as mentioned above, induces the change to the swarming phase.

If good rains occur in November, eggs are laid by the old adults which have spent the summer in an immature state, and their offspring are adult by the first half of February. When the rains are good, the old adults apparently live longer and lay more than one batch of eggs. One egg-packet contains about eighty eggs, so that the young adults in February are numerous. If there is no more rain, these young adults fail to become sexually mature, and, as mentioned earlier, most of them die before the following November. If, however, there are good rains during the latter half of February or later, these numerous young adults mature and lay eggs during March. As they all oviposit among the patches of cultivation in which they themselves grew up, the resulting hoppers are fairly concentrated, and this concentration is increased by another factor which has not been mentioned yet.

The commonest weed among *dukhn* growing on sand is *ghareir* or *gwareirab* (*Heliotropium undulatum*, Vahl.), a procumbent plant with small, white flowers. It is a most persistent weed, coming up soon after the land has been "hished," and if thorough weeding is not carried out, it forms large mats on the bare sand among the *dukhn*. The young, green hoppers of the solitary desert locust prefer *ghareir* as food to any other plant available, including *dukhn*. Hence all the little, green hoppers congregate on the mats of *ghareir* on which they feed. As a result of being crowded together on these plants, they acquire the black markings of the swarming phase, and, when about half grown, they start marching about like swarm-hoppers when they may leave the cultivation. If unchecked, they will fly about when they become adult, and, joining up with locusts from the other outbreak-centres, form a flying swarm in May. If this swarm succeeds in reaching the inland Sudan for the *kharif*, it may breed and give rise to ten more swarms, and begin a new swarming cycle.

If the cultivation were perfectly clean, the young hoppers must perforce eat *dukhn*, and, as this plant is uniformly distributed, there would be nothing to concentrate the young hoppers on particular spots; so that far more hoppers would be necessary to achieve the same degree of crowding as that which occurred on the *ghareir*. This *ghareir*, then, seems to be of considerable importance as a concentrating factor for the young hoppers.

In the winter of 1933–34, this production of swarms from solitaries took place at several places between Suakin and Tokar, mostly on the dry, north-western side of the Baraka delta near the Tokar-Trinkitat railway. The rains in that region had been exceptionally heavy and prolonged. On the coast to the south of Tokar delta, there was rain in February and March, but the rains had not started there till January, whereas farther north they had started in early November. The result was that the egg-laying by the old adults was delayed in these southern parts, and their progeny became adult too late to become sexually mature that season. Hence there was no outbreak there.

In the winter of 1934–35 the rains over all the coast south of Port Sudan began in November. North of Tokar there was very little rain after the end of December. Farther south, in the neighbourhood of Aqiq, the rains went on much longer, and there was a locust outbreak there at the end of March. Farther north, where the rains had stopped early, there was no outbreak that year.

The danger of these outbreaks is that the numerous green hoppers are not noticeable unless one happens to tread on the plants on which they are; nor do natives recognise them as locusts until they start marching. They are liable therefore to be overlooked until they are fairly big, when they are more difficult to poison. Both these outbreaks were successfully dealt with by the District Commissioner, Tokar.

There are two main factors which seem to be the cause of these outbreaks of the desert locust on the Red Sea littoral. The first is the rains; an exceptionally long rainy season enables two generations to be gone through during the season, instead of only one. The second is the fact that the locusts remain, for the most part, in certain restricted localities. If the young adults of the first generation were to scatter over the whole coastal plain, and then lay eggs, the hoppers when they emerged from the

eggs would not be sufficiently crowded for the change to the swarming phase to take place. The question must now be considered as to whether similar conditions could obtain elsewhere in the Sudan.

The parts of the inland Sudan which are most favourable for solitary desert locusts are the open gozes of northern Kordofan and Darfur. In northern Kordofan the gozes are more suitable, apparently because the soil has been loosened by past cultivation, whereas the gozes in Darfur have a harder surface.

These gozes are probably too uniform for crowding, such as occurs on the Red Sea coast, to take place. Also the conditions of the *kharif* are different to those of the winter rains on the coast. The solitary hoppers usually emerge from the eggs in July, and are adult in September. In October they would be able to mature and lay eggs, if the right conditions obtained. When heavy rains occur in October they usually take the form of a short storm, and the rise in atmospheric humidity is of a short duration only. As it is apparently increased humidity, acting for several days, which induces sexual maturation, it does not seem likely that the young, solitary locusts in these parts would become sexually mature during the same season.

In the light of our present knowledge, therefore, it seems likely that the outbreak-centres in the Sudan are limited to the Red Sea coast. Such centres doubtless exist also on the Eritrean coast. It is hoped that visits to Arabia may throw some light on the problem in that country, which is intimately connected with the Sudan from the point of view of the desert locust.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GEOGRAPHY OF THE SUDAN.

By E. S. Fiddes.

RECENTLY I had the good fortune to come across a geography book used by various forbears in the eighteenth century, and the chapter on the Sudan may possibly be of interest to readers of *Sudan Notes and Records*. The book—Hubner's Geography—took the form of question and answer, and though the title page has gone and the only one of the successive owners who has dated his ownership wrote 1792 after his name, internal evidence culled from the chapter on the Kingdom of Ireland shows that it must have been published between 1727 and 1760. The extract in question runs as follows :—

Q.—*Who is the preſent King of Great Britain ?*

A.—*George II who was born October the* 30*th*, 1683. *His ſucceſsion to the Throne was the* 11*th of June*, 1727. *Whom God long preſerve.*

The chapter on the Sudan—it is not a long one—I quote in full.

Chapter VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Nubia.

Q.—*Where lies the Kingdom of Nubia ?*

A.—*Along the Nile between Egypt and Abyſsinia.*

Q.—*What is principally to be obſerved in this Country ?*

A.—1. *It is* 1000 *Miles long from South to North and* 600 *Miles broad from Weſt to Eaſt.* 2. *The Air is very hot in the Day time, but cool in the Night time.* 3. *Along the Nile it is pretty well inhabited, but the Inland Country is full of Deſarts where in harbour Abundance of Lions, Tygers, Elephants etc. and the Nile ſwarms with Crocodiles.* 4. *The Commodities of this Kingdom are Sugar, Linnen, Ivory and black Horſes. The Country produces a ſubtle and incurable Poiſon, one Grain of which is able to kill ten Men in half an Hour ; an ounce is ſold for* 100 *Ducats. Here is alſo found Gold and Gold-Sand in the Rivers.* 5. *This Country is governed by one Sovereign King who is in Alliance with the Abyſsinians the better to withſtand the Turks, their utter Enemies.*

Q.—*What are the principal Places in Nubia?*

A.—1. *Nubia, the Reſidence of the King, which lies near the River Nile, and is very large. The Houſes are but one Story high, and covered with Turf and Stone, to keep off the Heat of the Sun.* 2. *Duncala, near the Nile, which is a large and populous City; the Houſes are mean, but very rich Merchants reſide there.* 3. *Jalac, a City on an Iſland in the Nile.* 4. *Sennar, which lies on the Frontiers of Abyſsinia.*

Q.—*What is the Religion of the Nubians?*

A.—*They were formerly Chriſtians, and had remained ſo, if they had been ſupplied with Miſsionaries from Europe. At preſent they are ſtrict Mahometans, or groſs Idolators.*

The Nubia of the map which accompanies the lesson and of which I give a copy is most interesting and so very different from the Sudan as we know it to-day that one can only wonder from what sources Hubner derived his information. It is worthy of note that Poncet, who set out on his travels towards the end of 1698, followed the route Chabbe, Selyma, Machou, Dongola, Korti, across the Bihouda desert, Derreira, Guerry, Alfaa, Alifou, Cotram, Camim, Harbagy and Sennar, many of which place names are well known to-day but none of which, with the exception of Sennar, are mentioned by Hubner. It is curious that Soba (Sheba?), perhaps historically the most famous of Sudan place names, is mentioned neither by Poncet nor by Hubner. Further, it would seem from the map that Abyssinia and Ethiopia were different countries, but this is not so, for the answer to the question *What is the Country of Abyſsinia?* runs *It is that which is also called Aethiopia, or the Country of the Moors.*

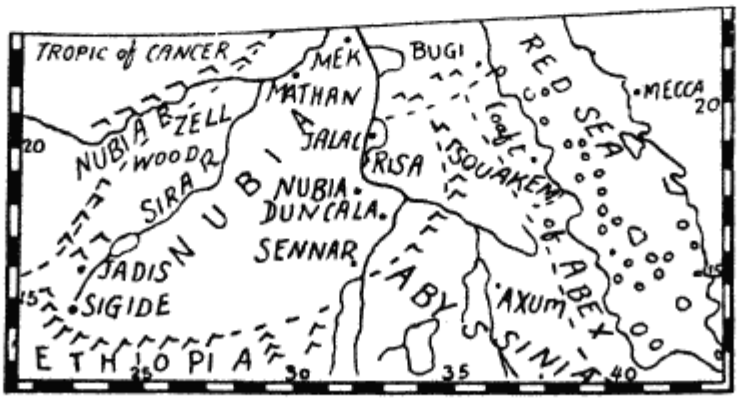
To take the rivers first. Are the Nubia and Sira, the White Nile and one of its tributaries badly out of position or can it be that they are the wadis Howar and el Melik? I incline to the latter for the text tells us that the city of Nubia lay close to the river Nile, but against this must be set the fact that Sigidi (Jebel Saqadi) does lie between the two Niles and is shown in approximately its correct position. The loop of the Nile at Bugi (can this be Bauga?) may be the Dongola bend inverted and the island on which Jalac is situated the Island of Meroe, but where then is the river Atbara? The fork of the Nile between Nubia and Duncala may be the junction of the Blue and White Niles at Khartoum though this has the disadvantage of putting Sennar on the wrong Nile—not perhaps, all things considered, very much to worry about.

As for the towns, Sennar, Squakem and Axum are obvious; Duncala suggests Dongola, though it is badly out of position; but where are Nubia, Jalac, Mek, Mathan, Bugi, Jadis and Risa? A search through old volumes of travel in the Secretariat Library has not enabled me to identify any of them.

The Red Sea hills are adequately shown and a mountain range running due east and west to form a southern boundary to the Sudan is common to many maps of an early period.

To revert to the text. The dimensions of the Sudan are fairly accurate, and indeed the same can be said of most of the answers to the second and fourth questions with the exception of the information as to Sudan products. In particular, where did Hubner get his idea of black horses, for the typical African horse ought to be, and is to-day, bay in colour? There must be something in his information, however, for Bruce in his Travels (1805) makes special mention of the horses to be found between Halfaia and Gerri. "They are black or white, but a vast proportion of the former to the latter. I never saw the colour we call grey but there are some bright bays or inclining to sorrel." As for the "*ſubtle and incurable Poiſon,*" can any member of the Medical Service throw light on the matter?

Considering how much of a Terra Incognita the Sudan must have been two hundred years ago, Hubner, I think it must be agreed, has written a remarkably accurate account of this country, but it would be interesting to know if any reader of *Sudan Notes and Records* can explain the map in a more satisfactory manner.



THE MABAN OF SOUTHERN FUNG.

By H. G. Wedderburn-Maxwell, M.C.

THE Maban tribe until 1926 were known to the Government as Barun, a comprehensive term which also included the Uduk, Jum Jum, Khoma and those who are still known as hill Baruns. The name Gurra has also been applied to Maban (but not to Uduk, Jum Jum, etc.), but none of the tribe whom I have asked about this name can account for it, and they assert that their only name is Maban, which means " the people of the village."

They live in some sixty villages in the Southern and Western part of the Southern Fung district, being mostly on the banks of the following rivers: Yabus (downstream from Belatoma), Tombak from seven miles downstream from Chali, and the Ahmar (downstream from Seraf). There are also a number of very scattered villages extending from south of Ulu to the Yabus.

The Maban say they have always lived in their present country except for the extreme south-west portion, which used to be inhabited by Dinka, who presumably withdrew before the advancing Nuer. Many of their words, such as *one, four, come, tree, fire, water*, are the same or very similar to those of the Nuer language ; and their language seems to be quite different from Berta, Uduk and Khoma. But it seems unlikely that a cultivating tribe can have lived for long in the cattle country of the Upper Nile swamps. Possibly they came from further west or south.

The only means of estimating their population are the poll tax lists : the old lists were very inaccurate and showed a population of about 8,000 ; 18,000 is probably nearer the truth.

The absence of hills in their country has made them an easy prey for raiders. Sheikh Khogali El Hassan has raided from Beni Shangul as far as the Dinka country on the west ; Nuer raids from the south extended as far north as the river Tombak ; the Fung of Gule used to collect a regular " tribute " of slaves ; and the Arabs (particularly the Baggara of the White Nile) used to supply themselves with slaves from Maban on a large scale until the Kosti slavery campaign of 1928. The Watawit villages of Southern Fung district still contain a number of Maban slaves and ex-slaves.

The main sections of the tribe are Cungu, Koza, Boiŋ, Ortuni, Liaŋ, Piaka. As the result of raids by Nuer and by Sheikh Khogali Hassan the sections are somewhat mixed up, and it seems that future organisation will have to be made on a territorial basis. The outstanding personalities are Liena, Felka, Sidu and Baŋ.

The chief interest of the tribe is in their cultivation. Clearing the ground, weeding, sowing and harvesting is done by the men and youths of about fourteen years old and upwards; the women take no part in the work of agriculture; they merely carry in the grain after it has been cut. Unlike the Berta, Watawit, etc., they do not grow crops right up alongside their huts: the location of their cultivations is doubtless due to the fact that they keep pigs. Small patches of maize and tobacco are often grown close to the village, usually fenced in: crops of red (early maturing) dura are usually grown within a mile or so of the village; but the main white dura crop which ripens in January or February is grown anything up to six miles away. This main crop is usually grown in one large area, though each man's cultivation is separate; when harvested the dura is left in stores on the spot, and brought in to the village by the women from time to time as required. Theft of grain from these stores, except by Arabs, Nuer and wandering Berta and Watawit, is unknown.

During the cultivating season it is unusual to find an able-bodied man in the village between the hours of 7 a.m. and 5 p.m. Parties of men up to thirty in number combine together and work on each cultivation in turn; the owner provides free beer and often a pig for his assistants; part of the beer is brought out to the cultivation by women for a midday drink. This is even done when cultivations are situated on the opposite bank of the Yabus; both men and women are excellent swimmers, and a man carrying bow, arrows, hoe and possibly pipe in one hand will cross the river in flood with greater ease than a foreigner, such as a policeman, with both hands free. The women find no difficulty in propelling a large gourd of beer across the river without spilling it. Until a dugout canoe was made at Boiŋ (by Shilluk; the Maban have no boats) police saddlery and baggage were always ferried over the river by Maban women. Though most of the people have iron hoes, wooden hoes are still in use. The *hareeg* method of cultivation is used on land freshly cleared. The cultivation of simsim is increasing.

A winter maize crop is grown on the *gerf* land over the Yabus.

The Maban have few cattle. They suffer considerably from fly and from rinderpest imported by nomad Arabs. A hundred cattle would be quite a big herd for a village. The small boys of from 8–13 years old herd the cattle and make the cow-dung smoke fires. The cattle spend the rains in the open and do not seem to suffer from it. Cattle are obtained from Arabs in exchange for goats.

Goats are often and pigs always kept at night in small huts : goat huts are built on piles, so that most of the droppings fall through the floor and the hut remains comparatively clean. Hens are also provided with small huts.

Fishing is carried on extensively in the *mayas* along the Yabus and in the river itself : also in the river Tombak. The men and youths spear a few, but most of the fish are caught by the women, who advance in line with cone-shaped baskets about 3 ft. 6 in. in length.

The best mayas are Danga, Dima, Mabeir and Bagloi ; but the Nuer claim Bagloi as theirs and Maban can only fish there intermittently.

They hunt game with dogs, spears, throwing sticks and bows and arrows ; gazelle, hartebeest, reedbuck, white-eared cob and roan antelope horns and skins are often to be seen in their huts. Several villages will sometimes combine for a hunt. The Maban claim that they kill lion with spears and throwing sticks ; they have shown me several skins in which no bullet hole could be seen. They also claim to have killed hippo in the Yabus river with spears : how they can do this, having no canoes, is difficult to understand.

The small boys, 6–8 years old, look after the goats ; from 8–13 years they herd the cattle ; at about thirteen years the centre tooth of the lower jaw is removed from the boys, who now start carrying bows and arrows and cultivating. The girls start grinding corn at about nine years of age ; a hole is made in the ground and the *dura* pounded by a pole about seven feet in length and three inches in diameter. This method of grinding corn is different from all the neighbouring tribes except the Nuer.

Marriage before the age of eighteen years is rare ; and to find an unmarried man or woman over twenty-two years old is exceptional and almost always due to some physical or mental defect. Girls are more or less free to marry whom they choose : but once the girl's father accepts a spear from her suitor, she is considered to be betrothed. Should any other

young man carry on an intrigue with a betrothed girl, her family will intervene as soon as ever they hear of it ; a common way of dealing with such cases is for the girl's family to burn the huts of the guilty man's family; this is almost certain to result in a bow and poisoned arrow fight between whole villages.

Examples of dowries are : (*a*) 100 spears, 200 iron rings, 2 rolls of cloth, 1 hoe, 1 axe, 4 fish spears, 1 *ras* tobacco ; (*b*) 60 iron rings, 67 spears, 1 hoe, 1 fish spear, 2 rolls cloth, 1 *ras* tobacco.

Pigs are also used, and occasionally goats ; the payment of cattle for dowry seems to be confined to a few villages in the west, possibly due to Dinka influence.

The girl usually goes to live in her husband's village ; a high *sareef* is built in front of the house, and as this falls down it is not repaired.

They intermarry freely with the Jum Jum tribe, and occasionally with the Uduks, but with no other tribes. Fung Province notes state that " they are very short of women and buy girls from the Dinka." This is incorrect and can only have been alleged by someone who was unaware of the expensiveness of wives among the cattle-owning tribes of the Upper Nile, and the shortage of cattle among the Maban.

Polygamy is recognised, but does not exist on such a scale as to make it impossible for any young man to find a wife.

Barrenness is not considered a reason for divorce. A wife can divorce her husband : laziness in cultivating is considered a good reason.

The men generally speaking wear no clothes ; village headmen will put on clothes to meet the District Commissioner ; clothes are coming into fashion for men in the western villages who used to be under the Nazir of Gule.

The women and girls wear a square cloth apron in front ; married women wear a cloth tail behind, often ornamented with beads or cowrie shells. As all of both sexes except small children cover themselves with a mixture of red earth with oil or fat, clothing soon assumes a dirty red-brown colour.

Men often wear the tips of gazelle and small antelope horns as charms slung round their necks ; villages near the Nuer boundary frequently wear spiked bracelets and other Nuer ornaments.

Whistles are worn by men, tied round their necks. When desiring a private meeting with a girl a man will sit down in the bush a few hundred

yards from her hut and she is able to recognise the note of his whistle. I have never heard whistles blown at night, nor during the months of the rainy season. They have no drums or other musical instruments.

They have small *angareebs* which are only used for sitting on ; they sleep on skins on the ground.

The women paint pictures of animals on the outside walls of the huts ; the only neighbouring tribes who have been observed to do this are the Jum Jum.

Besides living huts, special huts are built as kitchens : there are also open-sided huts used by the men for beer-drinking parties and other meetings.

The living huts are built in family groups, separated from one another by any distance up to half a mile.

Ostriches are kept, chiefly in the western villages, for food. They sometimes incubate them from eggs.

Their name for God is Juoŋ, but they do not discuss him with strangers. They are great believers in witchcraft ; to dream of a person is accepted as a proof that that person has, or is about to, cause them evil ; and it is considered quite justifiable to kill the person dreamed of without further enquiry. They say the Uduk are much more skilled in magic. They have rain-makers, the best known of whom is Liena ; he functions by means of rain stones.

Trade is still in its infancy. The nomad Arabs " buy " grain for carcases of diseased animals, trade goods and occasionally cash : large numbers of Berta and Watawit used to over-run the country and supply themselves with grain in exchange for bangles, beads and salt, or not uncommonly by stealing grain from the stores in the cultivations. The Berta and the Watawit have now been forbidden to continue this practice, and *Gellaba* (petty traders) have been allotted groups of villages for trading with cash. In order to provide a market for large quantities of surplus grain, the merkaz grain requirements are bought by these merchants. Owing to the negligible number of their donkeys and their distance from Kurmuk market, they are unable to transport their grain to the *suk*. They are not capable of arranging for nomad Arabs to act as transport.

All men have two names ; one of which is given at birth and one given about the age of puberty. They all show a reluctance to mention the name of their father. Arabic names are assumed for the benefit of " The Turk " by those who have had much contact with Arabs.

Circumcision is unknown except among ex-slaves.

RARE BIRDS OF THE ZANDE DISTRICT.

By H. M. Woodman.

FROM a small collection of some two hundred birds made between the months of March and July more than a dozen are worthy of special mention, as being either new to the Sudan records altogether, or about which knowledge of the distribution and habitat is scanty, as far as this part of Africa is concerned. Being a " closed " area for purposes of controlling Sleeping Sickness, very few previous attempts have been made to study bird life and in such there has been no continuity. In 1916–17 Major Christy collected quite a lot of material for the Museum, and I believe I am right in saying that only one scientific collection has been made from the neighbouring Welle district of the Belgian Congo—by the American Ornithologist, Dr. Chapin. My collection was obtained through the services of the native bird skinner from the Khartoum Museum, and for the most part was taken not far from the roads and in easily accessible country. Except along the banks of the bigger streams and in a few patches adjoining the frontier where thin tongues of the great Equatorial Forest Belt gain access to the Sudan, the country is open Savannah with rather close-growing small and medium-sized trees, and there is a bird distribution naturally not dissimilar from Central and Southern Mongalla, where specimens have previously been collected by Butler, Miller, Yardley, Stephenson-Hamilton and others.

I am indebted to W. W. Bowen for classification and certain notes. He considered that the percentage of noteworthy species was remarkable, and I have little doubt that a complete representative collection of this area would add a number of birds to the Sudan list, reveal new subspecies and throw more light generally upon the Avifaunal map of Africa.

Much has been added to the knowledge of African bird life since 1920, and distribution has been shown to be related to temperature, humidity, altitude and vegetation belts, of which rainfall seems to be the most important factor. The Ethiopian subregions of " Ubangi Savannah " and the " Uganda Unyoro Savannah " are only separated by slight physical barriers from what Bowen calls the " Sudan Savannah iv "; their rainfall is roughly the same. Varieties intergrade in this latter area

and intermediate types occur which may eventually be shown to be species intermediate between the Western and the Southern types.

No attempt is made to describe specimens mentioned in any detail as the material is neither accessible for me to handle, nor am I sufficiently expert to give precise accounts of the colour shades.

The Ibis for October, 1932, gives Bowen's analysis of the collection.

Order CUCULIFORMES.

Family CUCULIDÆ (Cuckoos).

I have collected only four species, namely :—

1. African Cuckoo, *Cuculus canorus gularis* (Stephens).
2. Red-chested Cuckoo, *Cuculus solitarius* (Stephens).
3. Jackson's Cuckoo, *Cuculus clamosus jacksoni* (Sharpe).
4. Gabon Cuckoo, *Cuculus clamosus gabonensis* (Lafresnaye).

This latter has been under discussion by the experts in the U.S.A., and its subspecies not decided.

If it is *C. gabonensis* at all, it is new to the Sudan. It could easily be mistaken for Jackson's Cuckoo in the field.

5. The Niam-Niam Green, or Yellow-billed Coucal, *Ceuthmochares æreus æreus* (Veillot) (? *intermedius*, Sharpe).

I only mention this species because, although supposed to be peculiar to this part of Africa (Sharpe), Bowen and Gyldenstolpe, independently, saw no difference between it and the *Æreus æreus* of the Congo and Uganda. It is shy in habit and clings to thickets and creepers in the forest.

Family MUSOPHAGIDÆ (Plantain Eaters).

6. Violet Plantain Eater, *Musophaga rossæ* (Gould).

Only one specimen has previously been obtained in the Sudan. It is a beautiful bird, 57 cm. long, and predominantly violet blue with a crimson crest on the head. I have only seen it once on the wing between the tops of high trees. This and hitherto unrecorded species may be less rare than supposed in the patches of heavy forest on the frontier, for it is only in such localities that they are ever seen.

Order CORACIIFORMES.

Family CAPRIMULGIDÆ (Nightjars).

7. Black-shouldered Nightjar, *Caprimulgus nigriscapularis* (Reichw.).

This species is known in Uganda and Ubangi Shari but rare in the latter according to Bannerman. It is only nine inches long, chocolate

brown in colour with white patches on wings and tail. This brings the number of species known in the Sudan up to twelve.

Family PICIDÆ (Woodpeckers).

8. Banded-throated Wryneck, *Jynx ruficollis pulchricollis* (Hartl.).

One female was shot by my bird skinner. I have never seen one myself.

Order PASSERIFORMES.

Family PYCNONOTIDÆ (Bulbuls).

9. Gaboon Yellow-throat, *Antimastillas flavicollis flavigula* (Cab.).

This bulbul, or one very much like it, is described in the Sudan list as fairly common from two specimens taken in 1916; yet the one female which I obtained is, according to Bowen, not typical of *A.f. flavigula* which was originally described in the Cameroons. It is like the common Bulbul, but the head is less jet black and the throat pale yellow. But it is less green on the back and paler on the throat than *A.f. flavigula* but too pale for *A.f. pallidigula*, which is the allied subspecies found further south and the one most likely to be found in these parts. Bowen considered it an intermediate subspecies. It is interesting that although only six bulbuls are known, so far, in the Sudan, including this doubtful addition, further south in the eastern Congo over twenty species were identified on one expedition.

Family TURDIDÆ.

Sub-Family SYLVIINÆ (Warblers).

10. Reichenow's Wren Warbler, or Stripe-backed Longtail, *Prinia leucopogon reichenowi* (Hartl.).

This has not been recorded previously in the Sudan and is fairly common. It was first named in Tanganyika and Uganda where, in open plain country, it is well known. It differs from the West African subspecies by having more slate grey on the back and is whiter on the underparts. The local variety has a shorter wing measurement than those studied by Gyldenstolpe on the East Congo frontier.

Family MUSCICAPIDÆ (Flycatchers).

11. Cassin's Senegal Paradise Flycatcher, *Tchitrea viridis speciosa* (Cassin).

This is differently marked from the common paradise flycatcher by having conspicuous white on the wing, the two long tail feathers white, and reddish chestnut on the back. Chapin confirmed Bowen's identifica-

tion. But the amateur is here in deep water, for not only is the nomenclature rather confused but the " plumage varies immensely individually," the names being given only to the types of plumage known.

Family LANIIDÆ (Shrikes).

12. Sulphur-breasted Bush-shrike, *Chlorophoneus sulfureopectus sulfureopectus* (Less).

I only mention this because, although fairly common here, and most of the S.G.M. specimens come from Yambio and Meridi, it is very rare even as far south as Lake Albert and the mountains of the Eastern Congo. Although distributed throughout Africa most authorities only recognise two subspecies.

13. Bahr el Ghazal Yellow-billed Shrike, *Corvinella corvina caliginosa*. ( )

This, at first sight, appears to be the common *Corvinella c. affinis*, but has the following differences : It is greyer (in fact, the greyest of all the subspecies), the streaks above and below are more conspicuous and the tail is some 1.5 cms. longer. From the one adult male in the collection Bowen has established the above new subspecies before the Biological Society of Washington, 1933. As far as is known at present, its range is confined to the Zande District (Yambio).

Family PLOCEIDÆ (Weavers).

14. *Pachyphantes superciliosus superciliosus* (Shell.).

This weaver is fairly common in the district although not previously recorded. Two subspecies are known from Nigeria across to Lake Victoria Nyanza : the one from the latter being identical with this bird and the larger of the two.

15. *Othyphantes baglafecht eremobius* (Hartl.).

This weaver is probably the rarest bird in the collection and adds another to the fourteen species already known in the Sudan. It appears to have a very restricted distribution, being known only in the north-eastern corner of the Congo. At least three other *Othyphantes* are known in Uganda, each confined to a limited region.

16. Dybowski's Brown Twin-spot, *Clytospiza monteiri dybowskii* (Oust.).

This is the rarer Southern form of the Uganda Twin-spot (which is fairly common across the South) and is a first record.

Family FRINGILLIDÆ (Buntings and Finches).

17. Cabani's Bunting, *Emberiza cabanisi cabanisi* (Reichw.).

This species is not really uncommon, although only one specimen had previously been collected, at Meridi, by Major Christy.

18. Southern Golden-breasted Bunting, *Emberiza flaviventris flaviventris* (Steph.).

This is the southern type of the Kordofan species. It is darker in colouring and Bowen considers that the two types intergrade in the Bahr el Ghazal.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SUDAN WEAPONS.

(PLATE IX.)

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

Mr. Beer's paper on the manufacture of stone club-heads by percussion and not by boring is of great archæological importance. This Sudan industry is evidently a survival of a forgotten neolithic art. It is reasonable to assume that the club-heads shown on archaic Egyptian palettes of pre-dynastic date were made by the percussion process. As stone rings similar to the Indian chakrani have been found in South Africa it would seem that these missile weapons were neolithic in origin.

With regard to Mr. Nalder's paper on "Throwing Swords," I venture to suggest that he has followed the classifications of Mr. Thomas and not seen my paper in *Man*, No. 74, page 72, of May, 1935. There are two definitely distinct weapons now classed under the generic term of "throwing-knives" by anthropologists in England. In France the term "sword" is used for the Tuareg weapon worn on the arm, and frequently thrown. This weapon was generally made of bronze. In my opinion the larger weapon illustrated by Mrs. Nalder is a "throwing sword," and is similar to two weapons which I purchased south of Roseires from some men who described themselves as Hameg in 1912. A weapon of this type is illustrated and described as a "Koleth" in an old number of the "Intelligence Reports (E.A.)" and I adopted this nomenclature. I first saw the word "Kulbeda" in the article by Koettlitz in the *Journ. R. Anth. S.*, Vol. XXX, 1900. The weapons I bought were remarkable in that the arm was not forged or part of the original weapon. In both cases the arms were shrunk on to the sword by contraction after heating. The junction was bound with green hide. I was unaware that Khartoum merchants introduced these weapons into the Southern Gezireh until I saw this in Schweinfurth's *Artes Africana*. I take this opportunity of thanking the Conservator of Antiquities for his kindness in this respect. The smaller weapon illustrated by Mr. Nalder is a "throwing knife." Both kinds of these weapons were in use in Nigeria and the Congo and illustrations will be found in the works of Barth or issues of *Le Congo Illustre* in the Intelligence Dept. Library.

The larger weapon is probably derived from the Egyptian boomerang or the classical pedum. The latter survives to-day as the Bega camel-

stick. The Tebu throwing-knives can be traced to the kopesh. This was originally a bronze weapon used in ancient Mesopotamia. It was introduced into Africa during the reign of Totmes III and is figured on the Egyptian monuments. It is notable that some of the weapons depicted at Merõé are considered by some authorities to be connecting links with the Nigerian "Throwing Sword" and the equatorial African "Chopping Sword" used by executioners. The falcated knife-sword used in these regions is clearly derived from the Kopesh via India or the Persian Gulf, and probably the chopper-knife also from India.

Unfortunately the figures in the article of Mr. Thomas are not drawn to scale or with any regard to the variations in size of the various weapons. Similar remarks apply to the figures in Burton's *Book of the Sword*. Thanks to Mr. Braunholtz of the British Museum I have traced in the Catalogue of the Rijks Ethnographical Museum (Leyden) a number of excellent drawings to scale with all the dimensions.

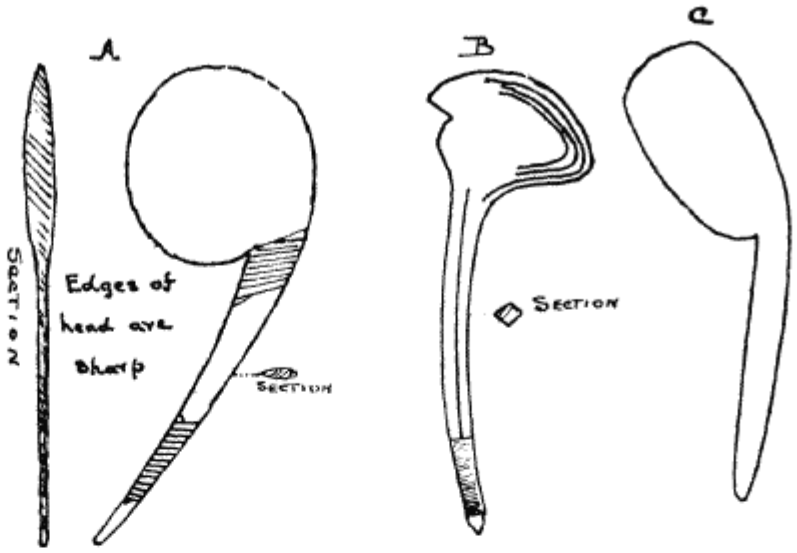
I enclose a plate of a weapon I purchased in the forest in the Ingessana country in 1912. It was described to me as a "trombash" and I submit that this weapon is more probably of an ancient original local character than the koleth, kulbeda, etc. I have been unable to trace anything exactly like it among the records of African weapons which I have searched. There is a weapon in the Horniman Museum from Dar Fung which resembles it but this is more like the Australian Lil-lil than the weapon I had. If I can furnish any further information I shall be pleased to do so. At present I am busy tracing the development of the spear from the sharpened stake (pike or lance) to the present types by means of existing specimens of tanged, double-split socket and single-split socket types, but illness debars me from travelling to representative museums at present.

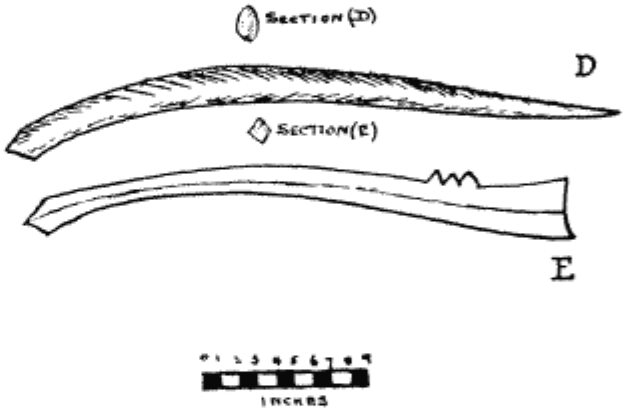
A. E. ROBINSON.

THROWING KNIVES AMONG THE NUBA.

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

I recently paid a first visit to the Nuba inhabiting the Tira hills just south-east of Heiban. The same evening I happened to be reading Mr. Nalder's article on "Throwing Knives in the Sudan," *Sudan*





A—WEAPON (TROMBASH). PURCHASED INGESSANA, 1912.

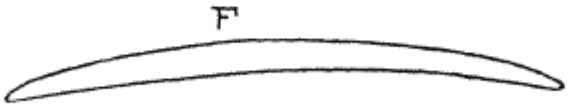
B—WEAPON (DAR FUNG ORIGIN). HORNIMAN MUSEUM.

C—AUSTRALIAN LIL-LIL.

D—WEAPON FROM JEBEL SILLOK (DAR FUNG). HORNIMAN MUSEUM.

E—WEAPON (INGESSANA). HORNIMAN MUSEUM.

NOTE.—Specimens (if any) in British Museum not examined yet.



AUSTRALIAN KOONDI (BONE BREAKER AT 30 YARDS). AFTER HOME AND AISTON, FIG. 62.

This weapon developed into a sword 6 feet long by 4 inches wide (Murrawirrie), and was carried on the back through a waist band. Most African wooden swords are copied from Asiatic or European types. This seems to apply also to wooden spears because the bow, boomerang and flint-headed or horn-pointed spears seem more ancient.

Notes and Records, Vol. XVIII, in which he asks for information as to whether the knife is known to have ever existed in the Nuba mountains.

During the afternoon I had noticed an old man carrying what looked like an Ingessana No. 1 " kulbeda." I examined it carefully and found that it had no edge but fully ornamented single-pointed blade and the usual projecting prong to support the weapon on the shoulder.

Enquiry revealed that it is used not as a knife but as a badge of the highest grade of Tira male society, *i.e.*, the circumcised. Old men I asked had no idea where these badges came from originally, but had a vague idea that they had been brought from Kau and Nyaro, the isolated Nuba hills west of Kaka. I had recently been at Kau and Nyaro and had not noticed any similar knives there. The knife is known in the Tira language as *arunger* and no one other than " one of the circumcised " is allowed to carry it on pain of a fine of three goats.

Tira male society is divided into three grades—1, The circumcised ; 2, The cicatrised ; 3, The initiated men.

Grade 3 is entered by boys attaining manhood and going through the ceremony known as " cutting of the Gir " which is held every three years. Grade 2 is entered when a man has reached late middle age and has accumulated sufficient wealth to provide the accompanying festivities. The distinguishing badge is a giraffe hair fly whisk and a catskin bag.

Grade 1 is the highest honour and takes place some years after Grade 2. Much wealth is required in order to provide the necessary festivities and the distinguishing badge is the *avunger*.

Grades 2 and 3 are also recognised in the Otoro hills, due west of the Tira hills, but Grade 1 is peculiar to Tira.

F. D. RINGDON.

MANSFIELD PARKYNS.

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

I have read with interest " The Story of Khartoum " in your recent number. May I send you a footnote which may be of interest :

The traveller, Mansfield Parkyns, arrived in Khartoum from " Massawa " on the Red Sea, which he had left in 1843, and Sir Samuel Baker speaks most highly of the good name he left behind him with Mek Nimr, who destroyed Ismail Pasha at Shendi. But the most interesting

description of Parkyns is given by Sir Francis Galton, the scientist, who met him in Khartoum in 1845. In " Memories of My Life " he says :

" Finally, we reached Khartoum, then a group of huts with a wagon roofed hall for the audiences of the Pasha. We heard of an extraordinary Frank believed to be English who had arrived some weeks previously. We went to call on him, knocked at the door, were told to enter, which we did, and came into the presence of a white man nearly naked, as agile as a panther, with head shorn except for the Moslem tuft, reeking with butter and with a leopard skin thrown over his shoulder. He was recognised at once by my companions as an undergraduate friend, Mansfield Parkyns. He had got into a college scrape and, leaving Cambridge prematurely, found his way to Abyssinia where, during years of adventure, he had made friends with the just-mentioned Defterdar of Shendi and was then acting as an intermediary and the bringer of a substantial present whereby to obtain, if possible, his forgiveness and restoration.

" Of the many travellers whom I have known I should place Mansfield Parkyns (1823–1894) as perhaps the most gifted with natural advantages for that career. He easily held his own under difficulties, won hearts by his sympathy and could touch any amount of pitch without being himself defiled. He was consequently an admirable guide in that then sink of iniquity, Khartoum. The saying was that when a man was such a reprobate that he could not live in Europe, he went to Constantinople ; if too bad to be tolerated in Constantinople, he went to Cairo ; and then forward under similar compulsion to Khartoum. Half a dozen or so of the trebly refined villains resided there as slave dealers ; they were pallid, haggard, fever-striken, profane and obscene. Mansfield Parkyns complacently tolerated and mastered them all. The abominations of their habitual conversation exceeded in a far-away degree any other I have ever listened to, but it was clever. When one of them was out of the room, the others freely related his adventures to us, in which some anecdote like this was frequent : ' So he said " Let us be friends. Come, drink a cup of coffee and smoke a pipe " ; then he put poison into the coffee.' With all their villainy there was something of interest in their talk, but I had soon quite enough of it. Still, the experience was acceptable, for one wants to know the very worst of everything as well as the very best."

GEORGE L. HARRISON,
Philadelphia.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

RELICS AT AGIG.
(PLATE X.)

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

The discovery of relics of classical buildings at Agig is one of the chief arguments in favour of identifying it as the site of the ancient Ptolomais Theoron. Some photographs of these relics may therefore be of interest.

The first (Fig. 1) shows some squared blocks and the remains of a simple column. They and the stones in the other photographs are all of coral rock. The arrises are surprisingly sharp, considering their undoubted age.

The second (Fig 2) shows a piece of moulding balanced on a plain stone.

The third (Fig. 3) shows a fluted column, still apparently in its original position. This was only discovered by accident and after the photograph had been taken ; it was again covered to preserve it.

MAJOR H. E. HIBBERT, D.S.O., M.C.

THE TITLE OF RET.

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

In Part I, Vol. XVIII, of *Sudan Notes and Records*, it is stated in a review of Westermann's *The African To-day* that "the Shilluk are unique in the possession of their paramount Ret." This title is referred to in an earlier number (Vol. XV, Part II) by Mr. Arkell in his article on "Fung Origins." There he quotes Westermann as connecting Ret with the Nuer *arti* (god) and Mr. Arkell suggests that it may be the same as the Egyptian sun-god Rē.

There can, however, be little or no doubt that this Shilluk title is derived, though not directly, from Egyptian. Ret as a title is frequent in demotic and is translated as "inspector" or "agent" (Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library, III, p. 367). It occurs often in the demotic graffiti of Philæ, many of which are very late. There the title is used nearly always in connection with a divinity, generally Isis, rarely with a king (in one inscription we find "agents of the King of Ethiopia") or as a title standing alone. Professor Griffith found it again in Meroitic as *perite* (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, Nos. 88, 89, 99, 111, 122, *see* p. 51)

where it is used in conjunction with Isis, "*perite* of Isis," the agent of Isis, or, somewhat doubtfully, by itself. Professor Battiscombe Gunn has drawn my attention to the fact that it also occurs in Coptic. It is given by W. E. Crum in his Dictionary as "ⲣⲏⲧ . . . a title (?)."

The demotic word *rt* is the Egyptian *rwḏ*, "agent." (It is tempting but unorthodox to associate it with the word *ryt* meaning "judgment.")

That the title is still used by the Shilluk, and apparently only by them, is very interesting. One would like to know from what source they got the expression. Was it from the Meroites, and if so, can a connection be traced between the two peoples?

NORA GRIFFITH.

BIR BIDI.

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

May I make one or two comments on the very interesting article by Count L. E. d'Almásy (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XVIII, p. 259) in which he has so satisfactorily cleared up the problem of Bir Bidi?

(1) Count d'Almásy derives the name Merga from مرق. "Merga" means 'broth' on account of the slightly salt water of the oasis" (p. 259, footnote). I suggest that a more probable derivation is from مرج "pasture," in reference to the relatively good grazing to be found in the oasis.

(2) On p. 265 he states that he has never heard the name "Nukheila" applied to the oasis, but only "Tamr," "Merga" or "Oyo." The explanation surely is that the name varies from tribe to tribe. The Kababish who accompanied Newbold in 1923 spoke of Nukheila (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII, p. 71) and so did the Hawawir with Newbold and myself in 1927. Sudan Monthly Intelligence Report 264 of July, 1916, summarising information received from Sh. Fadl el Mula of the Umm Metto Kababish, uses the name Tura el Bedai, and the oasis is thus described on some early maps, e.g., on G.S.G.S. No. 2692 of 1914.

(3) On page 275 Count Almásy quotes Bidi wad Awad as saying, "Riding three days west from the Lake (at Merga) over flat *serir*, one

comes to a very big *tundub* which is called ' Manda.' There is no water there." During our expedition in the winter of 1935 we came upon two very large *tundub*-covered mounds in lat. 18° 26′ N., long. 25° 19′ E., about 80 miles south-west of Merga. The mounds are some 50 ft. high and are very conspicuous in the undulating sandy desert. At their foot were the ashes of old fires, bits of *qirba*, etc., and they are probably a landmark on the route of the Goraan raiders from French territory to Merga.

(4) I am in complete agreement with Count d'Almásy's identification of Bir Bidi. We made its position lat. 19° 02′ 15″, long. 26° 27′ 45″, and the height of the water 1,780 ft. above sea level, though this figure was from one aneroid observation only.

W. B. KENNEDY SHAW.

REVIEWS.

SUDAN ARABIC TEXTS.

By S. HILLELSON.

Cambridge University Press, 12s. 6d.

THE publication of Mr. Hillelson's book, which is the fruit of over twenty years' study in the Sudan, is an event of rare importance. He has captured and reduced to paper the vernacular Arabic spoken in different parts of the Sudan, and has reproduced also several good literary examples. He points out in the Introduction that for a long time to come it will be necessary to study the dialects of the simple villagers and pastoralists in order to arrive at more than a superficial understanding of the native mind and character.

The author and the Sudan Government are to be congratulated on the worthy form of production, and on sacrificing profit in order that the price may be within the means of the Government official.

Many books containing annotated texts are written by scholars for other scholars, and only he who has the same erudition as the author can extract the precious flavour. *Sudan Arabic Texts* is unique in this respect, for your scholar will be at sea, unless he may happen to have spent the years of his youth in the houses of the Jaaliyin or among the tents of the Arab.

To the District Commissioners (some of whom also are scholars, I believe) there is music in the Introductory chapter ; for the queer tricks that Arabs play with words—transposing, doubling, changing and assimilating the consonants among others—are here to be found pinned to paper, together with Maimuna's melodious *Wai* and the inevitable Baggara *Tapp*.

Read the texts over, forget the diacritical marks, and the music will come back to you.

But why has Mr. Hillelson, in severing his long connection with *Sudan Notes and Records*, also cut away from himself the trammels of our methods of transliteration, which he himself was largely instrumental in imposing ? The phonetician must have his fun, but the average English-

man has an allergic intolerance of pages of type which have blobs of different shapes above and below the line.

Mr. Hillelson has added two more horrors, in the form of Ḫ instead of KH for خ, and Ṡ instead of SH for ش. No prize is offered to the first reader to guess what ṠEḪ stands for.

There is another practical reason why diacritical marks are to be deplored. Nine out of ten new words or proverbs are captured on a piece of blotting paper or on the back of an envelope with the help of a blunt pencil. They are reproduced on a typewriter which is not furnished with a peppering apparatus. Some, but not all, of the letters are decorated correctly in ink on the typescript, but when it comes to the point of printing the work of the compositor and proof reader is both difficult and tedious.

I hope that Mr. Hillelson, so far from forgiving this attack, will reply with edged weapons in these pages.

P. B. B.

TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS.

OUR pleasure at receiving the first number of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* was tempered with misgivings. Here is a new child of the brain of Sir Harold MacMichael, and a very lusty infant. He will inevitably place us together on his table and compare us. Let us hope that, though he finds his latest infant good, he may yet approve of his earlier offspring which, deprived of his stimulus and capacity for turning dross to gold with a few strokes of an illegible pencil, still tries to live up to the ideal of putting on record information that matters.

In the Introduction Sir Harold MacMichael says: "Its success will depend on two factors, willingness to buy it and willingness to contribute articles or notes for publication in it. The former will obviously depend to a very large extent upon the latter, and I would make an appeal to those who know to make their knowledge available to the rest of us." Judging by the wide range of articles in this first number, his appeal has met with an adequate response.

P. B. B.

Sudan Notes and Records.

Vol. XIX, 1936.

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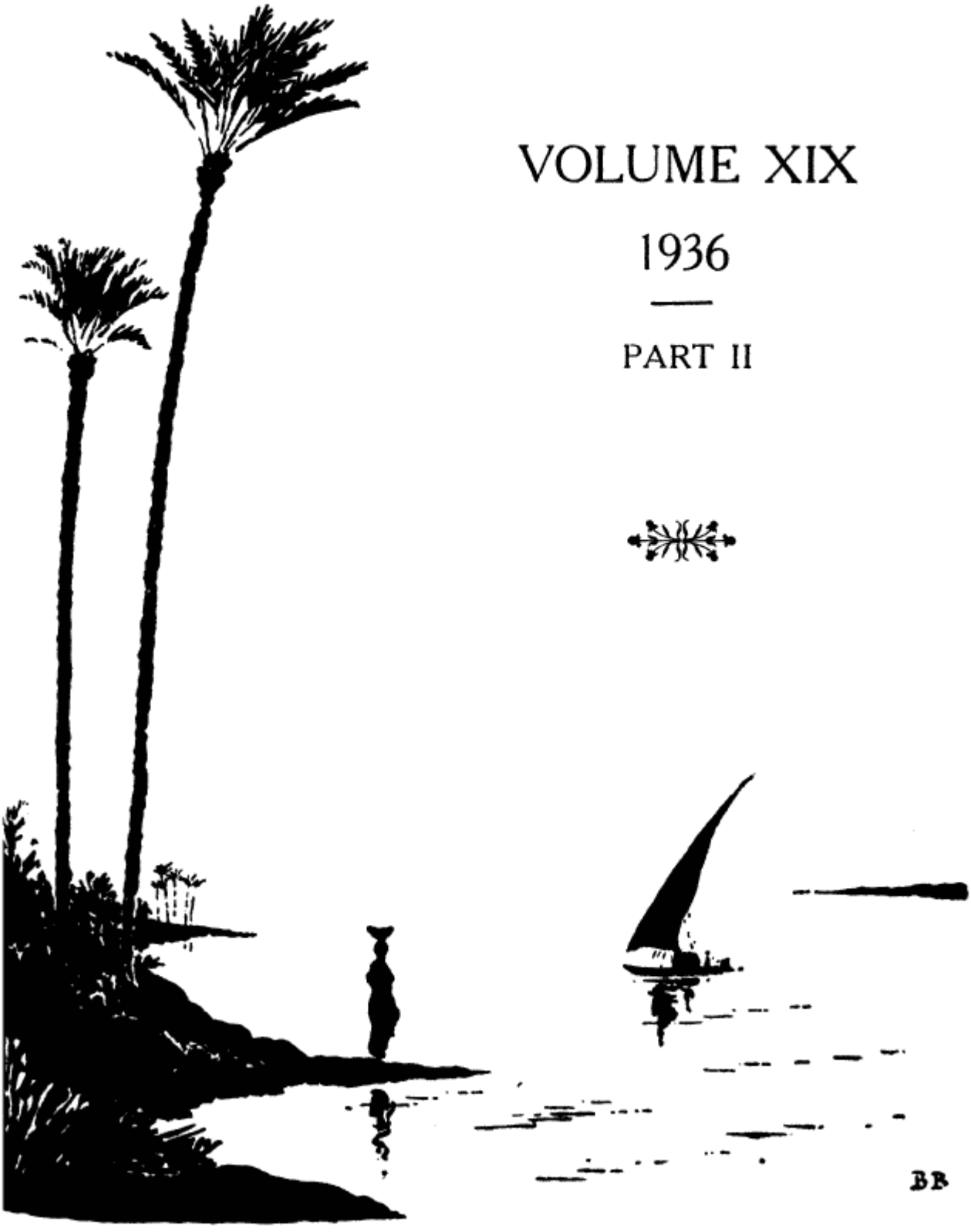
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1936

PART II

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

VOWELS.				DIPHTHONGS.
fatḥa	a,	lengthened	ā	ـَي —ai (as in aisle).
kasra	i,	„	ī	ـَو —au (as in mauser).
ḍamma	u,	„	ū	

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *ة* (ă) is omitted.

NOTES.

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

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

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

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

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

1887 (*continued*).

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

THE 28th August was the first day of the Feast of Bairam, and there was a three-days' holiday: so Kempster and I, in a whaler with four men, drifted down on the flood Nile to Abu Simbal in $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours. We remained down there two nights, and explored the two temples on west bank and those little cells on the east, several of which had been converted into Coptic chapels. We grubbed about on Gebel Esh Shams and the neighbourhood and found coloured pieces of stone and some bits of metal: old Ahmed, the Consul at Luxor, who was very knowledgeable (for those days) in Egyptology and the old history, told me that excavation in that area would be productive of interesting discoveries.

We got some Nile geese, the only birds we saw.

The next day, 30th, we sailed back to Debeira in eight hours. To-day was the highest Nile for many years: houses in the married camps of IXth and XIIIth and at Debeira were washed away. The railway line between Halfa and Khor Musa was breached in several places, and there was a large lake east of the railway. Both Halfa and Debeira villages were flooded out. We were back at Halfa at 8 a.m. next morning.

On 2nd September reports from Ferket came in that the force there was coming north: not to fight, but to intimidate the natives, and to replenish their stock of provisions.

On the 6th I went on three weeks' leave to Cairo.

This year the Nile was exceptionally high, and the country north of Assuan was in many places flooded on both sides to a great extent. About

Kena it was a vast lake, the *reis* could not find his way, so tied up to some palm-trees to enquire and found he was over two miles west of the river. Very much damage was done. At Girga the Mamur had closed the Bazaar the last two days, and all hands had been turned on to heighten the river and canal banks. The railway bridges at Kafr Zyat and Benha were rendered unsafe. The Khedive made a tour of the flooded districts and distributed food and money among the unfortunates who had lost their houses, animals and crops. When the river began to subside there was an epidemic of dengué fever in Lower Egypt, and from that ailment Colonel Valentine Baker, his wife, and one daughter died.

At Assiut I was told that there had been many thefts on the trains of late, so borrowed a railway key and locked both doors when we started: there were no other means of entrance. It was horribly hot, and of course very dusty, so I took off my khaki coat and put it on the seat opposite me, and hid my watch under it. Between Manfalut and Minieh I was awakened by the door banging to and fro, and I found my watch had gone. Some weeks later a gang of railway employees were discovered to be the marauders.

A man on leave lent me his ponies, so I got a lot of polo. I did all the sights about Cairo, and for two nights Palmer and I stayed out at the Locke-Kings' little cottage at the Pyramids: this cottage became in time the Mena House Hotel. On 28th the feast of Hassan-Hussein, postponed from the previous day, came off: Schudi Pasha very kindly took us to see it. It was rather ghastly; the boy who was representing Hussein had damaged his eye with the sword he was carrying, and had several other bad cuts self-inflicted, while following him were men with wounds from swords and chains: one man looked as if part of his entrails were protruding. Then we were taken to the house of a Persian notable, where we heard the recitations: the crowd were sobbing and in tears.

On my return journey I travelled up from Assiut in the s.w. "Semneh," which was the first boat to be converted, from having one main cabin only, into accommodating passengers in four or five cabins on each side, with a dining-saloon right aft. Gradually all the stern wheelers of the Cataract class were thus altered.

I was back at Halfa on 1st October. The dervishes had been on the move lately: the Ferket force had arrived at Sarras, and part of Nejumi's army under Makin En Nur and Osman Azrak were said to be

actually on their way from Dongola. On 21st Koki, the Sheikh of the Cataract sent in word that dervishes were on the west bank opposite his island : the Camel Corps went off at once and reconnoitred as far as Matuka, found tracks of some 30 camels and 20 footmen, but saw nobody.

At 10 p.m. on 22nd the Cavalry and Camel Corps left on a reconnaissance south, the Ist and VIth Battalions following by rail at midnight. The line was pulled up at beginning of Abka Plain, and two miles on the mounted troops came on 150 camel men, whom they chased back to Gemai, where they took up a strong position on the hills and in the block-house. After an hour's firing they returned to Halfa.

On the morning of 25th, dervishes came round Khor Musa Fort at 6 a.m. Mounted troops and IXth marched out at once. The line was broken north of the Khor. The Camel Corps came on the dervishes watering at south end of Abka Plain, and they and the cavalry were promptly engaged and driven slowly back to the north end, whither the IXth had just come up, having marched all the way : they were extended and hidden among the rocks, and, when the mounted troops had cleared their front, were able to pour in several very effective volleys. The Camel Corps had a man killed, 6 wounded, and 4 camels captured. We marched back to Halfa and reached there at 5 p.m. That evening news came in that Makin En Nur with reinforcements had reached Sarras on the 19th.

At sunset on 27th the dervishes were round Khor Musa again. A detachment of the IXth, some 60 men, were taking their turn of garrisoning the fort, and the O.C., with 10 men, crept down after dark under cover of the river bank, to the Khor in the hope of finding some of their camels there. But when they reached the Khor they were heard some distance away moving south. On 29th they retired from Abka and Gemai to Sarras.

During November there were frequent attempts by the dervishes to get north of Khor Musa. The railway was frequently being cut, and the riverain population from the Khor to Sarras were gradually being stripped of all they had, and were coming in to take refuge in the villages north of Halfa. The same on the west bank, so now there were only a few people left on the islands protected by deep channels. A gunboat was stationed at Khor Musa about 400 yards from the Fort : an Island

some 600 or 700 yards out had had a couple of guns placed on it, and was christened " Fort Fudli " after the O.C. Garrison Artillery.

The mainland Fort and Halfa were connected by telephone, and a Bimbashi, usually a British Officer, was in command. The Shaigia under old Ali Bey were now quartered here, some Camel Corps taking their place on the west bank. I can see Ali Bey now, seated cross-legged on the wall overlooking his camel lines, with his beads in one hand and *kurbaj* in the other, his scimitar across his knees : a big soft *tarbush* with a large tassel, coming down over his ears, tied tightly round with an *immah;* a Zouave coat, waistcoat, and baggy trousers of some dull colour, not khaki, a large red sash round his waist, red leather socks in shoes with very turned-up toes. He was about five feet seven inches in height, with small hands and feet, and very large sweeping moustaches. He was the image of "The Pirate King" one sees on the stage, and the only living man that I have met who bore any resemblance to him was a Bishop in one of our African dependencies.

He was most interesting to talk to, and I much regret I never took down some of his experiences. His first child was born to him about four year after Maho Bey was Hakimdar : he was probably then about 16 years old, so now was about 73 or 74. His father had died soon after their arrival in the Sudan and his mother had married again, someone with some official position, who took Ali about with him, and got him appointed a Buluk-bashi at an early age. For many years, with one companion, he was wandering about the country east of the Blue Nile collecting taxes. The procedure was this : they would arrive at a village, where the headman, perforce, had to put them up, put a *tukl* or *kutia* at their disposal, provide them with food and other creature comforts for the night. Next morning they would look under their pillows : if the sum of money they found there sufficed they departed on their way, but if it did not come up to the amount that they would have to render to the *Miri*, plus what they considered was due to them for working expenses, they would remain another day, or even more, until they had exacted the amount they wanted.

He was a Sandjak in Said Pasha's time, and took part in some fights or raids under Musa Pasha. As a Bey in '74 or '75 he was commanding a post up the White Nile when Gordon was on his way to the Equatorial Provinces : he had been there several years, and " the place

was worse than Hell!" When Gordon called in at his station he found that Ali Bey was drawing on the local blacks, Shilluk or Nuer, for food for his men, who were receiving their pay in slaves, also locally collected. Ali Bey's account is that Gordon was going to have him shot or sent down in chains. Nothing happened, so before Gordon left next day Ali Bey asked him how he was to feed and pay his men, as he got nothing from Khartoum; Gordon told him to feed and pay them as he had done hitherto.

When the Mahdist troubles arose he was on the Blue Nile and fought at Messelamia. He was under Mohamed Ali Pasha at Halfaya, and was present at the disaster at Um Debaira a few days later, 5th September, '84. He was sent down in the steamers under Nushi Pasha and Khasm El Mus to meet the British at Metemma. He wore the Khartoum Star.

He was a good disciplinarian, and kept his men well in hand and up to the mark in their military duties. To us the Shaigia were at first men to be despised, our views being taken entirely from what Gordon says so often about them in his "Journals": we found later that there were many other Arabs worse than they were. Ali Bey knew everything about a camel that there was to be known, and if a camel did not take his roll in the sand heap prepared for that purpose on return from grazing, or was off his feed, the owner came in for a bad telling-off in Arabic and in Turkish. He was very blunt and outspoken, but never rude; he got on well with the British Officers and the natives, and with some Egyptians, not many. Quick and alert, he never spared himself; abstemious, if he was entertained he ate and drank what was provided without any remark. He always had his beads in his hand, but I think he looked on them as part of his kit, and I should doubt if he knew the postures of prayer.

Ali Bey was, I believe, under the Sudan Bureau, and they placed him "en disponibilité" in the summer of '90 and ordered him to Cairo, where he had never been since he was a child five or six years old. He hated the idea of going, but went. He came to see me when I was passing through Cairo in September, '91. I was sitting in the Hotel verandah, and with both arms extended there came towards me a puny, clean-shaven, hollow-faced individual in a high *tarbush*, Stambuli coat, check trousers and elastic-side boots. When he called out my name, I knew who it was, but "what a falling off was there!" It was sad to see him, the father of 80 sons, appear in the garb of a merchant from the Muski.

He was full of woes and grievances : on arriving in Cairo he could not, at first, get any pay or pension, and was living on charity until Wingate and the Intelligence Department interested themselves on his behalf. He had been jeered at for his kit ; the Cairenes either thought he was a " wild man " or a Consul's *kavass* so he had been persuaded to discard it, and shave off his mustachios. He bitterly regretted he hadn't left his bones in the " khalla." I could not get news of him four years later, and believe he had died in the meantime.

During this month, November, the troops on the Frontier were reinforced by the Xth from Suakin, who went to Assuan, and Baker's black gendarmerie under Macdonald and Jackson returned to their old camping ground at Debeira. The Vth Battalion also left Suakin about this time for Cairo, earmarked to be in readiness to move to the Frontier, should the occasion require it. Osman Digna, who had been some time at Kassala, heard of these moves and returned to Handoub, and in a short time had all the country round Suakin in his hands again.

At the end of the year the dervishes at Sarras were in a very poor way : they had denuded the country between Khor Musa and Ferket of all food stuffs, and found it difficult to prevent desertions. Also smallpox was rife among them. Their patrols came as far as Khor Musa fairly frequently, but not on fighting or raiding intent.

1888.

During the first week of '88 all British troops, except one company, left Assuan for Cairo. On 17th January took place Colonel Kitchener's raid on Handoub in which he received a severe wound in the jaw : he had hoped to surprise Osman Digna, and was within an ace of catching him.

On 30th January Colonel Charnside left for Cairo, summoned thither by Sir Evelyn Baring to confer about the Police, Colonel Valentine Baker having died the previous November. He never returned to the Frontier, and left the Egyptian Army a few months later : a very great loss.

On 5th February the dervishes made a reconnaissance on both banks about Khor Musa : some 30 mounted men on East bank worked round as if they intended a raid into Halfa village, while 90 mounted men with 600 infantry came north of Sheikh Abd El Kader's tomb : these scattered when the guns from Fort Fudli opened fire on them, leaving two horses and four men dead on the ground.

Towards the end of the month reinforcements and some food reached Sarras from Ferket.

On 22nd a party of Bahr Karrar's men from Bir Ongat came down on Kalabsha and carried off the Police Officer, Mohamed Effendi Famir : his wife, a beautiful woman, said to be a Circassian, clung to her husband as they were dragging him off : one of the raiders, to make her let go, stabbed her in the breast with a small spear which penetrated the lungs, and she died within 24 hours. The four police at the Post all received wounds, but none of the villagers were touched.

On morning of 28th a party from Bir Gelaib (50 miles east of Saboa) came to Allaki. There happened to be some *gyassas* there, tied up to the bank : they looted these of *dura* and other foodstuffs, and wounded two of the boatmen. Then were off.

On March 1st the Post boat was fired on, while on its way south, about Koshtemna : it was hit twice, but no harm done. There was an American tourist on board who was loud in his complaints about the indignity he had suffered, but we could not quite make out whether it was against the "*Hudud*" or the dervishes that he meditated invoking the power of the U.S.A.

A few days later we heard that Tapp, commanding the IIIrd Battalion, had been killed outside Suakin. During the night of 3rd-4th a party of dervishes had established themselves on the site of the old Fort Hudson and during the fighting next day a shell burst among some Amarar irregulars and scattered them : in their flight they carried with them a company of the IIIrd Battalion. Tapp, who was reforming them, stopped behind and was carrying in a box of ammunition when some five or six horsemen galloped down and he was speared.

On 8th March the Sirdar arrived to inspect : a Review Order Parade was held in the afternoon, but a dust-storm and violent wind absolutely spoilt it. A series of parades took place up to 3 p.m. on 11th when Sir Francis departed. Next morning there was another desert raid, on Girsha : over a mile of telegraph wire was carried away, two men were wounded, and several beaten.

On 15th March I was returning about noon from No. 1 Fort past the Harimat Lines, when I saw a woman lying on a skin outside one of the huts, and crouching each side of her were two elderly dames beating with their hands a little drum apiece. The drums were brass, eight to

ten inches in diameter, and three to four inches deep, exactly like those the Shaigia carry on their waists, and use in place of a bugle, or on the march. I was told the woman was very ill, which was evident, and that the dames were exceedingly clever doctors and were driving the evil out of her. A man then told me it was "*darb el dussatir*" ; I took "*dussatir*" to be the name of the drums, but long afterwards I was told that there was an ailment called "*dussatir*" : whether that was correct or not, I don't know now.

But the curious thing was that, while I was there, two Egyptian soldiers also stopped to see what was going on, and one of them said something, which I did not catch, to the other with a great guffaw. This annoyed one of the ladies, who ceased drumming, jumped up, and poured out a stream of words in an unknown tongue : she was of a Nilotic tribe. The two Egyptians slunk off, and before they had gone a hundred yards, one fell down in a fit : the other man paid no attention to him, but went on for another 70 or 80 yards, and then he collapsed. I told some of our men to carry them to hospital, and asked what had caused their sudden illness : their reply was, "Who knows ! but they will probably die !" I went and told their Bey all about it : he was very philosophical and said they deserved "three good ones," *i.e.*, cuts with a stick, for getting into trouble ! They were all right next day, and the woman, too, survived the treatment.

On 21st a party of 60 mounted men and 100 footmen came down soon after dawn into the south end of Halfa village, but returned into the hills when the Khor Musa garrison made their appearance, and Fort Fudli burst some shells amongst them.

On 23rd Farayg village was attacked by a force of 400 Arabs : they killed the two head sheikhs and 12 men, and wounded over 40. They were in the village nearly five hours, and thoroughly looted it, and destroyed the telegraph wire in many places : they took 40 head of cattle away with them.

The first news Halfa and Korosko got of the raids, already mentioned, was by the telegraph wire being cut. When that was reported a gunboat proceeded, either up from Korosko or down from Halfa, to locate the break, and ascertain what had caused it. On its approach the dervishes invariably made off, and, being mounted, there were no hopes of catching them The riverain population began to be less apathetic and indifferent,

and finally became very much alarmed, especially after the Farayg raid. So Colonel Wodehouse took the following steps: Beshir Bey Gubran was ordered to seize Bir Haimar and send his dervish relations packing. The VIth Battalion from Halfa were ordered to Darraw, and the IXth to Korosko with posts at Farayg, Toski, Ibrim, and Derr. Borrow left on 25th in the Post boat with 7 officers and 253 men to form the posts, while I took the remainder down in native boats, holding at most 70–80 men apiece: as luck would have it, a strong northerly wind commenced, and we could make no progress until the "Tamai" and the post-boat "Amara" came to our assistance. We reached Korosko on 3rd April.

On that day Borrow, who had resigned from the Egyptian Army, left by the Post boat. He was succeeded by Major A. Hunter, the former C.O.; he had been very badly wounded a few days before the action at Ginnis, and took over a year recovering.

Raids still continued: early on 8th the line north of Allaki was cut; we sent the "Tamai" off with some men to prospect, and found a detachment of the Xth had arrived from Assuan. Next night Dabod was raided and 10 villagers wounded. That morning, 9th, 80 camel men came into Erminia. A Greek and a Post Office employé fired at them, killing one man and wounding another, who was collected. The raiders retired into the hills, thinking we had some troops there.

On 16th April the Sirdar held a great Durbar at Assuan. The Frontier Mudiria was formed, to extend from Darraw southwards, and Colonel Wodehouse made the Governor and a Pasha. The Province was placed under Martial Law. The Sirdar spoke pretty plainly to the Omdas and Sheikhs, and made them understand that he was not going to have any more nonsense. The notables of Bimban, an important village opposite Darraw, were especially warned to be careful of their behaviour, as there had been reports of Mahdist sympathies having been openly expressed by the villagers, some of whom were traders who had constantly been going to and fro between Bimban and El Bokka.

A few days later Minshetta Bey, chief of the Abudin section of the Shanatir Ababda, was arrested for treason one evening at his home at Allaki. He asked permission to remain there the night to settle up his affairs. This was granted, a guard being put around the dwelling. During the night he inflicted a painful operation on all his womenfolk to ensure their not being interfered with during his absence. He was tried

by General Court Martial at Assuan, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. The sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life: he was released about two years later.

In the meantime Macdonald's battalion of Gendarmerie from Debeira were split up into posts north of Korosko and arms and ammunition were distributed to villages in the raiding area, some thirty rifles to a village. These arrangements, and the continual patrolling of the river by the gunboats, considerably diminished the activities of the desert marauders, who now were content only to dart down and demolish the telegraph wire between villages. So on 3rd May the IXth received orders to withdraw the posts at Derr and Ibrim, reduce those at Toski and Farayg to thirty men, and take over the Allaki section from the Gendarmerie: this section extended as far north as Dahmit. This move was completed during the next five days.

On 18th and 19th May, Wodehouse Pasha, Hunter and Messedaghlia had a long discussion with the Ababda Sheikhs, Beshir Bey, Bashiri Bey, and Mohamed Ali Mahmoud (who had taken Minshetta's place), on the state of affairs in the Eastern desert, and the proposed attack on El Haimer, which was to be under Beshir's fighting brother, Sheikh Ali Mustafa Gubran: he left two days later with 400 men, drove the dervishes out of Ongat and Omm Hubal wells, and occupied El Haimer about the end of the month. Peace was now restored to the Nile villages.

Montgomery-Campbell had come to the IXth, from the Xth at Suakin, last November, he then very shortly went on leave, and now returned: so in my turn I left on the 1st June for England. On my way down the river I passed the Gendarmerie drifting down to Cairo, where they were incorporated into the Army and became the XIth Sudanese, dating from 1st May.

During my leave I spent some hours looking through the shelves in Quaritch's bookshop in Piccadilly in search of books on the Sudan. I found two very useful ones, Burckhardt's "Travels in Nubia" and Prout's "Report on the Sudan." We ought to have had them on the Frontier long before.

I was back at Korosko early in October. Hunter had been invalided a couple of weeks before, his old wound having broken out again, so Montgomery-Campbell was in command of the IXth.

During my absence several incidents had occurred on the Frontier : on 20th July the dervishes at Sarras, on receipt of instructions from Nejumi at Dongola (who had been reprimanded by the Khalifa for not being active enough) made a sunset raid on Debarosa village : they killed some 50 men and women, looted, and set fire to the houses. There were some boats alongside the bank into which the people crowded, seeking safety on a sandbank 200 yards out in the river. The boats were overcrowded, and sank when they got out into the stream, and over a hundred men, women and children were reported as being drowned.

The mounted troops, under the personal command of Wodehouse Pasha, were out in a very few minutes, and the dervishes promptly retired to the hills east and south of Sahaba carrying on a running fight, in which they suffered some casualties.

Another Frontier episode took place on 29th August, when a party of 500 men under one Abd El Hafiz attacked Khor Musa, then garrisoned by half the Vth Battalion under Bimbashi Abd el Ghani Fuad. By a ruse the dervishes effected an entrance, and the garrison maintained their hold of the northern half of the Fort until Machell with 100 men of XIIIth arrived and rushed the southern part in a very gallant manner. The dervishes had some 85 killed, and among the wounded was their leader Abd El Hafiz. The Egyptian loss was 19 men killed, 3 officers and 30 men wounded. During the rest of the year there was no more interference from Sarras.

In the eastern Sudan and on the Red Sea Littoral things had been quiet during the summer, and the gates of Suakin had been open to trade since the middle of July. In the middle of September Colonel Holled-Smith came to Suakin as Governor-General, and about the same time Osman Digna thought he had got all the supplies he required, so determined to besiege Suakin. So on 17th September his Emir, Osman Naib, suddenly opened up trenches within 900 yards of the Water Forts, and by the end of the month had dug another parallel 400 yards nearer ; Osman Digna had some 4,000 men under him.

During October one began to hear from natives from the south stories of a mysterious " White Pasha " said to be advancing northwards in the Bahr el Ghazal province, and that the Khalifa was much perturbed at his presence in those parts. It was never definitely ascertained what gave rise to these rumours until Stanley came back to Cairo in March, '90,

when he gave us his opinion that the "White Pasha" was a combination of himself and Emin Pasha.

The Frontier was now very peaceful: we still retained our posts between Saboa and Dahmit, but there was no longer the continual rushing about in a gunboat as there was from March to May. Now one could take it more leisurely and ride on a horse or a camel, and thus get to know more intimately the sheikhs and principal villagers.

At the end of October General Dormer from Cairo visited the Frontier on a tour of inspection.

Meanwhile the situation at Suakin was becoming more and more serious. The IIIrd Battalion and the XIth arrived there from Cairo about the middle of November, and the Sirdar received sanction to raise another black battalion, the XIIth. Then the Xth from Assuan were despatched via Kuft and Kosseir, and on the 18th November the IXth received orders to hold themselves in readiness to proceed by that route.

On 23rd half the VIth Battalion arrived to relieve our Korosko detachment, who were stowed into native boats to drift down to Shellal, where the other village posts joined us. Our flotilla reached Berud, two miles from Kuft (which is not on the Nile), at 8 p.m. on 29th. The majestic form of Sheikh Ali Mustafa, Beshir Bey's brother, greeted us and announced that he was to be in charge of us and the transport across the desert: which was just as well, as we had not a single map, had no idea where the wells were, or what was their capacity.

Kempster, from the XIIIth, joined us as temporary C.O.: we had with us, too, a squadron of cavalry and a company of Camel Corps.

Pinching, the Medical Officer in charge, and myself, walked the whole distance between the Nile and the Red Sea. I wanted to make a sketch (an indifferent one) or at all events get the distances between water more or less accurate.

Some years later, in '93, in the Staff College Library, I came on a handbook," Routes in Egypt," published in 1878 by direction of the Q.M.G., India. Among the routes given was the Darb El Hamra, the one taken by Sir David Baird's force in July, 1801, and which we now were about to pursue. His force numbered over 3,500 British and 4,000 Sepoys and followers; he collected 5,000 camels for transport, they crossed the desert by detachments, each of which took nine days on the road. The report did not state how the troops performed the march, or whether there were many casualties.

When General Baird left India his goal was Suez, but when opposite Kosseir his transports were delayed so many days by a strong northerly wind which showed no signs of abating, that he gave up all hopes of getting to Suez, and decided to land and make his way to Cairo by the desert and the Nile: a bold measure, ably and successfully carried out.

We left Berud at 2.30 p.m. next afternoon, 30th, and marched to three miles the other side of Kuft, where we made our " Hegra " camp. The desert proper does not commence until El Egeita, 23 miles from the Nile, where we arrived at noon next day. The worst part of the whole road was from here to Ras El Hamra, 22 miles—a very heavy sandy plain. Here the hills on either side gradually close in, and the last six miles into Moella is through a gorge : this is the only picturesque and interesting part of the route. Issuing out of it a slight ascent is climbed, and (96 miles from the Nile) on reaching the crest one knows at once that the water-shed has been reached, as one instantly feels damp and muggy.

At Bir el Ingliz (called after the three wells dug by General Baird : water, warm and brackish) there are some dozen huts scattered about in the adjacent khors : we arrived there at sunset, so it was dark when I settled on where to put my blankets for the night. I had them laid out under the lee of a pile of stones : when I turned in I noticed an unpleasant smell, and when dawn came found myself alongside a shrivelling corpse. The ground about the Wells is so rocky that they don't attempt to dig a grave, but lay their dead on the surface and build a tomb about them with rocks and stones : more to preserve them against the wolves and hyænas than anything else.

At Bir el Ingliz we filled up all our fantasses with water sufficient to take us, the Cavalry, Camel Corps and their animals, to Suakin. The people at Kosseir pay P.T. 20 for a camel-load of water from these wells : the more wealthy get theirs from Bir el Terfawi, 20 miles south-west where the water is better.

We reached Kosseir at 8.10 a.m. on 6th December. I made the total distance 108 miles ; Baird made it 117. We were extremely fortunate in our weather : hot, of course, but fresh, and no wind.

We bivouacked just south of the Fort, and, on being dismissed, the men tore down to the shore to bathe and wash their clothes. Hardly any of them had seen the sea before, and they could not understand why their soap would not lather or why it was so salt to drink, as to most of them salt water meant well water.

Abd el Halim Bey Sadik was then Governor at Kosseir : he was very obliging. The Khedivial Line steamer " Shibin " arrived soon after 1 p.m., and anchored some 1,200 yards out. We commenced loading up at once, but there were very few boats available, though there were more

than a hundred dhows high and dry on the beach, only used during the Pilgrim season.

So to save time we swam out the greater number of the horses in small parties of six or seven to the steamer, where a broad brace was slipped on to them behind the forelegs, and they were hoisted on board by a derrick: only one mishap occurred, when the brace slipped back to the animals' hind-quarters, but he arrived on board with no injury.

The " Shibin " left at 8 p.m. that evening, and, proceeding at eight knots an hour, took the inner course between the coral reefs. There was a swell next day, so the men were very ill, and could not understand why. The ship was steadier on the 8th, so we decided to have fire drill in the afternoon: but the Captain objected, and we realised why, when he informed us all the hose had been carefully stowed away, so that the fantasses might be packed on it!

The wheel was just forward of the bridge, and the *reis* usually sat on the casing over the chains leading to the tiller, and manipulated the wheel with his bare feet. He and the Captain did not always agree as to the correct course. As on one occasion took place: " A little to the right." " No, I am going straight on." " A little to the right." " No." " You son of a dog, hear my words!" Whereupon the *reis* took his feet off the wheel, swung himself round and called out, " '*Ummak*!" Kempster then ran up to the bridge and seized the Captain, while I went for the *reis*: they then resumed control of the ship, and in a few minutes were addressing each other as " Oh! my brother!" But after that we always had an officer on duty to guard against a repetition. It would have been no fun to bump against the sharp edges of the reefs, as the ship was old and her sides were none too strong.

We reached Suakin at 11.10 a.m. on Sunday, 9th December. Animals and stores were disembarked, and then we marched to our camp at Shaata Gate, the main entrance to the town. After the Nile villages Suakin was very imposing: the defences, planned and commenced by Colonel Kitchener when he went there as G.G. in '86, had been completed last spring; and very imposing they looked, the high coral walls, the battlements, and the towered gates. That evening at sunset I was mounting our guards when a salute was sounded at Shaata Gate, and in came about a dozen horsemen in steel helmets and chain armour over long quilted coats, their horses also in coats and brass frontals: the

leader was a tall, thin, rather cadaverous black, with the ordinary sword of the Sudan at the " carry " : he reminded me forcibly of Don Quixote, and the whole scene, the Shaata Gate and the men in armour, carried one back to the Middle Ages. These were irregulars of the Halenka tribe, their chief being Abdel Kader Bey. He was very devout, almost a fiki, and most punctilious in carrying out his religious duties. Besides some 20 horsemen he had about 40 to 50 footmen under him. The following April Abdel Kader Bey and his Halenkas came to Halfa and were encamped near the Shaigia. Old Ali Bey had the utmost contempt for Abdel Kader's praying propensities, and never missed an opportunity for letting fly some sarcastic remarks about his military, religious and social qualities. Abdel Kader did not last very long, as, when ordered out one day when the dervishes were about, he sent a message to say he was sorry he could not comply, as it was his day for prayer and meditation. So he was sent to Cairo to pray and meditate there.

The British officers at Suakin lived at the New House, which was the Mess : as the garrison increased we either doubled up, or found a room in an adjoining house.

Colonel Kitchener, who had become A.G. of the Army last September, was to command during the forthcoming operations a Brigade consisting of IXth, Xth, and XIIth, while Colonel Holled-Smith had the 2nd Brigade in which were the XIth and 4th Battalion. We had Brigade drills most days on ground to the north-west of Suakin to accustom the dervishes to seeing troops massed in that quarter. A British officer was in one of the Water-Forts at night : the rifle-fire from the trenches was usually very active then, and the guns they had there made very good shooting, and were handled very capably ; their gun-pits were six feet deep, and from them a ramp ran up to a short platform just long enough to take the gun and trail, while the muzzle of the gun only just had clearance over the parapet. When it was fired the recoil sent the gun back down the ramp into the pit. I twice got permission to go out with the morning cavalry patrol, in order to get the hang of the country. One always saw some ariel who seemed quite indifferent to the presence of ourselves or the Arabs, or to the constant musketry fire. Sometimes an officer with the patrol would dismount and have a shot at one. The dervishes noticed this, and one morning on his way round Beech saw in the bush an ariel moving with an extraordinary action, so taking his

flankers he made a détour so as to approach it from the opposite direction, and came unobserved on a couple of riflemen near the ariel ; they fired a hasty shot at him and darted into the bush. The ariel had been hobbled !

The Geyf, or mainland, part of Suakin got a fair sprinkling of bullets every night, as well as during the day, and some shells, perhaps four or five an hour, some nights more. But though that part was now fairly crowded with troops and with refugees, the casualties were very few.

The polo and cricket ground was just south of Fort Fula within five or six hundred yards of the scrub. A day or two before we arrived they were having a cricket-match which was interrupted by some riflemen in the scrub, who made such accurate shooting at the centre of the pitch that the batsmen were put off scoring. So they gave it up and ran towards Fula, leaving a marquee standing : it was getting dark at the time, and when they went back with some armed men to retrieve it, they found that the dervishes had forestalled them and had carried it off.

On another occasion when playing polo on the same ground, the game was spoilt by constant peppering. Sometimes they never interfered.

By the 18th, Sir Francis Grenfell had his force assembled at Suakin. The British contingent consisted of a squadron of 20th Hussars, 100 Mounted Infantry, the 2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers, and half the 1st Welsh Regiment ; the 2nd Battalion Egyptian Army also arrived. On the 19th, soon after sunset when gates were closed, came orders which clearly indicated that the long-expected attack on the trenches was to take place next day. The men were to have an extra ration of meat for breakfast and we were to parade at 5.45 a.m., an hour earlier than usual. The 1st Brigade formed up west of Handoub Fort as usual, with the XIth on the right flank disposed with one company in front, two in fours on the flank, and one company in line in rear ; then came the IXth on their left in columns of companies ; next to them the Xth in two lines of two companies each, and in support to the Xth, the XIIth similarly dispersed. Behind the XIth followed in support the 4th Battalion in square. The mounted troops were some 500 yards out on the right flank.

Soon after 7 a.m. the infantry marched with its centre directed up the Khor, and after proceeding some 500 yards were ordered to make a wheel half left. Meanwhile bullets were beginning to fly about fairly

thickly from the front and from the right, so that it was not surprising that the two companies of XIth, marching in fours, front-formed in order to face their enemy. Into the gap thus made the two rear companies of IXth were brought. The left of the dervish trenches was in what we called Gemaizeh Tree Khor, and here there were three tiers of trenches turned back, from which a heavy fire was brought to bear on our advancing troops; but they had the advantage of several folds in the ground, which afforded considerable cover. When some two or three hundred yards off the left of the dervish position one could see their riflemen running down from other parts of the trench and from the bush to reinforce the threatened point; our line was then advancing by rushes of half companies or sections, and there was some sharp hand-to-hand fighting when the flank trenches were reached and occupied; then there was a pause of five minutes to reform before the advance was continued another 400 yards; resistance was now at an end, the trenches were all evacuated, their defenders streaming away towards Handoub. The IXth and XIth each captured a gun during their advance. Some 500 dervishes were reported to have been killed, while our losses were infinitesimal, some six killed and fifty wounded.

Four zeribas were now constructed at intervals along the main dervish trench; the IXth made and occupied No. 3, south-east of Fort Gemaizeh, just north of the Water Khor. Next day we pulled it down, and took over No. 4 from the Xth who went back to Suakin. Then, with some Royal Engineers we built a block house in it, and replaced the thorn zeriba with a barbed wire entanglement; this was the first time barbed wire was used in the Sudan. All hands were also employed clearing the bush round about, and burying dead bodies and unexploded shells. That night, 21st–22nd, it rained hard and we all got soaked; the wolves made a horrible noise all night, unearthing and fighting over the bodies buried that day.

At sunset on 23rd some 50 horsemen made a rapid reconnaissance of the ground about their old trench line, but soon disappeared into the bush.

On 28th, the Sirdar with the mounted troops and a couple of battalions advanced some four or five miles in the direction of Handoub, but the dervishes were not to be drawn. Next day the British troops left Suakin.

On 31st, the IXth learned that Major G. E. Lloyd, from the 4th Battalion, had been appointed their C.O., vice Major Hunter, who was to be second in command of the Frontier Force.

1889

On 2nd January, 1889, the Sirdar inspected those N.C.O.'s and men who had distinguished themselves and gave them gratuities. Then he held a Levée of the officers. He and his staff left for Cairo at daybreak on the 4th. The Xth left for Kosseir on the 5th, en route for Assuan.

Meanwhile, the dervishes had heard of the departure of the British troops, and were much elated. So at noon on the 7th they sniped our vedettes for a couple of hours, and showed themselves, some 80 to 100 men, in the vicinity of Fort Handoub, who scattered them. From now on the morning patrols exchanged shots with the enemy and, during the night of 15th, No. 1 zeriba was fired into from four or five hundred yards away.

On the 19th, the " Scout," commanded by Prince Louis of Battenburg, arrived to take the place of the " Racer," which had left for England a week before.

On 21st, Fort Mansur was completed and garrisoned by an officer and 25 men, with two Nordenfelts : Nos. 1 and 2 block houses were, therefore, demolished. On 23rd, the mounted troops reconnoitred towards Handoub ; some stray parties of the enemy retired in front of them. On 25th, the squadron of 20th Hussars and the Mounted Infantry company left for Cairo.

At 9 a.m. on the 28th, the IXth left Suakin in the " Mansourah," a great improvement on the " Shibin," the ship we came down in. That night the wind got up, and the spray came over the deck ; the blacks had not a kick in them. We had bad weather all the way to Kosseir, where we anchored at 7.15 a.m. on the 31st. Men and baggage all out, and we bivouacked on the platform south of the Fort ; but the wind was so cutting that we put the men for shelter into the Fort. The Governor gave Campbell and myself a room in the Muhafza ; we and Sheikh Ali Mustafa dined with him.

Next day, 1st February, we marched off a little before 8 a.m. I marched the whole way to the Nile to check my distances.

The day we left Suakin Jackson of the XIth had given me a Howara or Ermenti dog : these dogs are reputed to be descendants of dogs brought to Egypt by the French in 1800. This dog had caused annoyance in Suakin by biting Arabs : he had a strong dislike to anyone who wore flowing robes, but was an angel with Europeans, or with the men. Jackson had been told to get rid of him, so asked me to give him a trial, and I agreed. On leaving Kosseir I led him on a chain for six or seven miles, and he was most docile. Then, as the transport with its attendant Ababda were three or four miles on ahead, I released him. He shot off like an arrow straight for the transport, and I could guess when he had arrived there as there seemed to be some slight commotion, and, as the transport moved on, some half-a-dozen men remained behind in a bunch. Presently the dog, whose name was " Timsah " (as he had such a fine set of sharp-pointed teeth), sped back and came to heel, looking extraordinarily pleased with himself.

On reaching the bunch of men we found there Sheikh Ali's *wakil*, a man lying on the ground with a nasty wound in the calf of his leg, and three other Arabs, all talking furiously. The *wakil* said that his men would all desert if that " wild animal " was allowed to be loose again. I naturally expressed my grief at what had occurred, and asked the *wakil* what the " blood money " for a leg came to. The other men all joined in, and talked most excitedly, and I was wondering how many hundred piastres I should have to pay out, when the *wakil* asked for three hairs from the chin of the animal. So Timsah, whom one of our men was holding, was brought up, and I asked the Arabs to select the hairs : but they would not go within ten yards of him. So I solemnly pulled out three good hairs, and gave them to the *wakil*. The injured man was placed on his stomach, two men held the damaged leg firmly, one at the knee and the other at the ankle, the hairs were placed in the middle of the bite, and then the other Arab took off one of his sandals, and with it beat the hairs into the wound with four or five sharp blows. Everybody then seemed very satisfied, and they all trudged off to rejoin their camels. Till then I had no idea that " The hair of the dog that bit you " was ever taken literally. When we reached Luxor I saw the man and he said he was quite strong. I gave him a sheep.

Poor Timsah came to a bad end. Soon after we reached Halfa he bit a Berber, and then nearly gnawed off the tail of a donkey : so I

hardened my heart and sentenced him to be shot. Then Campbell, who was going on leave, interceded for him and, at great trouble and expense, brought him home to Leicestershire. A few days after arrival he carried off half a sheep from a butcher's shop, and within the week his body was found in a field three or four miles away with a bullet in his head.

To return to our march, we bivouacked at Bir el Ingliz that night. The night was bitter, as were all the nights and early mornings the whole way across.

Next day we came in for a cutting wind and a dust storm, but after 22 miles we were fortunate in coming on a sheltered nook between some high ridges, five miles west of Gebel Umshargir, where we spent the night. We reached Ras el Hamra early on the 4th and then the wind dropped and we had a nice hot day. On morning of 6th we left El Egeita and took the track via Hegazi, 18 miles, to Luxor another 15 miles on, where we arrived at 10 a.m. on the 7th.

Luxor was very full : we, Campbell and myself, tried to get rooms at the only hotel at the south end of the village, but it was full up. Ahmed Effendi Mustafa, the British Consul, gave us an empty room in his house, and we ate at the hotel. Some tents had been sent down from Assuan, as it was uncertain when sufficient boats for transport of the battalion would be collected, so we pitched our camp just south of the Hotel.

Our flotilla eventually sailed away on morning of 11th. Campbell and I intended going in one of the *nuggars*, but Mr. J. M. Cook, the managing director on the Nile of the firm of that name, gave us free passages in the " Cleopatra," one of his tourist steamers, as he said he was only too glad to make some return for what we had done at Halfa to make the stay of his passengers interesting and enjoyable.

The " Cleopatra " left at daybreak on 15th. On board were a party of 36 from Boston, U.S.A., who took their sight-seeing most seriously ; and six from Troy, U.S.A., who were more human and interesting.

We reached Assuan evening of 15th, and next afternoon our boats came alongside at North End within a few minutes of each other.

On morning of 19th we marched from North End to Shellal, and the battalion got away in boats at 1 p.m. Campbell and myself left in the " Kaibar " next morning, and reached Korosko at 8 a.m. on 22nd, and the battalion were all in by 2 p.m. that day. We then learnt that

we were to proceed to Halfa forthwith : so we loaded up with our stores, etc., from Korosko, and sent the boats on independently. The passage at Faras was very long and difficult, so the IXth were not all concentrated at Halfa until the evening of 27th February, and they would not have arrived then if the " Tamai " had not arrived on the scene and given them a helping tow.

The Frontier had been very peaceful during our absence : since Beshir Bey's occupation of Bir Haimar last June the Atbai had been quiet, though Bahr Karrar was still at Ongat with a few men : apparently he and his cousin Beshir have an agreement to let sleeping dogs lie.

Early last January there died an Emir, in whom, though he never came our way, we were much interested. It was one Abu Anga, a black, and a slave of the Khalifa Abdullahi in pre-Mahdi days. In one of Zubeir Pasha's fights with the Taaisha tribe, he was taken prisoner ; his life was spared and Zubeir took him to Cairo in 1877 when he (Zubeir) went to complain to the Khedive Ismail. Eventually he was allowed to return to his old master Abdullahi and, when the latter joined the Mahdi, Abu Anga by his ability and great personal bravery quickly rose to high command and became Emir of the Blacks. He had independent commands in Darfur, Kordofan and finally against the Abyssinians, whom he severely defeated, and he also sacked Gondar. He died at Gallabat, and the story at first current was that he had been poisoned, but such was not the case. He was universally regretted ; was strict, but very just and generous to those in need : he befriended Slatin when a prisoner in Omdurman. All our men who had served under him spoke well of him. He was tall and powerfully made : we used to be told that the " kibs " spear was first used by Abu Anga, and that the other Emirs copied him and carried one, more as a symbol of authority, as it was too large for them to handle effectively in battle.

We had been hearing rumours of a rebellion against the Khalifa in Darfur, headed by a youthful fiki, Sheikh Ahmed Abu Gemaizeh (so called because he held his meetings under a tree of that name). His initial successes caused much commotion in Omdurman. About a month ago he was defeated by the Emir Osman Wad Adam, and a few days later died of smallpox somewhere near el Fasher.

A few days later the Khalifa had another marvellous stroke of luck at Gallabat. The Abyssinians, with whom was King John, on 9th March

attacked the defences, and after severe fighting penetrated into the town, which was sacked and many prisoners taken. But the dervishes were still holding out in one part of the defences, and when King John was carried up to direct operations, he fell, struck by a bullet, and was carried away by his bodyguard. When this became known the Abyssinians promptly retreated. King John died that evening.

Next day the dervishes found that the Abyssinians had disappeared, and their patrols soon learnt the reason, the death of the King. Zekki Tummal, the dervish Emir, went in pursuit and soon caught up the rear half of the Abyssinian Army under Ras Alula who abandoned his camp and made a hurried retreat : then it was that King John's body was captured. With this Zekki Tummal was content, and returned to Gallabat without attempting to recover the women and cattle on ahead.

The IXth had brought with them from Suakin as rations a small flock of fat-tailed Somali sheep, and arrived at Halfa with two of them alive. The men of their own accord suggested that they should be given to " Saadat el Pasha," and Colonel Wodehouse accepted them. He had two black Ermenti dogs, and the sheep and the dogs struck up a great friendship, and when Colonel Wodehouse took a walk with his dogs accompanying him, the sheep trotted along with them.

On the reduction of Halfa garrison during the operations at Suakin it had been intended to evacuate the Left Defence, so all huts there, except the hut Colonel Holled Smith used to occupy, had been demolished, and a wall with parapet had been built on the north side of the Centre Defence, terminating with a blockhouse on the river bank. The IXth on arrival were put under canvas in the Left Defence, and ordered to make barracks for themselves as soon as possible. At Suakin the Battalion builders had been taken to work on Forts Mansur and Tamai, and now when we commenced building I noticed these men had nice English-made trowels with a W.O. and a broad arrow on them. They told me that the Royal Engineers, working with them at Suakin, who went back to their quarters in the town every evening, used to hide their trowels near where they were working, to save themselves the trouble of carrying them to and fro ; the Blacks found this out and took toll of them.

On 6th March 45 dervishes came at sunset to Sheikh Koki's Island and cleared it of the cattle and dhura : Koki and his retainers had just left for Fort Fadli where they now went at night for safety's sake.

On 9th March Major G. E. Lloyd arrived to command the battalion : though much regretting losing Major Hunter we considered ourselves very fortunate in his successor.

On the 11th the Ist Battalion left to garrison Korosko. That day Lloyd and I rode out to Khor Musa to inspect a new Fort on rising ground east of the railway, planned and built under the supervision of Captain Ternan, the A.A.G. of the Frontier, and named after him. A circular building with massive walls and good accommodation.

On 17th the Ist Battalion at Korosko were ordered to proceed to Cairo forthwith, the VIIIth to relieve them. Meanwhile half the VIIth from Halfa were to go to Korosko temporarily. So we made a bid and got as many men as we could into the empty huts of the VIIth. We had had a great deal of sickness of late, nearly all lung trouble : the nights had been very cold, and constant dust-storms by day. We buried some very good men.

Two days later the building of a Mosque in Halfa village was commenced : most of us attended the ceremony, and contributed towards the cost. The year before I had attended a similar ceremony at Korosko, where a Mosque had been built through the initiative of Ali Bey Haidr.

On 8th April the Emir Abd El Halim arrived at Sarras with 1,000 men, and scouts report that posts have again been established at Abka and Matuka. Abdel Halim is reputed a man of determination and energy, so it is likely that raids will commence again.

Early on the 12th the Sirdar and staff arrived on a tour of inspection, and we were kept busy until they left on 15th in the afternoon : that morning Sir Francis presented a Colour to each Battalion. Colonel Wodehouse accompanied the Sirdar down the river in the " Tamai," and he took me with him as his Staff Officer. We inspected the posts at Argin and Ishkait, thence rode to the north end of Debeira, visiting the post and holding a *meglis* of the notables en route. The " Tamai " and the " Amara," in which were the Sirdar and staff, ran on sandbanks near Gustol during the evening, and there they stuck all night.

We reached Derr at 2 p.m. on 16th, where another *meglis* was held. On arriving at Korosko we learnt that at 2 a.m. to-day North Argin and Sahaba had been raided, cattle driven off, houses looted, villagers beaten, but no one killed.

We got to Shellal next evening, and all day on 18th the Sirdar was going round Prison, Stores, Barracks, etc. During the evening Lloyd telegraphed from Halfa that reports had come in of a raid on Serra, so Colonel Wodehouse determined to return to Halfa. We left Shellal at 2 a.m. and after a tedious journey, due to sticking on sandbanks, reached Halfa evening of 22nd. The report about the raid on Serra was inaccurate.

At 10.45 p.m. a burst of firing from the Fort at Argin south was heard. Fifty of our men went down in the " Teb " to investigate, and returned at 3 a.m. reporting a false alarm. But next morning at daylight a black, shot through both buttocks, was found in the sand dunes and said he was one of 15 sent from Matuka to raid cattle.

On 24th we received news from Suakin that someone at Kassala had sent in a report that Senussi's force had captured Omdurman, and that Abdullahi was a prisoner. A jocular acknowledgment was sent.

On 27th Major A. Hunter arrived from England to take up the duties of second in command to Colonel Wodehouse.

About 9.30 p.m. on 29th shots were heard at Argin, and, shortly afterwards, at north end of Debeira. Dunning was patrolling in that neighbourhood in the " Teb " with 30 men of XIIIth. Landing at Debeira, the Barabra promptly fired on him and his party, and were of no assistance in affording any information of what, if anything, had taken place. Eventually Dunning ascertained that a party of horsemen were in a Khor outside the village : these horsemen, on Dunning's approach, went into the hills. This party was under the Emir Wad Rahma. When Colonel Wodehouse received particulars about 2 a.m. he sent Hickman with 100 cavalry into the desert east of Khor Musa to intercept the raiders : and at 7.30 a.m. they did so, killing 23, capturing 7, and two escaped ; Wad Rahma was amongst the slain.

The Argin raiders were pursued by the Camel Corps, who came up with them a couple of miles south of the Temple on the west bank : a skirmish ensued, and the dervishes gradually dribbled away, leaving three killed.

1st May, Ramadan commenced, A.H. 1306. On 6th May Lloyd left on four months' leave.

On 7th a deserter from Sarras reported that a force under Abd el Hafiz, the Emir who carried out the attack on Khor Musa Fort last August,

had crossed over to the West bank, and had moved north. Cunningham with a company of XIIIth was at once sent to Argin south, and Judge in the " Tamai " with 50 men to Serra. On 8th Kempster with 150 men reinforced Cunningham.

About 6 a.m. on 9th a party of some five or six hundred dervishes came down on the south end of Serra on west bank. Judge with his 50 men fell back on the Omda's house at the north end, which he prepared for defence, and sent the " Tamai " back to Argin for reinforcements. The dervishes went through the village looting and came on the Omda's house, which they attacked with no result, and lost several men. They then drew off into the desert, followed by Judge and his party, who retrieved the prisoners and cattle that the enemy were taking off. Being considerably reinforced the dervishes turned on Judge, who was forced to fall back on the Omda's house.

Meanwhile, Cunningham with a company had arrived from Argin : with Judge's men he advanced through the village clearing it of the enemy. During this operation their right flank was charged by some 20 horsemen headed by Abd el Hafiz, with whom Judge had a personal encounter and pulled him off his horse. He had given him several points with his sword, but Abd el Hafiz, like several others of his men, was clad in a helmet and chain shirt over a long quilted coat, and he could make no impression on him ; but as he was going off Judge hit him with a bullet from his revolver.

Cunningham eventually had to retire to the Omda's house owing to the pressure of increasing numbers. The " Tamai " patrolled along the river-front of the village, and shortly reported that the dervishes were beginning to streak into the desert. Cunningham thereupon again rushed south through the village and collected a few stragglers. The casualties during this morning came to eight men of the XIIIth wounded, 4 villagers killed, 4 wounded, and some 20 cattle and 7 villagers carried off. The dervishes left some 25 dead on the ground. Soon after his return to Sarras, Abd el Hafiz died of his wounds.

An attempt to cut off the raiders on their return to Matuka failed. The cavalry, Camel Corps and IIIrd Battalion were some three miles west of Abusir Rock at 4 a.m. next morning, when it was found the party had already passed by two-and-a-half miles further out. From Matuka to Serra, and back again, they had done some 70 miles in 60 hours.

On 12th, a merchant from Dongola reported that Nejumi really was about to leave that place for the north, and that his force consisted of 1,000 cavalry, 8,000 spearmen, and 2,000 Bazingers. But as we had heard the same report so often before, very little credence was given to it ; so we were rather surprised to hear that Nejumi was at Hafir a week later.

About noon on 21st we saw the waning moon clearly in the sky, with a star or planet between the horns of the crescent. Our blacks said it meant good luck to our arms, as it was the " *wasm* " of the Miri.

On 24th Abd El Halim moved his force at Sarras across to the west bank, so as to be in readiness to move off when Nejumi's army arrived.

On 25th Headquarters and part of the Xth arrived from Assuan ; this Battalion was coming to Halfa as a temporary measure.

Early on 26th Beech and Dunning, with 50 troopers and 50 Camel Corps, crossed the river and patrolled to Matuka, getting there soon after 5 a.m. No increase in the size of the *deim*, and camels and horses out grazing. They exchanged shots and brought back with them a couple of camels.

Next day a deserter stated that a raiding party had left Sarras to descend on Serra west ; but, on calling in at Matuka they learnt of Beech's and Dunning's visit an hour previously, and so returned to Sarras.

28th May, the first rise of the Nile. On 29th one of the chief Gar-rarish merchants was shot at Debarosa for supplying the dervishes at Sarras with grain.

On 2nd June, Campbell left for England on sick leave, so I took over command of the IXth.

At 9.30 p.m. on the evening of 3rd, rockets from the " Tamai " at Argin North were seen. The IXth were finding a post there, so I went down with 100 men in the " Teb," and was there about 11.30. I found that a party of 25 footmen, 10 camels, and 3 horses had come down into the middle of the village, and had killed a Berber ; the post there, under Yousbashi Said Dervish, a most capable Burnawi, had turned out and attacked them ; they took one prisoner, the rest of the party making for the hills. After spending over an hour going through the village and western outskirts, I got back to Halfa at 4.30 a.m., just after Hunter with 300 of XIIIth, 100 troopers and 120 Camel Corps, had left for Matuka.

The mounted troops arrived there soon after 8 a.m. and the dervishes, after a slight resistance, waded across to three islands in the Cataract; the XIIIth and the Camel Corps did likewise and charged the defenders, killing 18 and taking 7 prisoners: the others saved themselves by taking again to the water and gaining the east bank. The straw huts and grain at Matuka were burnt. The XIIIth had 1 man killed and 7 wounded; some half-dozen horses were hit.

At 9 p.m. on 9th news came in from Argin North that a party had passed three-and-a-half miles out, behind the hills, marching north in the direction of Serra. I left in the "Matemmeh" with 50 men and, on calling at Argin North, it seemed that the report was very vague. I reached Serra at 1 a.m. and, on landing with a couple of men, was received with a spluttering fire from the armed Barabra. I sent the Shaigia, who had a post here, out on patrol, and went on to Faras Island, arriving there at 3.30 a.m. With difficulty I managed to get alongside the west bank, where I landed my party, and disposed them on the west of the village. I remained there until 8 a.m. and then, calling for reports *en route*, reached Halfa at 2 p.m.

On 13th we learnt that Hassan Khalifa from Abu Hamed had occupied Murat Wells with 300 men, mostly of the Monasir tribe, and that he was going to raid south of Korosko. It seems that Hassan Khalifa had written apologetically to his cousin Saleh Bey, and given him this news; he had to go to Murat to save his own skin. So Sillem with 400 men of his battalion, the IIIrd, left in two gun-boats to reoccupy the posts made last year, between Debeira and Korosko. Nothing happened until dawn on 17th when Sillem in his gun-boat happened to be tied up to the east bank a little north of Gustol: a native reported that many camel men had come down to the river in Gustol village. Putting a half company on shore to hold a Khor coming down from the desert, he went south in the gun-boat hoping to catch the raiders entering. But the river was low, and the gun-boat stuck several times; so, when he reached the spot, the camels had all been watered and withdrawn inland; but the Arabs were there along the bank firing on some half dozen *gyassas*, loaded with supplies, which were tied up to a sandbank some 400 yards away. On his opening fire on the raiders they sped away to their camels. Sillem landed with some 50 men and followed them up; they turned and stood for a few minutes, but, on the gun from the steamer getting their

range, they continued their retirement, leaving four men dead, and three camels behind. Sillem's arrival on the scene had saved Gustol from pillage and, in all probability, the *gyassas* from being looted. The Arabs numbered about 100.

This was the last desert raid on the East bank villages for many a long day.

Meanwhile Colonel Wodehouse had been asking for permission to go out to Sarras (west bank) and attack and scatter Abd El Halim's force before Nejumi had arrived within supporting distance. This permission he received on the 11th, but what with the many contradictory reports as to where Nejumi was, and the imminence of an epidemic of raids from the desert, it was at length deemed that the moment for this operation had gone by.

On 24th we learnt that Nejumi had reached Semna : as a matter of fact he arrived there on 19th, and had joined up with Abd El Halim at Sarras on the 22nd. Late on 28th the two Emirs with their forces arrived at Matuka : they celebrated the event by firing their guns at intervals during the night.

Meanwhile on afternoon of 25th I had gone with one company of the IXth to reinforce the company already at Argin North. The natives had during the last week been cleared to the east bank, from every village on the west bank, between Argin and Tomas inclusive : not a dog remained.

We put the Omda's house in a state of defence : the roof consisted of matting and palm-branches over 3 feet thick : on clearing it away some curious articles were found buried in the lower layers, some swords of Turkish shape, shovel-shaped stirrups, bits that had traces of Damascene work, etc. The roof was relaid with split palm-trees, and a parapet added to the original walls. I had two 3-barrelled Nordenfelds, and on my making a position for them at one corner, which had a good field of fire, I was checked by an old Shilluk for doing so, as he said that the dervish would be sure to make for the corner of the fort, and then the machine-guns would jam : whereas three or four men would be ever so much safer, and then there were their bayonets. There was a lot in what he said.

A detachment of 15 men of the Camel Corps with their camels joined me, so next morning I went out with them four miles out west to have a look round behind the hills, and established a post on the ridge near

the Sheikh's Tomb 4,500 yards west of the Omda's house : to be held by day only, and to come in when any body of the enemy appeared. The perimeter of the outer walls of the Omda's house totalled 387 yards.

About 8 a.m. on 29th some 150 horsemen reconnoitred Halfa from near the ruined Temple, but retired over the hills after six rounds from the guns in No. 1 Fort. Soon after mid-day Kempster with the XIIIth arrived at Argin south and occupied some houses at that end of the village. Just before sunset on 30th a force of 1,000 infantry, 200 horsemen and 2 guns were observed from Fort Fadli (on the island) who fired at them : they returned to Matuka. That day Kempster with the XIIIth moved to centre of the village.

On 1st July soon after 6 a.m. two gunboats, one with Colonel Wodehouse, staff, and the other half of the IXth, and the other with the Xth, came down and stopped at Ishkait. The Colonel came across and told me that the same force as was seen yesterday would probably leave Matuka during the night and reach Argin next morning. The gunboats with troops returned to Halfa soon after midday.

Next morning a few minutes after 8 a.m. Kempster came over to see me, and was saying, " I don't believe Wad (as we called him for short) has any intention of coming," when I saw the Camel Post at the Sheikh's Tomb leave, and trot in. Ten minutes afterwards some 200 horsemen, very much scattered, came over the hills from the Tomb southwards and reconnoitred the village. They approached to about 500 yards and then they were fired at by the XIIIth, which caused them to retire : one horse was killed. At 9 a.m. the enemy appeared in full force, on the hills some 600 yards north of the Tomb to some distance beyond Argin South Post, in a formation four or five deep : it was a fine sight, a line nearly four miles long, banners displayed, and *nugaras* beating. After a pause of ten minutes a forward movement from south of the Tomb, of about 800 men, and another of double that number down a shallow Khor two miles south, were made towards the centre and north end of the village : these two parties converged opposite the north of the XIIIth who fired volleys at them at ranges between 800 and 1,000 yards. The dervishes curved round northwards moving outside the village, some of them taking cover behind low ridges 400 or 500 yards west of the village whence they returned the fire of the XIIIth. Some 150 of them got into the village between the XIIIth and IXth. The main body on nearing the Omda's

house came under a heavy fire from the house and from some sand dunes just north of it, which turned them, and they retired back towards the Sheikh's Tomb.

Meanwhile the other half of the IXth, the Xth, and six guns were in reserve on the east bank opposite the XIIIth. The artillery had opened fire on the dervishes during their advance, and when their northern movement was observed the Xth were sent to 500 yards north of the Omda's house, where they arrived in time to accelerate the enemy's retirement, and also to forbid them approach to the river.

This ended the first phase of the attack. The north end of the village was not attacked again: but until sunset we were continually clearing it of the enemy, who were in small parties, numbering up to 20 men.

During this first phase there had been a gradual infiltration of the enemy in small parties into the village between the XIIIth and the southern end, and by now they were in considerable force: a gun was brought down to near the bank, and opened fire on our guns on the east bank: it was soon silenced. Nason was sent in a gun-boat to attempt to clear this area; the gun-boat was heavily fired on and could do little against men under cover behind trees and houses. Nason was severely wounded.

At this hour, about 12.30, a second attack was launched down the Khor from the hills, under the command of Abd El Halim. We did not learn until after Toski that this attack was in direct opposition to Nejumi's wishes, which was that there should be no pitched battle before Assuan was reached. Abd El Halim had collected some 3,000 men with the intention of capturing and holding Argin village, or at any rate some part of it.

When his force got to about a mile from the village, it split up into three parties: one of these reached the river bank near the south end, another entered the village 1,000 yards more to the north, while the third was still more to the north and some 1,200 yards from the XIIIth.

So the Xth was brought down by gun-boat: two companies under Fenwick to Argin South, while Donne with the other two companies landed just south of the XIIIth, just after Kempster with 40 men had attempted to take the dervish gun; he had come up against a water-channel which was strongly held, and had to fall back with Cunningham and 8 or 10 men wounded. After consultation with Kempster, Donne

moved slowly southwards in line with his left on the bank, supported by the XIIIth. He had some hard fighting, and was held more than once; he succeeded in capturing the gun about 3.30.

Returning to Fenwick and his two companies, he advanced northwards from the Fort, intending to join hands with Donne. But he had hardly entered the village before he was charged on left flank by horsemen, and on that flank and on his front by spearmen; the two companies were driven back to the river bank, where they were repeatedly charged, and maintained themselves gallantly until reinforced by the two companies of IXth under Captain Lewis, from the east bank. Hunter brought them over, and henceforth directed the operations in this part of the village. Reforming the Xth to face northwards on their left a company of the Camel Corps and half of the IXth on extreme left, he steadily advanced through the village driving back the enemy who, horse and foot, repeatedly charged his line and offered a most stubborn resistance. The dervishes now retired from the river bank and collected in large numbers on the left of Hunter's advance; so making use of several houses to protect his right and rear, he dispersed his force so that he could bring all his rifles to bear on the threatened quarter; after some hot firing the dervishes turned away among the dunes. But Hunter's task was not yet done: the enemy were still near enough to threaten the village, and perhaps strong enough to again force an entry. So with the two companies of the IXth he moved out and after very sharp fighting he completely scattered them. Finally, on learning that several houses were held by the enemy, he returned to the village, attacked and carried them.

About 6 p.m. the village was practically clear of the enemy, though during that night small parties were continually wandering about, either in search of their wounded, or to get water, or in the hopes of loot. They came in contact with our patrols, so there was a certain amount of desultory fighting all night long. The IXth and XIIIth remained in their original positions; while the cavalry, Camel Corps, half IXth and Xth were dispersed about Argin South and the Post.

The Egyptian Army losses in this action were slight, 11 men killed, 4 officers, and 60 men wounded.

The dervish loss was estimated at about 900 killed, and some 150 men and 400 women and children taken prisoners. Many women

accompanied the second attack in order to get water, and were found under the river bank at the end of the day. During these operations the prisoners were at once transported to the east bank, and in due course removed to Assuan. Sometimes one of our men came to see me and said he had found his "sister" (*i.e.*, of his own tribe) and might he marry her. If the man was on the list for matrimony, and if the lady was willing, she was given a paper to say that she was to be sent to Halfa. If the man was not on the list, he was told that his claims would be considered favourably at the end of the campaign, if he did well, and the woman went to Halfa. There was never the slightest trouble of any kind with the men during these operations, not a single minor offence from the time we left Halfa until we returned; they were excellent.

Next morning, 3rd, at 5.30 a.m. I sent out patrols to clear the village north and south. Some horsemen and footmen being observed coming down to the river, three-quarters of a mile north, a very good black officer, Ali Abdullah, said to be of the family of the Royal House of Darfur, was sent out with the 15 Camel Corps and half a company to investigate. They had a smart fight among the sand dunes and accounted for 16 of the enemy. At sunset the dervishes crowned the hills for 10 minutes, and then disappeared.

Intermittent firing continued again all night. The morning patrols on 4th brought in some dozen horses and camels from north of the House. The dervishes were very quiet all day, but about 11 p.m. a red blaze in the sky over their *deim* and the sound of the *nugara* made it evident that they were about to continue their march. Soon after midnight their march commenced, the *nugara* beating whilst they were in motion, and ceasing when they halted about 1 a.m., some three to four miles north of the Omda's house, on the far side of the hills.

On 5th the other half of the IXth joined me. Lewis, who had a few days ago come from Cairo for special duty, returned to Halfa to command there during the operations. He was most flattering about the two companies of the IXth he had commanded during the action of the 2nd. The Xth went to Serra during the day.

On 6th the enemy marched off at 8 a.m., and after going some five miles halted west of Serra. The XIIIth went to reinforce the Xth. Next morning the dervishes moved another five miles to Faras: their

riflemen occupied the Kanisa opposite the south end of Addendan, and gave our gun-boats a hot time when passing. Their main *deim* was three-quarters of a mile west of Faras.

The IXth moved to Serra east, where also the cavalry assembled from the west bank. Our gun-boat went on patrol until midnight, and near Bellana surprised and killed the Emir Mohammed Abu Shok, a cousin of the Mahdi.

On 8th the IXth moved to Addendan, and the Xth to Bellana. We had a company on the cliff at the south end of the village until sunset, exchanging shots with the enemy at 1,200 yards range. Our guns shelled their camp.

On 10th at 6 a.m. we saw from the cliff three long columns moving out from the *deim* in a north-westerly direction, the riflemen covering them from the river bank. They marched about 12 miles, and then formed their camp two to three miles south of Bellana, about two miles inland. I took the IXth down to Bellana, and occupied the north end of the village, on right of the Xth ; the XIIIth were already at south end. The Camel Corps were sent to Toski to watch for foraging parties. Then I took the " Abu Klea " back to Addendan to retrieve two *gyassas* which were stuck on a sandbank within 600 yards of west bank, and were being much shot at : their crews had been sitting in the water, under cover of their boats, for several hours.

11th June. I made my Headquarters with one company in the Omda's House : two other companies were located in adjoining houses on the desert side of the village, and the fourth was in reserve in the centre nearer the river. The palms here were laden with dates almost ripe, so the prisoners we took were sent up the trees to cut off the bunches with their arm knives : the Jaalin and Baggara were very indignant at being made to do the work : one of the latter showed fight, but a blow on the wrist with the butt of a rifle made him drop his knife and nurse his hand all that day.

(To be continued.)

THE NUER: AGE-SETS.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

X[1]. Introductory note. Rôle of departmental experts in organisation of age-sets. The operation. Period of licence. Nomenclature and organisation of age-sets.

XI. Age-sets not regiments. Change in social status. Age-sets and kinship ties. Regulation of marriage. Influence of age-sets on leadership.

IN my earlier paper on the Nuer tribe and clan their age-set system was mentioned shortly as providing social stratification on a basis of age, and was hence one of the institutions relating to political authority and leadership. In the present paper age-sets are dealt with in more detail and their ritual of initiation, their structure and machinery, their ideology, and their social functions are described. A great part of the information given in this paper was collected from the lips of informants since I had no opportunity of witnessing initiation ceremonies, but on the other hand close contact with Nuer in their cattle camps enabled me to observe the less spectacular but perhaps more important relations of the age-set system in its daily commonplace action in social life. We are fortunate in possessing other accounts of Nuer age-sets, though I have no doubt that our combined accounts give a very incomplete picture of the institution.[2] The subject is not only of interest for those who come into contact with the Nuer but is of great importance for a general study of the age-set system in East Africa which still awaits comparative treatment.

A few words may be said here about the difference between "Age-grade" and "Age-set," a distinction in which I follow Prof. Radcliffe-Brown. An age-set is "a recognised and sometimes organised group consisting of persons (often male persons only) who are of the same age. .....In Africa, at any rate in East and South Africa, an age-set is normally formed of all those males who are initiated at one time..... Once a person enters a given age-set, whether at birth or by initiation, he remains a member for the remainder of his life." An age-grade is a term which "should be kept for recognised divisions of the life of an

[1] Numbered in continuation of my previous paper on "The Nuer: Tribe and Clan," *Sudan Notes and Records*. Vols. XVI–XVIII. The diagrams in this paper are also numbered in continuation of the diagrams in my previous paper.

[2] See bibliography in my earlier paper.

individual as he passes from infancy to old-age. Thus each person passes successively into one grade after another, and, if he live long enough, through the whole series—infant, boy, youth, young married man, elder, or whatever it may be..... In East Africa, where the age-organisation is highly elaborated, each age-set normally passes from one grade to another as a whole."[1]

In this paper we are dealing mainly with the change of status brought about by initiation from Boyhood to Manhood. Initiation involves, however, not only a change from one social grade to another but also entrance into a set in which the individual remains for the rest of his life. The members of each set have a common name, like status, and like patterns of behaviour towards one another and towards members of senior and junior age-sets.

Among the Nilotes of the Sudan the age-set system appears to be most important among the Nuer on account of both the severity of its initiation and the social significance of the privileges associated with it. Among the Shilluk age-sets do not seem to occupy an important place in social organisation and the institution has an appearance of decay. The Seligmans record that at the time of their visit "it was of little importance and was probably dying out."[2] Among the Dinka it gives the impression of being of more importance than among the Shilluk and of less importance than among the Nuer, and the same may be said of the age-sets of the Nilo-Hamitic Bari discovered by Mr. Whitehead.[3]

The chief officer in respect to initiation into age-sets is the *wud ok* and this is in keeping with the fact that initiation largely concerns a boy's contact with the cattle. Before initiation he milks the cows and looks after the small calves and sheep and goats. After initiation he is strictly prohibited from milking the cows and he acts as herdsman to the adult cattle. During the period of initiation it is taboo for him to have any contact with the cattle and his first action on its conclusion is to re-establish this contact. After initiation also he receives a bullock or two from his father, and becomes legitimate owner of a bullock name and is permitted to dance and sing behind the bullocks.

[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. *Man.* 13, 1929.

[2] C. G. and B. Z. Seligman. "The Pagan Tribes of the Southern Sudan," pp. 72-3.

[3] *Id.* pp. 170-2 and 263-4. Cf. the lengthy account of age-sets among the Nilotic Lango of Uganda by J. H. Driberg.

From the point of view of initiation Nuer life is divided into two periods, the initiatory period and the period when no initiation may take place. These alternating periods are known as that when the knife is brought out, *ngom kam rar*, at the commencement of the period of initiation, and that when the knife is hung up, *ba ngom ngaj*, at the conclusion of the period. At the commencement of an initiation period the cattle-expert kills a bullock, a big dance is held, and he makes a speech opening a new period of initiation. It seems that in each tribe there is one cattle expert whose authority is recognised in matters concerning the age-set cycle.

In Gaajak country there was a serious dispute between two cattle-experts about commencing a new age-set. The privilege of giving orders for initiation had previously been in the hands of the lineage of Ngweny Riek. Owing to the fact that there was no son old enough to perform the duty it was carried out by the lineage of Jop Gai. Afterwards these two lineages appear to have taken over the duty in turn ; the lineage of Riek gave orders for the *Thut* age-set to be initiated, the lineage of Gai gave orders for the *Boiloc* age-set to be initiated and so on. When it came to the *Rialmac* age-set it was Ngweny's turn to order initiation to commence but Jop refused to allow him to officiate. In revenge Ngweny made indentations into the ceremonial knife to render it useless and uttered a curse, saying that if the knife was his right then pus would come out of the ears of Jop, whereas if the knife belonged to Jop then pus would come out of his own ears. Another informant said that the dispute was occasioned by the question whether the knife should be brought out or hung up, *i.e.*, whether the period of initiation should be opened or closed and that Ngweny said," Let the knife now be hung up and not be taken down again till one of us has died. When one of us has died let the other order initiation to commence." Jop died and his rival initiated the *Rialmac* age-set. This same informant said that the knife will in future remain in the hands of the lineage of Ngweny since, as a result of Jop's death from the curse, his lineage would not again shoulder the responsibility.

It is the cattle-expert who gives a name to each age-set, *e.g.*, *Dangunga*, *Maker*, *Lithgac*, etc., at the end of a period of initiation and no one may then be initiated until he has opened a new period. It is believed that if a boy were to be initiated after the cattle-expert had given orders for

the period to be closed his head would swell and he would die. It is possible however, if a boy is much older than the age at which Nuer generally have incisions made on their foreheads and if his family greatly desire him to be initiated, for the ceremony to take place in a neighbouring tribe where the period of initiation is still open, since not every tribe has its open and closed periods at the same time and there is often overlapping in this respect between different tribes. Thus I was told that Lou boys who insisted upon being cut at a time when the Lou were in a closed period might cross over into the adjoining Ngok Dinka country and be initiated there if it were still in an open period.

When the *wut ok* wishes to close an initiation period he takes a bullock and rubs ashes on its back and makes a speech formally closing the age-set and starting a closed period in which no boys in the tribe may be initiated. The tip of his ceremonial knife is then placed in the fire and afterwards stowed away in a pot. The bullock, after its legs have been cut off, is divided longitudinally into halves. I believe that one half is taken by members of the set which has just been closed and the other half by the set immediately senior to them. They then eat the flesh together. However, I am not sure about this point.

Though I have spoken throughout of the *wut ok* or cattle-expert as the authority who decides upon opening and closing age-sets we are not all agreed upon this point. My own information is derived from two or three informants but it is supported by statements of Stigand and Crazzolara.[1] Jackson, on the other hand, says that as a rule the oldest surviving member of the senior existing age-set gives the order for the ceremony to be held and that it is he who initiates the first boy who should be his own son or a near relative. He adds that this man must be a leopard-skin chief and that after he has initiated the first boy the cattle-experts in each division of the Nuer are responsible for sectional arrangements.[2] Mr. Coriat also writes: "The classes are not regulated by a cattle-expert; the *wud ok* or Man of the Cattle is responsible only for the initiation ceremony itself. Age classes are now regulated and named by certain 'kwar mon,' Land Chiefs, with traditional powers."[3]

[1] Major C. H. Stigand, "Warrior Classes of the Nuers," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918, p. 116. Pater Crazzolara, "Die Gar Zeremonie bei den Nuer," *Africa*, Vol. V, 1932, p. 28.

[2] *Op. cit*, p. 145.

[3] Privately circulated memorandum.

Boys are usually initiated between the ages of 14 and 16 but sometimes they are younger than 14 and sometimes they are older than 16. Sometimes a boy will just miss being initiated during an initiation period and he will then have to wait till the next age-set opens, by which time he may be somewhat older than is usual at initiation. On the other hand in order to avoid this happening a boy will sometimes be initiated at an unduly young age. Consequently one often sees tall youths without the marks of manhood on their foreheads and at the same time quite small boys with these marks. Another factor determining the age at which a boy will be initiated is the wealth of his family since they are not always able to supply their son and his comrades with corn and milk during their convalescence. If a family is as poor as this their son will either have to wait till the following year when his family will be better off or he will rely on the generosity of his relatives. His relations will generally assist him in the circumstances and it is frequently his maternal uncle who undertakes the expenses of initiation on behalf of his sister's son. Also a boy will not hesitate to appeal to his father's brothers for support and they would certainly not refuse him their assistance. Nothing is more humiliating for a boy than to see his playmates " become men " while he remains a " boy " compelled to work side by side with the womenfolk of his household and cattle-camp.

When his father has agreed to his initiation the boy goes to a member of his father's age-set and this man will pluck out a tuft of the boy's hair from the centre of his head (*nhiam där*) and will spit on it and afterwards rub the boy's face and head with it (*be yinye poinde*). It appears that it is necessary for the father's age-set to give their blessing to his son through their representative. Also the boy's own father will rub his son's head with ashes, and both of these men will address the boy saying : " May there not be the slightest difficulty in the initiation."

Several boys are usually initiated at the same time, being either members or relatives of the same village. It is thought a bad thing for a boy to be initiated by himself as he will be lonely and will ail if he is cut off from his playmates and fellow-members of his age-set. He will pine for them (*be ricde tim*). In the part of Nuer country which I know arrangements are made for about four to a dozen boys to come together and be initiated at the same time and to spend their convalescence together. It does not matter when they are initiated so long as it is during an open

period (which lasts several years) and at the right time of the year. The right time is in the *jiom* (our winter) when there is plenty of food after the harvest and the north wind, which cicatrizes the wounds, is blowing. But a boy may be initiated also in what corresponds to our springtime. I have no knowledge of initiation being restricted to a few days during which hundreds of boys are initiated, as Jackson gives one to suppose: " Some two hundred boys can be initiated in a day, each boy having the operation begun and completed on the same day. The doctors move from village to village where the boys are collected."[1]

The boy himself makes arrangements with the operator to cut his marks of manhood. There are a large number of these operators and there seems no reason why anyone should not practise if he has the necessary skill. The boy takes a fishing spear to the operator and presents it to him. With this is dug the hole into which the blood will flow and it afterwards becomes the property of the operator.

The operation takes place in the early morning before the sun is high, and the head is prepared on the previous day. It is closely shaved at midday since it is not considered well to shave the head in the morning. Just before the cutting the forehead is well washed with water and is rubbed with pancreas (*köl*) (*ba nhiamde cuth ka köl*) and finally with dust (*tup*). A hole (*koahriem*) is dug to receive the blood and in this the head rests on a grass circle (*thac*). After the operation is completed this hole is filled in with earth as it is thought a bad thing for the blood to remain exposed lest a dog or other animal might eat it. The cutting takes place in front of a hut or byre, and I was told that it would be highly improper for it to take place outside the homestead, for the boys' blood should be spilt in the homestead itself. Mothers and fathers and relatives and friends, even girl friends, watch the boys undergoing their ordeal. Tradition lays it down that a boy must show no signs of fear before or during the operation but often the ordeal is so terrible that their nerves give way. It is said that some boys will defæcate with fear and pain, and some have been known to struggle and even to run away, though when this happens they are held down with force and their relatives are occasioned great shame. It is common for boys to faint during the operation and then their heads are slightly raised and milk is poured down their throats to revive them. Nevertheless as a rule boys display admirable

[1] *Op cit*, p. 145.

courage and betray neither fear nor pain, fortitude assisted by the presence of relatives whom they do not wish to disgrace and girls whose favours they hope to win.

The first cut is the most painful, probably because it severs the supra-orbital nerves. It is known as the *woc dohl* (the wiping out of boyhood) and runs just above the eyebrows right across the temples. The second cut is made just above the first and is called *gwec man dwiel* because before initiation if a boy were hungry he would go to the entrance of his mother's hut and ask for food, whereas after initiation, when he has become a man, he will not plead for food but will sit quietly and bear the pangs of hunger. Altogether six cuts are made from the centre of the forehead to level with the right ear and the operator then completes them by commencing from the incisions at the centre of the forehead and cutting to level with the left ear. There are thus six parallel cuts running right across the temple from ear to ear.

The best description of the operation is given by Miss Huffman who has witnessed it and whose account I give here rather than my own which is based on oral accounts. " A hole from four to six inches in diameter and about six or eight inches deep is dug for each boy. The earth which is taken out of the hole is pulverized and spread around the hole in order that it may absorb the blood. Women and girls attired in their dance skirts rush in, singing and dancing. One boy is called. He comes out, stark naked, not even wearing a bead. He lies down on his back with his head in the hole. He folds his arms over his chest and then he is ready. The man, kneeling beside him, begins to cut. He starts at the centre of the forehead and extends the cut to or even past the ear. The first cut is made just above the eyes, then the remaining cuts are made parallel to it until they are six in number. Then the man goes over to the left side and, kneeling there, repeats the same process. Then he returns to the right side and makes sure that all the cuts are deep and continuous at the centre of the forehead and that they are six in number..... As one is finished another boy is called until all lie there, still and bleeding. Usually everything is very quiet when the actual cutting is going on, the only sound heard being the grating of the knife on the bone. The boy lies there until the bleeding has stopped, then he is helped into the house. He crawls into the house on his hands and feet, but with his back next to the ground and tries to hold his head and body in a horizontal position....."[1]

[1] Ray Huffman, " Nuer Customs and Folk-lore," 1931, pp. 30-31.

As soon as the cutting is finished the boys go and sit in front of the hut before which the operation has taken place. If they are able to do so they walk unaided with their heads held back from the shoulder. Otherwise they are assisted. Seated with their backs to the hut and with their heads held back they wave away flies from their lacerated foreheads. Meanwhile their mothers and the other women present utter ceremonial cries of joy as they dance in front of them (*be yi wa kuk*).

The lines cut are six in number but occasionally one meets men with seven cuts. Father Crazzolara says that this is due to the fact that the operator "in his artistic elation, forgets to count, and adds one or two lines beyond the number demanded by the fashion that prevails at the time."[1] This does not seem to me a very likely explanation. In Lou country I was invariable told that when two brothers were initiated at the same time the youngest received seven cuts, a statement borne out by the several cases I was able to investigate. A youth from Lek country on the Bahr-el-Ghazal who had seven cuts on his forehead told me that it was the custom in his tribe for the eldest son in a family to receive an extra cut but I was unable to check his statement from other informants. Miss Huffman writes that sometimes the operator "happens to be a very dear friend of the boy and may honour him by cutting seven cuts instead of the customary six."[2]

I do not think that there is any need to emphasize the severity of the ordeal, which may readily be understood from Father Crazzolara's statement that the cuts are distinctly visible on the skulls of dead Nuer. It is surprising therefore that it does not often result in death. Yet I have never heard of a boy dying during or after the operation though I made enquiries on the point, and the staff of the American Mission at Nasser told me that in their long experience of the country they had never heard of a fatal operation. Father Crazzolara on the other hand states that death is not infrequent.[3]

On the day on which a boy is initiated from four to ten pots of beer

[1] *Op cit*, p. 32. "Es soll verkommen, das der Garmeister manchmal in Eifer für seine Kunst, das Zählen vergisst, und eine oder zwei Linien mehr auträgt als das Gesitz verlangt. Deswegen wird vielfach ein Beisitzer aufgestellt, der darauf zu sehen hat, dass der Patient nicht mehr als nötig gequält werde."

[2] *Op cit*, p. 32.

[3] "Die ersten 24 bis 28 Stunden sind die ernstesten, wegen der Gefahr des Verblutens. Es ist keine Seltenheit, dass ein alter Mann, der nachts oder in aller Frühe nachschen kommt, einen der Knaben unbeiveglich, ja in der Todesstasse antrifft." *Id.*, p. 32.

are brewed and a bullock or sheep is killed. It seems that they do not always kill an animal but they must do so when it is an eldest son who is being initiated or a boy whose eldest brother has died. Members of the father's age-set eat the meat at night and they alone. During the night they sing songs amid the cattle. On the following day, in the afternoon, they drink beer and leap about behind the bullocks and there is a lot of horseplay. The womenfolk seize the penises of members of their husbands' age-set, the father of an initiated boy especially being subject to this treatment. They tie cord to the penises of the men and pull them while the men retaliate by tugging at the skin aprons of the wives of their age-mates. A man of the age-set of the father of an initiate will lift up the apron of his wife (the boy's mother) and will utter a ceremonial cry into her vagina. This man is generally the woman's *cocanda*, that is to say a paternal cousin of her husband. Only members of the father's age-set and their wives will partake in this horseplay in the homestead of the father of the initiate. Thus if the boy is the son of a *maker* all members of the *maker* age-set will take part in the festivities, together with their wives, while members of the other age-sets, *e.g.*, the *Dangunga*, will have their own fun in a neighbouring homestead with their wives. Younger people will not go near these festivities of their elders because they might see the genitals of their mothers and aunts. All those who have married daughters of the men who are sporting themselves will also give the festivities a wide berth lest they should see the nakedness of their mothers-in-law. This dance is called *bul ruathni* or *bul ruath dholi*. They say that they make this horseplay because they are glad that their child has become a man.

After the cutting, which is called *gar*, the boys are shut up in a hut. This is not built for the purpose but is temporarily vacated by the women of the family in whose homestead the operation has taken place.

Between the cutting and the ceremonial exit from the period of convalescence the boys are known as *cöt*. The boys suffer excruciating pain during the first two days or so after the operation and nothing can be done to relieve their agony. These first few days are recognised as being a time of great danger for the boys since the wounds may break open again and great loss of blood ensue. Youths and girls are prohibited from visiting the boys during this period since they are likely to be sexually unclean. Especially are pregnant women kept away from the vicinity

and only those women who are nursing babies or who have reached the menopause are allowed near their hut. One or two men, often a youth who was initiated the year before, and who abstain from sexual relations for the time, will keep guard over the boys to prevent their heads from falling sideways, so that the grass circle which they use as a pillow sticks to their temples and in the effort to get it loose the wounds are re-opened. They must sleep on their backs with the backs of their heads on the grass pillows. An old woman may also sleep in the hut and assist in looking after the boys. Should the wounds break open and bleeding be renewed the place is cauterised with a *rip* which has been heated in the fire.

Until they are taken to the river and cleansed at the end of their seclusion the boys must strictly avoid any contact with the cattle. This is a ritual prohibition, a *biit*, which involves a curse if it is infringed. Not only are they prohibited from going among the cattle but they must even avoid treading on cattle dung. It is said that if a cow approaches them the boys must immediately run away into the shelter of their hut. It is believed that a breach of this prohibition would prevent the formation of regular scars (*piar*) on the forehead so that all the marks of initiation, the pride of manhood, would be obliterated with the exception of the *woc dohl*, the cut just above the eyebrows. In this connection Miss Huffman records of an initiate that, " When one asks him if his wounds are healed he will always say ' not yet,' but one may find out if they are really healed by asking him if he has gone among the cattle. If not, the wounds are still sore, but if he has been with the cattle it means that the wounds are well healed although the boy will not say so for fear someone with the evil eye should hear of it."[1]

During their convalescence the boys are given food in liberal quantities and are probably better fed than at any other time in their lives. Considering that the Nuer is always hungry and frequently starving this abundance of food makes an impression that it is hard for us to appreciate fully. When speaking of their experiences at this period one finds that the festal nature of their convalescence is frequently stressed. They say that if any youth who has not been freshly initiated looks longingly at their food the initiates will belabour him while if it were an older man they would not strike him but neither would they invite him to partake of the meal. The boys share and share alike, as befits comrades, in any food

[1] *Op cit*, p. 32.

that is brought to them. One mother will cook for them in the morning and another in the afternoon and they will take it in turns to provide their sons with food, but what each brings is shared by all and not eaten by her son alone. The mothers themselves bring the food to the hut in which the boys are confined unless they have *ther*, are ritually unclean. If one mother has much milk from the cows of her homestead she will bring it to the boys, while if another cannot procure milk she will make up for her poverty in this respect by supplying plenty of corn for their meals. During the period of their seclusion the boys are restricted to soft food that can be easily swallowed, such as milk and flour paste, but a soft corn mash and even soft and finely chopped meat (*mig ma kockoc*) is allowed them in Lou and Jekany countries. These eatables do not require mastication, a muscular exertion that might cause the veins to break again. Father Crazzolara writes of the West Bank Nuer that the boys are confined for two months and that for the first fortnight no food other than milk and milk mixed with flour is allowed to them.[1] I do not think that this is the case among the Lou and Jekany tribes where the boys eat porridge and soft meat at the commencement of their seclusion and where the period of confinement to their hut does not last for more than a week to a fortnight. During this time they may not wash their faces. After about a week they are allowed to sit up but must remain quietly in a single sitting position. After a few more days they are considered to be healed even though their wounds have not yet closed. Not all the boys heal at the same time : some are healed at the end of a fortnight while others only after a couple of months. When they are allowed to come out of their hut they sit by the door in the evenings and annoint their foreheads with oil and sleep with them oiled. They wake before dawn and wash their foreheads with warm water and then one of the men who is looking after them cleans out clotted blood from the cuts. They then sit and shiver in front of their hut while the cold north wind blows into the wounds and causes them to cicatrise.

Apparently it is between the time when they are well enough to leave the hut and the day on which they are ritually cleansed by bathing in a river that they are considered to enter into a period of mildly prescribed licence. They still avoid contact with the cattle and spend their time wandering about in bands in neighbouring gardens and bush. In Lek country at this time they wear a special cord, called *kareth*, around their

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 32. " Mit der Milch wird allmächlich etwas Mehl vermischt und zu einem flüssigen Brei gekocht ; dieser Brei und Milch sind für ein paar Wochen ihren einzige Kost. Etwas Fleischbrühe und allenfalls ganz fein gekochtes Fleisch känn später dazu kommen."

necks but this is not the custom in Lou country. On both sides of the Nile, however, they carry a special stick, called *rir*. In Lou country the boys wear a special necklace of *keac* beads. During this period the boys are allowed to behave in a manner that would not be tolerated at ordinary times. If they meet uninitiated boys in the gardens they set upon them and flog them with their neck cords or sticks and tear their flesh with thorns. An uninitiated boy, Tot, showed me scars on his body which had resulted from this treatment. They also beat girls whom they meet but generally they give them the choice of being beaten or submitting to sexual intercourse (*mekeni ngoth kie mekeni dwac*). A party of boys will meet a single girl or several girls together and compel them to submit to intercourse. I was told also that if they meet a dog they may kill it. They are not answerable for any of these irregularities for they are now in a special state in which they are known as *cötni* and it is the privilege of *cötni* to act in these ways. Nevertheless they do not molest initiated men but only boys who do not bear the marks of manhood, and girls.

One morning, early, an old woman goes into their hut (*dwil cötni*) and beats the boys out of it with a bunch of green grass. Occasionally this takes place in the evening. They run out of the hut into the gardens where a crowd of people, consisting mainly of women, pelt them with cattle dung (*buk ka wär*). They run down to a neighbouring stream to wash themselves and on their return to the homestead may beat the cattle with wild rice (*poon*). They then go and rub themselves in their beloved ashes and sprawl in contentment around the dung fires. They spend the rest of the day leaping behind the bullocks given them by their fathers and maternal uncles.

I am not certain that I have recorded these events in their correct order and it is possible that the cleansing ceremony takes place earlier than I believe. There is also later a concluding ceremony at which a big dance takes place (*ba ruath pwot*) and there is general merriment and much duelling. The people who take part in these festivities are members of the age-sets of the fathers of the boys, and their wives, for the boys themselves tour the neighbourhood to ask for presents of giraffe hair and beads and other ornaments from their relatives. At the conclusion of this ceremony a boy's maternal uncle may demand from his father a cow (*yang gärä*, the cow of initiation) on the grounds that his sister's son has now reached manhood. Before the cutting takes place a maternal uncle rubs his sister's son with ashes (*buk*) and makes an address over him (*lam*) so that he will pass through the ordeal without difficulty.

According to Jackson, after the wounds have completely healed the boys go into camp. He says that a group of about a hundred boys is formed and that a bull is provided for each of them. They settle in a spot about an hour's distance from the village and gorge themselves with meat. A young boy or an old woman cooks for them but they may not be visited by girls. During this time they indulge in feats of endurance and when they have eaten all the bullocks they return to their villages.[1] This account by Jackson is not entirely in accord with my own information which does not lead me to consider these camps as part of the institution of age-sets (*ric*) but as only incidentally associated with it. According to my information the newly initiated boys do not always collect in camps after their wounds have healed but only in some years, about every second year, and then it is not only the new initiates who form a camp but also members of their age-set who have been initiated in previous years and even members of senior age-sets. I was told that even a married man would attend and that a man would attend until his son was old enough to replace him. I think that these camps (called *näk* or *kanar*) are a custom separate from the age-set system, though related to it by the fact that its members are mostly recruited from the unmarried youths of the village and are hence mainly of the same age-set. These camps are also held,moreover, during the closed periods when "the knife is hung up " and no further initiation is allowed to take place. They are held when the first harvest, the *beel wec*, is ripe. Any youth who possesses a bullock, other than his favourite beast (*dil thakde*), will take it to the *kal*, as these camps are also called, in general with all camps which are without cows and the ordinary activities of pastoral life. A youth will ask his father to give him a bullock so that he may join his comrades at their feasts, and if his father has no beast to spare and his son is insistent in his request he will arrange for him to share a bullock with a friend and will later pay the owner a male calf for the half which is lent to his son. The young men spend a month, or even two months, in the camp, living mainly on meat, for a bullock is killed every three days or so. Nevertheless they also eat a quantity of porridge, since women in the neighbourhood of the camp, which is generally five to ten miles from the homes of the youths, will make porridge and will bring it to the camp to exchange for meat. The skin of slaughtered bullocks and some parts of the meat are taken back to the village for the older men. Apart from eating meat and indulging in the pursuits incidental to this season of the year, especially

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 146-147.

hunting, the camp does not seem to have any expressed purpose or activity. Certainly I never heard that there was any organised educational training. The young men return to their homesteads in time to eat the *mak*, a mash made by beating out the ear and grinding corn not yet fully ripe and still soft.

What I have recorded above is all I know about the ceremonies of cutting the tribal marks and the periods of seclusion and licence associated with the *gar*. So far nothing has been said about the organisation of the *ric*, the age-sets, and I will now turn to this point. According to Jackson " the initiation ceremony should in theory be held about once every 15 years, and this may have been the rule when the tribe was less numerous than it is at the present moment. Nowadays the boys are initiated when there are sufficient of them to make it worth while."[1] It seems to me that this estimate of 15 years is too large since it would mean that many youths would be from 20 to 25 years old at their initiation, which would be contrary to the purpose of the rite. I was told by a good authority in Lou country (Tutrial) that there is always a four years' interval between the closing of one age-set and the commencement of the next one. This information accords with Father Crazzolara's statement that " as a rule the *Gar* takes place once every four years " but he adds that the cattle chief may deviate from this rule for public or even private reasons[2]. He reckons that we may allow about seven years for each *ric* when reckoning a man's age : thus members of the *Piloal* age-set are from 15 to 22 years of age, members of the *Rool* age-set from 22 to 29, members of the *Tankwer* age-set from 29 to 36, and so on. If we can say with fair certainty that there is a four years' interval between each period of initiation we must therefore conclude on this reckoning that each period of initiation lasts about three years. But I am not convinced that we can make so sure a deduction, nor that there is complete regularity in the periods of time during which initiation takes place. Father Crazzolara himself says that the period of initiation may last only a year or up to four years according to the district.[3] On the other hand, at any rate in Lou country, this period may last for several years and youths have been initiated into the *lithgac* age-set continuously for at least eight years. Judging from this

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 149.

[2] " Im allgemeinen wird das *Gar* alle vier Jahre vorgenommen. Der Landesvorsteher kann aus besonderen Gründen hierin eine Anderung eintreten lassen. So wurde 1928-9 von einem Landesvorsteher bei der Eröffnung der *Gar*zeit mitgeteilt, es möge jeder bei den Entscheidung, ob sein Sohn diesmal gegart werden soll oder das nächste Mal, wissen und erwägen, dass das nächste Gar erst stattfinden werde, wenn sein (des Sprechers) noch sehr junger Sohn auch gegart werden könne, vomit erst nach 5 oder 6 Jahren." *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-9.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 29. " Die *Gar*periode kann ein Jahr oder auch bis vier danern, je nach dem Brauch eines Bezirkes."

fact and reckoning from the appearance of age which members of the various age-sets present, I think that it would be wiser to allow a ten years' interval between each age-set and at the same time remember that this is likely to be fictitious, since the periods during which boys are being initiated are not regular, though the time interval between the cessation of one period of initiation and the commencement of the next are probably the same. Thus I should reckon that the youngest age-set, the *Lithgac*, in Lou country commenced about 1923 and that the oldest age-set, members of which are still alive (the *Thut*), commenced about 1873. This would make these few survivors about 70–75 years of age to-day. Miss Huffman gives a lower estimate which makes these members of the *Thut* age-set between 60 and 70 years of age, an estimate nearer to that of Father Crazzolara than to mine.[1] However, any calculation must be only roughly approximate since it is not possible to count in the exact manner which the regular cycles of other peoples allow. I am not certain that among the Jekany tribes there are any breaks in initiation, and I am under the impression that initiation goes on every year and that the sets are divided by a declaration of the *wut ok* that all the youths initiated up to a certain time belong to the one set, and all initiated after the time to another set. Thus I was told that in Gaajak country the *lithgac* were cut off from the *Rialmac*, but that since the *wut ok* had not come in person to cut them into two sets, in Gaajak country they still remained members of the same set.

The following are the complete lists of age-sets given by various authorities (the oldest age-sets are given first) :—

JEKANY (Jackson) [2]	JEKANY (Huffman)	GAAJOK (Jackson)
Tut	*Yilbith*	*Riagh*
Boi Loitch	*Lajok*	*Juok*
Ruoabni	*Cuatcuor*	*Shot Bor*
Wung Dell	*Nompiny*	*Ger Loish*
Kedth	*Thut* (60–70)	*Yuwaish*
Wuoani	*Bailoc* (55–60)	*Yil Bith*
Karam	*Meker* (50–)	*Ngom Finy*
Shoad Nyallyat	*Dongonka* (40–)	*Shwet Shwor*
Fil Nuoak	*Carboc* (27–35)	*Lajak*[3]
	Lithgaac indit (25–27)	*Tut*
	Lithgaac intot (20–25)	*Bai Loish*
	Cai Yatni (1925)	*Maker*
	Lierni (1927)	*Dang Gunga*
		Shar Boi
		Lit Gaish (1915)

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 33.
[2] Jackson says that this list is incomplete and that the Lou have the same age-sets.
[3] Said to be only one man still living at the time when Jackson wrote.

Jekany (E–P)	Lou (E–P)	Gaawar, Lak, Thiang (Jackson)
Ngompiny	*Geloc*	*B (w) oin*
Yilbith	*Cotbor*	*Tunnyagaing*
Cuetcuor	*Tokroah*	*Shod Bur*
Yoac	*Yoac*	*Gnuaish*
Gerloc	*Lilngweny*	*Gell Loitch*
Laijak (all dead)	*Ngompiny*	*Tchet Tchuwoak*
Thut	*Yilbith*	*Keir Nyung*
Boiloc	*Thalpi* (all dead)[2]	*Boi Loitch*
Maker	*Thut*	*Makeir*
Dangunga	*Boiloc*	*Lajak*
Carboc	*Maker*	*Lao*
Lithgac	*Dangunga*	*Dang Gung*
Rialmac[1]	*Luac*	*Tchab(w)oi (Luaish)*
	Lithgac	*Lid Gaish*
		Karam (1917)

Bull (Jackson).	Kärlual (E–P)	Jagei (E–P) (incomplete)
Riar	*Tharpi*	*Wea*
Juuk	*Lilnyaang*	*Thut*
Gnuaish	*Ruob*	*Boiloc*
Keir nyung	*Wandeal*	*Ruob*
Barwaish	*Rol*	*Wandeal*
Liel Keli	*Pilual*	*Lier*
Kazz		*Karam*
Kott koll		*Pilual*
Tharpi		
Liel Kang		
Liel Tchuak[3]		
Liel Nyung		
Roap		
Wung Dell		
Nyung		
Qui (1919)		

Each age-set has two or three sub-divisions. Each year in the initiation period may receive a separate name though probably two years often have the same name. But though a set is thus stratified internally by a different nomenclature for each year or for every two years, all members of the set have a common name which is the name of the first division of the set to be initiated. This common name persists while the subsidiary names fall eventually into disuse. The set are a unity in relation to other sets while the conventional divisions between different years in the set

[1] See reference to *Rialmac* and *Lithgac* on p. 247.

[2] An alternative list going upwards from *Thut* into senior age-sets runs: *Laijak, Thalpi, Cuetcuor, Ngompiny, Yoac, Cotbor, Toroang, Lilkil, Juäg, Kärnyaang, Nuac.*

[3] This set and all above it are dead.

itself tend to disappear as the years go on. Thus in Lou country to-day one hears of *Lieth indit* and *Lieth incar* and *Pilual* (*Caiyat*) and *Rialmac* (*Rial dang*) as four sections of the present initiation period, but all of them are *Lithgac* and the three subsidiary names will fall into disuse and all will one day be called simply *Lithgac*. In the same way one does not hear to-day of *Maker indit* and *Ngwak* but only of *Maker* under which name both divisions are included. In the same manner one hears little to-day of *Gwong indit*, *Carboc*, and *Nyamnyam* but only of *Dangunga* or *Gwong* which covers all three sub-divisions. The senior division is called *indit*, the greater, and when the subsidiary names are dropped the *indit* is dropped also since its purpose is to distinguish the upper divisions from the other ones. Hence we have *Thut indit* and *Maker indit* and *Boiloc indit*, the elder *Thut*, the elder *Maker*, and the elder *Boiloc*, but the *indit* ending in these names is eventually dropped and the complete sets become known as *Thut*, *Maker*, and *Boiloc*.

The following are the subdivisions in the age-sets in Lou country as far as I was able to ascertain them :—

	Thut indit
	Muothjaang
Thut	*Lilcoa*
	Boiloc indit
	Golyangkäkeat
Boiloc	*Laibwau*
	Maker indit
Maker	*Ngwak*
	Gwong indit
	Carboc
Gwong	*Nyamnyam*
	Luac indit
	Karam
Luac	*Camthoari*
	Lieth indit (inber)
	Lieth incar
	Caiyat (Pilual)
Lithgac	*Rialmac (Rialdang)*

Sometimes a section or sub-section has two different names, *e.g.*, *Gwong* and *Dangunga*, *Lieth indit* and *Lieth inbor*, *Caiyat* and *Pilual*, but I do not think that this has any significance, being due simply to the invention of different names in different parts of the country as far as the great sub-divisions are concerned and being a variation when it occurs in the permanent name of the age-set.

I believe that these sub-divisions occur all over Nuerland and that they become merged into the single name of the whole set as in Lou country. This fact probably accounts for a number of differences in the lists given above since I think that sometimes sub-divisions have been given as though they were different age-sets whereas in reality they are only two divisions of the same age-set. These divisions occur on the west bank of the Nile no less than on the east bank, and I record beneath a list which I collected from a Lek youth, and though it is almost certainly inaccurate in some particulars it gives clearly enough the method of sub-division :—

Tharpi	
	Lilnyaang
Lilnyaang	*Lilcoa*
	Ruob
Ruob	*Lilcuath*
	Wandeang
Wandeang	*Tangkwer*
Rol	*Pilual*
	Juong
Pilual	*Jiwoth*
	Girishila

An informant in Lou country (Wan) told me that the reason for having different divisions in the same age-set is to prevent a boy and his brother from having an identical status in the age-set. It sometimes happens that two brothers are initiated on the same day but in this case they are distinguished by the younger brother receiving seven cuts across his forehead while the elder brother receives the usual six. Much more frequently it happens that a boy and his brother are initiated into the same age-set though during different years, perhaps two or three years apart from one another. In this case they are distinguished by belonging to different sub-divisions of the age-set.

The names of the age-sets seem quite fortuitous. They are not stereotyped and recurrent as is often the case in East Africa where the age-sets are organised into an age-cycle. Among the Nuer each age-set acquires a name by association with some incident of the period of initiation which may have a specific connection with the members of the set or may be of a general nature. Jackson gives a number of interpretations of these names in his papers on the Nuer, *e.g.*, *Riar* (Bul country) were called after the heads of dura (*riar*) because the seed dura

which was hung up in the huts in preparation for the rains was eaten prematurely ; *Qui* (*Kwe*) (Bul country) were called after a *thak ma kwe*, a fish-eagle bullock, black with a white face, which was sacrificed by the cattle-expert before the initiation period was opened. Father Crazzolara derives the name *Piloal*, red water, from the fact that red-coloured beer was served up in the age-set. He says that this *ric* is also called *Codnyalla* (Lek country) because an ox of this name was slaughtered, and also *Lath Warakwei* because of the recent introduction of cotton (*lath*) into the country by the late Capt. Fergusson, whom the Nuer called *Warakwei*. He says that *Lieth Gee* are so-called because a couple of recently initiated boys broke into a hut and stole butter (*lieth*) from it. They are also called *Rool* because at the conclusion of the festivities to celebrate their initiation an ox of this name was slaughtered. *Tankwer* are so-called because an ox *ma kwei* was slaughtered.

To these derivations I may add those given to me for the names of the Lou age-sets : *Lith inbor* was so-called because the bullock that was sacrificed at the commencement of this *ric* by Gai Jaang, the Gaajak cattle-expert, was of this colour ; *Luac* was so-called because it was a period of great hunger and the boys and newly initiated men were forced to satisfy their hunger with gum from acacias (*luac*) ; *Dangunga* (an individual member of this set being called *gwong*) was so-called because the boys in hunger were forced to fall back on guinea fowl (*gwong*), which they caught in nooses or struck with clubs thrown at them in the branches of trees to which dogs had driven them ; *Maker* was so called because a bullock of this colour was sacrificed, or according to another version it was a Nuer effort to pronounce the arabic word *askari*, as these soldiers were then prominent and used to go about with the government chiefs (the full name according to this second version is *lilaskari*) ; *Boiloc* was so-called because this was a year of cattle plague, and of those which died only the beasts which had a white heart (*boi*, *loc*) were eaten, the others being considered unfit for consumption ; I do not know why the *Thut* age-set is so-called. I believe that the name of the set, which is always taken from the name given to the initiates of the first year, is given by the cattle-expert, but the names of the sub-divisions of other years are not given formally by anyone but are a chance popular creation.

There are different ways of referring to the *ric*. Generally one speaks of its members and one then uses the plural of the words given

in the lists above. Thus one speaks of the *Piluali*, the *Karamni*, the *Ruobni*, the *Lithgacni*, the *Thutni*, the *Rialmacni*, the *Makeri*, the *Nyamnyamni*, etc.

XI.

In seeking to understand the social action of the Nuer age-set system I think that we should first of all abandon the idea that there is any purposive education in initiation. Neither in connection with the cutting nor during any subsequent stage does the initiation of the boys include educational or moral training. It is true that a father may admonish his son at this time to be brave in war, to avoid the wives of other men, to be generous, and never to display greed, but such advice is of the general kind which may be given unsystematically at any time during boyhood. I could find no evidence that there is any kind of teaching of the boys during initiation, either of technique or of traditions. Nor was I told upon repeated enquiry that there was any moral instruction.

I cannot agree with Stigand's description of the Nuer age-sets in this respect and I think that he was largely reading into them the purpose and methods of the Masai system with which he was familiar. He wrote of initiated youths : " When finished they are trained by the old class ; the training includes mock battles, fighting with sticks and pelting one another with balls of dried clay—to learn quickness in avoiding spear thrusts. After two years the training is complete, the old class then retire and gradually get married whilst the new class having finished their training go back to live in their villages." He says : " The newly-made warrior may not marry until relieved by the next class."[1] I found nothing which could confirm this account of two-years' training and the prohibition of marriage on the older class during the training of the set which was to replace it, and there is nothing in Jackson's account and little in the recent paper by Father Crazzolara which bears it out.

I think, moreover, that the Nuer age-sets are only incidentally a military system at all, though Stigand and, less dogmatically, Jackson give them this character. It is perfectly true that in warfare the junior age-sets play the chief part, but this is simply due to the fact that they are old enough, and yet not too old, to fight. Boys do not take part in

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 117.

warfare because they would certainly be killed if they did and the same applies to old men. Nevertheless a good number of the older men who are more active than fellow-members of their age-set will accompany expeditions. Moreover, war is organised by tribal sections based on locality and communal sentiment and not by the age-set system. The whole of a district or a tribe is summoned to take part in a feud or in a raid on the Dinka, and anyone will accompany the expedition who wishes to do so. They do not call up certain age-sets and leave others at home. During the actual fighting, while it is natural that people of roughly the same age will fight side by side, there is nothing compulsive about this arrangement and men of all ages fight together as a section. Thus when two sections unite for warfare we shall find the men of each section fighting with their section and not with their age-set. In the same way a man is not expected to fight only warriors of his own age-set but will engage with whomsoever he finds opposite to him. Hence we may say that the Nuer age-sets are not regiments, and indeed have no specific military functions, but that since age and the ability to bear arms are necessarily related it happens that active warriors are recruited from certain age-sets. On the other hand the social and economic relations of the age-set system are outstanding and it is in them rather than in its ritual that we must look for its significance.

In its economic relations Nuer social life comprises three groups of persons—the women, the men, and the boys. The productive labour of women differs in many respects from that of men but the most prominent distinction between their activities is in milking the cattle. A man may not milk the cows. This is not simply a customary division of labour, as in cooking for example, but is a ritual prohibition or taboo. Were a man to milk a cow all sorts of misfortunes would follow, in particular the death of the cow. The restriction of milking to women has far-reaching effects on their position in Nuer society. But in this respect boys are classed with the women, for they are allowed to milk the cows until they have been initiated into manhood. Consequently initiation means that a boy ceases to milk ; he severs his association with women's work ; he becomes a man in the sense that he joins the men's group as distinct from the women's group in social life.

If cessation from milking is the most outstanding change in a boy's occupations after initiation it is by no means the only one, for his whole

mode of life changes when he becomes a man, that is to say when he is made a man by social machinery, for he does not become a man in virtue of biological condition alone. An initiated boy ceases also to assist women and girls in the more menial tasks of cattle culture. It is no longer his duty to clear dung from the byres nor to smear it on the floor of the kraals[1] and dry it for fuel. Neither taboo nor shame attaches to these tasks, it is true, and if there are no women or boys to perform them a man will do them himself, but it is considered to be work for boys and girls. No more will an initiated boy have to milk the goats and sheep and take them out to pasture with the calves. Instead he will sometimes guard the main herd of cattle in their dry season pastures or more generally sit and gossip around the embers of a smouldering dung fire and wait for the womenfolk to bring him the morning meal.

A boy is everybody's servant. Not only must he milk the cattle and sheep and goats and keep clean byre and kraal but he is frequently ordered about by initiated men, sent to draw water, fetch fuel, light pipes, made to go messages, to lead the bullocks round the camp when his elders wish to leap (*rau*) behind them, and to perform any other task which they require. Certainly boyhood is the period in a man's life when he is more occupied, does more work, than at any other period of his life. One gets the impression when living in a Nuer cattle camp that among the males all the routine work of the camp is done by the boys. After initiation a boy may look forward to a long life of ease. His are now the delights of sitting round a smouldering dung fire with his beloved cattle tethered in front of him. Here he can smoke, sleep, drink milk, gossip, and watch others do the daily monotonous routine work of homestead, dairy, and kraal. There is no one now to disturb his peace by ordering him about. At last he is completely his own master and may work or not as he thinks fit. Every initiated Nuer is his own lord, paying respect to age and the obligations of kinship, but free and independent, owing no man service. A newly initiated boy may now order his juniors about, see that they do their work thoroughly, and admonish and beat them if they are remiss in any task. Even though he is quite small, and perhaps no older than many who are uninitiated, he is a *wut*, a man, while they are *dholi*, boys.

[1] "Byre" refers to the large huts in which cattle are housed in the wet season and which is used also as a men's club. "Kraal" is used to denote the space in front of the byre, sometimes enclosed, where the cattle are tethered and also for the space where they are tethered, surrounded by a wind-screen, in dry-season camps.

He will respect his elders but they will treat him as a man and with the consideration due to an equal rather than to an inferior.[1]

He has now the supreme joy, to which every Nuer boy looks forward with longing, of entering into the full life of the cattle. He will wander with them over their dry season pastures and will have his own bullock, perhaps more than one, to meet when it returns to camp in the evening, strutting along and waving the long tassel attached to its horns as it tosses its head. He will rub its back with ashes in the evening and perhaps invoke the spirit of his lineage or his dead ancestors as he does so. He may now order a boy to lead his bullock round the camp at morning or evening so that he can leap behind it in the sight of the girls, and may walk among the cattle at night ringing a cattle bell and singing about his cattle, his relatives, and his loves, activities which would be mere presumption in a boy, who would not indeed attempt them.

The elation, the feeling of happy superiority, which accompany this change in a boy's life are evident in his behaviour, and their opposites are strikingly shown in the cases of boys who for some reason have not been initiated at the same time as their contemporaries and playmates. The position of such a boy is pathetic. His friends have been promoted and he is left behind. They are men and he is still a boy. Once his equals they have become his superiors. I knew well one boy in this humiliating position and it was painful to observe how acutely he felt it on occasions. He evidently felt shame at the performance of his boys' duties and tried to associate as much as possible with his initiated companions, with whom he had everything in common, rather than with the smaller boys with whom he was socially identified. I think that his friends tried to spare him humiliation as far as they could by treating him as one of themselves though his work and play were of necessity different from theirs. On one occasion a man of about 16 years of age was beating the boys for neglecting their work and idling around my tent, but when he came to this boy of the same age as himself he raised his hand to strike him and said : " And you ! what are you doing here ? " but he smiled and did not strike him.

After initiation also a boy may give himself over to the absorbing interests of love-making. He may now dance and flirt (*lum*) and indulge

[1] We must not exaggerate this equality. Elder men will still call an initiated person who is young enough to be their child *dhol*, boy, and will order him to fetch them things they require. I have on dozens of occasions witnessed it. But the difference lies between doing a favour to an elder man who speaks to you as his son and being ordered about like a servant by a superior.

in sexual relations with girls. Before initiation boys may go to dances but they merely watch and do not take part in them After initiation they go with the other youths of the village and form part of the dancing group of their lineage (*dep*). When the dancing is over they seize the hands of the girls and sit and flirt with them. A boy will now commence permanent love affairs with girls, and a girl will be recognised by his friends as his love (*lumde*). No uninitiated boy would stand a chance of having a relationship of this kind with a girl, however large he might be, as she would merely laugh at him and call him a boy and tell him to go and become initiated. It is true that boys before initiation will have congress with small girls, but this is not socially recognised, and if his elders hear of it they will tell him not to be a fool as he is only a boy, but after initiation it is not only none of their business what he does, but also he is expected, nay, compelled, by custom to embark upon courtship.

An initiated boy is now invested with two external signs of manhood besides the scars on his forehead. He is given a spear by his father and also a bullock, which he had generally been promised before the operation If he is lucky he will also get a bullock from a maternal or paternal uncle. A boy will seldom possess a spear of his own and if he carries one he will almost certainly be found to have borrowed it from a relative though he may become the owner of a fishing spear. The possession of a spear is a sign of manhood and it is an object of great pride. One is surprised at the real feeling a Nuer expresses for his spear, almost as though it were animate and not a mere weapon. He is never tired of sharpening and polishing it. It is always in his hand, not only when fighting, hunting and travelling, but also when dancing,. leaping behind his bullocks, playing with his comrades, and even when he lays it down it is never far from his side. As the Nuer possess no knives a man's spear does service not only on those occasions when Africans generally make use of it, but on those occasions when other peoples use a knife, for culinary purposes, cutting leather in tether making, cutting ox's hide for a bed-rug, and other purposes.

A boy is even prouder when he becomes the owner of a bullock and is invested with a bullock name. Even a small boy will speak of his father's bullocks as " our bullocks," and will often regard one of them, the calf of the cow he habitually milks, as his own special one. But it is only his in the general psychological sense of family communism. It

is not exclusively his and he cannot use it in the way in which bullocks are used for display. Also a boy will often take a bullock name from one of the animals in his father's herd to which he has taken a fancy, again generally the calf of the cow he milks every day, but this is only in imitation of his elders when playing with other boys in make believe of adult life. He has no right to the name and no man would address him by it nor would he mention it in the presence of his elders. But after initiation he has a bullock and a bullock name in his own full social right.

I have already mentioned how he will play with this bullock, and look after it, and sing about it. Undoubtedly a man feels much attachment to the animal and is very much upset at its death. I do not, however, consider this attachment to be like the sentimental attachment which Europeans often feel for a favourite dog or horse. Their feeling springs mainly, I believe, from the association of social prestige which the bullock brings to its owner. It is a shame if one has no bullock to display when one's comrades are having theirs lead in procession round the camp. The more bullocks one can put into these processions the greater the prestige of one's name, for a man with several bullocks is obviously a man of wealth and standing, while a man who has not even a single one is of the poorest of the poor. Even if we also take into account the ritual use of bullocks as a sacrificial medium between men and spirits and ghosts, I still think that there has been a tendency to exaggerate the emotional feeling of Nilotes towards particular animals. If a bullock dies its owner will acquire a new one and will take a new bullock name if he cares to do so. He may at any time change his bullock name if a new animal takes his fancy, though people generally seem to keep to the name they took after initiation. During his lifetime a man possesses a great number of bullocks and when he is married he will part with some of them, while others will be handed over to assist relatives to marry or to pay blood-compensation and yet others will be killed on ceremonial occasions. Nuer are never tired of speaking of these bullocks and enumerating their points. Much more could be said on the subject, but as it is only incidental to the institution of age-sets it cannot be discussed here in its completeness.

A man acquires a bullock name at initiation from the animal given to him by his father. He will be addressed by this name by his age-mates—it is particularly their privilege to do so—but also the members

of the age-sets directly senior and junior to his set may also call him by his bullock name. Members of his family and kin will address him by his birth name or by a relationship term. The use of a bullock name has egalitarian implications so that it would not be used between persons whose age-sets are distant from one another. A younger man would not address one much older than himself by his bullock name but as "*gwa*," "father," or by the complimentary title of "son of so-and-so," mentioning the name of his father, or "father of so-and-so," mentioning the name of his eldest child whether son or daughter. Also an old man would not address a much younger one by his bullock name, but as "*gatda*," "my son."

The change of social behaviour which takes place in the life of a Nuer when he passes from the grade of boyhood to the grade of manhood, from *dhol* to *wut*, is shown in the customs I have just described, milking, household tasks of byre and kraal, love-making, dancing, ownership of spear and bullock and bullock-names, etc. But these are customs which differentiate one grade from another grade and not one set from another set. All the age-sets are equivalent in their enjoyment of these privileges and present an undifferentiated opposition to the boys who are deprived of them. There are no further grades into which a set as a whole advances. The Nuer age-sets do not pass out of the grade of warriors into the grade of elders as these grades are not clearly defined among the Nuer. A man, as explained above, ceases to fight when he considers himself too old for this sport and not because his set passes out of a warrior-grade. He marries when he is old enough to do so and when there are sufficient cattle to provide him with a bride, and not because his set passes into a grade of married elders. Instead of the three grades of the Masai system, Boy-grade, Warrior-grade, Elder-grade, there are properly only two Nuer grades, Boy-grade and Man-grade.

But though not graded the sets are stratified and have a traditional pattern of behaviour between one another so that membership of one set evokes a different pattern of behaviour from members of all the other sets. Thus, from the point of view of an individual Nuer, male society falls into three adult groupings: those whom you respect as seniors (associated with your fathers); those with whom you are on terms of intimacy (associated with your brothers); those who owe respect to you (associated with your sons). These patterns of authority, submissiveness and egality, are the only three possible patterns of behaviour between

individuals in any society, and every society has techniques for determining beforehand which pattern a man employs towards any given member of his community. Nuer culture does this by means of its age-sets as well as through its kinship structure. Any doubt as to how you should act towards a fellow Nuer is eliminated because your attitude towards him is largely determined by your respective memberships of age-sets. Friction and hesitation are avoided because the title of a set evokes from its members a clear pattern of behaviour (*a*) among themselves, (*b*) towards members of senior-sets, (*c*) towards members of junior-sets.

It may be objected that there are more than three age-sets living at the same time, but from the point of view of an individual, the age-sets tend to fall into three groups corresponding with the three generations of father—self—son. Generations are only distinct for the individual. Thus, to-day, in Lou country the following age-sets still have living members : *Thut, Boiloc, Maker, Dangunga, Luac, Lithgac,* and any three of these will generally form a generation in relation to the life history of an individual. To a *Lithgac* son of a *Maker* father all members of the *Maker* age-set are his " fathers " and form a group whose daughters he ought not to marry because their " fathers " are his father's also. To this group he owes respect. The age-sets of *Thut* and *Boiloc* fall into the same category as the *Maker* with certain differences due to the greater age of their members. On the other hand a *lithgac* regards the members of the *Luac* age-set as being on much the same plane as himself in relation to *Dangunga* and *Maker*. The *Luac* and the *Lithgac* will call one another by their bullock-names, and if a *Dangunga* man kills a bullock at a ceremonial feast they will eat together and not with the *Dangunga*. It seems that if a *Maker* man kills a beast at a feast the *Maker* and the *Boiloc* will eat together and the *Dangunga* and *Luac* together ; while the *Lithgac* will eat by themselves. Thus, at any one time, owing to the limitations of life, there is a tendency for the age-sets to fall into three divisions in respect to any individual, his seniors, his equals and his juniors. At the beginning of manhood there are only two divisions, equals and seniors, and at the end of manhood there are also only two divisions, equals and juniors, but in middle life there are three divisions.

This social overlapping fits in with biological overlapping, for not all of a man's sons are initiated into the same set. Generally the eldest

son is initiated into an age-set with one (or sometimes two) intervening age-sets between his age-set and his father's age-set, but two (or sometimes three) age-sets intervene between the age-sets of younger sons and the age-set of their father. This overlapping seems complicated to us but is not so to a Nuer. If we consider the position of a member of the *Maker* age-set we shall see that the *Boiloc* are too young to be his "fathers" and he tends to regard them as his equals in contrast to the *Thut*. A man of the *Dangunga* age-set in the same way regards the *Maker* as his equals because they belong to a younger age-set than that of his "fathers"; but he recognises the authoritarian position of the *Boiloc*. Any set tends to regard the set directly senior to it as its equals, though seniors, in contrast to the set higher up who are not only its seniors by a long period of years but also its "fathers." So that while the *Dangunga* regard themselves as of much the same status as the *Maker* in relation to the *Boiloc* the *Maker* regard themselves as of much the same status as the *Boiloc* in relation to the *Dangunga*. Or, while the *Lithgac* consider their position approximately that of the *Luac* when speaking of the *Dangunga*, the *Luac* group themselves with the *Dangunga* when speaking of the *Maker*.

The few examples given beneath show actual cases of division between age-sets of fathers and sons. I have stated where the son is the eldest son, but in other cases where I have written younger son I am unable to say for certain his position in the order of sons.

Father.	*Age-set.*	*Son.*	*Age-set.*	*Intervening sets.*
Kerker	*Maker*	Wan (eldest son)	*Lithgac (Caiyat)*	*two*
Bul	*Maker*	Jok (eldest son)	*Lithgac (indit)*	two
Cam	*Dangunga*	Wie (eldest son)	*Lithgac (Caiyat)*	one
Caroah	*Thut*	Cam (eldest son)	*Dangunga*	two
Jek	*Thut*	Ret (eldest son)	*Dangunga*	two
Rainen	*Tangkwer*	Nhial (eldest son)	*Pilual*	one
Ngundeng	*Thut*	Deng (younger son)	*Luac*	three
Ngundeng	*Thut*	Riam (eldest son)	*Maker*	one
Diung	*Thut*	Chag (eldest son)	*Dangunga*	two
Diung	*Thut*	Jok (younger son)	*Luac*	three
Ngot	*Lilnyaang*	Rainen (eldest son ?)	*Wandeal*	one

In this list there are only two cases where two generations are recorded, and though two cases are not adequate to show the normal number of age-sets which go to a generation I think that, nevertheless, these two are typical.

Thut	Caroah	} generation
Boiloc		
Maker		
Dangunga	Cam	} generation
Luac		
Lithgac	Wie	
Lilnyaang	Ngot	} generation
Ruob		
Wangdeal	Rainen	
Rol		} generation
Pilual	Nhial	

It is not easy to describe the patterns of behaviour which operate between age-sets as they are of a very general nature. They are formally expressed in feasts when members of an age-set, or of two consecutive age-sets, eat together and apart from their seniors and juniors, or when members of an age-set purposely abstain from taking part in a feast when one of their members has died. But also in the daily life of village and cattle camp juniors show seniors deference in all situations which occur, in disputes, discussions, economic activities, etiquette, and so on. Father Crazzolara gives an example of this deference when he says " a boy has caught a fish, and an old man, a *ric*-comrade of his father, desires to have this fish and the boy must give it to him, and when his father, for whom it was intended, hears of this, he is glad that his son has such good manners."[1]

Age-mates are on terms of complete equality. They associate together in all activities of life, in work and war and leisure. A man does not stand on ceremony with an age-mate but eats and plays and jokes with him as an equal. When two men of the same *ric* are quarrelling, so long as their quarrel has not resulted in a serious fight, others ought not to interfere. I have often noticed that when small boys of about the same age are fighting with their spiked bracelets the men will laugh and encourage them, saying that they are of the same *ric*, that is to say, of the same age, but the womenfolk run to separate the boys and to take the part

[1] Hat ein Bursche einen Fisch erlegt und ein *Ric*genosse seines Vaters wünscht ihn, so hat er ihm denselben zu geben ; und wenn der Vater, für den der Fisch bestimmt war, davon hört, wird er sich über seinen guterzogenen Sohn freuen.

of the lad belonging to their family. Age-mates are those who naturally associate together in any society in the world. Father Crazzolara writes "A kind of relationship springs up between the *Ric*-comrades, akin to close comradeship. According to the views of the people they belong to one another. When they live together or meet by chance, the meals prepared for the one or the other are eaten in common. In travelling *Ric*-comrades are natural hosts."[1] A man may address a fellow member of his *ric*, his age-set, as *ricda*, *da* being a suffix meaning " my."

Apart from this general pattern of egalitarian behaviour between members of the same age-set, their like mode of behaviour towards members of other age-sets, their common title, and their exogamous relations, there are a number of customs that ritually express their equality. The chief of these is the strict prohibition on any member of a dead man's age-set of partaking of the flesh of a beast killed at his mortuary ceremony. Anyone who broke this rule would inevitably die of *nuer*, the punishment which falls on those who break serious taboos.

Another custom allows a man of your age-set to ask you if anyone has claimed your daughter's eldest cow, and if you reply that no one has claimed it he will take a bracelet from off his arm and place it on the little girl's leg. When she is married he will then be entitled to claim the *yang rica*, " the beast of the age-set." It is important to note this custom in its relation to the rule that a man must not marry the daughter of an age-mate since the acceptance of any part of bride-wealth is recognition of an exogamous relationship between the people concerned. Further customs that express the social equivalence of age-mates are the rule which says that when two members of the same age-set have adjoining gardens they shall not erect the usual boundary-line of raised earth between them, and the custom which says that if a youth gets a thorn under his finger nail and has to cut it out all members of his age-set who are present ought also to cut off the tip of a toe nail as well. As we have seen at initiation feasts a man is permitted to joke and take liberties with the wife of a man of his own age-set. She is not a possible future mother-in-law, since a man cannot marry a daughter of an age-mate, whereas the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 38. " Zurschen den *Ric*genossen ensteht eine Art Verwandtschaft, zunächst eine enge Kameradschaft. Beim Herumziehen, auf Reisen, gehen Leute desselben *ric* womöglich zusammen. Wo sie zusammen wohnen oder zufällig zusammen treffen, wird das vorgelegte Essen des einen oder anderen immer gemeinsam genommen. Auf Reisen sind *Ric*genossen die natürlichen Gastgeber."

wives of men of other age-sets may one day become his mother-in-law. I have never heard it suggested that men have any sexual rights over wives of their age-mates and Nuer were always shocked at my enquiries about this point. I think that they would regard adultery with the wife of an age-mate as worse than ordinary adultery and in the light also of a ritual infringement ; but I have no certain evidence about this.

But it is chiefly at feasts that the age-sets are divided up ceremonially as I have explained above. The *kau*$_{n}$ of an animal goes to the *ric matot*, the junior age-set who may eat themselves or may share the meat with the set directly senior to them, according to the seniority of the set to which the owner of the beast belongs. One informant gave me a general example without specifying the seniority of the owner of the animal. He said that at a feast the *kau* would go to the *Lithgac* in Lou country, the *bum* to the *Makeri* and the *juak* to the *Boiloc*. If a *Dangunga* killed the animal we would therefore expect the *Luac* to eat with the *Lithgac*, the *Dangunga* with the *Makeri* and the *Boiloc* by themselves or with any remaining members of the *Thut* set ; while if the animal belonged to a *Makeri* we would expect the *Dangunga* to eat with the *Makeri* and the *Luac* with the *Lithgac*. I may have stated this arrangement too rigidly, and even erroneously, as I rely on one or two casual remarks, and it will be necessary to observe actual feasts before one can say for certain how the age-sets are usually divided at them. One informant (Jok) told me that sometimes at a marriage feast the father of the bride will kill a "*yang rica*," " a beast of the age-set," for all the members of his age-set, who would make a special point of coming to the wedding. He said that in this case members of other age-sets would not be provided with meat though they might beg some from the age-mates of the bride's father.

One of the actions of the age-set system is the regulation of marriage. In my previous essay I pointed out that the clan is an exogamous group and that any near genealogical relationship through the female line is also a bar to marriage. The *ric*, or age-set, is also the basis of an exogamous group since no man may marry the daughter of an age-set. The reason for this prohibition is found in the convention by which all age-mates are regarded as brothers and, therefore, the children of one are regarded as the children of all, just as the children of a man's brother are his children also. Hence a man speaks of all the children of his age-mates as " my children," and is also barred from marriage with one

who counts by fiction, or analogy, as his daughter. I think we are justified also in regarding the actual ceremony of initiation as creating something in the nature of blood-brotherhood between the members of an age-set, since the Nuer seem to regard them as having a kind of community through the blood they have shed together. The Nuer also regard the lineage and clan as a group of people physiologically related as well as sociologically connected, since they have a notion of the common blood of kin.

Not only is a man prohibited from marriage with the daughter of his age-mates, but he will refrain from having love affairs with them or flirting with them. When I asked what would happen if a man were to marry the daughter of an age-mate, I was told that his comrades would appeal to the *kwoth ricdien*, the spirit of their age-set, stating in an invocation that this man has no respect for their set and asking that he might be removed. He would then die. It is difficult to know how we are to interpret *kwoth ricdien*, but it seems that each *ric* is thought to be associated with its special guardian spirit though I do not think that these have special names.

This prohibition on the marriage of daughters with age-mates on the grounds of brotherhood between them is quite conventional and does not mean that age-mates are regarded as equivalent to brothers in either physiological or sociological sense. Perhaps the function of the prohibition is to be sought in the pattern of egalitarian behaviour existing between age-mates and their wives, a pattern of behaviour quite incompatible with that existing between a man and his father- and mother-in-law. If a man were to marry a daughter of an age-mate his age-mate would become his father-in-law and his wife would become his mother-in-law and he would have to act towards them with such respect as to make it impossible for him to eat or drink in their homestead. But the Nuer system decrees also that a man may act with the greatest freedom, as we have seen earlier, towards his age-mates and their wives. There would hence be a clash between two completely opposed patterns of behaviour, and this is avoided by the fiction of brotherhood considered as the relationship equal to real brotherhood in respect to marriage with daughters though different in most other respects. Doubtless the prohibition is re-enforced by the fact that there would always be a very great difference in age between a man] and the daughter of an age-mate, for

marriage between people of about the same age is usual in the Nuer society and marriage with a girl of the age of one's children is exceptional.

Conventionality of the prohibition is shown when we come to consider the relations of a man to the daughters of his father's age-mates, because if there were any real identity between age-set relationships and kinship relationship these women would stand in the position to him of sister (father's brother's daughter). In point of fact, Nuer theory holds that children of age-mates may not marry and they form a secondary exogamous group based on the age-set system.

DIAGRAM NO. XXIII.

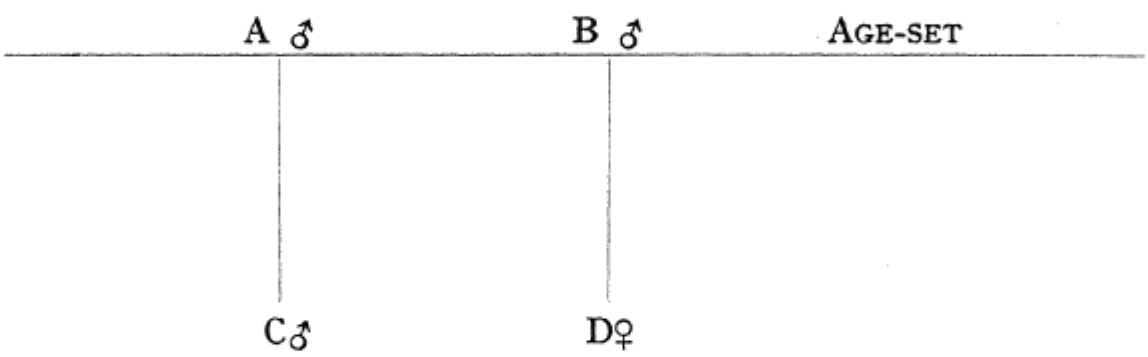
A	AGE MATES ♂
B	CHILDREN OF A ♂ ♀

Thus members of group A may not marry into group B, A and B together forming an exogamous group comprising two generations. A is not an exogamous group since it contains only males and these are permitted to marry one another's sisters, if they are not prohibited from marriage on other accounts. B on the other hand forms in itself an exogamous group consisting of males and their sisters who are not supposed to intermarry.

However, the prohibition on inter-marriage between children of age-mates (between members of group B) is not seriously enforced, at any rate to-day, though I was told that in the past the rule was upheld. Thus, in Diagram No. XXIV, theoretically C ♂ cannot marry D♀ since A ♂ and B ♂ are age-mates. Because A ♂ and B ♂ are "brothers," B ♂ is the "father" of C ♂ and C ♂ cannot marry D ♀ his "father's daughter." It seems, however, that to-day so long as A ♂ or B ♂ is dead, the marriage is allowed between C ♂ and D ♀ on condition that they make exchange of a special cow or sheep or goat as atonement (*col*) for breaking the taboo. This animal is probably ear-marked for the *kwoth ricdien*, spirit of their age-set, though I was not told that this was the case. An instance of this kind was told in the family of one of my Nuer servants, Tot, whose sister was married to a man whose father was an age-mate of Tot's father. The husband gave Tot, whose father was dead, a female

goat, and Tot gave the husband's father a male sheep. It may be doubted, nevertheless, whether such a marriage would have been regarded as correct by the older generation. I was told, however, that a man would not hesitate to flirt with, or make love to, female children of his father's age-mates without intention of marrying them, and it is evident that the restriction has nothing like the same force as that on the marriage between men and the daughters of their age-mates.

DIAGRAM XXIV.



To understand the Nuer age-set system we have to observe how it regulates the behaviour of members of a community towards one another. It acts together with the kinship system in determining everybody's attitude towards everybody else, so that the behaviour of each to each other is known beforehand, since it is evoked by their status in relation to one another. We have already seen how by a fiction which recognises adoption as true kinship and by the value attached to descent through the mother as well as through the father, a Nuer community comprises a network of interrelations of a kinship type which are spoken about in genealogical terms. These, however, leave authoritarian status largely ill-defined, and as is usual in societies where rank is unknown leadership is based on social recognition of biological differences of sex and age. In Nuerland authority is in the hands of the males and older males.

So dominant are notions of kinship among the Nuer that the age-set system is expressed in the ideology of family and kin as we have observed and tends to be spoken of as " fathers," " brother," " sons." Doubtless, this association lends weight to the institution of age-sets and makes them easy for an individual to understand and take part in. Talking to Nuer about their age-sets, one receives a marked impression that the notions associated with them are the familiar notions of family

life. Certainly the Nuer always speaks of them in terms of family and kin. Not only does he speak of his " fathers " and " sons," but he speaks about members of age-sets senior to his own but not of his father's age-set as though they were his fathers-in-law and their wives his mothers-in-law. These peoples must be respected because their daughters are your lovers and one day may be your wives. Thus a *Lithgac* son of a *Maker* father will regard members of the *Dangunga* age-set and their wives as potential mothers- and fathers-in-law.

The analysis presented in this paper may appear difficult, perhaps unconvincing, when stated in abstract terms, but observe how daily contacts and occupations in a Nuer cattle-camp operate smoothly and how their smooth working is partly a result of social stratification by age. We have seen how the question of who shall perform tasks connected with the monotonous task of cattle-raising is settled by the clear cleavage between the duties of men and the duties of boys. In the many situations that arise in the daily life of cattle-camps, one has opportunity to see how the young give way to the old and listen without interrupting to their advice and admonition in disputes and discussions of all kinds. They will order the younger men to perform services for them and will lecture them upon shortcomings ; and the extraordinary pride of a Nuer, the object of ceaseless astonishment to Europeans, no matter how long they have resided in the country, is not injured by orders and admonition from a man of a senior age-set. One observes that the frequent quarrels in a Nuer cattle-camp are between members of the same age-set, and for a man to struggle with the members of a junior age-set would be ignoble for both alike. Everybody's behaviour to everybody else is thus defined on rough, general lines in the daily range of their contacts. In your relations with A he must pay deference to you since he belongs to an age-set junior to your own. On the other hand when you meet B you must defer to his opinion and you may do as he asks you to do without losing your dignity. Boys are everybody's servants. You have left your spear in your windscreen when you have been visiting friends and you want someone to bring it to you. You look round and see C, a boy, and you tell him to go and fetch it. Then there is D, who is of the same age-set as yourself. He is your comrade and your equal. He can say anything he likes to you and you can reply to him as you like. Your equality is shown as much in your quarrels as in your fellowship. It is

expressed in your close association, in love-making and dancing, in hunting and warfare, in mutual visiting and sharing of meals. The essence of such a system is that it should work automatically for there is no one to enforce it. You ought to behave with deference or equality or superiority to men of different age-sets, and if you do not behave towards a man as his age-status requires you to do, then you will have done the wrong thing—people will say so openly and your father and uncles will consider themselves insulted by your conduct towards a member of their age-set and you will suffer from their chagrin. That the system works is perhaps in part due to its association with kinship ideology and also to the fact that it does not have to work outside the local community where the bonds of kinship are effective. It stratifies members of the local grouping, of the village and district and cattle-camp.

Every society regulates the interaction of its members, among other ways by organising them into age-grades that are associated with the ideology of family life. The problem is : why does age become stratified into formal sets ? I do not know that any satisfactory answer can be given to that question and none will be attempted here. It is pertinent to ask, however, whether there are any other means of determining community interrelations in questions of leadership and authority. From this point of view, it would be desirable to make a comparative study of what happens in neighbouring cultures like those of the Shilluk and Dinka, especially among the Shilluk where the system has almost entirely broken down, for we may suppose that it has at one time been less negligible a social influence than at present, and also in those East African societies, like the Masai, where the age-set institution has reached its highest development. But, although such questions can only be treated on the basis of comparative study we may, nevertheless, note once more the absence of any very decided political status among the Nuer. Nor does a kinship system provide an adequate means of denoting leadership. Even in the narrowest type of kinship relations, that between brothers, authority is not an integral part of patterns of kinship behaviour. And we have to remember that wielding of authority is always a difficult matter in any society, and where it is not based on open restraint this is due to a clear cleavage between those who order and those who obey, each person knowing at once to which party the other belongs. Among the Nuer it can hardly be said that leadership and authority are highly

developed, but in so far as they are present, they derive their sanction to a large extent from the age-set system. We must also remember that age-sets are organised tribally and are one of the institutions common to all members of the same tribe and may, therefore, be supposed to act as a unifying agency in the loose political life which we have seen to characterise Nuer tribes. As much as language, moreover, it is participation in a Nuer age-set that stamps a man as a Nuer and distinguishes him from Dinka, Shilluk, Anuak, and other peoples. When you have six weals running across your forehead you are a real Nuer, a member of the finest nation on earth. The Nuer does not doubt his superiority over the other folk and is intensely proud of the marks on his forehead which prove his nationality.

THE STORY OF SUAKIN.

By J. F. E. Bloss.

(PLATES I—IV).

PART I.

THE PRE-TURKISH ERA.

I.

IN the three hundred miles of coastline between Halaib and Akik there is but one large port, and although the coast is indented with little bays and natural harbours, most of these have ceased to be used by shipping because they are too small for modern purposes. The inhabitants of the coast belong to the Beja tribes who take little interest in the sea, preferring to live a pastoral life in the hills. It is extraordinary that these people should have made so little use of the sea that lies at their feet, and have despised that which might have made them wealthy and famous.

The country is chiefly desert sparsely covered with grass, a few *samr* trees and *tundub* bushes. During the rainy season the *khors* come down in full flood from the hills making the roads impassable and giving the country a greenness that lasts only a short time before the sun dries it up again. The coastal plain between the hills and the sea varies from five to ten miles or more in width but, except around Tokar, there is little or no cultivation on it.

The port of Suakin is situated about forty miles south of Port Sudan and is now in a derelict condition. The town itself is on a small circular island situated at the bottom of a narrow inlet about one mile long. The houses are nearly all in a tumbledown state or in absolute ruin. Most of the inhabitants live on the Geyf, as the mainland is named. The island is joined to the mainland by a causeway that was constructed by Gordon, and the gate to the island is named after him. There are now only 4,000 inhabitants of Suakin and the Geyf, whereas in the past its population is stated to have been over 30,000. A wall of forts surrounds the Geyf, and about a mile outside the forts are the main wells of the district, known as the Shata wells. In the harbour there is another island known as Condenser Island or Quarantine Island which was of importance during the 1884–5 campaigns as being the starting point of the Suakin-Berber Railway. The harbour, even now, is commodious and deep enough for large vessels, but the approach is so difficult that

it is rendered useless as a port for present day ships. The channel winds in and out between two large reefs in an S-shaped curve and in some places is less than 100 yards wide.

The architecture on the island is the same as that seen at the other Turkish ports of the Red Sea, such as Jeddah and Massowah. Suakin is not the oldest port on this side of the Red Sea coast, but it is probably the most famous, and at the height of its prosperity trade flourished between it and Arabia, Abyssinia, Egypt, India and places as far off as China. Ships have visited it from all over the world and there are many references to it in the books of travellers.

The correct spelling of the name has often been disputed (as to whether it ends with an "m" or an "n"), but the modern method is Suakin (سواكن) in English and Arabic.

Equally difficult to decide is the origin of the name. In the majority of the theories it is derived from some form of the word (سوق, market), others say that it is a form of the verb root (سكن, to live). The latter theory seems more likely as the name is spelt with a (ك) and not a (ق) as in (سوق). It has also been stated that it was named by the Beja tribes and that it comes from the dialect word "*Esukib*" meaning "to the market." The Arabic word (سوق) is again in evidence here, and it points to a case of the Arabic and dialect being mixed. I have been unable to find any reference to the town under the name of Suakin before the Arab invasion. It is probable that the Arabs enlarged the small settlement that they found there and developed it as a market place. Following this the place became known as a "*Suk*" or as "*Sakin*" (dwelling place) and from either of these two words the present name may have been derived.

II.

The local stories of the origin of Suakin are picturesque and, even if devoid of truth, are worth mentioning. The best known of these is that of the Seven Ginns or Spirits. There are many variations of the story, but the main theme is always the same. It is said that the kings of Abyssinia and Egypt were on very friendly terms and that the former decided to send a present of seven beautiful virgins to Egypt. One of the king's most trusted eunuchs accompanied the ladies, and on their journey they stopped for the night at Suakin. The ladies were placed in safety on the island, and the eunuch slept on the mainland. They continued their journey the next day, and after a few months arrived



AERIAL VIEW OF HARBOUR AND ISLAND—showing :

1. Ginning Factory. 2. Dye Factory (the Old Prison). 3. Condenser Island, with Chimney of old Brick Works. 4. Gezirah el Anshetea. (N.B.—The prison and brick works were built by Gorringe.) The Wall of Forts surrounding the GEYF can be seen. Forts (from L—R) : F. SPHINX ; F. ARAB ; F. TOKAR, KITCHENER'S GATE ; F. SUDANI ; F. ANSARI ; F. YAMEN (marked x). On Condenser Island the track of the old railway can be seen.

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at their destination. The King of Egypt received the present with gratitude, but his feelings changed when he found that all the ladies were pregnant. The eunuch would have lost his life but for the extraordinary explanation given by the ladies. They stated that human agencies were not responsible for their unfortunate condition, but that during the night which they had spent on the island at Suakin they were each visited by a ginn, and that these seven ginns were alone responsible. The king believed the story and in order not to offend the King of Abyssinia, sent them all back to the island with food and clothing. Afterwards he sent them more food and provisions by camel and *sambuk* from Egypt. In due time the children were born and from them all the future inhabitants of Suakin are supposed to be descended. The *sambuks* are said to have been the beginning of the trade and the place became named "*Sawwa Ginn*," meaning "The ginn did it," or as another version has it, "The place of the ginn." These spirit-born people must have been very long lived, for I was told yet another story about them by one of the oldest inhabitants of the town, which runs as follows: when he was young he remembered seeing strange men with skins of brass walking in and about Suakin, and the people all said that these men were the last of the descendants of the ginns and that they haunted evil doers.

Another story relates how Solomon used the place as a prison for his criminals. It was supposed to be near the end of the world and the prisoners would be unable to do any harm there. In time the prisoners formed a settlement and bartered with the Beja in the hills and the place became known as *Sujun*, meaning "prisons." Later, in order to remove the stigma of the name, the prisoners called it *Sukun* and from this was derived the present name Suakin.

A further story tells how a tribe of the Beja who lived in the hills were beset with misfortune. Disease attacked them and their flocks, and there was no safety from the wild beasts which suddenly seemed to become more numerous than before. What had formerly been a rich and prosperous tribe became poor and unable to support itself. The tribe left the hills and came to the coast near Suakin where they learnt to fish and hunt and later on opened up trade with the other tribes in the hills. The place became known as *Essuk*, meaning "the market," and from this was derived the present name of Suakin.

III.

The early history of Suakin is naturally more closely connected with the history of the Red Sea than with the history of the Sudan. There was a settlement there before the place became known as Suakin, and it was in all probability a port of call for the early vessels that travelled up and down the Red Sea. The ships that stopped there would meet the caravans which travelled up the coast from Abyssinia to Egypt or which came from the interior of the Sudan to Abyssinia. It became a place of importance only to the foreign traders that called there and these were first the ancient Egyptians, then the Greeks, later on the Romans, then the Arabs, and finally the Turks. As trade developed some of the foreigners would settle there and intermarry with the local inhabitants who thus became a motley race of people. To this day there are some who are related to the Egyptians, Turks and to the travellers from Hadramout in southern Arabia. These latter people are called the Hadherebe and at one time formed the majority of the merchant class of Suakin.

The early Egyptian travellers journeyed to the land of Punt or Puanit which included Suakin. This according to Maspero was as far back as the VIth and XIIth dynasties and he says . . . .

[1] "A few fishing places are mentioned along the littoral watering places some distance apart, frequented on account of their wells of brackish water by the desert tribes . . . . . these, the Egyptian merchant vessels used as victualling stations, and took away as cargo the products of the country . . . . if the weather was favourable and the intake of merchandise scanty, the vessel, braving the numerous risks of shipwreck, continued its course as far as Suakin and Messouah, which was the beginning of the land of Puanit . . . . . Here were riches brought down to the coast from the interior, and selection became a difficulty. It was hard to decide which would make the best cargo, ivory or ebony, panther skins or rings of gold, myrrh, incense or a score of other sweet smelling gums . . . . incense was the stable merchandise of the Red Sea."

[2] Maspero also mentions that during the XVIIIth dynasty an expedition of five galleys, specially equipped, sailed down the Red Sea past Suakin and Messouah through the straits of Bab el Mendeb as far as the Somali coast. All along the coast there must have been places where these ships could call in for food and water or shelter from the sudden storms that are so common in the Red Sea. Unfortunately, there are no records and one can only assume that Suakin, or whatever it was called in those days, was one of those ports of call.

[1] Maspero, "The Dawn of Civilization, Egypt and Chaldea," p. 496.
[2] Maspero, "The Struggle of the Nations," p. 247.

[1] Bruce mentions that the Falasha of Abyssinia have a story concerning the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. They say that when she travelled to Egypt she went along the coast via Suakin rather than by sea or through Arabia.

The Ptolemies, following the Egyptians, also made expeditions to this part of the country. Stories of its riches and gold had reached Ptolomy[2] Philadelphus and he, anxious to increase the pomp of his court, sent an expedition of an hundred horsemen to bring back live elephants. The expedition failed because they spread such fear and terror that no one would help them. They returned empty-handed and the only result of the expedition was the founding of a settlement which they named Ptolemais Theron or " Ptolemy in the land of the wild beasts." This has frequently been referred to as the original Suakin, but [3] Crowfoot has definitely identified it with Akik some hundred miles south of Suakin where there are still Greek and Roman remains, especially on the islands in the bay opposite Akik. According to Crowfoot these settlements were not so much trading centres as centres for the hunting expeditions into the interior for elephants required for the Ptolemaic armies. In his article in the *Geographical Journal* of May, 1911, Crowfoot says . . . . " The Ptolemaic episode of the Red Sea is in fact the first chapter in the book of European expansion in the tropics and is a beginning not unworthy of the sequel."

He refers to the Sudan part of the coast thus . . . .

" It reached the zenith of its importance during the first century of Ptolemaic enterprise, say from 300–200 B.C. . . . . the whole of the western coast from Ptolemais southwards was studded with stations, from which hunters went into the interior to chase elephants."

His concluding remarks are of especial interest. . . . .

" The epitome of the history of this region will show that although the ports of the Red Sea may have been used for thousands of years, they have no continual history . . all our knowledge of these parts is due to immigrants and traders from afar, who for a century or so lent them a transient significance and then disappeared, to be succeeded some two or three hundred years later by other foreigners of different stock . . . From these considerations we must not apply to attempts to identify ancient places on the Red Sea coast, canons of criticism which may be applicable elsewhere . . . . After all, we are studying a series of settlements . . . . which for the most part were not likely to be adorned with public buildings of sufficient magnificence to leave much trace behind."

[1] Bruce, 2nd Edition, Vol. II, p. 407.

[2] Bruce, Vol. II, p. 387.

[3] Crowfoot. " Some Red Sea Ports in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *Geog. Jour.*, May, 1911.

Referring to Suakin he says that it later replaced these southern groups of settlements as it was situated nearer to Mecca, and he draws a comparison in Aidhab (Suakin el Gadim) which for similar reasons replaced Berenice. At a later date, as will be mentioned later, Suakin took on the trade and importance of Aidhab after it was sacked in 1428 by one of the Mameluke kings of Egypt. Crowfoot identifies Suakin with the Limen Evangelias, or Port of Good Tidings, mentioned by Ptolemy, and he says that on account of the amount of building that has taken place at Suakin during the last century, it is unlikely that any remains would be found there.

[1] Leyden identifies Suakin with the Soter Limen of Diodorus and suggests that the name is the same as the Suche of Pliny, which he believes is associated with the Arabic for a market.

[2] Dr. Junker mentions that the favourable position of the port had attracted Ptolemies, who founded a settlement there and built an ivory factory so as to secure the monopoly of this trade in the Red Sea.

From the chronology of the Ptolemaic period it is probable that their first settlement was about 250 B.C.[3]

IV.

[4] The Ptolemaic Dynasty continued in power until about 30 B.C., when the Romans conquered Egypt and added it to their Empire. During this time the Ptolemies used the elephants that they captured from the land of the Troglodytes for their armies and increased their ships in the Red Sea. Cleopatra, the last of the Ptolemies, carried on trade with Arabia and as far south as Aden.

The Romans occupied the old Ptolemaic settlements, worked the gold mines, penetrated as far south as Aden, and opened up more trade along the coast. They also took steps to protect this trade, for in [5]52 A.D.

[1] Leyden. "Discoveries and Travels in Africa," Vol. II, p. 188. Ed. 1817.

[2] Junker. "Travels in Africa," 1875–1878, pp. 50–52.

[3] The following is a list of historical references to the port, with the names given by the respective authors as the original name :—

1541	Juan da Castro	...	...	Oort Aspi of Ptolemy.
1730	D'Anville	...	...	Soter Limen or Theon Soter of Ptolemy.
1810	Leyden	...	...	Soter Limen of Diodorus.
1834	Edmonde Combes	...	...	Theonsoteron Portus of Ptolemy.
1875	Dr. Junker	...	...	Founded by the Ptolemies.
1907	Crowfoot	...	...	Limen Evangelias.
1910	Budge	...	...	Ptolemais Theron, not far from Suakin.
1924	Maps	...	...	Enaggelon Portus of Ptolemy.

[4] Wallis Budge. "History of Egypt," Vol. VII, p. 104.
Mahaffy. "Methuen's History of Egypt," Vol. IV, p. 252.

[5] Grafton Milne. "Methuen's History of Egypt," Vol. V, pp. 33, 38.

a Roman fleet destroyed a large number of Arab pirates at Aden. [1]Pliny mentions that the value of the Red Sea trade amounted to a hundred million sesterces. [2]Remains of the Roman era have been found in the Eastern part of the Sudan, especially around Akik and on the islands off that part of the coast. At Suakin there is supposed to be an old Roman tank. The only likely tank is one on Quarantine Island and this is oval in shape, sunk about four feet in the ground, lined with bricks and with a roof supported by three central pillars also constructed of bricks which, like those of the walls, are cemented together. On the maps it is labelled as an old temple. It differs in construction from those found on the islands near Akik, and from other tanks found at Aidhab up in the north. It was used as a water storage tank during the 1885 campaigns and it is doubtful whether it is of Roman origin. A dwelling house similar to those found at Akik and round Kassala, dating back to the Roman era, can be seen about four miles out on the Suakin-Sinkat road near Jebel Bani. There is no doubt that the Romans reached further south than Suakin, but whether they used the place as anything more than a port of call it is impossible to say.

The Roman authors give interesting but far-fetched accounts of the inhabitants of this part of the world, based no doubt on the tales of travellers who lost no opportunity of improving a good story. That of Diodorus is typical[3] :—

"The Icthyophagi live along the Red Sea coast . . . they go naked and have their wives in common . . . every fifth day they go to the wells of the shepherds and they drink so much that they can hardly move for a whole day . . . they resemble herds of cattle, and make a horrid noise as they go about . . . they all catch fish, and, like other fish-eating people, do not drink . . . . they live in caves, tents of grass, under trees, or in holes dug in the sea moss."

The Romans who in later years had considerable trouble with the Blemmyes considered them partly apes and partly negroes. On account of their wild appearance there was a legend that these people had no heads and that their eyes and mouths were situated in their breasts.

The Roman Empire declined in the third century and the Blemmyes made several incursions into Egypt, leaving the country in an unsettled condition. The result was that trade declined and the Red Sea ports once again sank into insignificance. In spite of this, the ships from

[1] Grafton Milne. "Methuen's History of Egypt," Vol. V, p. 124.
[2] Crowfoot. *Geog. Journal*, May, 1911.
[3] Diodorus, III, 15.

India and China continued to sail as far as the Red Sea and there was still some trade with the local inhabitants. Industries such as ivory, pearls and gold still existed, and the most frequented ports were those in the north nearer to Egypt, such as Berenice and Aidhab.

V.

Following the rise of Islam in Arabia, the Arabs invaded Egypt, Syria and Iraq. They drove the Christian races out of Arabia, and by the year 641 A.D. had annexed all these countries. It is difficult to understand exactly what is meant by " Egypt " in those times, and how far south or west the country extended. From accounts of the history of the Arab invasion, it went as far south as Suakin, if not further. Individual Arabs penetrated as far south as this, though most of the fighting was in the north and westwards along the shores of the Mediterranean. The Arabs who came south along the Red Sea coast settled down and intermarried with the local inhabitants. The new religion replaced the old one, and the Arabs, knowing something about the sea, were more likely to appreciate and to take advantage of the trading facilities that the old coastal settlements offered. In addition, the Beja practice was that the line of succession was through the women of the tribe, and so the Arabs, by marrying the more important women of the tribes, placed themselves in influential positions in the tribal life. Thus the Arab invasion southwards was more in the nature of a peaceful penetration than war.

Even so, the presence of foreigners with a new religion and a desire to gain possession of the riches of the country, was bound to lead to trouble, and for more than five hundred years the Beja country was in a state of unrest. [1]This included Suakin and Aidhab in the north, and went as far south as Abyssinia. [2]Some authors say that it was under the control of the Abyssinians, and [3]Marco Polo states that up to the tenth century at least the whole coast country from near Berbera, probably to Suakin, was subject to Abyssinia. Aidhab began like Suakin as a small settlement, but rose to importance first as it was nearer to Egypt, and came earlier under Egyptian control.

This little village settlement, with its natural harbour, first became known as Suakin some time during the two hundred years between

[1] Quatremere. Mem. Geog. et Hist. sur l'Egypte, Vol. II, pp. 155, 167.
[2] Quatremere, Mem. Geog. et Hist. sur l'Egypte, Vol. II, p. 167.
[3] Marco Polo, II, 434. (Reference from Schoff's translation of " Periplus of Erythrean Sea.")

750 A.D. and 950 A.D. It is impossible to fix any definite date, but a study of the chronology of the period fixes these two dates as the limits. It can also be seen from this chronology that the Egyptians, even if successful in subduing the tribes, were unable to exercise any control over them, and that they were obliged to send periodical punitive expeditions.

The following is a chronology of this period, with special reference to Suakin. (Dates given are A.D. and not A.H.)

[1]750 Caliph Marwan II killed at Fayum, and his son and family fled southwards to Axum via the Nile, Suakin and Akik. As a proof of this, A. E. Robinson states that graves of the Omayyad Caliphs have been found on the Red Sea coast and along the route they are said to have followed.

[2]831 Abdallah Ibn Jehan attacked Mek Kanoun Abd El Aziz of the Beja tribes, and annexed all the territory between Assuan and Dahalac.

No mention is made of Suakin, and there is no proof that it was of any importance at this period. The island of Dahalac was used as a place for criminals, and the pearl fishery there would be of value to the Egyptians, hence its inclusion in the captured territory.

[3]854 The Beja tribes, under a leader named Ali Baba, revolted. They took possession of the gold mines in the north and refused to pay tribute to the Sultan of Egypt, at that time the Caliph Mutawakkil. A force was dispatched to quell the revolt, and it was provisioned by ships that landed on the coast nearby. According to Lane Poole and Wallis Budge, the ships landed near Aidhab, but, according to Muir, the ships landed on the Suakin coast. The former theory is the more likely, as there is little reason for ships to land provisions some two hundred miles south of the field of battle.

[4] At a place called Nubt, some sixty miles inland from Suakin, there have been found some graves, some pre-Moslem, of the old Beja type, and others of early Moslem period, dated 227–277 A.H. (848–898 A.D.). These, it has been suggested, are the graves of those who came over to quell the revolt and remained to keep order afterwards.

The outcome of the revolt was that Ali Baba was decisively defeated, and went to Egypt and later to Constantinople, where he was received with honour and was the object of much amusement. He was given control over Aidhab in the name of the Sultan.

[5]878 Abu Abd El Rahman Ibn Abd Allah marched to the mines in the Eastern desert and, with the assistance of his troops, worked them for a short period, but the hostility of the local tribes forced him to move to Shenkir, where he was defeated by the Nubians.

883 Arteiga family came to Suakin from Arabia.

[6]943 Egyptians invaded Nubia and took the mines at Wadi Allagi.

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[1] A. E. Robinson. "Arab Dynasty of Darfur," *Jour. of Afr. Soc.*, October, 1928.
[2] A. E. Robinson, *op. cit.*
[3] Muir. "Rise and Fall of the Caliphate," p. 523.
Burckhardt, p. 508.
Lane Poole. "History of Egypt in Middle Ages."
[4] I am indebted to Mr. T. R. Owen for this information.
[5] Wallis Budge. "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," Vol. II, p. 191.
[6] A. E. Robinson, *op. cit.*

[1]969 The Nubians invaded Egypt and took Assuan. The Turkish Sultan then sent an ambassador to this country to try to convert the inhabitants to the Moslem faith and to report on the state of the country. Amongst other things he reported that there was a road from the mines at Shenkir to Suakin. This road is also mentioned by Makrizi, who says:

> "The Nile takes a turn for many days in the direction from sunrise to sunset . . . . and it is in these quarters that the turnings of the Nile lead to the mines called Shenkir . . . . from these parts there are roads leading to Souakin, Nahda and Dahalac, and the Islands of the Sea."

Thus at this time there were trade routes from the mines to the coast and to Suakin in particular. It was in all probability some time prior to this date that Suakin first received its name and became a place of more or less permanent importance.

[2]981 Dahalac became a tributary of the Sultan of Zaid.

1010 Shadhaliab of the Beni Ommayya came to Suakin.

1208 Hasanab tribe from the Yemen came to Suakin.

1255 Four Ansar came to Suakin from Mecca and found it was a small village inhabited by natives of the Hameg tribe.

[3]1058–1300 Aidhab became the centre of commerce for Egypt and one of the largest ports in the Red Sea. Towards the end of this period the Beja tribes in the neighbourhood became unruly and attacked the caravans which crossed the desert of Aidhab.

Aidhab had two governors, one nominated by the Beja and the other nominated by the Egyptians, and it was the duty of the Beja governor to look after the caravans which travelled to and from Abyssinia.

During this period the Beja tribes doubtless made use of Suakin as a port and minor trading centre, and diverted some of the Egyptian trade for their own use; the result being that Suakin became a Beja port and a place where trade could be carried on without paying the duties that were levied at Aidhab. The Beja would guide the caravans to the interior and thus open up more avenues of commerce for the traders from India and the Yemen.

1451 Ashraf from Mecca came to Suakin.

Suakin thus started as a rival to Aidhab in the north. From being a small watering place or a harbour of refuge from the sudden squalls of the Red Sea it gradually became a port of importance to the trade of the interior of the Sudan. Its buildings at this time were probably no more than the straw huts of the nomadic tribes living nearby; but, once started, it soon grew in proportion to the increasing trade that came to it.

VI

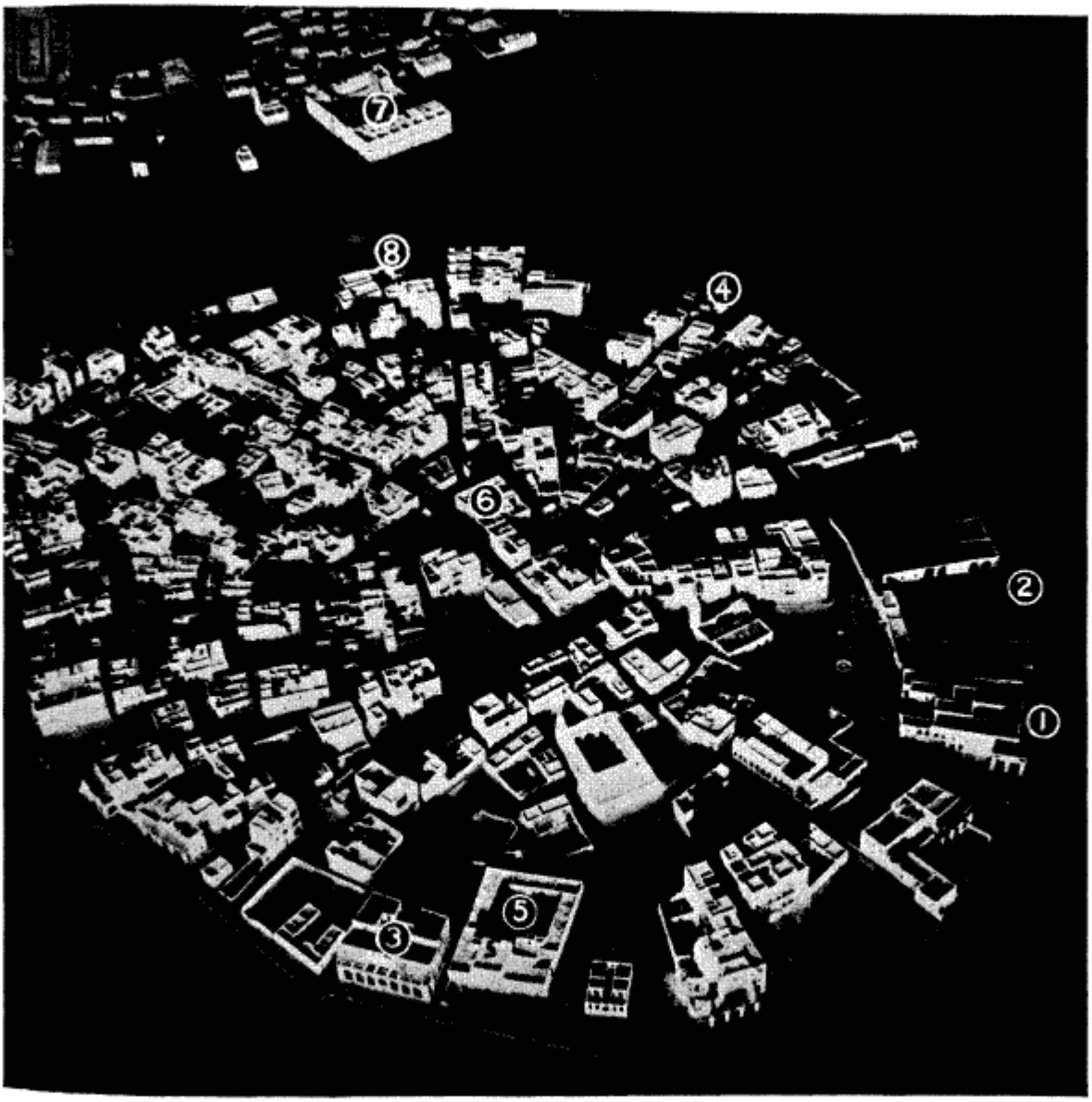
The Moslem empire continued to increase in power and size, and in [4] 1172 A.D. Saladin invaded Nubia and forcibly converted the Nubians to the new religion. The capture of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans attracted the attention of the European powers, and was the main cause

[1] Gleichen. "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," Vol. II, p. 228.

[2] A. E. Robinson, *op. cit.*

[3] Makrizi. Trans. by Burckhardt (p. 522) and by Quatremere, in "Hist. des Sultans Mamelukes," Mem. Geog. et Hist.

[4] Gleichen, *op. cit.*



AERIAL VIEW OF THE ISLAND AND THE CAUSEWAY.

1. Muhafaza.
2. Customs Enclosure.
3. National Bank, now the Rest House.
4. Old English Church.
5. Khorshid Effendi's House.
6. Shennani's House.
7. Wakkala.
8. Gordon's Gate.

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of the Crusades. Many adventurers joined their ranks, and among the most famous of the French was Renaut de Chatillion. After a varied career in Palestine he captured the port of Akaba and equipped a fleet of his own with the idea of attacking Mecca and Medina from the coast. [1] His fleet pillaged and sacked all the important ports on the Red Sea coast which they could find, but there is no mention of their attacking Suakin, which they most certainly would have done if it had been of any great importance at this time. In all probability the conquest of Nubia had reduced its trade and decreased its importance.

This decrease in fame was, however, of but short duration, for in [2] 1213 A.D. the historian Yakut reports that Suakin was inhabited by Negro Christians. [3] In 1264 the traders who travelled up the Red Sea complained to the Sultan of Egypt that it was the practice of the Kings of Suakin and Dahalac to confiscate the property of the merchants who died or were killed in their territories. The Sultan of Egypt sent an envoy to the ruling prince of Suakin and ordered the cessation of this practice. [4] Evidently the envoy was ignored, for two years later the Governor of Kous reported that he had marched southwards via Aidhab and had taken Suakin. The prince had fled and the country was now in a peaceful state. He also stated that he had left a small garrison of the Sultan's troops in Suakin. They levied "zekat" and "ushr" and restored some form of order, and so ensured fairer treatment for traders.

Suakin thus for the first time became under the rule of Egypt. The town under its new conquerors must have gained in importance. The trade from the interior of the Sudan was regulated, and produce, such as ivory, gum and slaves, was taken to Egypt. The ruler of Suakin held a more certain position under the Egyptians and was better able to exercise his authority. [5] In 1283 A.D. the Arab tribes of Djohaniah and Rafaah fought against each other in the desert around Aidhab. Many were killed on both sides, and the Sultan instructed the prince of Suakin, Sherif Alem El Din, to settle the dispute without taking the part of one

[1] Burckhardt. "Travels in Nubia," p. 542.
Blackwoods, January, 1923.
[2] A. E. Robinson, *op. cit.*
[3] Quatremere. Mem. Geog. et Hist., Vol. II, p. 171.
[4] Quatremere, *op. cit.*
[5] Quatremere, *op. cit.*

or other of the tribes, adding that if these wars and commotions continued the country would be unsafe for travellers and traders.

Egypt, under the Mameluke kings, made efforts to develop the possibilities of trade to and from the centre of the Sudan. Each king sent new expeditions southwards to maintain order, to bring back articles of commerce and to levy taxes on the people. Their oppressive methods led to no little unrest among the Nubians and Beja. [1] In 1310 A.D., under King Naser, the boundaries of Egypt were "the Syrian desert, the Euphrates, and the Pyramus in the East and North, Sawakin and Aswan in the South and Tripolis in the West." [2]During this reign, the Mameluke armies made repeated expeditions southwards as far as Suakin against the nomadic tribes who were, as usual, ravaging Upper Egypt.

[3] In 1330 A.D. Ibn Batutah claimed to have visited Suakin. Having completed the pilgrimage he left Jeddah for Aidhab, but the boat in which he was travelling encountered a storm and was forced to put in at Ras Daw'ir, which he says was half-way between Aidhab and Suakin. He and his party hired camels and for two days travelled through a country in which there were many gazelles. They then reached the Island of Suakin, which he describes as being "a large island about six miles off the coast, having neither cereal crops nor trees. Water is brought to it in boats, and it has a large reservoir for collecting rain water." He also mentions that the people exported butter to Mecca, and that at the time of his visit the Sultan of Suakin was one Sherif Zayed, son of the Emir of Mecca, who had come to power, not because he was appointed by the Mamelukes, but because he had married into the Beja.

This description hardly tallies with the Suakin we know at present. In fact, the description is more like that of Bahrdur Island near Akik. But that is nearly four hundred miles south of Akik, and he could not have covered two hundred miles in two days on camels. He may refer to some of the islands about six miles out to sea, which are now called the Suakin Group of Islands. At any rate I do not think that Ibn Batutah could have visited the place we now call Suakin. The Red Sea has receded from the coast, and many hundreds, if not thousands, of years

[1] Lane Poole. "History of Egypt in Middle Ages," p. 272.
[2] Muir. "Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt," p. 72.
[3] Ibn Batutah. "Travels in Asia and Africa." (Broadway Travellers' Series.)

ago the coastline was much further inland. The proof of this is that one can easily find places as far as five or ten miles inland where there are patches of coral firmly embedded in the soil. The Island of Suakin is only a few feet above sea level, and if the sea has receded six miles in five hundred years, which is most unlikely, then the island of Suakin would, in the year 1400 A.D., be under water. It seems probable that the island of Suakin was then very much as it is to-day, and that Ibn Batutah did not visit it.

[1] In 1366, during the reign of the Mameluke King Shaban, the Egyptian armies again made expeditions up the Nile and down the coast as far as Suakin. The armies were victorious, but their excessive cruelty caused the Nubians to rise against them and drive them out of Nubia, and Assuan was sacked. The Mameluke armies, however, are said to have relieved Suakin from the hostile Beja tribes which were besieging it.

[2] In the early half of the fourteenth century Aidhab in the north had lost some of its importance because of the hostility of the tribes which inhabited the desert around. These Arabs robbed and murdered the traders who crossed the desert, and illtreated pilgrims on their way to Mecca. When Suakin came under the control of Egypt the Egyptians met with similar hostility. Suakin was at this period a port of increasing value on account of the trade with the interior, and would lose its value unless they were able to keep the trade routes open and free from robbers.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century Suakin gradually increased in size. The prosperity of Egypt had increased with the [3]Mohammedan religion, and traders came from India, Ceylon, Cathay, and some from China. The port of Aden extorted very heavy duties and the ships which had called there now sailed past it and looked for new ports and more favourable markets. [4] Jeddah, the port of Mecca, became important under the control of Egypt, and many vessels called there and deposited their merchandise. The goods of the Yemen were penalised at Aden either by confiscation or by having an enhanced duty

[1] Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
Robinson. *Jour. of Afr. Soc.*, October, 1928, gives this date as 1335.
[2] Quatremere. Mem. Geog. et Hist., Vol. II, p.170.
Muir, *op. cit.*
[3] Quatremere. Mem. Geog. et Hist., Vol. II, pp. 284, 291.
[4] Quatremere, *op. cit.*, p. 284 *et seq.*

levied on them. As a result, according to Makrizi, the poverty of the Yemenese increased daily, while the wealth of the inhabitants of Jeddah increased in proportion.

[1] Makrizi describes Suakin as an island less than a mile in length and breadth, inhabited by a Moslem tribe of the Beja called Khasa, who were governed by a king of their own. His description of the Beja is interesting :—

". . .they have no sovereignty and acknowledge no religion . . .their food is blood and milk . . . . they are swift in running . . . .and their camels are likewise swift and indefatigable . . . they perform journeys that appear incredible . . . They are very hospitable, and if a guest arrive they will kill for him a sheep, and if there be more than three people they slaughter a camel of the nearest herd, whether it belong to them or anyone else. The country is full of mines . . . gold, silver, copper, lead, loadstone, marcasite, hamest and emerald. The Beja work only the gold . . . . the Beja country is always in commotion and the people is prone to mischief. The Pharoah kings made incursions against them, and at other times left them in peace on account of their work at the gold mines, and the Greeks did the same when they took Egypt."

[2] In 1422 A.D. a sea captain from Calicut, instead of landing his merchandise at Aden, set out for Jeddah, but met with as many difficulties, so that in the next year he went to the islands of Dahalac and Suakin. But conditions here were equally bad, and although there was a market for his goods the duties were too heavy. The next year he went to Yambo, the port of Medina. Here was an Egyptian Governor, who suggested that he should try Jeddah once more next year, when he himself would see that he was fairly treated. Accordingly, he did so, and was so satisfied that in 1425 he brought fourteen ships, and in the following year over forty ships came to that port from India and Persia, and the duties paid were to the value of 70,000 dinars.

In the meantime the hostility of the Beja around Aidhab had decreased the value of that port, and the Egyptians, having control over Jeddah, developed that as their chief port. [3]But in 1426 A.D. the inhabitants of Jeddah appropriated some of the goods which should have gone to Mecca. An account of the proceedings which followed is given by Leo Africanus, writing in 1529. Talking of the Egyptians, he says :—

" They had a rich town situate in the Red Sea called Zibid (Aidhab), whereunto belonged a commodious harbour, being opposite Zidem (Jeddah) . . . But an hundred years since it was destroyed by the Soldan because the inhabitants received certain wares

[1] Makrizi, El Selouk (from Burckhardt, pp. 503–511).
[2] Lane Poole. " History of Egypt," p. 339.
[3] Leo Africanus. (Extract from " Aidhab," by G. W. Murray, *Geog. Jour.*, Sept., 1926).

which should have been carried to Mecca, and at the same time the famous port of Zibid was destroyed, from whence, notwithstanding, was gathered a great yearly tribute. The inhabitants being chased from thence, fled unto Dangala (Dongonab) and Suachin, and at length being overcome in battle by the Governor of Suachin, there were in one day slain of them above fower thousand, and a thousand were carried captive unto Suachin, who were massacred by the women and children of the Citie."

Evidently the inhabitants of Suakin lost no time in having a complete revenge on their trade rivals. One interesting point about this reference is that the place Zidem is about fifteen to twenty miles south of the present situation of Jeddah, and it seems unlikely that the Sultan would destroy Jeddah, a town from which he had recently gained so much profit, and where he had just opened up so much new trade.

Following the fall of Aidhab (about 1428–9 A.D.) Suakin became the principal port for Egypt on this side of the Red Sea coast. Later the pilgrim and trade routes from Egypt to Arabia and the Yemen all went through Suakin. For the present it had obtained the monopoly of the trade of the Sudan and was also a market for visiting vessels. The Suakinese did not, however, completely submit to the Egyptians, for in 1439 [1] the Kashef Mohammed sent out an expedition against them.

Suakin was thus one of the later conquests of the Mohammedans, and did not attain to any great importance before the fall of Aidhab. Even if the port was within the conquered territory of the Egyptians they were unable to use it to its fullest advantage because of the hostility of the local tribes.

From 1428 A.D. Suakin gradually rose to a position of importance, which it retained unchallenged till the rise of Port Sudan.

VII.

The Egyptians gradually lost control of their empire, and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 heralded the rise of the Ottoman Empire. Suakin and Jeddah were, for a short period, left to carry on a petty trade of their own with the ships which came up the Red Sea from India, China and Ceylon. The pilgrim routes of the north were gradually abandoned and followed the new trade routes to Suakin and thence across to Jeddah. These routes were preferable, as the sea crossing was shorter than that of Aidhab, and also at this period both ports were more or less free from the control of Egypt.

[1] Quatremere, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 170.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century a new factor emerged. The Portuguese had discovered India, and were diverting the Red Sea trade to Europe.

[1] About 1505 A.D. a further factor intervened in the shape of the Fung Kingdom under Amara Dunkas. The Fung conquests extended as far north as Soba, and they made expeditions into the north-eastern Sudan to secure the gold mines. Suakin was included in their conquests, but it is doubtful if they ever exercised complete control over the port. There are many stories about the battles between the Fung and the Beja, and there are said to be some remains of their rule round Suakin.

Outside Suakin there is a large dam called Hafir el Fulah which the Fung are said to have built, though the Turks who later occupied the port enlarged and altered it. It is a dam in a *khor* near the sea, and was built with the idea of improving the water supply near the town. Two Fung forts are also said to have been built, one on Graham's Point, and another about a quarter of a mile past the Shata Wells. These are limestone mounds, wider at the base than at the top, and they were used more as look-out posts than as forts. Another reputed relic can be seen about half a mile south of Hafir el Fulah, which is supposed to be the burying ground of the Fung Kings. There is a slightly raised patch of sand, and on it are four graves. These are now no more than heaps of stones, without any inscriptions on them. One of them is said to be the grave of Badi Abu Shillukh, and another that of Abdullah Gemaa. [2] Abdullah Gemaa was second in power to Amara Dunkas, and according to Jackson had control over the Eastern Sudan and Suakin. This control was not so much over conquered territory as an agreement with the tribes to keep the trade routes open to Sennar.

The Fung were said to have considerable trouble with the Beja tribes, and a story relates how the Fung defeated the Baloo,[3] then one of the most powerful tribes of the Beja. The Hadendoweh then became the most powerful. A certain Fung nobleman is said to have taken a fancy to one of the Hadendoweh ladies and demanded her for a wife. As this request was refused, the Fung made war upon the Hadendoweh.

[1] McMichael's Chronology.
[2] Jackson. "The Tooth of Fire."
[3] The Baloo tribe is mentioned by Seligman in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIII, Part I.

The Hadendoweh collected together at Jebel Asoteriba and the Fung forces marched against them. The Hadendoweh surrounded the Jebel on all sides, and closed the entrance to one of the Khors with a line of camels all heavily laden with straw. As the Fung approached the Hadendoweh fired the straw and urged the camels on from behind. The flaming camels rushed in among the Fung lines, causing great confusion. The Hadendoweh then charged down from all sides and quickly put the disorganised army to flight. Afterwards, the Hadendoweh, in fear of a revenge, retired to a Jebel Okhwor, where they are said to have lived on top of the Jebel. The Fung collected another force and marched out to deal with them once and for all, but were unable to coax them from their mountain fortress, and so tried to undermine the Jebel by digging away the foot of it. To this the Hadendoweh replied by rolling down heavy boulders on top of them as they were working. Unable to attack, the Fung decided to retire, and as they departed, tired and disappointed, the Hadendoweh in a wild rush charged them from behind and wiped out the whole army. The story continues that the Beja chief after this success wrote to the Sultan of Turkey telling him of his victory and offering him the port of Suakin as a mark of his loyalty.

Even if the Fung did not occupy Suakin, it paid them to keep the trade routes open between it and Sennar. They probably exercised a distant control over the port and appointed one of the local inhabitants as their representative there. There was certainly never a Fung Governor of Suakin.

[1] In 1497 A.D. the Portuguese sent Peter de Covillan and De Paiva as ambassadors to India and Abyssinia. They travelled by Alexandria, Cairo, Suez and Aden, and here separated. De Paiva set sail for Suakin and was never heard of again. Bruce describes Suakin at this period as "a small trading town and island in Barabra, the Barbaria of the ancients."

[2] In 1516 A.D. the Turks captured Egypt and sent expeditions southwards under Sinan Pasha to occupy the old Mameluke possessions of Massowa, Suakin and Jeddah. Amara Dunkas, in fear of losing his kingdom, then wrote a letter to the Sultan of Turkey in which he traced

[1] Bruce. Vol. III, p.133.
[2] Wallis Budge, Vol. II, p. 37, and others.

his ancestry from the Arabs, and stated that he and his people were Moslem. On account of their poverty, and the fact that they were Moslem, he begged the Sultan to leave him in peace.

As soon as the Turks appeared in the Red Sea the representative of Abdullah Gemaa at Suakin fled and the caravans from the interior were stopped. [1] The caravans of pilgrims from Abyssinia to Jerusalem were also stopped. According to Bruce, these sometimes consisted of over a thousand pilgrims, ecclesiastics and laymen who travelled by easy stages of not more than six miles a day, halting to perform divine service. They travelled with drums beating and colours flying and traversed the desert by the way of Suakin.

The Fung Kings remained in power at Sennar for over two hundred years more, and although they made other expeditions into the north-eastern part of the Sudan, they never again occupied or had any control over Suakin.

Part II.

THE TURKISH ERA

I.

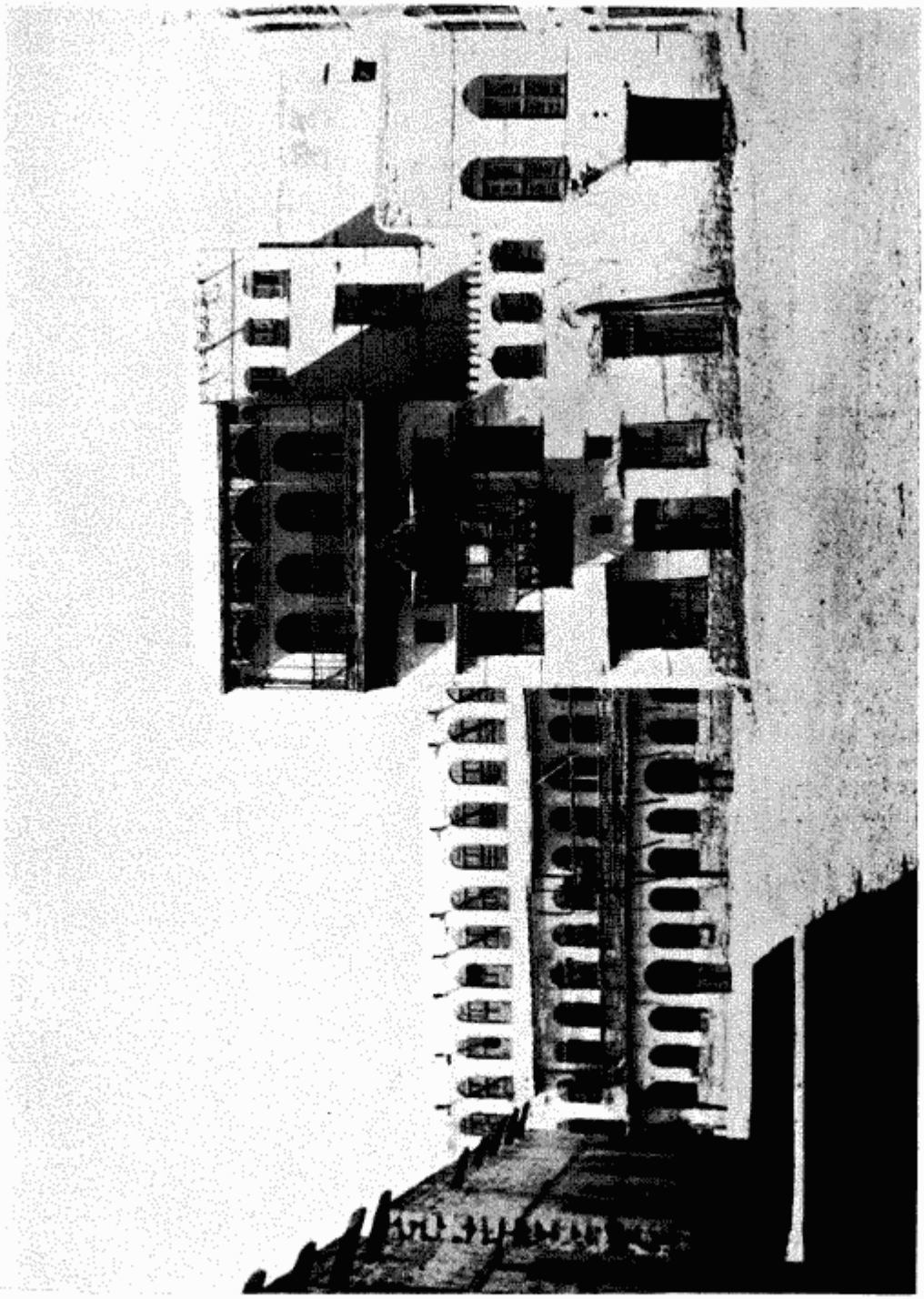
The sixteenth century brought a great change to the ports of the Red Sea. First by reason of the Turkish invasion and occupation of Jeddah, Suakin and Massowa, and secondly by the discovery of the Cape route to India by the Portuguese. [2]This latter discovery diverted a large portion of the Indian trade from the Red Sea. The Portuguese also made efforts to establish trading stations along the coast of the Red Sea, but never succeeded in getting further north than Abyssinia, and even here their stations had to be abandoned at a later date.

[3] In the narrative of the voyage of Francisco Alvarez, who reached Abyssinia in 1520 A.D., he mentions that Suaquem was at the northern extremity of Prester John's country, and that it belonged to the Turks. Prester John (King of Abyssinia) sent him a map of the world and suggested that the European countries should combine to occupy the Red Sea and drive the Turks away. The King of France was to maintain

[1] Bruce, Vol. III, p. 181.

[2] Lane Poole. "History of Egypt," p. 350.

[3] Alvarez. "Narr. of Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia," p. 311.



TYPICAL HOUSES ON THE ISLAND.

a force at Suaquem, the King of Spain at Zeila, and the King of Portugal at Massowa. The combined forces would then be able to capture Jeddah, Mecca and Cairo and drive the Turks from Egypt.

[1] In 1523 David Reubeni passed through Suakin on his way to visit Amara Dunkas. He crossed the Red Sea in three days from Jeddah to Suakin and stayed tnere for some time. He left the town in a caravan of merchants, with three thousand camels, travelling to the land of Kush, of which Amara Dunkas was king.

The Turks on taking over Suakin improved and enlarged the port. They built houses of coral, enlarged the Hafir el Fulah, and for a short time left a Turkish Pasha in the port with a small force. Taxes and custom's duties were levied and the Pasha doubtless paid for his position and made what he could from these sources. The Turks also held Jeddah and Massowa and maintained a fleet in the Red Sea at Suez. In an attempt to prevent the Portuguese from penetrating northwards, they closed the Red Sea to all vessels except those of the Sultan. The Portuguese, however, succeeded in reaching Abyssinia and their missionaries as well as their traders settled there.

Nur el Din was appointed the first Pasha of Suakin about 1517, but did not hold this position for many years. Later the local prince of the port was placed in charge and paid an annual tax to the Pasha at Jeddah.

[2] In 1540 A.D. a Portuguese fleet under Stephano de Gama ventured up the Red Sea to attack the Turks. The fleet consisted of some eighty ships and many galleys, and on their voyage they stopped at Suakin. The account of their voyage has been mentioned in *Sudan Notes and Records*, but in view of the interesting description of Suakin it is worthy of repetition. Don Juan da Castro describes Suakin as one of the richest cities of the East, standing on the coast of Abeshi :—

"It equals, if not exceeds the most eminent places in Goodness and Security of the Port, Facility in lading and unlading ships, Traffic with remote countries, strength and advantageous position of the town. The Harbour . . . is able to contain two hundred ships and Galleys without number, the road has in all places five or six fathom and in some

[1] Hillelson. *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XVI, 1933, Pt. I, "David Reubeni, an early visitor to Sennar." *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XVIII, 1935, "David Reubeni's Journey."

[2] Kennedy Cooke. "The Red Sea Coast, 1540," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XVI, 1933, Pt. II.

seven . . . . The ships come up close to the shore quite round the city and may be laden by laying a plank from them to the merchant's warehouses to the doors of which the Galleys are fastened with their beaks stretching over the streets which serve as bridges."

He mentions the trade with Egypt, India, Arabia, Pegu, Malaka and Abyssinia, and his description of the harbour and islands tallies almost exactly with Suakin as it is to-day. In describing the island he says that there is not a foot of ground but what is taken up with houses. The fleet left Suakin on March 9th, 1540. Prior to their departure they sent back several of their ships to Aden, as they found a large fleet too unwieldy. They quarrelled with the local sheikh, or Nayle, about the provisions for the fleet, and sacked the town, a procedure for which they paid dearly later, as it warned the Turks of their approach.

[1] Bruce describes Massowa as a much more important port than Suakin at the time of the Turkish invasion, but says that afterwards the trade of Massowa decreased rapidly on account of the rivalry between the Turks and the Portuguese. This rivalry was more acute in Abyssinia than at Suakin, where the inhabitants were Moslem. Suakin probably grew at the expense of Massowa, and also because it was nearer to the important Turkish base of Jeddah. Within fifty years it had become a port (if we are to believe Da Castro) nearly as big as Lisbon.

To those of the Moslem faith the Turkish rule was not very much harder than usual, but to those of other religions the Turks showed neither mercy nor consideration. The Portuguese travellers and missionaries who settled in Abyssinia prevented Turkish political expansion, as well as the spread of Mohammedanism. But they too had trouble with the Abyssinians, and some of them from time to time were betrayed into the hands of the Turks by hostile tribes. [2] In 1625 Father Lobo landed in Abyssinia and set up a missionary colony at Freemona. This colony was betrayed into the hands of the Turks and he and his followers were taken as prisoners to Suakin. Here they were brought before the Pasha, whom Father Lobo describes as being " a violent, tyrannical man who would kill his own brother for the least advantage." He treated the missionaries with the most " opprobrious language and threatened to cut off their heads . . . . but . . . . his zeal gave way to his avarice and he asked for thirty thousand crowns as a ransom."

[1] Bruce. Vol. III, p. 203.

[2] Lobo's Voyages. Ed., 1789, p. 141.

After more threats and lengthy argument the sum was reduced to ten thousand, and two of the missionaries were sent back to Portugal to obtain the ransom. Father Lobo, who was left behind, spent almost a whole year " in great vexation and full of sorrow among the barbarous Turks in Suaqena, almost melted by the sun." Any of the inhabitants of Suakin who showed him any favours or took pity on him were instantly put to death. Dr. Peter Hayling, of Lubeck, passed through Suakin when Father Lobo was there and the two of them had an argument about the orthodoxy of the faith.

Father Lobo tells how the Pasha of Suakin had in similar manner illtreated a poor pagan merchant, and sentenced him to be impaled and flayed alive, but that some Brahmin merchant had taken pity on him and paid a ransom so that he could be freed. Father Lobo was eventually freed when the other two missionaries returned with the ransom. But even this ill-usage of their subjects did not persuade the Portuguese to send a punitive expedition up the Red Sea against the Turks. By 1630 A.D. nearly all the Portuguese traders and missionaries had left Abyssinia owing to the hostility of the Turks and the tribes of Abyssinia.

In 1629 Suakin was used as a base for the Turkish troops which invaded the Yemen. It had now become their chief port on this side of the Red Sea and the Pasha there was in charge of their fleet and the Southern part of the Red Sea. An agreement was made between him and the Abyssinians by which all foreigners, especially the Portuguese and French, were executed. About[1] 1645 A.D. the " Congregation for propagating the Faith " in Portugal sent six Capuchin Friars to Abyssinia with letters of recommendation from the Sultan himself. Two of these were killed by the Kaffirs, two were stoned to death in Abyssinia, and the other two, deciding that discretion was the better part of valour, returned home as soon as possible after they had landed at Massowa.

[2] In spite of this three other Capuchin Friars decided to see what they could do, and landed at Suakin. From here they wrote to the King of Abyssinia, congratulating him upon their arrival. But the King requited their kindness by writing to the Pasha of Suakin and asking him to send him their heads. This the Pasha did in the hopes of a reward, and, to prove

[1] Ludolphus, Edit. 1682. Bk. III, Ch. XIV, p. 366.

[2] Ludolphus Edit, 1682. Bk. III, Ch. XIV, p. 366.

that they were Franks, he had them flayed after the execution and sent their skins as well as their heads to the King. There is a picture in Ludolphus of their execution, with the Pasha sitting on a mound and the three friars being beheaded. In the background can be seen the island of Suakin and the minarets of a mosque. Some of the houses in the picture have two storeys.

Suakin was governed by a Pasha until the eighteenth century and, according to Sir Peter Wyche,[1] in 1673 was inhabited by an hundred Turks, while the chief tribe were the Bellow.

[2]Ships from Egypt reached Suakin by travelling from Suez to Jeddah then to Suakin and finally to Massowa In the latter part of the seventeenth century the Dutch made efforts to found trading stations in the Red Sea but failed, and concentrated instead in the western and central parts of Africa The cruelty of the Turks towards the inhabitants caused their downfall, and the Red Sea ports gradually declined in importance. The result was that the Turks were unable to find men to act as governors, or to garrison their possessions in the Red Sea.

II.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Turks were still in nominal control of the Red Sea and the countries bordering on it. Slaves were the main article of commerce, and the other trades gradually declined on account of the presence in the Red Sea of Turkish pirates and the oppressive methods of the Turkish Pashas at their various ports. European enterprise had not as yet found its way to trade with the ports of the Red Sea and, except for a few travellers who braved the unknown, there was little or no European traffic. [3]In 1730 Richard D'Anville visited Suakin and described the port as "the safest asylum for navigators on the coast." He also made a map of the port which was accurate in outline, but not correct as regards the soundings of the harbour.

Bruce gives a good account of the Red Sea and its trade in the story of his travels between 1768 and 1773. He did not visit Suakin but, for

[1] Sir Peter Wyche. "Short Relation of the Nile," Edit. 1673, *vide* Seligmans' article on Beni Amer, *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1930, Part I.

[2] Ludolphus, p. 366.

[3] Lord Valentia. "Voyages and Travels," pp. 274-300.

the benefit of future travellers, he mentions[1] that there is a good and plentiful supply of well water at the port, and that it is four days' journey from Suakin to Hageeg, and from there seven days to Massowa. The principal tribe in the neighbourhood were the Hadendoweh.

He describes the Turkish invasion and occupation, and how under their control the trade and riches of the Red Sea declined. Concerning the pearl fishery, he says :—

[2] " Dahalac was indeed the chief port for fishery in the south as Suakem was in the the north . . . . The fishery (of Dahalac) was in latter times rented by the Basha of Suakem, but there was a place between Suakem and the supposed River Frat in lat. 21.28 N. called Gungunnah which was reserved to the Grand Signor in particular, and a special officer was appointed to receive the pearls on the spot.

" In the same extent between Dahalac and Suakem was another very valuable fishery, that of tortoises from which the finest shells of that kind were produced, and a great trade was carried on with the East Indes (especially China) at little expense and with considerable profits.

" The India trade flourished exceedingly at Suakin and Masuah as it had done in the prosperous times of the Caliph. The Banians, then the only traders from the East Indes, being prohibited by the Mohammetans to enter the holy land of the Hejaz, carried all their vessels to Konfodah in Yemen and from these two ports had in return pearls, tortoise shell, which sold for its weight of gold in China, tibbar or pure gold of Sennar, Elephants' teeth, rhinocerous horn for turning, plenty of gum arabic, cassia, myrhh, frankincense, and many other precious articles. These were all bartered at Suakem and Masuah for Indian goods. But nothing which violence and injustice can ruin can ever subsist under Turkish government . . . The Bashas . . . proceeding from extortion to extortion at last became downright robbers, seizing the cargo of the ships wherever they could find them and exercising the most shocking cruelties on the persons they belonged to . . . . The trade was thus abandoned and the revenue ceased.

" The Aga at Suakem endeavoured in vain to make the Arabs and people near him work without salary and they abandoned an employment which produced nothing but punishment, and they in time grew ignorant of the fishery in which they had once been so well skilled . . . this great nursery of fishermen was therefore lost.

[3] " These Janizaries lived on the very bowels of commerce. They had indeed for a shew of protecting it established customs houses in their various ports, but they very soon made it appear that the end proposed by these was to give them a more distinct knowledge who were the subjects from whom they could levy the most enormous extortion."

With this loss of interest[2] " Dahalac, Masuah, and Suakem returned to their ancient masters to whom they are subject at this instant, preserving only the name of a Turkish power, each being under the command of a robber and assassin."

One of the stories of the Turkish oppression tells how a tribe of the Beja from the hills came down to help their friends at Suakin. The small

[1] Bruce, Vol. VII, p. 90.
[2] Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 246-250.
[3] Bruce, Vol. III, p. 154.

Turkish garrison were safe only on the Island, and whenever they left their stronghold, they ran the risk of being robbed or killed by the tribesmen.

Eventually they and their flocks were all besieged and died of starvation on a small island in the harbour, now called Gezirat el Anshetea, which lies off the Fort Yamen end of Kitchener's wall. To-day, where the sea has washed away the sides of this island, the bones of men and animals, all mixed up, can be seen, and these, it is said, are the remains of that Turkish garrison. A further story has it that this island is the grave of the king of all devils, and that anyone who disturbs the bones of those buried there will be fated for an end too terrible to contemplate.

Bruce's description confirms the other known facts of the Turkish regime in the Red Sea. The Turks, in trying to take all, lost all, and their inability to maintain order inland lost for them what might have been a valuable asset.

The oldest houses in Suakin to-day were built at the end of the eighteenth century. These are the smaller ones, built roughly of cut coral, and the bricks are not cemented together. The best of its type is that of Khorshid Effendi, which is next to the National Bank. This house has been much altered of late, and repaired ; but the main structure is that as built by the Turks about 1770. The main room inside has a large bay window with an excellent example of the Turkish mushrebiya carving on it. The walls of the room have many small niches in which were stone carvings of texts from the Koran. Most of these carvings are now obliterated. In one corner is a fine Turkish door which was given to Khorshid Effendi about 1865.

The older houses are also near the centre of the island. Most of these are now in ruins, but there is one of two storeys, which is called " Beit el Basha." It is said that the Turkish governor lived here with his guard. The Muhafaza was used as the government offices and was enlarged by the Egyptians. The Beit el Basha can be easily recognised, as, on the second storey is a small room with spaces in the bricks, which was used as the guard room for the governor's troops. Most of these old houses were rebuilt under the Egyptians in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Some of them were repaired and enlarged and these can be recognised by the two different styles of building. On the ground floor the roughly cut

bricks of the Turkish era have been rendered with cement, and the second floor is built of more neatly cut bricks cemented together, and covered with a rendering of whitewash or cement.

III.

The effect on Suakin of the decline of the Turkish rule is well told by two men who visited the port in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The first of these, [1]Lord Valentia, stayed in the port from February 10th to 25th, 1805. The ship in which he sailed, under a Captain Court, had some difficulty in entering the harbour, and they were obliged to wait outside for about two days before two Arab pilots took them into the harbour. Lord Valentia requested the captain to rename the place "Bother 'em Bay" on account of their troubles. As they entered the harbour they noticed a small fort on a small island at the north side of the entrance. This was an old Turkish fort situated on the island which lies off the present Quarantine station. There are no remains of this fort now, but it is marked on a map of 1857.[2] The port was under the rule of a Turkish Dola, who appointed a Bedawi Dola as the sheikh of the port. While they had been waiting outside the port, the son of the Bedawi Dola had visited them before the Turkish Dola, much to the anger of the latter. The Turkish Dola, however, arranged a welcome for them on their arrival, and as they landed they were greeted with a salute of seventeen guns, the shock of which was such that "it shook the mortar from the gateway under which they passed." The Turkish Dola was a dignified man who wore a scarlet cloth dress, lined with blue silk. The Viscount describes the town as follows :—

"The town is nearly in ruins, two minars gave it a handsome appearance at a distance and the buildings, being whitewashed and on an elevation, look much better than they really are. It covers the whole of a small island as it did in the days of Da Castro, but the extensive trade, which according to his account rendered it superior to every city he had seen except Lisbon, has nearly vanished, and instead of numerous ships unloading their cargoes on every side of the island into the houses of the merchants, I could only perceive a few miserable dhows anchored alongside a few wretched houses. The port, however, still retains all its advantages . . . since the Turks have ceased to have a fleet in the Red Sea and

[1] Valentia, pp. 274-300.

[2] Mittheilungen, 1860, p. 325. Dr. Petermanns.

have sunk into political insignificance in Arabia, Suakin has been kept from total ruin only by the caravans which still come annually from the interior of Africa, by Sennaar to that place on their way to Mecca . . . I learnt from them (Suakinese) that nothing was brought from the interior of Africa to this place except slaves, gold, and ivory, in which articles however a considerable trade was carried on."

The channel leading to the harbour was marked out by buoys, but these were not those that are in use at present as at a later date a traveller notes that there are no markings to the channel. [1]Salt, who travelled to Abyssinia in 1810, has little to say about the town of Suakin, but he mentions that the inhabitants are called Adareb and are ruled over by a chief "styled the Sultan Mohamed." The people of Massowa were accustomed to make trading excursions among the different tribes around them and the Naybe of the Turkish Sultan kept up relations with those around him and, doubtless, with his fellow-countrymen at Suakin.

[2]Burckhardt was the next traveller to visit and give a description of Suakin. He describes the town as being situated at the bottom of a narrow bay some twelve miles in length. This would be from the entrance to the reef to the island itself. The town was built on one of many small islands at the bottom of this bay, and the architecture was the same as at Jeddah. There were about six hundred houses on the island, two-thirds of which were falling into ruins, but the Geyf, or settlement on the mainland, was increasing in size and was larger than the island itself. There were some old fortifications on the south-east side of the town, with two or three rusty guns lying dismantled on them. The Aga's house was within these walls and Burckhardt describes it as a—

"mean building . . . near it are some warehouses and a wharf at which were lying the shattered hulls of several small ships, for nobody here has the means or skill to repair vessels when once damaged."

The government and those concerned with the trade and shipping lived on the island. On the Geyf were a few stone houses with large courtyards, but most of the houses there were made of mats.

The inhabitants were a motley race, being descended from the travellers from Hadramout, from the Turks, and from the Beja tribes in the neighbourhood, the Hadendoweh, Amarar, and Bishareen. Among the Turks were a few merchants, masters of ships and refugees.

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[1] Salt. Edit. 1814, p. 441.

[2] Burckhardt. "Travels in Nubia," pp. 431-458.



THE WAKKALA EXTERIOR.



THE WAKKALA INTERIOR.

The government of the port was in the hands of the Emir of the Hadherebe, who was dependent upon the Pasha of Jeddah, and was confirmed annually in his office. He sent forty ounces of gold to the Pasha for the privilege of holding this position and collected the dues from the caravans which came to the Geyf. Two or three officers who acted as spies informed him of the value of each caravan load which arrived. His insignia of office were a pair of yellow Turkish slippers and a Takye or bonnet, to wear which he had to shave off his hair. The Turkish government was represented by an Aga, or customs officer, whose influence was greatly dependent on the Emir of the Hadherebe. The governor of Suakin was the Pasha at Jeddah. The Aga had to pay to Jeddah two thousand three hundred dollars for his position, and by "letting" the customs duties managed to make for himself between two and three thousand dollars yearly. Duties were levied on all imports, and two dollars was charged for a slave and three for a horse. The Aga at the time of Burckhardt's visit was named Yemak. He had been the buffoon of the court at Jeddah, and it was only by being friendly with Mohammed Ali that he obtained his present position.

"He has with him as a bodyguard five or six soldiers, who hardly dare stir out of the island, for fear of being insulted: and the Aga himself, for obvious reasons, never enters the Geyf . . . . The soldiers who during the night are put into the ships anchored under the Aga's windows to watch for smugglers, frequently get a beating or a ducking: even the Aga himself is insulted in his own house, yet he bears it with all complacency and tells the people that if he were not so much their friend he would write thundering letters to the Basha and draw a terrible storm on their heads."

Burckhardt mentions how some thirty years previously two hundred soldiers from Jeddah plundered the Geyf and were later beseiged in the island, but managed to escape with their booty. The trade of Suakin was chiefly gold, slaves, tobacco and ostrich feathers; and the ships carried large quantities of dhurra, which was the chief article of barter. Leather water skins and sacks were made and sent to Jeddah where they were greatly prized owing to the scarcity of cattle in the Hedjaz. Hardly any foreign vessels entered the harbour; the only ships which came were those going to and from Jeddah. There was a coffee house on the island where all matters of business were settled. Rafts ferried the people across to the island from the Geyf for a handful of dhurra, but most of the people preferred to strip and swim across carrying their clothes on their heads. On the island there was a *Kadi*, a *Mufti*, and a school, and Burckhardt estimated the population as about eight thousand people,

of whom three thousand lived on the island. He also says that between two and three thousand slaves were sent each year from Suakin to Jeddah. His remarks on the character of the people are by no means complimentary:

" I must express my conviction that they are all tainted, more or less deeply with ill-faith, avarice, drunkenness, and debauchery. The people of Suakin partake of these vices with their neighbours of the desert and in cruelty surpass them . . . ."

Burckhardt left Suakin in a pilgrim ship loaded with eighty-nine pilgrims. After two and a half days sailing, they passed the tomb of Sheikh Barghout, which he says was built by Suakin sailors.

Such is the account of the port in 1814. Five years later Mohammed Ali invaded the Sudan and restored order to the old Turkish possessions. He took over the ports of Jeddah, Suakin and Massowa in return for an extra tribute to the Sultan. On the death of Mohammed Ali, in 1854, the Egyptians relinquished this control, but they still occupied Jeddah.

[1] In June, 1834, Edmonde Coombes visited Suakin. Referring to the history of the town he ascribes its origin to the Ptolemies, and mentions the legend of the seven slaves. He says that prior to the opening of the trade route between Suakin and Sennar, caravans from Darfur and Kordofan brought their merchandise here and bartered it with that brought from the Persian Gulf and India.

" The town of Saouakim belongs to the territories of Mohammed Ali. The Governor, his soldiers and a few strangers live on the island, the mainland is entirely occupied by the Bisharin who speak the language of the tribes of the desert . . . ."

Haidin Aga was the governor of the town and he rendered Coombes many services. He mentions that the foreigners disliked the place and its climate and named it not *Sawwa Djinn* but *Sawwa Gehennum* (like hell !) The fare he paid to travel from Suakin to Jeddah was ten and a half francs, twice the usual amount charged.

[2] Mansfield Parkyns visited Suakin in May, 1851, and describes the town as being a small Arab trading port, consisting of a few stone houses, two mosques and a number of huts along the mainland. The governor of the port at this time was a Galla slave belonging to Osman Pasha, the governor of Jeddah. Parkyns, who was a doctor, treated several patients but had to be wary, as he was told by one of those nearby how a Syrian doctor came there in the hope that " his brains might aid him to fill his belly . . . . Unluckily, one of the first patients he was called upon to attend

[1] Edmonde Coombes. " Voyages en Egypte et Nubie." Edit. 1846, Vol. II, pp. 336-350.

[2] Parkyns. " Life in Abyssinia," Edit. 1853, Vol. I, pp. 73-76.

was an Arab who had had a severe accident. The doctor applied the lancet and in a few minutes the man died. The friends of the deceased took the poor doctor, who being judged by public opinion to be guilty of the patient's death, was also condemned to die . . . . outside the town and chopped him into small pieces."

Parkyns mentions the possibilities of the port and how its trade had declined, and says that at that time the chief articles of export were ivory and ostrich feathers.

[1] Baker called at Suakin in 1861. He came in a steamer run by the Abdul Aziz Steamship Company, and says that these steamers do not call regularly at the port. He describes Suakin as the most central depot for all merchandise both to and from Upper Egypt and says that it would become a point of great importance were regular means of transport available. Cotton could be grown there and this with the other exports of gum, ivory, hides, senna and bees-wax would make the place of great importance to Egypt and the countries of the East. The town was fortified against the raids of the neighbouring tribes by means of a mud wall of sun-baked bricks, loop-holed for rifles, outside which was a deep ditch. Such defences afforded protection against the Arabs but he says would be useless against cannon. These fortifications were built by the Egyptians.

About the same time Mumtaz Pasha visited the town and tried to persuade the merchants that it would be better for them if the port was wholly under the control of Egypt. They would be able to get their supplies direct from Egypt instead of as at that time through Jeddah. The merchants were not agreeable as they foresaw that Egyptian merchants would come and drive them out of their own trade. [2]In spite of their protests Suakin was exchanged with the Turks for Jeddah in return for an additional annual tribute of 125,000 dollars. At the same time Massowa was also taken over by the Egyptians. [3] In 1865 the Turks also reasserted their control over their Arabian possessions by an expedition which was largely Egyptian.

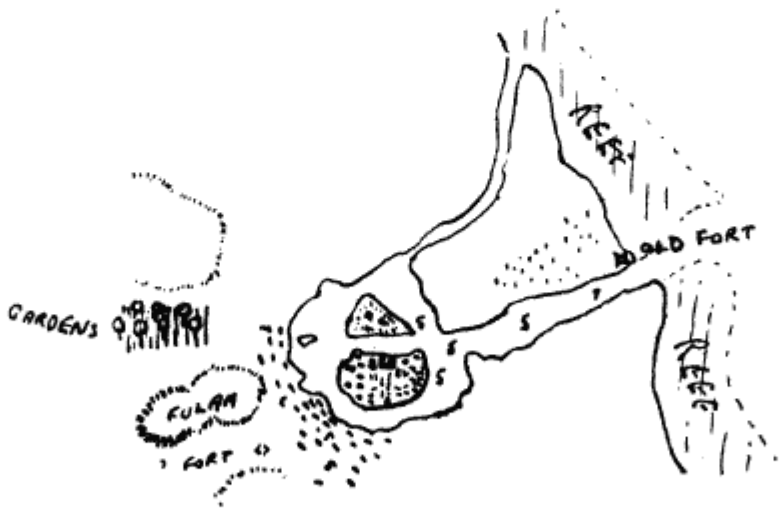
The Egyptian control over the centre of the Sudan, and the loss of Turkish prestige in the Red Sea made it only too evident that the port

[1] Baker. "Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia," Edit. 1867, p. 72 *et seq.*
[2] Douin. "Histoire du Reine d'Khedive Ismail."
[3] Southwark. "4,000 miles of African Travel."

must soon come under the complete control of Egypt. This was effected in 1865.

During the latter part of the Turkish regime many of the present buildings were erected. The Muhafaza, with the Turkish Star and Crescent over the entrance, is the most noted of these. Most of the houses built after 1850 were dated, but the earlier ones are now mostly in ruins, or else altered and repaired beyond recognition. The Mosques on the Island and the Geyf are of Turkish origin and were built prior to 1865.

Until the construction of the Suez Canal the Red Sea was only a side street in maritime commerce. The Turks collected the profits of a very localised trade, and their rule was neither just nor wise. As a result they lost control over this part of their Empire and Egypt stepped in at a critical time. The new rulers were able to develop the port and open up a far greater trade than had ever been thought of previously.



SUAKIN in 1859

(Hittheilungen, 1860).

(To be continued.)

DARFUR ANTIQUITIES.

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

(PLATES V—XIV).

I.—AIN FARAH.

SIR HAROLD MACMICHAEL has already given in *Sudan Notes and Records*[1] a description of this site, which is according to local tradition the last capital of the Tungur sultan Shau Dorshīd, but no photographs of the ruins have yet been published, and as the brickwork in some places appears to have fallen further into ruin since the time of Sir Harold's visit, it is clearly time that such a photographic record was made. I have only been able to pay two hasty visits to Ain Farah, once in 1933 and once in 1934: but on the second occasion I had the fortune to discover two hitherto unrecorded red brick ruins which are known locally as the House of the Mother of the Sultan, one of which is clearly a second, and presumably private, mosque. I have also to suggest that these ruins are definitely connected with the red brick mosques and palaces built at Gambaru and Gasrgamo in Bornu by the enterprising mother of the famous Sultan Idris Alooma and by that Sultan himself in the latter half of the sixteenth century A.D.[2]

It is now possible to motor from Kutum to within a few hundred yards of the spring Ain Farah itself (Pl. V A). Just before the end of the motor road one passes the sites of the kilns where the bricks of the ruin were burnt. Sir Harold comments on the labour that must have been involved in carrying the bricks up to the site on the top of the hill over ground "inconceivably rough, cut and scarred by ravines and littered deep in jagged rocks," but the engineer who constructed the elaborate fortified palace apparently had enough forethought to make a carefully graded track from the kilns to the site. This track is known to the local inhabitants though at present overgrown with impenetrable *kitir* bush. The local Shartai offered for a small sum to clear this track so that I could motor to the top of the hill and so avoid the rough scramble at present necessary. The easiest way to-day on foot is to go by a narrow

[1] Vol. III, pp. 24 and ff., reprinted in his "History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I, pp. 122 ff.

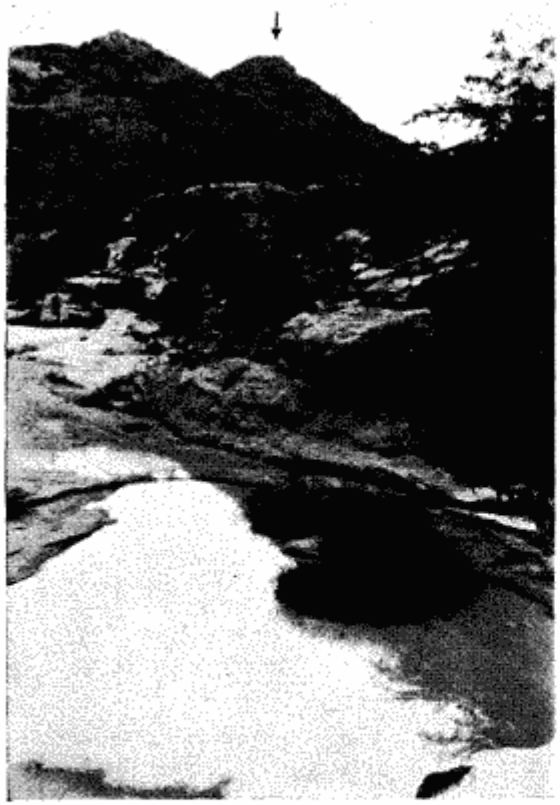
[2] Sir Richmond Palmer first recognised the similarity between the red-brick palace of Shau Dorshid and these mediæval red-brick buildings in Bornu, but he did not realise that the former was as late in date as I believe it to be. See his "Mai Idris of Bornu," p. 64.

ravine at the south end of the nearer of the two hills shown in Plate V A, and then scramble up the valley on the west side of this hill (Plate V B). The entrance to this valley was once closed at the bottom by a massive stone wall, which has now partly collapsed. On the way up one passes the ruins of a number of circular stone huts, in most of which the stone wall is faced on both sides and filled with rubble ; and as one approaches the head of the valley, one passes through a carefully built gateway in the rough wall (Plate V C) which runs across the valley. Near the gateway is a circular stone hut that was no doubt the residence of the doorkeeper. A few yards further on one is faced by a superb faced masonry wall (Plate VII B) which blocks the way between a natural ridge which can be seen on the left of this photograph, and a precipice, at the foot of which some two or three hundred feet below runs the stream that flows out of Ain Farah.

One scrambles up this wall to find that one is on the south wall of the Mosque, seen in Plate VI A, a view taken from the ridge just mentioned. Although Sir Harold says that " to the casual eye there was nothing to distinguish the architecture from that of the red brick and stone mosques of Gāmi'a Kurro . . . and of Turra," the former is all of brick, and the latter is all of stone, whereas the walls of this mosque are double, a massive outer wall of masonry enclosing an inner wall of red brick. The L-shaped pillars of red brick (Plate VI A and VII C) are also as far as I know unique, as is in Darfur the use of very large bricks, some of which can be seen on the top of the pillar and in the small underground store to the south-west of the mosque. This mosque appears to me probably to have been roofed with wood and grass. The purpose of the small rectangular two-chambered store, which was lined with red brick, and which was carefully excavated by Mr. R. G. Dingwall[1] during my second visit, appears to me after due consideration of various alternatives most probably to have been a store in which were kept the Koran and other sacred books so as to be safe from fire.[2] The traces of ash and pot which were found by Mr. Dingwall do not in my opinion discountenance this theory, for a layer of wood ash in the absence of proper cement would have been essential to keep paper safe from white ants, from which and from rain the pot

[1] See his account of the excavation which follows this article.

[2] Compare a Bornu manuscript translated by Sir Richmond Palmer in his " Sudanese Memoirs," Vol. II, p. 70. " On arriving at Fikka Geyri they saw people and a cave dug like a well, and placed there their books, and talked to the people."



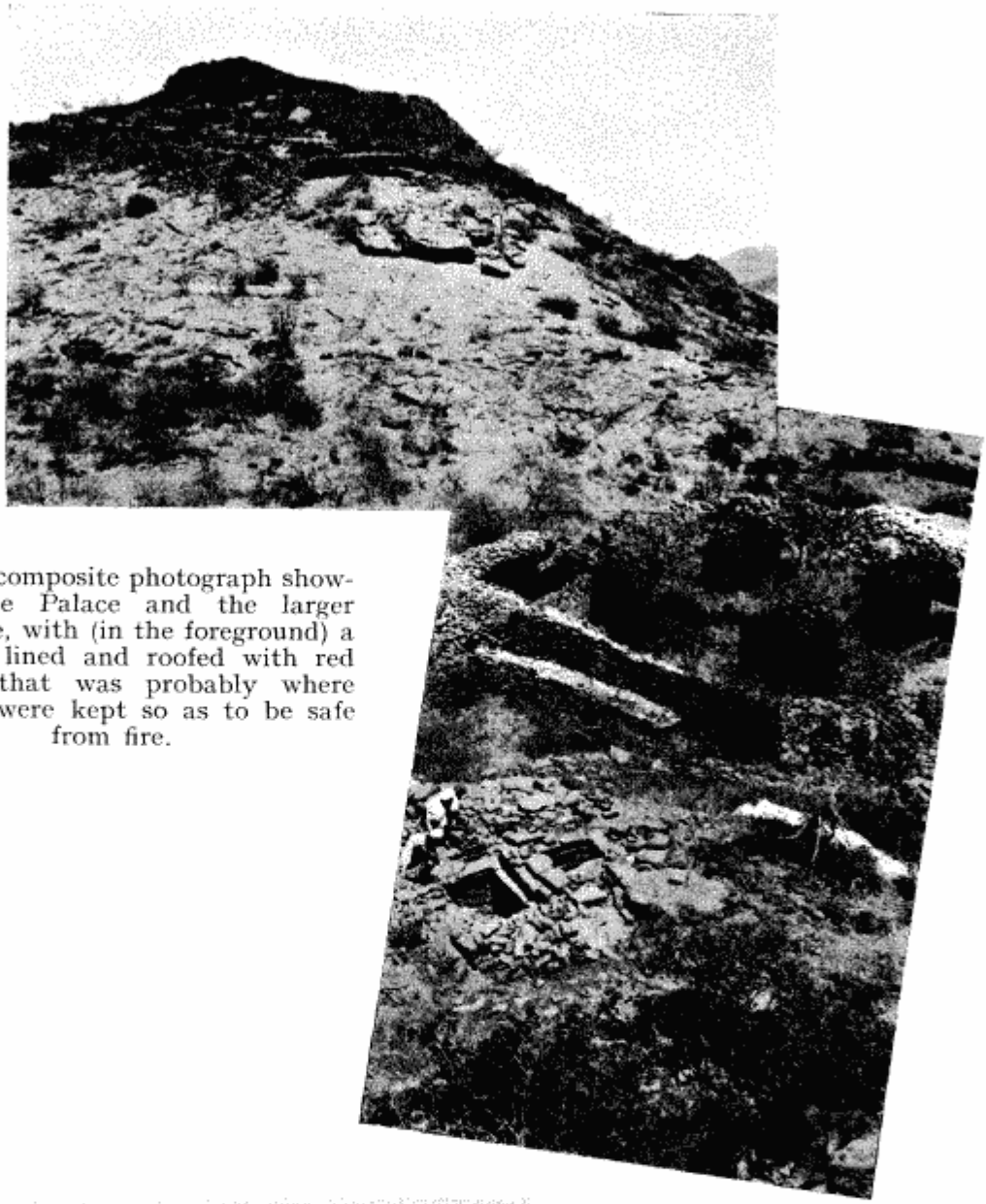
(A) The Palace, indicated with an arrow —on the top of the hill—from a pool near Ain Farah, the spring that is the source of the stream that runs past the right side of the hill on which the Palace stands.



(B) The usual way up to the Palace, at the back of the nearer hill in (A).



(C) A defensive wall across the top of the valley seen in B. There is also a massive wall across the bottom of this valley.



(A) A composite photograph showing the Palace and the larger Mosque, with (in the foreground) a cavity lined and roofed with red brick that was probably where books were kept so as to be safe from fire.



(B) Another view of the Palace, showing the road up from the Mosque.

would have been a further protection. This store was ransacked, in the hope that it might be found to contain grain, within the memory of some of the local natives during the famine in the time of the Mahdia (as was also a large circular stone mound, possibly a barrow, which is situated to the east of the palace and below it just east of the stream). It stands within a stone hōsh wall, inside which is also the ruin of a circular stone hut of outstanding quality, which was probably the residence of the *imam*.

The mosque is overlooked by the ruin of the royal residence which crowns the highest point of the hill. From the saddle between the mosque and the palace a carefully graded road built up with blocks of stone (Plate VI B) sweeps up to the main entrance to the palace, which was on the west (Plate X A). Just inside this entrance on the left is the rectangular two-roomed red brick building, the fired-on plaster on the inside of which has been described by Sir Harold. This building must, I think, have served as the Sultan's *Diwan*, where he gave audience, consulted his council, and conducted affairs of state. In this building Mr. Dingwall found the fragments of glass which have been identified as pieces of window pane similar to those made at Hebron.[1] Thus Shau's palace at Ain Farah appears to have had glass windows, as had the palace of the King of Ghana on the Niger, described by Idrisi (d. 1153 A.D.) in the second part of the first climate, *vide* the Geographia Nubiensis, a mediæval Latin translation of the old Arab geographer, "*Habet autem palatium ad ripam Nili fortissimæ munitissimæque structuræ: ædes variis cælaturis, picturis, atque fenestris vitreis ornatas. Fuit vero ædificatum prædictum palatium anno ab hegira quingentesimo decimo.*"

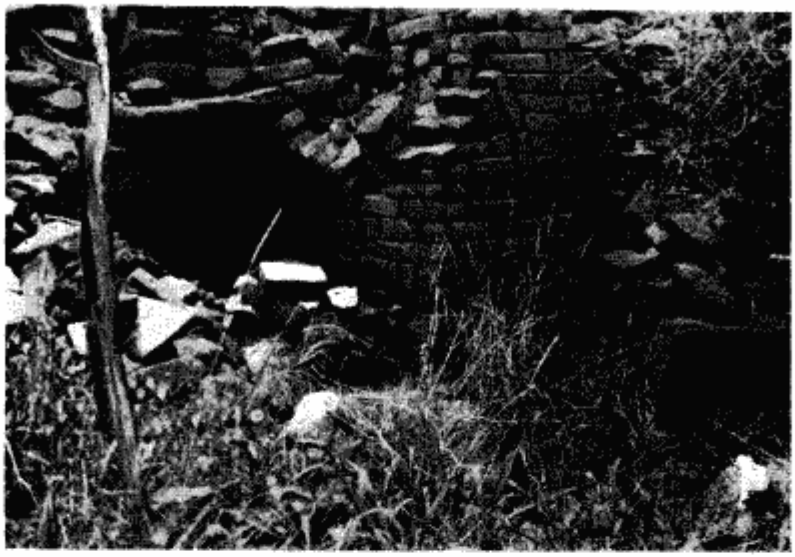
From the "Diwan" the main way, flanked on the outside by a massive masonry wall (on which is still standing in one place what appears to have been a stone turret (Plate XI B)), led round the south side of the palace to a series of well-built terraces of masonry on which stand a number of ruins of circular stone huts, presumably intended for the servants and possibly the royal horses, but which may have formed the harem. At the east end of these terraces is another gateway, from which it is possible to climb straight down the hill side to the stream immediately below.

[1] See the note by Mr. Dingwall which follows this paper.

Above the terraces, as can be seen in Plate VI, is a steep bank crowned by a masonry wall surrounding another terrace. This in its turn is surmounted by the royal residence itself, which is mainly constructed of red brick. The brick work, no doubt owing to the rain having washed away all the mud mortar, has collapsed so badly that it is difficult at first sight to make out the plan of the palace, but it does not give me the impression, as it did Sir Harold, of a rabbit warren. It must have been a large house with more than half a dozen rectangular rooms. One of the rooms stood over what appears to have been a cellar lined with very skilfully constructed masonry. Two ends of a beam, which supported the floor between this room and the cellar, can still be seen *in situ*, the beam itself having broken off flush with the walls. At the south west corner, behind the police in Plate IX A, can be seen all that is left of the spiral steps which led up to a small brick room, thought by Sir Harold to be a guard room. This room must recently have collapsed, for it has vanished, and some of the wooden lintels which supported the roof of the staircase are now exposed to the weather. These lintels, which can be seen between the policemen in Plate IX are of *nebakh* wood (*zizyphus spina christi*) as are the ends of the beams already described. *Nebakh* wood is noted for its hardness. I doubt whether Sir Harold was correct in thinking that the cavity at the foot of these stairs was a dungeon. It may only have been a store.

Sir Harold also mentions the pit in the terrace just to the south of the palace, although it is not square, but rectangular. Local natives suggested that this pit was a prison, but I think it more likely that it was an underground store of some kind. I have even wondered whether it could have been plastered with some substance impervious to water and used as a reservoir. On this terrace are a number of circular stone huts, in one of which is the peculiar pointed rock seen in Plate IX A, and near this is a place on the edge of the cliff from which a magnificent view of the surrounding country can be obtained. The hill side across the stream is seen to have been all terraced with mathematical regularity for cultivation.

Further away from the stream on the extreme eastern end of the ridge on which the palace stands, are some circular huts which I have not yet had time to visit. These are said to contain the pots which Sir Harold describes.



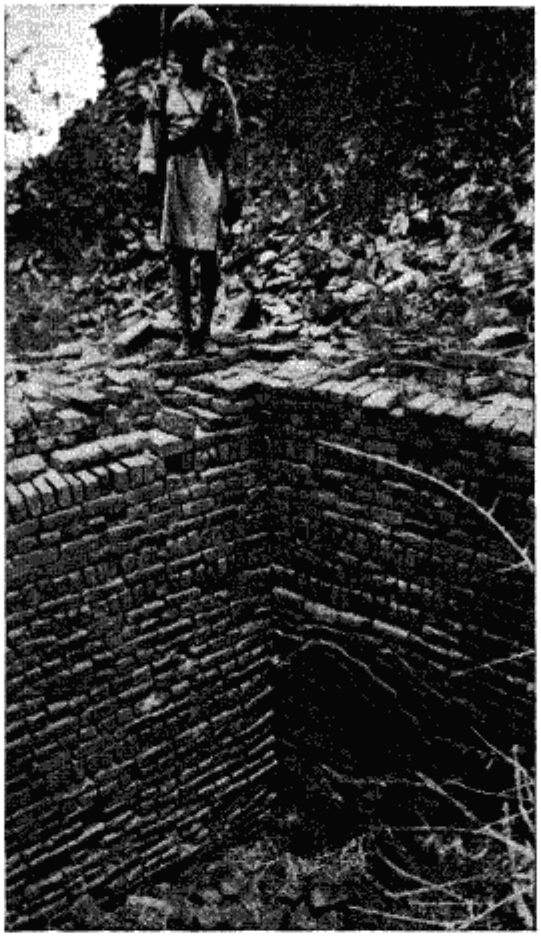
(A) The MIHRAB in the larger Mosque.



(B) The masonry on the outside of the south wall of the larger mosque, forming, with the wall in the background, part of the defences of the Palace.



(C) One of the four L-shaped pillars in the chief mosque. Note the large bricks at the top of the pillar, and a hole right through the pillar about two-thirds of the way down on the right-hand side.



(A) Detail of the pit shown below, showing the natural rock used in conjunction with red brick.



(B) Rectangular Pit of red brick inside the Palace, close to the South side of the (?) Royal Residence.

About four or five hundred yards or so along the parallel ridge to the south are the ruins of a small rectangular red brick house, consisting of four rooms, two of which are very small. Immediately below this building, and close up against the south side of the ridge, is another red brick ruin much overgrown with *kitir* bush. These two ruins are together known locally as the House of the Mother of the Sultan. It is not hard to see from the *mihrab* that the lower of the two buildings is a tiny mosque —if tradition is correct, presumably the queen mother's private chapel. I had no time to clear the thorn bush and survey the ruin accurately. The plan (Plate XII) was made by pacing the measurements of the mosque itself, and then standing on the wall and judging other measurements by eye. It is possible that the circular buildings below the mosque itself are disproportionately large in this plan, but it gives accurately enough a general idea of the lay out. In the mosque itself the eastern wall has been bulged to strengthen it where the *mihrab* has been constructed, and four courses above the *mihrab* is a tiny window. No attempt has been made to join the south wall to the other two walls by proper closes. The south wall shows traces of having been plastered with mud that has been subsequently fired on, as in the case of the "Diwan" in the palace already described. A few yards west of this second mosque is a circular stone hut, which is also lined with this fired mud plaster.

The natural cliff formed the north wall of this mosque, which seems to have had a flat roof. In the west wall was the main door, which gave on to a level, carefully built up, terrace, where presumably sat the bulk of the congregation, only important persons entering the mosque itself. Below this terrace, and enclosed in the masonry wall shown on the plan, are four circular ruins in red brick, which it was impossible to examine properly in the time available because of the thorn bush. Two at least were not ordinary huts, and gave me the impression of having once been *gubbas*.[1] Similar structures are said once to have covered the graves of two or three of the earlier Fur sultans buried at Turra. If they were *gubbas*, most of the domed roofs have fallen in, as would be expected without the use of proper cement in the mortar. Further examination alone will settle the point, but as can be seen on the left of Plate XI A,

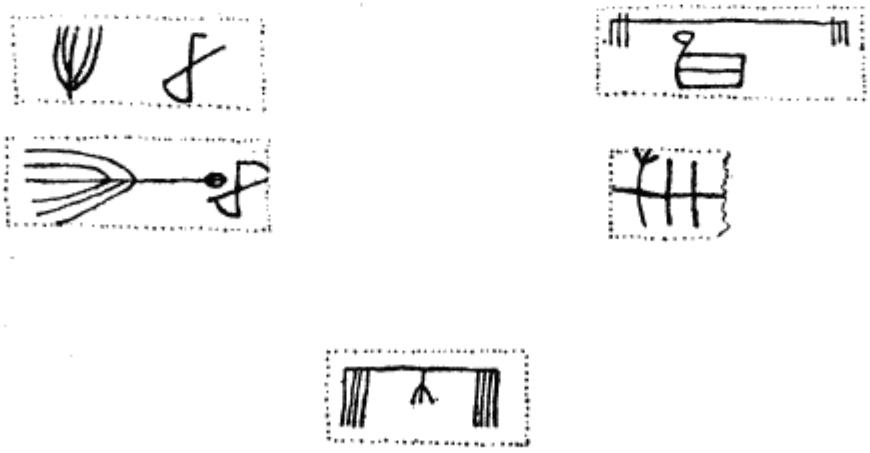
[1] The beehive-shaped sanctuaries built over the tombs of holy men, so well known in the Nile valley.

the arched wall is not that of an ordinary hut. As to the other two circular buildings, I am not sure whether they were also *gubbas*, and so, presumably, tombs, or merely huts forming antechambers or something of the kind. One would seem certainly to be of this nature, for from it by a low doorway is the only access to the *gubba* beyond.

It seems to me that the site at Ain Farah was not occupied long. Potsherds are comparatively few, and I have been unable to find any considerable middens or any grave yard. In fact, apart from the *gubbas* at the queen mother's mosque and the large mound of stones near the stream due East of the palace, I have not located any possible graves. In the palace were discovered a few fragments of glass, and one round musket ball of lead, which did not look as if it had ever been fired. These were submitted to Mr. R. L. Hobson of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, who considers that the bullet is not likely to be older than the 16th century.

In one of the circular huts there was found by a native who accompanied us an iron spear with a blade smaller in proportion to its length than is usual now in Darfur. Its overall length was 10¼ inches, of which 2 inches was socket, and just over 2 inches a ribbed blade. Between the blade and the socket was 6 inches of solid round iron haft. The blade was slightly ribbed, and its maximum breadth was half an inch.

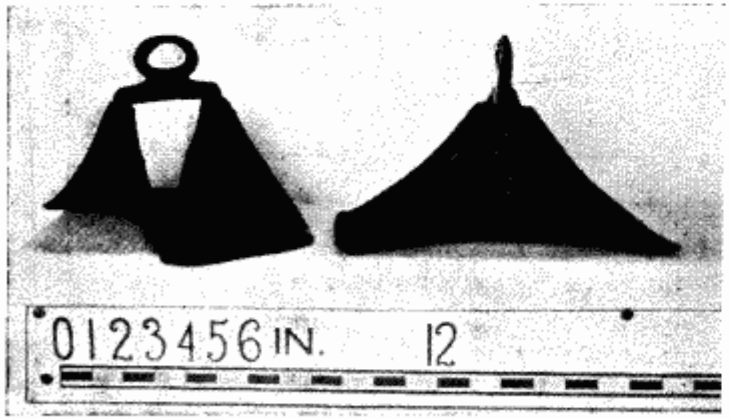
On several of the red bricks had been scrawled before they were burnt signs strongly reminiscent of Tifinagh letters. In most cases there were two signs on one brick, *vide* the following examples :—

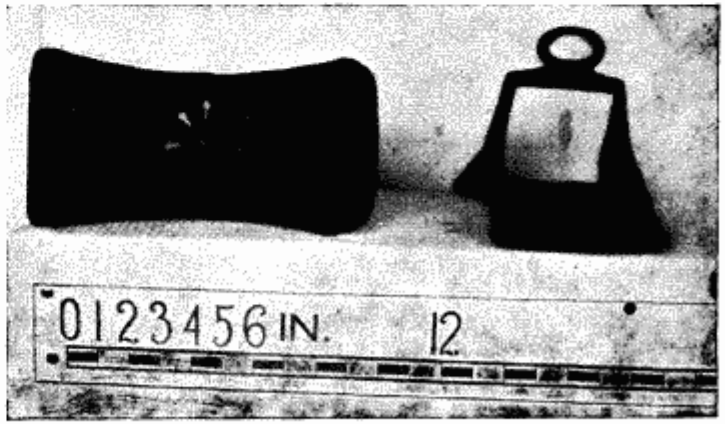


The dotted lines show the unbroken edge of the brick. The first four bricks came from the *Diwan*, and may have formed part of an

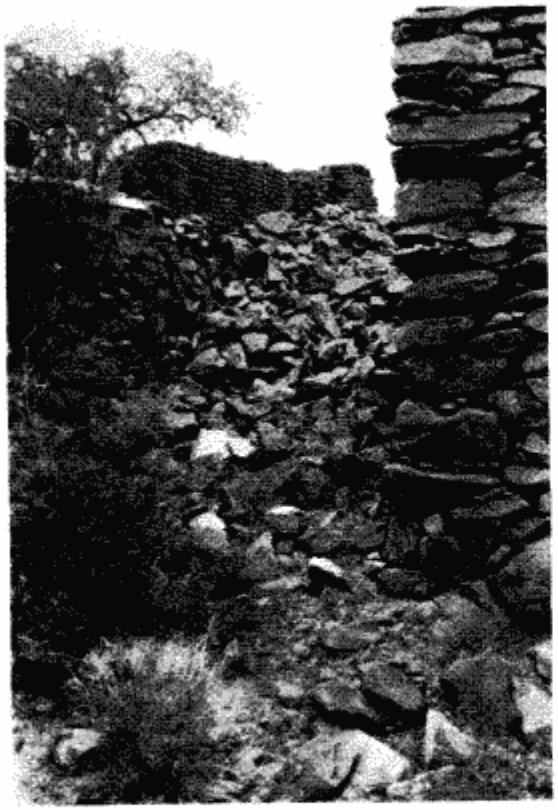


(A) PART OF THE RUIN OF THE PALACE FROM S.E.
The police are standing in front of the remains of the stairs at the South-West corner of the royal residence. In the circular stone hut in the foreground is a large pointed rock.





(B) TWO VIEWS OF A PAIR OF STIRRUP IRONS
of a type still occasionally used in Darfur and called *tunus*, which were found buried near Ain Farah.



(A) The main entrance to the Palace, to which leads the road seen in Plate VI B. Just inside the entrance on the left is seen part of the red brick building shown opposite.



(B) View from the top of the Royal Residence looking down on a rectangular two-roomed red brick building (? the Diwan), just inside the main entrance.

inscription over the door; the fifth was found in the brick-lined pit. While the latter is reminiscent of, but not identical with, the brand of the Keira, the royal section of the Fur, I am inclined to think that these marks are letters of a form of the Tifinagh script and neither maker's marks nor an ignorant attempt to imitate writing.

In Plate IX B and C are shown a pair of stirrup irons, of a type that is still occasionally seen in use in Darfur, where they are known as *tunus*. They were dug up recently by a native cultivating near Ain Farah, and one wonders whether they have not been hidden there ever since the sack of Ain Farah.

Who built this red brick castle? Sir Harold[1] says that all local tradition agrees that when the Tungur arrived in Northern Darfur they made their headquarters at Ain Farah; but I do not find that this is correct.

Local tradition is agreed that it was the last capital of Shau, sultan of the Tungur, but there are other ruins attributed to Shau the Tungur sultan, for example at Uri, at Kusi in Turra,[2] and in Jebel Si, and they are, therefore, presumably earlier.

The answer to our question will be easy if we can solve the problem of the origin of the Tungur, which Sir Harold discusses at length.[3] He considers that the evidence is in favour of a Nubian origin, and he is brought to this conclusion by a vague tradition that they came to Darfur from Dongola, by the survival of their name in the Tungur rapid on the Nile, 72 miles south of Wadi Halfa, and their continuing to use, as he believes, the sign of the cross. I agree, however, with Carbou[4] as against Sir Harold, that they probably came from the North West. By far the strongest Darfur tradition is that recorded by Slatin and mentioned by Sir Harold, that the Tungur came from the north from Tunis and are descended from Ahmed el Ma'agur of the Beni Hilal. I hope that some one in the Northern Province will investigate and record the origin of the Tungur rapid near Wadi Halfa. The name may turn out to be of comparatively recent origin. The use of the sign of the cross by the Tungur of Dar Furnung is nothing more than the use of the tribal brand + which is almost certainly in origin only the Berber letter T. Other brands are

[1] "A History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I, p. 67.
[2] These will be described later in this series.
[3] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 66—71.
[4] "La Région du Tchad et du Ouadai," Vol. I, pp. 73 ff.; Vol. II, p. 17.

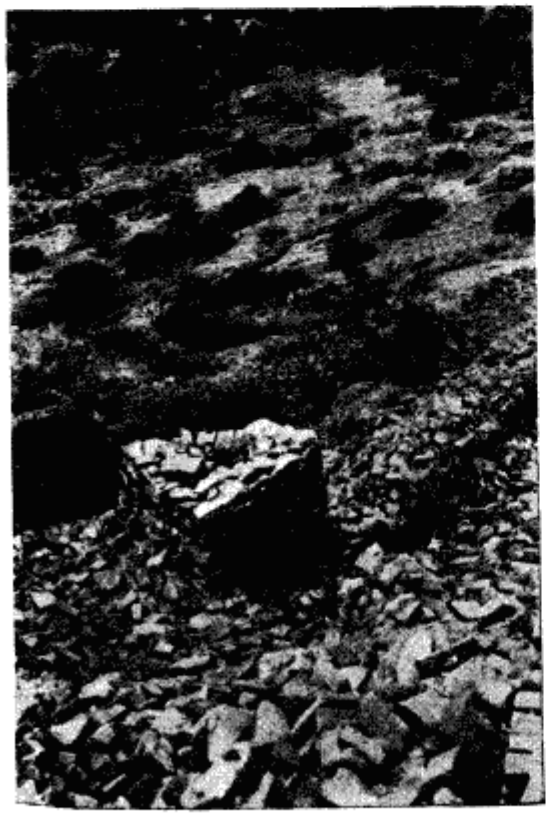
used in ceremonies of pagan origin elsewhere in Darfur, the section concerned using its own brand ; and I hope in a subsequent paper to give my reasons for believing that all the Tungur brands given by Sir Harold,[1] and, in fact, the majority of the non-Arab brands in Darfur, are in origin Berber (Tifinagh) letters.

Sir Harold mentions,[2] only to dismiss it, what is I am confident the true origin of the Tungur, that they were related to the Berber tribes dispossessed by the Beni Hilal in North Africa. I do not at present attach much importance to their traditional connection with the Beni Hilal. As I suggest in my note on "*An extinct Darfur Hoe*,"[3] with the increasing spread of Islam and its snobbish insistence on a blood relationship with the Prophet, the original Berber lords of the land, in their own language called *ilāla* or nobles, may have been forced to keep up their prestige by pretending that they were really Hilāla. That they came originally from North Africa must be correct. Their brands and the fact that their sultan used to wear the black turban,[4] which I have no doubt was connected with the black turban and veil of the noble Tuareg, convince me that they were Berbers. The similarity of their name and the fact that they claim a personage called Ahmed el Ma'agur, who seems to be unknown outside Darfur, as their ancestor, leads me to think that they are the same as the Tumāgira, a tribe or clan that is found in Tibesti,[5] Damagram and Bornu, and in each locality is looked on as of royal origin. The name Tumagira must mean "of Tibesti the great ones." *Tu* is the Teda name for Tibesti,[6] and MGR (MGhR) is a Berber root meaning "great."[7] In Bornu, from the eleventh century, Tumagira women are several times mentioned in the court chronicle as queens whose sons succeeded to the throne.[8] With the matrilinear system of the Berbers it is likely that the son of a Tumagira woman would consider himself to belong to the Tumagira. I conclude for these and other reasons that

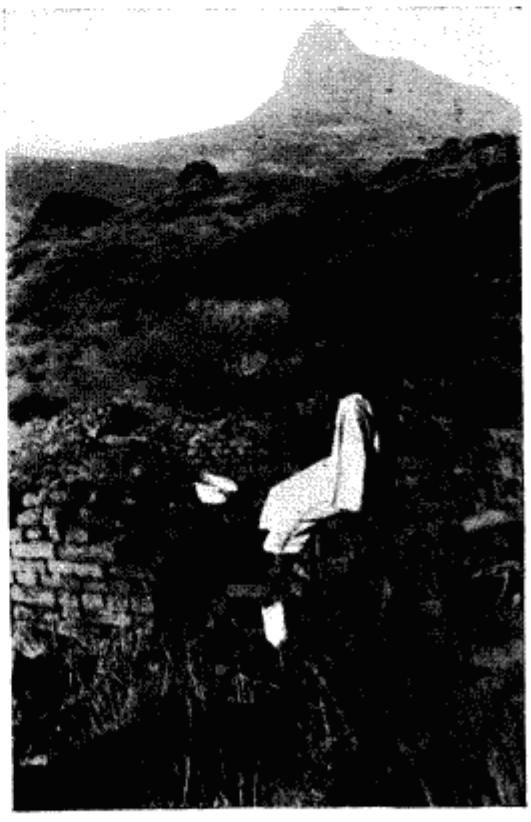
[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 71.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 69.
[3] Shortly to appear in *Sudan Notes and Records*.
[4] Tunisi. "Voyage au Darfour," tr. Perron, p. 128.
[5] Nachtigal. "Sahara und Sudan," Vol. I, p. 442, etc.
[6] Nachtigal, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 377.
[7] It is preserved in Darfur in "*mugur*", the Birgid word for "Sultan"; also in *Amukkar*, the Temāshek word for "God." Cp. Oric Bates, "The Eastern Libyans," p. 79.
[8] Barth, "Travels in North and Central Africa," Vol. II, pp. 633 ff. Palmer, "Mai Idris," p. 85.



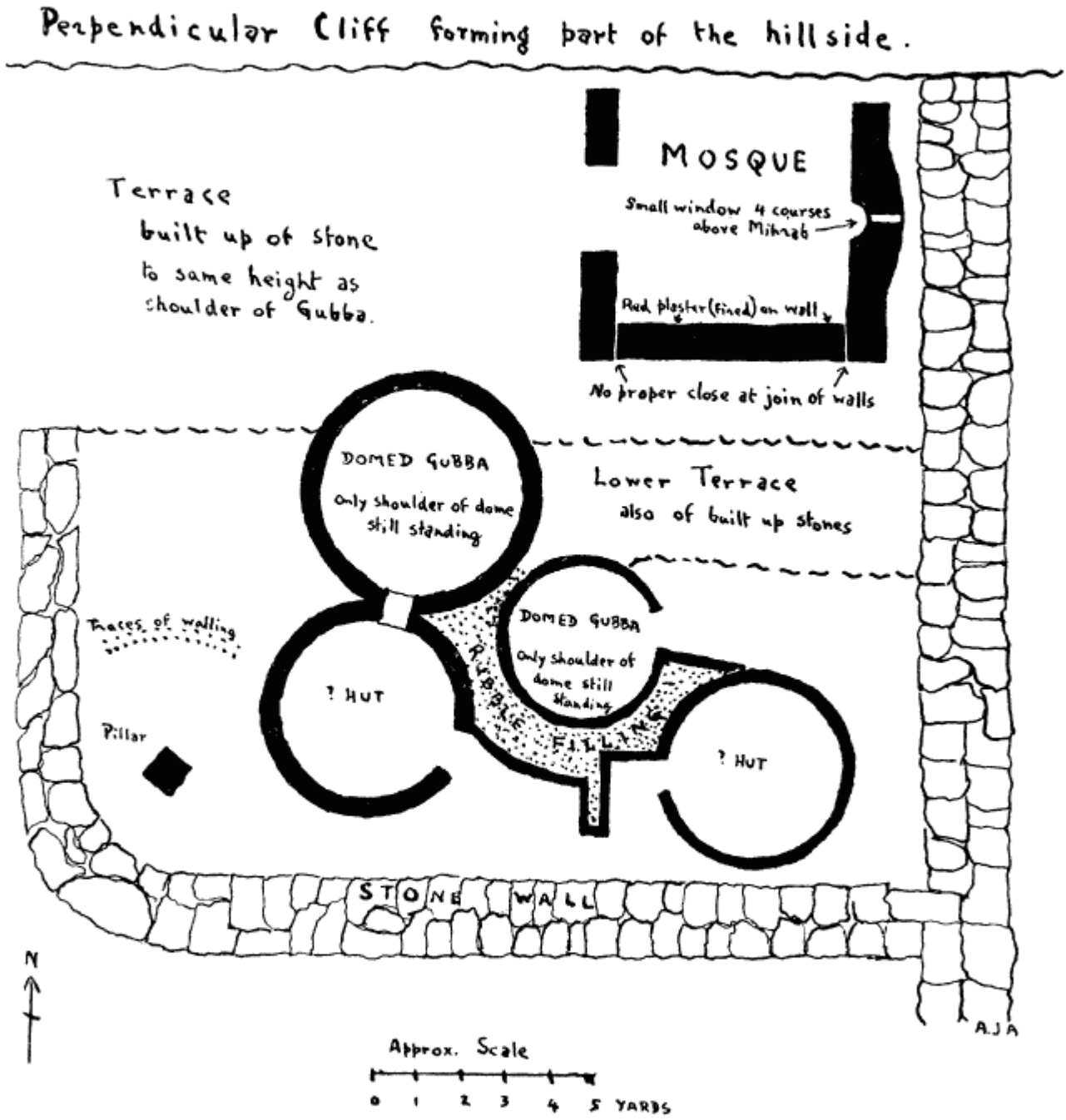
(A) Detail in the smaller Mosque belonging to the " House of the Mother of the Sultan "—brickwork in south wall of Mosque and part of the smaller " GUBBA."



(B) (?) A tower in the massive masonry wall on the south side of the ascent from the main entrance to the royal residence.



(C) Part of a rectangular red brick house known locally with the lesser mosque as the " House of the Mother of the Sultan."



Walling in Red Brick is shown in black.

SECOND MOSQUE AT AIN FARAH –

KNOWN LOCALLY AS THE HOUSE OF THE MOTHER OF THE SULTAN.

(Rough Sketch Plan – measurements judged by eye only.)

in Darfur history the Tungur are the local representatives of the sultan of Bornu, and that Shau[1] is the sultan of Bornu himself. The name Tumagira, as soon as it had become arabicised into Tumagirawi, as was bound to occur as soon as Islam became the state religion in Darfur, would easily be contracted into Tungurawi. Another example of *m* changing to *n* is that of the Berti Simiat East of El Fasher whose relatives at Mogororo in Dar Masalit now call themselves Senyar, although a hundred years ago they were known as Semyar.

The earlier Tungur capital at Uri in Northern Darfur shows no traces of Islam, apart from a local tradition that what appears to have been the earlier royal residence was once the house of the Kadi and (?) the Mosque.

At Ain Farah, on the contrary, at a site which does not appear to have been occupied long, there are two mosques in red brick, which is a new material so far as Darfur is concerned.

If this red brick had been introduced from Christian Nubia, there must have been some red brick ruin which could have been attributed to the immigrants' church : yet none has come to light.

On the other hand, in Bornu, we know from the contemporary history of Mai Idris Alooma (1571–1603 A.D.) that red brick[2] palaces and mosques were introduced by a remarkable queen in the latter half of the sixteenth century. A Bulala *meiram*, the widow of Mai Ali, who only reigned one year (1545), she nurtured her son through the reigns of two other sultans with the sole idea that he should eventually succeed to the throne, and then after a short interregnum, during which she herself controlled the affairs of state, she saw the realisation of her aims in his accession. She built for him the red brick palace at Gambaru in Bornu, and the red brick palace and mosque at Birni Gasrgamo mark her son's new capital.[3] His reign brought an era of renewed prosperity to Bornu, whose empire once more expanded, thanks to the friendly relations which he maintained with Tripoli, whence he obtained a number of

[1] This name is probably the same as Shu which occurs in the Bornu king list, and which Sir Richmond Palmer suggests means " great " and is connected with " *shum*," an Abyssinian title. If this is correct, the earlier form of Dorshid must be *Dor el sid*= " the lord of the castle " (arabic), not an unsuitable name from a Darfur point of view.

[2] According to Bovill. " Caravans of the Old Sahara," p. 73, the use of red brick was introduced into West Africa from Spain in 1325 A.D.

[3] Barth, *loc. cit.* II, p. 658. Palmer, " Sudanese Memoirs," Vol. I, p. 1 ; " Mai Idris," p. 33, etc.

musketeers.[1] With their help he won many battles and " ruled over the countries and rulers of Kanem, Bagirmi, Mandara, the Tibus, Kirsala and Kayala with the towns surrounding it, but when he died all the countries revolted, and not one continued its allegiance to Bornu."[2]

I suggest, therefore, that all the facts known to us about Ain Farah and the reign of Idris Alooma are not inconsistent with the theory that Ain Farah was built by that monarch as the centre of his administration in Darfur. When we remember that Mai Idris owed everything to his remarkable mother, the house and mosque attributed to the queen mother at Ain Farah are seen to have a special significance. As she had introduced red brick mosques and palaces into her homeland Bornu, she would naturally wish to do the same in all countries that she conquered.[3] Mai Idris' zeal for Islam[4] fits in with the apparent introduction of Islam into Darfur as the state religion by the founder of the mosques at Ain Farah, the earliest in the country; and the fact that his empire broke up at his death would account for the apparent brevity of the period during which Ain Farah was occupied, and the local tradition that Shau and his minions, when surrounded by the insurgent Fur, put up no resistance, but vanished in the night.

NOTE BY MR. R. G. DINGWALL.

I concentrated on a small double-chambered brick building inside a large circular tukl, but first I made a few trial holes in the corners of some of the more important buildings. In every case I came on a layer of ash a few inches down, and under this a layer of detritus which I believe to contain a representative assortment of the articles in use at the time. At any rate the whole area has been devastated by fire, and excavation should therefore prove profitable.

While I was busy digging in the tukl, some of our guides had been ferreting, unknown to us, in the Diwan, and produced a number of fragments of blue glass of poor manufacture. On return to England I submitted them to Mr. D. B. Hardern of the Ashmolean Museum, who drew my attention to some glass found by Dr. Crowfoot at Gerash (ancient Gerasa) a city of Transjordan which flourished about 700 A.D. He was good enough to make two

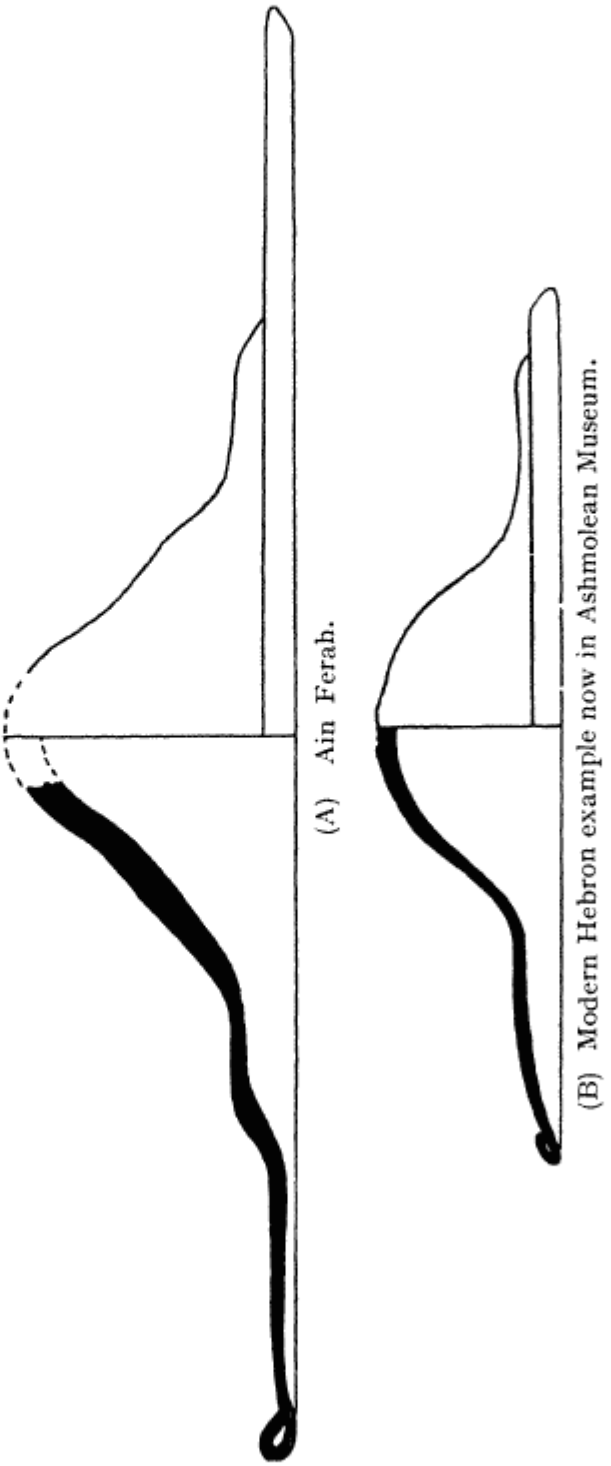
[1] Barth, *loc. cit.* II, p. 650; " Mai Idris," pp. 11, 12 and 67.

[2] " Sudanese Memoirs," Vol. III, p. 162.

[3] It is not improbable that the red brick buildings at Ain Galaka in Borku, which were used by the Sennussi as a fort during their resistance to the French occupation of Wadai, owe their origin to Mai Idris and his remarkable mother. Why, too, should not the ruins of Zankor, in Western Kordofan, where similar red brick occurs and which also was abandoned before the city wall had been completed, also have been their work?

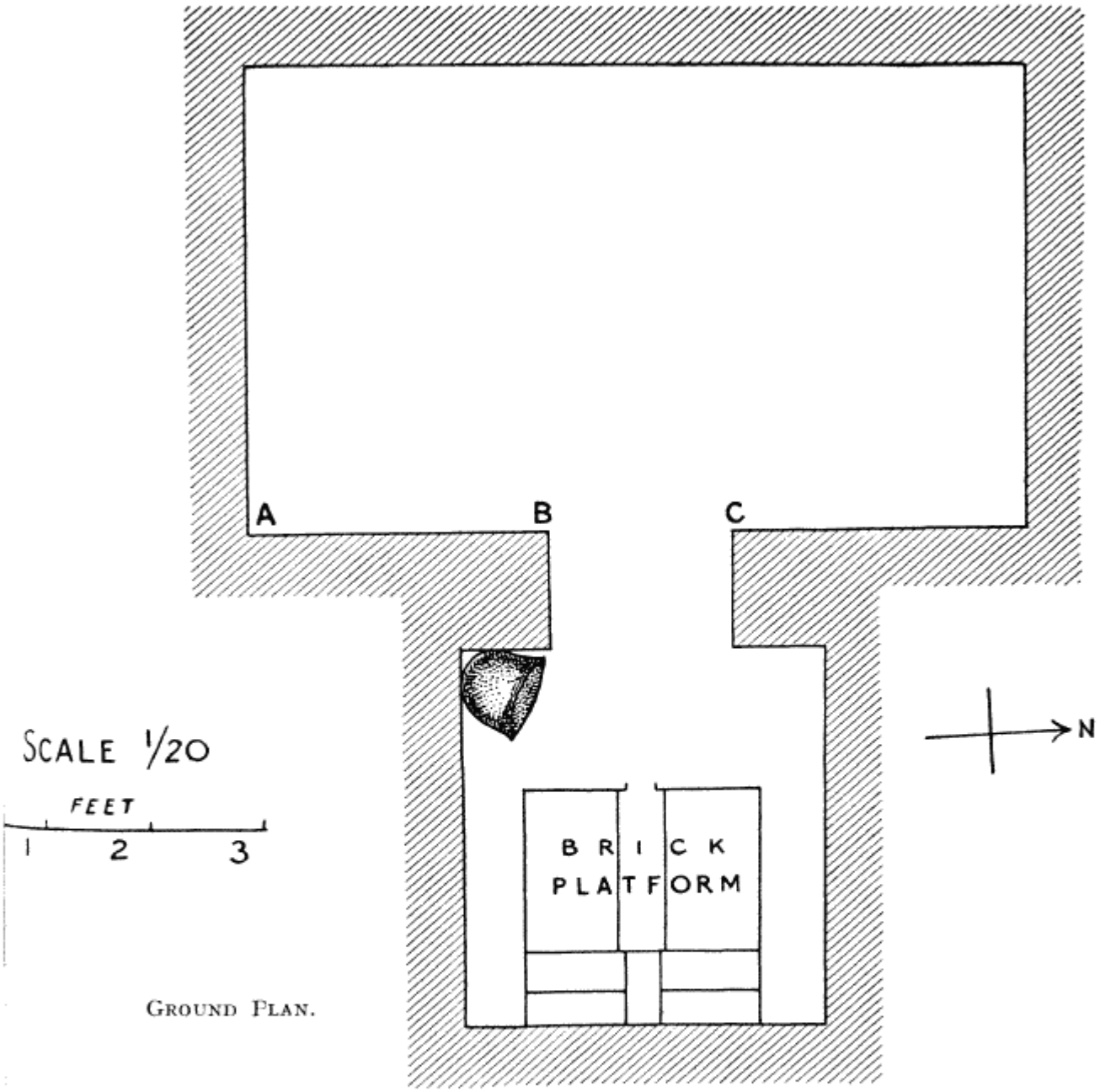
[4] Barth, *loc. cit.* II, p. 655. Besides improving the mosques, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca c. 1580. He obtained assistance from Arabs in his expeditions against Kanem.

WINDOW PANES
(reduced to half size).

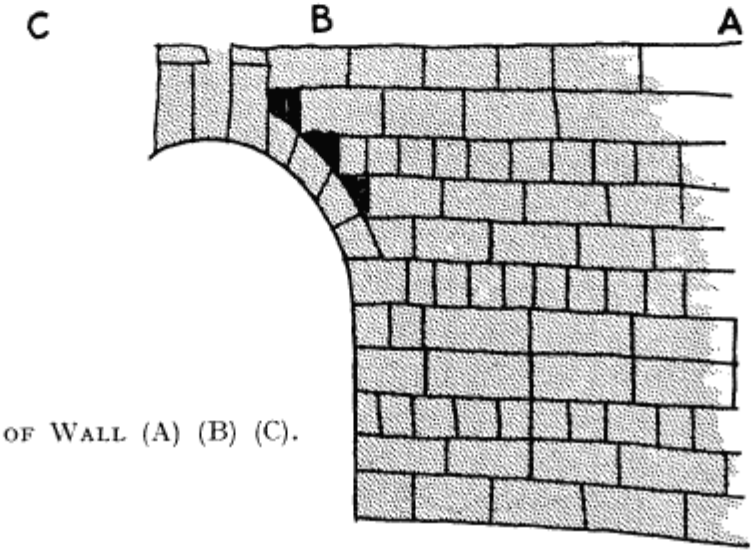


(A) Ain Ferah.

(B) Modern Hebron example now in Ashmolean Museum.



GROUND PLAN.



SECTION OF WALL (A) (B) (C).

section drawings (Plate XIII) of my fragments in comparison with a modern example from Hebron, and there is no doubt that they are of the same type of bottle glass window pane, not dissimilar to that used in old cottages in England. The quality of the glass is much poorer than that of the Gerash specimen and there is no suggestion that my fragments actually came from Palestine.

Returning to the tukl on the south-east side of the mosque, we found that the smaller of the two brick chambers had originally been roofed with slabs of natural stone. One still remained in position, the rest were found inside. The walls were of red brick, two sizes being used, the larger 22 in. by 11 in. by 5 in., fairly uniform in size, the smaller 10 in. by 5 in. by 3 in., with a considerable margin of variation. In firing they compared well with the bricks in the main buildings, but occasionally an almost green brick was inserted.

The larger of the two compartments lies to the west, the inside dimensions being approximately 7 feet by 4 feet. (See plan in Plate XIV). The twelfth course from the bottom is of large size brick and projects inwards about six inches. This suggests the idea of a roof, but I could find no other evidence inside, and the detritus which had collected showed signs of at least fifty rains and probably many more. I conclude therefore that the roof was at best a temporary structure. After three feet of barren soil I came on a uniform layer of ash nearly an inch thick and immediately underneath it a thin layer of *wadi* sand, covering the natural surface of the rock, which had been given a thin coating of mud plaster. Near the bottom I found traces of a yellow plaster on the walls, but I am inclined to think that this was the natural effect of firing on the rock, which seems full of mica.

In the east wall of this compartment was an arch 29 inches high which connected with the second chamber. Except on the partition wall there were no traces of an overhang, and the slabs forming the roof spanned the width. The contents were similar but the layer of ash was much thicker, and immediately under it were fragments of burnt mud showing a clear impress of a grass mat. In the south-east corner were the remains of a broken *burma*, of a type common to-day, other fragments being found on the bare rock in a heavy compost half an inch thick. There is no doubt, therefore, that the *burma* was there when the fire occurred, and had been broken previously to it. Occupying most of the floor space was a small platform of two large and six small bricks set in mortar on the bare rock. There was no trace of *wadi* sand in this chamber.

The excavation was therefore inconclusive, but raised a problem of its own. What was this building? While not denying the plausibility of the theory put forward by Mr. A. J. Arkell (p. 302), I should like to mention another theory—originally suggested by Ali Eff Abdullah—that it was here that the local holy man made his ceremonial retirement on special occasions, e.g., when rain was required. The platform and the grass mat would be for him to sit on, the *burma* for him to drink from, and the *wadi* sand in the outer compartment as a tell-tale trace if he broke his fast. Such places are not, I believe, unknown on the Nile.

NOTES.

NUBA FERTILITY STONES.

By G. Bell.

(PLATES XV—XVII).

A DEEP veneration for the earth, for rocks and serpents and trees, all as symbolic of the generative principle, is generally accepted as being inherent in many primitive religions. Throughout the Nuba Mountains the worship of the ancestral spirit, upon which tribal life and the life to come are established, finds expression in a reverence for these same symbols of fertility. The present note deals only with a few examples of rocks or stones wherewith the principle of generation is outstandingly connected. There remains a great deal of undiscovered belief that may well throw light on the problem of Nuba origins; the note makes no attempt to draw even the outlines of Nuba religious belief, and is descriptive only of a number of clearly phallic objects of worship found in the Eastern half of the area.

Stone throwing as a fertility charm has been known from very early times, and is practised to-day in nearly all the principal hills. In the mass of broken country that unites the converging ranges of Tira el Akhdar and Tira el Ahmar, and close by the present motor road, stands a bare sharply pointed rock. (Plate XV, Fig. 1.) Double a man's height, its outline is curiously phallic, and its smooth sides have been scarred and chipped by the heap of flints and pebbles that lie round its base. It is known generally as Lolru (the Tira word for an upright as opposed to a flat horizontal rock), and to it come young girls whose breasts have been slow to mature and boys who have been late in showing the signs of puberty. The suppliant holds a small stone, and with it strikes the rock, hoping thereby to hasten the coming of maturity. In the Atoro hills, northwards in Allira and the Koalib range, and south again in the Mesakin group, a similar belief exists, and only the practice differs in detail. In the Koalib range [1], in Atoro and the Mesakin, the principal

[1] The author of Phallic Worship and the Masculine Cross (anonymously printed for private circulation, 1886), quoting O'Brien's history of the Round Towers of Ireland, says, "The Irish themselves designated them Bail-Toir, that is the tower of Baal. Baal was the name of the Phallic deity, and the priest who attended them, "Aoi Bail toir" or "Superintendent of Baal town." This Baal was worshipped wherever the Phœnicians went, and was represented by a pillar or stone or similar objects." It is perhaps not more than a curious coincidence but one worth recording nevertheless that the Koalib hold a conception of two forms of deity, Tilu and Bail. Again, on p. 36, "The name of Baal is found both in Wales, Gaul and Germany, and is the same as the Hebrew 'Baal'."

stone is mushroom-shaped (Plate XV, Fig. 2); the child stands a score of paces away and throws a pebble, in some cases with the right, in some cases with the left arm, in the hope of its lodging upon the stone.[1] South of the Koalib, in the Allira hills, it is curious that the object of the thrower is exactly opposite, to dislodge if possible one of the many stones thrown in the past and resting on the smooth sloping top.

In the south-eastern corner of the Mesakin group of hills a large cliff-faced boulder known as Bithu Pami (Plate XV, Fig. 3), is believed to possess the power to control the sex of unborn children. Each year, early in the rains, all the women, married and unmarried, come from the neighbouring hills to pray for offspring. On their visit to this shrine they are accompanied by a male "kujur" of middle age, while the remainder of the male population are forbidden to approach, though allowed to stand and watch from a distance. The women bring with them gifts of "Merissa" and "Dihin," which are presented to the "kujur," and with a mixture of fat and red ochre draw upon the rock a sign symbolic of the sex of the child for which they have prayed. For a boy they make a sign thus ϕ, for a girl thus /, or thus X.[2]

The most southerly hills in the Nuba mountains are grouped under the name Korongo, the last series of low rocky outcrops before the flat grass plains that stretch away to Lake No and the Bahr el Ghazal. Near Tabanya, in the centre of the area, stands a stone known as "koshai Maledu." (Plate XVI, Fig. 4.) Koshai Maledu was at one time a famous female "kujur," and after her death and burial there grew up over her grave the likeness of her figure in stone. To ensure success in any venture and fertility among the herds, small sacrifices are laid at the foot of the figure. Grain and simsim are offered by those on their way to market, empty cartridge cases by the hunter in search of game, and an offering of cheese by those who ask for increase among their flocks. Close by the figure of Koshai stands a smaller stone known as Koko, and believed to be the figure of Koshai's husband. Koko was a

[1] A very similar practise is recorded by MacMichael as occurring in Dar Furnung where the fall or lodgement of a stone thrown on to a holy rock serves as a bad or good omen. (Note on page 122, "A History of the Arabs in the Sudan.")

[2] This sign for a boy ϕ is found all over the Mesakin and Korongo hills and is popularly regarded as representing the sword and shield of the warrior. It is frequently drawn on the walls of houses to ensure protection rather more than fertility. Sometimes the shield is decorated with a design thus ⊛, and in this form I have found an example of it in some cave drawings at Jebel Kalogi. The female symbol is representative of the "kanfus" or skirt.



FIG. 1.—LOLRU.



FIG. 2.—Height of the stone about 10 feet. Note the group of pebbles lodged on the top.



FIG. 3. BITHU PAMI.
A sign for a boy is clearly visible in the exact centre of the photograph and on the left edge.



FIG. 4.—KOSHAI MALEDU.
Height about 3 feet. Note bracelets and empty cartridge at the base of the figure.



FIG. 5.—Height 18 inches. Several metal rings lie at the base of the stone.



FIG. 6.—Close view of the Tono Stone.

"kujur" of considerably lesser repute; his memorial is a quarter the size of his wife's, and the belief in his magical powers slender. (Plate XVI, Fig. 5.)

Another similar type of stone stands under the shadow of a wild fig tree in the deserted village of Tono, eastwards of the main Eliri range. (Plate XVI, Fig. 6, and Plate XVII, Fig. 7.). According to belief, the most famous of all the "kujurs" and rain-makers of the past lived at Tono long before the days of Arab invasion. To-day a mass of broken stone and only the outlines of foundations show the ruins of what must clearly have been at one time a prosperous and very populous Nuba village. (Plate XVII, Fig. 8.) Nevertheless, the place maintains its sanctity as a rain shrine, where the bi-annual ceremonies in May and October centre round the solitary stone that once formed part of the doorway into the kujur's house, and a single earthenware bowl which lies close by. (Plate XVII, Fig. 9.) To-day the Nuba visit Tono only for the rain-making and the rain-stopping ceremony. Offerings of "Merissa" are made at the foot of the stone, the inverted bowl is reversed and its mouth laid open to the sky, a sacrifice of cattle is made, and the participants in the ceremony, men, women and even the herds, return to their hills and villages under the obligation of silence and without turning their heads to left or right. Later, when the full rains have passed and the dry season falls due, a similar ceremony is performed and the bowl is reversed.

Greatest probably of all the sacred rites practised in the hills, which lie westwards of Talodi, is that known as Idhowa.

The ceremony, which centres round three sacred stones, is only held once in every five years, and stands as symbolic of fertility in every branch of life. It is said that many years ago a man from Lebu, one of the southern villages, having traffic with unknown powers, bought from them in exchange for cattle three of their sacred stones; one was spherical and a little larger than a man's head, one was cylindrical and of the size of a man's forearm, and one, which was the child of the two greater, was smaller than either. To-day these stones are kept at Lebu, jealously guarded in the kujur's house, and the sight of them is forbidden to strangers, even to those from Um Dorein and Kororak—neighbouring villages—who believe that were a man to stab at any one of them with his spear he would at once become the possessor of untold wealth. In the dimly remembered past, they say, attempts made by some to

strike at these stones when they were displayed at the quinquennial ceremony ended invariably in their deaths at the hands of the outraged Lebu people. In the hut of the same "kujur," who is guardian of the stones, a "gara" or calabash is kept tied to the roof by a piece of cord. For four years and a little more the "gara" remains suspended, until one day the cord becomes rotten and the "gara" falls to the ground and breaks. Immediately the news flies round the hill, every man hastily gathers a pile of grass outside his hut and lights a fire, and within an hour the neighbouring hills have seen and understood the message. This portent occurs invariably during the late winter or early summer, and it is then known that the Idhowa ceremony will be held as soon as the light grain ripens during the coming rains. The actual ceremony occupies eight successive days, and during that time no attention is paid to the harvest, nor does anyone dare leave the hill, while from all the southern Moro pilgrims come to the Idhowa festived on Lebu. Each young man then takes his largest boar or he-goat and offers it to his prospective father-in-law, vast quantities of "Merissa" are brewed and consumed, and the days and nights are given up to feasting and dancing, while, as a conclusion to the eight days' festival, each young man takes his virgin fiancée and with her consummates his marriage.

The connection between stones and the principle of fertility is universal throughout the Nuba mountains. Every homestead has a small boulder placed either close to the doorway, the cattle byre, or the grain store, over which from time to time an offering of "Merissa" or "Dihin" is made in the belief that an increase of crops, flocks or herds will follow. Nuba beliefs, founded, as they clearly are, primarily upon reverence for the generative idea, might be described broadly as instincts refined by a code of ritual first established by evidently more intelligent forbears. The origins of Nuba beliefs and ceremonies are for the most part unknown to the present generation, and as a result of contact, in the past principally, with new beliefs, the indigenous religion has become static and so degenerate.



FIG. 7. THE TONO STONE.
The bowl (Fig. 9) lies to the right of the tree trunk.



FIG. 8.—Ruins of walls or terraces at Tono.



FIG. 9.—The Bowl at Tono during the dry season.

MĀNI MAGIC IN NORTHERN DARFUR.

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

THE Zaghawa of Northern Darfur and their neighbours and kinsmen the Bedayat believe in a mysterious power called Māni, which will unfailingly kill anyone who swears falsely by it, but which they appear unable to define with any precision.

There are various ways of swearing by Māni. The most usual way is called " The Spear of Mani " (*Ku Māni*) and has been described to me as follows :—A man, who wishes to swear another man in this way, sets up two spears with their blades in the ground and their shafts meeting at an angle to each other, thereby forming an arch. On this arch he places a pair of drawers (*sirwal*). Beyond these two spears he sticks a third spear into the ground, so that its butt meets the butts of the other spears, and over the butt end of this third spear he puts the loops of a pair of sandals, allowing the sandals to fall to the ground attached in this manner to the spear. The man whose oath is required, has to crawl in the presence of the elders under the arch formed by the first two spears, pick up the third spear (leaving the sandals on the ground), touch the blade with his tongue, and then stab the ground with this spear, saying " *Māni begīgu ekkili*," literally " Māni he himself I will die "=" May Māni kill me if I swear falsely " ; the explanation given being that if he does swear falsely his spear will kill him, the drawers that he is wearing will be his shroud, and he will never again require sandals in this world.

Other methods of swearing by Māni are to place a clay model of a man with a swollen stomach or of a man transfixed with a spear under the three spears, when the oath takes the form of " May Māni cause my stomach to swell (or to be transfixed with a spear) as this image, if I swear falsely " ; or a saddle and an old sooty pot are substituted for the image, when the oath will be " May Māni cause my blood to pour over my saddle or me to become ill and foul like this old pot, if I forswear myself."

My informants, who were a Zaghawi Mirra from Anka in Northern Darfur, another Zaghawi Mirra from Eastern Darfur, a Kaitiŋawi and a Zaghawi Genigargera from Northern Darfur naively assured me that

many Bedayat were more afraid of an oath on Māni than one on the Koran.[1]

Evans-Pritchard has given a long account of Māni magic among the Zande in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. xiv, pp. 105–148. His information was obtained, as he states, under circumstances unfavourable to a full and complete understanding of the matter, and he gained the impression that Māni magic was only a recent introduction among the Zande, although not altogether consistent with such a recent introduction is the fact which he mentions that the Māni society is still a flourishing institution despite discouragement by the Avungara chiefs and government authorities.

In any case in the description he has given the parallels with Māni magic among the Zaghawa are too many and too striking to be accounted for by pure coincidence. In each there is a vague power called Māni which can kill. " You are Māni who I address here . . . . let all who hate me without cause die from Māni . . . . for I am a child of Māni " (pp. 119, 120). In each, as part of the ceremony, three stakes or spears are set up in the ground so that their ends meet (p. 119). In each someone has to crawl under an arch or hoop (pp. 118, 121, 124). " To renew faith in *Māni* new magic has constantly been introduced from over the Congo border, and this new magic has supplemented rather than replaced the old. It is introduced with all the flair of novelty and is grafted on to the old ceremonial . . . ." (p. 148). Thus among the Zande there are various forms of Māni magic, water Māni, fire Māni, blue bead Māni, etc., etc.

It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that, despite their present separation in space, there has at some time been a cultural contact between the Bedayat and Zaghawa on the one hand and some section or sections of the Zande on the other. Torday in his *On the Trail of the Bushongo* came to the conclusion that the ruling sections of the Zande and the Bushongo had a common origin in the Lake Chad area, the ruling section of the Bushongo having been at one time of their history " called the Abila, or with the northern pronunciation, the Abira " [2] It may be

[1] Some Bedayat on another occasion gave me a slightly different account of *Ku Māni*, stating that three spears are stuck in the ground with their butts meeting at a point. Underneath them is placed a pair of sandals, and on the top of them a shirt. The man sworn has to crawl through in each direction, and then pull up each spear in turn and lick the blade while he swears.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 164.

more than a coincidence that the Bedayat and Zaghawa call themselves Beri, which name is altered by some of their western neighbours to Beli, and that all these people seem to be throwing-knife people.[1]

I am drawn to two conclusions : (*a*) that it will be worth while keeping a look-out for further parallels between the Zaghawa and the Zande, and (*b*) that in Māni we have no recent introduction, but something very old, which at Thebes in ancient Egypt took the form of Amun, whose name meant " invisible " and was originally determined with an empty space representing the air. The earlier form of Amun's name was Amāna. Min-Amun was a sky-god and a fertility-god.[2] It is the invisibility of the air that is probably the origin of the vagueness of Māni, and the lightning that accounts for Māni's power to kill suddenly. Possibly, too, the spears or sticks of Māni are a survival of the pole, probably a sky-pole representing the air, which was of the essence of Min's worship.

There seems to have been a connection between Amun and Libya ; and it was probably by way of Libya and the Berbers that Māni reached central Africa. Barth[3] states that Amun was the chief deity of the pagan Berbers. His name it is that appears to survive in that of the talisman Muni or Māni in Kanem which had to be kept covered or hidden, and which was eventually uncovered by the sultan Dunama Dabalemi (1221–1259 A.D.),[4] and in that of Māni, the eponymous ancestor of the Kuburi Kanembu.[5] And in this connection it is interesting to note that in the Zaghawa language the Zaghawa Kobe are called Beri Kubura, and that there is also in the same district (Northern Darfur) a tribe called the Aulad Māna, about whose origin little is known, but who with several other neighbouring tribes are probably connected with Kanem and Bornu.

[1] See a separate note on " Throwing sticks and Throwing knives in Darfur," which I hope shortly to write for this journal.

[2] See Wainwright." Some celestial associations of Min," in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, XXI, 152–170, etc.

[3] " Travels in North and Central Africa," I, 60.

[4] Sir Richmond Palmer." Mai Idris," p. 64.

[5] Palmer. " Sudanese Memoirs," II, 12.

THE STEEL AND TINDER IN DARFUR.

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

(PLATE XVIII).

ON page 480 of *Antiquity* for December, 1935, in an account of some cases of the survival, despite the almost universal use of matches, of the steel and tinder to-day, are figured a number of examples of "steels," among which is one from the Bryant and May collection about 2½ inches long, which was purchased in Bazaar Tizi, Ouzou, Algeria. It is of the following pattern :—

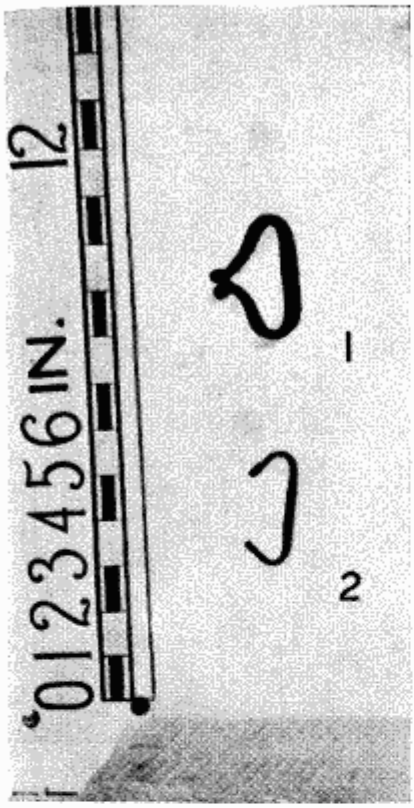


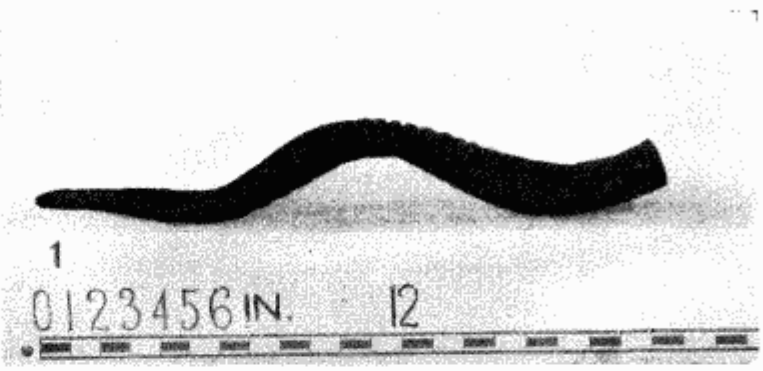
This is so strikingly similar to the pattern of two "steels" from Darfur, that there can be little doubt that we have here a case of diffusion, this pattern having reached Darfur from North Africa.

The "steel" in Plate XVIII, Fig. A1, was made recently by Fur at Numo near Kebkebia ; and that in Plate XVIII, Fig. B1, was picked up in Northern Darfur among the ruins of Uri town, which I believe was originally the capital of the Kanemi governor of Darfur in the thirteenth century. The empire of Kanem was founded by Berbers from North Africa, and it is not improbable that it was they who introduced the steel and tinder to the Sudan ; which if so would explain the similarity between these "steels" and that from Algeria. It is to be hoped, therefore, that others will record the occurrence or non-occurrence of this type of "steel" in Egypt and the eastern Sudan, in order that my theory may be put to the test.

The "steel" in Plate XVIII, Fig. A2, was made by Owra[1] in Dar Masalit ; while that in Plate XVIII, Fig. B2, was obtained near

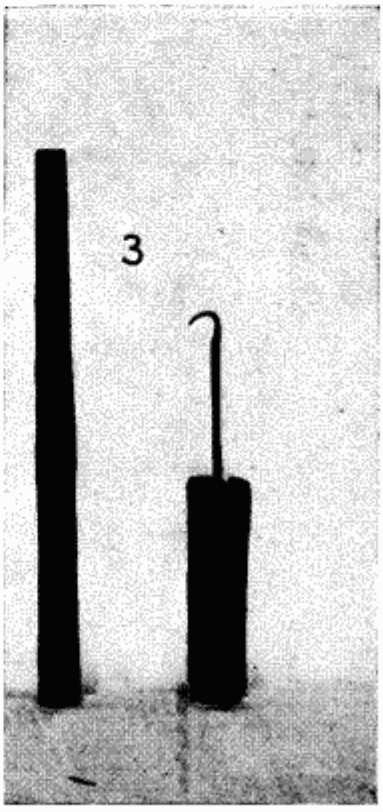
[1] The Owra speak a dialect of Erenga, which is itself a form of the Tama language.

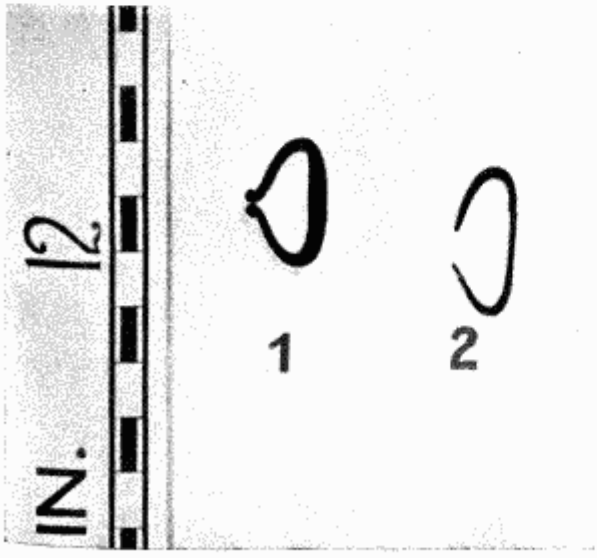




(C) A Darfur Hunting Horn made by Tama from the horn of a Kudu.

(A) 1. Steel made by Fur at Numo near Kebkebia.
2. Steel made by Owra in Dar Masalit.
3. Tama smith's implements for removing the uvula of children.





(B) 1. Steel picked up in ruins of Uri.
2. Steel used recently in the FURNUNG HILLS.

Ain Farah in the Furnung hills of Northern Darfur. This type is commoner than that which resembles the Algerian " steel " and probably represents a degenerate form of the design originally introduced.

The " steel " (*zinat* in local Arabic) is used to-day in the more backward parts of Darfur, though even there it will soon no doubt have died out. It is, however, still not uncommon to find people skilled in its use, who can make fire with it almost as quickly as by striking a match. Flint is almost unobtainable in Darfur. The stones I have usually seen used look to me like quartz, felspar or biotite gneiss. Unlike the method described in *Antiquity*, it is usual in Darfur to strike the stone with the steel, the stone being held stationary in the left hand, and the steel (at any rate in the case of the commoner type illustrated in Fig. 2) over the knuckles of the right hand. Cotton waste is a favourite form of tinder.

Only a few iron workers in Darfur know how to make steel, and a good " steel " therefore fetches to-day what is according to Darfur standards the high price of about a shilling.

THE REMOVAL OF THE UVULA IN INFANTS IN DARFUR

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

THAT the uvula of Bedayat and Tibu children was removed on hygienic grounds is mentioned by Nachtigal.[1] It is interesting to find that the uvula of infants is still commonly removed all over Darfur to-day. Dr. Drew of the Sudan Medical Service informs me that very many of the patients that he has treated in Darfur have had their uvula removed in infancy.

It is to this custom that Macmichael refers when he mentions a section of Fur in Dar Fia called *Elgunga* " after the tonsils ; it is said the Fia people were once expert at cutting them out of children's throats."[2] The name of these people is more commonly pronounced *Alguŋa*, and they are found in other parts of Darfur, for instance in Dar Wona at the south-west end of Jebel Marra. This explanation, or rather that they are descended from an ancestor who was skilled at removing the uvula (not the tonsils) of children, is the one commonly given to-day in reply to a request for an explanation of their name. In an endeavour to discover how they came by this name, I have found out that it is an erroneous derivation given by the arabised Fur who have forgotten the true derivation. In actual fact the name comes from *Alga*, an old Fur word for the hunting horn, as I learnt recently when I discovered some *Alguŋa* and *Sambalaŋa* living together in the same colony in Dar Wona. They were all descendants of slaves of the Sultans, who had had the hereditary duties of blowing the horn (*alga*) and carrying throwing knives (*sambal*) in the royal hunt. This explanation of their origin is evidently the correct one. Yet the arabic-speaking moderns, who have forgotten the right derivation, connect the name with the Arabic حلق (halg) = " throat," and so say that their ancestor was the doctor of the royal children.

I do not know what benefit the removal of the uvula confers on an ailing infant, but the practice is so common that it probably has some beneficial effect. The explanation given me by a Tama blacksmith at El Fasher, who frequently performs the operation, can hardly be

[1] " Sahara und Sudan," Vol. II, p. 178.

[2] " A History of the Arabs in the Sudan," Vol. I, p. 98.

scientifically correct. He stated that for some reason the uvula frequently becomes swollen in infants, and that this causes diarrhœa, which is cured by the removal of the uvula.

The instruments used by this smith in performing the operation are shown in Plate XVIII, Fig. A3, and consist of a flat piece of wood, very similar in size to an ordinary footrule, and a small curved iron knife on a long iron stem set in a wooden handle. The underside of the curved blade is very sharp. The tongue of the baby is depressed by the flat stick, and the uvula [1] is cut out with the curved knife by pressing it on the stick. The child is then given an infusion of the pods of the *sunt* tree (*acacia nilotica*) to drink in order to stop the bleeding.

[1] The uvula is called *arada tat*, literally " the tongue's child," in the Tama language.

THE RUINS AT ABU SUFYAN.

By W. B. K. Shaw.

(PLATES XIX AND XX).

NEWBOLD appears to have been the first to record the ruins at Abu Sufyan, while on his way south from Bir Natrun to Sodiri in 1923 (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. VII, p. 78). On February 28th, 1935, in the company of Messrs. R. N. Harding-Newman, R. E. McEuen and M. H. Mason, I visited the site. We had come by car from the Wadi Hawa round the south end of J. Tageru, and our eventual destination was Malha in Meidob. Keen antiquarians are advised NOT to go to Abu Sufyan in cars, even though they be Fords, for the country is equally destructive to the machines and to the tempers of their owners.

The ruins lie in a grassy plain in Lat. 15° 37 N. Long. 27° 53 E., about 8 miles N.N.E. of Idd Abu Sufyan (Map Sheet 54 C), or roughly 200 miles north of En Nahud. Fig. I shows the relative position of the various ruins. They are :—

1. The " Pyramid," of which more will be said later.

2. A circle of red brick, about 40 ft. in diameter, and apparently the remains of a building of the same sort as No. 1 but on a very much smaller scale. The sides are 1—2 ft. above ground level ; on the E. side is a portion of collapsed brick walling, about 4 ft. square, with the bricks lying on edge.

3. A circle, 23 yards diameter, of red brick, 2—3 ft. high.

4. A circle of stones set on edge, about 2 ft. broad and less than 1 ft. high, with an opening on the N.E.

5. A discontinuous stone circle, 30 yards diameter, 1—2 ft. high.

We had no time or labour to do more than make a hurried examination of No. 1 ; to excavate it thoroughly would be a fairly large undertaking. Newbold called it a pyramid, but I think it is actually a roughly circular, flat-topped mound, the sides of which are formed of stepped-up courses of brick. Figs. 2 and 3 show this mound in elevation and in plan. The dimensions of the mound are roughly as follows, in feet :—

	N.–S.		E.–W.
Flat top	70	...	55
Spread of mound	150	...	130

The height is 15—20 ft. above the plain. Fig. 4 gives some details of the construction. We cleared a section of the brickwork C—D at the

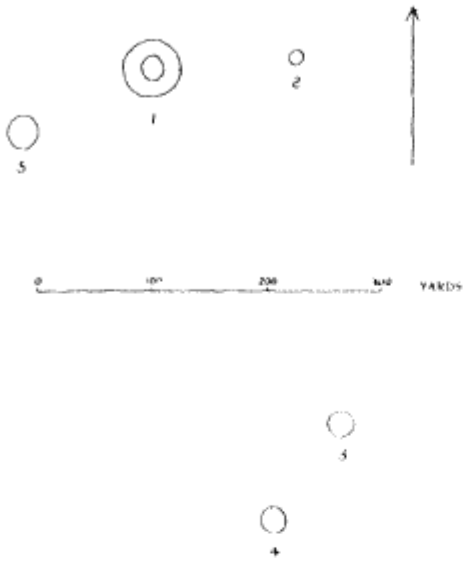


Fig. 1.

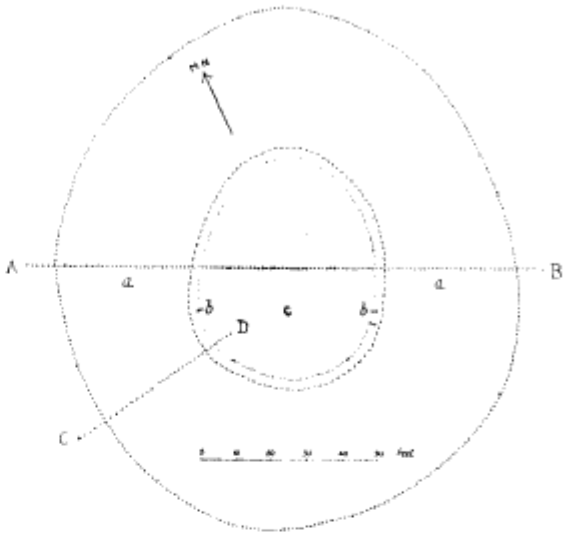
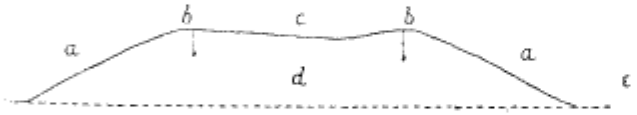


Fig. 3.



a a - sloping sides of brick debris
b - flat mud-brick surround
c - fairly flat centre
d - ? sand filling

Fig. 2.

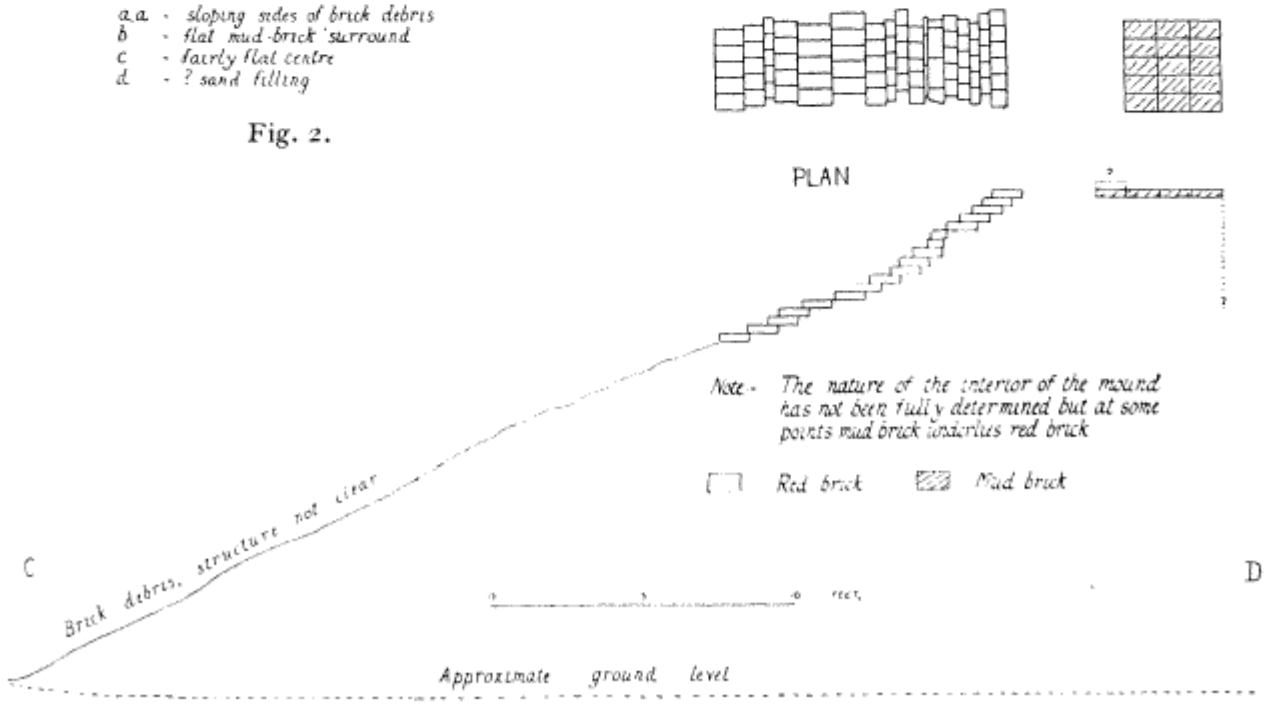


Fig. 4.

S.W. corner Ascending from the plain level for the first ⅔rds of the slope is a mass of brick debris, amongst which it is impossible to distinguish the courses. Above this to the summit 18 courses of red brick could be counted, the upper ones overlapping the lower by varying lengths. In two of these the bricks, seen from above, were laid as "stretchers" and in the others as "headers." The red bricks are set in mud mortar.

From the top of the highest course inwards towards the centre was a width of about 7½ ft. of mud bricks laid flat and pointing radially outwards, forming a sort of flat parapet to the mound. These may at one time have been overlaid with red bricks. The inner edge of this mud-brick platform is curved as shown in Fig. 3 and Pl. XX (top), and can be traced at intervals round the top of the mound. The centre of the mound is nearly flat and free from fallen bricks or any sign of building. We dug here to a depth of 3 ft. or so and found nothing but yellow drift sand with which the whole centre of the building seems to be filled. I do not think the mound can have been much higher than it is to-day, and certainly there is not enough fallen rubble on the sides to account for it having been carried up to a high central point.

The sizes of the bricks, from the mean of many measurements, are 30 × 17 × 8 cms. (11⅞ in. × 6¾ in. × 3⅛ in.). They are roughly made of clay containing many rounded sand grains, and are badly baked, since when broken small pieces of uncharred straw may be seen. They break easily and are not at all like the bricks at Ferra (see below).

Like Newbold, we found no pottery or other objects to help in dating the building. There being no internal evidence one looks for similar constructions elsewhere. There are a number of ruined buildings in red brick in Kordofan and Darfur.

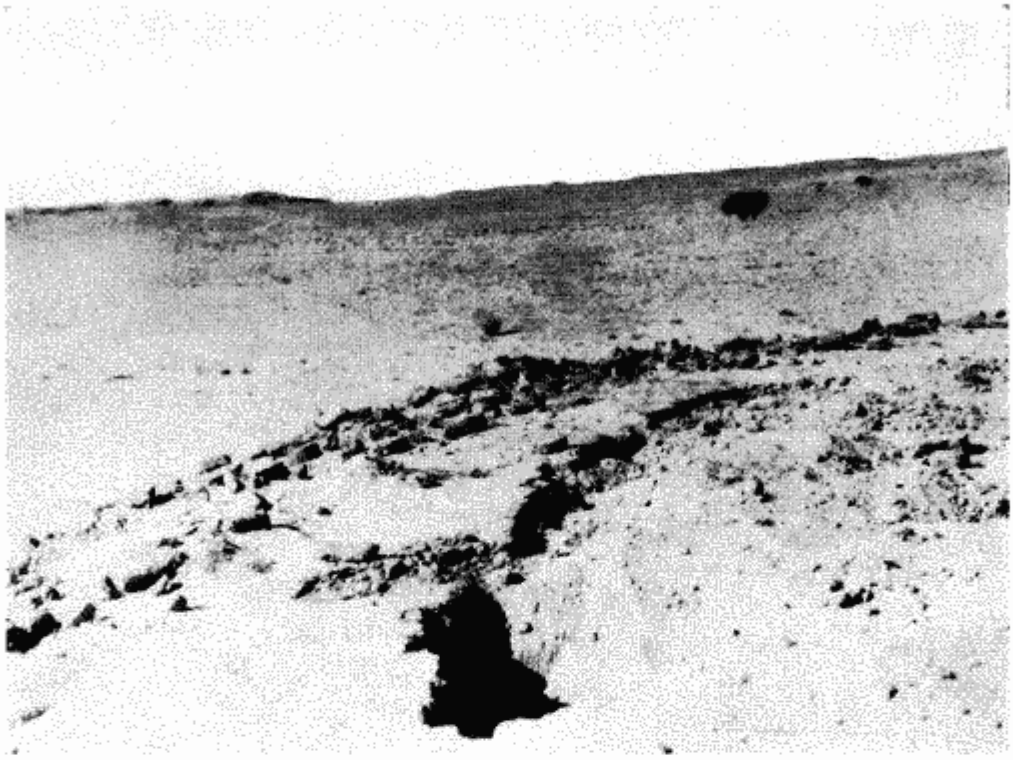
1. At Zankor in Kaja Serug, 120 miles southof Abu Sufyan (see Penn in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIV, Part 2, p 179). He speaks of a number of large mounds covered with very large red bricks, but does not give the brick sizes. Grabham suggested that Zankor may have been a Meroitic outpost from Dongola ; Addison dates the pottery to about the 7th century A.D.

2. At Ferra in Dar Furnung, W.N.W. of Kutum (see MacMichael in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. III, p. 24). Here are "magnificent red bricks, hard as iron, metallic in ring and slightly glazed." Bricks

are mentioned " $2\frac{1}{2}$ spans long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ spans broad " (? $22\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ in.), but these are exceptional and most of the bricks were " of the usual size," but this is not stated. However, Newbold (op. cit., p. 79) says that the bricks at Abu Sufyan are almost exact replicas of those at Zankor, and that these in turn are probably the same as those at Ferra. The Tungur of Dar Furnung may have come from the region of Dongola in the XV—XVI centuries.

It seems more than likely that the building at Abu Sufyan is a tomb. Whose and of what date cannot be known till it has been fully excavated.

It is interesting to note that in the Romano-Nubian cemetery at Karanog on the Nile near Korosko (Woolley and MacIver. Karanog), some of the underground tombs had a superstructure above ground consisting of a rectangular, brick-walled enclosure filled with sand and rubble. This filling was sometimes covered over with a roofing layer of mud brick. The cemetery dates to about the 3rd century A.D.



From top of mound looking north, showing curved inner edge of mud brick.



Looking up the section cleared at C–D.

BARI SONGS

(*Concluded*).

By A. C. Beaton.

III. FUNERAL SONGS.

GREAT features of the Bari burial ceremony are the funeral dance, which is performed on the dead man's grave, and the songs that are sung over his corpse.[1]

Although a number of such songs are general and are sung at all funerals, some are songs composed in honour of the dead man, particularly if he was either rich or of chiefly rank.

1.

Twan na peŋg-a Lujaŋ Logeleŋ.	Dead the son of great Logeleŋ,
Do, Wöri Kayeno, ŋuro likaŋ lo.	Dead is Lujaŋ. Tell us, Wöri,
Togwo lubi gwuki'dir gwonda le ?	How died Togwo ? Speak, O Kwika !
Kwika, Maju, ŋuro likaŋ nye muda ko meran.	Our son Maju has drunk deeply.
Rokon nagon puri mörö Wu'biya,	Rokon aches to fight a battle,
Monoja na Wöri Nyökö,	Aches to battle at Wu'biya.
Köji nikaŋ na bibirye ko lömi lo Kwini.	See, the herds of Wöri Nyökö
No momora ko yidin ti Wöri Nyökö.	And our village, all are sporting,
Nyangwara 'dija mede na monye, Wöri Mindwöt.	In the green grass of the Kwini.
	Wöri's cattle sport among us.
Jokari lo 'dija na mede paruki ko kimaŋ.	Minye's village is invested,
	All the Nyangwara surround it,
	Wöri Mindwöt. The Jokari
	Have beset this land with battle,
	And have brought the fire that burns us.

This song was sung at the burial of Lujaŋ Logeleŋ, the brother of Abdulla and Könyi Bilal. *Wori Kayeno* is also called Morjan Wörikoka and is a headman at Murungwa, a village of Rokon. *Minye* is the mother of Bilal lo Waya, and Wöri Mindwöt was the grandfather of Wala lo Waya, headman of Bondogoro, a village of Rokon The Jokari are a clan of the Nyangwara of Terrakekka, who in past time made a successful raid on Bilal, grandfather of the present Rokon chief.

2.

Monoja na lunsak na nyörö da, Wani Warun?	Whither graze our young men's cattle,
Nuro lo joŋ gela,	Say, O Wani, son of Warun,
Yi arem 'börik i köji na'bijo,	You whose son is taken from you.
Lokuma lo kikindya i kigwur ki ko wowori.	We will fall to blows and mighty
Wörögör nikaŋ na suma.	Is our village. See Lakuma
Nwajik gwine a wate.	Bellows as he mounts the anthill,
Yi arem 'börik i köji na'bijo.	And our Wörögör is poisoned.
	All our children weep like women.
	We will fall to bitter battle,
	Through the confines of our village.

[1] See *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1932, Volume XV, " Bari Studies," pages 64–68.

Lokuma is the name of a bull.

Wörögör is a village. Since one of the notables of Wörögör has died, the villagers are afraid to drive out their cattle to the pasture, for fear of attack. They also suspect that their enemies have put poison on them. War is likely to follow. The bull bellows because it scents an attack.[1]

3.

Nutu kulo 'dumun yi ko lowia.
Gwolo na Bonde na a kölöki ruba kata geleŋ.
Mönik lo wiri wiri.
Mönik lo lunsak ŋo merayi i jur lo Nyori.

We are harried by the arrows
Of our foes (and Bonde's quiver),
Has been left in his old homestead.
See, our bull is ever lowing,
For our young men's bull is dying.
Wounded is the land of Nyori.

This is a general funeral song. The singers lament the strength of the enemy and their own defencelessness against Nyori, a neighbouring Bari chiefship.

4.

Ko yi wöwörö köjinö kune,
Yi meara Lo'biyo karet na-kwe.
Nuro lo Poni ködyö, Gömbu,
Dumun yi a bor na 'bono.
A do wöki nyo i kiko lo mu'diŋ,
Wayakwayak kana.

Let us walk about the village,
Let us drive her to Lo'biyo,
Our white heifer. Say, O Gömbu,
Say, will Poni's son maltreat us.
Ah, why run before the foemen,
Run in fright nor give them battle.

Lo'biyo is a river.

"*Will Poni's son maltreat us*"—the literal rendering of this line is "Will Poni's son treat us like a place for cutting *bono?*" The *bono* is a bunch of leaves or a fringe made of beaten bark, which the Nyangwara and Fajula women wear in front and behind instead of the Bari cotton fringe and hide apron.

The village fears that, as a notable has died, their enemy, Poni's son, will trouble them, if they drive their cows to water at the Lo'biyo, just as the tree, from which the women cut their *bono*, is troubled.

5.

Yi kulo möndu kiriki nikaŋ,
Gömit Kuŋaju!
No lele lo riŋga yi.
Teŋ lio a woŋon a rube
Mönik woŋ gwigwililija,
Na 'dija Labi!
Go 'do lo Kwaje,
A do yiyiŋ tomia i jeran,
Ko logon a leja.
Kine ŋo morja ko mekora.
Gorkinyoŋ juŋgi pötö.

We are caught and can escape not,
Gömit Kuŋaju! what is it,
That has so oppressed our people?
For my bull gives evil bellows,
Bellows like an evil spirit,
Bellows loudly as the women,
When they praise us in their singing,
In their singing, son of Labi!
You, O Go'do son of Kwaje,
Hear the elephants, while others
Cannot see them, when they gather
With the buffalos, whose grazing,
Leaves Gorkinyoŋ's marsh denuded.

[1] For similar cases of the herd bull giving warning of the approach of enemies, see *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1932, Volume XV, "Bari Studies," pages 66 and 83.

Again the lament is for the death of a leader and there is a sense of impending disaster, presaged by the unnatural lowing of the bull. The appeal is to Go'do, who can perceive the direction of the threatening danger, while the rest of the village does not know whence it will come. Moreover, the cattle pasture at Gorkinyoŋ has been grazed down by the elephants and buffaloes and the food of their cattle is threatened.

6.

KO NUTU I KWE.

'Dure nase Könyi na,
'Dure nase Jöŋgu,
Ko wula wula,
A logwon tuyu,
Amer yawa kana.
Yaŋgo ! Jamaki nan jame,
Kode nan tu 'Dumadaŋ.
Yaŋgo ! Jamaki nan jame lo,
Kode nan tu Lokiko.
Nan tu dagi mugun.
Nuro ŋina mugö kutuk nanyit na le ?
Nyokwe mugö kutuk nanyit na le ?
Nan gwo ya ?
'Demeja Suji, köji na Abaŋ.
Köji limö adiyo na Jöŋgu,
Rokon limö adiyo,
Yamba nikaŋ na kaje,
Nye nago Dinyari.
Köji ŋote na yokole.
Dogajere, Liye na woŋ na ?
Yi ködyö 'du'du ti na 'balaŋ na ?
Ta jur lo Wurujaŋ !
Dokolok Sörö lya ?
Köji nikaŋ na a ŋoma ?
Rokon sirani tina ada ?
Maju weŋga kare na goret.
Kirambek sira köji.
Merok yiŋga wiri na 'duöt lo kaŋ köji.
Wande lo, nan gwo ya ?
Bari ko kilo popo ko lunyit na munu le ?
Yi weŋga mere lo Bari.
Yi ködyö mekindya ko Wani,
I luköbi lo'bijo.
Yi yuggi a-kweki, Lujaŋ !
Yi ködyö mekindya ko Wani,
I luköbi lo'bijo.
Ije, Siŋombe merok ŋo po.

OVER A DEAD MAN'S GRAVE.

Still they talk of Könyi's fellows,
Of our 'Dure, hark, O Jöŋgu,
Tell their tale, nor cease the telling ;
They, who drank with ceaseless drinking.
" Tell me words of wisdom, mother,
" For my journey to 'Dumadaŋ.
" Mother give me words of warning,
" When I face the Court, that speaking,
" I acquit myself with honour.
" O beloved, why so silent ?
" Why, so silent, mother Nyokwe ?
" I am helpless, I will get me
" Off to Suji, Abaŋ's village ! "
Slow the dance that Rokon dances,
Slow the dance of Jöŋgu's village.
In old days the mighty Yamba,
Held the village of Dinyari.
Great in number was Dinyari.
Why this bleating, 'Dogajere ?
Say, O Liye, why this bleating ;
As the salt drop never ceasing,
Countless are this country's people.
Mighty is the land of Wala.
Dokolok say, where is Sörö ?
Why this anguish in our village ?
Rokon is distraught with weeping.
Gone is Maju to the river
Of our hunting, Great Kirambek,
Cries aloud throughout our village.
All our foes can hear the lowing
Of our bull throughout our village.
Can you aid me ? Speak, O Wande.
For the Bari come against us.
Round their necks they tie the snakeskin.
Up, against the Bari mountain !
We will drive our goats to Wani,
O Lujaŋ, to Wani's meadows.
Happy is our herding thither.
Up, Siŋombe, why this coming
Of our enemies against us.

'*Dure* is said to be the name of an age-class, but at present these are not known among the Nyangwara.

Jöŋgu Mursali was the cousin of Bilal, grandfather of the present chief of Rokon.

" Tell me words of wisdom, mother . . .
. . . . Off to Suji. Abaŋ's village."[1]

Teŋgeleŋ, son of Mursali, is thought of as singing these words.

Beloved—this is Marija Maku, the betrothed of Teŋgeleŋ. There is apparently a dispute about the bride-price, which is being taken to Court. Nyokwe Sule is an old woman. Jöŋgu's village is Rokon. Yamba is another old age-grade and is said to have been very numerous.

Dogajere and *Liye* are the names of female goats.

Saltdrip—this is a sign of great numbers. The Nyangwara burn the branches of the *biliŋi* tree, put the ash in a calabash which has been pierced to form a strainer and pour water on the ash. A salt solution drips off and a salt sediment is left when the liquid is boiled dry.

Sörö is another name of Bilal, grandfather of the present Rokon chief. *Kirambek* is a male goat. *Wande* and *Wani* are the allies of Rokon against the attacking Bari. *Lujaŋ* and *Siŋombe* are sons of Mursali, once a notable of Rokon.

The song was originally sung over the grave of Sörö, grandfather of Sörö Könyi, the chief of Rokon, a Nyangwara village.

There is a present day interpolation, namely Teŋgeleŋ Mursali's song about his Court case ; in fact, the song is full of additions, as can be seen by the reference to living persons, Jöŋgu, Teŋgeleŋ, Lujaŋ, and Siŋombe, all sons of Mursali.

The song follows the usual lines—in old days we were strong and numerous, but the death of our chief has left us weak and defenceless ; we are now weak with lamentation and our cattle bellow as they scent the approach of our enemies. At the end, however, the note of utter helplessness is lost in a cry to their leader to advance against the enemy

IV. BULL SONGS.

Almost every Bari youth, in the years when cattle were plentiful, had his favourite bull (*sönö'*, pl. *sönölön*), which was presented to him by his grandfather, father or perhaps maternal uncle, on his coming of age. This bull was his proudest boast. He would groom it and tend it carefully and if its horns were not already trained, he would bend them to a shape

[1] The nine lines ending here appear to be a separate song, except that the Teŋgeleŋ from whom they are quoted is a brother of Lujaŋ and Siŋombe, whose names occur at the end of the song.

he fancied. He would also [1]compose a song in its honour, in which he would boast of its form, strength, courage and beauty. This song (*Gotet*, pl. *Gotesi*) he would sing at dances; and at the end of the dance he would strike an attitude with his arms bent in the shape of his bull's horns. An insult to his bull would be avenged as an insult to himself. With the Dervish raids during the Mahdia and the more recent attacks of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia, the Bari cattle have been sadly reduced in number, so that favourite bulls are rare and twisted horns practically a thing of the past. At present the best cattle country is that of the Mandari, a Bari-speaking tribe of about 4,000 people who live in the swamps that skirt the east bank of the Nile between Mongalla and the Equatorial Upper Nile Province boundary. Their practice in the matter of bull songs, however, differs from that of their Bari neighbours. Unlike the Bari, among whom all the young men compose songs to their favourite bulls, the Mandari reserve this privilege for the chief or the notable. It is, moreover, a hereditary privilege only, since the commoner believes that if he usurps it, death will be the result of his presumption.

I.

LADO WANI GOGODDYA SÖNÖ LONYIT LOGON A GWIÖNI RUME LO.

Rume lio bora mu'diŋ
I mere lu Bari.
Diŋabek ayu a duma.
Beke lio a wörö ko minyan.
Nyori ayu a duma.
Beke lio a wörö ko Arye, wörö Laro.
Dwöt nyökörö ko Lokora i toket,
Yugu loloŋ gwon ko ta Wani lo Goke!
Yugu loloŋ ko ta, Köni-i lo Poni!
Najorya aŋin ki lolöŋ Mögu ko turön.

LADO WANI SINGS THE PRAISE OF HIS FAVOURITE BULL CALLED RUME.

Rume wanders in the forest,
To the mountain of the Bari.
Diŋabek is strong and lusty.
Wanders Beke, who is dappled.
Strong has Nyori grown and lusty.
Beke wanders to the Arye;
Laro tends him, and Lokora
Brings him back again to pasture.
Yours the duty, Wani Goke,
Yours, O Könyi, son of Poni,
Yours to tend the herd. Already
Have our warriors arisen,
Drunk with spears at hand for danger.

The bull, *Rume*, was the favourite bull of Lado Wani, the father of Jagwe Lado the present headmen at Kursamba, which is the chief village of the Mandari of the Central District, Equatorial Province.

Diŋabek, *Beke* and *Nyori* are the names of bulls.

Arye is a river, where the cattle are watered.

Najorya is a Mandari term for young men whose duty it is to guard the herds.

The praise is by implication. Although Diŋabek and Nyori are praised for their strength, and Beke for his colouring, and although Beke

[1] There is in Mr. J. H. Driberg's "People of the Small Arrow" a bull song sung by the Didinga Chief Auranomoi.

is tended by Laro and Lokora, Rume is superior to these, since he is tended by Wani Goke and Könyi Poni, aided by all the young warriors who have turned out for their morning drink, before driving off the herds to graze, with their spears in their hands to guard Rume against marauders from neighbouring villages.

2.

LOKOLON LEGE GODDYA SÖNÖ LONYIT LOGON A GWIÖNI PÖTWÖR LO.

A lupö i döru Muludyaŋ.
Lunsak ko Beuŋ ko Lege,
'Dwöt lio yendu ta,
Köji na ba.
Nutu kaŋ kilo rerenya,
Ju ko Lako.
Lepeŋat köti ge ti'bön, Lado Kopo.
A sir a waliŋ a merok.
Nan ti lele sönö,
Könyi, ŋuro lo Ludöŋ.
Yi mule ta Laŋkisuk a lio,
A wur suöt, nan gogot.
Kisuk kwe kunia ?
Ama ŋote Lako,
Kaja 'bayin, monye Gunyaŋ.
Ködyö a mule ta Lege, baba lio.
Yi tu jambu jame lo'but,
Nan liŋ momo'yu, baba lu Rombek.
Monye Pukun, a do mor nan,
Adi lu sasan kiteŋ.
A ba lo Wani goddya ko mani.
Mon-ye Lako po ko mani Laŋsuk lio.
Titiket maka i Nyori,
Köyöni gwogwoloŋ.
I lo kiŋa yi agu ti jambu,
Ko tu ko jurön ko Wanyaŋ.
Ta teton mogga toro'bo ti Laŋsuk lio.
Ta ti jojoŋga, Jalaŋ.
Ta ko yiŋ re, Nyibari ?
Wani yuggita, lo Lako.
Jagwe lo Lado ta 'beron kekendi
Ko Lado Kopo, a yeŋga mu'diŋ wörö Jörö-bön.
Luru wörö tu gwoso gworoŋ lo rudu,
Jagwe lo Kajoŋ, Lusawur Wani po ko titiket,
Ber nio ko Lako lo Legi likindyö gwolo ki.
Jöndu nio ko Wusir.
Ta 'dukönі ta ti möju,
Nwajik kaŋ akarakin mu'diŋ Jöndöru,
Ko Mulia Lako ;
Likiri mu'diŋ nase, Könyi lo Wani.
Ber nio kakara da, Buya Lutwöri ?

LOKOLON LEGI PRAISES HIS FAVOURITE BULL CALLED "BITTER."

He has entered on the pasture,
O Muludyaŋ. With Beduŋ
Are our warriors. My people,
Are you weary then of Pötwör ?
O my people, do you hear me ?
Hear my song, O men of Lako !
You of old refused to hear me.
Lado, son of Kunyan, tell me,
Have the herdsmen gone to meet them,
Gone ahead to meet our foemen ?
Give me, give a bull, O Könyi,
Son of Ludöŋ, I entreat you.
Give a bull that dwarfs the heifers,
To be mine, with white earmarkings.
Loudly will I sing its praises.
None have I, and none my mother,
None have we, O sire of Gunyaŋ.
Give a bull to me, my father,
And my lips shall speak no evil.
I entreat you, son of Rombek,
Sire of Pukun ; do you shame me,
Saying "Lo, he has no cattle" ?
Charms you have from Wani's father,
Sire of Lako, come and give me,
Give me charms to guard my Pötwör.
Send to Nyori for a Kraal gate,
Fix it to my Kraal. This season
We will have no speech with Wanyaŋ,
Have no speech with any village.
Arm yourselves with spears, my herdsmen ;
Guard my bull, O guard him, Jeleŋ.
He is given to your keeping.
Do you hear, all ye Nyibari ?
Wani son of Lako, guard him.
Guard him Jagwe, son of Lado.
You of old were rich in wisdom,
Wise in speech, O Lado Kopo.
See my marriage cows are driven
Down to Jöröbön to water.
Clouds of dust rise high above them,
As a forest lion in motion,
Jagwe Kajoŋ. O Lusawur,

Köji nasu, Jeŋgi lo Wani.
Lokurju, nan mo' do, ko Itilö.
A nan yoyora, Suyumbek,
Nan tu lu lo'dek lo matat lu Buyu lu Könyi.
Nan, Mabur, kepo so matat gwoso Legi.
Nan lu borani pal, Pökö.
Nan lupökö.
Nan, Mabur, roman luŋaser lio a kisuk.
Lado lo Wani,
Monye Jagwe, nan maggu roman ko do.
Sönö gwe 'bayin geleŋ,
Lado lo Kajoŋ.
Nan luluŋgu ŋuro lo Kiden,
Könyi lo Wökak.
Gure nyösu ya, Laŋgibi ?
Lako lo Wani, Gure nyö köji köji.

Son of Wani, bring a Kraal gate,
While with Lako my age brothers
Sling their quivers on their shoulders.
I myself will stay with Wani,
Stay behind to guard my cattle,
Drink no milk abroad. The children
Of Nyaboŋgi were all slaughtered,
Slain at Jöndöru with Mulya,
Slain afar, O Könyi Wani.
Shall my brother die, O Buyu ?
You have Kraals, O Jeŋgi Wani,
You Lokurju, you Itilö,
And I ask of you a heifer.
I am chief as was Guyumbek.
I will fare to Buyu Könyi.
I, Mabur, have men behind me,
Men to follow, as had Legi.
Must I go afar to Pökö,
When I come again from Pökö,
I, Mabur, will greet my brother,
Beg a bull and greet my brother.
Lado Wani, Sire of Jagwe,
I will go to you and greet you ;
For I have no bull whose beauty
I may sing of, Lado Kajoŋ.
I will call the son of Kiden,
Call him, Könyi, son of Wökak.
Where shall Gure graze, O Laki ?
Where the pasture for Laŋgibi ?
In the Kraal shall Gure pasture,
In the Kraal, O Laki Wani.

He has entered. The subject of this sentence is the bull, Pötwör, so called because it is a fierce fighter. Its colour is *loporoŋ*, a light brown.

Muludyaŋ is a friend of Lokoloŋ Legi, the chief who lives at Nyaboŋgi, a small hamlet five miles South of Kursomba, which is the centre of the Mandari.

Beduŋ is the age-class name[1] of Legi Nyikwat of the Anyari clan. When one age-class has been formed, it is a common practice for its members to give one another nicknames.

Lako is a brother of Lokoloŋ Legi.

Lako Kopo. Kopo is the age-class name of Lado Kunyen, an Anyari.

Könyi Ludöŋ is a brother of Jagwe Lado. (See Bull Songs, No. 1.)

Son of Rombek. This is Legi Rombek, father of Lokoloŋ Legi, now dead.

[1] For details of this see Dr. Seligman in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LVIII, p. 421 ; and Rev. Fr. L. M. Spagnolo in " Africa," Vol. V, No. 4, page 393.

Pukun is a brother of Lokoloŋ's, now dead.

Sire of Lako. This is Rombek.

Nyori is an area near Kursomba.

Nyibari are the Bari of Gondokoro, neighbours of the Mandari, South of Mongalla.

Jöröbön is a swamp North of Nyaboŋgi.

Jagwe Kajoŋ is a man of the Adumöt clan and Lusawur is the " praise name " of his brother, Wani Kajoŋ.

Jöndöru is an island in the Nile, where long ago the Mandari fought with other Mandari of Kobure, who live west of the Nile near Terrakekka.

Lokurju, son of Nyambur, was so called because he was born at the time of cultivation. His name is derived thus : *Lo*, " son of " and *Kurju*, " cultivation."

Suyumbek was an ancestor of Lokoloŋ Legi's.

Buyu Könyi, an Anyara of Nyaboŋgi, is a man rich in cattle.

Mabur is the name of one of Lokoloŋ Legi's bulls and is frequently used by his friends as a nickname for the chief himself.

Lado Wani is the father of Jagwe Lado. (See Bull Songs, No. 1.)

Sure is the name of one of Lokoloŋ Legi's bulls.

Laŋgibi is a bull of his which is " lobeke," *i.e.*, white on the hump.

These are the only two Mandari bull songs I have heard and I am told that there are at most two others.

These songs in general are but a small percentage of those that one may hear sung almost nightly during the dry season, but as they represent a very definite part of village life, such few as can be written down should be recorded not merely for their academic interest but for the valuable light they frequently throw on native customs and above all on the native outlook on life. The salient feature, for instance, of the Funeral songs is the emphasis put on the weakness of the village that has lost its chief and, in past years, the very real fear of attack by their enemies. As education and civilisation progress, this state of mind, which may even to-day be only a formal survival, will be greatly modified and such songs will doubtless drop out, while with the spread of Christianity native song may fall into complete desuetude, so that the preservation of these and similar products of native bards is valuable not only for sentimental but also for historical reasons.

THE MEGADHIB OF EL DAMER.

By F. C. S. Lorimer.

OF the many branches in the Sudan of the Jaaliin proper, probably the most widely known is the Megadhib section.

This section is held in great respect for its sanctity, for its profound religious learning, and for the very considerable number of *'ulema*, or learned holy men, in its ranks. At one time, indeed, the Megadhib were held in awe and were given the utmost reverence for their sanctity, and were accredited with the possession of almost supernatural powers—the powers of prophecy and of healing by religious charms. The early history of the Megadhib is similar to that of the Jaaliin proper, who, at the time of the Arab invasion of the Sudan, infiltrated into the country from the north and the east, and settled in the Nile valley, and, like the other branches of the Jaaliin, they consider themselves to be of true 'Abbassid stock, descended directly from El 'Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet.

Their individual history and nomenclature commence with 'Abd el 'Al Ibn 'Arman, the son of Duab, whose father, Ghanim Ibn Hamedan, is generally held to be the progenitor of the Jaaliin proper.

From this same source spring the Gindilab, the Kabushab, the Rashidab, the Tabrab, the Shanakla, the Karabla, the Badwab, the Hamdab, the 'Amrab, the Rizgallab, the 'Eissaiyab, and the Zakiyab.

The Megadhib are those only who are descended directly from the Feki Hamad Ibn Mohammed el Magdhub, from whom they derive their name; they number in all about three or four thousand, scattered in various parts of the Northern Sudan.

There are bodies of them in Tokar, Port Sudan, Suakin, where they have a Mosque, Kassala, Gedaref, the Atbara River, Zeidab, and El Damer and the neighbouring villages.

Well over half of them are in and near El Damer, which is the original Megadhib stronghold in the Sudan, and these are the most closely connected with the original stock, and are considered to be the élite of all the Megadhib. This is partly on account of their direct descent, but principally due to the important place which El Damer holds and has held in Megadhib history, and to the *baraka* (blessing) which is believed to rest there.

Those in the River Atbara and Red Sea areas are from the original El Damer stock, and are those who were driven from their own lands by Ismail Pasha in the early part of the nineteenth century. They are, for the greater part, Ansar, number among their ranks quite a few celebrated *'ulema*, and have as their *heran* or pupils numbers of the Rashaida who were originally of the Shazlia Terika in Arabia.

When the Jaaliin first came to the Sudan the ancestors of the Megadhib settled in a village quite near the present El Damer. This village was Darru, now known as Shaadinab, so called after Sha' el Din, a brother of 'Abd el 'Al, whose family and descendants continued to reside there after the main body of the Megadhib had left. While settled at Darru, the Megadhib were in the habit of making frequent visits to what is now El Damer, for prayers and for religious exercises, and it was through this that El Damer came to get its name and became the Megadhib centre in the Sudan.

Hamad, one of the sons of 'Abdulla el Haj 'Eissa, was amongst those Megadhib who used to travel between Darru and the holy place which is now called El Damer, in order to worship there. Eventually he forsook Darru altogether and took up his abode permanently in the holy place, where he practised his religious devotions. When people used to ask where Hamad was, the reply was invariably " Hamad Ibn 'Abdulla damir," i.e., " Hamad Ibn 'Abdulla is spending the night in one place," and the Arabs subsequently came to call this place El Damer.

It is said by the Megadhib historians that Hamad Ibn 'Abdulla founded El Damer about four hundred and fifty years ago, during the reign of the Fung Kings of Sennar. A market sprang up there, people believed that Hamad had given it *baraka*, and the Arabs from all around came in to it. The new township became the centre of visitations of many people who used to come to the Megadhib for religious purposes and for the *Fetwas* (the sacred decisions) which they dispensed. So great was the religious reputation of the Megadhib in these early days that many of their followers came to settle beside them, and El Damer rapidly grew into a market town of some size and importance.

It was in these early days that the Megadhib built up their great religious reputation, and many travellers passing through El Damer from the west wrote very highly of the Megadhib and their town. Their reputation had also a practical side to it, and it is said that the people

used to respect them to such an extent that for their sake major crime became practically unknown. At that time, too, caravans of pilgrims used constantly to be harassed by highwaymen and robbers, and it is related that those caravans in which there was even one Magdhubi never suffered molestation.

The Megadhib, too, were constantly being called upon to settle disputes and feuds, and tradition has it that when a Magdhubi arbitrator could not attend in person in order to settle a dispute, he would send his *okaz* or staff; this staff would be regarded as a Magdhubi sceptre, and appears to have had the same good influence towards arbitration as its owner would have had if he himself had been present.

Burckhardt, in his "Travels in Nubia," says of the Medja-ydin (sic): "The family of Medjdoule . . . . has the reputation of producing necromancers, or persons endowed with supernatural powers, from whom nothing remains hidden, and whose spells nothing can withstand.

"Innumerable stories are related of their magic powers. . . . The Faky is resorted to in all cases where property is stolen, and as everybody entertains the greatest terror of his supposed omniscience, it is generally an easy task with him to perform wonders. . . . .

"The great Shikh, however, is not the only person who possesses magical powers; there are many Fakys of less note, who enjoy a similar credit, in proportion always to their sanctity and learning, and thus the whole town of Damer has acquired great reputation."

The Megadhib are, with few exceptions, of the Shazlia Terika, the tenets and practices of which were brought to the Sudan and disseminated amongst the people by the Feki Hamad Ibn Mohammed el Magdhub who learnt this order in Mekka from Sidi 'Ali el Dirawi el Shazli when he was there on the Pilgrimage. (Mohammed el Magdhub, father of the Feki Hamad, was of the Gadria Terika).

The Feki Hamad was born in 1105 A.H. (1693 A.D.) and died in 1190 A.H. (1776 A.D.). He is the great grandson of Hamad Ibn 'Abdulla, the founder of El Damer, so, if the line of descent given to me by the Megadhib historians is correct (and I have every reason to believe that it is correct), it seems improbable that El Damer was founded much more than three hundred and fifty years ago instead of four hundred and fifty years as they maintain. Whatever may be the exact date of its founding, however, it is an incontestable fact that El Damer was founded

by the early generations of the Megadhib, and was, and has continued to be, their principal stronghold in the Sudan.

In and near El Damer are the tombs of many of the well-known Sayeds and holy men.

The tomb of 'Arman is in Mukabrab, near El Damer; 'Abd el 'Al, Gindil, and el Haj 'Eissa are buried in Shaadinab, and Kabush, the brother of Gindil, is buried in Kabushab, which takes its name from him. The tombs of Hamad Ibn 'Abdulla, the founder of El Damer, the Feki Hamad Ibn Mohammed el Magdhub, the pioneer in the Sudan of the Shazlia Terika, all his sons, and his father, Mohammed el Magdhub, are in El Damer.

The Feki 'Abdulla el Nagar the elder is buried with all his brothers, the sons of the Feki Hamad Ibn Mohammed el Magdhub, in El Damer, and his sons are all buried with him, with the exception of Medani and Ahmed, who are buried in Kassala and Gedaref respectively.

At the present day there are two Megadhib Mosques in El Damer—the principal Mosque and the Northern Mosque, known as the Mosque of the Khalifa el Suheili (Mohammed el Suheili Ibn Abu'l Hassan Ibn Mohammed Ibn Hamad Ibn Feki Mohammed Abu Surra Ibn Feki Ahmed Abu Jedri Ibn Feki Hamad Ibn Mohammed el Magdhub).

The principal Mosque serves the main body of the Megadhib, whilst the Northern Mosque is peculiar to the branch of the Megadhib descended from the Feki Ahmed Abu Jedri Ibn el Feki Hamad Ibn Mohammed el Magdhub.

About two hundred and twenty or two hundred and thirty years ago, in the days when the Feki Hamad was still alive, the one Megadhib Mosque was on the site of the present Northern one. All the sixteen surviving sons of the Feki Hamad with their families and descendants used to attend this Mosque and it was felt that the Mosque was too small to accommodate them all. After long discussions and differences of opinion it was decided that a new Mosque must be constructed, but the Feki Ahmed Abu Jedri elected, and was permitted, to remain in the original Mosque of his father, while his eldest brother, the Feki 'Abdulla el Nagar, took himself and his brothers off and founded the main El Damer Mosque. This accounts for the two factions of the Megadhib to be found at the present day in El Damer.

Actually, the Megadhib in El Damer are solid and united, and there is no dissension, despite the fact that local politics in El Damer have, on more than one occasion, attempted to turn division into dissension. During the Mahdia there actually was dissension amongst the Megadhib, regarding the rightful headship of the section, but this was short-lived, and agreement was rapidly reached.

Of the more recent history of the Megadhib, the period most deserving of note is that of the Turkish invasion of the Sudan. When Ismail Pasha, the son of Mohammed 'Ali Pasha, invaded the Sudan in 1820, Nasr el Din el Sadiq, the King of the Meirafab (and great grandfather of the present Meirafab Sheikh Ayubeh 'Abd el Magid) sent an envoy to the Megadhib, conjuring them to give allegiance to the new ruler. The Megadhib, fearing that Ismail Pasha and his followers would not respect their religious beliefs and practices, and would be unlikely to uphold their high ideals, refused to give him their allegiance. They declared that if Ismail Pasha and his followers set foot in their land they would meet them with hostility, as, indeed, they did.

Ismail Pasha and his army left Berber for the Mogren, on the Atbara River, and were met by the Megadhib at El Kuweib, the site of the present Atbara River Bridge. A fierce encounter took place, and the Megadhib utterly routed the Turks, although only after sustaining heavy losses themselves. The Turks, smarting under this reverse, sent another force against the Megadhib, meeting them and inflicting a crushing defeat on them at Abu Seleim. The Megadhib scattered, some to the Atbara River and some to the Butana. The Turks followed them up, killing all whom they could, and those few of the Megadhib who contrived to escape fled to Kassala and Gedaref. El Damer then lay deserted until a few of the Megadhib returned after having been pardoned by Mohammed 'Ali Pasha for their opposition. Those who fled from their own land to other refuges such as the River Atbara, Kassala and Gedaref were accorded a very warm reception and a large measure of respect, and quite a number of them settled there permanently. This is the principal reason why the Megadhib are scattered over the Northern Sudan and are not concentrated solely in the neighbourhood of El Damer.

When General Gordon came to the Sudan he won the intense and active admiration of the Megadhib, who gave him every indication of esteem and loyalty. Gordon reciprocated this, and exempted the Feki

Ahmed Ibn Gelal el Din from paying Land Tax, and gave him an annual allowance of L.E.10 and ten *ardebs* of grain.

The Megadhib were unwilling participants in the Mahdia, in which circumstances forced them to take a part. Five prominent men from amongst them were created Amirs, and these were Ahmed Ibn Gelal el Din, El Haj Hamad, the Feki el Tayeb Mohammed, Magdhub Ibn el Feki 'Abdulla el Nagar, and the Sheikh Mohammed Magdhub Ibn el Sheikh el Tahir of Tokar.

Sheikh el Beshir was, after some internal dissension, unanimously appointed as the representative of the Megadhib, and he met the Khalifa 'Abdullahi at Omdurman, and promised to the Mahdi the allegiance and support of the Megadhib. This allegiance was continued until the Jaaliin disobeyed the Khalifa, and, incurring his displeasure, were massacred at Metemma in 1897 by the forces of the celebrated Amir Mahmud Ahmed el Taishi.

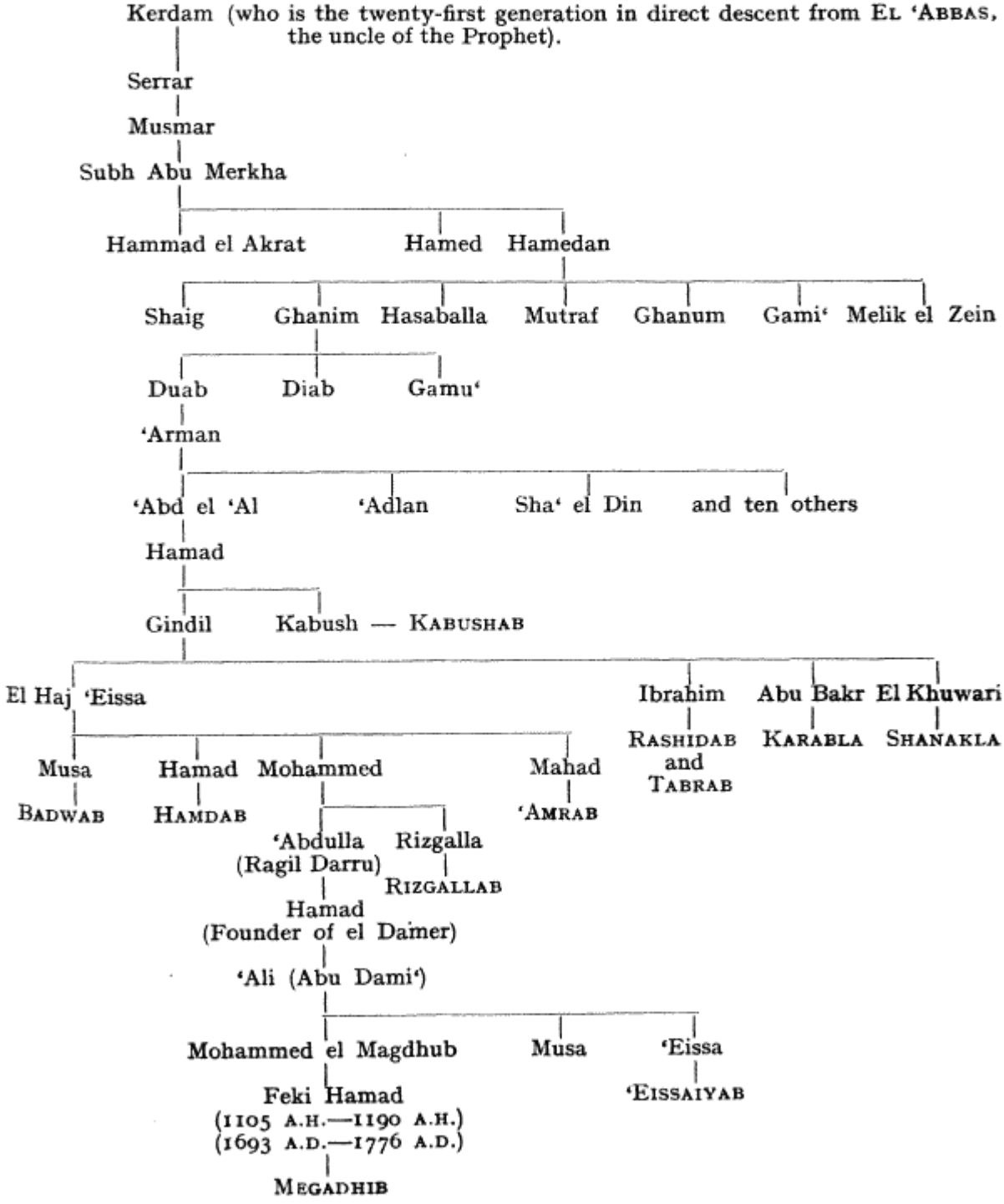
It is said that after the massacre of the Jaaliin at Metemma, Mahmud intended marching on El Damer and meting out a similar punishment on the Megadhib, but was warned by a vision (doubtless inspired by the sanctity of the Megadhib) not to put this plan into execution. He passed on to Nakheila where he engaged with the British forces in the battle of the Atbara, suffered a crushing defeat, and was himself taken prisoner.

Later, the river steamers, carrying Kitchener, Wingate, Hunter, Macdonald and Slatin, anchored at El Damer, and they were met there with great signs of friendship by the Megadhib, who gave them every assistance.

This friendship and loyalty have continued throughout this Government to the present day, and the present head of the Megadhib, the Sheikh el Beshir Ahmed Gelal el Din, has been presented with a Religious Robe of the First Class, as was his elder brother, the Sheikh 'Abdulla el Nagar, who died last year.

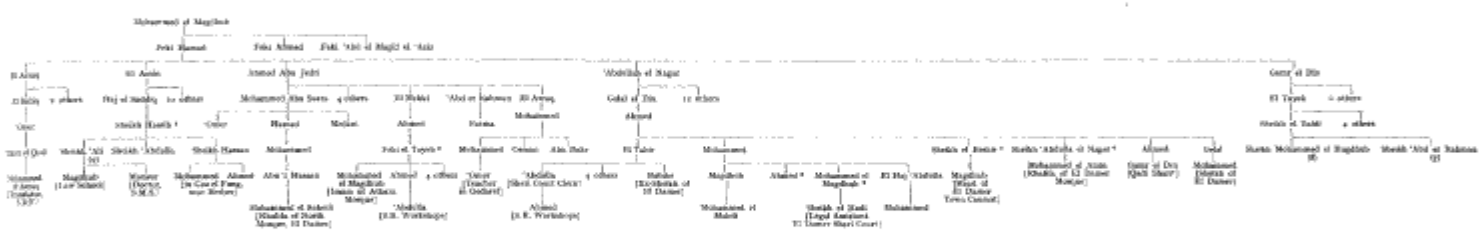
APPENDIX I.

SHOWING THE DESCENT OF THE MEGADHIB AS CLAIMED BY THEM FROM EL 'ABBAS, THE UNCLE OF THE PROPHET.



APPENDIX II.

SHOWING RECENT GENERATIONS OF THE MIRADDIB.



NOTES.

(1) Sheikh Hamdi.—Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi, studied with Sheikh Hamdi at Berber for two years. This was about ten years before he proclaimed himself as the Mahdi.

(2) Sidney Mohammed el Magdhub: At present a teacher in the Gordon College. He is the prospective successor to Sheikh el Beshir as head of the Magaddib.

(3) El Feki es Tayeb: Late Deputy of Arbaji Mosque. Died 1920.

(4) Sheikh Ahmed Mohammed Gelal el Din: Imam of Cantonment Mosque, Atbara.

(5) Sheikh el Obeyd Ahmed Gelal el Din: Head of the Magaddib and Shaiffa Tarika in El Damer. First Class Religious Kadi.

(6) Sheikh 'Abdullah es Nagar: Late Head of Magaddib and Shaiffa. Died July, 1921.

(7) Sheikh 'Abd er Rahman es Tayeb: Head of the Magaddib in Dueim, Tebar, and River Atbara area. Resident Shaiqui Village and Erkowit.

(8) Sheikh Mohammed el Magdhub es Tayeb: Late head of the Magaddib in Dueim, Tebar and River Atbara area. Died 1920.

(9) Sheikh 'Ali Hamdi: Formerly Qadi Shaiqi for Berber Province. Now on Pension in Omdurman.

KORDOFAN SUPERSTITIONS.

By E. F. Aglen.

THE following are a few notes I have made at odd times during the last three years when trekking in the villages near El Obeid. I have mentioned the tribe of the villages where I was told of the superstition or witnessed the custom, but the distinctions are not important; except for the most recent immigrants from the West, there is very little difference between the inhabitants of one village and another, though the one may call itself Humr and the other Ghodiat.

I presume that the harvest customs are a relic of the pagan connection between the fertility of human beings and that of plants, the moon being the image of the goddess of fertility. (See " The Golden Bough," Abridged Edition, p. 141.)

I. SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS RELATING TO THE HARVEST.

(i) When the ears have been cut and stacked on a platform (*jurum*) a foot or so off the ground, the owner takes his hoe, his thresher and his pitchfork, and with each beats the heap thrice, laying each instrument on top of the heap in turn. This is apparently to make the crop a heavy one, as is also the custom of burying a stone or a bit of *bugheil* grass in the heap of unthreshed grain. (Bedeiria.)

(ii) When the grain has been threshed and is lying in a heap ready for winnowing, a woman will make a paste of flour and water, burying it in the heap of grain and chaff and sticking into it a piece of grass. This is called the wind *sibr*. Some say that the flour from which the paste is made must be from the new grain, two handfuls. The luckiest person to make the *sibr* is the mother of twin boys; failing her, the mother of twins, and as a last resort, the mother of male children only. The object of the wind *sibr* is apparently to ensure that there will be a good wind for winnowing, but I have been told that it is also to make the yield heavy. The ball of paste, it should be noted, is stuck into the heap of grain at the north end, *i.e.*, that of the prevailing wind. (Beja, Bedeiria and Fellata.)

(iii) The winnowing of the first of a village's new crop must be begun by a matron, but whether the mother of boys or of girls depends upon the date. If there is a moon, *i.e.*, if the moon is waxing, the mother of girls brings luck; if, on the other hand, the moon is on the wane, the mother of boys is in demand. The one is known as " Um Gamra " and the other as " Um Dulma." An " Um Gamra " may eat the new season's grain for the first time only when the moon is waxing, *vice versa* with an " Um Dulma." (Bedeiria.)

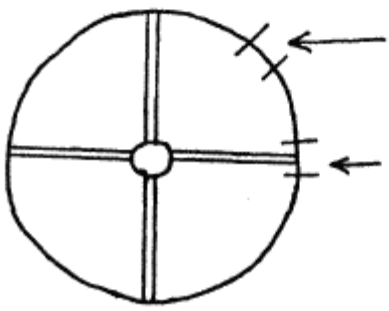
(iv) The actual ceremony of the first winnowing that I watched was as follows: A *tabag* or basket dish was filled with the threshed grain and poured over the feet of the mother of twin boys. The latter then stuck three short straws in her mouth in the shape of a T, *i.e.*, one sticking out to the right, one to the left, and one in front, and winnowed three *tabags* of grain. The *sibr* was now over, and anyone was allowed to help in the winnowing. (Beja.)

(v) When a heap of threshed but unwinnowed grain is left unprotected on the threshing floor, a pattern is sometimes impressed upon it by pressing the *tabag* into it, and thus making a network of circles all over the heap. These circles are sometimes decorated with ash and stones and serve as a tell-tale mark should any of the grain be filched during the owner's absence. (Beja.)

II. OTHER SUPERSTITIONS.

(i) It is unlucky to build a hut with the door facing the Pole star. A man and wife who tried to live in such a house would be sure to fall out.

Similarly, it is unlucky to make the door directly under one of the arms of the *kabash*, or framework of four beams tied together at the top, which supports the roof of a grass hut. The door must be somewhere in the arc between the two arms.



(ii) To protect an animal from *Niğma* (horse sickness), a piece of iron is hung round its neck. I have seen a donkey decorated with an old key.

(iii) To ward off sickness from a house, a pot of grain and water should be put to simmer in the doorway of the hut on two nights a week, or in cases of epidemic every night. Some Shuweihat attributed the immunity of their village from cerebro-spinal meningitis to the performance of this *karama*, as they called it

III. DREAMS.

It is said that dreams dreamt in the middle of the night are reliable as omens. Those dreamt in the small hours of the morning are not. (Messellemia.)

To dream that one is riding on horseback portends a love affair, or at least that one will meet a bonnie lassie. (Messellemia and Kenana.)

It is good to dream that one is raised above the ground, *e.g.*, on a chair, *angareb*, etc., and also to dream of fire, even that your own house is on fire. (Bedeiria and Tumam.)

Blood in dreams is liable to two interpretations. The Tumam say that to dream that one has been wounded and that blood has been drawn is a good omen and implies a good gum tapping season. The Kenana, on the other hand, interpret loss of blood as the omen for the loss of some property.

Dream that you have been given money and you will rue it, for it portends leprosy or some other wasting disease. (Bedeiria.)

SAGIA CUSTOM IN SHENDI DISTRICT.

By A. Paul.

THE following notes are the result of only a very cursory examination of local native custom in regard to agricultural lands and do not make any claim to be more than an elementary approach to a most intricate subject.

Nearly all rents are taken in kind and thus the only consideration is as to how the crop shall be divided between the owner of the land and the cultivator. In rainland (*atmūr*) the rent taken is merely nominal; it is not considered good form to drive too hard a bargain, and custom is much laxer than in the closely cultivated river lands.

All types of *seluka* cultivation may be grouped together for the purpose of this note, and include island cultivation, *gerf*, *seluka* proper, basin and *karu*, in fact all types of cultivation which may be grouped under the word *feyyadan*, *i.e.*, flood cultivation.

Custom here does not vary very greatly. As a general rule the landowner either takes a third and pays no share of the tax, or half and pays half the tax. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for him to take a third or quarter and pay a proportion of the tax in ratio.

In lands watered by a pump (*miswia*) the landowner's share is almost invariably a fifth, the *hamm*, *i.e.*, taxes and expenses, being borne by the cultivator.

Custom in regard to the division of crops cultivated by wheel, bewildering in its complexity and variety, differs sharply from sheikhship to sheikhship and even from group to group, depending upon the relationship of the parties, the nature of the soil, the crop, and the *meya* of the sagia, *i.e.* the water facilities, which again may depend upon the lift, the distance of the area to be irrigated from water, the possibility of the river drying up under the wheel and numerous other minute considerations.

Thus the *meya* of a sagia is said to be *sāhil* (easy) where the lift is small, water is abundant and the area to be irrigated is not more than the bulls available can water comfortably without overworking. An area of 10 feddans at a time is said to be as much as a full team of eight bulls can manage, allowing that they water not less than a feddan a day.

All these factors being taken into consideration, it is not surprising that few hard and fast rules can be laid down and that custom differs greatly even over a small area.

It is possible, however, to trace a connecting thread and to discover a few general rules which seem to be applicable throughout, though local usage may differ even on such fundamentals as the share of the landowner, the wheel, and the bulls.

The landowner's share varies from a fairly steady average of a tenth in the Shendi area to a twelfth in some of the Damer Omodias and a seventh or an eighth in others; but local difficulties of watering, or the excellence or otherwise of the soil, may cause the rent to be more or less than the accepted usage.

In the Sayala sheikhship of the Guberab Omodia for instance, custom allows the landowner an eighth of all crops except onions, of which he takes a tenth only on account of the extra labour involved in the cultivation of the crop. In the same sheikhship I have discovered cases where no rent was being taken on the onions at all.

Rent of land on *mataras* is always less than on riverain wheels owing to the uncertainty of the water supply, and, as a general rule, the poverty of the soil. The share of the landowner and the wheel together rarely exceeds an eighteenth, each taking a half.

The share of the wheel is generally calculated at a ninth, and where by local usage the method of division is different, the share of the wheel is still calculated to be about a ninth of the total crop. This is taken by the owner of the wheel, who is responsible for its repair, and keeping it in good order, with the exception of the *gāwadīs* and the *ils* which are provided and kept in order by the *tarabla* themselves. Seed falls under the same heading, it being usual for the *tarabla* after receiving their shares to put aside a *shatiba* each for the *gawadis* and the seed.

The share of the bulls, whether hired or not, is almost without exception a quarter of the total crop. Where a *tirbāl* and his bull are talked of as receiving two *shataib*, it means that the *tirbāl* receives a *shatiba* from the quarter share of the bulls and a *shatiba* from the final share of the *tarabla*. Where the bulls are not hired, and no special provision is made for them, the usual unit of division is a *shatiba* = 1 man and bull.

After these shares have been set aside, the remainder of the crop is divided up among the *tarabla* and the number of *shataib* in a sagia are

calculated by counting up the number of *tarabla* and extra shares required, and finding a common denominator for them all.

The share of a *tirbāl* without a bull may be a *shatiba* or half a *shatiba* as the case may be, but in the latter case his share is in the actual grain harvested and he has no share in the *gasab* and foliage of the *lubia*, etc., which is divided up among the bulls. A boy *tirbāl* gets half the share of a grown man.

The *samad* of the sagia usually gets about an eighth if he is also the *basir*, who keeps the wheel in good repair. Apart from this his work consists in making the *hods*, sowing the crop, supervising the watering, thinning the crop and planting out. If he is not also *basir* he is given anything from half to one and a half *shataib* extra, and in any case pays a proportionately larger share of the tax. In a great many sagias a *samad* is no longer appointed and the name is largely a survival of the days when there was abundant slave labour.

In cases where the *samad* is not also the *basir* of the sagia, the *basir* may have ten or a dozen sagias under his care and is usually given an ardeb or so of grain from each.

Under no circumstances does the landowner or the wheel pay any share of the tax.

The *oratti* is seldom given anything as usually he is one of the sons or younger brothers of the *tirabla* who each take it in turn to provide a driver for the bulls, but when hired he may be paid a money wage and his keep, or else be given a recognised share of the crop.

In many cases the owner of the *gerf* or low-lying land though which the intake channel is cut is not the same as the owner of the high land which the wheel is irrigating. He is paid a *shatiba* by way of compensation for the loss of the land occupied by the channel and this is known as the *shatībat-el-madrab*. On occasions the donkey used in transporting *marogh* and sand is allowed a share, but as a general rule each *tirbāl* provides his own donkey.

In order to avoid difficulties of arithmetic in division of the crop, the number of *tirbāl* is regulated, eight being the usual number, though four and twelve are not uncommon.

The following examples, selected from various sheikhships throughout the district, show how very inconsistent and inconsequential is the custom governing the division of sagia crops. This apparent lack of method,

however, is probably not without good reason, which would, no doubt, be forthcoming on closer enquiry, to explain the wildest variations from locality to locality.

Example 1.

BAGRAWIA (SHENDI OMODIA).

Landowner ...		1/10th.
Wheel	...	½ of 1/10th.
Bulls...	...	¼
Samad	...	⅛th from which he pays the full tax.

The remainder is divided up between the *tarabla* by division into heaps (*keman*). The donkeys who bring the *marogh* are allowed ½ of ¼ and the *basir* 1 *kom*. Supposing the sagia to be divided into 40 *keman* the shares would be as follows :—*

*Landowner ...		4 *keman*.
Wheel...	...	2 ,,
Samad	...	5 ,,
Bulls ...	...	10 ,,
Donkeys	...	5 ,,
Basir ...	...	1 *kom*.
		27

Tarabla 13 *keman* or about ⅓ of the total crop.

Example 2.

ALIAB EAST (ALIAB OMODIA).

Landowner ...		1/15th–1/17th.
Samad	...	2 *shatiba* extra.
Wheel	...	6 *weibat, i.e.*, 2 *weibat* = ½ ardeb approx. per *Masra*.
Bulls...	...	¼

Tarabla divide remainder on a basis of a *Shatiba* each.

Example 3.

SAYALA (GUBERAB OMODIA).

Landowner	...	⅛th (1/10th of onion crop only).
Wheel...	...	1/9th or may be hired for 18–24 *rials* per year.
Bulls ...	...	¼

Division among the *tarabla* as usual.

Example 4.

KELLI (BAGROSI OMODIA).

Landowner ...		1/10th or less.
Wheel	...	1 *kom*.
Samad	...	⅛th if also *basir*, if not ½ *kom* extra.
Bulls	...	¼
Oratti	...	fixed wage.
Seed and buckets		1 *kom*.
Basir	...	50 PT.

Tarabla share remainder according to number.

Example 5.

GUEIR AND GOZ BURRA (GUEIR OMODIA).

Landowner	...	⅛th, 1/10th, ½ of 1/10th (according to the *meya*').
Cattle (if hired)		1/5th.
Wheel...	...	1½ ardebs for two *Masra* only, a third cropping being unknown in these parts.
Samad	...	No special allotment and few sagias have a samad.
Basir ...	...	£E.1 from each sagia.
Oratti ...	...	120 PT. per season.
Shatibat El Madrab.		⅓rd ardeb.

Remainder divided as usual among *terabla*.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED.

Tirbal (*Tarabla* Pl.)	...	Cultivators sharing in crop of sagia.
Oratti	...	Small boy who drives bulls.
Meya	...	Water facilities of the sagia.
Samad (*Sumūda* Pl.)	...	Headman of sagia (Overseer).

Matara	A high land sagia back from the river irrigated from a well.
Gadūs (*Gawādīs* Pl.) ...	Bucket of the sagia.
Ils	Rope chain on which buckets are hung.
Shatība (*Shataib*, Pl.) ...	Shares into which crop is divided.
Kōm (*Keman* Pl.) ...	
Basīr	Sagia expert.
Masra	Sagia crop season.
Weiba	A native measure of rather less than half ardeb.
Mirwia	Crop on land watered by pump.
Hamm	Lit. "burden"; expenses, including tax, ploughing, hoeing, etc., entailed in cultivating a *mirwia* crop.
Shatibat el madrab ...	Share paid to the owner of sagia site, entrance, channel, etc. The madrab of a sagia is the actual site of the wheel, but in this connection includes the land across which water is brought to it.

NOTE ON THE ADONGA ANUAK.

By Captain R. C. R. Whalley, C.B.E.

ON all visits to the Boma Plateau I have always wanted to travel further and pay a visit to Alemi and the Anuak tribe on the banks of the Akobo River. This tribe is also referred to by tribesmen in adjoining areas as Anuar, Yambo or Nyoro.

Alemi (or Ilemi) is the northern apex of the triangular stretch of country, which is more or less uninhabited, situated between the Sudan, Kenya Colony and Ethiopian administered areas.

In order to make the seven days' journey easy, I decided to travel light with a few porters and mules from Towoth Hill, the centre of the Beir (Murule or Epeta) tribal area of the Boma Plateau. The Boma Plateau is rather sparsely populated and is bounded on the east up to the Abyssinian international frontier (Akobo River) by a veritable sea of *Habila*, *Lulu* and *Opok* forest with tall elephant grass.

The route from Towoth Hill to Alemi is almost due north in general direction, and in close proximity to the Ajuba River, which, in the past, had a great reputation amongst European, Swahili and Abyssinian elephant poachers. The latter two in recent years have caused the slaughter of most of the game. That game was abundant in these parts at one time is testified by well-worn game trails which are now becoming very overgrown and almost untraceable.

The first morning's march was through Beir (Epeta) country where there are several villages and fairly extensive cultivated areas of the normal Sudanese native crops such as maize, *dura*, *lubia*, simsim, *ful sudani* and so forth.

On leaving the cultivated area I followed a splendid path stamped by the sagacious elephants along a wonderfully graded alignment in hilly country. On entry into the wide, grassy, well-timbered and undulating country away from the hills the track petered out, as do most others in this former game area.

At dawn the elephant grass, varying from six to twelve feet in height, has collected a vast amount of dew, and until the drying sun arrives it is a wet and somewhat uncomfortable task marching through it.

The region between the Boma Plateau and the Akobo River is in many respects not unlike that excellent elephant country of the Acholi hills in the Opari District of Equatorial Province. It was a saddening experience travelling through the country now almost devoid of animal life; nevertheless it was interesting to discover that the indigenous human inhabitants bore a marked resemblance to those occupying the similar country some five hundred miles march to the west on the River Nile.

At a small Epeta village, named Kamalo, the first Anuak tribesman was encountered. I picked him out at once by physical and facial characteristics, which were exactly similar to those of an Acholi of the Opari District. I addressed him in Acholi and the puzzled expression on his face was not without amusement after he had answered my question in his own language. This man, Gweno, was the guide for the five hours' march from Kamalo to Alemi.

On arrival at the edge of the Anuak areas at Alemi, camp was pitched, very fortunately, in a patch of recently burnt grass; the one oasis in otherwise dense and almost impenetrable reedy elephant grass, ten to twelve feet high, with stems about three quarters of an inch in diameter.

The next morning word was sent to [1]Chief Alemi, and I met him later on a footpath on his way towards camp, surrounded by some twenty to thirty followers armed with Lebel and Fusil Gras rifles, each armed man possessing about ten to twenty cartridges in his Abyssinian-made waistbelt.

The linguistic and tribal similarities between the Acholi and the Anuak were now more definitely in evidence than in the case of the single Anuak, Gweno, whom I met at Kamalo village.

After greetings, Chief Alemi guided me to his village, and sat down to talk underneath his favourite council tree.

Amongst other matters, Alemi asked me how I came to be able to speak his own tribal dialect. When told that I had acquired Acholi amongst the Sudan Acholi he expressed great interest and asked many questions about these people.

Chief Alemi voluntarily supplied the information that the Acholi had originally migrated, many generations ago, from the Akobo areas of the Anuak to their present areas *via* Gebel Lafon in the Latuka District.

[1] Within two months of Captain Whalley's visit, Chief Ilemi (or Alemi) met his death at the hands of Tirma tribesmen who raided a Beir village near the Boma Plateau to which the Chief was paying a friendly visit (Ed.).

This information bore out my own findings whilst in Opari. Alemi said that he, personally, had never met an Acholi tribesman, but he had heard about them from several of his own followers who had encountered them at Akobo Post at the time when a Company of the Equatorial Corps of the Sudan Defence force was stationed there.

Alemi asked me about many intricate Acholi tribal matters, and I gave as full a description as possible to him, causing him to state that the Acholi had very largely preserved intact their tribal and linguistic customs since the date of their bygone migration.

I told Alemi that I had, myself, spoken Acholi to Jalua Kavirondo living near the shores of Lake Victoria and to the Badawa tribe near Mount Elgon in Kenya Colony ; to the Lango at Lira, Acholi of Kitgum and Gulu, and to the Aluru at Arua in Uganda ; to the Lokoro of Gebel Lafon ; to the Shilluk at Tonga and Kodok in the northern tribal and linguistic areas of the Sudan ; also to soldiers of the varied tribes in the detachment of the 4th King's African Rifles (Uganda Battalion) stationed in Turkana. I told him also that I had spoken Acholi to a former Regimental Sergeant-Major of the 3rd King's African Rifles (Kenya Battalion) in Nairobi who in reality was a Shilluk from the extreme northern edge of his linguistic and tribal group. This Shilluk has now affiliated himself to the southern tribal group without experiencing any very great changes of environment except for the difference in the type of country.

Alemi expressed great surprise that there should be so many natives who spoke his tribal dialect. He asked how far away the Jalua were and seemed unable to believe that two or three months hard marching on foot would be necessary before he could reach their area. He then asked how he could get one of his men into touch with the Acholi. I suggested that he should send one or two of his followers to Kapoeta where there were several Uganda and Sudan Acholi serving in the Police and Sudan Defence Force.

Chief Alemi replied in a very naive manner " of course our tribe have always suffered from wander-lust and now I shall send Gweno (the Anuak found at Kamalo village) *via* Boma Plateau to Kapoeta to see whether the information I have heard to-day is true or not."

Gweno went to Kapoeta with my Taposan Consular Guards, who state that he was given a right-royal reception by all the Acholi. He eventually returned to Alemi *via* the Boma Plateau and had covered over five hundred miles on foot merely to satisfy the whim of his Chief.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ARABS AND THE STARS.

To the Editor, "SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS."

On reading Mr. Owen's "Notes on an Arab Stellar Calendar" in Vol. XVI, Part I of *Sudan Notes and Records*, I was reminded of a list of the MENAZIL or Houses of the sun given, I think, by Mr. H. C. Jackson in one of the early volumes. As I had copied out the list I was able to compare it with Mr. Owen's calendar of 'EYNAS.

Mr. Jackson begins his year on April 23rd with EL NATH, which he also calls EL SHARATAN. It will be noticed that his dates are a few days later than Mr. Owen's, in whose list EL NATH begins about April 18th. Mr. Jackson carries the idea of "butting" a stage further, saying, as far as I remember, that it refers to summer "butting" winter, with a view to taking its place.

The names in both calendars are practically the same, save that EL BERAYA in Owen's list is EL DABRAN in Jackson's. But in two cases the periods have been transposed. Thus in Owen's list EL HAN'A (June 10th) precedes EL HAK'A; in Jackson's the positions are reversed and EL HAQ'A is given as beginning on June 13th and EL HAN'A on June 26th. Similarly, the positions of EL BULDA and EL NA'AIM are transposed.

With regard to the Lion, Jackson states that EL TARFA is his side, EL JABHA his forehead, while with EL ZUBRA or KHARASAN the whole body is in view. EL SARFA refers to his departure, while EL AWWA signifies his grumbling when just out of sight.

Mr. Jackson further gives an indication of the supposed effect of each MENZIL on human fortunes.

Among the people round El Obeid I was able to find very little knowledge of these periods. Those who knew them at all knew only those of the rains. I was told that if rain fell on the first day of EL TARFA it would be very wet during the succeeding fortnight or so.

With regard to the Great Bear, or ANQARIB BANAT HASH (as opposed to ANQARIB EL HAQQ which, I think, is Auriga) the story that I was told was that on the *angarib* is a man at death's door. He is being visited by his three daughters. UM KHEIR is holding the leg of the *angarib*, UM

SEYIL is behind her, while last of all comes SILEI. I do not know whether the story has any point.

Orion (ABU RAYA, as he looks as if he were waving a flag) also has a story about him. He had two wives, EL TIRAYA (the Pleiades) and EL AGRAB (Scorpio) between whom he was wont to divide his attention. One day as he was on his way from El Agrab to El Tiraya he was waylaid by four bad men who hurled their sticks ('ISI) at Abu Raya with such effect that they stuck in his heart, where they are to this day (Orion's Belt). The murderers, however, are not yet sure whether their victim is dead and they are still waiting and watching. As far as I can make out, the four murderers are Sirius, Procyon, Canopus and either Aldabaran or Capella.

In connection with Mr. Owen's " 'arraf " I might mention that there is an old man living at Kazgeil, south of El Obeid, who is known throughout the district as a " najjam." He has a tremendous reputation for foretelling the beginning of the rains, and it is said that the first storm always falls (at Kazgeil) on the date predicted by him. But he uses no astronomical knowledge. He merely counts the days from the end of the rains. The next rains will always begin on the same day in relation to the last. It all depends on when he begins counting and I was unable to discover his system. In the same way this man foretells the period of gestation of animals.

E. F. AGLEN.

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THIS is a serious book by a Sussex painter about the Bahr El Ghazal area and the people living there. Mr. Wyndham has the artist's eye for landscape, cloud and human form and the photographs are excellent. He had opportunities for studying the Dinka not vouchsafed to the ordinary tourist, for he was the guest of a District Commissioner for some months at Tonj, and other officials whom he met appear to have put at his disposal their accumulated stores of information, of which he has made worthy use.

It is, therefore, a pity that the author should have forsaken the literary standards which we have come to associate with Sussex, by inserting in an otherwise admirable book a fictional " hero " named Jameson, whom Mr. Wyndham has, no doubt, met in the pages of Mr. Somerset Maugham, and may have seen in the Quartier Latin—but not in the service of a Sudan Government department ! Some may be tempted to put the book down when Jameson irrelevantly intervenes, but that would be a pity, for there is much that is very good indeed

P. B. B.

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