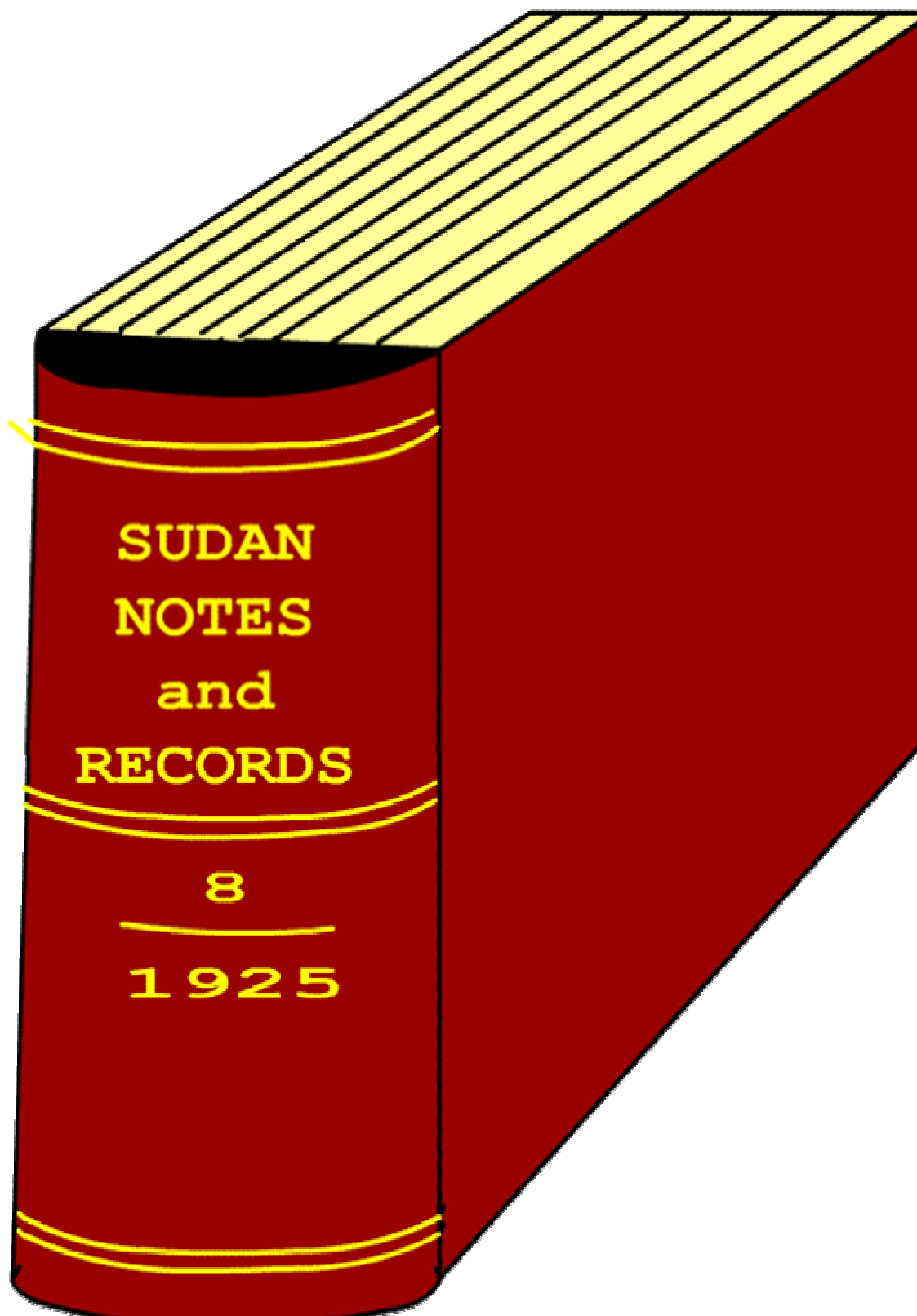




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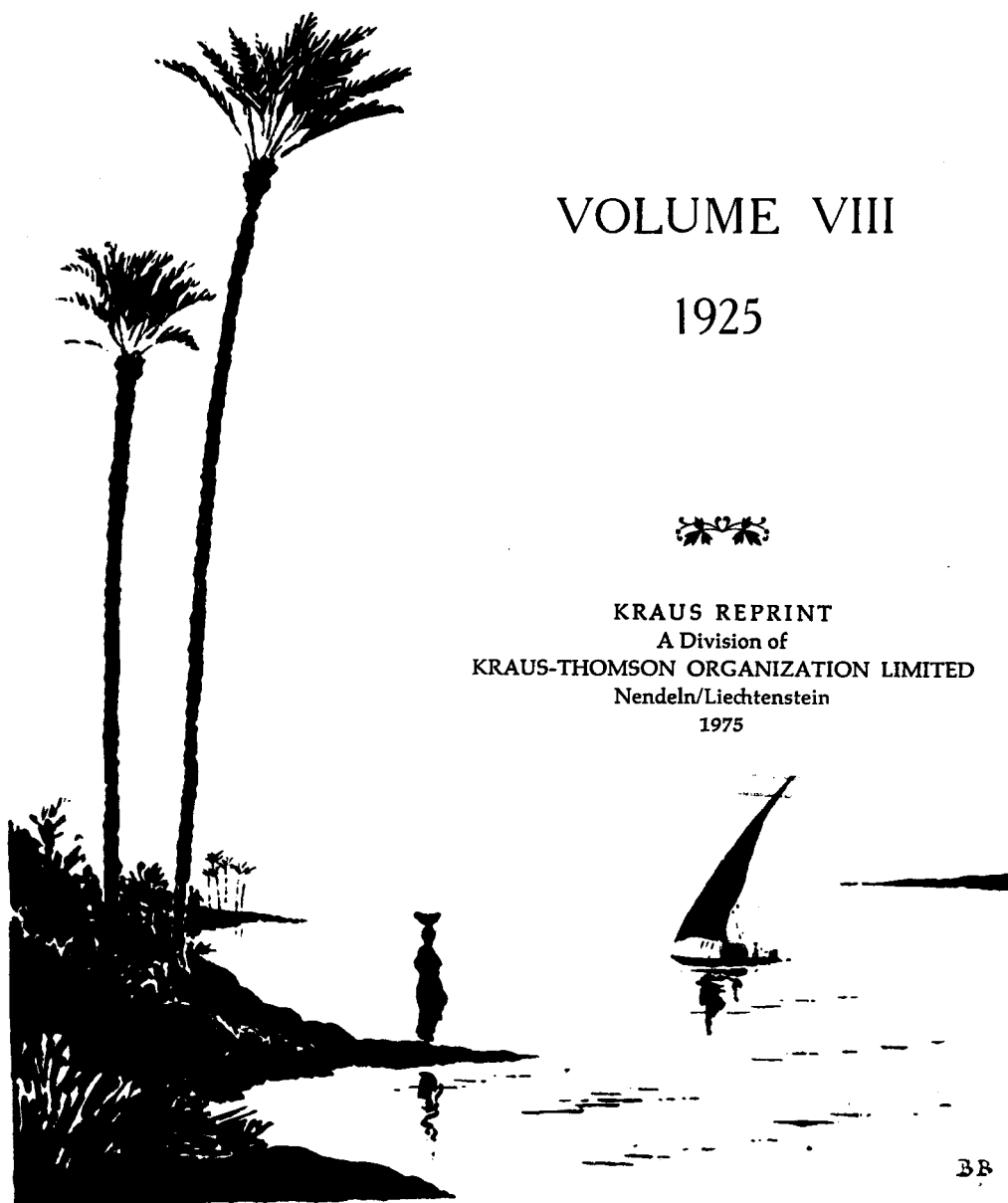
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VOLUME VIII

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Transliteration of the Arabic alphabet

adopted by the Editors of «Sudan Notes and Records».

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

Vowels.

fatha	a,	lengthened	ā
kasra	i,	—	ī
damma	u,	—	ū

Diphthongs.

اِى	ai (as in aisle)	coll. ē
اِو	au (as in mauser)	coll. ō
The <i>ل</i> of the article always remains <i>l</i> .		
Silent <i>t</i> (ة) to be omitted.		

Notes.

1. The system will not be applied to well known names. Write Khartoum, Omdurman, instead of Khartūm, Umm Darmān.
2. In transliterating colloquial Arabic follow the pronunciation and not the spelling, giving the vowels their value as in Italian.

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LOTUKO HOUSE, PROBABLY THAT OF IKANG.



LOGURN HILL, WITH HOUSES ON BUILT-UP TERRACES.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. VIII.

1925

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LOTUKO¹

By C. G. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman

(PLATES I—III)

INTRODUCTION

THE Lotuko is the most important of the Lotuko-speaking tribes of whom we have any first-hand knowledge, namely, the Lotuko, the Lokoia, and the Lango.² The physical characters of the Lotuko have been described elsewhere,³ here we need only state that they are tall and long-headed, with dark almost "black" skin, the average stature of thirty-four men being 1.78 m., and their cephalic index 73.3.

Our knowledge of the social organization and beliefs of the Lotuko cannot be said to antedate the paper entitled "The Lotuko", by Major the Hon. Fitz R. R. Somerset (now Lord Raglan), in the first volume of this journal, for although the Lotuko were visited by Baker

¹ The data upon which this paper is based were collected during the winter of 1921-2. Among those who helped us we would especially mention Mr. V. R. Woodland (then Governor of Mongalla Province), Major R. G. C. Brock, Major W. N. Barker, and Captain R. H. Walsh. Nor may we omit to mention the courtesy shown us by the members of the Catholic Mission at Torit, but above all our thanks are due to Mr. J. W. Crowfoot (Director of Education, and Principal of Gordon College) for his unfailing sympathy and support, and for permitting Mr. S. Hillelson to accompany us as assistant and interpreter, without whose help our work would have presented far greater difficulties than it did. As the MS. goes to press we would add that it has most kindly been read by Lord Raglan and by Mr. Driberg, and many of their suggestions incorporated. We are indebted to the Royal Anthropological Institute for permission to use the text figure on p. 39.

² Besides these three apparently well-defined Lotuko-speaking peoples, there are certain others, seemingly less well characterized, or of whom our knowledge permits less definite statement. Probably the most important of these is the Koriuk, a term applied by the Lotuko in the neighbourhood of Torit to the hillmen of Langairu and, according to information given us by Lord Raglan, to those of Imatong, Ipötu, Imurok, and other hills to the south-west of Torit, as also to the Lolanga of Southern Torit. Lord Raglan describes the "purest" Koriuk on the western slopes of Imatong as shorter than the Lotuko, with rounder heads and more prominent cheekbones, and as scarring their cheeks vertically. Their villages are scattered, and the roofs of their houses, which are unfenced, touch the ground.

³ C. G. Seligman, "Some Little-known Tribes of the Southern Sudan," *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. iv, 1925.

and there is a long dissertation on them in Stuhlmann's volume¹ put together from Emin's notes, which contains a certain amount of useful information, it ignores such basic facts as the clan organization, while it may be suggested that the elaborate rules as to the distribution of property are not genuinely Lotuko. Lord Raglan's paper greatly facilitated our work, and this applies equally to the copy of his linguistic MS. (since published in Volume II of *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*), which he allowed us to make.

Pronunciation varies considerably among the Lotuko, certainly many of our informants pronounced the same words in different ways. Such differences may have been personal, but in all probability were dialectical, as our informants came from several localities. The greatest difficulty was to distinguish between *k*, *g*, and the guttural *g*, which we have written *gh* because it is pronounced something like the Arabic غ (*ghain*). The difficulty of distinguishing these three consonants is enhanced as these letters are interchangeable, and the changes perhaps have grammatical significance. A further difficulty encountered is that in ascertaining the initial letter to any word sometimes *l* and sometimes *n* was heard, while at other times they were omitted, and it may be that these initial consonants indicating sex may have other grammatical implications. The word for brother was sometimes heard as *oke*, sometimes *woke*, and occasionally we thought we detected a glottal stop not quite so pronounced as the *gh*; we think differences of this kind are dialectical, and have written this word as *woke*. The Lotuko *p* is difficult to pronounce, but as there is only one variety it is not necessary to use a special letter to indicate it. It might be described as a fricative *p* or a bilabial *f*; on the whole if it is mispronounced *p* it is more usually understood than an *f* would be. The vowels also are not very easy to distinguish; some words were at times written with an initial *i* and sometimes *e*, nor were we able in the short time at our disposal to determine which was nearer to the correct pronunciation. There is a nasal as well as a palatal *n*. The former we have transliterated *ng*, the latter *ny*. The letter *c* has been used for the *ch* in "cherry", e.g. Loccelele.

¹ F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin ins Herz von Afrika*, Berlin, 1894; cf. also *Emin in Central Africa*, London, 1888.

GROUP AND CLAN ORGANIZATION

The organization of the Lotuko is into a number of independent territorial groups,¹ in former times often at enmity. Each group includes a number of villages and is divided into clans, and has at its head a rainmaker (masc. *kobu*, fem. *nobu*), and it is the *kobu* who is commonly referred to as "Sultan" by any Lotuko who may be able to speak Arabic.

The clans are exogamous, descent is in the male line, and at death everyone becomes the animal associated with his clan.² There is generally a certain feeling of sympathy or friendliness between men and their clan animals, nevertheless, men will usually kill their clan animals, though they will not eat them. It may be that as regards killing the feeling varies from clan to clan and perhaps also with regard to time and place: we shall return to this subject below.

Of the *kobu* Somerset writes: "The principal function of a *kobu* or chief is to make rain, but among the Lotuko . . . the chiefs have always a good deal of political power."³ Actually he is the religious as well as the temporal head of the community, and as will be seen, later both powers are as much respected in the person of a woman as in a man. Rain-making will be treated in detail later, so it is unnecessary here to say more than that, although both parents of a rain-maker should "have rain", instances exist in which a man with rain descent on the male side only has set up, or attempted to set up, as rain-maker. Thus Locheleli of Torit who claims to make rain is the

¹ We purposely use the word group in speaking of the community we studied, though it would probably be equally accurate to use the term tribe or sub-tribe. Morphologically this community seemed to us scarcely less definite a unit than, e.g. a Dinka tribe, though very much smaller, but since our experience of the Lotuko country is limited we prefer to employ the less precise term.

² There seems to be some doubt as to the correct word for "clan". Following Lord Raglan, we used *kang*, which, according to Mr. Driberg, really means "family" or "family enclosure". If this be so we have no doubt that when we used it it was understood in an extended sense, equivalent or nearly equivalent to our "clan". According to Mr. Driberg, the word for clan appears to be *nemanit* or *nawoyo*: "As far as I can determine *nawoyo* is more intimate than *nemanit*, and really only refers to relationship up to three generations. In this case *nemanit* is presumably the correct word for a clan . . . *kang* may be either *nekhang*, village (which is the same as Acholi *gang*, for *kh* = *g*), or *nakhang*, family. I should say rather that *nekhang* is the family enclosure inside a village." The last sentence perhaps holds the key to the apparent clan signification of *kang*.

³ "The Lotuko," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918, p. 155.

son of a commoner mother, though Maiya his father (the Commoro of Baker) was a rain-maker of repute.¹ Lest it be urged that the claims set up at a centre of white influence such as Torit prove nothing, we would cite the events which led to the death of Lonik, who was *kobu* before the district was administered, first noting that the Lotuko take no precautions to kill off or isolate the brothers and other near relatives of the new rain-maker on his succession to office, although it was recognized that the existence of possible rivals might lead to fighting. Thus it was that Lonik who preceded Lokidi as *kobu* was killed by his nephew Logwiro, son of his brother, the *kobu* Lajaru. Lonik was living as *kobu* at Tarangole, Logwiro at Logurn, where, although his mother Iture of Lowudo was not a rain woman, he succeeded in getting sufficient following to attack Lonik at Tarangole, and having obtained a rifle contrived to shoot him. However, his party was not strong enough to follow up this success, and Logwiro went back to Logurn where apparently he was left unmolested, to be killed later in an attempt to raid cattle from Imatong.

Besides the *kobu*, the *lamonyemiji*, the "fathers of the land", wield very real power in the magico-religious sphere. In origin and functions they correspond to the Bari *monyekak*, e.g. the men, or the descendants of the men, who first bring a piece of land under cultivation or fish a particular piece of water, and it is doubtless in reference to the *lomonyemiji* that Somerset writes:—

"In every village the hereditary headman sacrifices a bull or goat at the beginning of each cultivating season, and also at the rebuilding of the village, in the event of an epidemic, etc. . . . Nearly all cultivated lands, streams, hills, etc., near which villages have long existed have their owners. These are hereditary . . . One man of the ' *kang* Lomini ' owns nearly all the *natorit* or river land, from which Torit is named, and can blight the crops of anyone who cultivates there without paying him a sheep."

"The owner of a fishing-pool near Torit can cause crocodiles to devour whoever fishes there without paying him his due."

¹ Our identification of Maiya with Baker's Commoro does not agree with Lord Raglan's information, which is that Kamiru (the Bari word for "lion") was a brother of Koyang (Amoya).

" Last year the people of Labalwa were much troubled by leopards; they sent for the owner of the hill, then an absentee, and he after consulting with the magician sprinkled charcoal on the footprints of the leopards, thereby preventing their return.¹ Tarangole was said to be an old Idjogok site upon which Igago later became predominant and here the *lomonyemiji* for the cultivation was Itangatu of Idjogok."

With regard to the " owner of water " or " owner of the river ", Mr. Driberg writes that like the *lamonyemiji* he has the hereditary title of *lamonyekhari*. He is concerned with the fishing, and none can take place until he has sacrificed at the beginning of the season. The sacrifice consists of a sheep or a goat, black, red, or dark grey, either his own or one taken by him free from anybody. The animal is killed on the river bank, and its stomach contents are thrown into the river—old men eat the meat. It is within his power to prohibit the catching of particular fish during the season. He receives no tribute, but levies a fine if his prohibitions are disregarded.

Both Lord Raglan and Mr. Driberg consider we are wrong in regarding the rain-maker as the spiritual head of their community. On this matter Lord Raglan writes: " It is, I venture to think, a misstatement to say that the rain-makers are the spiritual heads of the community. The ordinary man pays his share of the village tribute to the rain-maker for the supply of rain, and there his connexion with the rain-maker ends. With the sacrifices for crops, funeral rites, etc., which make up the religious life of the community, the rain-maker (except perhaps in his own village) has no connexion. If a fertility charm, etc., is required, recourse is had to the magician (*ibwoni*). " With regard to the latter statement, we gathered that it was the *lamonyemiji* (" fathers of the land ") who acted at the request of the rain-maker, a view confirmed by Mr. Driberg (cf. p. 30), though he apparently does not realize that this, in fact, bears out our opinion of the spiritual predominance of the rain-maker. Nor should we class " crops [and] funeral rites " in the same category.

The rain-maker has certain privileges as regards game killed, and, all skins of lions and leopards would be brought to him, as well as

¹ Op. cit., pp. 156 and 157. It may be assumed that the " magician " alluded to is the *ibwoni*.

ivory. Actually the number of lions killed was negligible, but of leopard skins the rain-maker might have a considerable store which he would give away as occasion demanded, and not only to men of rain-making blood. Of game animals the rain-maker would receive the "chest" (anterior part of thorax), and the right fore-limb, and he would also be given a considerable share of fish caught. Moreover, everyone contributes *dura* for his support, and we were told that even the *lamonyemiji* would bring his share.

The Lotuko rain-maker did not abstain from taking an active part in warfare. He was said to have certain assistants, executive officers called *abalok*, to pass on his orders, two being elected by each drum-house.

The firstfruits are the prerogatives of the *kobu*, while his saliva is considered to safeguard the crops from disease.

The territorial group among which most of our work was done was that marked Tarangole on the map, whose *kobu* was Loinyong (since dead), more commonly known as Ibrahim. Territorially the group—its correct pronunciation being Tirangoré—includes the great village of Tarangole, certain smaller settlements, including Lopi and Kapuiri, the hill village of Logurn, with its rain shrine, but not the important iron and pot-making centre of Chelamini.

This group may be called the Tarangole (or Tirangoré) group, from the name of its chief village, which, except that it no longer has an outer palisade and that probably the Lotuko now only possess a fraction of the cattle they did in Baker's time, has probably altered little in character since his day.

"The town of Tarangollé contained about three thousand houses, and was not only surrounded by iron-wood palisades, but every house was individually fortified by a little stockaded courtyard. The cattle were kept in large kraals in various parts of the town, and were most carefully attended, fires being lit every night to protect them from flies; and high platforms in three tiers were erected in many places, upon which sentinels watched both day and night to give the alarm in case of danger. The cattle are the wealth of the country, and so rich are the Latookas in oxen that ten or twelve thousand head are housed in every large town; thus the natives are ever on the watch, fearing the attacks

of the adjacent tribes.¹ . . . Tarrangollé is arranged with several entrances in the shape of low archways through the palisades ; these are closed at night by large branches of the hooked thorn of the kittur bush (a species of mimosa). The main street is broad, but all others are studiously arranged to admit of only one cow in single file, between the high stockades ; thus, in the event of an attack, these narrow passages could be easily defended, and it would be impossible to drive off their vast herds of cattle unless by the main street. The large cattle kraals are accordingly arranged in various quarters in connexion with the great road, and the entrance of each kraal is a small archway in the strong ironwood fence sufficiently wide to admit one ox at a time. Suspended from the arch is a bell, formed of the shell of the Dolape palm-nut, against which every animal must strike either its horns or back on entrance. Every tinkle of the bell announces the passage of an ox into the kraal, and they are thus counted every evening when brought home from pasture."²

In hill villages such as Logurn the homesteads were scattered irregularly up the hillside, each surrounded by its fence, and often built partly or entirely on a terrace or platform of stones, the free vertical faces giving the appearance of carefully built stone walls.

In some hill villages, e.g. Labalwa, which does not belong to the Tarangole group, we saw monolithic stone circles, usually small, but with stones up to 5 to 6 feet high. These are built at the present day and are squatting places for the men ; they seem of little social importance, and are additional to, not substitutes for, drum-houses. None of these circles were seen in the villages of the Tarangole group, but they are common among the Lokoia.

We believe that in the old days a good deal of fighting went on, even if its manifestations were not always on a sufficient scale to be called war. Baker found the Lotuko a merry warlike people, and a good many examples of their practical efficiency will be found in his book.³ More-

¹ On this Lord Raglan comments as follows : " As far as I remember Tirangore now contains 300-400 houses. It may have once been larger, but I cannot believe that it ever contained anything like 3,000 houses. Baker was given to exaggeration " (a point of view which the writers certainly hold with regard to his account of the power of the Bari).

² S. W. Baker, *The Albert N'Yanza* (1867), vol. i, pp. 195-7.

³ Op. cit., p. 154.

over, as pointed out by Somerset, a Lotuko "was not supposed to be really a man until he had killed his man";¹ while we may also refer to what we have written of spear-names (p. 18). The names given to the age classes (p. 16) also indicate the frequent occurrence of fighting, yet there seems to have been little tendency to fight with their neighbours the Lango and the Acholi. The equipment of a Lotuko for war is given by Somerset as "a helmet of human hair, sewn together and plastered with red ochre. It is decorated with brass ornaments, and a plume of feathers of a kind of weaver bird.

"The shield, usually of buffalo hide, is bleached white, and three or four small-bladed spears are carried."

Feuds between communities might last for years; the men of Kiyala, eastwards from Tarangole, stole goats belonging to the latter and killed the messengers sent to discuss the matter. This trouble went on until settled by the Government. So, too, there was prolonged enmity between Torit and Muregatica. However, even Lotuko feuds have to end some time, and the peace ceremony seems to have been as follows: The party desiring peace would communicate its wish to one of its opponents—there was apparently no difficulty about this—and if their antagonists agreed, arrangements were made for a peace meeting, we believe always in the bush, i.e. away from the village. The men of both groups came in full war equipment. The party suing for peace killed a black or spotted goat; in this they were followed by their opponents, when the contents of the stomach and gut of each goat were sprinkled on the men of the opposite party. After this the men would fraternize and visit each others' villages. We did not hear of any counting up of lives taken or exchange of presents or young women, although it appeared that during war women would be killed rather than carried off. Lord Raglan suggests that one reason for this was that it was impossible to prevent them running away, but he also points out that the following story indicates that this was not the only reason. "A Lotuko once made his way into a hostile village at dusk, entered a house in which there were seven women, and killed them all. Their screams brought the men to the spot, and they surrounded the house. The man asked for a respite till the morning, promising not to resist

¹ Op. cit., p. 154.

if it was granted. The men of the village agreed, and the man spent the entire night in singing songs extolling his own prowess. In the morning he came out and cheerfully allowed himself to be killed."

The clans of the Tarangole group with their totem animals appear to be as follows :—

Igago, with its sub-clans Kidongi, Marabat, Lejong, Katang, and possibly some others (all having arisen as divisions within Igago) having the crocodile.

Lowudo, *namalong*, a monkey.

Lomini, the elephant.

Lomia, *nanga*, the winged white ant.

Idjogok, *amunu*, a snake.

From genealogies taken at Tarangole, Torit, and Losito, it seemed that the clans were scattered more or less over the whole of the Lotuko area, for although in those of the chief's families collected at Tarangole and Losito, Idjogok was unrepresented, we are not prepared to assert that members of this clan do not exist at these places, though this may be so.

In the Tarangole group, and this also holds good for the people of Torit, the Igago clan is undoubtedly the largest and the most important politically, the great chiefs Amoya (Moy) and Maiya of Baker's time, being both Igago men, the sons of two brothers, their lines now represented respectively by Loinyong at Tarangole and Locleli at Torit ; indeed it seems probable that there was but one chief for both communities originally. In the Losito group the rain-maker is a member of the clan of most importance locally, the Lowudo ; at Iboni (we only heard of this as a village, though it may constitute or be a part of a group bearing its name) on Mount Lafit the Igago wife of the late Lomia rain-maker is regarded as of the Lomia clan. There is other evidence pointing in the same direction, so it may be said that the clan at the head of each territorial group is the one to which the rain-maker belongs, and we believe that the centre of the political group is sometimes described by the name of its most important clan. Certainly the chiefs of Tarangole, Losito, etc., were territorial rain-makers, and there is no feeling that to make rain implies knowledge possessed by only one clan, nor would a Lowudo man living at Tarangole look upon Isara,

the Lowudo rain-maker at Losito, as his own chief rather than Loinyong the Tarangole rain-chief. We have not sufficient knowledge of Lotuko history to say whether in the past rain-makers were clan chiefs rather than territorial chiefs, but this may have been the case, since, as far as we know, each clan has a rain chief in some locality. Moreover, as we shall show presently, the rain-making ceremony is necessarily a local affair, as it can only be performed at those places where the skulls of rain-making ancestors are preserved.

As already stated descent is patrilineal and the clans are exogamous, thus Igago, Lowudo, Lomia, and Lomini clans may all intermarry, but Kidongi, Marabat, Lejong, and Katang, are regarded as divisions that have split from Igago and so do not intermarry with the latter.¹

There is no objection to marrying into the mother's clan, so long as the relationship is not too close, several such marriages are recorded in our genealogies. We are not prepared to define the expression "too close" precisely. It is, however, certain that a man may not marry the daughter of his mother's sister.

Reference has already been made to the sympathy existing between men and their clan animals, into which men are transformed at death. As regards the change the usual idea is that the animal which was the dead man is at first small, and sometimes, e.g. in the case of the Igago clan whose members become crocodiles, tends to linger near the dwellings of the living. Later it increases in size and takes to the water, but often not before the *ibwoni* (medicine man) has treated it. So when a Lomini man dies a herd will come and take with them the new elephant, while a troupe of monkeys will fetch away the new monkey that was a Lowudo.

The relationship between men and their clan animals during life seems to vary from clan to clan, thus though it was said that the elephants would recognize the dura planted by a Lomini man by its

¹ We wish to make clear that there is nothing approaching a dual organization among the Lotuko, though at first sight it did appear as though Lowudo, Lomini, and Lomia married into the divisions of Igago who themselves did not intermarry. But we soon learnt that the divisions of Igago who had all the same clan animal were not looked upon as separate clans. Lomia, Lomini, and Lowudo had no such sub-divisions, and Lomia, Lomini, and Lowudo all intermarry.

(Lomini) smell and so not trample it, we did not hear of other examples of similar acts. Yet it may well be that they are believed to occur, and the curious friendship existing in Emin's time between one Lotor (described by Loinyong, when questioned, as a commoner of Imatorit, whose clan he did not know) and lions may belong to this class ; indeed, the passage which records the friendship rather suggests that Lotor was chief of a lion clan.

" Only leopards are dreaded, for they often attack men, which lions never do, although they lurk in the bush by twos and threes. The negroes tell me that they are under the control of a chief named Lottor, a very simple good-natured man, who always keeps two tame lions in his house (a fact), and as long as he receives occasional presents of corn and goats, prevents the wild lions from doing any mischief. It is curious to note that the lions here are really good-tempered (perhaps because they find abundance of food), and they are also much admired, as shown by the following incident : One day we came upon a lion caught in a pit-fall, whereupon the chief Lottor was fetched, and he pushed into the pit branches of trees to enable the lion to get out ; this it did, and after giving us a roar of acknowledgment, walked off unharmed." ¹

To this account Loinyong added the information that lions would commonly bring Lotor part of their kill.

Among the Igago clan it was commonly said that an Igago man would not hesitate to kill crocodile except in or near the pool Itaraba, for the crocodiles here were the rain-makers of the clan ; yet at Tarangole, perhaps because he himself was a rain-maker, Loinyong took exception to the killing of a crocodile by his son Lakon. When the latter killed a crocodile about 6 feet long in a dry *khov* near Tarangole, and had it brought to the village by his companions, Loinyong was distinctly angry with him for killing it, and reproached him in spite of the allegation—an obvious untruth—that the action had been in self-defence.

With regard to rain-makers, Mr. Driberg has been successful in eliciting the peculiar relation between these and the insect *neguru*, a connexion of which we were aware but could not define. " Most *khobu*, but not all, belong to the Igago clan, and when a *khobu* dies he becomes

¹ *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 223.

his clan totem (i.e. in the case of the Igago, the crocodile). The insect *neguru* (a species of aphid) is said to swarm instantly over the grave of a *khobu*. Neither a *khobu* nor anyone else ever becomes a *neguru* at death. It is an insect always associated with a *khobu*, which is natural as the *khobu* is concerned with crops, whose greatest pest is the aphid." We give Mr. Driberg's words, though further inquiry seems necessary to make clear the philosophy of the connexion of *khobu* and *neguru*.

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION AND DRUM-HOUSES

Lord Raglan has given us the following information regarding the internal organization of the larger Lotuko villages. These "are divided into quarters (*nangatit*) consisting of roughly 50-100 houses. Each quarter has a name, and contains a men's meeting-place (*namangat*), a drum-house (*nadupa*), and a dancing ground (*napwerá*). In addition there is a central dancing ground for the whole village, and the quarter in which it is situated is called in most villages *Pwerá*. The general dancing ground and drum-house are also the dancing ground and drum-house of the *Pwerá* quarter, which is usually the most important. The name of the quarter is also applied to the meeting-place, drum-house, and dancing ground."

"In the middle of each dancing ground are the ebony drum poles, to which great sanctity is attached. When they are set up there is a ceremony. If I remember right, it includes the sacrifice of a goat, and libations of beer, but I am not sure about this. On some poles newly set up in a Lowudo village a snake had been hung. Perhaps this was connected with *kang Idojok*, but I did not then know of this *kang*. In some parts, I think among the Lokoia and Koriuk, the skulls of animals killed in hunting are fixed to the poles [as they are among the Lango and Acholi]."

The big drums, called *edong*, are kept in the *nadupa*, which are comparable to the club or man-houses of other savage peoples, though their social importance, if it ever was great, appears to have waned considerably at the present time. Each *nadupa* has its traditional name, and each has a master (*amonyu nadupa*, "father of the *nadupa*"), who has inherited his position, but there is no evidence that its members sing or glorify their house.

The *nadupa* of Tarangole are, so far as we could discover, as follows :—

Tangule,	master	Lafore of Lowudo.
Fagila,	„	Itawong of Kidongi.
Efarong,	„	Odile of Marabat.
Iriwo,	„	Abang of Lowudo.
Agorunyu,	„	Anyata of Lomia.

It was said that Asang first established *nadupa* and “divided” the men for each. A man frequents his father’s drum-house, and there may be more than one drum-house of the same name in a village, if there are too many members for comfort. The master of a *nadupa* remains master until he dies; as he gets old he is given a substitute—generally one of his sons—who acts for him and when he dies inherits his position.¹ When a new drum is required the members of the *nadupa* procure the material and make the drum, but not in the drum-house, to which it is not brought until the master of the house has killed a sheep.

As far as we were able to ascertain, the following were the occasions upon which the drums were sounded in the *nadupa*, but doubtless there are many others which we did not ascertain :—

1. Before going to war, but not while a war party is actually in the field, for this would probably lead to the death of one or more of its members.

2. At the death of a member of the drum-house or his wife. It appeared that for an unmarried girl the drum would be sounded in her father’s *nadupa*, but this requires confirmation. Although the drum is not sounded in connexion with the exhumation of the bones described on page 40, dancing and drumming at the *nadupa* play an important part in connexion with the *nametere*.

3. At the initiation (new-fire) ceremony.

4. At many dances, e.g. a dance would commonly be held soon after a new drum was made.

5. After the dura has been harvested, when much beer would be drunk.

¹ It appeared — though this requires confirmation or amplification — that if no sons were available the dead man’s wife would be regarded as head of the house, she being given an assistant who acts for her.

The *nadupa* appear to have been the centres of such organization for war as formerly existed ; they are still the centres at which the larger hunting parties (each *nadupa* usually making up its own) are arranged, and their masters are responsible for the distribution of the meat killed by their members. Before hunting the master of the *nadupa* goes to the *ibwoni* with the spears of his members, when the latter—taking a handful of dust—spits on each and plasters its blades for success.

The drum-house plays a prominent part in the ceremony undergone by a man who has taken human life. A goat of any colour is killed, the contents of the paunch and gut mixed with water in a pot, and taken first to the house of the *kobu*, and then to the other drum-houses, where in each case some is sprinkled on the threshold. Our notes do not indicate whether this is done by the homicide himself, though he must go to his *nadupa* and sleep there the night ; early the next morning, before daylight, he washes and is then ruddled all over. After this he can go to his own house. The goat is eaten by the elders of the community, irrespective of clan, the slayer alone may not partake of it.

As already noted, a man killed in battle would be left where he fell, and this applies to any violent death ; one fatally wounded would be carried home, and, unless a *kobu*, would be thrown out of his hut when dead ; if this were not done his near relatives would also die a violent death.

AGE DISTINCTIONS, INITIATION, AGE-CLASSES

Mr. Driberg has given us the following list of age distinctions :—

Leidóli (pl. *Leidole*), suckling.

Leto (plur. *Longiyaiyai*), child.

Leto korwong (plur. *Aduri korwong*), youth ; *korwong*, literally “ back ”, i.e. the grade which is behind the *monyomiji*. We found that *aduri korwong* were not uncommonly spoken of as *laduri*.

Olo monyomiji (plur. *Monyomiji*), young man.

Leita (plur. *Leitak*), middle-aged.

Lamarwani (plur. *Lamarwakh*), old man.

No one may enter the *nadupa* (drum-house) until he is a

monyomiji. A lad becomes a *monyomiji* by killing goats at the entrance to the *nadupa*, which are eaten by the older *monyomiji*. Mr. Driberg notes that *monyomiji* are so called because they are in the prime of their powers, and are the first line of defence in a raid and thus "owners of the village". They hold the enemy while their elders rescue the women, children, and livestock. *Aduri korwong* also fight, and if one kills an enemy he sacrifices a goat and becomes a *monyomiji*, even if not really of correct age.

It is important not to confuse these *monyomiji* with the *lamonyemiji* "the father-of-the-village," the first builder of a settlement or his officiating descendant, male or female, who bears this hereditary title and magics the village and the crops for good (cf. p. 4).

The "new fire" ceremony, the *nongopira* mentioned by Somerset is essentially a *rite de passage* marking the transition from adolescence to manhood, from youth to warrior. For the Tarangole community the ceremony was held at Logurn, when the moon was young, perhaps on the fourth day of the month of Lomono at the end of the rainy season, when the dura is nearly ripe.

In preparation for the *nongopira* there is a ceremonial fight between the *laduri* and *monyomiji*, in which the *laduri* have to show that they are the stronger—presumably the *monyomiji* offer no very determined resistance—both sides wearing helmets and bearing shields with sticks as their weapons. The fire is made by the rain-maker, and is drilled from sticks, which are not used again, though they are preserved in one of the *nadupa*, by name Pwerá, where all have been kept for generations.¹ The rain-maker is assisted in fire-making by four of the new *monyomiji*. All fires in the villages of the group are put out before the new fire is drilled, which we were told was done on the dancing place at the foot of Logurn hill. As soon as the new fire is made, it is carried as quickly as possible to the villages, in each of which kindling has been prepared in one particular drum-house. This is lighted from the new flame, and from it fire is carried to the other drum-houses,

¹ Lord Raglan writes: "Lochalili makes fire ceremonially every year. He once produced a dozen bundles of fire-making sticks carefully tied together, as evidence that a certain event had happened a dozen years before. The men of Loronyo were then bringing a series of accusations against him, and the atmosphere was unfavourable to anthropological investigation, so I did not find out particulars."

whence the new *monyomiji* bear it to the hearths of their homes. As far as we could discover, no special procedure applied to those houses not supplying an initiate, presumably they too got their fire from their drum-houses.

It is on the occasion of the *nongopira* that *obeles* are built near the *nadupa*. These at first sight suggest look-out stations, consisting as they do of a tall wooden scaffolding bearing from five to seven platforms one above the other at intervals of some 4 feet, the commonest number as we were told being seven. The *monyomiji* sit and lounge on these; *laduri* would not be admitted to them.

As already stated, the *nongopira* of the Tarangole group take place at Logurn; after the ceremony a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are smeared on the *nadupa* called Imatarit. Whether this is done in other villages at the return of the initiates we cannot say.

The following are the names of the age classes at Tarangole at the present time:—

Nyafwet, represented by the oldest men in the village, such as Loinyong and Leju; Nyafwet is the place name of a site upon which Tarangole fought and won a battle.

Muratega, commemorating visits to the village spelt Muratica on the map.

Longarim (or Lowalelo), a place on the way to Boya, where the Muratega class met and fought with the men of Boya.

Logera, on the track to Itoghom, where fighting had taken place.

Gheret, meaning "intestines", recalling a raid on Lobira during which a cow was stabbed in the abdomen so that the intestines protruded. This was in the time of Lokidi, who was killed in 1917.

In the spring of 1922 the Gheret class had been in existence two years; there were four years between this and Logera, five years between the latter and Lowalelo, between which and Muratega there were eight years, while Nyafwet antedated the latter by thirteen years. This gives a total of five age classes in thirty-two years, none of the intervals being as long as that given by Somerset between successive *nongopira*, or as those given to us when our questions were put in a general rather than concrete form.



MEGALITHIC "SQUATTING PLACE" ON LEBALWA HILL.



RAIN SHRINE AT LOGURN.

We experienced considerable difficulty in eliciting the above information, which we only obtained from our carriers after we had left Tarangole, and we doubt whether we should have succeeded without the help of Mr. Driberg, whose knowledge of the age classes of neighbouring Uganda tribes was a great assistance. Moreover, as already stated, the interval given us independently as separating successive *nongopira* was variable to a degree. There is, however, one alternative which subsequent observers might bear in mind; it is just possible that a *nongopira* ceremony is not held at every "initiation", but only on specific occasions determined in some way which we entirely failed to discover. We add a note given us by Lord Raglan since he read the above: "The *nongopira* proper is, I was told, held every sixteen years, but every four years the boys are admitted to manhood. Each four-year period has a name, but as far as I could make out the special name of the four-year period following the *nongopira* is also the general name of the whole sixteen-year period."

Whatever may have been the case in the past, at present age classes seem to have little social significance, probably their importance was mainly military. The members of the classes were said to eat together ceremonially after fighting, as, indeed, they appear to do on quite ordinary occasions, and each class seems to "fag" for the one next above it to a certain extent. They do not, however, cultivate as classes, nor have rights of access to the wives of their class-mates, nor do the members of different classes keep apart in the drum-houses.

NAMES

Among the Lotuko a man may have, and generally has, many names. His first, we suppose we should say his birth-name, is given to him when he is first brought outside the house; we believe this name is determined by the child's parents, and generally refers to some contemporary event, e.g. Loinyong was called Lafuk by his parents, a name said to be derived from a root meaning "to run away from a fight", referring to a recent occurrence. A small feast (*nepipari*) would be held in which all would partake including the mother, probably this was often of vegetable food, but it seemed that a goat might be

killed, at any rate for the first-born, if a male. It was said that one who had recently killed his man would call his next son Loryamo.

Besides the birth-name a child might be given names, perhaps "pet" names, from time to time by his parents, e.g. Latara, whose birth-name is Lamoru, "stone," was called Idō, "sky," and Latara by his parents, the latter name being said to carry some reference to ripe corn. Why this became his usual term of address we did not discover.

Besides these names the older men who have killed their man are given a spear-name, which we believe always ends in *-moy*; thus Loinyong had as spear-name Loringomoy, which refers to others being afraid while he was not. Other examples of spear-names are Ometarimoy, the reference being to a man killed in the cultivation, and Atongamoy, recalling the slaughter of a fugitive.¹ Formerly when cattle were plentiful most men also had a bull-name, i.e. were known by the name, generally, if not always, descriptive, of a favourite bull; thus Loinyong has the name Lamodāro (a "red" bull with whitish belly), Leju, of the same generation, was called Lorit, from his bull, which was red all over.

KINSHIP

The kinship terms given below were collected by the genealogical method. We limit ourselves here to a bare list of kinship terms with a few notes on the functions of particular relatives, especially those of relatives-in-law, intending to publish later a general discussion on the relationship terms of the Lotuko-speaking tribes. The suffix *-ong* almost certainly signifies the first person singular possessive; from lack of knowledge of the language we have left this termination, as except occasionally we did not hear the words without it.

Moinyong, father.

Eyang (*eyaghong*), mother.

Lorighong or *narighong*, child.

¹ On these spear-names Lord Raglan sends us the following interesting note: "The termination *-moi* for spear-names is, I believe, borrowed from the Acholi. It is general among the Acholi, Lango, and Logir, and common among the Lotuko, who live close to these tribes, whose chiefs intermarry with them. Among the Lotuko at Torit, Loronyo, etc., the spear-names are similar in form and meaning to the age class names which you give on p. 16. Among the Acholi, etc., the spear-name becomes a man's ordinarily used name, but among the Lotuko it remains a nickname."

Woke (kong), brother by the same father, father's brother's son, sister by the same father, father's brother's daughter.

Ilang, brother by the same mother.

Ghanighong, or *ghanium*, sister by the same mother.

Imani (ghong), father's brother, mother's brother.

Iyani (ghong), father's sister, mother's sister.

Soni (kong), father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, mother's sister's child (m. and f.).

Aghanighong, father's father, father's mother, mother's father, mother's mother.

Kotu (ghong), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband.

Komani (kong), wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father, husband's mother, daughter's husband, son's wife, sister's son's wife, husband's mother's brother.

Ilesi, wife's brother, sister's husband.

Koatani (kong), wife's sister, sister's husband (woman speaking), husband's brother, brother's wife, sometimes also called wife (man speaking), wife's sister's husband.

Kanighong, co-wife, wife's brother's wife.

FATHER, FATHER'S BROTHER, MOTHER.—Among the Lotuko the terms for "father" and "mother" apply only to the true father and mother.¹ It seems at first sight curious that there should be a term for father's brother different from father, as the father's brother's child is called by the same term as the father's child, and his wife is called by the descriptive term for father's wife (not mother). But it must be noted that the term for paternal uncle, *imani*, is the same as that for maternal uncle, and there can be little doubt by comparison with the Nandi *imamet* and the Bari *mamanye* that the latter is the original meaning. It may then be inferred that at one time the term for father was used in the classificatory sense, as the term for brother (child of father or of father's brother) is still, and that when social differentiation occurred and the importance of the individual father required that he should be

¹ As far as we could determine, this is not so among the Lokoia, where it appears that the father's brother is addressed either by the term for father or for mother's brother, while the Lango have one word only for father and father's brother.

differentiated from his brothers, the term for mother's brother was applied to the father's brother as well as the mother's brother.

BROTHER AND SISTER AND " COUSIN " .—The sex limitations of the terms used for these relations must be noted: *ilang* and *ganiyong* are respectively male and female, and are used by either sex, i.e. they correspond to brother and sister in English.

Wokekong is either male or female, but can only be used between persons of the same sex; *sonikong* applies to both sexes, and can be used by either sex. It seems clear that the correct meaning of *ilang* and *ganiyong* is brother and sister by the same mother, whether by the same father or not, yet *ilang* is used in a wider sense and is the word commonly used for brother and would certainly be given by a Lotuko as the translation of the Arabic word for brother. A friend might be greeted as *ilang*, but we think never as *wokekong*. Sometimes it seemed as though in a friendly way a man who was really the *wokekong* might be called *ilang*, but the process would not be reversed. Thus, though all brothers might be called *ilang*, only the children born to one woman were correctly so called, and they would still be *ilang* even though children of different fathers. This was so even when the fathers belonged to different clans, thus Ikang called Lokidi, her mother's son, *ilang*, though her own father was a Lokoiya rain chief and Lokidi was son of Amoya, the Igago rain-maker, so that although Ikang was the widow of three brothers of Lokidi she still thought of him as her *ilang*, not her husband's brother (see table 5). *Wokekong*, on the other hand, means " child of my father ", and " child of my father's brother ", but one informant used a descriptive term meaning " father's child " for both these relatives, and did not mention *wokekong*, though doubtless he knew the term. The point to be emphasized here is that though he was trying to give accurate information he did not look upon these relatives as *ilang*. We could not find that any distinctions of behaviour were held between a woman and her brothers or ortho-cousins, whether she called them *ilang* or *wokekong*. She neither " feared " nor avoided them, nor treated them in any ceremonial manner, they had played together as children, and would meet in later life without any restrictions.

A different attitude is maintained to those cousins who are called *soni*, the mother's sister's children (brothers and sisters in the

classificatory sense), and the cross-cousins both being addressed by this one term. The *soni* were sharply differentiated from the brothers and sisters, and the ortho-cousins with male descent, *ilang*, *gani*, and *woki*. *Soni* were said to "fear" one another and treat one another with respect, they would never eat together, the woman would leave the hut when her male *soni* entered, and he, meeting her on a path, would make a detour to let her pass. Yet we were told this "fear" could not be compared to that of an "in-law" which was far greater. The *soni* relationship was well illustrated by the behaviour of Loinyong and Ikang. Ikang, a rain-maker and treated with great respect at Tarangole, is the widow of three earlier rain-makers, who were *woke* of Loinyong. Thus she has been actively associated with rain-making for a longer period than Loinyong himself who is the chief acknowledged by the Government. In the public rain-making ceremonies she stands on an equality with Loinyong, and as the possessor of a strong personality is probably held in higher esteem by the Lotuko than Loinyong, who is not a very strong character. Yet she is his *soni*, their mothers were sisters, and therefore she fears and respects him, she would not eat before him, and when he enters her house she must leave it. This behaviour contrasts in an interesting manner with that of Halima (Ikioma) and Loinyong. These two are *woke*, children of the same father but different mothers. Halima is a woman of no tribal importance, her mother was not a rain-maker, she married a soldier in one of the black battalions and has lived the greater part of her life away from her people. The personal prestige that she may have gained by having mixed among people of a higher culture and from being able to speak Arabic is probably not very great among the Lotuko, whose contact with the Government is so recent. Halima treated her brother with the respect due to a man of importance, but there were no ceremonial restrictions between them, she might eat in his presence, and could sit and chat at her ease with him. *Soni*, of the same sex, also treat one another with a certain amount of respect, and avoid whatever might lead to "bad talk" between them. It is not uncommon to see Lotuko youths and even grown men walking about with an arm entwined around the other's waist or shoulder. On more than one occasion we found that these youths were *woke*, *soni* would not use such

familiarity. We were told that if *soni* should marry, their offspring would die. (It should be noted that the marriage of *soni*, the children of two sisters, is not excluded by clan exogamy.)

GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN.—There is no special feature in this relationship, except that, although there is a term for grandparent, the grandchild is called "child".

CO-WIFE.—The term for co-wife is also used for husband's brother's wife. This is a very common usage, and though it might be considered to point to a right of access to the brother's wife, it can more simply be explained by the inheritance of widows by the brother of the deceased.

RELATIONS BY MARRIAGE.—We now come to the terms for relations by marriage; there are relatively a large number of these, a character which seems to differentiate this branch of Negro-Hamitic peoples (Bari, the Lotuko-speaking tribes, Didinga, and probably others) from the true Nilotes.

Komani, parents-in-law and children-in-law, is a reciprocal term, and is used both for, and by, both sexes; its use is extended to include the spouses of the grandchildren and those of the brothers' and sisters' children.

Ilesi is a reciprocal term used between men, the wife's brother and the sister's husband.

Koatani is a reciprocal term used between persons of the opposite sexes of the same generation, but also includes the wife's sister's husband. Persons who call one another *koatini* are forbidden to marry. The *koatini* and the *ilesi* are sharply differentiated from the *komani* in that in the two former relationships there are no ceremonial restrictions, those who call each other *koatani* or *ilesi* may meet on a footing of equality though quarrels should be avoided between them. The respect due to the *komani* will be treated later.

Kotu, these are not the relations of the spouse, but the husbands of women of the parents' generation. In a simple classificatory system such a term would not occur, they would either be called "father" or described as husband of the female relative in question. We could not find that the *kotu* had any special duty, though we were told that they would be treated with considerable respect and obeyed promptly.

A man fears and respects all those whom he calls *komani*, and avoids them until his wife has borne a child. He then enters the house of his parents-in-law and drinks beer, but he will not sit down in the presence of his mother-in-law, or ever sleep in the same house, nor will he touch any of his *komani*, male or female, except that when making a ceremonial salutation before going on a journey or on his return, he might touch their hand. A man treats the parents-in-law of any man he calls *woke* as his own parents-in-law. Ceremonial avoidance is observed in the usual way; a man seeing any one whom he should avoid, on a track, would leave it and make a detour, while the woman would squat down and avert her head. Two persons between whom there is avoidance would never be found inside a hut at the same time. A woman treats her husband's parents in a similar manner, but we think the rules are less stringent between a woman and her father-in-law than those between a man and his mother-in-law. The custom of avoidance is not, however, carried to the length that is practised among some neighbouring tribes. A man may stay in a village where his *komani* live and may even attend dances that they also attend, though he would take care not to dance near them. This was observed in the one Lotuko dance that we witnessed which was of an undisguised sexual nature, the men displaying themselves before any woman whom they favoured; such display was not necessarily regarded as an actual invitation, though it certainly played part in courtship. There is avoidance between *soni* of opposite sexes, as has already been mentioned, and a man would not make advances to his *soni* or his own sister in a dance.

The *kotu* and the *imani* are both respected, and feared to a certain extent, but they are not avoided as the *komani*. A lad would never refuse to obey his *imani*, yet it was said that a man also "fears" his sister's son, and however badly the latter might behave the *imani* would never beat him. Both *iyani*, the mother's sister, and the father's sister are also treated with great respect, and the latter is feared and would be obeyed promptly. A lad bringing water to his *iyani*, his father's sister would avert his head when he offered it. We were told that if a woman spoke disrespectfully of her mother's sister she herself would prove barren, nor would a woman ever beat the children of her brother or her sister if they were unruly. As far as we could gather, the idea seemed to be that no one would dare to lay hands upon any one who was not of

their own clan. A father's brother is looked upon in much the same way as a child's own father except that the paternal uncle would probably be sterner than the father.

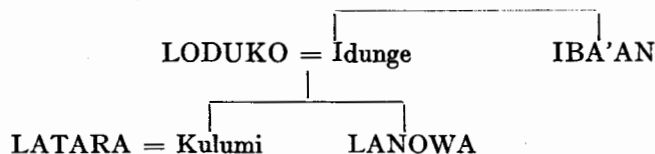
We must point out the lack of ceremonial etiquette towards the wife's brother and his wife, because this stands out in contradistinction to the behaviour of some of the neighbouring tribes. The wife's brother is addressed by a term distinct from that of father-in-law, and, although it is he who eventually receives the bride price paid for his sister, no restraint is set up between him and his sister's husband. There is no special term for the wife's brother's wife, she is not classed with the parents-in-law, and may be called the wife of the *ilese* (brother-in-law) and is not regarded with fear or respect.

MARRIAGE AND INHERITANCE OF WIDOWS

We did not investigate the ceremonial side of courtship and marriage; perhaps this aspect is little developed, for Somerset writes: "A feast is held, but there is no ceremonial,"¹ and he also describes a young man as working on his father's-in-law cultivation for about two years.²

The bride price is paid in cows and sheep, and is no doubt lower now than formerly owing to the dearth of cows from disease. In 1922 a cow was said to be worth thirty sheep.

Latara, a young man from the village of Gunyoro on Jebel Ipotu, in the police at Torit, paid four cows and sixty sheep for his wife Kulumi, the whole being handed over before he brought his wife away from her father's house. Latara said that the father's brother must always contribute from one to three cows to the bride price paid on behalf of his brother's son. A woman's mother's brother usually receives a portion of the bride price paid for her. In the case of Kulumi, however, Iba'an did not receive any of the cattle; Loduko, her father, kept them all, and will hold them to pay the bride price for his son Lanowa when the latter marries:—



¹ Op. cit., p. 155.

² Loc. cit.

Our informant said Iba'an did not receive any of the bride price, because he had taken the cattle paid for Idunge. Yet in some cases it seemed the maternal uncle did receive some portion, perhaps only when he had not been given the whole of the cattle from his sister, the mother of the bride.

Auro, a Lotuko of Tarangole, married Idiago, paying five cows and thirty sheep. These were provided for him by Ikang, widow of Lomoro, for the following reason, viz. that when Latara, father of Auro, died, Lomoro the rain-maker took his widow Ikima, mother of Auro, without paying bride price for her, because her late husband was his *woke*, the fathers of Lomoro and Latara being brothers. If Ikima had had a brother he would have given one cow towards the bride price for his sister's son, but as there was no maternal uncle Ikang paid the whole price. Though quite a young man Auro had taken a second wife and Ikang had again paid the whole bride price.

Lamia stood in the same relationship as Auro to Ikang, though from our point of view the relationship was much closer, as the father of Lamia was a real brother (father's son, also a *woke*) to Lomoro. Lomoro had also taken the mother of Lamia to wife without a bride price, as she was the widow of his *woke*. Ikang paid the bride price, seven cows and thirteen sheep, for Lokia, wife of Lamia, the whole going to the former's father, as her mother's brother was dead.

Although these examples are insufficient to show the exact amount that any relative should pay or receive, they do show that the receipt of cattle from a girl's bride price sets up an obligation which must again be repaid. The only payment that requires no repayment is that between father and son.

We were told that when a wife died the bride price could not be recovered, though sometimes a sister could be obtained in her stead without further payment. No claim could be made on the wife's brother either for his wife or her child, in place of the dead wife.

As we have seen already the widow is usually taken by the brother of the deceased, but she might also be taken by the dead man's son or his sister's son. We were told that as the widow was taken without payment of a bride price her children by the second husband still counted as children of the deceased. When Lomoro, the Lotuko rain

chief, died, his brother Lonik took all his wives and cattle. Lonik was succeeded by his brother Lokidi, but the latter could not marry his brother's widow Ikang as she was his half-sister (by the same mother) and so the cattle were divided. The sons of Lomoro did not inherit anything, but Ikang provides for them generously. It is quite possible that this arrangement only came about because Ikang is a rain-chief and a dominating personality, and Lomoro and Lonik left no rain-making children. Loinyong, who has succeeded his brother Lokidi, has inherited all his brother's widows, but he is an old man, and some of them have refused to stay with him. Three had actually left him when we were at Tarangole and he had received no bride price for them. This condition was deplored and considered to be due to the lowered status of the chiefs since the coming of the Government. Ikang, however, was taking the matter in hand, and will probably eventually recover the bride prices of these women or those of any daughters they may bear. One woman had taken a daughter of Lokidi with her, and Ikang was determined to have either the child or her bride price returned.

RAIN-MAKERS AND RAIN-MAKING

As already stated the spiritual and temporal head of every sub-tribe or community of the Lotuko is the rain-maker, who may be a man or a woman. Rain-makers are not confined to any particular clan, but vary in this respect in different localities. Here we may repeat what we have already said in a slightly different form, viz. that it is probably true to say that in each locality the clan to which the rain-maker belongs is numerically strong and enjoys some added prestige ; at least we formed this opinion in the Tarangole area, where the *kobu* was of Igago. Conversely the seat of the rain chief is to a certain extent looked upon as the headquarters of the clan to which he belongs, so that there is a certain slight tendency towards a territorial grouping of the clans, with perhaps the possible absence of particular clans whose rain-chief is situated at a distance. Thus the Igago rain-makers are chiefs of the Tarangole and Torit districts, the Lomia rain-maker is chief at Iboni on Mount Lait, Lowudo at Losito, and Lomini at Lorongo.

All these chiefs are territorial rain-makers, there is no feeling that a man of another clan living within their area of sovereignty owes them any the less allegiance because he is not of the rain-maker's clan, or that his loyalty should be displayed towards the rain-maker of his own clan of another group.

In order to be a *kobu* in the true sense of the word the rain-maker must be born of parents who both "had rain", i.e. were themselves rain-makers. A man so qualified succeeds to the office on the death of his father or brother, but a woman who is born of rain-making parents cannot perform rain ceremonies until she is married to a rain-maker. This is certainly true at Tarangole. Although men take precedence in succession over women as rain-makers, and a woman cannot perform the ceremonies until she has married a chief, women rain-makers are not uncommon among the Lotuko. Ikang, a Lokoiya woman, "having rain," widow of Lajaru, Lomoro, and Lonik, all *kobu* of the Tarangole group, makes the rain on an equality with her brother-in-law Loinyong at Tarangole. Ikumi, at Iboni on Mount Lafit, is rain chief; although she has grown sons, and although she is an Igago woman, she has succeeded to her husband, Airu of Lomia, and is looked upon as the Lomia rain-maker.

The only two rain-makers with whom we discussed their descent, namely Loceleli of Torit and Loinyong of Tarangole, both trace their descent to Gnalamitiko, who by general consent was a very great man indeed. He lived four or five generations ago, and may be taken to be historical, behind him are vaguer figures leading back to Mogunyi or according to another account to Asang, the son of Ibong. Ibong "was as rain" in the Khor Itaraba, or according to one account came to earth at that *khor* (alternately at a *khor* near Lopi), i.e. appeared as water, assumed the form of man, and took to wife one Karam (the word means Colobus monkey) traditionally of the Lowudo clan. When she was pregnant he smeared some of his saliva on her navel, and said his child should be named Mogunyi, after which he disappeared into the firmament where he is associated with thunder. He left rainstones behind him, and seems to be thought of as their discoverer, but so far as could be ascertained he does not appear even to rain-makers. All this was very vague, but there is no doubt of the sanctity of

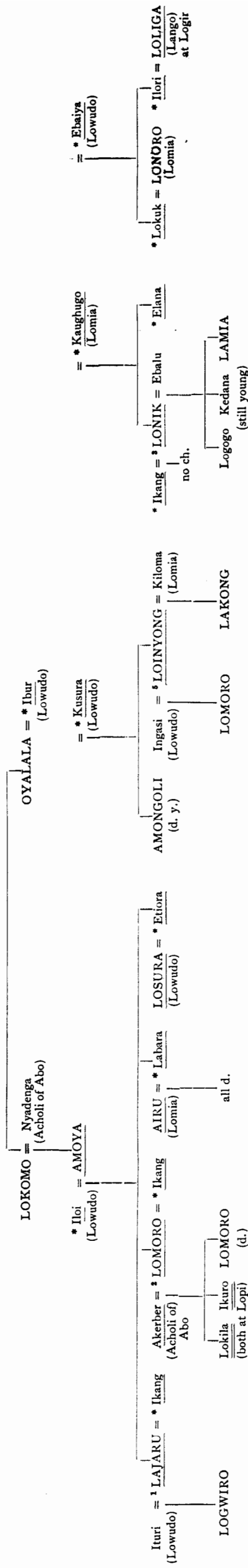
the pool Itaraba near Logurn; here live the crocodiles who are the deceased rain-makers of the Igago clan, and a gourd of Itaraba water plays an important part in the rain-making ceremony on Logurn hill. Moreover, there is an interesting story that when a male child was born to a rain-maker (the mother also being of pure rain descent), it was taken to Itaraba and left there for three days. This was in the old days, and the most careful questioning could elicit no other answer than that the child was actually placed in the water, where it remained unhurt because it was of one clan with the crocodiles.

The information from which the following tables have been constructed was obtained from Igago and Lowudo rain-makers, the references to Lomia and Lomini arose incidentally and may therefore be less accurate.

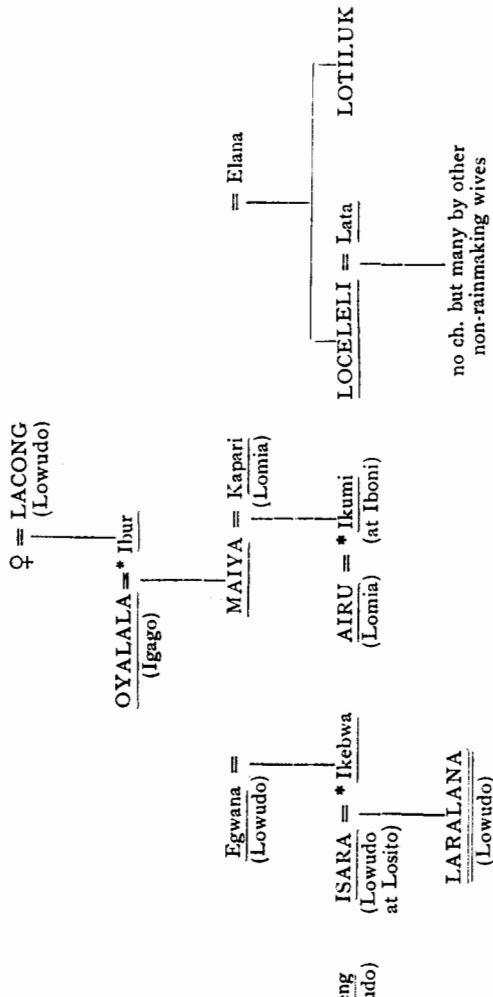
Since every rain-maker should be the child of a woman "having rain", as well as of a rain-maker father, and as clan exogamy is enforced, a *kobu* may have considerable difficulty in ensuring an heir, and marriages are frequently made with the daughters of Lokoiya and Acholi rain-makers. A girl descended on both sides from rain-makers is called a *nongoti*, but she takes no part in rain-making ceremonies and has no power until she marries a rain-maker. If she marries a commoner her children have no rain-making powers. However, a *nongoti* once married becomes a rain-maker for the rest of her life, and can carry on as *nobu* whether she has children or not. Thus Ikumi, the widow of a rain-maker and mother of sons who will become rain-makers, is herself *nobu* at Iboni on Lafit. Ikang, a rain-maker by birth, and as already stated, widow of three deceased rain-makers, is barren, but serves as rain-maker at Tarangole with her brother-in-law Loinyong, whom she has not married because their respective mothers were sisters.

We are indebted to Major Barker for the following note concerning Locleli, whose mother was not of rain-making blood: "At his father's instructions [after his death] . . . he took his father's wife, who belonged to a rain-making family, into his house and slept with her for three nights. On the fourth day he slaughtered a black goat in the house, and then went through the usual rain-making [ceremony] . . . and since then has been a great success at it."

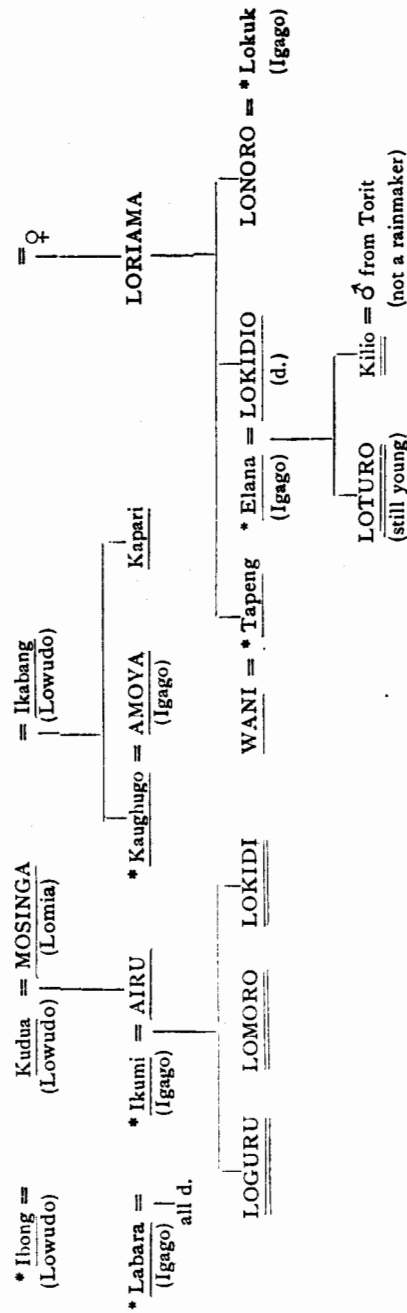
1. Igago



2. Igago



3. Lomia



1, females in small type.

Rainmakers underlined, AMOYA and Ikang.

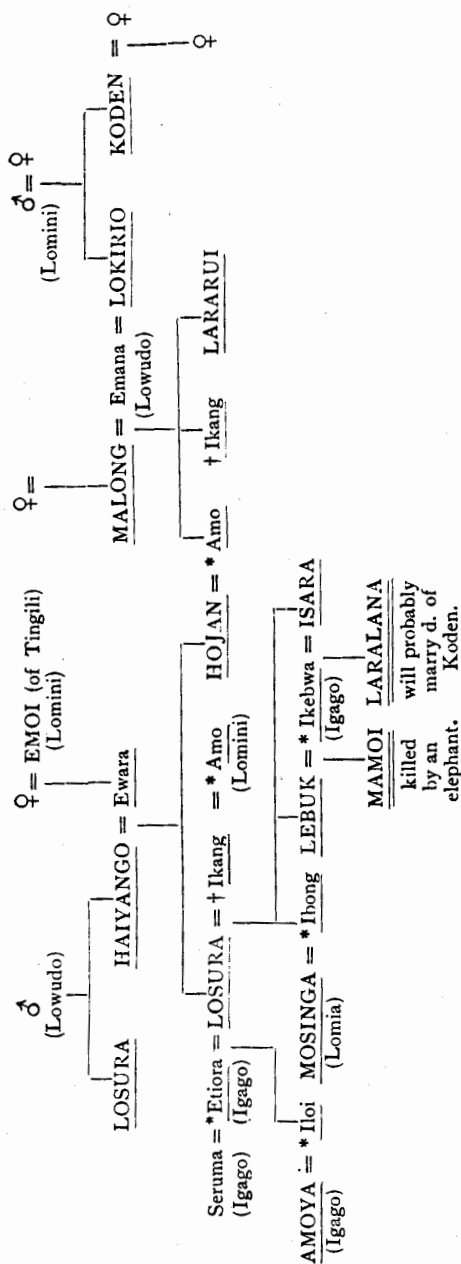
Persons who inherit rainmaking powers but are not yet rainmakers underlined twice, LOGURU and Ikuro.

The numbers 1 to 5 mark the order of succession of the sons of AMOYA.

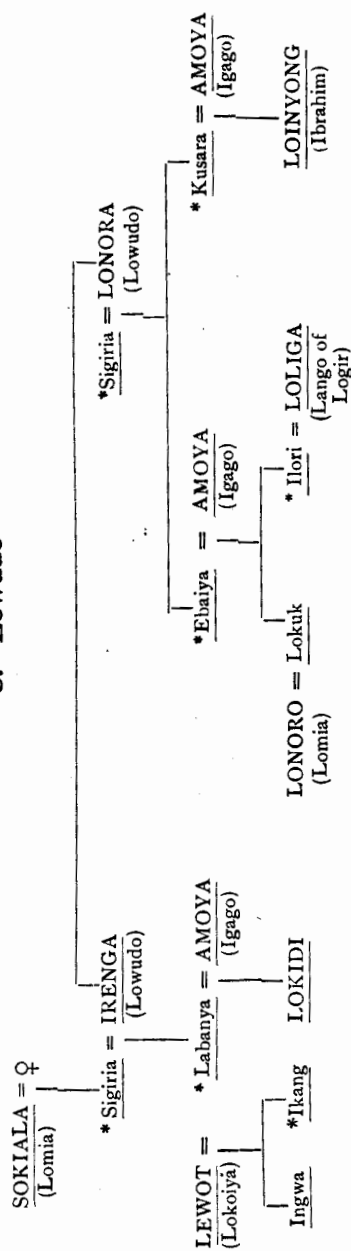
woman's name occurs more than once, whether in one or more tables, an * or † is prefixed. Thus *Etiora in Table 1 is the same person as *Etiora in Table 4.

It should be noted that there is no rainmaking male heir to the Igago clan either from AMOYA or MAIYA.

4. Lowudo



5. Lowudo



This table shows (a) the descent of some of the Lowudo rain-making wives of AMOYA, (b) the relationship of LOKIDI and LOINYONG to Ikang.

The following account of the rain ceremony is compiled as the result of many conversations with Loinyong and Ikang, but it is difficult to be certain of the sequence of events. Of our two informants Ikang was by far the better; to Loinyong the importance of the *amwaga* (the contents of the stomach of the sacrifice) seemed to dominate all else, and from him we never got a connected account. Perhaps the most reliable information was obtained when Ikang showed us near her house the shrine in which lie the sacred spearheads, illustrating the course of the ceremony with pantomime.

Two old men, respectively of the clans Lomia and Lomini, as well as Itangātu the *lamonyemiji* ("father of the land") at Tarangole were said to assist at the ceremony. We have no certain knowledge of their action, but suspect that it is referred to in the following account by Mr. Driberg: At the request of the *kobu* the *lamonyemiji* collects his people and they all go out in a body to the area which is to be cultivated. A new fire is there made and with it is lighted a pipe of tobacco, which is smoked by the *kobu* and *lamonyemiji* and then passed round to the others. Then the *kobu* and *lamonyemiji* simultaneously dig up a sod, after the former has spat on it, after which the rest start digging. They then return home and drink beer. Before going out to the cultivation the *lamonyemiji* sacrifices a black goat at the *awangat* shrine by the house of the *kobu*. Its stomach contents are carried four times round the settlement, being scattered along the route. A certain woman played an important part in the rain ceremony, the ancient Ker, who lived at Lopi; she is the only person who, after its exhumation, can carry the skeleton of a rain-maker. This office is hereditary and we were told that both her father and mother were carriers of royal bones, while her son will inherit the office. Unfortunately she was too old and decrepit to give us much information, and her son was away from the village.

When the rain ceremony is to take place Loinyong and Ikang go to Logurn. Here on a rock dome at the very top of the hill is the house of Iloi, a widow of Amoya and mother of the *kobu* Lajaru and Lomoro who succeeded him, and in her compound almost under the cover of her house the sacred rain-stones are kept. A path from the house of Iloi leads across the rock dome descending the hill to a flattened ledge; on this stands a deserted house, and a few yards below, held up by

boulders and small bushes as well as brushwood and rubbish, is a miniature hut, surrounded by a low, ill-kept fence. As far as we could determine no attempt was made to keep the shrine clean or tidy, indeed just behind the present hut were the remains of the old roofing of the shrine, which has been replaced by the present one. It may be suggested that this is connected with the extreme sanctity of the place; we were not allowed to approach it, and we fully believe what we were told, that no one would do so except at the time of the rain ceremony and that then only the *kobu* and their assistants would venture. Nor is this sanctity to be wondered at, for the shrine contains the bones of Amoya and those of the principal rain-makers since his time.

The house above the shrine had been deserted owing to the ill-fortune that befell its late inhabitants, attributed to its too close proximity to the shrine.

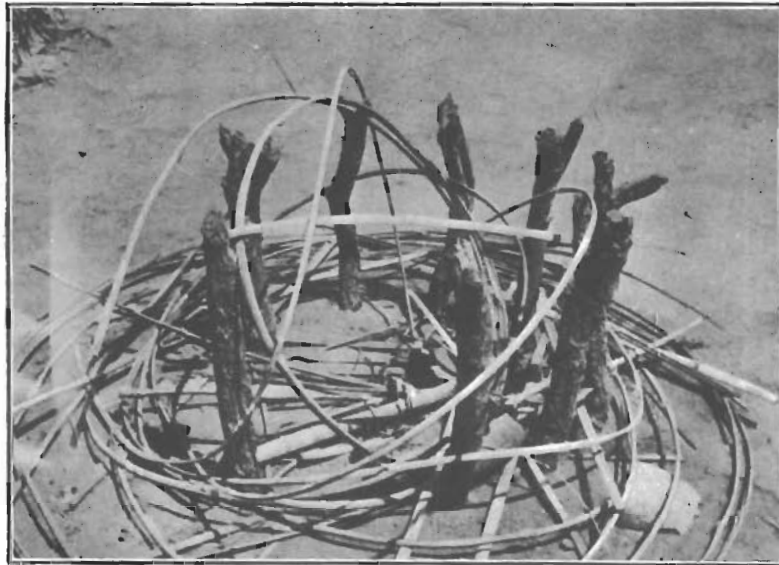
Within the shrine there were said to be eight large pots, each containing the bones of a rain-maker, a smaller pot resting upon the mouth of each acting as a cover. Here are the bones of Amoya, of his sons Lajaru, Lomoro, and Amongole (the latter having died young never actually made rain), his daughter Etiora, and his wives Kusura (the mother of Amongole and of Loinyong), Akeber and Ebaiya. Kaughugo, the wife of Amoya, and mother of Lonik, had been buried in the house of her son Lonik, where she had been living at Tarangole. When he died he was buried beside her and doubtless the bones of these two would have been removed to Logurn had they not been destroyed by fire at Tarangole. As to Etiora, there was some confusion with regard to the disposal of her remains. She had married Losura, a Lowudo rain-maker at Losito, and at Logurn we were told that only her head had been preserved there, her bones being kept at Losito. At Losito we were told that no remains were to be found, but that she had gone to Logurn, borne a child and died, and that all her bones were preserved there.

It is at this great shrine that the first part of the ceremony takes place. A goat is killed by Ker, and the stomach contents and some blood are thrown on to the skulls or the pots, most probably scattered over both. The fruit of a common creeping plant (*Cucurbita pustulosa*), called *nalosa*, is crushed and the pulp also thrown into the pots. Apparently no

further ceremony is performed at the shrine of the royal heads, though this is probably the occasion for rethatching the shrine.

Ker now goes to the enclosure of the house of Iloi and smears the sacred stones with stomach-contents and blood. These as we saw them lay close to the side of the house, almost under the eaves, within a circle about 2 feet in diameter, covered by a rough conical thatch, in about half a dozen clay pots a few inches across. Although no attempt is made to protect them, and leaves and sticks blow into this miniature shrine and partially cover the pots, the stones are so sacred that no one would dare to touch them, even children would understand that they must not meddle with them. As far as we were able to judge, they were natural quartz pebbles.

The next part of the ceremony takes place at the bottom of the hill at the sacred pool Itaraba, at the junction of the Khor Irumé and the Khor Khos. In this pool live the crocodiles who are the dead Igago rain-makers. Here a goat is killed, its skin being taken to the house of Iloi, where it is hung over the door. The rain-makers, carrying a pot of Itaraba water, return to the house of Iloi, where the rain-making ceremony proper takes place, i.e. the washing of the rainstones. A black goat is killed and the stones are anointed with the blood, stomach-contents, and fat from the sacrifice, and then with the water from Itaraba into which Loinyong and Ikang have both spat. Both rain-makers also drink of this water before pouring it over the stones, and both wash the stones in their hands, after which they are put back in the pots, perhaps rubbed in fat before this is done. The exact part taken by the Lomia and Lomini men is not clear, according to one account they as well as the rain-makers wash the stones, but this may be incorrect. After the ceremony a gourd containing Itaraba water is left beside the stones, and this is poured on to the stones by Ker ten days later. From Lugurn the rain-makers proceed to Lopi, to the house of Akerber, the deceased rain-maker widow of Lomoro. Water is carried here from Itaraba, a goat is killed, and Loinyong and Ikang smear the sacred spear-heads (which are kept in a miniature shrine similar to that at Tarangole) with stomach-contents and blood. The water from Itaraba is poured over the blades, and a *nalosa* is crushed and thrown upon them. Inside the



REMAINS OF SHRINE WITH RAIN-SPEARS, ONE TWO-BLADED, IN
COMPOUND OF HOUSE OF IKANG.



MOURNERS AT RECENT GRAVE.

house we saw several bundles of spears ; one of these had belonged to Lamoro and another to Amoya, and in this bundle was a double-bladed spear. All these spears were considered sacred, and might not be taken from the house. Another remarkable spear was a broad blade of Toposa make, brought by Loinyong from Logir in exchange for sheep. Several other bundles of spears belonged to Loinyong, and we were told that at every rain-making ceremony each drum-house paid Loinyong four or five spears. As we had not heard of this form of tribute before, and we did not return to Logurn or Tarangole, we were unable to ascertain if the payments were only made at Lopi.

The concluding ceremony is performed at Tarangole, outside the house of Ikang. Here in a circular shrine lie the sacred spears, one two-bladed, the others seemingly of the ordinary pattern. Though scarcely protected by the rough circle of sticks and conical roof, most of which had disappeared under stress of weather, the spears are too sacred to be touched except on the occasions of rain-making, so we were unable to examine them closely. A goat is killed by the two men of Lomini and Lomia, beer is brought, into which the rain-makers spit, and this is drunk by the Lomini and Lomia assistants, who smear the blood of the goat on the chests of the rain-makers. The flesh of the goat is cooked and eaten by old people of both sexes belonging to the Lomini and Lomia clans. Beer and porridge are also provided. When all is eaten the partakers wash their hands, some of this water being poured over the spears and sprinkled on the chests of the rain-makers. At the completion of the ceremony the people go out to clear the cultivation, while the rain-makers watch their work.

The bones of the sacrifice are placed beside the spears, but after six days are taken by the Lomini assistant and thrown into the bush.

We believe that the sequence of events is that which we have given, but we could not ascertain if this was always followed exactly, or if the ceremony were ever held at one village without being repeated at the other two. It must be borne in mind that though Ikang and Loinyong both resided at Tarangole at the time of our visit, before Loinyong was *kobu* of the district he lived at Lopi, while his brother and Ikang were rain-makers at Tarangole. Loinyong was, however, a rain-maker by birth, and it may be that rain was made separately at

Lopi. Of all the rain-making shrines of the Tarangole group there is no doubt that Logurn is the most sacred since there are the skulls of past rain-makers. Two skulls, those of Lonik and his mother, were kept at Tarangole until the place was burnt down in warfare, but whether it had been intended to move these to Logurn if they had not been destroyed, remains uncertain.

The story of the shrine at Kapuiri, where are preserved the bones of Labanya, the mother of Lokidi, and of her daughter Ingwa, is roughly as follows :—

Lokidi was mortally wounded in a fight with the Government in 1917, he was carried to the house of his mother and died there after a few hours, in the early morning. He was buried in the evening in his mother's house because he was a *kobu* (a commoner's body would have been cast out), but since he had died of a wound received in battle no *namatere* was made, nor was there any dancing for him. Apparently Edioma, widow of Lokidi, continued to live with her mother-in-law Labanya after her husband's death, and as far as we could determine the house was still regarded as hers in 1922, though she herself had been absent for some time having gone away with a commoner. Upon this Ikang had taken her son into her household at Tarangole, and closed the door of the compound of the absent widow with thorn bushes.

We met Ikang at the house, and at her word the bushes were removed immediately and we entered the compound. At the back of the house were two masses of dried grass, and sticks. Some of this being drawn aside we saw two large clay vessels each with a smaller over its mouth, and we were told that within these were the "heads" of Labanya and her daughter Ingwa. On our request that we might see their contents, an old man came, and after throwing some dura flour and crushed pulp of *nalosa* fruit on to the jars he lifted the small covering pots, and we saw a skull and bones inside each of the vessels. The whole affair was carried out with ceremonial care, the man who brought the dura washing his hands afterwards and spitting into a gourd of water, drinking some and then throwing the remainder towards the funerary vessels. Inside the house we were shown how the bodies had been buried within, and how after exhumation the bones had been removed through a hole made at the back of the house.

In more detail the ceremony of the shrine of Labanya was as follows :—

After entering the compound of the house we were taken round to the back, i.e. opposite its door, and shown two masses of dried grass and reed. We were then told to come away, and taken round the front of the house to the other side of the two masses. Ogogu of Lomini clan, one of the two men concerned in the making of the *namatere* for a rain-maker (and also we were later assured for others), broke a *nalosa* fruit on the ground, and mixing the pulp with dura flour sprinkled it over the funerary vessels. The small pot was lifted, and flour sprinkled within the larger, wherein we saw the skull and bones of a slightly built woman. More flour was sprinkled, especially inside the other vessel, and we were invited to look again. This jar contained the skull and bones of a more stoutly built person (not obviously female at a glance as was the first). More sprinkling followed, this time with water into which Ogogu had spat, some of this was poured out or spilt on the ground.

After this we were conducted to the other side of the back of the house, and shown an opening in the lower part of the thatch (almost as big as a door), and behind this a good-sized tusk lying on the ground. This marked the site of the grave of Lokidi, he had been buried here inside the hut, but had apparently been exhumed from the outside ; it is at least certain that his bones were removed through this gap, though we cannot say where they are now preserved.

Some sheep jaws were noticed in the thatch of the house over the door ; these we were told were not the remains of animals sacrificed yearly and eaten at the grave by Ogogu and Anyata, but probably had been killed for the dura harvest.

Before the general sowing of the dura by the people there is a ceremonial sowing near the village, the name for which appears to be *ekubi*. A small amount of seed is sown by the rain-maker, assisted by the same three men of clans Lomia, Lomini, and Lowudo who assist in rain-making, namely Anyata of Lomia clan, Lochura of Lomini, and Lafore of Lowudo. The rain-maker strikes the small area of ground to be sown four blows with his hoe, which he then hands to his three assistants, who complete the preparation of the seed-bed, the seed being sown by all four men. Unfortunately we were not able to ascertain whether these three men were *lamonyimiji*.

When the dura has sprouted the rain-maker inspects the young shoots, and from their appearance deduces whether the crop is likely to suffer from pests. If the appearance is unfavourable a black or spotted goat is sacrificed. The grain from this special plot is kept in the rain-maker's house until next sowing time, when—as we believe—this seed is mixed with other grain and made into beer, and is drunk by all before the dura is sown.

No similar ceremony is performed before sowing simsim or beans. We understand that the rain-maker's fields would be worked and sown for him, and that the commoners would not sow their grain until after that of the rain-maker, but these matters require further investigation.

With the spears mentioned on p. 32 there was a bundle of small pieces of wood. It was said that Loinyong would wear this whenever he left his own territory, in order that rain might not fall, and, as may be presumed, inconvenience him.

We may here note that oaths are sworn on the rain-spears described on p. 33. Water is poured on the spears, presumably by the rain-maker, but of this we have no certain knowledge, and this water is drunk by the man taking the oath, who if he swears falsely will infallibly die, unless he confesses his fault. We were told that oaths were also sworn on the old fire-sticks that had been used in kindling the "new fire" at the *nongopira* ceremony (p. 15), but omitted to confirm this. To this Lord Raglan adds: "The ordinary way of taking an oath is 'eating earth', *ongiye naboro*. This is done by licking the tip of the right forefinger and placing it on the ground and then on the tip of the tongue."

DEATH AND BURIAL

The burial customs of the Lotuko are unusual and particularly interesting. The body is buried outside the house of the deceased as soon as possible after death. It lies on its side with the knees slightly flexed, and the hands under the face, the vertex eastwards if the deceased be of Lomia or Lowudo, westwards if of Igago or Lomini. Concerning Idjogok we have no information.

The following account is pieced together from information obtained at various times, for although a death occurred at Tarangole during

our visit, the ordinary course of events was not followed for reasons which may fairly be called magico-religious.

On the morning of 27th January we heard wailing in the village, and were told it was for a woman who had given birth to a child and had died of retained placenta. An immediate visit to the house of mourning showed that women were wailing in the compound, and a steady stream were entering and leaving the hut. Yet the woman was still living, lying at full length with her head on the knee of an elderly woman. At 4 p.m. we heard a few strokes of a drum, and at 5.30 p.m. on returning to the village the woman was already buried and mourners were sitting on her grave.¹

Next morning at 4 a.m. a few strokes of the drum were sounded, and at 6.30 a.m. we found a large number of mourners collected around the house of the deceased, all very dishevelled and daubed with ashes. We learned that two ceremonies proper to death would not take place, namely the beating of drums and the preparation of the *nametere*, concerning which see pp. 38-9. A man of the husband's clan stood up and slowly and deliberately harangued the crowd saying that the drums must not be beaten lest in after life the new-born child would suffer whenever it heard the drums and perhaps even die. And if the drums were not beaten then no *nametere* could be made. An old woman opened up the belly of a sacrificed goat which was lying by the side of the grave and mixed *dura* with the contents of the gut, which were cast towards the house of the dead woman and also upon the crowd. Later in the day we found the intestines had been deposited in a heap on the head of the grave, and the meat, cut up and prepared for cooking, lay by the grave on an old wicker door, next to the ashes of the fire round which the mourners had passed the cold of the early morning.

We have referred to the beating of the drum as part of the ceremony following a death. It was only after we left Tarangole that we appreciated the importance of the drum in relation to the *dura* crop, and this nexus affected the use of the drum. We then made such inquiries as we could and were told twice independently that the drum

¹ Our work was done through Arabic, and the Arabic word for death was used, but there seemed no reason to doubt at the time that the woman, though still living, was actually spoken of as dead.

would not be beaten for a death during the time that the dura was growing (we did not learn to how long a period this referred), and that this applied to any and every clan except Igago; for members of this clan the drum was never beaten, by reason as it was said of its special relationship to the insect called *neguru* (cf. pp. 11-12). It is obvious that this may have considerable bearing on the omission of drumming at the obsequies of the Tarangole woman.

A fire should be kept burning by the grave for thirty days, during which time the clansmen of the deceased, and perhaps also his wife watch by the grave. The mourners rub themselves with dust and succeed in looking most dishevelled. We believe that the dead man's drinking gourd, and perhaps some other of his property, is broken at this time. His wife, or wives, undergo some measure of seclusion for about a year, and are then taken by the heirs (sons and brothers of the deceased). Feasts, with drumming and dancing round the grave, are held, lasting a couple of days for a commoner, and about a week for a rain-maker. The wife or wives do not carry any weapons, real or ceremonial, nor may they at this stage touch anything belonging to the deceased, on penalty of abdominal pain. The "putting off" of mourning was said to be determined by the dura harvest, the first after the death being the appropriate time, unless the death had occurred when the dura was nearly ripe, in which case the ceremony would be postponed till the next harvest.

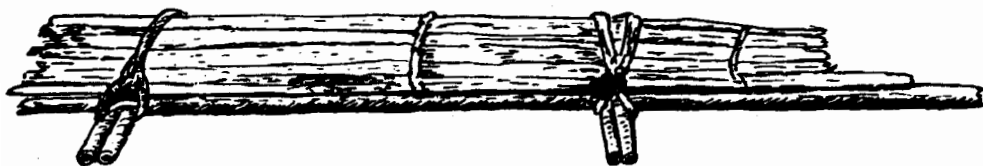
Later the bones are dug up, a sacrifice is made, but no drumming takes place. The exhumation is never done by the members of the clan to which the deceased belonged, but always by the members of the clan into which the deceased had married. The bones themselves are deposited in pots which are placed in rock shelters, under rocks or big trees, often only a short distance from the village.

To return to the period immediately after death, the construction and significance of the *nametere* must be considered. The *nametere* consists of a core of dry grass round which are wrapped a number of bamboos, so as to make a more or less cylindrical bundle bound to a rough frame, by which it is carried about. We believe that the drawing here reproduced is a fair representation of a *nametere*, but it does not represent one actually used, but a model made at our request. However,

we ascertained that the real thing bore no signs significant of sex, nor was it ever painted red. The *nametere* is made by four old men, who, we understood, might be of any clan so long as they were mourners, but here more precision is needed. These are given a goat, and a spear with which to stab the latter, whoever accepts the spear is bound to provide beer for all four.

The following account of the use of the *nametere*, though no doubt incomplete, is probably accurate as far as it goes, with the reservation that among the Lotuko it was always extremely difficult to be certain that the events told us as constituting a ceremony were narrated in correct sequence.

Early in the morning succeeding the death (or if death takes place in the small hours perhaps the same morning) the *nametere* is brought to the space in front of the house of the deceased, and the mourning dance called *aboryu* is performed to the beating of drums, which have been brought from the drum-house (*nadupa*). Later the drums and *nametere*



Nametere.

are taken to the dead man's drum-house, and after wailing and drumming another dance called *nelanga* is performed in the afternoon. Both dances have close relation to the *nametere*, and although it may be literally correct to say that they take place round the latter, we cannot be certain of this. After the *nelanga* the *nametere* is taken into the bush and burnt by the old men who made it, who, according to one informant, pray to Naijok that no one else may die. In answer to our questions concerning the *nametere* Mr. Driberg writes: "It is definitely made to simulate the dead man that he may be thought to be present at the funeral dance." The dance is not round the *nametere*, "which is placed on the ground to the side." Mr. Driberg did not hear of its being burnt, but "after the dance it is taken and thrown away in the bush, where it is vigorously speared".

The "secondary burial" of the Lotuko has been noted both by

Emin and by Baker; according to the former: "After a time the bones are taken out and placed in a clay vessel, which is hung in a tree";¹ while Baker writes of the "vicinity of every town" being "announced by heaps of human remains"; also that "bones and skulls formed a Golgotha within a quarter of a mile of every village".² Both authors further point out that those who die in battle are not buried, nor is any attention paid to their bones.³ We refer to this matter now to draw attention to the fact that this agrees with our information with regard to commoners, but does not hold for royalty, i.e. actual rain-makers, and those "having rain" (p. 34).

We may now consider the purpose of secondary burial as far as commoners are concerned, and the factors that determine the exhumation of the bones in particular cases, the practice with regard to rain-makers being left for discussion later. The Lotuko absolutely deny that any part of man survives as what we should call a spirit; when a man dies he becomes his clan animal, how then should any other part exist? We discussed the matter at length with Loinyong, the rain-maker, and have no doubt that this is really the actual orthodox belief, our opinion on this matter being confirmed by the long discussion between himself and Commoro recorded by Baker, who had been struck by the exposed bones he encountered, and as he says naturally connected this practise with some belief in a future life.⁴

Yet, when we asked why the bones were exhumed, the answer in almost every instance was that it was done to prevent or cure the illness of a near relative of the deceased, often a child or brother, and so firmly is this belief held that whenever a Lotuko applies to a medicine man for a cure for illness the first question (as we were informed) that the latter is likely to ask is "have you dug up the bones of your father?" and if the answer be in the negative, then the matter will assuredly be put in hand at once. Moreover, the answer to the question seems to imply that if no illness, or fear of illness, were present, then the bones might be left in the ground. Yet clearly this was not the case. Further inquiries were generally fruitless, and it may be that the majority of

¹ *Emin Pasha in Central Africa* (1888), p. 230.

² S. W. Baker, *The Albert Nyanza* (1867), vol. i, p. 197.

³ Emin, loc. cit., and Baker, loc. cit.

⁴ Baker, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 231-5.

the Lotuko do not carry the matter further. Yet once at Tarangole we were told that a particular man had been dug up in order that the too-frequent menses of his widow might not prevent her husband coming to her, while at Logurn it was pointed out to us that to leave the bones in the ground would be likely to render the women of the house sterile. It would seem then that the basic object of the Lotuko exhumation is the promotion of fertility. But this only leads to further question, how can any activity be connected with the bones among a people who steadfastly deny that any part other than the bones themselves persist after the decay of the soft parts? We think we may be permitted to suggest an explanation, based on modern psychological lines, namely that such beliefs as that we are discussing have two aspects which, following dream terminology, we may call the "manifest" and the "latent"; the "manifest" belief is the obvious, almost common-sense one, which says "nothing is left after death", the latent idea (possibly connected with dreams and trances, or perhaps to be traced to forgotten foreign influence) which, generally speaking, is unrecognized by consciousness (as is the latent content of a dream), nevertheless exists, and manifests itself in some such veiled method as the performance of a custom which could be rationally explained by the conscious existence of the belief.

In describing the rain ceremony we have already said so much concerning the disposal of the bones of rain-makers, that it is here necessary to do no more than to state the little we were able to discover concerning their burial.

A rain-maker should if possible die in his own village, in the house of his mother if she be still alive and herself a rain-maker, otherwise in the house of his chief wife (who, theoretically at least, would also be a rain-maker). On these matters, and on the burial of rain-makers within the house, we may refer to what we have already written concerning the death of Lokidi (p. 34), but there is this additional fact to be noted. Whatever the clan of a rain-maker a living man (or in the case of a woman rain-maker possibly a woman, but on this matter we are uncertain) of clan Lomini would be buried with him. The living sacrifice, with hands and legs tied, would be laid by the side of the dead rain-maker on a bedding of leaves covered with an oxhide, a sort of cell

would be built over the two, of whom it would be said " they sleep together ", and when the time came to remove the bones of the rain-maker those of the Lomini victim should be placed in another pot and preserved next to those of the rain-maker.

Nothing could be elicited concerning the reason of the victim being always of clan Lomini, nor was he ever the " father of the land " (*lamonyemiji*). Although we heard of this sacrifice at Tarangole, it was only at Losito that we heard of the preservation of the Lomini bones, too late to make further and more precise inquiry as to the contents of the shrine at Logurn.

NAIJOK AND MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

We can make no such definite statements concerning the religious beliefs of the Lotuko as is possible in the case of most of the other negro tribes of the Southern Sudan. Nor is this in our opinion due solely to our lesser knowledge of the Lotuko, but may be attributed to the fact that their religious beliefs are vaguer than those of most tribes of the Sudan. In spite of the constantly reiterated statement that man when he dies becomes the clan animal, and that nothing comparable to our idea of a " spirit " persists,¹ it is obvious that the beliefs and ceremonies we have already described do in fact constitute a cult of the dead, and this view is confirmed by information we received from other Lotuko-speaking tribes. In addition there is recognized a power, *Naijok*, concerning which Somerset writes as follows :—

" The Lotuko believe in an invisible power called *naijok*, a neuter form. It is conceived chiefly as bringing death and disease. Everything not understood, however, is ascribed to *Naijok*.

" Once when I offered a chief some onion seed he asked with surprise if the *naijok* of the onion existed here. The expression *orgho naijok*, ' bad luck ' is a common one. The word is also used for menstruation, and a derivative, *noloiwok*, for hiccoughs." ²

It is perhaps not going too far to say that at least in one aspect *Naijok* is thought of as concerned with the firmament, and negative

¹ As it is thought to do among all other tribes in the neighbourhood of the White Nile with which we are acquainted, e.g. Dinka *atiep*, Shilluk *aneho*, Bari *mulaka*, Acholi *tipo*.

² Op. cit., p. 156.

answers were returned to all questions as to whether Naijok was associated with the dead. These answers were so prompt and definite that we accepted them at the time, yet subsequent reflection and the information we obtained among the Lango concerning Naijok and certain shrines called *natibo*, suggest that the word may have a double or varying significance, and that future inquiry should be directed along both lines of thought.

In favour, as it seems to us, of the view that Naijok is connected with the dead, we would quote the information given us at Lopi, viz. that if the ancient spear-heads (i.e. those that had belonged to Lomoro and Amoya), referred to on p. 32 were taken out of the house, "Naijok would go", and the people would die.

Further, as Lord Raglan has informed us, the word *jok* exists in the Lotuko language without the prefix *nai-*. His note is as follows: "During the time that the corn is in the ground no drum must be beaten except for a funeral dance. At the end of the dance all the dancers rush to one side of the dancing-ground and throw spears and sticks into the air, shouting ' *Jok ilo!* ' (God, go away!). I saw this done at Torit." In form the ceremony certainly suggests the driving away of ancestral spirits, but the word *jok* is so widely spread and may just as well mean "God" (e.g. Shilluk, Juok), as ancestral spirit, (Dinka, *jok*), that we do not desire to emphasize our opinion too strongly.

We may now refer to a number of miscellaneous beliefs.

If a goat stuffs its cheeks with fodder, instead of swallowing normally, its owner or someone closely connected with him will die shortly.

Nêlam is the term applied to a type of prognostication in which the event is judged according to the sex of an animal born or killed. Thus, one suspect of theft is made to touch a female goat, and if the kid is a female he is innocent, if male guilty. In the same way the sex of the first animal killed by a suspect while hunting is taken to betoken innocence or guilt. Somerset notes: "In November is held the *nêlam* or ceremonial hunt, the nature of the ensuing year being prognosticated from the [sexual] characteristics of the first animal killed." This authority has also written to us as follows: "My impression was that the prognostications from the *nêlam* are of a more detailed kind than

would be possible merely from the difference of sex, but quite likely I was influenced by classical ideas. The new year's hunt is not *nêlam*, but *nalam*, the primary form of the same word. It has some connexion with the fixing of new year's day. As there are twelve lunar months, and yet the seasons remain the same, there must be some system of intercalation, but I could not learn more than that it was settled by the old men."

Somerset has the following concerning "spells"; presumably an action or process accompanied by some kind of spoken formula:—

"A good deal in the way of spells can be accomplished without the aid of a magician. A spell for causing death is called *nakitu*. The commonest are to dig up a person's footprint from his doorway and keep it in an earthen pot, and to sprinkle ashes in his drinking water.

"There are various spells for causing death to persons who interfere with crops, flocks, and articles left in the open. In the latter case charred twigs of a particular tree are laid by the article.

"If a woman's apron be stolen she will be barren till it is restored.

"To undo the effects of these spells recourse must be had to a magician. The evil eye is believed in, and it is firmly believed, even by the people concerned, that certain persons are able to turn themselves into leopards and hyenas. I once had a case before me in which it was alleged that a certain man kept the bones of his father and other relatives on the premises, and on receipt of a fee would turn them into a flock of leopards, and send them to devour the flocks of the person named by the prayer."¹

The virtue of saliva has been demonstrated in the rain-making ceremonies (pp. 32, 33, 34). Further examples of the efficacy of the rain-maker's spittle were witnessed by Lord Raglan. He noted that when Ikuma of Mount Lafit visited him "and wished to spit, she called her lady-in-waiting and spat into her hand". He had also seen her greet people of consequence by spitting in their ears. The legend in which Ibong (the rain) spat upon the navel of Karam (p. 27) may be recalled in this connexion. However, it is not only the saliva of rain-makers that has virtue, for one of us who had shown unexpected interest in and knowledge of the use of spear straighteners among the Lotuko was asked as a favour to spit upon a spear.

¹ Op. cit., p. 157.

It will be noted that nothing has been said concerning at least three important matters which should be treated in any paper on tribal organization, though incidental reference has been made to two of these. We greatly regret that it was not possible in the time at our disposal to investigate the position and functions of the magician (*ibwoni*), always a most difficult subject, to examine the ceremonial side of marriage, or to record the system of land tenure, and the inheritance and disposal of property.

We may add a few words as to the practical application of our material, incomplete as it is.

There is no doubt of the importance the Lotuko attach to the rain-making powers of their chiefs. The genealogy shows that in 1922 neither Loinyong nor Loceli had a rain-making heir, while the latter's own power was at least a matter of dispute, a condition that led him to resort to the interesting expedient recorded on page 28. This, and indeed the whole trend of our information, suggests the advisability of the Government allowing the Lotuko to choose their own chiefs, when they will certainly select someone, male or female, who has rain-making powers. We would go so far as to chronicle our personal opinion that any other course will lead to discontent, hidden even if not actively expressed.

The *nadupa*, and the organization connected therewith, seems of little importance now that war is forbidden. There is, however, no reason to allow the drum-houses to die out, and they may prove useful centres for the supply of carriers, and later of labour, if tactfully handled.

The destruction of *obele* for no very specific reason, such as we were informed had occurred, should certainly not take place.

The burial of a human being with the rain-maker cannot of course be sanctioned, but it seems possible that after due discussion the burial of an effigy might be accepted, and performed with a considerable measure of good faith.

LAFON HILL

By J. H. Driberg

AS there is considerable misapprehension concerning the identity of the inhabitants of Lafon Hill, the following notes may prove of interest. I have, however, only visited Lafon once, and pressure of work on that occasion precluded the more exhaustive inquiry which I should have preferred. It is hoped none the less that the material here offered may be sufficient for investigation, in corroboration or otherwise, by others working among the Shilluk and Anywak.

The hill, which is known locally as Lepul and not as it is generally shown on the maps, is a small rocky outcrop completely covered with terraced villages and rising abruptly from a plain which at no great distance merges into a swamp during the rains. The land actually available in the neighbourhood of the hill suffices to support its present population of between two and three thousand, and provides adequate cultivation and grazing, but except on the banks of the Kos an extension of population is not possible owing to the presence of swamps caused by the flooding of the Kos, which during the dry season becomes a waterless and arid desolation.

The population is divided into three sections, known respectively as Pugéri, Boi, and Kor, but are generally designated Fari or Feri (the vowel approximating the pronunciation of the U in "further"), a designation which may have originated as a nickname but now appears to be accepted by the people themselves. The term Berri, by which they are often described, is apparently an European corruption of this word Fari, which is not without its own interest as a Nilotic designation. I can offer no explanation of the word or of its origin, but it may be a material point that the Acholi are known to the Didinga as Vari, and that Opari, the headquarters of the Acholi in the Sudan, is often pronounced almost as Ofari, which may thus prove to be the same word.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

TABLE A (PUGÉRI SECTION)

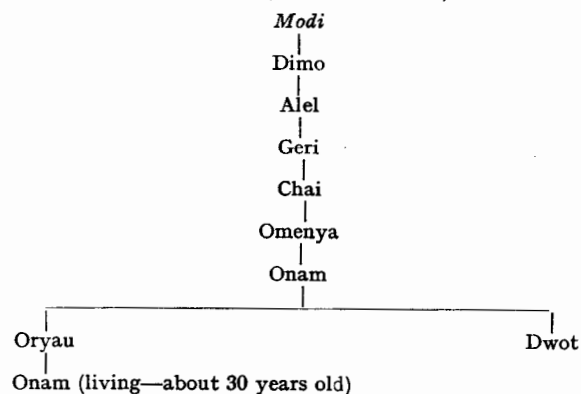
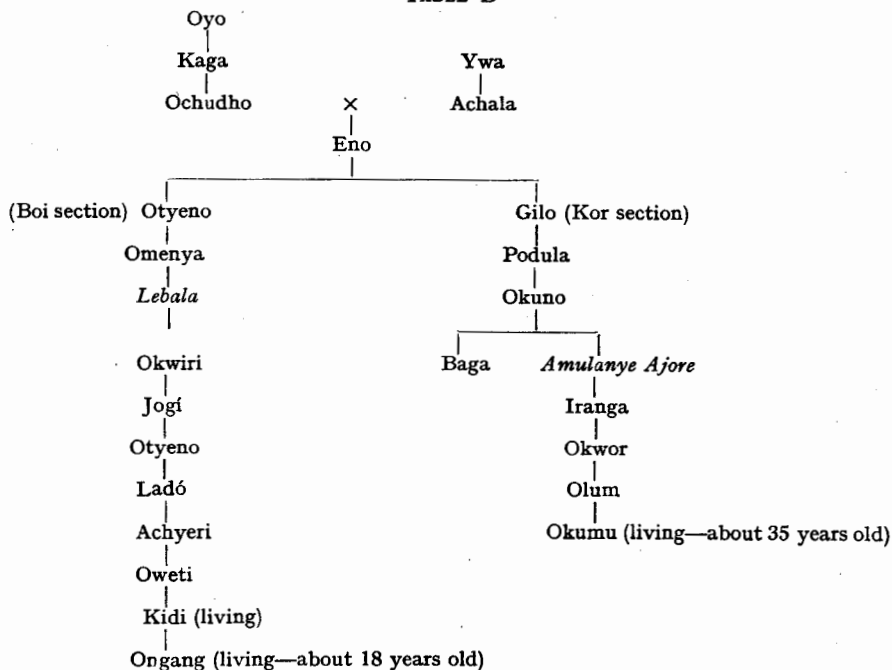


TABLE B



NOTE.—Italicized names indicate leaders of migration.

These tables require a few explanatory notes. Only the names essential to the inquiry have been included and they show the direct line of inheritance, both of property and leadership. In two instances brothers have inherited and are accordingly included in the table.

The Pugéri section claims to be Shilluk, who came from the north following the Nile till they reached Mongalla, and thence moved eastward via Lokoya to Lafon Hill, which they found uninhabited. The leader of the migration, Modi—a name which is very differently pronounced from the common Bari name Modi—died during the journey, and no one can now remember either the cause of the migration or who was then the reigning king of the Shilluk. They derive the name of their section from Geri, the son of Alel, which indicates that prior to Geri's day there was no need of a specific designation, a need which probably would not have been felt before the arrival of the Boi section, and we may tentatively assume therefore that Geri (of the Pugéri) and Lebala (of the Boi) were contemporaries. There is a difference of a generation between their genealogies, but rather than assume that the genealogy of the Pugéri has been inaccurately remembered, it is easier to suppose that in the changes and chances of savage life the Boi leaders have suffered a more rapid demise than those of the Pugéri. The Pugéri genealogy, as it stands, would place the migration in the seventeenth century, which would not be inconsistent with our present knowledge of the Shilluk, who are thought to have migrated northwards from much about this locality during the sixteenth century. In a hundred years of travel the recollections of their old homes would still be fresh in the minds of their descendants, and this reverse migration of the Pugéri is both natural and chronologically consistent.

The Boi were the next arrivals, led by Lebala, and some generations later they were followed by the Kor, under Amulanye. The table shows that these two sections are genealogically connected and are only distinguished by the material circumstance of their individual migrations. The Boi are so called from the name of the locality of their former home, and the Kor thus named themselves from the word Kor (road), to indicate that they followed in the road of their brethren. They claim to be Anywak (or Anywa, as they themselves pronounce the word), and state that they migrated south from the Anywak before the route was closed by the irruption of the Nuer and Ajiba (or Beir).

The mythological ancestor of their line was Ochudho, the son of Kaga, the son of Oyo, neither of whom was known to mortals except on the authority of the semi-Divine Ochudho. This Ochudho rose from a lake or

river (Nam, which means any large expanse of water), and with him brought herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, which were previously unknown, but which continued to appear on earth from the lake in a continuous spate and rapidly spread far and wide. Ochudho, however, laid on the people of the day one prohibition, namely, that on no account was any one to touch his favourite bull, Obwor, a dun bull with spreading horns. This prohibition naturally proved an irresistible temptation and some one touched the bull, with the result that, with the exception of the distant herds and flocks, all the cattle, sheep and goats returned to their subterranean home, and for three days the earth shook and rumbled with their going. Ochudho, piqued at this act of disobedience and angered by the loss of his cattle, also returned to his home under the lake, never to come back, but left behind him his wife, Achala, daughter of Ywa, a mortal, enceinte and shortly to be delivered of a son who was called Eno and was the founder of both the Boi and Kor sections.

Olum (of the Kor) and Oweti (of the Boi) were contemporaries, and it was during their leadership that the two sections quarrelled and the Kor migrated in a body to Pajok in the Acholi country. They lived there for an indeterminate number of years until Oweti, who regretted the rupture, went with presents of ivory, and implored Olum to return with the Kor section to Lafon, which they did nine years ago.

Linguistically, the Fari are probably very interesting, and a study of their dialect would go far to establish (or possibly to confute) the claims which they make of their origin. I am personally acquainted with the Southern representatives of the Nilotics, particularly the Lango, Acholi, Jopaluo, Alur of Uganda, and the Jalu of Kenya Colony, and there is no doubt in my mind that one knowing any of these languages well would be expert in the Fari dialect after a month. Even as it was, it was not impossible to converse with the Fari albeit in a halting fashion.

The Kor section has been considerably influenced in its speech by its stay among the Acholi, but its language is clearly not Acholi, from which it exhibits a great divergence, and I am inclined to the opinion that the children growing up are in no way distinguishable linguistically from the Boi.

It was naturally impossible for me to learn anything of value in the space of three days, but one point was extremely noticeable and

that was a strong tendency to dentalization, a tendency which is also exhibited by the Alur, the Jopaluo and the Jaluo—the Alur and the Jopaluo being the most westerly of the Nilotics in Uganda, and the Jaluo most southerly of all. All the intervening Nilotics, who comprise the two biggest tribes, namely, the Lango and the Acholi, either never had this dentalization or have dropped it. As examples I select the following words :—

Lango, Acholi, *Bene* (also), Fari, Alur, Jopaluo, Jaluo, *Bende* ; Lango, Acholi, *Awenó* (guinea-fowl) ; Fari, Alur, Jopaluo, Jaluo, *Awendo*.

Similarly in the use of certain words ; Fari contains words which occur in Jaluo and Alur, but not in Lango and Acholi, e.g. *tot* (many), *ngeawo* (to buy, sell), which is also Shilluk. If this dentalization is found either in Anywak or Shilluk, additional support is available for the theory that, when the original Nilotic group was broken up by the Hamitic invasion of the sixteenth century, the Alur and Jaluo migrated contemporaneously with, or very shortly after, the Shilluk, followed by the Acholi, and after a considerably greater interval by the Lango. It would be interesting to have information on this point from the Shilluk and Anywak. On the other hand, there are words in Fari (I cannot say how many, but they do not occur to the same extent as examples of dentalization) which are found in Lango but not in Alur or Jaluo, e.g. *arun* (year), with which compare the Shilluk *wun* (plur. *run*) ; *chi* (wife). The Fari *lubo* (speak) is probably the same as Shilluk *luobo* (to converse with), but the word to the best of my knowledge occurs in none of the Southern representatives of the group. The genitive in Fari is worthy of note, as it appears to differ from the Shilluk use. According to Westermann the Shilluk genitive follows the governing noun as in Fari, but whereas the helping vowel is attached to the governing noun in Shilluk (e.g. *bote tong*, maker of spears), in Fari it is suffixed to the following genitive (e.g. *Wo Kide*, son of Kidi).

Both the words for brother, *owon* and *omin*, are commonly used according as reference is made to the father or to the mother. I cannot trace *chōwa* (my sister) in any of the Southern Nilotics, and Westermann does not refer to it as being a Shilluk word. The greeting *mōdhi* or *mōdhi-Na* is also unknown to me.

A point of interest is the very general habit of addressing a man by his father's name. This is not the practice of the Nilotic Lango, among whom if a man's own name is not used he may be addressed by his mother's name. I have elsewhere suggested that the matrilineal traces observable among the Lango may be due to the interaction of two patrilineal tribes, as it is probable that the Lango fraternized with the Hamitic invaders (who are also believed to have been patrilineal) for a long period after the Shilluk migrated. The point is therefore of some importance, and it is desirable to learn whether the Shilluk and Anywak, who were much less contaminated by the invaders, also address a man by his father's name.

I much regret that I did not have with me at the time of my visit two old reports on Lafon. The earlier dated 13th May, 1904, by Kaim : Borton Bey, who refers more correctly to the hill as Lafole ; and the second dated November, 1909, by Bimbashi Jennings-Bramly. As these reports have never been published, such portions of them as refer to the ethnology of the Fari are worth reproduction here, though they contain matter which I have not been able to corroborate, and which is often not borne out by the evidence :—

“ The Berri tribe appear to be a mixture of the Bari and Latuka. They live on a hill about 2,000 feet, called Gebel Lafole, which is composed of granite, with several fair-sized trees all over it. This hill is artificially terraced with granite slabs throughout, and on these terraces, practically right to the top of the hill, are built the tukls of the people, similar to Bari tukls, exactly, except that the sides are made of strips of wood instead of reeds. The fighting men live round the foot of the hill and the older people higher up.

“ There is no water on the hill itself—all has to be fetched from rain-pools, of which there are about a dozen round and fairly close to the hill, at this time of the year.

“ All cattle were driven off during our visit, and were only beginning to return when I left ; there did not appear to be many really large cattle zeribas, though these, too, may have been removed at our approach, which was watched nightly for the last three days.

“ Alikori is the chief of the tribe, and holds absolute sway. He is an oldish man of about 65 years, about 5 ft. 8 in. in height, and,

like nearly all his tribe, wears a feather quill piercing his lower lip, to allow the spittle to run off when smoking with a minimum of trouble to the smoker.

"The method of succession is that brothers succeed each other according to seniority, and after the youngest brother's death the succession passes to the eldest son of the eldest brother, and so on through his family.

"Alikori succeeded his father, Aserri, who had no brothers, the present heir-apparent is named Waller Mari.

"All Berris stated they have no connexion whatever with the Beir tribe opposite Bor, and say they have no other district but Gebel Lafole. From the top of it one can see 50 miles or more in the Bor direction, and there did not seem to be any roads and no hills were visible. All tribes in these parts live on hills.

"The cultivation consists of dura and a few ground nuts only on the vast plain lying round the hill. The dura was about a foot high, and appeared to be well looked after and the ground cleaned.

"The only trade is buying dura for sheep, carried on principally with the Lokova on Mount Illyria, and a little with our Sheikhs, Lado, Lowala, etc.

"The present fashionable enemy is the Latuka, belonging to Queen Tofane; relations with other powers are reported as satisfactory. The population probably amounts to about 3,000 men all told.

"People seem very healthy, quite the opposite of the Baris, no disgusting sights of people in the villages are seen; malformed children are destroyed at birth. Sleeping sickness is unknown.

"All disciplinary powers are vested in the chief. For premeditated murder the punishment is death. For killing in quarrel, etc., offender must pay a boy to the family of the deceased. Thefts of cattle must be repaid or offender is exiled. Thefts of food are not looked upon as offences, but as occasional necessities. For adultery the co-respondent must pay 1 cow, 5 sheep, and 5 iron malotes (hoes); the wife is dealt with by her husband in the seclusion of the home, but must not be killed. The birth of a child does not give an excuse for a festival of any sort.

"Marriages are arranged when the girls are very young. The

bridegroom interviews his proposed father-in-law, as in other countries, and arranges to pay so many sheep a year until the lady reaches a marriageable age. The ceremony is then celebrated amid much merissa drinking. Divorce is allowed to husbands only; they get back their marriage settlement if granted. Widows marry deceased husband's brother; if no brother, may marry again, but usually become the property of the head chief.

"Death finishes everything—no after state is believed in—a sheep is always killed over a dead man's grave.

"The language is peculiar to the tribe.

"The men go naked, or wear short mantle of skin over the shoulders. Women wear a broad skin covering from the waist in front and behind.

"The Berri are Anuaks, and evidently have branched off at a comparatively recent date. They are like all the Anuaks, extraordinarily prolific. I saw quantities of children on the hill. The men are not so tall as the Dinka, nor as burly as the Bari; the women are much the same as the Dinka women. The great majority of the men wear a glass spike, about three inches long, projecting through a hole in the under-lip. These spikes are made out of clear glass bottles, which are in consequence in great request. They are bound round the base with a bit of brass wire to prevent them slipping through the hole in the lip; they are easily removed from inside. Those not possessing a glass spike wear a short bit of wood to keep the hole open. Their heads are either clean shaven, or they wear tufts of hair along the centre line of their skulls. The men are naked, the women wear the usual goat-skin fore and aft. Their spears are poor, having no blacksmith nor iron in their hill. Their method of hunting is to dig a row of pits covered in with grass, a thorn zeriba filling the interval. This row would be from a quarter to half a mile in length. They would then organize and hunt and drive the animals on to these pits.

"I put the population at roughly 8,000.

"Jabel Lafone is about the size of one of the hills of Jebelein. It took me half an hour to reach as near the top as I could get, that is to say to the base of a large rock with perpendicular sides about 40 feet high. From there I could see Jebel, Lado, Belinian, and Lyria. Every nook and cranny on the hill was filled with huts; there must have been

five hundred in each section, of which there are five. Most huts, which were the usual shape, were surrounded by zeribas of wood, very much like an oak-paling. There is a large cave with three entrances somewhere on the east side of the hill. They say it is capable of holding all their women, children, and cattle, and that there is water on the bottom of it. They told me about it, but were disinclined to show me its entrances, so that I did not press them.

“ The young men live round the base of the hill, and I saw some youths practising an attack, advancing and retiring in three lines, about two paces between lines and between men in one line. Their shields are like those of the Latuka, though not so long, being 4 feet instead of 8, rectangular in shape, though the sides curve in somewhat. From a native point of view the hill is impregnable.

“ Kid-di, the son of Alikhori, is their Sheikh. Alikhori is deposed, but lives quietly on the hill ; he has forty wives to console him. Kid-di presented me with another tusk of 32 lb. on my arrival, making with the one he sent 57 lb. altogether.

“ Kid-di asked me to make Akile, son of Lufate, his Wakil, to act for him in his absence, and help him in governing the people. Akile is a young man, blind in the eye ; he has not yet been to Mongalla. His father Lufate was the big Sheikh before Alikhori, but Emin Pasha's men took him prisoner to Bor, whence he escaped, only to be caught and killed by the Bari Sheikh Anung's people. Alikhori succeeded him.

“ The hill and people are divided into five sections, which are named as follows :—

Mulumare under sub-sheikh Welyan.

Kor	„	„	Lamayan.
Mundatu	„	„	Lusak.
Fasoa	„	„	Lukendu.
Bura	„	„	Gore.

“ The people of Mulumare are those that migrated to the Baris, but returned on Alikhori's deposition.

“ The rain making is all in the hands of Kid-di, and his counsellors. To get rain the arrangements are much the same as those of the Bari. A bull and he-goat are killed and eaten, without leaving anything over. Some blood is collected in a grinding stone and placed in the Sheikh's

hut. It differs in that when all is eaten the rain-makers dip their hands in water and shake them over the burning embers of the fire, which have just cooked the bull; clouds of steam arise, and immediately they all rush to their huts and remain quiet till sunrise.

"I went over the greater part of their cultivation, and am of opinion that they grow nearly twice as much dura as the Bor Dinkas do from one end of their clearing to the other.

"They grow also a large amount of tobacco. Those Berris who had been living among the Baria have introduced a little groundnut and sesame cultivation, but it has not taken on to any great extent.

"At the present moment all enmity has died out with the Latuka of Tofain.

"The Lokoya are also friends, but the Beir, whom the Berri call the Akaru, Ajuba, Murule, and the people of the Lafit hills under Lobera, chief Sheikh, and a lesser Sheikh named Gnaru, are all deadly enemies.

"Two days before my arrival the Lafit killed four of the Berri; I was shown their graves.

"The Berri assert that Akaru, Ajuba, Murule, and Lafit are all the same race. In any case, they are all friends, and all resort to Lafit for their weapons. The only iron in the country is in Lafit hills, who are the great blacksmiths of the district.

"The Murule are the branch of the Beirs that were attacked by Government in June, 1908."

Both these reports mention Alikori as a chief, and while the former states that Alikori is the son of Aserri (? Achyeri), the latter avers that Kidi is the son of Alikori. Presumably therefore Alikori is another name for Oweti.

I could find no evidence for the hypothesis that there is any Bari element in the Fari despite a preconceived notion, acquired I know not where, that this was the case. There were no Bari speakers at Lafon.

Of the five sections detailed in the later report, the Kor is the only one which is capable of identification, and the others are possibly nothing more than subdivisions. Mulumare, however, the name of one of the alleged sections, compels comparison with the unknown "Waller Mari", who in the first report is said to be the son of Alikori,

and it is not unlikely that certain discrepancies and obvious mis-statements are due to the difficulties of interpretation. When, however, in the first report one reads: "Death finishes everything. No after state is believed in. A sheep is always killed over a dead man's grave," the contradiction is obviously of a different nature, as funeral sacrifice premises an after life. Furthermore, shrines can be seen near every hut, and there is no reason to suppose that the Fari are less religious than their neighbours. In 1909 there was apparently no blacksmith, though we are not told whence the Fari obtained their spears. There is now a flourishing smithy on the north side of the hill, but this art may have been imitated like the raised resting platforms from the Latuka.

In the second report it is stated that the Fari call the Beir, who were hostile to them, Akaru, Ajuba, and Murule, and assert that the Akaru, Ajuba, Murule, and Lafit are the same race. This is most certainly incorrect. The Akaru (or Kare) are the Topotha, and the Lafit are entirely separate, being rather allied to the Latuka.

The Ajiba are the Beir, and to this day the terms, Ajiba and Murule, are used by the Fari as synonymous terms, though strictly speaking the Murule (or Mule, as the Fari call them) are the Boma plateau branch of the Ajiba (the so-called Beir of the Pibor district).

The error concerning the Lafit may be due to the fact that on north Lafit there is one Ajiba village, and one Longarim village, through which the trade route between the Ajiba and the Longarim passes. In this year of grace it is presumably unnecessary to add that the Ajiba, Murule, Longarim, and Didinga are one and the same tribe, and speak a language which only varies dialectically.

In conclusion, reference should be made to the Fari terraces on the hill. The complete hill is carefully terraced with earth and stonework. Work of this kind cannot be paralleled among any of the Southern Nilotics, who, with the exception of the Jaluo, the builders of walls, are singularly ignorant of the most primitive kind of stone work. This must therefore be a legacy of the old days, in which case one would expect to find the same degree of skill among the Shilluk and Anywak, or else the technique is borrowed from the Lafit and Latuka. The floors of their courtyards, moreover, are paved with a mosaic of potsherds, which I have not hitherto met among Nilotics.

NOTES ON THE DAGO
with Special Reference to the Dago Settlement in
Western Kordofan

By S. Hillelson

THE Dago,¹ though now a comparatively insignificant tribe, engage the attention of the historian and ethnologist owing to the tradition that at a remote period, terminating perhaps in the sixteenth century, they were the ruling race in Darfur. There is no evidence to this story in written documents, it rests entirely on the oral tradition of the present-day inhabitants of Darfur and Wadai, as recorded by Barth (*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London, 1857, vol. iii, ch. li) and Slatin (*Fire and Sword*, ch. ii), but may in its unanimity be taken as substantially correct. As MacMichael has pointed out (*History of the Arabs, etc.*, vol. i, p. 76), this tradition does not imply, as one might be inclined to suppose, that the Dago rule extended to the whole of Darfur, since "it is beyond all doubt that they never held any power in northern Darfur, nor in Gebel Marra, nor in the country north-west of it". It may, however, be regarded as established that they were at one time "the predominant race in Central Darfur, the earliest known founders of a monarchy there, and that they were supplanted by the Tungur about the sixteenth century".

MacMichael (op. cit., vol. i, p. 71 ff.) has given an account, with full references to the available literary sources, of the Dago now living in Darfur and Wadai; in the former country they form with the Birged and Bego a distinct, albeit heterogeneous, negroid group, east and south-east of Gebel Marra, to the north of the Baggara country proper, where they have a hereditary sultan. Further west they are the preponderating element of the population of Dar Sila (Sula), and they are mentioned by El Tunisi (*Voy. au Ouadai*, p. 245) as one of the five aboriginal tribes of Wadai.

The present paper deals with a branch of the Dago settled in a group of hills in south-western Kordofan, administratively belonging

¹ i.e. Dāgo with soft g.

to the Abu Zabad district ; the plains are the grazing grounds of the cattle-owning Misiria Arabs, while Nuba tribes and Dago occupy the hills and cultivate in their neighbourhood. The hills inhabited by the Dago are as follows : El Dār el Kebīra (not Kebir as on the maps ; the Dago name is Kidong), Warina, Silēchē (meaning "hyaena" in the Dago language), Tamanig (more correctly, in Dago, Tamanyog), and Nyukri ; to which may be added the community of Gebel Miheila, which was colonized by the people of El Dār el Kebīra at a quite recent date. The first three are the most important in numbers and in popular estimation ; the total number of able-bodied males in the tribe is somewhere near 1,800.

The Dago of Kordofan are an offshoot of their kinsmen in Dar Sila, with whom they still maintain occasional intercourse, and whose language in spite of dialectical differences they understand. They know little about their ancient home, and even the fact that their ancestors had once borne sway in Darfur is unknown to them. They have forgotten the names of Qedir and his successors (MacMichael, vol. i, p. 75), and only the story of Ahmed el Dag and his adventurous ride on a hartebeeste¹ was familiar to them. Their historical memory does not in fact go beyond the date of their migration to their present country. Tradition relates that they left their western home perhaps four generations ago, led by a member of their royal family called Kabbashi, whom a quarrel arising out of a disputed succession to the throne had driven from his country. Kabbashi died on the journey, and is buried at Gebel Moga near Burdia in the Wadi el Ghalla ; the leadership devolved on his son Mōm, who became the first sultan of El Dār el Kebīra.

While the travellers were encamped in the neighbourhood of their present settlement, Mōm went out hunting and killed a giraffe near El Dār el Kebīra. There he met Tia or Tiamulu, the chief of the aboriginal inhabitants of the mountains ; Mōm established friendly relations by sharing the meat of the giraffe with Tia, whose hunting that day had been unsuccessful, and an alliance ensued, in consequence

¹ " . . . of Ahmed el Dag, who ruled the Dago in Durfur the story is told, that his pride and presumption were such that he was not content to ride a horse or any other animal but a tiang, and that his mount ran away with him and galloped to Dar Sula, and he was never more seen in Darfur." (MacMichael, vol. i, p. 75.)

of which the Dago came to settle in El Dār el Kebīra and to live in amity with the aborigines. Two parties of the Dago, led by other members of the royal family, had, meanwhile, separated from Mōm's following, and occupied the hills of Warina and Silēchē, which either were uninhabited or were cleared of their original dwellers. It is therefore held that the rulers of El Dār el Kebīra, Warina, and Silēchē are independent of each other and equally entitled to the name of sultan (*būgē*), in token of which each of them possesses his own war-drum (Ar. *naḥās*),¹ and performs his own sacrificial rites. The ruler of El Dār el Kebīra is, at the same time, in a rather vague way, held to be superior to his fellow sultans, possibly because he represents the senior branch of the ancient royal house, and his ceremonies are attended by Dago from all the settlements. Nyukri and Tamanig, in local parlance, have no *sibr* and *karāma* of their own and are regarded as dependencies of El Dār el Kebīra, their rulers holding the title of *lētēgē* (Ar. *ḡindī*) and not that of sultan. Such is the account of the people of El Dār el Kebīra, which seems to represent the view generally held by the Dago; though the ruler of Tamanig disclaims this interpretation of his status, on grounds which I was not able to investigate. Mr. Crawford, however, was told, that the head of Tamanig, though of the royal clan, has adopted the title of *lētēgē* in preference to that of sultan, owing to a fear that the mad hartebeeste which carried off Ahmed el Dag might return and carry him off as well.

It is not in the present-day organization of the Kordofan Dago that we meet with any considerable traces of the ancient monarchical institutions, with which they are associated in the early history of Darfur, and only in their religious rites and ceremonies do we find survivals of the time, when the rulers partook of the divine or priestly character of African kingship. These will be briefly sketched in the following.

The community is divided into a number of family groups or clans (Dago *ikkū māsi*, mouth of fire, corresponding to the Arabic term *khāshim el bēt*), which have no bearing on marriage-customs, and have no totemistic implications, and although property descends in the

¹ The war-drum of Silēchē was captured by the Dervishes, but this fact does not invalidate the theoretical claim to sovereignty.

female line, to the sister's son, clan descent is reckoned through the father. The royal clan is called Leōgē, succession to the sultanate not being necessarily from father to son, but often to a brother or other near relative. In theory the *lētēgē* (*ḡenādī*) elect the most suitable candidate amongst the princes of the royal house, and their choice is supposed to command universal assent, though disputed successions were not unknown, and rival factions might resort to arms. An examination of the list of sultans, who have ruled at El Dār el Kebīra, shows that there were thirteen sultans in four generations. Mōm was succeeded by five of his sons, who reigned in succession (Chengo, Gīr, Dungus, Sabun, Wadi). The next sultan was a son of Sabun, and after an interlude, to which reference will be made presently, there followed two sons of Dungus. The present sultan, Wertego, is a grandson of Dungus, but his father Adam did not reign. The interlude is the reign of a Misiri Arab, called Kodāri, who had married into the royal family, and was chosen to be sultan because of his pre-eminent suitability. This departure from custom which, no doubt, was due to the troubled times of the Mahdia, illustrates the close relations existing between the Dago and the Misiria, and the methods by which the Arab since time immemorial has exercised the influence of a superior race on the earlier inhabitants of the Sudan. The list of Silēchē sultans from Khashm el Bēt, a companion of Kabbashi, to Katafur, the present ruler, shows very similar conditions with regard to the succession to the throne.¹

The choice of a sultan having been agreed upon by general consent, a coronation festival is held at the meeting-place of one of the *lētēgē* (such meeting-places, *tūlgene*, Ar. *rākūba*, exist in each village, the sultan and each *lētēgē* having one of his own). The elders assemble, and in the presence of the new sultan's brothers and uncles, prayers are offered for a prosperous reign; the first *lētēgē* takes the sultan by the hand and conducts him to his colleague, and the two invest him with a turban and put upon his wrist a bracelet made of common rope, which is an

¹ Negib Eff. Yunis, in a paper entitled "Notes on the Baggara and Nuba of Western Kordofan (S.N.R., vol. v, p. 206), after referring to Dago burial customs states that a sultan is succeeded not by his own sons, but by the sons of his sister, and quotes a native explanation for this method of inheritance. If this statement is intended as referring to the Dago, it is not borne out by the information obtained by the present writer. Negib Eff., however, does not distinguish between Dago and Nuba, and it is possible that the paragraph in question refers to a Nuba tribe.

emblem of royal office and never taken off in future. The Dago term for this ceremony is *Bēkē meri būgē*, Ar. *ed Dāgo yedarriḡū es sultān*.

That considerable importance is attached to actual possession of the royal war-drums appears from an incident reported in 1922 to a District Commissioner (Mr. W. F. Crawford) at Gebel Warina, where the sultan Salim, an old man, and, in spite of his dignity, rather poor, was at loggerheads with the sons of his predecessor. According to Salim's story he had been designated to the sultanate by his predecessor, Kakidi, and, having gained possession of the drums during Kakidi's lifetime, attempted to hide them in a secret place from the sultan's sons. His plan was frustrated by Kakidi's sister, who heard of his intention and informed her nephews. The latter spied on Salim, when he hid the drums, unearthed them from their hiding-place and refused to surrender them until Salim should slaughter a bull for the people, as custom required. For a long time he refrained from doing so, probably for no other reason than poverty, but in the end he complied with the custom and the drums were restored to him. I repeat this story as told, although its implications are not clear: Salim's right to the sultanate does not appear to have been challenged, so presumably his choice by his predecessor was properly ratified by election and investiture.

Next in importance to the sultan are the functionaries referred to in Arabic as *ḡenādī* (sing. *ḡindī*) and called *lētūgē* (sing. *lētēgē*) in the Dago language. They necessarily belong to the clan of Ya'ūgē, and are found in all Dago settlements, where they act as the sultan's colleagues in matters of government and in religious rites; and in the old days they likewise shared with the sultan the command of the tribe in war. They exercise considerable influence in the election of a sultan and take the chief part in the ceremonies of his investiture. The number of *lētēgē* at El Dār el Kebīra is three, while at Silēchē there are two, and at Warina one; the rulers of Nyukri and Tamanig, who are regarded as viceroys of the sultan of El Dār el Kebīra, also bear the title of *lētēgē*.

While both sultan and *lētēgē* take important parts in the religious rites of the Dago (concerning which more will be said presently), they are not, strictly speaking, priests, since there is a special class of men (*togonyē*, Ar. *kuḡūr*), who correspond to the priestly element. Though strongly permeated by Arab influence, and nominally and perfunctorily

professing Islam, the Dago maintain rites of a purely pagan nature with which the *togonyē* are particularly associated. In charge of the *togonyē* there are shrines dedicated to the High God of the Dago, Kalge, whom they identify with Allah. These shrines, called *perāri* or *perāri kalgē*, consist of miniature straw huts about a metre high, and decorated on the pointed top with an ostrich egg.

In one case—at Silēchē—the *togonyē* had two of these *perāri* side by side; these were referred to as male and female respectively, while the two together were described as twins (Ar. *tōmāt*). Another *togonyē*—likewise at Silēchē—who had only a single *perāri*, after some hesitation consented to remove the door of the shrine, and inside were seen (1) an earthenware jar of the type known to the Arabs as *kantūsh*, from which water is poured on the ground on ceremonial occasions, (2) two ostrich eggs, (3) a miniature stool of tiny doll's size, to which the *togonyē* referred as an '*angarīb*. In this case the *togonyē* suggested that it was expected of me to make an offering to the shrine, and the cigarette which I deposited on the ground in front of it appeared acceptable, the *togonyē* responding with the words (in Arabic): may God send much rain. Should one of these shrines fall into disrepair, it is the sultan's duty to provide the materials required for rebuilding it, as it is also his duty to provide the ostrich eggs. If rain is scarce in its season, the sultan sacrifices a goat in front of the *perāri*, slaying it with his own hands, and a dance is held by the young men and women. I understand from Mr. Crawford, who has administered the district, that these shrines are also resorted to for the taking of oaths which are regarded as particularly binding. It is perhaps to these shrines that Nachtigall refers (*Sahara and Sudan*, vol. iii, p. 200) in his account of the Dago of Wadai: "Though Muslims they have renounced their pagan usages to a less extent than even their neighbours, the Mubi; like the latter they have a special hut for their deity which is plentifully supplied with marisa—the latter, no doubt, being the perquisite of the superintending priest; they also have a sacred tree, on which marisa is poured, and a sacred stone." It may be appropriate to mention that shrines in the form of miniature huts, and the use of ostrich eggs for the decoration of shrines, are found amongst the Shilluk.

The term *kuḡūr* is also applied in Arabic to a totally distinct class

of people, called in Dago *tabáhkē* (sing. *tábahi*), all women, whose function it is to treat sickness by means of ceremonies consisting in the shaking of gourds containing grain. It is believed that sickness is caused by a root (*'irg*) in the sick man's body, and that the *tábahi* is able to extract it.

There appears to be no doubt that the religion of the Dago is based on rain, and on ideas connected with the cultivation of the soil. The following is a brief account of their cultivation festivals: when the grain is ripe, and still uncut, a festival is held, called *ishmēr púrpuḡē* (the month of ripening, Ar. *sibr el naḡād*); the second festival called *ishmēr ulúnyē* (the month of the goat), takes place after the grain has been cut, thrashed and garnered, and the procedure, the essential features of which are as follows, is the same on both occasions. There is a *saḥbāya*-tree (*anogneissus leiocarpus*) in the forest—that of El Dār el Kebīra is about half a mile distant from the village—which forms the scene of the main ceremony. The sultan and a *togonyē* sit under the tree, each with a vessel containing in the one case marisa and in the second water; alternately they pour these liquids on the ground, at the same time addressing invocations to Kalge praying for health, prosperity, and increase to their families and their flocks. During this stage the young people of the tribe are kept at a distance by the *lētēḡē*. Then the sultan and the *togonyē* light a fire of dry grass, and as soon as it blazes up the young men carrying shields rush upon the spot in a mock attack. The sultan and the fire are defended by the *lētēḡē* and a guard of elders who are armed with whips and use them freely on the mob; in the end the attackers succeed in rushing the fire, and seize handfuls of ashes with which they smear the forehead of the sultan; each man carries off as much as he is able of the ashes and daubs his wives and children and cattle and horses, which are paraded in the neighbourhood of the spot. This done, the men on horseback or on foot, followed by the women and children dash off in a mad rush to the village, where they assemble at the meeting-place of the sultan. There a dance is held while men on horseback continue to gallop about in the neighbourhood of the village. As usual, there follows a thorough debauch of drinking. While the sultan and the chief *togonyē* perform these rites under the *saḥbāya*-tree, the other *togonyē* conduct ceremonies,

in which the pouring of marisa and water is the main feature, at the shrines of Kalge.

MacMichael (vol. i, p. 74) in discussing the religious practices of the soi-disant Muhammedans of Darfur, quotes the following statement made to him by Maqdum Sherif, formerly Ali Dinar's viceroy in northern Darfur: "At this present season (June) it would be for rain most people would be praying and making their offerings. The Dago of Dar Sula make a regular festival of it. The sultan and his nobles attend and all the horsemen, and they place the *dihn* in front of a hole in a certain rock and wait. If the ants—the big battling ants—come out, it is a good sign and all rejoice, if not, the prospect is bad. This particular system I believe to be confined to Dar Sula." This rite is unknown to the Kordofan Dago, but its existence was confirmed by one of their Dar Sila kinsmen, who had settled amongst them. Browne, who visited Darfur about 1794, refers to an alleged custom practised by the Dago of lighting a fire on the inauguration of their king, and keeping it burning till his death. When Mr. MacMichael questioned the Darfur Dago as to the truth of this story they denied it, but spoke very vaguely of a similar custom which, they believed, had prevailed among the Dago of Dar Sila.

My informants in Kordofan were likewise ignorant of a custom practised in this form, but they have a somewhat different fire ceremony, of which they gave the following account: on certain important occasions, such as the inauguration of a new sultan, or the going out of a raiding-expedition, or the celebration of the two annual festivals, or for the swearing of binding oaths, a ceremonial fire is lit in the meeting place (*tūlgene*) of the sultan. Two sticks are placed crosswise on the ground; some dry grass is put on the top of the sticks at their junction, and lit by means of a glowing ember; the person entrusted with this task is a special slave of the sultan, who bears the title of *lēdē māsī* (Ar. *sīd el nār*), and it is required of him that he should take off his sandals and prostrate himself in front of the firesticks before he applies the ember. The fire is replenished and kept alight, until the occasion for it has ceased, that is to say, for example, until the raiding-expedition has returned, or the ceremonies of the festival been completed.

A distinctive burial custom of the Dago, which requires that sultans, and they alone, should be buried outside the village, has already been recorded in this *Journal* (Negib Yunis, "Notes on the Baggara and Nuba of Western Kordofan," vol. v, 1922, p. 206), where there is also an account of the mourning rites observed at Silēchē. At El Dār el Kebīra I visited the burial place of the sultans, which is situated about half a mile from the village, within a few hundred yards of the *saḥbāya*-tree associated with the cultivation festivals. It is marked by a fine *ḥarāz*-tree, and enclosed by a low stone circle; the tree does not, as one would expect, form the centre of the circle, but stands on the circumference, in such a manner that the space to the south of the tree is left unenclosed. Here all the sultans of El Dār el Kebīra since the days of Mōm are said to be buried, but the individual graves are not specially marked, and my informants were only able to point out that of Bilēha, the predecessor of the reigning chief. The feeling of the Dago in the matter of this burial custom is illustrated in a case, which came to Mr. Crawford's notice at Silēchē. Here a certain Koko Hamadan complained that after the death of his father, who had been a *ḡindī* (*lētēgē*), the sons and sister's sons of the sultan had secured the election of someone else to the vacant *ḡindiship* without even asking Koko to be present at the election. Upon investigation, it appeared that Hamadan on his deathbed had expressed a wish to be buried outside the hill. "Now this is a privilege enjoyed by sultans alone; for should a sultan be buried inside the hill, the Dago fear that his ghost may return to instruct the present sultan in the art of oppression. And so they bury him far away, but all commoners are buried inside the hill. When Hamadan died Koko was told that he had no right to bury him outside the hill, as if he had been a sultan, and he was faced with the choice between breaking his word to his dead father and violating the custom of the tribe. He chose the latter course and in consequence lost his *ḡindiship*." Hamadan's grave was pointed out to me at Silēchē; it is situated close to the road at some little distance from the village, but not near the sultan's burial place; his choice of a site for his grave was quoted as an instance of presumption and as contrary to ancient custom.

The information collected from the Kordofan Dago throws little

light on the ancient history and the ethnic connexions of their tribe ; the little that is known or surmised on this subject may be summarized here as a basis for further inquiries :—

In the first place attention may be drawn to the close connexion between the Dago and the Bego (MacMichael's Bayko) of Darfur, a connexion which raises the presumption that these two were originally a single tribe. MacMichael, while clearly aware of this relationship, deprecates the suggestion that they are identical ; but his own account of the Bego (op. cit., vol. i, p. 80 ff.), when taken in conjunction with the evidence from Kordofan, presents a strong case for regarding them as very closely connected. " The dialects of the Bayko and Dago are almost identical, and it is curious that when I asked the present sultan of the Bayko for his pedigree he traced it . . . to Ahmed el Dag, whom we have already met as a Dago sultan . . . At the same time he repudiated all relationship with the Dago and attributed the similarity of dialects to the fact that the tribes had long been neighbours in Dārfūr."

" Physically the two (Bego and Dago) are indistinguishable."

" The tribal *wakīl* or vizier . . . the *sambei* of the (Dārfūr) Dago, is among the Bayko called the *gindi* (plur. *genadi*). His chief function, outside the sphere of administration, is said to be that of performing the accession ceremony for a newly succeeded sultan."

" Outside Dārfūr there are said to be many Bayko, with Dago, between Tekali and the White Nile in Dār Kebīr . . ." ¹

" The Bayko call themselves Béogé. To the Fūr they are known as Bégonga . . . to the Dago as Béogé, and to the Birked as Béké."

Now, in connexion with the last quotation, it is extremely curious that the Kordofan tribe do not in their own language use the name Dago, but call themselves Bēkē, which is evidently identical with Bego, though they refer to themselves as Dago and not Bego, when speaking Arabic. When discussing this matter at El Dār el Kebīra, in the presence of one of the Dar Sila Dago who was living with his eastern kinsfolk, the latter stated that his own people called themselves Dago Sila, and those of Darfur Dago Ferne, while MacMichael states

¹ Although the position of El Dār el Kebīra is incorrectly given, this statement obviously refers to the settlement in Western Kordofan.

that in Darfur they call themselves Fininga. The people of El Dār el Kebīra, when questioned about this discrepancy, suggested that their real name is Dago, and that the name Bēkē was applied to them by the local Nuba in consequence of an attributed connexion or confusion with the Bego, and thus came to be adopted by themselves. This explanation has little to recommend it, and was probably invented on the spot in order to account for a state of affairs, the true cause of which they did not know ; for it is highly improbable that a tribe should give up its ancestral name for such a cause. We then have to consider the possibility that the Kordofan tribe are not in reality Dago at all, but a section of the Bego, to whom the name of Dago was ascribed in error ; but this explanation does not agree with the fact of their traditional connexion with the Dago of Dar Sila, and the only conclusion remains that there must have been a time when the names Bego and Dago indiscriminately referred to a single tribe, which later split up into two independent communities.

MacMichael concludes that the Bego either came to Darfur from much the same direction and at much the same period as the Dago, or else that the Dago came from the east and were joined in Darfur by the negroid Bego from the south-east, and that the latter borrowed the language of the former, but preserved their independence. Of these alternatives the former seems preferable, and it may be conjectured that Dago and Bego came into Darfur, or lived there together as one tribe, and that their separation is connected with the absorption of negroid elements into the latter.

However this may be, it brings us no nearer to a solution of the problem of the ultimate origin of the Dago and Bego, and of the racial and linguistic families to which they belong. According to native tales related to Browne in 1794, the Dago came originally from the north, having been expelled from that part of Africa ; but, as MacMichael rightly says, this story has little to recommend it. Barth, in the middle of the nineteenth century, thought that they might have come from the mountains of Fazoghli, south of Sennar, and MacMichael adds that their traditions lend colour to this theory, and that their customs suggest a Bantu connexion. With regard to the latter point, it should, however, be noted that an origin in the region of

Fazoghli would point to Nilotic or Sudanic, and not to Bantu affinities, and that the Dago language has none of the characteristic features of Bantu dialects.

A study of the Dago language does not, at this stage, throw any clear light on the problem. MacMichael was inclined to find in it resemblances to the dialects of Nubia, and quotes four Dago words in support of this hypothesis; amongst these, the word for horse (*múrtane*, Dago; *murti*, *mordu*, Nubian) is an Arabic loan-word in both languages, while *káchine*, a donkey, was probably borrowed by Dago from a Nubian dialect. The other two words are equally inconclusive, and the grounds for suggesting a resemblance between Nubian and Dago are extremely slender. The large linguistic families of Africa are Bantu, Hamitic, and Sudanic, and in one of these Dago ought to find a place. The characteristics of Bantu are so easily recognizable, and so conspicuously absent in Dago, that this possibility may be ruled out at once, but the matter is not so simple with regard to Hamitic and Sudanic. A comparison of Dago with a number of languages usually classed under these groups has suggested to me no obvious resemblances in vocabulary or grammatical structure, but it must be remembered that the criteria applied to the African groups are considerably less definite than those of other linguistic families, and that the resemblances are usually found beneath the surface. This is due to our almost complete ignorance of the earlier forms of the African languages, and to the many migrations and racial fusions within the continent, which have brought about the introduction of Hamitic features into Sudanic and Bantu languages, sometimes to an extent which renders their original character almost unrecognizable. The case of Nubian, whose relationship to the Hamitic and Sudanic groups is still a subject of controversy, is particularly instructive in this respect. With regard to Dago it may be said that the absence of grammatical gender and of a developed system of inflexions speak against Hamitic affinities, and that therefore the hypothesis of a Sudanic connexion seems to afford the most promising approach to the problem. The linguistic material collected from the Dago of Kordofan I hope to publish in another place.

At the present state of our knowledge, it is thus not possible

further to elucidate the racial affinities and origin of the Dago ; the views of Browne and Barth on the subject are no more than guesses unsupported by evidence, and it is safest to conclude with Omar el Tunisi that they represent one of the aboriginal tribes of Darfur and Wadai, in the sense that they have occupied their present seats in the West ever since the beginning of recorded history.

APPENDIX

THE TURŪĠ OF DAR EL MISIRIA

The term Turūġ is applied by the Arabs to the pagan communities inhabiting the hills : it is not a tribal name, but corresponds exactly to the equally vague term Nuba, by which these people are more generally known ; the Turūġ, in fact, do not differ from the inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains Province, from whom they are separated only for administrative reasons. The Dago term for Turūġ is Lōgōkē (sing. Lōgōnīche).

As has already been stated, a community of Turūġ inhabits El Dār el Kebīra side by side with the Dago invaders. Their village, in the old days of lawlessness, was situated far in the recesses of the mountain, but has in recent days been moved to a site, previously inhabited by the Dago, and easily accessible. To the Dago they are known by the tribal name of Minġimmina,¹ and although they live in a state of constant intercourse with the Dago, they have retained their separate organization and follow their own customs, and unlike the Dago they make no pretence to be Muslims, as is evidenced by the fact that they keep and eat the Nuba pig. The people of Gebel Kamdang are kinsmen of the Minġimmina, the same clan names occurring in both communities and, it is said, amongst the people of Gebel Tuleshi. The Minġimmina relate, that their ancestor Tiamulu and his wife Melamina dropped from the sky at El Dār el Kebīra, and founded the tribe which settled there. One day when Tiamulu was hunting in the forest he came upon a gourd and upon splitting it open found inside a baby boy and girl. These he brought up and they in turn became the ancestors of the Kamdang people.

¹ The prefix min or men, in the Dago language means " people " ; thus the Dago of El Dār el Kebīra call themselves Mengidong or people of Kidong.

The Mingimmina are divided into a number of non-exogamous clans: clan-descent is in the female line as is also inheritance, a man's property going to the sister's sons, and the same system is applied to succession to the sultanate.

The Turūġ of El Dār el Kebīra, Kamdang, and Tuleshi form a more or less homogeneous group and speak the same language. Another group is formed by the people of Tabag, Abu Ġanūk, Wali Baboi, Wali Kurum, Kuġūrīa, and Shifr, whose language belongs to the Nubian stock and is obviously related to that of the Dilling Nuba.

The following lists of words illustrate the two languages: in the case of the Nuba dialect of Tabag, etc., variants from Gebel Kuġūrīa and from Dilling have been added in brackets; the latter being drawn from P. Daniel Kauczor's *Bergnubische Sprache* (Vienna, 1920), whose orthography, however, has not been closely adhered to for typographical reasons:—

	Dialect of Mingimmina, Kamdang, Tuleshi.	Nuba of Tabag, Abu Ġanūk, Kuġūrīa, etc.
One . . .	<i>kotrok</i>	<i>bēr</i> (D. <i>bēn</i>).
Two . . .	<i>arā</i>	<i>uru</i> (D. <i>óren</i>).
Three . . .	<i>kēdōna</i>	<i>tuġur</i> (D. <i>tóduñ</i> ; K. <i>tūi</i>).
Four . . .	<i>kāiiso</i>	<i>kiminġ</i> (D. <i>kemine</i> ; K. <i>Kēnyu</i>).
Five . . .	<i>kēdūmo</i>	<i>tichi</i> (D. <i>tishi</i>).
Six . . .	<i>korosá</i>	<i>korcha</i> (D. <i>kwarte</i> ; K. <i>kwargu</i>).
Seven . . .	<i>karumdatta</i>	<i>kolád</i> (D. <i>kwálad</i>).
Eight . . .	<i>atrá</i>	<i>idde</i> (D. <i>éddi</i>).
Nine . . .	<i>karumdakbá</i>	<i>wēde</i> (D. <i>wed</i>).
Ten . . .	<i>tokbá</i>	<i>būrē</i> (D. <i>bure</i>).
Sky . . .	<i>luguditik</i>	<i>ī</i> .
Rain . . .	<i>mā</i>	<i>áre</i> .
Grass . . .	<i>āyá</i>	<i>bundu</i> (D. <i>mondi</i>).
Stone . . .	<i>mūsāy</i>	<i>kūkundu</i> (D. <i>kugor</i> ; K. <i>kudū</i>).
Hill . . .	<i>nya</i>	<i>kulđú</i> .
Fire . . .	<i>issī</i>	<i>ike</i> .

Head . . .	<i>ōdū</i>	<i>ōr</i> (K. <i>ōro</i>).
Arm . . .	<i>nīzō</i>	<i>īshī</i> (K. <i>ōshī</i>).
Eye . . .	<i>īye</i>	<i>kuldu</i> (K. <i>kázō</i>).
Ear . . .	<i>nāsó</i>	<i>ūlugu</i> (D. <i>ulde</i>).
Clothes . . .	<i>tandi</i>	<i>uru</i> (D. <i>turí</i>).
Spear . . .	<i>kanta</i>	<i>shōl</i> (D. <i>kworañ</i> ; K. <i>kwar</i>).
Knife . . .	<i>lāho</i>	<i>kōppa</i> (K. <i>kundu</i>).
Sultan . . .	<i>sak</i>	<i>shil</i> .
Kugur . . .	<i>mūsē</i>	<i>kwī</i> (K. <i>kwir</i>).
Man . . .	<i>mīdé</i>	<i>kōto</i> (D. and K. <i>kortí</i>).
Woman . . .	<i>līnya</i>	<i>ilde</i> (K. <i>eldo</i>).
Boy . . .	<i>tamādi</i>	<i>tondó</i> (K. <i>tondē</i>).
House . . .	<i>sombo</i>	<i>kōl</i> .
Dog . . .	<i>ēra</i>	<i>bōl</i> .
Cattle . . .	<i>fīo</i>	<i>tē</i> .
Grain . . .	<i>mālē</i>	<i>wē</i> (D. <i>wē</i> ; K. <i>uy</i>).
Merisa . . .	<i>ālē</i>	<i>tui</i> (D. and K. <i>tir</i>).
Water . . .	<i>bīdī</i>	<i>otti</i> .
Chicken . . .	<i>kōrok</i>	<i>kōkó</i> .
Guinea-fowl . . .	<i>duwē</i>	<i>ōtu</i> .
Sesame . . .	<i>marák</i>	<i>bēlē</i> .

AN INCIDENT WITH LION

By Arnold Hodson

ON 29th October I rode on ahead. Just before reaching the camping place at Moru-a-Kippi I suddenly saw two lions making straight towards us. They were about 500 yards off, and were crossing a plain, but between them and us were a few bushes.

I ran forward about a hundred yards and squatted behind a small bush and waited. I watched the old lions coming along, and set my sights for two hundred, but as they came on and on straight towards me I did not fire. Then there was a slight undulation, which I had not taken into consideration, so that I lost sight of them altogether for a short time, then they both appeared together about forty yards off. I fired and hit one. He fell down but was only wounded, so I gave him a second shot. The other lion started to growl and I fired at him but unaccountably missed. The only excuse was a slight bush between, and, I think, unpardonable carelessness on my part in not having adjusted my sights to the short range, or it may have been like we occasionally miss a short putt of a few inches without rhyme or reason—anyhow, the subject is too painful to dwell on. On my firing he tore away in great bounds at a tremendous pace, and I was very thankful I was not the objective of this rush. I took a difficult running shot and missed again. I could have kicked myself with vexation. However, the lion we had secured was a fine specimen with a good mane, so I had a lot to be thankful for.

Abyssinians always note the way a lion falls. This one lay on his left side, which portended, they told me, that the master was going to shoot a lot more!

Our camping place was only a short distance off, so whilst my men were preparing camp I went to a small brack-pool about three-quarters of a mile away where two of my post-runners had seen eight lions a few days before. The lions growled at them and they quite naturally made a hurried and precipitate retreat.

That same evening I went out and shot a couple of Beisa Oryx for food, and came back to my camp well content with the day's work.

The next morning very early I went out again to try my luck. I hoped I might meet another lion, and I also wanted to try and get a specimen of the Hartebeeste I had seen when I was here before, and which I thought was a new species. I saw lots of other game—Giraffe, Eland, Oryx, etc., and about 9 a.m. some of the Hartebeeste I wanted. After a careful stalk I shot a couple and found they were Topi. I never knew they were to be found in this part of the world before. Again I returned to camp, well pleased with life, as it is always a great joy to the keen hunter to obtain a new specimen.

We were going to leave early the next morning for Mogilla Mount, a long dry trek at this time of the year, to be exact, twenty-six donkey hours; so I was busy in the afternoon getting my water-tanks filled and everything ship-shape. Then I went up the gully behind my camp to find a cave to be used as a pillar-box in order that my runners could bring my mails down from Maji when I was away in the Sudan, so that when I returned I should have the joy of finding my post awaiting me.

We eventually found quite a nice cave, the mouth of which we filled up with stones and camouflaged with grass. I had discarded another one because it was full of bones and the remains of a porcupine. It was evidently the residence of a leopard. I argued if a leopard could digest a porcupine he would probably make short work of H.M.'s mails!

I then returned to camp and as there was still a short time before sunset, I took my orderly and one askari with me and went to a ridge close by to have a look at the game through my prismatic glasses—a very favourite occupation of mine when camped at Moru-a-Kippi. I had no intention of shooting, and left my second rifle behind, and the askari only had a short-barrelled .303 carbine. I mention these facts now in view of after events.

I sat on the ridge and saw giraffe browsing away in the distance, and all sorts of other game, including scores of zebra. I was just going to return when I saw a lion leave the thick thorn bush. I said to my orderly: lion! lion! and made him crouch down. I looked at my watch—it was exactly 20 minutes to 6, and the sun was already behind the hills, and would set completely at 6, so that time was most precious as shortly after sunset it gets too dark to shoot. When I looked up again there were two lions, and then to my increasing amazement—three,

four, up to eight made their appearance, all walking slowly in single file, evidently making for a brack-pool on my right. After a short distance the leading lion lay down, but soon got up again and continued his walk, and I would never have believed it possible to have seen such a sight, and my sensations can be imagined.

I did not quite know what to do. Whether to make for a tree, over very open ground, with the almost certainty of being seen, or to make a detour to a small mound one hundred yards away from the brack-pool. The distance from my position to the mound was roughly half a mile. Fortunately I decided on the latter course, and by careful stalking got to a point from which it was a simple matter to reach the mound at the double. There we took up a position on the extreme edge overlooking the pool. Carefully raising my head I saw the lions a short distance away still walking along in single file. Then they came to the pool and to be perfectly candid I did not quite know how to begin. It was getting so dark, the sun, of course, having set, that it was difficult to distinguish anything against the dark, short reeds of the pool, and I wanted to pick out the best, as I thought after my first shot they would probably all run away, but in this supposition I was quite wrong.

I took aim first at one and then at another, but each time the one I was aiming at moved, so at last I shot at one actually drinking, and hit him. Two of the other lions rushed up to their fallen comrade and seemed as far as I could make out to hit him with their paws. I don't quite know what they meant by this. A regular babel of growls ensued. The others, much to my surprise, did not bolt, but on the contrary, took up a pugnacious attitude. They all snarled and looked in our direction.

I fired the four other shots in my magazine and hit another three, two only being wounded, and then hastily loading tried to secure the others. As I hit the lions I said to my servant, "one, two, three, etc." "Oh, Master, don't talk," he replied, "they will hear us." Strange, I thought, as my rifle was making a good deal of noise at the time! Altogether I hit seven, one only being unaccounted for. Two of these I knew were only wounded, and perhaps more. One of the former, a lioness, frightened me to death as she charged for the mound where we were, and on my standing up I saw her only a few yards away with her

tail raised, which she jerked spasmodically from time to time. Her intentions were quite obvious. I gave her her quietus—an extremely lucky shot in the head. There was another wounded lion only a few yards away, and when I fired the last shot a few minutes afterwards he uttered such ferocious growls that I thought we were in for a bad time. In fact, the position was not pleasant, as it was now so dark it was extremely difficult to distinguish anything, so we returned to camp after one of the most extraordinary incidents it has ever been my lot to experience. Lion shooting is the king of sports, but I must say it is rather too exciting when one meets them in such numbers after sunset.

Going back my orderly asked if he could fire off a shot when we entered the camp. I gave the necessary permission, as it appears according to the Abyssinian custom it is the correct thing to do after a successful hunt. So the shot was fired, and then everyone in camp, from the cook-boy to the headman, came and kissed my feet. Then they held a sing-song whilst the great lord (me!) had a tub, ate his solitary dinner, and retired to bed, after having increased my ration of cheroots by one in honour of the occasion.

I thought the two men with me were most brave. One was unarmed, and the other, being the worst shot in existence, could not have hit anything even if he had fired. Yet they both were quite cool, and stuck to me splendidly, and I rewarded them with a good *pour-boire*.

The next morning early we returned to skin the animals, and I am sorry to say I only found five, four lions, and one lioness. One of the wounded had eaten his tail right up to the stump in his rage. We followed the spoor of another and found large pools of blood, and he must have been mortally wounded, but try as we would we could not find him. The terrain here is very stony and difficult to follow a spoor over. The seventh we found no trace of at all. It is quite likely I made a mistake in the dark and hit the same lion twice over and only really hit six instead of seven, as I thought.

Vultures were there in hundreds, and as soon as we had skinned a lion they swooped down on the carcase, and in ten minutes there was nothing left except bones, and they were picked as clean as clean could be.

A. H.

P.S.—The orderly who carried my rifle on this occasion was shortly after captured by the Tishana and put to death by torture.

MADI,
S.W. ETHIOPIA.

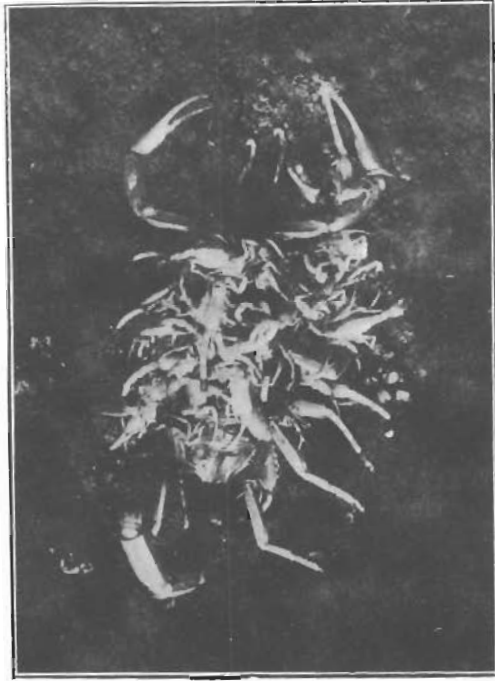


FIG. 15.—FEMALE *BUTHUS QUINQUESTRIATUS* WITH YOUNG CLUSTERED
ON HER BACK.

NOTES ON SUDAN SCORPIONS

By H. H. King

(PLATE IV)

A PAPER on the scorpions of the Sudan, by Professor Frantz Werner, was included in the Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories, which appeared in 1911, but as this publication is not readily available to many living in out-stations and further, as additions have been made to the list of species occurring in this country, it is hoped that the following notes may not be without interest.

The general appearance of a scorpion is too well known to require description, other than that provided in Figs. 1 and 2. Incidentally, it may be stated that the part of a scorpion to be feared is the sting at the tip of the tail; one not infrequently hears of a man having been "bitten" by a scorpion, when he has really been "stung", for the creature is incapable of inflicting any damage with its mandibles. Some of the *Pandinus spp.*, which possess large lobster-like claws (the maxillary palps), could probably give a perceptible nip with these weapons, but as the claws contain no poison glands no ill-effect would follow.

Scorpions are carnivorous and viviparous. They feed mainly on insects and spiders, which they capture by means of their maxillary palps. They are nocturnal in their habits, spending the day hidden in cracks and holes in the soil, under stones or logs of wood, under the bark of trees, and in similar refuges. The newly born young are very pale yellow to white in colour, and for a short period after birth cluster on the back of their mother (Fig. 15).

Whilst most people view a scorpion with considerable disfavour, and cannot be induced to handle a living specimen, owing to the extremely painful effects of the sting it is capable of inflicting, one occasionally meets natives of the Southern Sudan who are prepared to treat scorpions as if they were entirely innocuous. Such a native on seeing a scorpion will pick it up in his hand, holding it loosely, and the creature apparently makes no attempt to sting. He will tell you, either, that he is wearing as a charm a piece of the dried root of a certain plant,

or that he has, in the past, drunk of a decoction prepared from the root of the plant. The only suggestion—and I admit it is not a very likely one—that I can offer to account for his being able to handle a scorpion without being stung, is, that there is a parallel between his relations with a scorpion and the relations between a professional ratcatcher in England and ferrets and wild rats. The latter, having complete confidence that he will not be bitten, will plunge his hand into a bag of strange ferrets (and I believe also into a bag of wild rats) with no untoward result, when the novice, feeling a certain nervousness,

1. Hand of maxillary palp comparatively slender (Figs. 3, 4, 5) 2
- Hand of maxillary palp very broad (Figs. 6 and 7) 10
2. Cephalothoracic shield with distinct granular ridges (Figs. 8 and 9) 3
- Cephalothoracic shield without distinct granular ridges (Fig. 10) 8
3. Fifth caudal segment of the adult with sharp prominent dorsal ridges, bordering a concave dorsal surface (Fig. 11) *Buthus amoreuxi*, *Buthus citrinus*
- Fifth caudal segment of the adult with the dorsal ridges missing or granular surmounted by the convex lateral parts of the dorsal surface (Fig. 12) 4
4. Front of the cephalothoracic shield smooth; ridges of the dorsal plates of the abdomen and the whole upper surface smooth *Buthus leptochelys*
- Front of the cephalothoracic shield granular; ridges of the dorsal plates of the abdomen and the whole upper surface granular (Figs. 8 and 9)
5. Posterior median ridges of the cephalothoracic shield confluent with the median lateral ridges, forming with their fellows, a lyre-shaped figure (Fig. 9) 6
- Posterior median ridges of the cephalothoracic shield, confluent with the middle median ridges, thus forming a parallel sided area (Fig. 8) 7
6. First two dorsal plates of the abdomen with three distinct straight smooth ridges; movable finger not twice as long as the hind hand (Fig. 4) *Buthus occitanus*
- First two dorsal plates of the abdomen with five granular ridges; movable finger twice as long as the hind hand (Fig. 3) *Buthus quinquestriatus*
7. Number of comb teeth (Fig. 2) less than 20 *Buthus acutecarinatus*
- Number of comb teeth more than 20 *Buthus minax*
8. Tail (Fig. 1) yellow with apical segments somewhat infumated (clouded) *Nanobuthus andersoni*
- Tail yellow except for apical one or two segments which are very dark, contrasting markedly with the preceding segments 9
9. Apical segment and poison vesicle very dark, maxillary hand very dark *Uroplectes fischeri*
- Apical two segments and poison vesicle very dark; maxillary hand yellow *Parabuthus liasoma*
10. Number of comb teeth (Fig. 2) 13–14 *Pandinus imperator* var. *subtypicus*
- Number of comb teeth 17–22 11
11. Femur of maxillary palp granular below (Fig. 13) upper surface of hand with more or less distinct traces of ridges (Fig. 6) *Pandinus exitialis*
- Femur of maxillary palp smooth below (Fig. 14) upper surface of hand without any ridges (Fig. 7) *Pandinus pallidus*

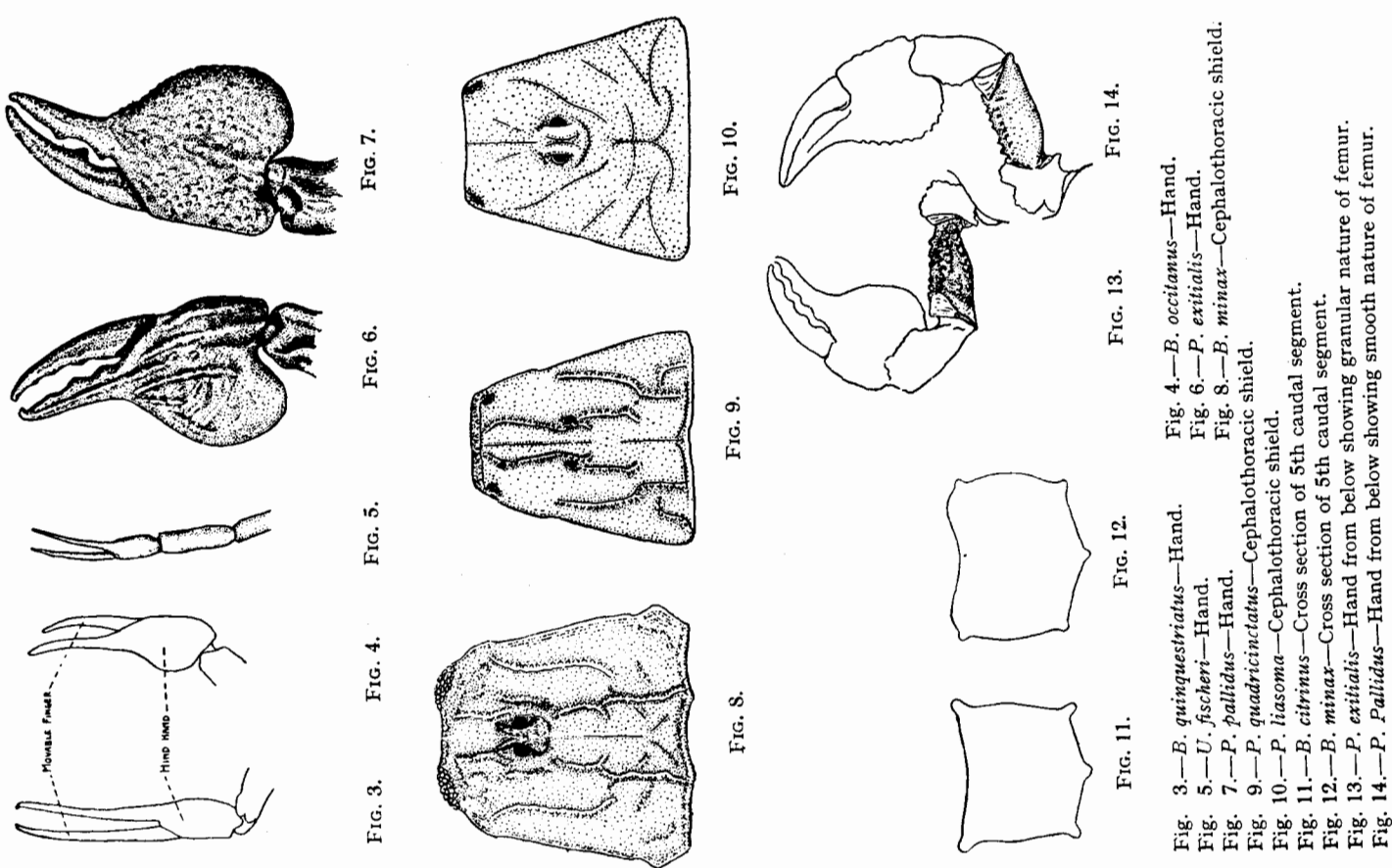


FIG. 3. FIG. 4. FIG. 5. FIG. 6. FIG. 7. FIG. 8. FIG. 9. FIG. 10. FIG. 11. FIG. 12. FIG. 13. FIG. 14.

Fig. 3.—*B. quinquestriatus*—Hand.
 Fig. 4.—*B. occitanus*—Hand.
 Fig. 5.—*U. fischeri*—Hand.
 Fig. 6.—*P. exitialis*—Hand.
 Fig. 7.—*P. pallidus*—Hand.
 Fig. 8.—*B. minax*—Cephalothoracic shield.
 Fig. 9.—*P. quadricinctatus*—Cephalothoracic shield.
 Fig. 10.—*P. liasoma*—Cephalothoracic shield.
 Fig. 11.—*B. citrinus*—Cross section of 5th caudal segment.
 Fig. 12.—*B. minax*—Cross section of 5th caudal segment.
 Fig. 13.—*P. exitialis*—Hand from below showing granular nature of femur.
 Fig. 14.—*P. pallidus*—Hand from below showing smooth nature of femur.

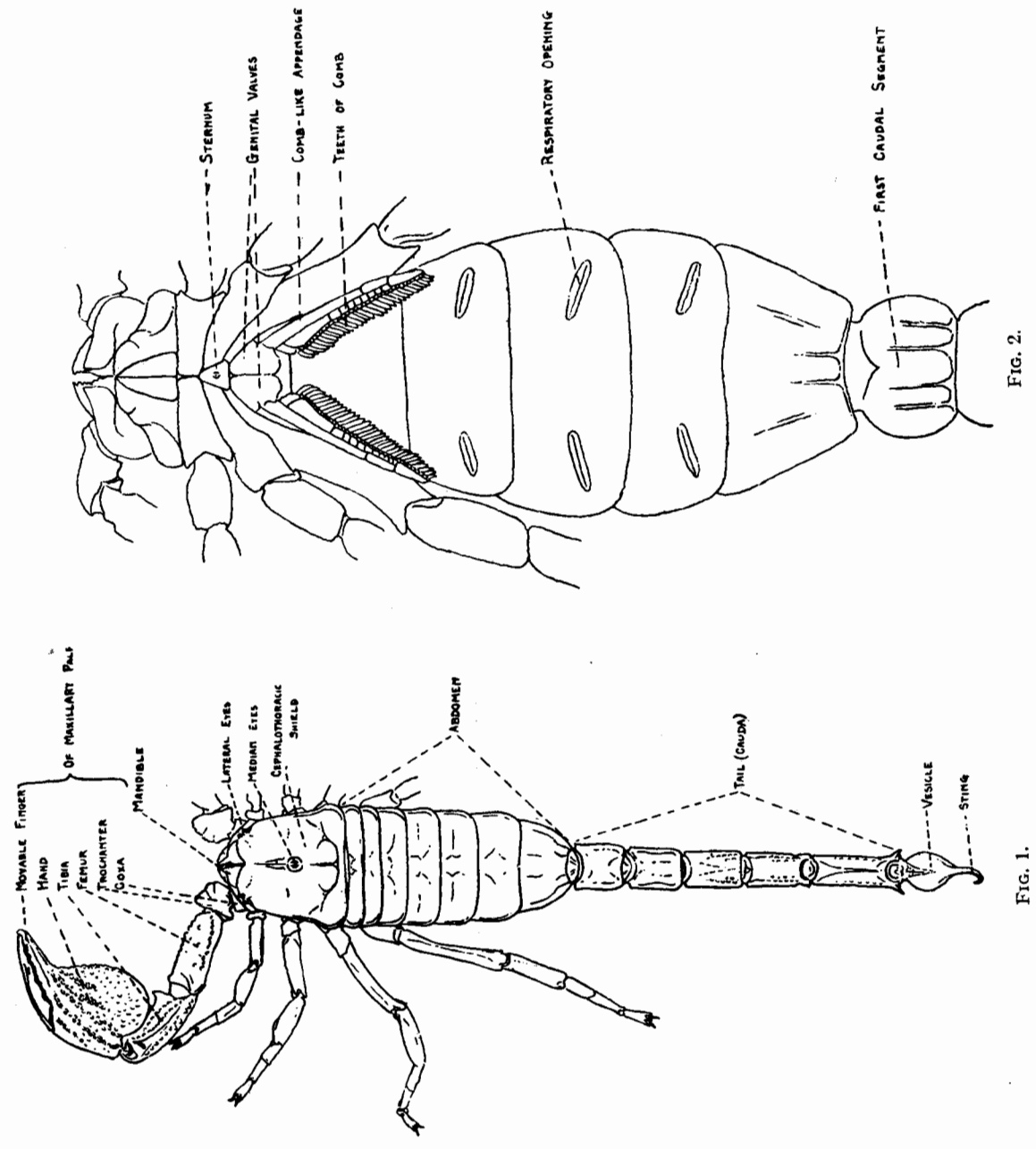


FIG. 1.—*P. exitialis* from above (natural size).
 FIG. 2.—*B. minax*—Thorax and abdomen from below (four times natural size).

attempting to emulate his example, will at once be bitten. I suggest that the native, having absolute faith in the power of the charm, handles scorpions with a familiar confidence, and that it is due to this confidence that he is not stung.

Among the various methods I have heard of as being in vogue among natives for the treatment of a scorpion sting are two which may be of interest. The first entails the preparation of an extract of scorpion, by placing living scorpions in simsim oil, where they die, and I understand disintegrate; the oil is then ready to be applied to the site of a sting. The second method is that of rubbing the site of a sting with the charred toenail of a baboon; the believer in this remedy wears a dried foot of a baboon as a charm and in readiness for use when required.

The species of scorpions recorded from the Sudan number thirteen, representing five genera, viz. *Buthus*, *Nanobuthus*, *Parabuthus*, *Uroplectes*, and *Pandinus*. The accompanying table, adapted from the tables used by Professor Werner, in the paper referred to above, gives characters by which these thirteen species may be distinguished. These characters are all such as are readily seen with the aid of a pocket lens, while the figures on the opposite page will render their recognition a simple matter.

Buthus amoreuxi, Savegnyi. A large species (maximum length 125 mm.). Professor Werner draws attention to the fact that it is a near relative of *B. australis*, which occurs in North-West Africa, and which is said to be the most dangerous of all scorpions. There are specimens in the Sudan Government Museum from Halfa and from near Lake Rudolf.

Buthus citrinus, Hemprich and Ehrenberg. Very similar to the preceding species. I am unaware of the characters by which it is distinguished from *B. amoreuxi*, and there is only a single specimen—from Mongalla—in the Sudan Government Museum.

Buthus leptochelys, Hemprich and Ehrenberg. A small scorpion (maximum length 60 mm.). The only locality in the Sudan whence it has been recorded is Dooroor, near Suakin. There is no specimen in the Sudan Government Museum.

Buthus occitanus, Amoreux. A medium-sized scorpion (maximum

length 60 mm.). As with the preceding species, the only locality in the Sudan whence it has been taken is Dooroor, and it is not represented in the Sudan Government Museum.

Buthus quinquestriatus, Hemprich and Ehrenberg. A medium-sized to large scorpion (maximum length 95 mm.). This is the common species in the central and northern provinces, and probably four out of every five scorpions sent to me for determination belong to it. It may readily be recognized by the long slender hand. The specimens in the Sudan Government Museum, are from various localities on the river in Khartoum, Berber, and Dongola Provinces.

Buthus acutecarinatus, E. Simon. A small species (maximum length less than 50 mm.). It is recorded from Dooroor, Halfa, Khartoum, Fung Province, and Gondokoro. The specimens in the Sudan Government Museum are from Khartoum and from near Lake Rudolf.

Buthus minax, Koch. A small dark species (maximum length less than 70 mm.), often referred to as the "little black scorpion". Professor Werner gives its range in the Sudan as extending from Khartoum southwards, but there are specimens in the Sudan Government Museum from Halfa. Other specimens in the Sudan Government Museum are from Khartoum, Kadugli, and Mongalla. It is not infrequently met with in the wood used as fuel on the river steamers.

Nanobuthus andersoni, Pocock. A small scorpion (maximum length 28 mm.), recorded from Dooroor, near Suakin. There is no specimen of this species in the Sudan Government Museum.

Uroplectes fischeri. There is a single record of this species occurring in the Sudan, a specimen, now in the Sudan Government Museum, having been taken near Lake Rudolf. This specimen is a very small scorpion (length 30 mm.), and has striking colour markings; the dorsal surface of the abdomen is dark brown with a medium longitudinal pale stripe, there are traces of dark brown basal bands on the second, third, and fourth caudal segments, while the fifth caudal segment, the poison vesicle, and the hands of the maxillary palps are entirely dark brown.

Parabuthus liasoma, Hemprich and Ehrenberg. A large scorpion (maximum length 100 mm.), with a thick tail of which the two apical

segments and the poison vesicle are very dark in colour. There are specimens in the Sudan Government Museum from Erkowit and Khartoum North and from near Lake Rudolf.

A scorpion described as *Parabuthus hunteri*, Pocock, and recorded as occurring at Dooroor, Suakin, and Omdurman, is probably a form of *P. liosoma*; the tail is stated to be more slender.

Pandinus imperator, Koch, var. *subtypicus*, Kraepelin. In common with the two succeeding species, this scorpion may readily be distinguished from all the preceding species by the broad heavy hands. The West African form of *B. imperator* is an enormous scorpion, attaining a length of up to 175 mm., but I have not seen a specimen of the Sudanese variety *subtypicus*, which is recorded from the country inhabited by the Gours.

Pandinus exitialis, Pocock. A large scorpion (maximum length 111 mm.). It is recorded from Abu Haraz on the Blue Nile, and there are specimens in the Sudan Government Museum from Erkowit and Omdurman.

Pandinus pallidus, Kraepelin. A large scorpion (length up to 107 mm.), recorded from Kordofan. The specimens in the Sudan Government Museum are from that province and from Kosti.

In compiling these notes I have made full and free use of the paper by Professor Werner, to whom I tender my acknowledgements. The scorpions in the Sudan Government Museum have been determined by Mr. Stanley Hirst, of the British Museum (Natural History). The drawings illustrating the characters used in the synoptic table are the work of Mr. W. W. Bowen, who has made them, with one exception, from specimens in the Sudan Government Museum. The exception is Fig. 4, which he has drawn from Professor Werner's photograph of a specimen of *B. occitanus*, there being no representative of this species available. The photograph of a female *Buthus quinquestriatus* with her newly born young clustered on her back was taken by Mr. R. Cottam.

In conclusion I would remind those readers of SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, who reside in this country, that they will be carrying out most useful work if they will collect and send me, for the Sudan Government Museum, specimens of scorpions from wherever they may happen

to be stationed. Comparatively little is known of the distribution of the thirteen species recorded, and it is extremely likely that there are other species which should be added to the list of Sudan scorpions. Specimens should be preserved in alcohol, and a slip of paper bearing details of the locality, date of capture, and name of collector, written in ordinary lead pencil, should be placed in the alcohol with the specimen.

THE GAME-BIRDS AND WATER-FOWL OF THE SUDAN

By W. Wedgwood Bowen

(PLATE V)

Introduction

SPORTSMEN and others in out-stations are not infrequently able to collect notes on the life-habits of game-birds and other animals, which, were it not that often the correct identity of the particular bird or beast is uncertain, would be of extreme interest and use to other sportsmen and to naturalists. It is in the hope that it may help towards a more certain recognition of the various species of game-birds and water-fowl in the Sudan that this, the first of a proposed series of some five or six short papers, is offered.

No apology, it is felt, is necessary for the absence of illustrations. Ordinary "black and white" drawings help little towards easy and quick identifications, and coloured plates are, of course, prohibitive in cost. As a second-best substitute artificial keys to those species occurring within the boundaries of the Sudan have been drawn up. These, it is hoped, will save the unnecessary wading through of numerous full descriptions before one fitting the particular bird whose identity is sought is found. Having thus been given an indication, its identity should then be confirmed by means of the fuller descriptions given for each species. The majority of these descriptions are abbreviated from the British Museum Catalogue of Birds, but in every case specimens have been examined in order to avoid the possibility of over abbreviation and consequently omission of salient characters. In the case of the Bustards and the game-birds proper the descriptions were prepared in the Bird Room of the British Museum (Nat. Hist.), and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Dr. Lowe and other members of the Bird Department for allowing me the privilege of access to the National Collection.

The numerals in brackets occurring in the text refer to the list of references given at the end of the paper. A few more or less technical

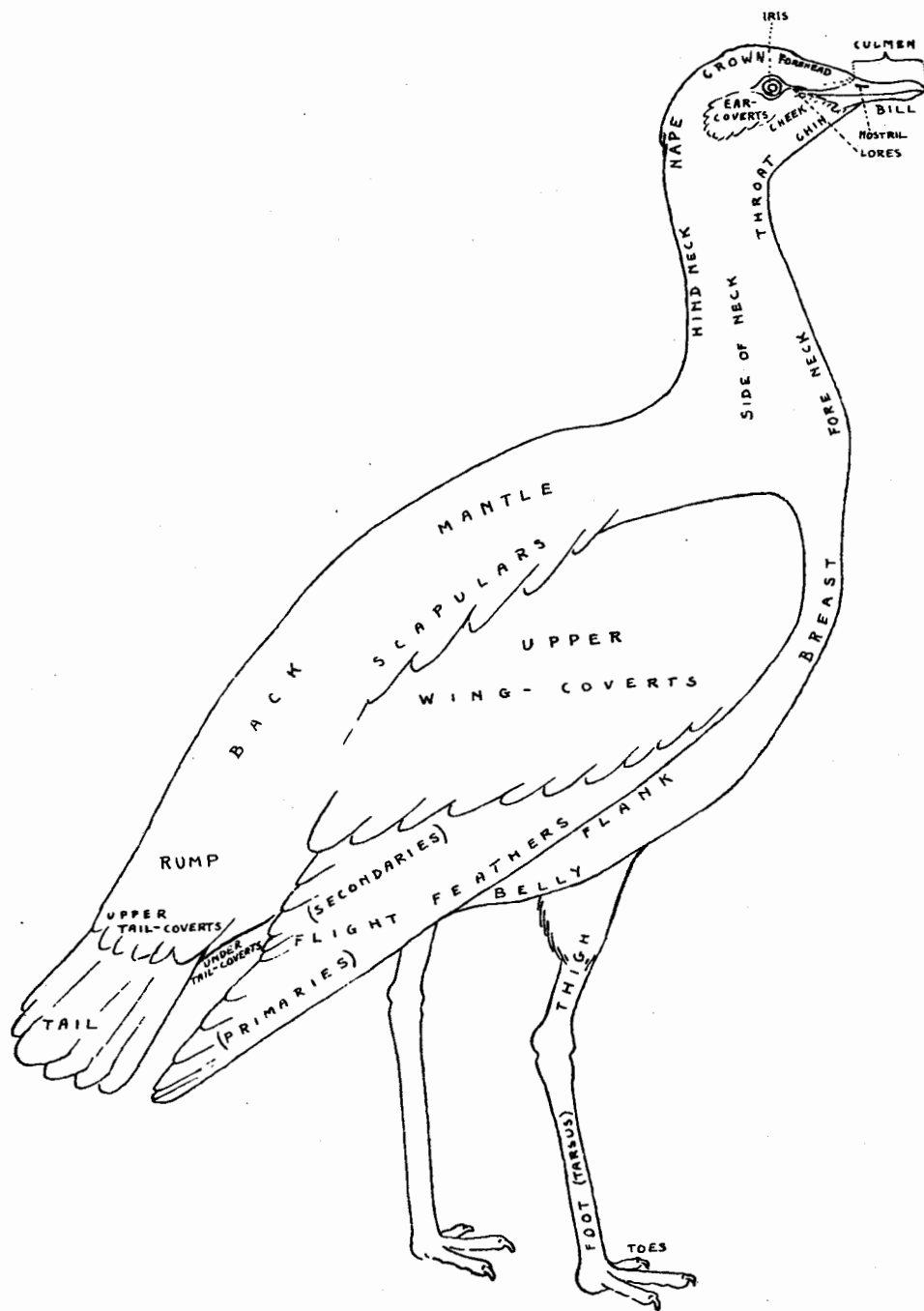


Diagram illustrating the names of the various regions and parts of a bird.

terms have been found unavoidable. The accompanying diagram giving the names of the various regions and parts of a bird should, however, make these clear.

The map (Pl. V) will afford at a glance an indication as to which species may be expected to occur in any given locality. The various families are dealt with in order of convenience and not according to natural affinities.

I. THE BUSTARDS: FAMILY OTIDIDÆ

Key to the species of Bustards occurring within the Sudan

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| Size large (over 30 inches in length) | See 1 |
| Size small (under 30 inches in length) | See 3 |
| 1. Middle of crown and hind-neck greyish with vermiculations: <i>wing-coverts like rest of upper-parts</i> | <i>Arabian Bustard</i> |
| Middle of crown black, hind-neck orange rufous: <i>wing-coverts black and white</i> | See 2 |
| 2. Throat and breast slate-grey | <i>Denham's Bustard</i> |
| Throat and breast black | <i>Burchell's Bustard</i> |
| 3. Under-parts mostly black | See 4 |
| Under-parts white or light coloured | See 6 |
| 4. A black line down centre of entire throat | See 5 |
| No black line down centre of throat | <i>Savile's Bustard</i> |
| 5. Rump and tail like rest of upper-parts | <i>Black-bellied Bustard</i> (male) |
| Rump and tail black | <i>Hartlaub's Bustard</i> (male) |
| 6. Head and neck of same general colour as upper-parts | See 7 |
| Head and neck coloured differently to upper-parts | See 8 |
| 7. Tail with 5 distinct blackish bars | <i>Black-bellied Bustard</i> (female) |
| Tail with only indistinct barring | <i>Hartlaub's Bustard</i> (female) |
| 8. Crown of head black and grey | <i>Senegal Bustard</i> |
| Crown of head tawny colour | <i>Nubian Bustard</i> |

I. THE ARABIAN BUSTARD, *Choriotis arabs* (Linn.)

Description

Male.—Length about 36 inches, culmen 3·6, wing 23·2, tail 13. Upper-parts sandy-brown finely vermiculated with black; feathers of wing-coverts and also, to a certain extent, upper tail-coverts tipped with white, forming irregular bars across wings and tail. Flight feathers blackish-brown, with a considerable amount of white. Outer tail-feathers banded black-and-white. Crown of head greyish to golden-white, with fine black vermiculations, bordered on either side by two black bands which meet to form a small crest on the nape; rest of head

whitish ; neck and throat ashy white finely banded with ashy black ; rest of under-parts white. Bill horny-buff, culmen dusky ; iris yellowish-brown ; legs yellowish.

Female.—Similar to male, but much smaller, length about 30 inches, culmen 3·1, wing 19, tail 8·4.

Distribution

Southern Arabia and the Red Sea coast-lands, through the Sudan and Lake Chad region to Western Morocco. *In the Sudan*, throughout, except in the extreme north, where the vegetation becomes too scanty, and in the thickly wooded country of the extreme south.

Sub-species

The golden-crowned birds have been separated out and named by Neumann (1) *C. a. Stieberi*. This character, however, does not seem to be geographically constant (2).

This, the commonest bustard of the Sudan, is tolerably abundant wherever there is open bush or scrub country. It is, however, very wary and will take to wing if in doubt about its safety. Its flight is slow but powerful (2). Of its power to go without drinking, Butler (3) says that "though frequent and regular drinkers when near water, they are often met with at great distances from it. Like so many other birds and animals in the Sudan, they seem capable of dispensing with water for a time, when necessary, without suffering much inconvenience". Lynes found the stomachs of birds, shot soon after their time of breeding, crammed with big grasshoppers.

Like many other birds in the Sudan, a number of them show a distinct local migration, northward in summer, to return in the autumn, probably with the object of escaping the heavy rains in the south (2).

Butler (3) records having once seen one of these birds roosting in a bush, a somewhat unusual occurrence, though as next morning he saw another bird which had been killed by a jackal in the same locality, it seems not unlikely that they may sometimes resort to this means for protection at night.

According to Reichenow (7) the breeding season in the Blue Nile region is August to October, and Lynes in Darfur, though he did not



 = Arabian Bustard.
  = Black-bellied Bustard

 = Nubian Bustard.
  = Hartlaub's Bustard

 = Denham's Bustard.
  = Savile's Bustard.

 = Senegal Bustard.

find eggs, saw young of approximately 3 months old about in January. Butler, on the other hand, found an egg in April, so it seems probable that the breeding season is long or irregular.

II. DENHAM'S BUSTARD, *Neotis cafra denhami* (Chidren)

Description

Male and female.—Length about 38 inches, culmen 3·8, wing 24, tail 13. Upper-parts dark sandy-brown, finely vermiculated with sandy buff; median and greater wing-coverts black, boldly marked and spotted with white. Flight feathers blackish with a certain amount of white. Outer tail-feathers broadly banded black and white. Crown of head black with slight indications of an ashy streak in the centre; a distinct, white eyebrow-streak; rest of head ashy white. Foreneck and upper breast bluish-grey; hind neck orange-rufous; remainder of under-parts white. Bill dark brown above, greenish below; iris brown; legs dirty yellowish-white.

Distribution

From Kordofan and the western Bahr-el-Ghazal west to the Lake Chad region and the inland portions of the Gold Coast colony. *In the Sudan* it seems to be confined to the western side, though there is a specimen in the Sudan Government Museum, probably a wanderer, which was taken in a garden at the Research Farm near Wad Medani.

Sub-species

N. c. cafra (Licht.), the typical race, which occurs to the south of this country, differs chiefly from the Sudan form in the smaller size of its bill.

This is a much less common bird than the preceding species, and seems to confine itself to more thickly vegetated country. Butler (4) came across it several times in the open forests of the ironstone country of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, where they kept very closely to the same bit of ground, but were extremely wary and difficult of approach. In the plains of Darfur Lynes (2) found it scarce, except in the summer, when, along with *Choriotis arabs*, they were migrating northwards in fair numbers.

There seems to be no published record of its breeding habits in the Sudan, though Butler (4) saw a male displaying in front of two females in the Bahr-el-Ghazal in early spring, possibly preparatory to breeding. The eggs of the South African sub-species, *N. c. cafra*, are "oval and pale brown; washed rather than blotched with a slightly darker shade of the same colour; they measure 2.90×2.10 inches". Two in number, they are "laid in a depression scratched out of the earth and usually bare, though sometimes a wisp of grass may be added". Major Horsbrugh (9) says he believes these birds (*N. c. cafra*), "feed mostly at night or late in the evening and early in the morning; during the heat of the day they lie up in long grass. They feed on lizards, locusts, field mice, and so forth". No doubt these remarks would apply equally to the nearly related Sudan form.

III. BURCHELL'S BUSTARD, *Neotis burchellii* (Heugl.)

Description

Somewhat like the preceding species (*N. c. denhami*), but with throat and breast black.

This is either a very rare bird indeed, or, as Lynes (2) suggests, it is perhaps only an exceptional phase of *denhami*. It has never been recorded since it was originally described by Heuglin (10) from Jebel Dul, south of Sennar.

IV. THE NUBIAN BUSTARD, *Neotis nuba* (Cretzsch.)

Description

Male and Female.—Length about 25 inches, culmen 1.85, wing 13.3, tail 5.6. Upper-parts light tawny, with coarse irregular black vermiculations. Primary wing-coverts almost white, with a few black markings. Flight-feathers black with a considerable amount of white. Upper tail-coverts and tail-feathers rather more ashy than the back, bases of tail-feathers white. Crown of head like the back, with a broad black band on each side meeting on the nape. Chin black; sides of face whitish; upper neck ashy blue; lower neck and chest deep tawny

rufous. Rest of under-parts white with a few dusky cross markings on the upper-breast. Bill horny yellow, more dusky towards the tip; iris ochraceous; legs pale yellow.

Distribution

Northern Kordofan, and through Berber Province to the Red Sea Hills.

The Nubian Bustard appears to inhabit only the more dry desert-scrub country of the north. Judging from the scarcity of records, it seems to be rather uncommon, though Butler (3), on Capt. Dunn's evidence, says that it is common in the locality of the Haraza Mountains in Western Kordofan. Lynes did not meet with it during his travels in Kordofan and Darfur.

V. THE SENEGAL BUSTARD, *Eupodotis senegalensis* (Viell.)

Description

Male.—Length about 18 inches, culmen 1.4, wing 11, tail 5. Upper parts sandy-rufous, with fine brown vermiculations and mottlings. Flight-feathers black, with sandy-rufous to white on the inner webs. Tail with a broad subterminal black band. Forehead and fore-part of crown, a band above eyes uniting at the nape, and the lower throat black. Hinder crown and neck blue-grey; rest of head white. Lower part of hind-neck, chest, and sides of breast tawny-rufous; remainder of under-parts white. Bill buffish horn-colour, blackish towards tip; legs yellowish; iris pale yellow-umber (Heuglin).

Female.—Like the male, but lacks the black on the head.

Distribution

Senegal eastwards through the Lake Chad region to the Nile valley. *In the Sudan*—Darfur, Kordofan, and the adjoining portion of the White Nile Valley.

This little bustard is common in the grass and scrub-lands, though to some extent also in the more open parts of bush and woodland

country of Darfur and Kordofan (2). According to Butler (3), it is an inhabitant of the red-sand country rather than cotton-soil, and is by nature rather wary. It is a noisy bird ; its " raucous, rather Francolin-like, two syllabled, Wük-caire, repeated at intervals of two or three seconds " (2) usually at morning and evening, though at other times if distributed by gunshot, seemed to Butler (3) to come from nearer quarters than where the bird really was.

In October in the western Basin of Darfur Lynes (2) flushed a pair with two pullets only just able to fly, though expert enough at running to make good their escape. The breeding season therefore appears to be towards the end of summer.

VI. SAVILE'S BUSTARD, *Lophotis savilei* (Lynes)

Description

Male.—Wing about 10 inches ; tail 5, culmen 1.2. Upper parts pale rufous with black streaks, vermiculations and arrowhead marks. Terminal third of feathers of wing-coverts pale cream, forming a wide and conspicuous border between the quills and the rest of the upper-parts. Flight-feathers blackish with narrow cream-coloured bars. Tips of outer tail feathers blackish. Top of head and lower fore-neck ashy grey ; a central black streak on chin ; a nape-tuft of pale vinous-red ; rest of head and neck whitish to pale sandy-rufous. A small conspicuous white shoulder-strap on each side of the base of the neck. Rest of under-parts black. Bill yellowish clay, brownish on culmen ; iris pale clay speckled with brown ; feet pale yellowish clay.

Female.—Somewhat like male, but lacks the blue-grey and black markings on the head, and with the black of the under-parts restricted to the belly.

Distribution

Darfur and western Kordofan.

Admiral Lynes (11), discovered and named this small bustard after Colonel R. V. Savile, former Governor of Darfur Province. An

excellent coloured plate of it is given on page 557 (pl. xii) of the *Ibis* for 1925, accompanying Lynes' full account of the birds obtained during his expedition. The following are his notes on its habits :—

" We found this little Bustard common from thirty miles west of El Obeid all the way to the W. Basin ; like the other Darfur Bustards, nowhere much above plain level, and scarcely out of bush and light woodland country, meeting *E. senegalensis* only on intermediate types of ground. Like others of its kind, when approached it prefers to walk away or hide to taking wing, and is therefore not too commonly flushed, but when courting is in full swing during spring and early summer, one soon realizes what a common bird it is. The male calls in a high-pitched musical piping 'peep-peep-peep' crescendo, audible up to quite 600 yards, the volume of sound rising and falling as the bird turns its head from side to side ; the female calls in a soft, tremulous 'whi-whi-whi . . . ' or 'ti-ti-ti . . . ', quite unlike the male ; and both sexes, it may be remarked, are quite unlike *E. senegalensis*.

" Calling became general in mid-May and continued up to mid-August, by which time breeding must have been well advanced ; desultory strophes were also heard occasionally in winter. Unfortunately we found no nests, the Kule woodlands being less suited to their requirements and more difficult to work than their favourite bush-country ; but, for our specimens, the general breeding-season in the W. Basin must have been July to September, or perhaps a little earlier in the E. Plain."

VII. THE BLACK-BELLIED BUSTARD, *Lissotis melanogaster* (Rüpp.)

Description

Male.—Length about 22 inches, culmen 1·6, wing 13, tail 6·3. Upper-parts dark sandy-brown, with coarse blackish vermiculations and arrow-head marks ; wing-coverts mostly white. Flight-feathers black, with a considerably variable amount of white. Tail feathers ashy brown with five blackish bars and coarse vermiculations. Crown and hind-neck sandy-buff with blackish vermiculations ; lores and eyebrows slaty-grey ; a narrow line of black surmounted by a less

distinct one of white running from each eye to meet on nape. A broad black line down centre of throat, shading to greyish on cheeks and chin, bordered on either side by a band of white. Rest of under-parts black. Bill pale yellowish, culmen dark brown; iris light brown, darkening on inner edge; legs yellowish brown (T. Ayres).

Female.—Length about 28 inches, culmen 1.75, wing 13, tail 6.15. Like the male, but lacks the black on head, neck, and under-parts, and has the chin white instead of greyish.

Synonymy

The variability in amount of white in the wing led to the renaming of some of these birds, as *Lissotis lovati*, O.-Grant (12). Messrs. Sclater and Mackworth-Praed, however, have pointed out (13) that this character does not hold, and that *L. lovati* is in reality only a synonym of *L. melanogaster*.

Distribution

Africa, south of Gambia and Abyssinia. *In the Sudan* in the Upper Nile region.

In contrast to the large Arabian bustard, which seldom settles again within sight when flushed, Butler remarks on the ease with which this species can be approached and its habit of settling soon after being flushed. Similar observations have been recorded of this bird in South Africa, and there it is said sometimes to lie flat on the ground rather than to take to wing when in danger (8 and 9). Admiral Lynes (2) found it arriving as a summer visitor to Darfur in mid-June along with other migratory bustards. The sex-organs of birds shot by him at the end of July showed slight signs of approaching activity, but no other signs of breeding were observed. Further south it appears to breed in spring. In South Africa (8) an egg, which was cream-coloured and smeared and blotched with dark brown, was laid on the bare ground. At the time of breeding the males are said to become very pugnacious.

VIII. HARTLAUB'S BUSTARD, *Lissotis hartlaubii* (Heugl.)*Description*

Male and Female.—Length about 27 inches, culmen 1·95, wing 13·5, tail 6·7. General plumage similar to that of *L. melanogaster*, but with the lower back, rump, and tail black. Bill light horn, darker on culmen ; iris yellow ; legs dirty cream colour.

Distribution

East Africa from the Upper Blue Nile valley to Somaliland and Northern Uganda and Kenya. *In the Sudan* it is confined to the Upper Blue Nile region.

Little has been recorded as to the habits of this bustard in the Sudan. It seems to take the place of *melanogaster* in the eastern districts.

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- (9) *The Game-birds and Water-fowl of South Africa*, by Major B. Horsburgh.
- (10) Heuglin, *J.O.*, 1867, p. 301.
- (11) Lynes, *Bulletin British Ornithologists Club*, xli, 1921, p. 51.
- (12) Ogilve-Grant, *Ibis*, 1902, pp. 453–7.
- (13) Sclater and Mackworth-Praed, *Ibis*, 1920, p. 799.



FIG. 2.—IN THE FOREGROUND A PIT CONTAINING A PALM TREE.
The white object is a handkerchief held at arm's length above a man's head. In the background palms half submerged in sand dunes.



FIG. 3.—PALM LEAVES 11 FEET LONG JUST REACHING THE SURFACE.

SOME CURIOUS METHODS OF CULTIVATION IN DONGOLA PROVINCE

By W. R. G. Bond

(PLATES VI AND VII)

SOME 6,000 or 7,000 Sagias are erected or re-erected annually in Dongola Province. In a few hours a man and a few boys will turn a jumble of logs and rope like a gigantic jackdaw's nest into a working Sagia. The Sagia has to face most of the nightmares known to engineers. It is built on mud against the face of a crumbling cliff of earth, subject to erosion by river action at various levels ; it has to bear a heavy and oscillating load for months on end, and has to rely for stability on gravity, friction, and string. A steamer has been known to knock one down, but collapse from faulty construction is practically unknown. I have often asked trained engineers if they would back themselves to assemble a Sagia from its raw material in two days, and their answer has always been characterized by an engaging modesty. Similarly, I imagine that the combined native experts of the Province would be flabbergasted at the problem of erecting a Sagia that turned from left to right.

The secret of success is "rule of thumb" and experience dating back from unknown centuries. The exact age of the Sagia is unknown, but agriculture as a whole has been carried on continuously for an immense period. The brilliant researches of Professor Reisner have exposed for us much of the life of the inhabitants of this Province 5,000 years ago, exhibiting little personal touches that appeal to those with a knowledge of their descendants with an irresistible sense of familiarity.

The accumulated experience of more than fifty centuries is not to be despised in farming. Obviously there is room for advance, but the last twenty-five years have seen many attempts at improvement such as ploughing, which seemed to have almost axiomatic arguments for success, go down in failure and ridicule.

It is not wonderful therefore that natives are conservative in their methods, and it is the more remarkable to observe some original and

daring experiments in the face of apparently impossible obstacles that have been made to deal with peculiar conditions. Since these experiments have been made with crops of such world-wide interest as dates, cotton, and wheat, it may be of interest to describe them.

I have attempted to persuade those with more agricultural knowledge than myself to do so, but have once more been confronted with the modesty of the expert.

DATES

Like most rivers running through an alluvial plain of their own making, the Nile changes its course. The alluvial plain in this Province is a thin line almost lost in the all-pervading and hungry desert. Especially where the Nile runs east and west athwart the prevailing winds, the sand-dunes of the desert encroach on the plain almost as soon as it is formed, and this continues until the river swings back, sweeps sand and underlying earth away, and deposits new alluvium in its place. Nevertheless, on the inside of the curve the desert gains in the long run and pushes the river into a deeper and deeper loop. So that there are large areas where the alluvial plain is covered permanently with shifting sand-dunes to a varying depth. These conditions, with rich soil below and a mulch of loose sand to conserve the moisture that "seeps" through it, are ideal for adult palm trees—the problem is to establish the young plants. They cannot root in the shifting sand and if the sand is scooped away and the date-shoot planted in the soil below, its leaves would under natural conditions be smothered by the drifting sand in a very few days.

The method adopted is as follows: A well is dug, through the sand and into the soil below, till water is reached at about 20 feet. The "spoil" from the well is used in part to build up a well-head to prevent the sand running back into the well, which it would otherwise soon choke. Hollows are then dug through the sand till the soil is reached, and a date-shoot planted at the bottom of each. The hollows are lined with the rest of the mud taken from the well, until the whole resembles a huge flower-pot sunk in the sand. They are usually five or six feet deep and four or five feet across, but occasionally I have found pits that measured as much as 13 feet in depth. Round the lip of the pot is made a thick fence of the leaves of Dom palms or other available material

to exclude drift sand, and the plant is regularly watered. Gradually, as the palm grows, the sand sifts into the pit until the whole is levelled up to the original contour of the surface. When the palms are tall enough to be safe from goats, repairs to the fence are neglected and the palm appears to be growing out of the sand. No further attention is required save the fertilization of the flowers and the gathering of the crop, and very good crops are yielded.

It is curious that, apart from the considerable labour in the preliminary stages, the great drawback to the extension of this form of date-culture lies in the conservatism of the native. When a palm is planted on ordinary agricultural land it occupies space that might be used for other crops, it shades a good deal of ground and is apt to harbour rats, sparrows and other pests. In consideration of this the owner of the palm is bound to pay to the landowner one-third of the crop. Perhaps two or three hundred thousand palms are shared on this basis, and many people's ability to live and support their families depends on the inviolate sanction of this custom. If any doubt existed as to this fundamental obligation, there might be in a short time 200,000 potential subjects for Civil suits—an awe-inspiring thought when one considers the family estrangements, the costs of appeals, and counter-claims, and the cumulative millions of miles that donkeys might be ridden between the villages and the District Offices.

Now a palm growing on a bare sand-dune injures no one, and a very small rent per palm tree would be better for the landowner than nothing, but the ghastly effects of shaking a custom on which so much depends appals the stoutest hearted. Nevertheless, there are signs that the more thoughtful are searching for a formula by which palms growing on otherwise useless land might pay a lower rent without affecting the main custom. We may wish them success, while the prospect of 200,000 Civil suits may restrain our ardour for giving premature advice.

COTTON

A similar system is adopted for cotton with a difference, for cotton is a smaller plant than the date-palm,¹ and cannot thrive at the bottom of a deep pit nor under such a depth of sand.

¹ Those who have seen a really old cotton "tree" will realize that this is not such a platitude as it sounds.

Areas where the sand is shallower are chosen and the soil is built up to meet the plant. The mud from the well is not used to form a flower-pot, but is formed into a column resting on the soil and expanded at the top (on a level with the surface of the sand), into a saucer, the whole rather resembling an eye-bath used in medicine.

In the saucer are placed the seeds of the cotton, and into it water is poured at regular intervals. The roots grow down the pillar (which may be 3 feet long) until they reach the soil below. As the branches grow, sand collects round and among them until a series of hummocks are formed from which protrude the ends of the branches. In the course of years the plants and hummocks increase in size until—if I may be believed—a camel can find reasonable cover as he stands among them.

The Bolls are small and the cotton short and weak in the staple, but it seems to serve some purpose in native domestic economy. I fear that if pestologists were to make a habit of strolling among apparently barren sand-dunes this interesting form of agriculture might be doomed.

This method is curiously enough in favour with Arabs, as well as Riverains, though they are not usually fond of any except rain cultivation, which is not possible in this Province.

It is interesting to moralize on the reasons which induce natives to make these laborious arrangements to grow plants which might, one would think, be more easily grown in the usual way. Those who do not care for moralizing should pass on to the heading "Wheat".

The secret is, I think, that though the "capital" expenditure of labour is great, the subsequent "maintenance" is negligible. Once the plants are established they need no care or watering and are "done once and for all". The owner can go away and leave them and they will go on growing in his absence.

People need to be specially educated on business lines before they can bear the idea of spending capital and "maintenance" on the same object. For instance, many people will buy an old house and spend large sums on tinkering at it. Others, again, will spend more than they can afford on building a house for themselves, but if these latter are called on in their lifetime to do the smallest repairs to the fabric, there is invariably grumbling against the architect, the builder, and often



FIG. 4.—COTTON PLANTATION 3 YEARS OLD. The stems buried under 2 or 3 feet of sand.



FIG. 5.—A TEN-YEAR-OLD GROVE OF COTTON. Older plantations have been known but are now dead.

the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the moment. Agriculture is essentially an industry of annual expenditure of money and labour; in countries fortunate enough to have landlords to prey on, capital expenditure is blissfully ignored by the farmer.

Year after year sowing succeeds ploughing and harvest follows sowing, and as the seasons turn in their courses the whole sequence has to be begun again at the beginning. A vague feeling intrudes itself that movement is in a closed circle, and that the end of a year's toil finds one back again at the same starting point.

Agricultural communities always feel very strongly the desire to do something which once done will last humanly speaking for ever and need no further attention. It was an agricultural community that built the Pyramids which have proved such a good advertisement for Egypt ever since. Agricultural communities largely built the Gothic cathedrals, more wonderful perhaps in their comparative permanence than the Pyramids. This feeling does not seem so strongly ingrained in urban populations. St. Paul's Cathedral is typically urban in style and conception, and is falling down after a couple of centuries, while a neighbouring bridge is not likely to outlast one.

WHEAT

Wheat is grown on Sagias with great success, but new conditions have evoked new methods in a very short number of years. A very large area in Kerma basin was flooded fifteen years ago by the Selim canal. The soil was very light and sandy, but when first sowed produced wheat of phenomenal length of straw and size of ear. The next year there was a great rush to sow wheat, but the straw on the same ground was only about 6 inches in length and the ears were miserable. Various explanations were given, the chief of which was that the land had become "salted" by the flood. Later an ingenious native thought of collecting the salt where it was thickest and bringing it back on to the land. He was rewarded by an excellent crop.

What apparently put it into his head was this. On various pieces of high land well above the reach of the water, and sometimes half a mile from it salt began to effloresce on the surface. By accident or design

wheat fell on this and it was discovered that by sweeping away a little of the surface and sowing seed an excellent crop of wheat could be grown. I have seen wheat standing and thriving with the surface of the soil round the stems completely white with salt and looking as if the ground was covered with snow, and this on a patch surrounded on all sides by dry and dusty desert, above and at a considerable distance from the water.

OTHER CROPS

Natives are by no means slow at taking up new kinds of crop on their Sagias ; so quickly has cotton taken hold that there is a danger that the traditional food and fodder crops may be cut down to a dangerous degree, but I wish to confine myself to new systems and methods rather than to new kinds of crop.

There is one that particularly deserves mention. The foundation of agriculture in most of the Sudan is "bare fallowing", and most cultivators think it indispensable. One holds otherwise. For a good many years he has cropped his land as fast as he can clear off his old crop. Leguminous plants take a place, but not a great place, in the rotation, and his crops are continuously successful. He does not manure particularly heavily. He has adopted the English farming aphorism "Keep the sun off your land", i.e. crop it continuously. Certain observations in gardens seem to point in the same direction, but I must admit others point in the opposite.

I hesitate to express an opinion, but it appears that in some cases land continually watered and shaded by plants, not necessarily leguminous, become stored with humus which is available for the following crop, but if the land is allowed to bake in the sun this humus (or the bacteria in it) loses its value and a considerable period must elapse before a new supply of what is probably nitrogen can accumulate in some other way.

It is a highly technical matter, but if experiments proved that the fallow period could be eliminated without loss of fertility it is clear that the value of irrigated land in the Sudan would be doubled at one stroke.

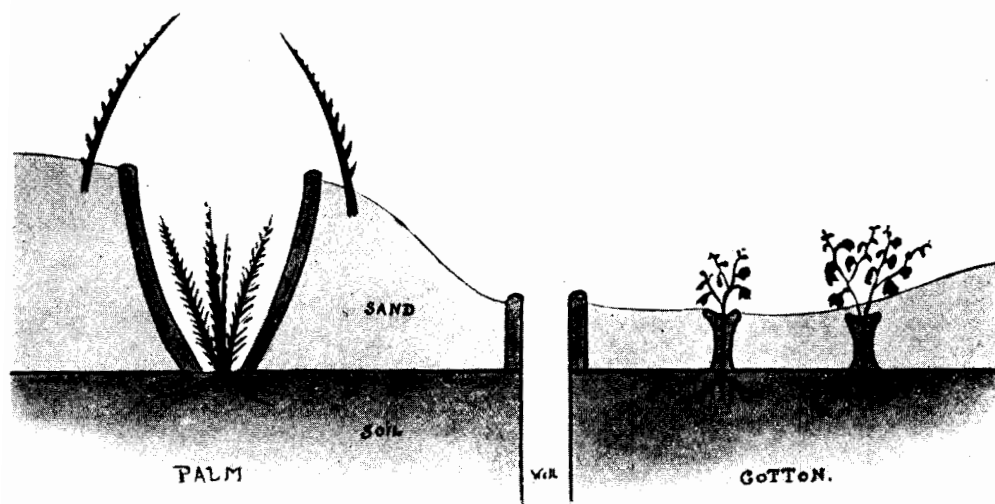


Fig. 1.—Diagram showing well sunk through sand into soil. On the left palm planted in pit lined with clay, on the right cotton plants sowed on the top of pillars of soil built up through the sand.

NIMR, THE LAST KING OF SHENDI

By E. A. Robinson

ONE of the outstanding personalities during the conquest and occupation of the Sudan by the Turks was Nimr, the last of the Jaalin kings, whose history affords an example of the want of tact exercised by the Turkish administrators towards the defeated Arabs of the Sudan.

The dynasty of which Mek Nimr was the last ruler, is said to have been founded by Saad Abu Dabus about the sixteenth century, at which time a cleavage took place among the Arabs settled north of Khartoum.

Mek Nimr of Shendi was the son of Mek Mohammed wad Nimr wad Mek Abd es Salaam of Shendi and a lady of the Wad Ajib family. Mek Abd es Salam is shown as the fourth king in Cailliaud's list. Mek Nimr's grandfather, Nimr el Kebir, married bint Burra, a daughter of Mek Idris (a grandson of Mek Abd es Salam). This bint Burra was a sister of Mek Saad wad Idris, one of the companions of the Hameg vizier, Ragab.

The Vizier Ragab and Fiki Haji Mohammed Majdub were killed at Taras by Sultan Adlan of Sennar in 1787. Mek Saad wad Idris was present at the battle of Taras, but survived and remained an adherent of the Hameg until his death.

Nimr "el Kebir" did not live at Shendi, nor was he a ruler of the Jaalin. He was a rich man and the chief of the Nefiab clan. This clan (*Khashm el bait*) was closely associated with the Nafaab of Abu Deleig.

Mek Saad wad Idris of Shendi, the brother-in-law of Nimr "el Kebir", was not the eldest son of Mek Idris, but the heir, El Fahl, died before the reigning Mek. When Mek Idris died, Idris wad El Fahl was a minor and his uncle Saad was appointed Mek by one of the Hameg viziers.

Idris wad El Fahl's mother was a sister of Mohammed El Amin wad Agib and all three were seen by Bruce in 1772, in his journey from Sennar to Egypt. After the occupation of Sennar by the Hameg, Nasr wad Abu Lakaylak, in 1789, many of Sultan Adlan's warriors fled.

Among these was a certain Abu Rida (Mohammed El Khamis " Abu Rida ") of Darfurian descent. He has been described as a slave, but he was probably an officer in Sultan Adlan's black slave cavalry.

Abu Rida was joined by about 500 armed and mounted men of the black slave cavalry, who had deserted their masters. They formed an outlaw and robber band under the leadership of Abu Rida (also called El Turayfa). For some time they were a terror to all, as they plundered villages, caravans, and travellers on the Blue Nile routes. They also sold their services to any employer who could pay them as mercenaries without scruple. Adb El Gader wad Musmar (wad Agib), the Abdullabi, was killed by Abu Rida and his territory pillaged.

Mohammed wad Nimr adhered to the Fung cause to whom, like Abu Rida, he was united by marriage connexions. An arrangement was made by them to depose Mek Saad from Shendi. Mohammed wad Nimr promised Abu Rida 60 wakias of gold if he mounted the throne with the robbers' assistance. Advantage was taken of the absence of Mek Saad wad Idris at Sennar, and Shendi was attacked by the Nimrab and Abu Rida's band. Idris wad El Fahl, who was regent for his uncle, was killed and the Saadab fled across the river to Metemmeh. Mohammed wad Nimr assumed the Mekship of Shendi and commenced to rule over the Jaalin about 1790. Mek Saad returned to Metemmeh from Sennar and settled there with his son Musaad. Mohammed El Khamis Abu Rida was defeated and killed by Nasr (1787-1798), the Hameg Vizier, and his brother Adlan Abu Lakaylak in 1796. Abu Rida's followers were dispersed.

It was about 1790 that Mek Mohammed Saad married a daughter of the Wad Agib family, and he had several sons. Nimr was recognized as the heir and was about ten years of age in 1795. Mek Saad made several efforts to dislodge Mek Mohammed from Shendi, but was unsuccessful. He applied to the Hameg for assistance, but died before Vizier Idris sent an army under his brother Adlan to his assistance in 1799.

At that time there was a widespread revolt among the Arabs, who refused to pay the Fung taxes to the Hameg. Adlan's force attacked Abdallah wad Agib of Halfayat el Muluk. During the battle Abdallah was killed in single combat by Mek Babikr wad Suliman of the Gamuia.

Nasr wad El Amin was installed by the Hameg as Sheikh of Jebel Gerri in succession to Abdallah. Mek Saad had been succeeded at Metemmeh by his son Musaad.

Adlan's army marched north and camped at Wad Banaga. His spies reported to him that an attack on Shendi was likely to be repulsed with heavy loss. The inhabitants had prepared to resist and were numerically superior to the Hameg. A ruse was adopted by the Hameg commander. He sent messengers to both Mek Mohammed and Mek Musaad wad Saad and each was promised the undivided Mekdom of the Jaalin at Shendi. Mek Mohammed had been allied with the Fung party for some years, and the native chronicler naively remarks " that he was young and forgot the part he had played in 1787-90 against the Hameg with Sultan Adlan ".

Both Meks came to the Hameg camp attended by their relatives and principal adherents. Mohammed's half-brother, Saad wad Nimr, did not accompany Mek Mohammed within the Hameg lines. He had charge of Mohammed's son, Nimr, and watched the proceedings from within a thicket. Mek Mohammed was seized with all his brothers and friends. They were placed in chains and kept as prisoners. Saad fled with the boy Nimr to Shendi, and thence to Abu Deleig with the family and supporters of Mohammed wad Amin (the Nimrab).

Mek Musaad was installed as sole Mek of the Jaalin by the Hameg and the population of Shendi accepted him. The Hameg army then returned to Sennar with the prisoners, but Mek Mohammed died before they reached there from privation and the weight of his fetters. With the exception of his brother, Idris, who was ransomed by his mother for 300 wakias of gold, all the prisoners died or were decapitated by the Hameg, at Sennar.

Saad and the boy Nimr lived among the Batahin for some time. Saad was the guardian of Nimr and later was known as his vizier and commander of the Jaalin army.

Native tradition states that Nimr was married to a Batahani girl, but his principal wife was Shamma, a daughter of the Shukria warrior Umara wad Dakin, to whom a section of the Batahin was tributary. Shamma was the mother of Nimr's sons, Mohammed (Ahmed), Umara, Umar, and Khalid, the heirs recognized by the Nimrab.

Raids by the Batahin were frequent, and on one occasion they looted cattle from near Shendi. Mek Musaad attacked them and the Batahin were forced to give up their loot and pay compensation.

At that time the sedentary Jaalin on both sides of the river numbered about 30,000 souls. Shendi was the capital and had a population of about 6,000 people.

In 1802, during the absence of the Hameg armies in Kordofan, the Nimrab and Batahin attacked Shendi. They were repulsed from the town and fell back to a valley (Wadi El Awalib), where they were attacked by the Saadab. The fight was called the "battle of Wadi El Awalib", from the relationship (cousins) existing between Musaad and Nimr. Both sides lost heavily and the Saadab were driven across the river to Metemmeh. The Magzubi ulema and sheikhs of Damer acted as mediators, so that a peace was made. Dar Jaalin was divided between the claimants. Mek Musaad established himself at Metemmeh with the Saadab, and Mek Nimr occupied Shendi and the eastern bank of the Nile.

Damer was a separate hierarchy under the rule of the Magazib Sheikhs, and became a great centre of education for Jaalin, Shaigia, Hasania, etc. Although the country was subject to raids by the Shaigia, who crossed the desert to the Nile and looted cattle or women, Damer was neutral. Children of the Shaigia, Jaalin and other tribes between whom blood feuds existed, pursued their studies, until reaching manhood, in harmony at Damer.

In 1803 the Batahin and Khawalda were attacked by the Hadendoa and Shukria, who drove the "cattle thieves" (Batahin) to the north and west from the Butana.

The Hameg vizier Idris wad Abu Lakaylak died in 1804, and was succeeded by his brother Adlan, who was murdered within a year, as the result of a coalition between Sultan Ranfi of the Fung, the Kamatir and certain Arabs against the Hameg. From that time the Jaalin Meks of Shendi and Metemmeh were left very much to themselves.

After his ejection from Kordofan by the Hameg, who executed his son Isawi at Sennar, Sultan Hashim of the Musabbaat fled north. He married two of his daughters to Shaigia Meks, with whom the Jaalin had blood feuds. Later he was implicated in a conspiracy with

Mek Nimr's brothers and was arrested. He was executed with the conspirators by Mek Nimr prior to 1813.

During 1813 a mission from Mohammed Ali Pasha passed through Shendi to Sennar. At that time 400 camels per month left Shendi for Arabia, where they were utilized by Mohammed Ali Pasha's forces in the Wahhabi campaign.

About that time Mek Nasr ed Din wad Adlan Abu Higl of Berber took some horses via Suakin to Arabia. The hereditary Mek of Berber was Ali wad Timsah, a nephew of Nasr ed Din, from whom his uncle had usurped the Mekship. Whilst Nasr ed Din was absent, Musaad and Nimr invaded Berber and after looting the country installed Ali wad Timsah as Mek.

Mohammed Ali Pasha landed at Jeddah on 21st August, 1813, and as soon as news from Berber reached Mek Nasr ed Din he interviewed the Viceroy of Egypt. Nasr ed Din promised Mohammed Ali Pasha that if the rule of Berber was restored to him it would be feudatory to Egypt, and the Merifab Meks sworn vassals of the Sultan of Turkey. Mek Nasr ed Din accompanied Mohammed Ali Pasha to Cairo and remained there until 1820. Abu Maidan, the Darfur pretender and Diballu wad Hashim (the Musabbaat pretender to Kordofan) were at Cairo and made similar promises.

In 1814 Burckhardt visited Shendi on his way via Taka (Kassala) to Arabia, where he interviewed Mohammed Ali Pasha. At that time Mek Nimr wore a Tagia (Fung horned cap) made of leopard skin. A number of the mamelukes who had escaped from the massacres in Egypt were then settled in the district. Nasr ed Din was the only brother of Mek Nimr alive at that time. Mek Nimr had a personal guard of twenty musketeers, but it is improbable that they ever fired a shot, owing to lack of ammunition. Only a year previously, when Mohammed Ali Pasha's envoy had heralded his arrival by firing off a small brass cannon (carried on a camel) all within sight had fallen to the ground. Mek Nimr was reported to collect over £1,000 annually as duty on merchandise and slaves passing through his territory. All trade passed across the desert as the mamelukes at El Ordi, under Abd el Rahman, pillaged caravans via Dongola.

In 1818 Ali wad Bireir, of the Batahin, killed Sheikh Hamid wad

Abu Sin, of the Shukria, near Safia. Ali wad Bireir fled to Shendi and placed himself under the protection of Mek Nimr. The Shukria demanded the surrender to them of the fugitive, but Mek Nimr, against the advice of his uncle Saad, refused to give up the man. The Shukria marched to Shendi, accompanied by their families and camped near the town. In accordance with the tribal custom of the Sudan Arab Nomads, this meant "war to the knife". It is probable that if actual hostilities had taken place, Shendi would have suffered the same fate as Arbagi, which was razed to the ground by the Shukria. The Magzub sheikhs of Damer again acted as mediators and during the negotiations Ali wad Bireir fled from Shendi. The Shukria marched via the White and Blue Nile rivers to Abu Deleig and killed all the Batahin they found en route.

The delayed invasion of the Sudan by Mohammed Ali Pasha took place in 1820. Ismail Pasha's army was accompanied by the exiled Meks of Argo and Berber. The Turks occupied Berber and Mek Nasr ed Din was appointed Kashif on 5th March, 1821, under Maho Bey, the Turkish Governor. The ruling Mek Ali wad Timsah was deposed, and in 1822 was executed at Sennar for conspiracy against the Turks.

Shendi was occupied by the Turks, and on 12th March, Mek Nimr sent his son, Mohammed, to Shendi with a message of surrender to Ismail Pasha. A reply was sent that the Mek must attend personally at the Turkish camp to render obeisance. On 22nd March the Jaalin Mek rode into the camp with his own retinue under an escort of Turkish troops. Similarly to the Abyssinian fashion Mek Nimr was mounted, attired in all his Fung regalia, and protected by an elaborate sunshade carried by attendants. He offered handsome presents to Ismail Pasha, who seems to have distrusted him and treated him with considerable indifference. Mek Nimr took an oath of allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey, and was given a scarlet robe. He was not given a sword, as an ally and defender of his frontiers against the enemies of the Sultan, like the Meks of Argo and Berber or the Sheikh of the Ababdeh tribe.

When the Turks marched south, both Meks Nimr and Musaad, with their principal men, were forced to accompany the army of Ismail

Pasha as hostages. They were carefully guarded by the Shaigia under their enemy Mek Shawish of the Adlanab and a detachment of Turkish musketeers. The Turkish guard had orders to shoot both Meks on the least sign of disaffection or disobedience to orders. A plot of the inhabitants to destroy the Turkish invaders was divulged by a Fiki, and all the persons implicated were burnt alive with many innocent people in their villages.

In accordance with Turkish custom, the ears of the natives killed were purchased by the army paymaster for P.T. 50 per pair. As the army had received no pay for some months the route south was marked by murder, rapine, and horrible cruelties. All the mutmaras or the underground reservoirs for grain were opened by the Shaigia. All the grain reserved for seed and the year's supplies was seized by the Turks with all cattle, jewellery, etc. Mek Nimr was seen by Cailliaud at Sennar and after the return there of Ismail Pasha from Fazogli, both Meks Nimr and Musaad returned to their homes.

The 1822 crops failed and the tribute claimed by the Turks on the Fung basis of assessment could not be paid. Taxation was modified by Ismail Pasha, in the Blue Nile, but north of Khartoum no alteration was granted. Maho Bey made several raids for grain and cattle and the Arabs revolted. Several Sheikhs were brought into Shendi and decapitated. Finati, who was then at Shendi, states that Mek Nimr obtained permission to buy the body of "Gebel Abyad" who was one of the chiefs executed.

Early in November, 1822, Ismail Pasha, who had been gazetted Governor-General of the Sudan, left Sennar for the north. He was accompanied by his medical officer, staff, and an escort of about 250 Turkish cavalry. The young Governor-General was ill and desired to return to Egypt. He had applied for leave, but his father was angry at the small number of slaves sent for the army. Instead of 40,000 reaching Egypt in one year, as had been anticipated, it actually took three years before 30,000 black slave troops could be placed in the field. The Turkish troops in the Sudan had not been paid for some time past and the men were debilitated by sickness and lack of proper food or housing during the rainy season at Sennar.

Mek Nimr is described as about 40 years old at that time. He

stood over 6 feet high, and was of a commanding presence and dark complexion. Some writers describe him as a negro, but he was of Arab-Fung descent.

Contrary to the advice of his staff, Ismail Pasha left his escort some twenty miles south of Shendi and rode on with about twelve of his staff. As soon as he arrived at Shendi he ordered Meks Nimr and Musaad to be brought to him. Ismail Pasha was then about 21 years of age and the only surviving son of Mohammed Ali Pasha. He had been born at Cavalla, and lived there with his mother for some years. Although considered of an amiable character, at the interview with Meks Nimr and Musaad he adopted an overbearing attitude. He ordered the Jaalin to produce immediately a tribute of money, cattle, horses, camels, and grain estimated to value about £20,000.

The sedentary population could contribute nothing, as all they possessed had been taken from them except such articles of jewellery that could be buried. Mek Nimr was supposed to have about £5,000 buried in his house, but as the nomads had refused to pay tribute, he could do little. Mek Nimr replied to the verbal order of Ismail Pasha in somewhat indiscreet terms, and to the effect that it was impossible to comply with impossible conditions. Ismail Pasha was smoking a long wooden Turkish pipe, and he was so angry at the insolence of the " negro " that he struck Mek Nimr with it across the face. Mek Nimr attempted to draw a weapon from its sheath but his hand was seized by Mek Musaad. After some discussion and apologies from the two Meks, they withdrew with a promise to furnish the tribute the next day, but Mek Nimr was determined to avenge the insult of the blow and summoned his attendants.

Ismail Pasha and his staff had been accommodated in one of the guest houses and compounds for which Shendi was famous. A feast and diluka (native dance) had been arranged in the Pasha's honour. Combustibles were placed around the quarters occupied by the Turks, and whilst the entertainment was in progress the whole place was set fire to. Swordsmen were stationed at the exits from the compound, and any Turks who tried to escape were cut down. Ismail Pasha, his medical officer, the Khaznadar and all the staff perished. The natives captured the doctor alive; he was tortured and impaled, as he had excited their animosity some time previously. The body of Ismail

Pasha was recovered and sent to Cairo by certain merchants from Egypt, who were at Shendi.

Immediately the news reached Berber a kinsman of Mek Nasr ed Din was sent by Maho Bey to Mohammed Ali Pasha. The news of the tragedy was received in Cairo with consternation, and, needless to relate, the full fury of Mohammed Ali Pasha's revenge fell on all the Jaalin.

The Defterdars campaign of vengeance will be found described in the *History of Sennar* as translated and included by Mr. Macmichael in his work *A History of the Arabs of the Sudan*. A more detailed account is given in the article "The Turkish conquest of the Sudan", published in the *Journal of the African Society*. The protests of the Consuls at Cairo at the large numbers of Arab women sent there as slaves caused Mohammed Ali Pasha to repatriate them.

After the battle of Nesub in the Butana, Mek Nimr fled to the River Setit, and Mek Musaad to the Dinder. Native tradition states that Mek Musaad and his heir were killed by a Turkish patrol. The Shukria hunted down the Batahin fugitives and the Shaigia pursued the Jaalin to satisfy tribal feuds. As a reward the Shukria Sheikh was made responsible to the Turks for the Butana and settled near the old town of Teawa. This place was called then Suk Abu Sin, and is close to Gedaref.

A Turkish fort was established at Doka under a Kashif. Grants of land at Halfayet el Muluk and in the Gezireh, which had belonged to the Jaalin, Abdullab and other tribes, were made to the Shaigia. Some of these are occupied by their descendants to-day.

Beshir wad Agid of the Messellemat section of the Jaalin had made himself very active in hunting down the Nimrab. He was married to Nimr's daughter, Burra, and the Defterdar appointed him local governor of Shendi under a Turkish Kashif who was stationed at Metemmah. Beshir wad Agid occupied Mek Nimr's house at Shendi.

Thousands flocked to the Abyssinian frontier and Mek Nimr formed an independent buffer state called Dar Wolkait. Nimr placed himself under the protection of Ras Ubie, later (in 1831), the King of Tigre, who bestowed one of his daughters on Mohammed wad Nimr in marriage. The territory under Mek Nimr's rule became known as Dar Nimr and its chief town was Sofi.

Khurshid Pasha, a nephew of Mohammed Ali Pasha and relative of the Khurshid Pasha who was Arabi Pasha's colleague, issued a pardon when he was Governor-General in 1829. All concerned in the 1821-4 rebellions, with the exception of Nimr and his family, were pardoned and ordered to return to their homes. A great many of the outlawed Arabs did so, as the climate of their new home was unsuited to them or their animals.

From that date Nimr's importance declined and he moved to Mai Gubba (Ghabat) on the Bahr es Salam, after a quarrel with the Dabaina tribe. A number of criminals and deserters from the army joined Nimr at Mai Gubba, and he became the leader of a band of desperadoes who numbered about 400 to 500 men. They raided the Abyssinians for women, and Ras Ubie tried to betray Nimr to the Turks for the price which had been placed upon his head.

The trade via Metemmeh (Gallabat) between Gondar and Wad Medani or Sennar was entirely suspended by Nimr and his band. Mohammed Ali Pasha decided to exterminate the Nimrab. In 1832 a Turkish force occupied Gallabat and a governor was stationed there. This step was regarded by the Abyssinians as an encroachment of their territory and a force was sent from Gondar which ejected the Turks.

Meantime the attention of both England and France had been directed to Turkish activity on the border. As early as 1826 King Labagadis of Tigre had sent his adviser, Mr. Coffin, to enlist the help of Great Britain in protecting his frontiers against Turkish aggression. The British Government declined to take any action at that time.

In 1834 the Nimrab with Abyssinians raided Sennar, but were repulsed. To avenge the raid Ahmed, Kashif of Gedaref, with a force including Arnauts, a battalion of troops and about a thousand Arab irregulars marched via Gallabat to Gondar. The Abyssinians were driven back, and evacuated Gondar, which was sacked and burnt by the Turkish force. On their return march the Turks were ambushed by Gonfu, the Governor of Qwarra. About a thousand men were cut off and either killed or captured. An entire unit of 400 Arnauts was forced to surrender, and they were evacuated by the Abyssinians. The remnant of the force returned with about 1,300 Christian slaves, and as most of

these were women, the European Powers sent a remonstrance to the Porte.

Soon after this event the French Government recognized King Ubie of Tigre, who sold the village of Ait to Monsieur Combes, in 1835. In 1836 Kasai, the Governor of Gondar, re-occupied Gallabat and the Darfurian Sheikh Miri was killed. The commander of the Turkish garrison, Bimbashi Ali Agha, and a Shaigi Mek named Saad were taken prisoners to Gondar.

From contemporary accounts it would appear that the Dabaina, Hamada, and Nimrab Arabs on the frontier were forced to join raids by Abyssinians or Turks in order to avoid being raided themselves.

During 1837 Khurshid Pasha took a large army via Kassala and marched down the frontier to Gallabat, which he re-occupied.

Ahmed Pasha Abu Udan, a son-in-law of Mohammed Ali Pasha and the father of Abu Udan Bey of the Kassala military rebellion, was sent from Cairo with reinforcements of 3,000 men (8th regiment "Egyptians") and a regiment of cavalry under Firhat Bey. The Powers protested at the invasion of Abyssinia and Khurshid Pasha returned to Wad Medani after ravaging the frontier. The force taken to the Sudan from Egypt by Abu Udan Pasha was replaced by an equal number of black troops. Khurshid Pasha took the black troops to Cairo, and as a result of an inquiry he was dismissed from his post of Governor-General of the Sudan.

After the departure of Mohammed Ali Pasha from the Sudan in 1839, Mohammed wad Nimr visited Shendi for the purpose of obtaining some of his father's buried treasure, which was concealed in the floor of the house occupied by Beshir wad Agid. The gold was required for the purchase of arms and ammunition, as the Abyssinians had acquired fire-arms from the French. As the Turkish frontier posts were armed with the muskets brought from Cairo by the troops in 1837, the Nimrab were between two better armed foes. No treasure was found, and it was believed that any which had been there was obtained by Khurshid Pasha, who had imprisoned Beshir wad Agid and his brother some years previously.

When Mohammed wad Nimr was at Shendi Abu Udan Pasha (the Governor-General) was in Dongola. As soon as the news reached him

he rode to Shendi, but Mohammed wad Nimr escaped after killing the Governor's aide-de-camp.

Dr. Lepsius visited Metemmeh in 1844 and states that a son of Mek Musaad named Mohammed lived there. Soon after Mansfield Parkyns visited Mek Nimr at his frontier stronghold. He described him as a patriarchal old man with white hair, who was blind. Mohammed wad Nimr had died a few days before Parkyns' arrival. Umara wad Nimr was the active leader of the miserable band of fugitives.

Mek Nimr died about 1845 and Umara wad Nimr associated himself with one or other of the Abyssinian kings from time to time as suited his purpose. The feud against the Turkish Government of the Sudan continued and many lives were lost in raids. In 1850 Umara, with a large force of Abyssinians and Nimrab raided Kassala and attacked the Hadendoa. He laid claim to Suk Abu Sin (Gedaref) as part of Abyssinia, and the kingdom of Tigre.

Umara wad Nimr traded with Elias Bey, the Coptic Governor of Kassala. In return for Abyssinian women for his harem, Elias Bey provided Umara with Government arms and ammunition. Elias Bey was enabled, by the sale or discreet presentation of females from Abyssinia, to pursue one of the most extraordinary careers ever known. He was imprisoned on more than one occasion for embezzlement, misappropriation, and bribery, but always avoided punishment and was generally promoted.

In the battle of Dereshia between Ras Ubie and Ras Kasa (Theodore) most of Umara wad Nimr's supporters were killed, but their leader escaped. Ras Kasa (Theodore) endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the Turks by capturing Umara for them, but he was unsuccessful.

During the visit of Said Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, to the Sudan in February, 1857, he granted a general amnesty to many proscribed and imprisoned political offenders or criminals. A special pardon was granted to all the descendants and family of Mek Nimr. But before the news of the pardon reached Umara wad Nimr he had seized the customs at Doka and annexed the country as part of Theodore's dominions.

It is possible that the Turks collected and retained all the duties on goods passing through Doka instead of dividing the receipts

as the Fung had done. Umara wad Nimr is said to have taken about £500 in cash and his action was repudiated by Theodore, as both the French and British authorities considered it indefensible. Umara was declared an outlaw, and the Turks forced the Jaalin to move from around Gedaref to sites forty miles west of that town.

Umara's raids on the frontier continued, and in 1861, 2,000 troops from the Sudan under the command of Mohammed wad Said attacked his stronghold. The village at Mai Gubba was captured and burnt and Umara wounded. He escaped, however, and was seen by Sir Benjamin Baker on 2nd March, 1862.

On his arrival at Khartoum, Sir Benjamin Baker applied to the Governor-General, Musa Pasha Hamdi, for a pardon on behalf of Umara. This was refused, and about the same time King Theodore sent a written threat of war against Egypt to Gallabat. He demanded the restitution to him of all the country acquired since the withdrawal of the joint customs posts of the Fung at Sire and Chelga. About October, 1862, Musa Pasha Hamdi marched to the frontier with a large force, but although Umara was wounded he again escaped. Meantime small-pox broke out in the army, and although the entire frontier had been ravaged, the disease spread with alarming rapidity. Umara died of his wounds, and Musa Pasha returned to Khartoum with a remnant of his force. The Governor-General died in Khartoum on 19th June, 1865, from small-pox.

The surviving Nimrab petitioned Musa Pasha Hamdi before his death for a pardon. Permission was given to Hasan wad Nimr to proceed to Cairo and interview the Viceroy, who granted the Nimrab a free pardon on condition that they returned to Shendi. Hasan returned to the Sudan, and died at Wadi Halfa on his way to Khartoum. The Nimrab allege that he was poisoned there in revenge for the misdeeds of his family by the relatives of one of their enemies.

However, about a hundred fever-stricken relics of the family and their supporters returned to Shendi and resettled there. The Abyssinian women associated with them refused to return, and their descendants are in Abyssinian territory to-day, and known as the Nimrab.

On the rise of Mahdism several of the descendants of Nimr joined

the dervishes at the sack of Berber and many perished later. When Lord Kitchener re-occupied the Sudan, the surviving heirs of Mek Nimr laid claim to all the land at Shendi. As this property had been confiscated in 1822, their claims were not allowed. The Jaalin are administered on communal lines, and not as a tribal unit, like most of the sedentary population.

I am very much indebted to Mr. Monteath of the Sudan Political Service and Yusbashi Ahmed Abdallah for their assistance in verifying this narrative and checking the genealogical trees prepared by me in collaboration with Samuel Bey Atiyeh, M.V.O.

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THE DEFEAT OF HICKS PASHA

By Sheikh Ali Gulla ¹

IT was in Ramadhan when first we heard that an army was being prepared against us and that the name of its leader was Huksi : and we heard how it was being collected at Omdurman in the place where the battalions now are ; and what great stores of dried meat and biscuits and fantasses (water-tanks) were being collected, and when all was ready how it was shipped on board steamers and barges and taken to Dueim where they landed and prepared for their advance. In all that time from the moment these preparations were first begun we were perfectly informed of all that passed.

And in Hicks' army were Jaalin and Shaigia and blacks and Aulād Rif, Egyptians, but the most of them were Egyptians : how many they were I cannot remember, for it is now forty years and more since that time and I was but a lad, though I rode a charger with the warriors.² They had much artillery, long Krupp guns and machine guns, not with one barrel but with five ; and there were many horses for the cavalry and thousands of camels for the water and provisions, and so Hicks came to Dueim and started thence against El Obeid, where lay the Mahdi.

And his road lay through Zireiga and Wadi el Nil and to the lake at Rahad. And as soon as he had come to Zireiga, the Arabs were between him and the river, and thereafter he received no letters and could send none ; the whole country through which he moved was up against him, there were foes on this side and on that, but Hicks was full of courage like an elephant, and he feared nothing and fought on until he came to the Rahad and made a zariba.

Then indeed the tribes gathered against him : Sheikh Fadhli and Abu Gaja and Abdulla wad Ibrahim and the Jim'a, whose *nazir* was Asakir wad Abu Kalam, and the Ahamda under Jibrani : all these gathered together to oppose him. And the Mahdi wrote to him a letter,

¹ As related to Mr. L. F. Nalder.

² They were dressed in white and some of them, the officers I think, had red stripes down their legs.

calling on him to surrender, and Hicks replied : see what a man of might he was : " I am Hicks : my arm is an arm of iron and my army carries an army in its belly. If the heavens fall, I will hold them up with my bayonets, and if the earth quakes I will hold it fast with my boot." ¹ Such was the answer of Hicks to the Mahdi.

Then he shifted his camp round the Rahad to the southern side, and started to march for the water at Birka : and the Mahdi left El Obeid with his army and came to Birka before him. And now Hicks had no guide. For in the beginning he had had two guides only : one of these had deserted to us and the other had been killed. And before he came to Birka, the Mahdi had seized the water there and so Hicks moved away seeking water near Alloba ; but that, too, we held : so he camped there having no water but the little that remained in the fantasses and that was all hot.

Then he moved from his camp in the morning, making for the water at Kasgeil : and when he came to Sheikan the battle was joined. His army marched in a square, with the horses and the camels in the centre. He had much cavalry, but that day they fought on foot in the square. And all the soldiers had their bayonets fixed in readiness for the fighting.

The thick trees hindered our horses, but yet more did it hinder the march of his square. When we charged, the machine guns, which I had never seen before, went " tak, tak, tak ", and my horse was killed under me and I was wounded in five places, but by the grace of God I survived the day. Many of our horses were killed, and many of our men in the charge ; but those that lived picked themselves up and charged on foot and the footmen charged after us, and one side of the square was beaten in, and the fighting was all amidst the camels and horses, and thus was Hicks' army destroyed.

And as for Hicks' death, I know not how it occurred, for I was not there when he fell. But when I and my companions returned in the evening there, close to the tebeldis, was a body on the ground, and they said to us, " That is Hicks."

Verily he was a brave man, the bravest of all the brave men

¹ *Ana Huksi, abu dhurā' dugul, jerda wa fi batniha jerda. El sama idha waga 'alzimū bi l sinaj wa 'l ardh idha ilaglagat, arikzu bi jezmati.*

I have ever known. What destroyed him was that he was left with no guides. To-day a District Commissioner can ride from place to place from a map, but then there were no maps. Or he can ask his way of the people : but then when he came to any place there was no one to ask, for all the country and all the tribes were against him. Because he had no guide he turned south from Rahad searching for water : but the Mahdi forestalled him at Birka, and all the water he had was the water in fantasses and there is no refreshment in fantass water when it is heated almost boiling from the sun. Had he had a guide he would not have turned south but would have marched straight on El Obeid, it would have been clear marching for his troops, so that they could keep their square intact and he could have come to the wells at Melbis as soon as to Birka. Whether he would have been defeated and slain, or victorious and reconquered the land as far as Darfur would have been as Allah willed : but had he fallen he would have fallen under the walls of El Obeid and not in the forest of Sheikan. All that man could do Hicks did. If it is said that his army would not fight—there is always much empty talk, but could they have won their way from Dueim and the river to Sheikan, with foes in front of them and behind them and on both sides of them, fighting all the way ?

Of all the men of the English that I have known, Gordon and Hicks and Kitchener were the greatest. Kitchener was surpassing in wisdom and judgment, and his arm was mighty, as if it were filled with lead. Him I saw last at Sinkat when the King came ; we were watching the review and unknown to me he came and stood behind me and put his hands on my shoulders, so that a weight fell on me, and I felt my chest being crushed into my stomach. I turned round and lo, it was Kitchener Pasha, and I said to him, " Have a care, Pasha, that you break not the spines of lesser men."

Gordon I saw three times, being sent to guide him in the journeys to and from Darfur. The first time I brought him from Cheka in Dar Rizeigat on his way from Dara to El Odaiya and El Obeid. Dara was then the capital of Darfur ; Cheka is now Abu Jabra. In those days it was a Merkaz, and afterwards a certain Mahmud Abu Jabra dug new wells near by ; and from him the place takes its name. At that time the Sanjak of Cheka was Said wad Hussein, a Jimiabi, a relative of

Zubeir Pasha ; for in those days the Government of all that part of the Sudan was in the hands of the Bahhara, the Gallaba that is, the followers of Zubeir ; for it was he who first conquered Dar Fur and slew Mahmud Ibrahim, the Sultan, and they conquered Dar Homr and Dar Rizeigat and Dar Fertit. And they would not accept the authority of the Turkish Government. The next time I saw Gordon, he summoned me to guide him from El Odaiya to Cheka. He had with him a company of camel troops and with him were Busati Bey and Tuhami Bey. It was Busati who translated for him, for in those days he knew little Arabic, and he trusted Busati, who afterwards died with him in Khartoum. He, Gordon, used to dress in white, khaki we did not see till this Government came after the Mahdai, and sometimes he wore a tarbush and sometimes a hat. I remember that sometimes he wore a small black hat, and always when riding his camel he had his sleeves rolled up above his elbows. It was from him that I heard first of England, for he told me that he was not a Turk, but an Englishman, and I did not know what that was. For the only powers we had heard of from the Gallaba were Austria and Russia. He had five riding camels, and he used to call them sometimes by the name of the Sheikhs who had given them to him. One was named Abu Ridein, so-called from the name of a steamer ; and one Awad al Karim, and another Shelli' wad Nimr and another Melik. I had a horse and a donkey, but when he saw that I could not keep up with the camels, he bade me ride one of his, Shelli' wad Nimr it was, which afterwards he gave me. So I guided him to El Cheka, and he made an order to the Bahhara there, forbidding them to send arms and ammunitions to the other Bahhara in Dar Fertit. That was the first time I ever saw a pencil. He took what I thought was a pen and placed the end of it in his mouth, in thought, and then began to write, and I thought to myself, " Allah, does this man hold a store of ink in his mouth ? " But the Bahhara would not obey his orders, so later Said wad Hussein was seized in his house and taken away and succeeded as Sanjak by one named Malyan, who was followed by Said Guma'. And by Gordon's orders the Rizeigat were let loose on the Bahhara and destroyed them and ate them up and the Government was established in those parts.

So I brought Gordon to Cheka, and when he left, he bade me be

at El Foga after so many days to guide him to El Obeid on his return journey. El Foga was a stage on the El Obeid-Dara road, beyond Nahud, and was the end of the telegraph line. Which I did and guided him to El Obeid. He was very pleased with me, and gave me a sum of money, and a robe, and—for those were the days of the slaves—forty-five slaves. He was very generous, always he had a box of money with him, and to each one that came to him he would give according to his needs, whereas the officials of the old government plundered the people, and robbed them of everything. He was a great man, Gordon. The Mahdi did not wish him killed. With my own ears I heard him give the order that no one was to slay Gordon, but Allah is great.

FURTHER NOTES ON POTTERY

By J. W. Crowfoot

(PLATES VIII-XIII)

I. TAGALLE, RASHAD, AND GEDIR POTTERY

GENERAL conditions in the east of the Nuba Mountains Province are very different from those in the south or the west, and the difference is evident in the pot fabrics. In some of the eastern hills, Tagalle for example, the people have been Mohammadan for a generation or two, they wear clothes, they speak a good deal of Arabic and some of them pretend to Arab pedigrees, they have given up keeping pigs, they talk with contempt of the "Naked Nuba". Such Mohammadan culture as they have adopted, circumcision and wedding rites, the practice of infibulation and so forth, comes from the riverain tribes or from the Kināna and Kawāḥla settled in their midst, not, curious as it may seem, from the Baggāra tribes with whom they have been in much longer contact. The Arab tribes accept them as Mohammadans and brothers while smiling at their pretensions, and I heard a Kahli at Kollogi describe the inhabitants of a neighbouring hill as "Nuba who had become Kawāḥla". In reality, these Eastern Nuba are beginning the same metamorphosis which most of our Arabs' African ancestors began a few centuries ago, and the change, which is not complete in the latter case yet, has not gone very far with the Nuba; the huts of a household in the villages near Rashād, for instance, are still huddled close together and joined to each other with party fences of grass so as to enclose a diminutive yard, like those of the Pagan Nuba, whereas in the Kināna village at Abu Gebeiḥa or the Kawāḥla village at Garāda, each hut stands free in the open and is larger in size; in their bakery huts I noticed also that the Rashād people build the mortars for grinding grain into mud tables two or three feet high, so that they can grind, standing, a refinement I have never seen on the river.

To turn to the pottery, I watched pots being made at Tagalle and at Rashād, and collected a few notes at Gedir and Abu Gebeiḥa.

In this district, as in the West, and as also often in the Nile valley,

the paste is made of a mixture of clay with some organic matter in the proportion of about 75 per cent. clay to 25 per cent. organic stuff. In Tagalle and Rashād finely chopped grass and pounded husks are mixed with the clay, and a potter at the former place told me that the grass acted like nails to nail together the clay, which would have cracked badly on drying if it had been used alone. In consequence of this admixture these wares, like those from the Congo, show on fracture a broad greyish central zone between reddish bands. The reason for this is explained in the following account quoted from the anonymous work on Congo pottery published in Brussels:—"Toutes les argiles congolaises contiennent, nous l'avons dit, une forte proportion de matières organiques. . . . Sous l'action du feu ces matières charbonnent d'abord puis disparaissent sous forme de produits d'oxydation. Toutefois cette double opération ne s'opère complètement que dans les couches superficielles ; à l'intérieure une difficulté plus grande d'oxydation et le degré trop minime de chaleur développée ne lui permettent de dépasser le phase de carbonisation, aussi la pâte, quelle que fut sa nuance antérieure, passe à un noir plus ou moins intense selon sa teneur en substances organiques." Our pots often have also the same black blotches on the outside as Congolese pots (*Annales du Musée du Congo*, Tome ii, Fascicule i. Brussels, 1907, pp. 50, 51).

I saw two different methods of starting a pot. At Tagalle, as often in Omdurman and on the Blue Nile, and as at Tosomi and in the west generally (*S. N. & R.*, vol. vii and vol. v), the woman started the pot by pounding a lump of clay in a hole or dent in the ground. At Rashād, as at Elīri, it was started on the bottom of an inverted pot (see Plate VIII, Fig. 1), and at Gedīr and Abu Gebeihā I heard that the latter method also was in vogue ; it is not a new method, for the woman at Rashād said she had learnt it from her mother, and I have heard of its being adopted in some of the western hills, Nyima and Kadaru for example ; it is also used in Nigeria at Ilorin by the Yoruba (see J. W. Scott Macfie in the *Bulletin of the Imperial Institute*, p. 113, vol.).

Where this second method is in use, the embryo pot is necessarily removed to some other support after the initial stage : at Rashād an old crock filled with sand and covered with a bit of cotton was used (Plate VIII, Fig. 2) ; at Abu Gebeihā and also in the Red Sea

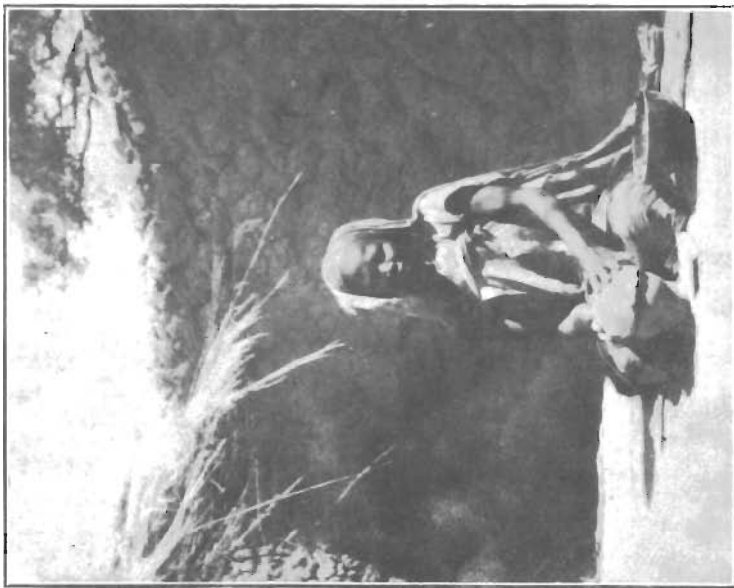


FIG. 1.—WOMAN AT TUMULGIN, RASHAD, STARTING
A POT.



FIG. 2.—A LATER OPERATION AT TUMULGIN, RASHAD.

Hills, wooden bowls serve this purpose, and in Berber province at Darmali I found an earthenware platter in use, there called a *gālib* as in Kabylia (van Gennep, *Etudes d'ethnographie Algérienne*, 1911, p. 28).

For the heavier work of beating up the side of the pot flat stones, potsherds, and the rib-bones of camels and oxen are the favourite implements; at Abu Gebeiha, a camel's rib used by the woman was bound round with a piece of cord, which left an impression on the pot that might easily have been mistaken for the impression of matting. W. H. Holmes (*Aboriginal pottery of the Eastern United States*, in the *Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1899) writes that "more than a half of the textile markings on vases are not really imprints of fabrics at all, but are the results of going over the surface with modelling tools covered or wrapped with unwoven twisted cords" (l.c., p. 73), and illustrates on fig. 38, a Cherokee potter's paddle wrapped with cord and used in "malleating" a bowl, exactly like that seen at Abu Gebeiha.

The objects usual elsewhere, potsherds, broken gourds, old corn-cobs, bits of straw, and tamarind seeds, were used for smoothing the clay. A bowl of water is always at hand in which the smoothers are continually dipped; at Rashād the potter mixed with the water a sticky substance made of the pounded bark of a vine called a *gyōga*, perhaps a rubber vine.

In shape and decoration there is much more variety between the productions of different hills than there is in implements or modes of manufacture and, if Stuhlmann is right in saying that true negro pottery has neither handle nor ears nor any knobs to take hold of (*Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, p. 26), we may see signs of foreign influence in many of the pots from these hills.

The most characteristic pot from Tagalle is the larger one shown on Plate IX, Fig. 1, a globular pot with a round bottom and a narrow, shapely, flaring-mouthed neck, made for carrying beer. The neck and shoulder of the pot are painted red, like the same parts on a class of ancient pots to which we shall return later; the paint is made by pounding some red earth which is found at Jebel Sereif, a hill about two hours east of Tagalle, and mixing it with water; it is smeared on with the fingers. The band which is left uncoloured at the base of the neck and the

arching lines on the shoulders are scratched over with a sort of comb made of five or six pieces of stiff grass held together in the fingers ; the lower part of the pot is left plain and unpainted. Pots of this type are sold in numbers in the Tagalle market, and are also exported to Umm Ruaba on the El Obeid railway ; they cost P.T. 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ at Tagalle and four or five times as much on the railway. The other pot from Tagalle is clearly an imitation of an Egyptian *gulla*, but it was made in Tagalle by a man who had lived for a time in Omdurman and also made coffee pots, tea pots, and sugar basins, after European patterns ; his pots were entirely covered with a red slip. It is interesting that it should be the native woman's work, not the sophisticated man's work, which was made for the export market.

Of the three pots from Rashad (Plate IX, Fig. 2), two show similar signs of northern influence, but all three have genuine local decorations incised on them. The beer jar, or *dullang*, is the pot which appears in earlier stages in Plate VIII, and the decorations were added in our presence ; the row of dots was impressed with a stalk of grass broken at a joint, and the others were scratched with a metal awl. The woman called the dots *suksuk* or beads, the tassel-like lines beneath them *shurafāt*—a name applied to similar patterns on writing-boards, and she called a continuous zigzag an '*erig* or border. The curious cone-like hatched figures were intended to represent the impressions of a cock's-foot, and a plain figure of the same shape a webbed goose's-foot ; other figures on the same jar were a group of three vertical lines and a ladder, both of which are well-known tribal marks in the Northern Sudan, but which may be compared with the representations of "tatouages cicatriciels" in the Congo (op. cit., p. 82). The middle pot from Rashād with a regular base and a collar below the neck was made in the same hut as the *dullang*, but is clearly influenced by the Egyptian *gulla*. The same may be said of the third pot, though the combined handle and spout does recur on one pot from the West in the Gordon College museum.

At Gedir I saw several locally made *gullas* and *ibriks* of the same hybrid type, but the beer jar on Plate X, Fig. 1, appears to be a true Nuba form, though the collar at the base of the neck and the knobs may be derived from elsewhere.



FIG. 1.—POTS FROM TAGELLE.

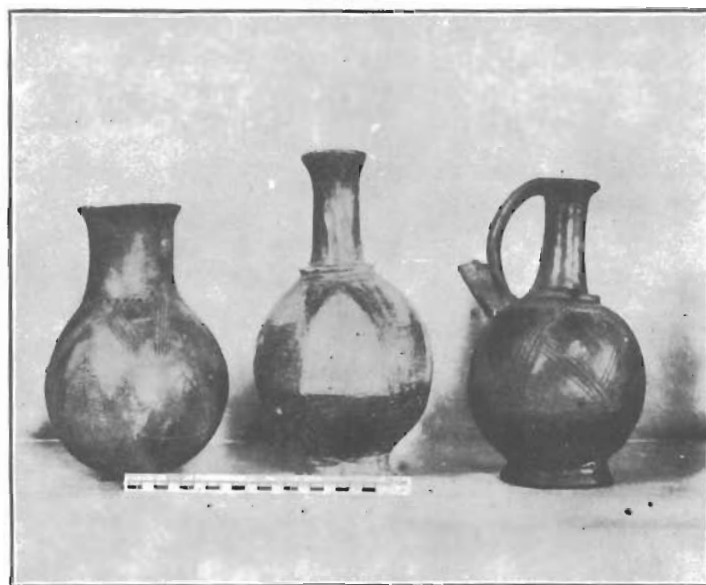


FIG. 2.—POTS FROM RASHAD.

The pots described in this section are all buff or reddish in colour, and on these hills I saw among the local wares none of the blackened ware which is so characteristic of Eliri and of the Western hills.

II. LIFOFA POTTERY

At Eliri the people are still pagan, and keep pigs, and though increasing numbers of them go far afield in search of work, few of them have taken to wearing clothes, and they do not speak much Arabic; the women, who are the potters, have naturally been even less affected than the men by foreign influences. I have already published examples of this pottery and lamented that more was not known of the methods employed in its manufacture (*S.N. & R.*, vol. 7, p.), so I welcomed an opportunity of witnessing some of the operations concerned last spring.

The woman whom we visited was one of the Eliri Nuba but lived in a Lifofa village on the mountain above the Government station of Eliri, and by the time we arrived there she had already been working for some hours, and half a dozen pots in various stages of completion were lying about.

For our benefit she started another pot, taking a lump of moist clay from a large stock-pot near by and kneading it with some finely powdered dry clay from another pot. She told us that the mixture in the stock-pot contained nothing but clay and water, no dung or grass; the dry powdered clay had been ground on a stone in the same way as grain is ground into flour. The lump with which she started was about the size of a cricket ball, and the kneading of it with the dry powdery stuff took some minutes; then she took an old pot, turned it upside down, and after dusting the bottom over with a handful of the dry powder, beat out the newly kneaded lump on the base of the old pot until it was shaped like a saucer, using an old potsherd as a beater. When satisfied with the shape, she removed it from the old pot and stood it on a grass-ring to dry, while she turned to one of the half-finished pots by her side.

The method of building up the rest of the pot may be seen in the three photographs attached. Plate X, Fig. 2, shows the potter smoothing over an unevenness in the part finished; Plate XI, Fig. 1, shows her preparing a long coil of clay to build the next section, and Fig. 2 shows

her applying the coil to the pot. The kneading of each successive coil is carried out with the same care as that of the original lump, and the degree of plasticity reached may be judged from the dimensions of the coil which were much greater than those I have seen among other potters. After sticking it on first with her fingers, she thinned it out with the rib of an ox, and when she had worked it up so that the wall of the pot was of an even thickness all round, she put it on one side again to dry before another coil was added. When the final coil had been added and the desired height was reached, she scraped the rim level with a stalk of millet, rubbed the outside of the pot with some grease and smoothed it again with an ebony smoother. Finally, she flattened the bottom by pressing the pot gently but firmly on a flat potsherd.

The shaping of the pot being completed, she at once began the decoration, and for this she used two tools—the only purposively fashioned tools she used—both of ebony, one a sharply pointed stick with which she engraved the main lines, rubbing out any line she did not like and marking it over again at once; the other a stick with a square end in which a row of teeth had been notched; this tool she used with a rocking movement to impress the dot-filling between the main lines, the rocker appearing never to leave the pot. An illustration on Plate XIII, 1, shows an old tool which I obtained from her; one end of this has been sharpened for graving, and the other has eleven small teeth notched on it, so that both operations could be performed with the same implement. All the pots of the same shape, whatever their size, were decorated with the same pattern, but I could not elicit any name for this pattern, either in Arabic, Lifofa, or Eliri, nor did my suggestion that it represented the nets in which pots are hung from the roof meet with approval; Dr. Seligman tells me that he heard it called a giraffe skin pattern. When the pattern was finished, the pot was put aside to dry in the shade and operations for the day were over.

Three operations still remained, the polishing, the burning, and the blackening, and we were fortunately able to see these the next day in the village on the plain, where another woman had a number of pots which were already dry.

Plate XII, 1, shows the polishing; the woman is seen with a calabash



FIG. 1.—POT FROM GEDIR.

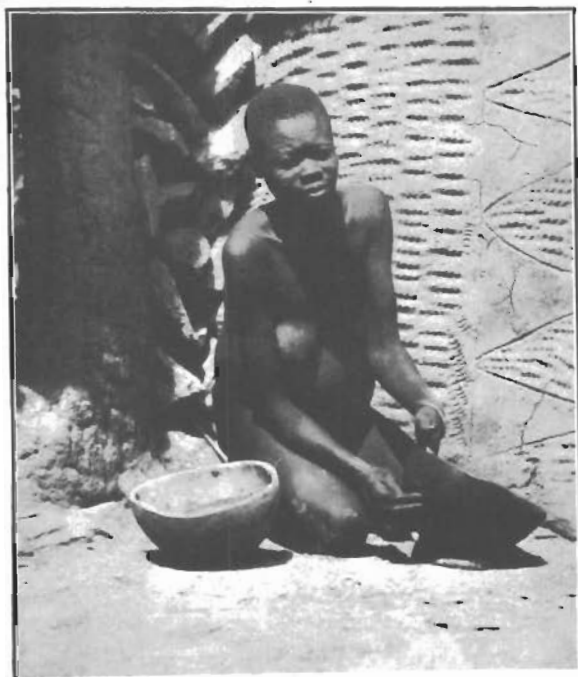


FIG. 2.—LIFOFA VILLAGE: SMOOTHING A POT.

of water against her left knee, seven pots already polished on the ground near her and an eighth in her hands. In order to polish it she wets the plain surfaces of the pot with water from the calabash and rubs them with a pebble, until she obtains the requisite polish.

The pots are now of a greyish colour, and ready to be burnt as soon as they are quite dry. The kiln was made in a depression close to the hut, and Plate XII, 2, shows how the pots were stacked; some straw and broken pieces of cattle dung had first been spread below them, more broken fragments of dung were laid between the pots, and yet more, mixed with straw, thrown over the top of them. Considerable care was taken in arranging the fuel and a free air space was left all round the kiln.

The firing was completed in about an hour, and only the blackening remained. As soon as the firing is over, the potter with a long stick skewers the pots still hot and red-coloured from the kiln, and lays them, one by one, in prepared nests of fine chaff and powdered sheep's dung, heaping more of the same stuff round and over them; in a few minutes she brushes the pile away and the pot appears beneath black all over and shining on the polished surfaces. The black colour is due to the charring of the organic matter in the chaff and dung, and it penetrates some way into the wall of the pot from both outside and inside, so that a Lifofa potsherd generally shows on the fractured section a central line of reddish colour of varying breadth between zones of black, whereas on most other Sudanese potsherds, as described in the previous section, the centre is greyish and the outer sides reddish. On some Lifofa sherds, especially on thin ones, the central reddish zone may disappear completely.

Instead of dung and husks some of the people at Eliri use leaves of the *habîl* tree, a *Combretum*, probably *C. hartmannianum*, to blacken their pots, and I heard that both methods, which are essentially the same in principle, are known at the neighbouring hill of Miri. In the Northern Sudan this method of blackening earthenware is not used so far as I know, but it occurs also in the Bahr el Ghazel Provinces (see Part III). A similar method also is adopted on the Gold Coast, and a short account of it has been published by W. Burton in the *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*

(vol. lvii, part 2). "The pots are taken from the fire after forty minutes' burning, while they are red hot, and are plunged into a bed of leaves, where they are constantly moved about for twenty minutes. The leaves, of course, become carbonized, and a dense smoke is given off in the process. Care is taken to keep the leaves from firing by damping them if they are too dry. The finely divided carbon or tarry matter produced in this way penetrates into the heated clayware and leaves a deposit of carbon throughout it." Any kind of leaves or dry grass, the writer points out, would act in the same way. And in Perak some groups of Malayan potters, described by L. Wray, are said to bury the hot jars in "a mass of padi husk, which quickly blackens them" (*J.A.I.*, 1903, p. 28).

In Eliri pots of the same shape are made in very different sizes. I saw some which would have held only a pint and others with a capacity of two or three gallons, but decorated with exactly the same pattern. The shape distantly approaches that of the Arab *dahlūb*, and Arabs accordingly call these pots *dahalīb*, but, as I have already pointed out, an exactly similarly shaped pot was found by the Oxford Expedition in their excavations at Sanam Abu Dom in Dongola Province. How significant this parallel is, may be gathered from the fact that no example of this shape is to be found in the large collection of pots from the Congo, considerably over three hundred in number, published in the *Annales du Musée du Congo*, nor elsewhere in the Sudan. There can be no reason for doubting that an unbroken tradition connects the makers of the two pots found by the Oxford Expedition in the Ethiopian cemetery at Sanam with the makers of the similarly shaped pots from Debry and Eliri to-day, but we do not know how the connexion came about; the Debry-Lifofa people may conceivably have lived further North once, or women from their groups may have been taken as slaves to Napata, or the pots may have been brought from the South just as Lifofa pots are carried about now.

III. GOLO, JUR AND NDOGO POTTERY

The following notes are based on observations made among three tribes living near Wau, in the central district, that is, of the Bahr el Ghazal province. Golo potters were seen at work in Kayango, which



FIG. 2.—APPLYING THE COIL.



FIG. 1.—PREPARING A COIL.

lies a few miles off the road from Wau to Aweil; Ndogo potters at Mboro off the road to Raga, and Jur pottery was noted on the road to Meshra and at Mbili or Cleveland, which is east of Wau. The pottery of all three tribes is similar in character, though the tribes differ in origin and language. The Jur have been long settled in the north-eastern parts of the iron-stone country where they live to-day and they are still, as in Schweinfurth's time, noted for their skill in smelting and forging iron. The Golo and Ndogo are more recent arrivals from the west, and have spread over country once occupied by the Bongo, who have dwindled in numbers and importance.

All three tribes weave cotton on a loom with an endless warp, which is quite different from the pit-treadle loom used for weaving cotton in the northern Sudan and as far south as Rashad in the Nuba mountains. The same words are used for the rod-heddle—*sangini* or *shangini*, and for the beater—*salu* or *shalu*, in both Jur and Ndogo, but I do not know from what language they came originally. In appearance the loom is like the horizontal loom used by Arab women for weaving wool or that used by the Ancient Egyptians for weaving linen. Among these tribes weaving is men's work.

The pots are made by women and, in the villages, only for use in their own households, so that I had some difficulty in buying any at all, the people asking, "Hasn't he got a wife of his own to make them for him?"

The earth of which the pots are made comes from ant-hills, and is naturally full of organic matter; the ware when broken shows, as usual, grey along the fracture except on the outer and inner faces where there are thin zones of red, which in pots that have been coloured black are in turn coated with a black film.

I saw pots of various shapes and sizes made, and the Ndogo women struck me as particularly skilful; they built up the pots like the Lifofa potters on grass rings, not in holes in the ground, and the successive coils were as long and as carefully rolled as those seen at Eliri. I noticed one slight difference in procedure; the Ndogo women did not work each successive coil into the wall of the pot as they laid it on, but waited until they had laid on three coils, one above the other, and then smoothed and titivated the three together; before laying on the

next group of three they dented the edge of the pot all round to make an uneven bed for the first one of the new group. When the shaping of the pot was finished, the top was smoothed round inside and out with a piece of wet leather.

The shapes were many and various, but, as in all Sudanese pots which have escaped northern influences, there were no handles or spouts, no raised collars or knobs; the flattened brims characteristic of some of the western Nuba fabrics were also absent. The most elaborately wrought vessels were open-mouthed water-jars and globular beer jars with stumpy necks which rose straight out of the body of the pot, not in graceful curves like those from Tagalle. Only the finer pieces are eventually blackened.

The decorations also were unlike those seen in the north.

The bottom half of the larger pots, which are made for holding water or beer, are worked all over with a wooden instrument, shown in Plate XIII, Fig. 2, which is rolled over the surface of the pot. This is done to produce a rough surface which will give the hands a better hold than a smooth one would, and this treatment is confined to large jars intended to carry liquids. It corresponds in function to the textile impressions which one sees in the north and upon ancient Aloa ware, but it may also serve a further purpose, for Holmes (l.c., p. 73) says: "experiment shows that the deeper and more complex the imprintings, if properly managed, the more tenacious becomes the clay." The chevron pattern, moulded by the instrument illustrated here, is a small scale edition of an old moulded pattern which occurs on pots of Meroitic date from Faras and Meroe and on sherds found in northern Kordofan by Mr. Newbold.

On the upper half of these pots the surface is carefully smoothed before any decoration is added, and a little fine powder is rubbed over it with a pebble; this powder, which I saw used among both Golo and Ndogo, is obtained from a friable stone which Mr. Grabham describes as quartz graphite gneiss and which we might therefore perhaps call impure blacklead. The powder is laid on very thinly and the patterns then added. The most characteristic pattern in this district is a ladder of wavy bands; the bands are outlined with a pointed tool (Plate XIII, Fig. 3) and alternate bands are filled with dots rocked on with a toothed



FIG. 1.—POLISHING A POT.



FIG. 2.—POTS STACKED IN KILN.

instrument (Fig. 4) like that used at Eliri. The wooden tools drawn in the illustration were got at Kayango; at Mboro a metal tool, pointed at one end and toothed at the other, served for both operations. The wavy bands are sometimes continuous, sometimes they are broken by perpendicular bands. The use of a similar rocker can be detected on pottery of the Meroitic and pre-Meroitic ages, but not, so far as I know, either on Aloa ware or in the modern fabrics of the northern and central Sudan, including the western Nuba hills. The distribution of this tool is one of various indications that the arrival of the Aloa ware was due to the intrusion of some new but abiding element which separated the southern tribes, who had been in contact with the Meroitic civilization, from the northern cultural area. It would seem reasonable to identify these intruders either with the Blacks whom the Axumite conqueror of Meroe found encroaching on the lands of the Red Nuba, in which case they probably came from the west, or with eastern tribes displaced or pushed on by the Axumites themselves.

I did not see the final polishing, firing, or blackening processes, but pebbles were used for polishing as at Eliri, the kilns were of the usual open type, and the sequence of events was the same in both places. The use of the graphitic powder was the most interesting new feature. At Mboro the potters assured me that the powder was essential to the blackening, but they added that they also brushed handfuls of grass over the pots they wished to blacken while they were still hot from the baking, and grass was used in the same way at Kayango. Now the powder was only applied, and that very thinly, to the upper part of the pot, and the lower half which was only treated with the grass is of a deeper black than the top but it has not the same metallic lustre. The conclusion is clear: the blackening is due to the carbonization of the grass, and the function of the powder is to give a more brilliant lustre to the plain surfaces on the decorated upper half. The lustre thus given resembles the lustre on the well-known black-topped Kerma ware, and gives the same black smudge when rubbed with a handkerchief, whereas the much blacker lower half leaves no mark behind.

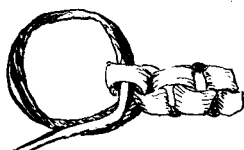
IV. BARI POTTERY

The Bari pottery one sees in the Rejaf district is, like several other riverain wares, very poor stuff compared with the highly finished

products we have been discussing. I watched a woman making a pot at Juba, the clay came from the river-bank and she used an old potsherd as a stand. She was a careless worker, and her pots were misshapen and brittle. The only feature of interest was an ingenious twist of green palm-leaf which she used like the wooden moulder described in the last section to make a rough surface on the outside of the pot. Mrs. Crowfoot, to whom I am indebted for all the illustrations on Plate XIII, describes this twist as "a piece of basketry made from one strip of palm-leaf looped into itself beginning at the broad end. The technique is similar to that sometimes called knotless netting where one strand is looped into itself to form a net-like fabric. A very similar procedure is sometimes used in England to form a silken cord from coarse embroidery thread". (Plate XIII, Fig. 5.)

There are some pots from Kajo-Kaji in the Geological Museum which have been decorated in the same way, and I believe the Atwot Dinka use a similar twist, so it has a wide extension; the twist of grass commonly used for the same purpose by the Shilluk is a much simpler affair.

To return to the Bari, it may be worth noting that they decorate the thresholds of their huts and the floors for a yard or so both inside and out, with a mosaic work of broken potsherds, just as the Lifofa decorate their floors at Eliri.



(b)



(a)

SOME ARAB GAMES AND PUZZLES

By R. Davies

PREFACE

THE games and puzzles here described were seen, and at times played, by me in Kordofan Province, among the camel-breeding Kababish Arabs on the fringe of the northern desert, and the cattle-breeding Homr Arabs of the south, who share with the Dinka the mud-flats of the Bahr El Arab, a tributary of the Bahr El Ghazal. I have refrained, hitherto, from publishing them, on the general ground that, however good games may be to play, their rules and conventions make the dulllest reading in the world, but I am persuaded now to do so, partly because they are said to be of anthropological interest, but chiefly to bring them to the notice of members of the Political Service who may work among nomad Arabs. For not only are some of these games interesting and difficult to play well, but they can be used to bring the Englishman into contact with the Arab in a capacity other than that of tax-gatherer or punisher of delinquencies, and from this point of view have a definite administrative value.

In two respects the scope of this paper is strictly limited. No research whatever has been undertaken into the question of the geographical distribution of the different types of game here described, or into the historical question of their origins and ancestry. On the first of these topics volumes of material doubtless exist to be collected, for in one form or another these games are widely known and played in Africa. The lineage is more difficult to trace, for it is only in recent times that such frivolous matters have been deemed worthy of the attention of serious-minded travellers. Even the admirable Dr. Henry Barth, who gathered most things, great and small, into his net, never, if the index to his works is to be trusted, recorded the sedentary games of the tribes which he visited.

Most games have their seasons, and for these Arab games the season is primarily the fasting month of Ramadan, when they while away the time and enable the players to forget their hunger and thirst.

Sometimes they forget too completely, as when a tornado, accompanied by hail, broke over the encampment of the Nazir of the Kababish in June, and he, absorbed in a game of "Um El Banat", popped into his mouth a large hailstone, which melted before he realized, with dismay, that he had broken the fast.

GAMES OF THE TYPE OF DRAUGHTS

1. *Sija*

This is not specially a nomad Arab game—in fact, it is more commonly played in towns than in the desert—but it seems to be a basic game, widely known in Africa, from which local variants are derived.

It is played on a board of twenty-five squares (i.e. five rows of

o	x	o	x	x
o	o	x ₁	x	o
x	o		o ₁	x
o	x	x ₂	x	o
o	x	o	o	x

five hollows scooped in the sand), each player having twelve counters known as dogs (i.e. twelve pieces of stone for one player and twelve pieces of brick, or other distinguishable matter, for the other).

The counters are not set out on the board in a predesignated order, but the player who wins the toss places two "dogs" where he likes, the only restriction being that the middle square of the board must be

left vacant. His opponent then "throws" two counters into any unoccupied squares other than the middle one, and so on, alternately, until the board, except for the middle square, is full, as shown in the diagram. This "throwing" is of course done with an eye to the succeeding play and is as important as the deal at Bridge.

Play is continued by the winner of the toss moving one of his counters into the middle square. If, thereby, he can bring one of his opponents "dogs" between two of his own, he "eats" it, i.e. removes it from the board. In the diagram, as shown, by moving the counter O to the middle square, the player "eats" both X₁ and X₂. His

opponent then moves, "eating" or not, as he is able, and so on, alternately, until one has completely destroyed the "dogs" of the other and is therefore the winner. "Dogs" do not move, or eat, diagonally, but only along ranks or files.

2. *Dâla*

This game is played by all Baggara tribes. I learnt it from the Homr and have seen it played by the Rizeigat. It is very much more difficult than Sija, to play well, and is fully as worthy as draughts of the attention of European players.

Dar Homr contains very little sand and no stone at all, so *Dâla* is played on a raised board made of soft mud, divided into six rows of six squares, marked by holes, and the counters, of which each player has twelve, take the form of sharpened sticks, about six inches long. Those of one player are distinguished by removal of the bark, which is left on those of the other player.

The holes are called *Nugâr* (sing. *Nûgara*) and the sticks '*îdân*' (sing. '*ûd*'). The players set the board by sticking in their sticks (*tchakka* is the verb) one at a time, alternately, the rule being that the four middle holes of the board must first be filled, after which a player may place his stick in any vacant hole he likes. The diagram, Fig. 2, shows a possible distribution of the twenty-four sticks on the board. Here, again, the setting of the board is done with a view to, and largely determines, the subsequent line of play and there is room for a high degree of skill in doing it.

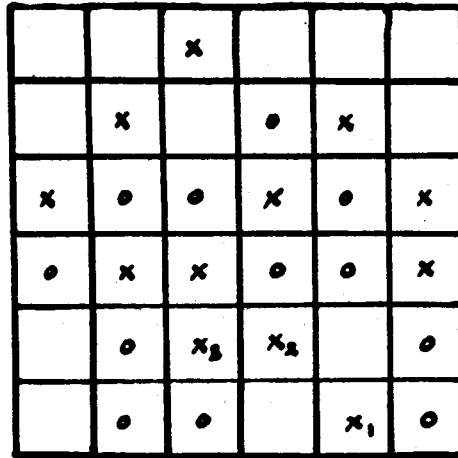


FIG. 2.

The rule is that the two players make alternate moves. If a move brings three of the player's sticks into line and adjacent to each other, or (if four of the sticks were previously in line and adjacent) leaves

three in line and adjacent, then the player can remove from the board any one of his opponent's sticks which he may select.

This bringing of sticks into line and the resulting removal of one of the opponent's sticks is called a *ta'na*. Thus, in Fig. 2, by moving the stick X 1 into line with X 2 and X 3 the player makes a *ta'na* and can remove any one of the sticks O.

If a player gets five sticks into the positions indicated in Fig. 3 he is said to have a "bull" (ثور) which yields a *ta'na* every time he moves the stick X 1 up or down, and, if it is beyond his opponent's power to break up the bull, he mocks him, saying, "Dejj! Tsp tsp, tsp, tsp,

tsp—" these being the sounds the herdsboy makes to cause a bull to lead the herd straight ahead. Tactful remarks to a defeated opponent, in fact, are no part of the Homrawi convention. When the issue is no longer in doubt, for instance, he will pronounce the jingle "Jebbid Hateibak: Biga li'eibak"—"Pull up your little sticks: your game's up."

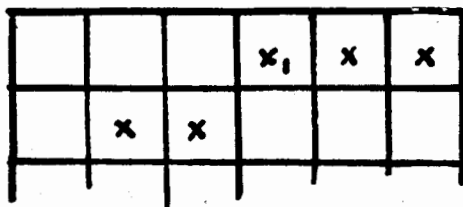


FIG. 3.

GAMES OF COUNTER-DISTRIBUTION

1. *Mangala or Um El Bagara, or The Cow Game (Northern Tribes)*

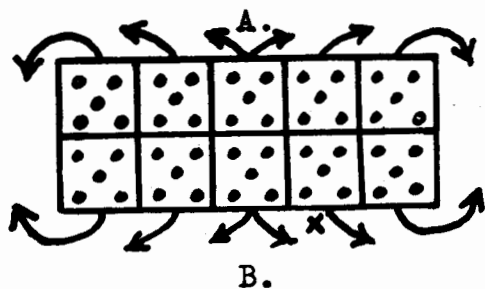
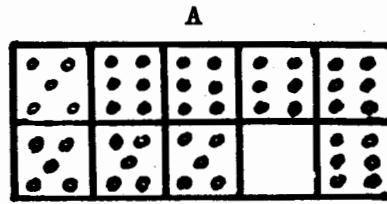


FIG. 4.

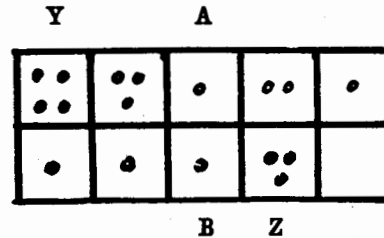
The two players, A and B, have each five "houses", usually hollows in the sand, each of which initially contains five counters (Fig. 4). The player to begin picks up the five counters of any one of his own houses, and moving in the direction indicated by the

arrows, drops the counters one by one into successive houses. Thus, if B should begin to play and should decide to start with the house marked

X, the result of his first move would be as shown in Fig. 5. It will be observed that if the contents of the middle one of the five houses be taken up, they can be distributed in either direction, at the player's choice, while counters from a house to the right of the middle one move to the right, and vice versa.



It is now A's turn to move, and, though the players are still only manoeuvring for position, it is time to indicate their ultimate object. This is, that the last counter dropped shall fall into a house of the opponent's, containing already one counter or three counters. In either case the player removes from the board both the afore-mentioned last counter and the one counter or three counters on to which it falls. Moreover, if he scores with his last counter he is allowed to score with the penultimate counter also, if it falls on one or three; and if with the penultimate, then with the last but two also, if it falls on one or three; and so on. Thus at a late stage of the game, illustrated in Fig. 6, if the player A moves with the contents of the house marked Y, he will "eat" all the contents of B's houses. At house Z he is said to have eaten a cow, and in each of the other houses, a calf.



A very important rule is that a single counter in a house cannot be moved. Thus the only way to protect a calf from being eaten is to make a move which leaves a second counter in the house with it. Anyone who cares to try it will find that a successful "end-game" depends solely on judicious appreciation of this rule. When all movement is over, each player removes such single counters as remain in his houses and the winner is the one who has taken most counters.

2. *Um El Tuweisat, or The Little Goat Game*

This is a children's version of Um El Bagara. Each player has three houses, and each house contains three counters. Single counters are

"eaten" in the manner described for Um El Bagara and directions of movements of counters are on the same principle as for that game.

3. *Kâra*

This is a Bagara game of something the same kind as the last two described.

Any number of players take part and each has three houses and a store for what he "eats" (a *makkâla*, plural *makâkîl*). Each house contains initially seven counters, generally small balls of dried clay, called collectively *tûb* (bricks).

Fig. 7 shows the board set for four players, MM being the

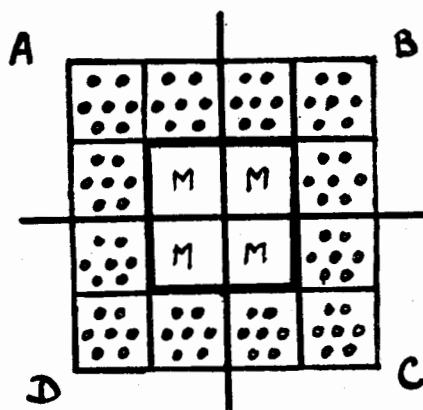


FIG. 7.

Makâkîl. A player moves by picking up the contents of any one of his own houses and distributing the counters one at a time, round the board in an anti-clockwise direction. If his move comes to an end in an opponent's house or in the right-hand one of his own houses and also leaves two or four or six counters in any of the opponents' houses then the player "eats" any such households of two, four, or six and the

move passes to the next player. The winner is the person whose *makkâla* contains most counters at the end of the game.

If there are several players, any given house is apt to become very full of counters, with the result that it is difficult to foresee the effect of moving its contents. This explains an otherwise obscure allusion to the celebrated Sheikh Musa Mâdibbo, late Nazir of the Rizeigat tribe, as "bahr Kâra gharîg"—"a deep sea of Kâra". The Nazir's reputation was that he would sit in council with his sheikhs and elders, and would listen to all their opinions, but would not disclose his own, so that the result of the "meglis" was as unpredictable as that of moving the contents of a very full house at Kâra.

4. *Um El Banât, or The Game of Daughters (Kababish)*

This game is for two players, each of whom has six houses containing initially four counters each (Fig. 8). It introduces a new principle in counter-distribution, in that a player, picking up the contents of one of his own houses and dropping them one by one in an anti-

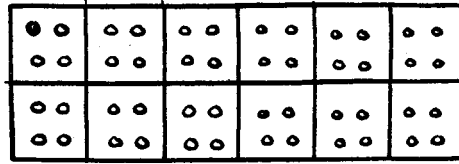


FIG. 8.

clockwise direction, does not end his move with the fall of the last counter unless (a) it falls in to a house previously empty, or (b) it falls on to three others in one of his opponent's houses. In other cases he picks it up, together with any other counters contained in the house into which it fell, and goes on distributing these counters, often moving several times round the board, until he is brought to a standstill by one of the happenings (a) or (b). In case (b) the player is said to have "begotten a daughter" in his opponent's house and the house has a mark put against it to indicate the fact. The "birth" to one player or the other, of one or more "daughters", introduces a new factor into the game, and that the determining factor. For if, now, A can so move that the last counter dropped falls into the house of B's daughter, he removes it and one other from that house and from the board *and plays again*. In doing so he is said to "peck" her (قَدَّ). Also, if either player drops the last counter from his hand into the house of one of his own daughters, he is said to have "given her a drink" or to have "nourished" (رَبَّى) her and his move stops.

Daughters, it will be observed, are a source of profit and loss to their father, but all are not equally so. Fig. 9 shows a stage of the game at which B has two daughters in houses D 1 and D 2. If A is to move, he can begin with the two counters in house X, drop one into W and the other into D 1, from which he then removes two from the board. Moving again, he can pick up

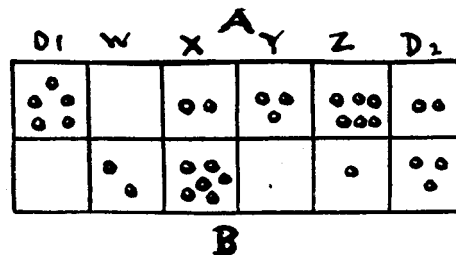


FIG. 9.

the one counter just dropped into W, drop it into D1 and again remove two. Playing again from Y, he again removes two, after which he can again score by playing from W.

D 2, on the other hand, is much more immune from "pecking". It is true that by moving from Z, A can "peck" at her once, but he cannot repeat the process, while, also, practically every move which B makes adds to the counters in D 2.

The contents of a daughter's house cannot be picked up and moved, so that a stage of the game is completed when the board is left with no counters in it except those in the various daughter's houses. Each player then removes the counters pertaining to his own daughters, adds them to those previously removed by him from the board and divides them into fours. In the result, B has perhaps gained eight counters from A. The game is, however, by no means ended at this point. The board is reset, only this time B has eight houses and A only our, a state of affairs indicated by a deep groove in the sand (Fig. 10).

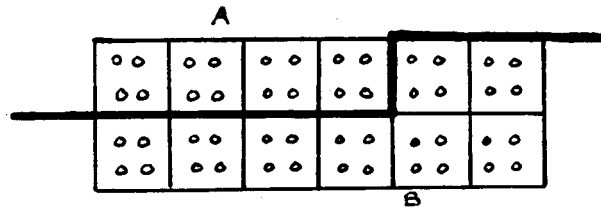


FIG. 10.

If B has gained three counters, over and above some multiple of four from A, he borrows one more from A to make up a complete house, but if B has gained a multiple of four plus two counters or one, A borrows these back to make up his last house.

Play proceeds until one player has driven the other off the board altogether, and therefore it may last for hours; for as the result of the second stage of play A may win back a house or more, and so the fortunes of the game may fluctuate for many successive stages.

In practice, it requires great skill, or, rather swift and accurate calculation, to foresee the result of a given move. Some Arabs are quite extraordinarily good at it, notably Sheikh Ali El Tom, the Nazir of the Kababish, who, with hardly any hesitation, will accurately predict the result of a move which takes him three or four times round the board.

GAMES WITH DICE

1. *Li'b El Merafīb, or The Hyæna Game (Kababish)*

The hyæna game is both more ingenious and more amusing than any race game played with dice by English children which I have seen.

The dice consist of three pieces of split stick, each about six inches long, on which the bark has been left, so that each stick has one rounded green surface and one flat white one.

The three sticks are thrown up and may fall :—

Two green and one white, which is called a *tāba*,

Two white and one green, which is called *yômên*,

Three white, which is called *rabî*,

Three green, which is called *séta*.

The board is made by scooping a spiral groove in the sand and making a random number of hollows along its course. The bigger the spiral, of course, the longer the game will last. Fig. 11 shows a board set for four players. The middle hollow X is the well. The hollow Y at the other end of the spiral, is the village. The sticks 1, 2, 3, 4 represent the mothers of the players.

The following are the rules of play :—

1. The players throw the dice in turn, each player throwing time after time, during his turn, until he is brought to a standstill by a throw of "yômên", when he hands the dice to the next player.
2. A player has to throw a *tāba* to enable his mother to leave the village at all, just as in race games played by English children one must throw a six to start.
3. After she has left the village, a *tāba* having been thrown by her

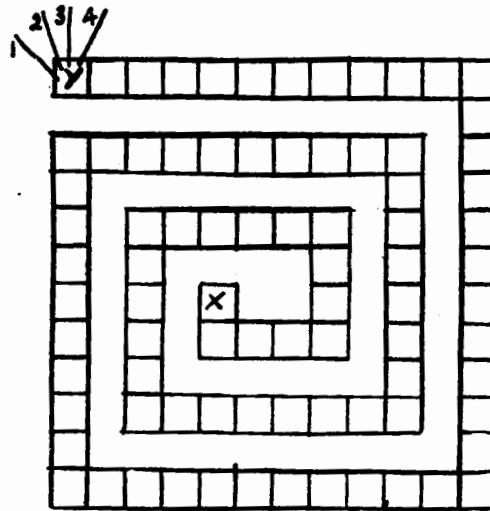


FIG. 11.

son, she moves two "days" (i.e. hollows) for a throw of *yômên*, four "days" for a *rabî* and six for a *séta*. She does not move for a *tâba*, which is, however, marked down on the sand to the credit of the player, for a use which will appear presently.

4. A mother must reach the well exactly. Thus if she is an odd number of "days" away from it she will arrive one day short of it, and may then use one of her son's credit of *tâbas* to complete the journey.

5. At the well, she requires two *tâbas* to drink, one to wash her clothes and two to come away with. If a player has not this number of *tâbas* to his credit, his mother has to wait until he has scored them. If she has to wait there, however, the player is allowed to mark down for later use any other scores of two, four, or six, which he may throw in the meantime.

6. On coming down from the well, the women make their way back, in the same manner, to the village, from which the first to arrive lets loose the hyæna.

7. The hyæna (represented by the player whose mother first arrived at the village) is enabled to leave it on payment of two *tâbas*, after which he moves towards the well at double rates, i.e. four "days" for a "yômên", eight for a "rabî", twelve for a "séta".

8. Arrived at the well he is held up, for it costs him ten *tâbas* to drink and come away again.

9. On leaving the well he still moves at double rates and eats any woman whom he overtakes. He cannot eat before drinking.

In this game, the hyæna may be said to be the winner, but there are degrees of defeat. The player whose mother gets eaten by the hyæna is rudely mocked by the one who manages to get the old lady safely back to the village.

2. *Sîja(t) El Tâba.*

The board for this game consists of six rows of ten "houses", or of four rows if a shorter game is desired. The two players, A and B, each have six counters, disposed as shown in Fig. 12. Those of A (XX) move as indicated by the single-headed arrows and those of B (OO) as indicated by the double-headed arrows.

It will be noticed that the counters of the two players, as they move, never meet each other, but may catch each other up.

The dice are thrown, and score, as in the Hyæna game, a throw of "yômên" stopping the player. *Tâbas* are marked up to a player's credit, and one is required to enable each of his counters to move from its original position. After the counters have begun their course, the player is free to move any one of them, with a view to overtaking the counters of his opponent. A counter is "eaten" when overtaken and removed from the board. Spare "*tâbas*" may be used to assist in overhauling an opponent's counter. The player who "eats" most, wins.

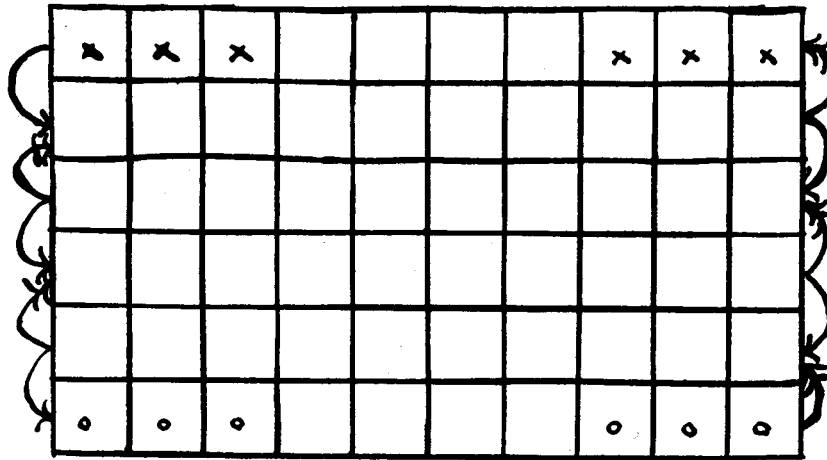


FIG. 12.

There is room for a certain amount of skill in selecting the counter most profitably to be moved after a throw of the dice.

The following is the sort of jingle with which the player will exhort the dice when they are falling badly for him :—

Tîb yâ tâb

Nîdbah leik nâga(t)es-Serâjâb

Semîna wa leiha jî'âb

Be good, Dice !

I'll slaughter for you a *Serâjâbi*-she-camel,

A fat one, with a rump to her.

طيب يا طاب
ندبح لك ناقة السراجاب
سمينة ولها جعاب

PUZZLES

1. *Li'ba(t) Iblis, or The Devil's Game (Kababish)*

Eight hollows are scooped in the sand and four counters put in each (Fig. 13). The propounder of the puzzle tells his victim to pick up two counters from "house" No. 1, he himself picking up the remaining two. This is repeated for houses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. When they come to No. 8 the puzzle-monger asks, "will you take three or one?" and the victim makes his choice and acts on it, the puzzle-monger picking up the remaining one or three, as the case may be. Suppose the choice of the victim to have been three.

FIG. 13.

Each now shakes his double handful of counters, the propounder saying, "give me my little three," and the other, under instructions, "give me my little one."

When the Devil has had due time to work, the puzzle-monger tells the other to put four counters into house No. 1; he himself puts four into No. 2; and so on, alternately, until house No. 7 has been filled. It will then be found that the victim, who chose three counters, has one left in his hand, while the propounder of the puzzle, who took one counter, has three.

The explanation is, of course, simple. When the counters were being picked up, each player had taken up fourteen by the time the choice was offered to the victim who, by choosing three, made the number in his hands up to seventeen. These, when distributed finally by *fours* instead of by *twos*, filled four houses and left one counter over. So also the propounder had fourteen and takes one, making fifteen, which, on redistribution by *fours*, fill three houses and leave three counters over.

This puzzle is regarded as very mysterious by unsophisticated Arabs, and it offers a temporary check to the European.

2. *El Arnab, or The Hare (Kababish)*

The only interest of this puzzle lies in the speculation how anyone ever came to discover its existence. It suggests the idea that some inquisitive mind has been carrying out experiments in counter-distribution, a probability which is increased by the discovery which I made of a somewhat similar puzzle called *El 'Agrab, or The Scorpion*, whose lay-out, however, I have forgotten.

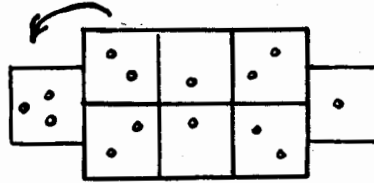


FIG. 14.

Eight hollows are made in the sand and contain counters as in Fig. 14, of which the likeness to a hare will at once be obvious. The "house" containing the three counters, is of course the head. Behind it are the fore-feet, with two counters each; then the loins, with one each; then the hind-feet, with two each; and finally the tail, with one counter.

The puzzle-monger picks up the two counters in the fore-foot marked X, and proceeds to a distribution, in the direction of the arrow, by the method explained for the game *Um El Banât*. That is to say, he drops one counter into the head and the next into the nearside fore-foot; picks up the three counters now in that "house" and drops them one by one into the next three houses, thus reaching the tail; and so on.

The first surprising thing is that it never happens that the last counter to be dropped falls into an empty house.

The second, and this is the point of the puzzle, is that after the counter-distribution has gone twenty-six times round the board but not before, the hare reappears in its original shape.

This puzzle was shown to me by an aged Arab who scattered and picked up, with a dexterity born of long practice, the counters which the well-field provided in profusion. He observed me counting his circuits of the board and, when the hare had duly reappeared, he asked me what the tally came to, and I told him "Twenty-six". "Ah," he said, with a shade of disappointment in his tone, "a clever player can do it in much less."

3. *The Story of the Two Maidens*

A party of five horsemen set out to carry off two maidens who were, however, defended by their two brothers, one on either hand. Fig. 15 shows four hollows in the sand, with counters representing the horsemen in No. 1, the maidens in No. 3, and the brothers in Nos. 2 and 4.

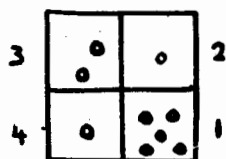


FIG. 15.

The horsemen decide to attack. This is done by picking up the counters from "house" No. 1 and distributing them, counter-clockwise, as in the puzzle of the Hare. When this move is brought to a standstill by the fall of the last counter into an empty house, the state of affairs is found to be as in Fig. 16. It will be observed that the attack has failed. The brothers still stand between the marauders, and their prey.

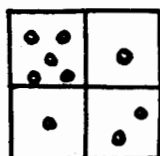


FIG. 16.

At this point, the horsemen are reinforced by five others (Fig. 17) and decide to attack again. This attack is carried out in the same manner as before, but at the end of the counter-scattering the same formation as in Fig. 17 reappears. Again the attack has failed. Further reinforcements now appear, bringing the number of the raiders up to twenty, so that they re-attack with some confidence. The result, however, is another failure. The formation of Fig. 18 reappears after the move is completed.

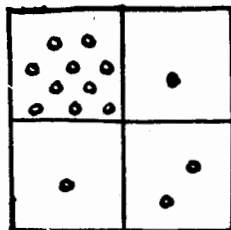


FIG. 17.

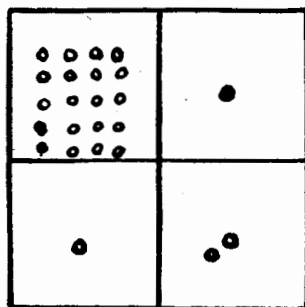


FIG. 18.

Mere weight of numbers being of no avail, the raiding party consults two fikis, on foot, who happen to come along, and these agree to join them (Fig. 19), promising speedy success.

The attack is now made again, in the same manner as before, and very quickly produces the distribution of counters shown in Fig. 20. It will be seen that the promise of the fikis has been completely fulfilled.

Houses 1 and 3 each contain ten of the horsemen and one of the maidens, while houses 2 and 4 each contain one

of the brothers guarded by one of the fikis. The ingenuity of this puzzle seems to raise a presumption of foreign origin, for one can hardly imagine one of our normal Arabs discovering it. It does not, however, seem to be commonly known in Omdurman, for when I wished to refresh my memory of its details, for purposes of this paper, I had to wait until an Arab from the far west happened to come in with animals, before I could get the information I wanted.

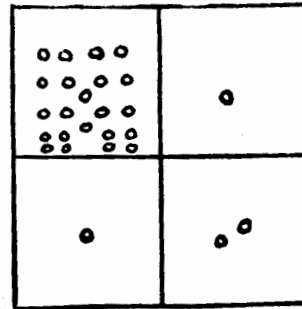


FIG. 19.

This man, by way of digression, was an old acquaintance, a sedentary Arab in origin, but long ago turned nomad, a choice which he defended to me by the apophthegm "The town says to you 'Bring!': the desert says to you 'Take!'" That was eleven years ago, since when increasing wealth in herds has justified his policy.

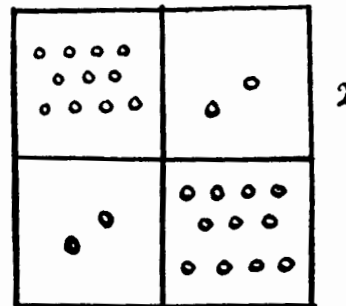


FIG. 20.

4. Changing Camp

The propounder of the puzzle makes a square of five rows of five hollows, whose sides lie north and south, and east and west. It represents an Arab encampment on the move in the rainy season. According to the direction in which it is supposed to be moving, indicated by an arrow, the first row is called

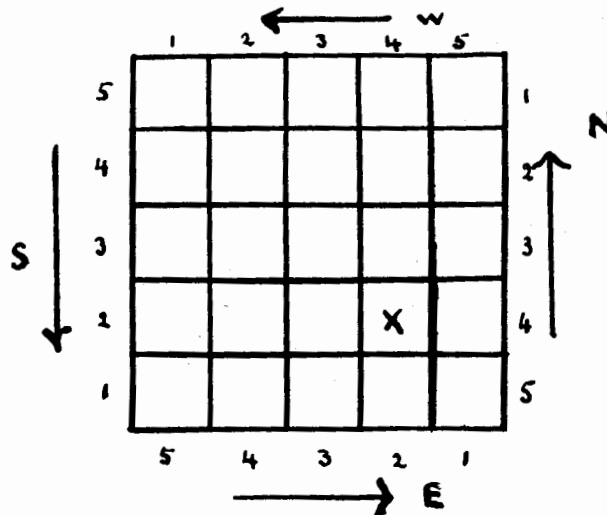


FIG. 21.

the Selaf, No. 2 the Deshar, No. 3 the Da'n, No. 4 the Bagar, No. 5 the Ghanam.

The expert then turns his back and invites the company to agree secretly among themselves on a particular hollow. When they have done so he asks "Going north, where is it?", and supposing that the selected square is the one marked X in the figure, they will answer "Among the Bagar". Then he asks, "Going east, where is it?" and they will answer "Among the Deshar". Turning round he is able to point at once to the chosen square to the astonishment, as a rule, of the beholders, for whom this elementary exercise in Cartesian co-ordinates has a touch of the miraculous.

The white man may be inclined to smile at the simplicity which finds so easy a puzzle marvellous; but if he has lived with the Arabs the bare diagram will call up to his mind a vivid picture of the Arab ferik on the move on some cloudy day in the rainy season, when the desert for the time being was green and blossoming like the rose.

At the head of the procession is the Selaf, the vanguard of youths riding on camels, shouting and singing or galloping wildly after a gazelle which they have put up.

After them comes the Deshar, the herd of camels, male and female—round humped nagas and woolly frisking foals.

Then follows the main body, the Da'n, camels loaded with tents and baggage, and some bearing the 'Utfas, with long tassels swinging and bells jingling as they go.

Immediately behind the Da'n come the Bagar, the cattle, placed there so that if some infant in an 'Utfa becomes clamorous it can be appeased with milk straight from the cow.

Last of all the Ghanam, the sheep and goats, doing their best to straggle after the green grass, but kept going by vociferous children possessing a fluency of abuse far beyond their years.

Thus reminiscing, the town-dweller may be tempted to forget both the comforts of his present surroundings and the discomforts of the nomad life, and to recall favourably the Arab curse, "Allah yusak-kinak el mudun!"—"May God cause you to live in cities!"

DIDINGA CUSTOMARY LAW

By J. H. Driberg

THESE notes were suggested by, and to a certain extent are based on, O'Sullivan Bey's *Dinka Customs and Laws*, published in 1907. They do not pretend to be more than outline notes which it is hoped will prove of service to officials stationed among the Didinga, and it should be clearly understood that they do not apply to the Longarim, whose code in many respects differs very widely.

The "Sacrifice of Atonement", on the importance of which O'Sullivan Bey insists, is an equally essential factor among the Didinga. All transgressions, whether compensated for by livestock or not, must also be purged by sacrifice, generally of a goat or a sheep, but it may be by a bull. Without this sacrifice, however much compensation has been paid, the guilt nevertheless remains and the guilty party would be held responsible for any subsequent repercussions of his offence.

There are no permanent judges or other officials of a "court". Any experienced or intelligent man, elder or youth, may be asked to arbitrate in a dispute and his decision is accepted as final and generally his judgment is carried into execution without delay. No fees are payable to the arbitrator, who only expects his food and beer for the period during which he is engaged on the dispute. It is not necessary for an arbitrator to be a chief, though in the nature of things he generally is, and one who has earned a reputation for acumen and discernment is in great demand as an arbitrator, irrespective of his rank or age and of the distance at which he lives from the village of the disputants.

Property.—No minor can hold property. Women are allowed to own property both in their own right and in trust for minors. Even a grown man has to ask his mother's permission to dispose of an animal. With the right to own property women are also entitled to sue in offences relating to property.

Marriage.—The system is polygamous and strictly exogamous.

There is no infant marriage, and no girl can be compelled to marry against her wish, but she is sometimes liable to a persuasion from her relatives, which is little short of compulsion. This persuasion, however, does not depend on the size of the dowry offered, as not infrequently an unwelcome suitor offering a larger dowry is refused in preference to a suitor of moderate means but more acceptable socially. Her mother may refuse to approve the girl's choice, and the suitor then tries every means possible to induce her to change her attitude ; but, if unsuccessful in this, he gives up the girl, as the marriage cannot take place without the mother's consent. A man may either try and find a bride for himself or be directed to a particular girl by his father, or, more often, by his mother. A bride of his own choice may be vetoed by his father or by his mother, but his mother's veto is the more powerful. In face of this veto he tries to persuade them to his view through the medium of other relatives, but if his mother remains obdurate he must give the girl up.

When a definite proposal of marriage has been made, the girl's family inquires minutely into the suitor's antecedents to ensure that there is no clan connexion which would be a bar to the marriage, a point which is readily decided by ascertaining whether or not any dowry cattle have ever passed between their respective families. When this point has been satisfactorily settled, the girl's family details to the suitor all the relatives who by custom are entitled to claim dowry from the suitor, who can thus readily estimate what amount of dowry will be required from him. No dispute can arise on this point as the various possible claims are all defined by custom. The following are entitled to dowry :—

Mother and father.—Six head of cattle, called *ten chik chyethak*, "cattle of the house".

Paternal uncle.—Three or four head of cattle. (If there are more than one, the eldest receives one cow and calf : the second one heifer : the third and fourth one bull each. Any others have no claim on the suitor, but subsequently receive a calf born to the *ten chik chyethak*.)

Maternal uncle.—Three head of cattle, five goats, six spears. (If there are more than one, the eldest receives one cow and calf,

one goat and one spear : the second one cow and calf, one goat and one spear : the third one bull, one goat and one spear.)

Maternal aunt.—One heifer, two goats and one hoe. (The second and third would each receive one goat and one hoe.)

Paternal aunt.—One heifer, two goats and one hoe. (The second and third would each receive two goats and one hoe. A paternal step-aunt would receive the same as a paternal aunt.)

Maternal grandmother.—One cow and heifer calf, one goat and kid and one hoe.

Brother.—Three head of cattle, five goats and one spear. (The second would receive two head of cattle, five goats and one spear, and the other brothers one cow each, but if they are unmarried and still living with their father, they are entitled to nothing, but must look to the increase of the *ten chik chyethak*.)

Mother's sister's son.—Two cows, one spear and two goats.

Father's sister's son.—Two cows, one spear and two goats.

Maternal uncle's son.—Two cows, one spear and two or three goats.

Sister's husband.—A few goats.

Clansmen who attend the ceremony are entitled to one goat or one spear each.

"*Friends*" of the girl's family may ask for something and generally get it, but this is not compulsory.

Dowry due to minors is paid in trust to their mothers. The dowry is usually paid before the man is allowed to take his bride—and the larger part must be so paid—but if the suitor has not the full amount ready he is allowed to defer payment of the balance provided that he has adequate prospects in the way of female relatives on whose marriage he would receive cattle.

The bull which is killed at the marriage feast is apportioned as follows :—One shoulder to the girls of the bride's family ; one shoulder to the female cousins of the bride ; one leg to the bride's paternal aunt ; one leg to the bride's maternal aunt ; *nyodo*¹ to the bride's mother ; one *nyariket*¹ to the owner of the kraal in which the bull was herded. The rest is eaten indiscriminately.

¹ For the significance of these terms see note 1, p. 172.

There is no survival or anything to indicate a former practice of marriage by capture, and no simulation of rape. The bride is not forcibly abducted in simulation of capture as is done, for instance, by the Lango. Sometimes she hides in another house and has to be found, but this is due to a kind of coyness, either feigned or real, rather than to reluctance. After the feasting the bride accompanies her husband to his mother's house, who may or may not vacate it, and the marriage is there consummated. It may be remarked *en passant* that there is no feeling that modesty is outraged by the act of sexual intercourse taking place in a room occupied at the time by the husband's parents, and similarly a lover may cohabit with an unmarried girl in the latter's house even if her mother is present.

The bride returns to her mother's house to give birth to her first child, and after the child is born her husband builds her a house and starts his separate village. The girl, now in the full sense a wife, is allowed great freedom, and frequently visits her parents, often for long periods. On these visits she lives in her mother's house, where her husband is always welcomed as a visitor, but now that the girl is a wife her mother vacates her house when her son-in-law is present.

There is, however, no prohibition against the meeting of a man and his relations-in-law. He has to cultivate for his wife's mother annually for three or four years (as he had to do while he was still her daughter's lover) and subsequently is always available to do odd jobs at her request. Accordingly ceremonial avoidance is out of the question. But this is not to say that the relations between a man's relatives-in-law are normal; this is far from being the case. A man, for instance, may not share a pipe smoked by his father-in-law, but the main point is that it is essential for him to show his relations-in-law every possible respect. Consequently he must watch his own behaviour, and not risk incurring by thoughtless conduct a reputation for levity or ineptitude, as this would be a slur on his wife's relations for allowing a girl of their family to be married to a reputed fool. A buffoon before marriage must foreswear his buffoonery after the wedding. Respect includes submissiveness and an always courteous demeanour to his relations-in-law. A case in point is worth recording. A married B's niece and some years later B, who was in the wrong, so provoked A that he struck him a

trivial blow. Now A had a perfectly good case against B (it was a matter of some property), but he forebore from pressing his case and voluntarily paid B a bull, which was killed and eaten, to atone for his trivial and justifiable assault, and by tribal custom he could do nothing else, as to assault one's relations-in-law is a heinous breach of good manners, whatever the provocation.

For the same reason the interminable dowry disputes which are the main feature in the "courts" of neighbouring tribes do not here exist, as in the first place there is rarely ground for dispute and in the second it would be the height of bad form to sue your wife's relations. Since administration was introduced a few such disputes have been brought up for arbitration, but the plaintiff has in each case been refused a hearing by chiefs and the assembled commoners alike, and has been severely reprimanded for his breach of the customary respect due to relations-in-law. Similarly a girl's relatives are barred from suing for any outstanding portion of the dowry; they must importune the bridegroom till his wife insists on his paying or must wait till he has the cattle if none are available at the time. It is therefore incumbent on the government not to give a hearing to any case of this nature, as a precedent once started would lead to a dissolution of the bonds between relations-in-law and eventually to a dissolution of the marriage ties.

A further mark of respect as between relations-in-law (all those who are embraced by the term *komonech*) is the necessity to abstain from the use of their respective birth (or, as they say, great) names. No man may use the "great" name of any of his relations-in-law, including the name of his wife's mother, whether speaking to them directly or of them to others; he must use one of their numerous other names, war-name, bull-name, and so on, or address or speak of them as "son of so-and-so". If his own name is common to one of his relations-in-law, he must also cease from using that. A girl of his family who possesses the same name as his wife's mother would also be prohibited from employing her "great" name, and would be called by one of her other names. Should a man carelessly or under the influence of drink use the "great" name of a relation-in-law (a very rare occurrence), he would have to pay a goat, which would be sacrificed and eaten by the relation in question.

I have said that there is no infant marriage, but this statement, though in principle correct, must be qualified, as in times of severe stress such as a famine, a man, though it is contrary to the usual practice, may pledge a young daughter for two or three head of cattle, which he will use for the maintenance of his family to eke out their food supply. It is rarely, however, that a girl so betrothed will consent to the marriage when she is of age. What then happens is this. A pledges his infant daughter to B for, say, three cows, but when she has grown up she is married to C. B claims his cattle from A, who as there is now no relationship-in-law as between himself and B will probably refuse to refund the animals, which however, will be made good to B by C, the girl's husband, at the instance of A. A however, even after the cattle have been repaid, must sacrifice a sheep at B's house in order to prevent B from bewitching his daughter and causing her death or sterility.

An inherited wife is brought to the heir's village and lives there in the same way as any other wife. This is even the case when a man inherits the wife of his maternal uncle, though any children who may be born to him belong not to himself, but to the deceased's family. The woman, it should be added, is allowed to select her future husband from the claimants who are entitled to inherit her.

An inheritance fee is payable, but the amount of this is not fixed, and may vary from a few goats to ten head of cattle. A man who inherits his maternal uncle's wife does not pay the inheritance fee, which is paid by the main heir to the estate, to whom the children of the union will eventually belong.

Dissolution of Marriage.—A man cannot divorce his wife on any grounds, as it is presumed that he knew her sufficiently well before marriage to estimate her character and, if he made a mistake, it is his own fault. He cannot even divorce her for sterility or witchcraft.

A woman, however, may leave her husband before she bears him a child in wedlock, for incompatibility, or any other reason, and his dowry is returned to him. After she has borne her husband a child, she may not legitimately divorce him. Actually the marriage tie is taken very seriously and cases of divorce are infrequent. Occasionally if a wife is dissatisfied or flighty and leaves her husband, and no amount

or persuasion can induce her to return to him, her family will consent to return the man's dowry ; but generally the man is prepared to wait even several years in the expectation that his wife will tire of her lover and will return to him, in which case he takes no action either against the lover or to recover his dowry. When however, a husband will not wait or the parties agree to a divorce, the dowry is returned less the fine payable for any children born during the marriage. This fine, though it may appear inequitable in our eyes, is rightly levied, as when the marriage is dissolved the man has no status with the woman, and any children who may have resulted are not considered as having been born in wedlock, and the man is technically presumed to have seduced an unmarried girl, and must pay the same penalty. The correct procedure therefore, is for the girl's family to repay all the dowry, after which the late husband hands back the requisite amount for each child whom he has fathered either from those particular cattle or from others in his possession. This procedure is usually followed, but should the girl's family find it impossible to collect the full dowry they may with the husband's consent deduct what fines are due and hand over the balance. This is, however, a makeshift arrangement which is not strictly correct, and the usual practice is to return the full dowry and to receive back the fine.

The amount payable for a productive seduction is five head of cattle, ten goats, and one bull, which is sacrificed at the house of the girl's mother, but when a girl is married, the sacrificial bull is only killed by her husband for the first child. Accordingly on divorce a husband has to pay five head of cattle and ten goats for the first child, and five head of cattle, ten goats, and one sacrificial bull for any subsequent children.

This practice of paying fines for children on divorce—especially as the children always accompany their mother and their father has no claim on them whatever—might tempt one to the idea that the girl's parents encourage her to keep on dissolving marriage after marriage, with a view to collecting the cattle resultant on childbirth, but this is emphatically not the case. The marriage tie is considered a very strong bond and ensures assistance in time of war, and if a man has trouble with a wife whom he had treated well, he may be sure of

the sympathy and assistance of her family, who will do their utmost to induce her to live with him.

Economically, moreover, the girl's family stands to lose, despite the fines for childbirth, as all the husband's livestock has to be returned except any that are dead, including all the living progeny of the cattle and goats. If possible, the actual animals which were paid as dowry with their progeny have to be recovered—and this involves much work and difficulty, as the dowry has been distributed among many relatives, who have presumably used some or all of the cattle and goats either to marry with or to pay debts, and it is necessary sometimes to ransom a cow which has in this way passed through three or four hands. If some of the dowry cattle cannot be recovered, they must be replaced by others, but generally the husband insists on the recovery of his own animals.

If a bride dies without bearing a child, her family must replace her with a sister or niece or else repay the dowry. If she dies at childbirth, nothing is due from her family, but no blame attaches to her husband for her death.

If a man's wife dies leaving an unweaned child, he obtains a foster-mother, who is afterwards treated as one of his own family, and to whom he makes occasional presents throughout her life. While she is suckling his infant child he presents her with a milch cow, and when the child is eventually weaned he only takes back the calves, leaving her the cow as her own property.

A man marrying a divorced wife treats any children whom she may bring with her as his own children, with whom they have equal rights of inheritance. But if she brings a daughter with her he has no claim when the girl is married to the *ten chik chyethak*, which are the mother's property, as the girl is not her new husband's daughter. She holds these cattle in trust for any son of hers and if she dies without male issue, they are inherited by her daughter or revert to her own family. Her new husband and his own sons have no claim on them.

Seduction.—There is no penalty for the seduction of an unmarried girl unless the seduction is productive, in which case the seducer has to pay a fine (*ngatha*) of five head of cattle and ten goats, which are

divided between the girl's family and her mother's family, and one bull for sacrifice (*logochula*), which is killed in the courtyard of the girl's mother. There is no other ceremony and the man has no claim on the girl's child. If the girl dies at childbirth, he has to pay the full penalty leviable for homicide.

As the compensation is due and levied as soon as the girl is enceinte, and is not delayed till the child is born, there is nothing extra to be paid in the case of twins.

The terms "seducer" and "seduction" are convenient, but do not convey the correct connotation. Pre-marital sexual intercourse carries no stigma and is the invariable preliminary to marriage. No one would think of marrying a girl with whose intimate life he was not fully acquainted, nor would a girl accept one as a husband who had not previously satisfied her as a lover. Before marriage a girl may have as many lovers as she chooses, but it is not considered good form to have more than one at a time. In this matter parents give their daughters every licence in order that she may find by experience a lover who will make her a good husband, and they only exert their authority to repulse one who wishes to be her lover but has not the means or expectations sufficient to enable him to marry her. Generally, productive seduction is followed by marriage, but the penalty already paid is not considered when calculating the amount of the dowry.

Adultery.—An adulterer is severely beaten with clubs and whips, and is deprived of his spears and ornaments, but may not be killed. Should he be killed, whether in sudden anger or after deliberation, the husband is liable to pay his relatives the compensation for homicide. The woman is not punished in any way. For an unproductive act of adultery the husband has no remedy beyond chastisement. If the act of adultery is productive, the adulterer pays the husband the same penalty as for seduction, together with a bull for sacrifice. Nothing extra is exacted for twins, but it is the husband and not the lover who observes the prohibitions relative to the birth of twins. Should a child born of adultery fall ill, the adulterer has to sacrifice a goat in the mother's courtyard. An adulterer, with whom a married woman is living, does not refer to the woman's relatives as *komonech* unless and until the

original marriage is dissolved and he has paid the necessary dowry. Before that their cohabitation is illegitimate and is not recognized.

Rape.—In the case of an unmarried girl, the offence of rape is not considered to exist. It is presumed that she is a willing party to the seduction, and even if she is unwilling or unusually coy a certain amount of violence is permitted to a man, and even her own brothers will not interfere to prevent the violence unless it is likely to be excessive or dangerous. The matter is accordingly treated as seduction, and no compensation is payable unless it is productive, when the usual *ngatha* and the bull of sacrifice is exacted.

No instance is known of the rape of a married woman, as opposed to adultery with her consent. The old men state that such a thing is extremely unlikely to occur, but if it did the man would have to pay full *ngatha*, whether the act was productive or not. As there appears to be no precedent, this ruling is dubious, and I am inclined to the view that in all probability the husband would kill the adulterer and little would be said about it beyond the exaction of mutual sacrifices, the one to purify the woman, the other to remove the danger of blood.

Incest.—If the act of incest is unproductive, the man and the girl are thoroughly flogged. If it is productive the man is killed, and the girl is beaten, but both she and the child are allowed to live. No case of incest has been known in recent years, but this is said to be the traditional punishment.

Inheritance : (a) Property.—The son is the heir and if he is fully grown he takes charge of all the livestock ; if he is still a minor at the time of his father's death, the deceased's brother takes charge of the stock and keeps it in trust for his son. If there are more sons than one, the deceased's brother apportions them the stock, looking after any for minors. The son, if old enough to assume control, or otherwise the deceased's brother, allots each of the wives a few cattle—generally four to the first wife and two each to junior wives. These cattle are intended to provide the wives with milk and to form the nucleus of a herd for the benefit of children who may subsequently be born to

them. Their new husbands may not appropriate the cattle to any other use, nor may the wives dispose of the cattle, either for their own or for their husbands' advantage, without the permission of the deceased's son or brother. Failing a son the inheritance passes to a daughter's son, with the deceased's brother as trustee during his minority. If the deceased left no brother or other responsible male relative, the daughter holds the stock in trust for her son. Failing a daughter's son, the deceased's brother inherits; and failing him the property passes to a sister's son.

A woman's own property, other than property held in trust by her, is inherited by her son, or (secondly) by her daughter in trust for a future son, or failing both by her brother, or finally in default of these claimants by her sister's son. Property held by her in trust for a son is inherited only by a son, and if there is none it reverts to the family from which the property originally came or to which it rightly belongs, as in the case of the cattle allocated to wives on the death of their husband.

(b) *Wives*.—The brother of the deceased is technically the heir, and he apports the wives, who have the main voice in the matter, to the various possible claimants, but not more than one wife to an heir. Failing a brother the claimants in order of priority are the deceased's mother's sister's son, the deceased's sister's son and the deceased's son. The last can only inherit if the woman is young and not his own mother, but if his own mother is old she generally elects to live under the protection of her son without taking another husband. If the mother's sisters' son or the sister's son inherits, the inheritance fee is nearly always paid by the brother or son of the deceased; but whether they pay the inheritance fee themselves or not, any children of the issue belong to, and are treated as the children of, the deceased's brother and inherit from him. In this case the children are named after both the deceased brother's family, and the family of the mother's sister or of the sister, as the case may be.

Should a woman refuse on the death of her husband to live with any of the legal heirs, she must return to her family and the marriage is dissolved. The dowry, less any *ngatha* for children born, is paid into the estate and is distributed with the rest of the property. Should she decide on this course—and this is very rarely done and is generally

disapproved—her children, if any, accompany her and are disinherited.

All property is apportioned about a month after the funeral. A man's step-children, i.e. children of a divorcée, or the illegitimate children of his wife, born before or after their marriage, have equal rights of inheritance with his own children. The illegitimate son of an unmarried daughter is also a legally good heir.

Parenthetically, illegitimate children are named after an ancestor of their mother's family according to sex.

All debts and liabilities are transmitted to the heirs ; these never lapse, and if unfulfilled, may be discharged several generations later. There is no statute of limitations, and a debt or an unpaid compensation, whether due for homicide or for some other cause, is equally binding on a man's great-grandson and, if he has the means, he is bound—and is generally ready—to liquidate his obligations. Similarly the heir can rightfully sue for any debts due to his ancestors or their collaterals, and can claim compensation for any offence committed in the past, however remote, provided that the debt has not been paid or is only partially discharged.

Homicide.—If the killing is accidental or under provocation, the matter is settled by the payment of compensation to the heir of the deceased. If it is intentional and unprovoked, the murderer is killed unless he is able to make good his escape. It would appear from this that the execution of a murderer is not a legal punishment, but an act of retaliation which is condoned, as if a murderer escapes the old men meet and veto any suggestion of a death penalty. After his escape the murderer may return himself and supplicate the clan of the murdered man, when a council is called and, at the instance of the elders, the offence is compounded by compensation. Alternatively the murderer may, and usually does, remain in hiding and his family will intercede for him and, if possible, arrange for compensation. But of greater importance is the intercession of his relations-in-law, as they are probably bound by similar ties to the family of the murdered man and are in a position to exercise very great influence. Once a settlement has been arranged the murderer may return with safety. The compensa-

tion should be paid as soon as possible, but it is sometimes delayed for generations owing to raids and consequent loss of stock, or for some other reason. The debt, however, still continues, and in these cases only is there any liability of a blood feud. Then if a descendant of the murderer refuses to liquidate his ancestor's liability when he has the means, the murdered man's descendant will in all probability settle the matter by a retaliatory murder. This is, however, in no sense legal, but it brings the case to a head and must be settled by compensation by and to both parties. Otherwise there is no indiscriminate killing of the murderer's family or clan.

The murder of a guest, however, or by a guest cannot be settled by compensation. The status of host and guest and of their respective families is sacred, and such a murderer must be executed.

The killing of aliens other than guests is not murder, but an act of war. Consequently homicide by an alien, which is equally an act of war, is avenged by killing one or more members of that alien's tribe, whether related or not, and whether or not implicated.

The compensation payable used to be twenty head of cattle, twenty goats, and a girl, together with three bulls to be sacrificed in the village of the dead man. The amount payable of recent years has been ten head of cattle, ten goats, and a girl, together with two bulls for sacrifice. The girl is married to the heir of the deceased with the intention of cementing the peace made between the two families. Should she refuse to stay with him and marry someone else, all the dowry must be handed over by her family to the heir.

The same compensation is paid if a woman or a child is killed. But if a pregnant woman is killed, double the compensation is required.

If a man kills his own wife, whether by accident or intention (and he would not kill her intentionally save for practising witchcraft), he pays no compensation, but presents her family with one bull for the funeral feast. If there are any children of the union, he may keep the children after giving the woman's family two or three cows.

In the case of homicide particularly, and to a less extent in all misdemeanours requiring compensation, the onus is not on the individual but on the clan. The individual has to meet the claim as far as he can, the deficit being made up by his family or by the clan generally. The

importance of this is obvious, ensuring as it does communal responsibility, and any member of a family or clan who conducts himself in such a way as to endanger the clan's property is censured by the elders of the clan and admonished to mend his ways. Communal responsibility is the surest way to secure individual good conduct.

An injury by which a man is incapacitated for more than ten days and as a result of which he subsequently dies, possibly after a considerable interval, is treated as homicide and the full compensation must be paid.

Under this heading must be placed the magico-religious aspect of blood-guiltiness. Human blood shed in anger invariably attracts the malicious and dangerous spirits and the presence of blood is accordingly a very great danger, laying individuals open to influences which may immediately or at a later date cause their death. Consequently any carelessness where human blood is concerned is a crime which, if death results, even years later, must be expiated in the same way as homicide. It is necessary to recollect that, though the actual cause of death may be smallpox or pneumonia or some other natural disease, it is assumed that the individual would not have contracted this disease had he not been exposed to the malevolence of a spirit who had willed it on him. Blood accidentally shed as, for instance, by a thorn or a stone does not come into this category. Instances will best illustrate this aspect of homicide.

If two men quarrel and shed blood, however little, each has to sacrifice a sheep or a goat; or if one of them is a notoriously quiet or inoffensive man and the other clearly the aggressor, only the latter need sacrifice.

If with the blood of violence upon him a man wishes to enter a village, either his own or another's, he must first sacrifice a goat at the entrance to the village and scatter its intestinal dung over the village. Merely to wash the blood from himself is not sufficient.

If he carelessly enters the village without sacrificing, he must sacrifice at once to try to avert all possible misfortune, but if a death occurs there in the next few years he is nevertheless responsible and must pay the compensation for homicide.

If he goes to the men's club outside the village enclosure with unpurified blood and eats with them he is severely flogged and must

sacrifice, but even so if any of those present dies in the next few years he is liable for the full compensation.

If a man enters cultivation with unpurified blood on him or if he sheds blood in or near cultivation, he must sacrifice a sheep or a goat in the cultivation and scatter the intestinal dung over the crops, which would otherwise die.

Should a man impure from blood milk a cow it would either dry up or die unless he sacrificed a goat. Even so, if it dies he has to replace the animal.

It is probably for the same reason, viz., blood, that a woman is secluded after parturition—for three days for a male child and for four days for a female. Anyone breaking this prohibition and entering the woman's courtyard must at once sacrifice a goat, and if there is a death subsequently, he is responsible for the payment of full compensation as for homicide.

Hurt.—If blood is shed, it is necessary to sacrifice a goat, which all present eat, but for simple injuries or common assault no compensation is paid. Compensation is only paid for the following injuries, whether accidental or intentional, and in all cases a sheep or a goat must be sacrificed to purify the blood shed, and the intestinal dung is rubbed on the injured party as a safeguard against malicious spirits.

A broken arm or leg, one cow.

One eye, two cows.

Two eyes, emasculation, twenty head of cattle, twenty goats, and one girl (now ten head of cattle, ten goats, and one girl), i.e. the same compensation as for homicide. The injured man does not marry the girl, but all the dowry paid for her marriage is made over to him by her family.

Any injury done by a man's family or property is his responsibility. Thus a cow accidentally knocked over a child and slightly injured his hip. The owner of the cow gave it to the boy's father in settlement.

Theft.—For ordinary theft, as of goats, grain, and small articles, there is no punishment beyond flogging; the stolen article must be returned or replaced. If ornaments or skins or other personal belongings

are stolen for purposes of witchcraft, the case is not one of theft, but of witchcraft, and the culprit is punished for the latter offence.

In the case of cattle, if the owner finds the stolen cattle with the thief, the cattle are returned without any penalty. If the owner comes upon the thief after he has killed one of his animals and is eating it, he may kill the thief or arrest and place him in the stocks till he has made good any missing animals. A bull missing must be replaced by a heifer. If there are more thieves than one, each has to pay one cow for each stolen animal which has been killed or is missing.

Ordeal for theft.—If a man is accused of theft on inconclusive evidence and denies it, resort is made to an ordeal (known as *gatan*). The accused man produces a goat which is killed by the old men in the ceremonial fashion, i.e. by stabbing it in the small of the back. It is opened at the wound and the liver and entrails are taken out. The accused and all present drink the blood and roast and eat the liver and entrails, cutting them up with an arrow. The goat is then cut up and eaten in the usual way, but the skin is cut up and eaten with the flesh. If he is guilty the accused man will die of dysentery within the year. However, if he falls ill during that period, he may have the curse of the ordeal removed on admitting the theft and paying up its value. When this has been done a sheep is sacrificed by the old men by stabbing it in the stomach. The contents of its intestines are mixed with water, and after all present have washed their hands in it, the liquid is sprinkled on the sick man and he is free of the curse and will recover. The sheep is then eaten.

On the other hand, as sometimes happens, a claimant sustains a false claim with circumstantial evidence and a man may have to hand over a disputed cow which he knows is rightly his own property. In such a case he will cut off the tip of the tail and put it in an anthill. If the cow has been wrongly transferred, it will waste away and die. If, however, he does this maliciously to a cow which he knows belongs to someone else, he must replace it if it dies. This is not classed in the category of witchcraft.

Witchcraft.—The practice of witchcraft is very prevalent and is also associated, but not invariably, with a knowledge and use of poison.

The evil eye is greatly feared, but belongs to a separate branch of witchcraft (*ralinit*), while to witchcraft proper (*boüenit*) is attributed the habit of bestiality, presumably rare sexual abnormalities committed by half-witted though not insane individuals with cows and goats.

If a wizard desires your death, he will dance by night at your door, as is customary among all pagan tribes; if it is your crops he wishes to injure he will dance in your crops, not necessarily by night only. The practice of bestiality is to injure your livestock, and you know that they are bewitched, as your cows will fail suddenly of milk for no cause and the animals will grow thin and lose weight. The dead are also said to be disinterred by wizards and they are fond of dancing by new graves. The psychology of witchcraft as practised here is of great interest, but this is not the place to discuss it, and it is sufficient to say that witchcraft should be considered a disease rather than a crime. The exponents are all of a highly-strung, hysterical type, often half-witted, and capable of an excess of self-delusion, even to the extent of believing that, when they dance in cultivation, they are by their powers made invisible to others.

If a man catches a wizard performing his dances, the wizard invariably supplicates him for compassionate treatment and ransoms himself for a spear or an axe or a bracelet, which his captor hides carefully away. Despite his promises to reform, a wizard is not able to restrain himself and again dances. On each occasion that he is captured he ransoms himself with some small piece of personal property, which is carefully secreted by his captor. As time goes on he gets the reputation of being a wizard and he is seized and a council is called. At this meeting all the evidence is produced and reinforced by the property paid from time to time by the wizard for his ransom. He is sentenced to death and hanged—the only punishment possible—and all his livestock is confiscated and distributed among the people whom he has injured. If he resists arrest, he is speared and the council is called to judge on the evidence after his death. The wizard's relatives are summoned and shown the evidence, which is sufficient proof for them. A man would kill his own relative or his wife for witchcraft, and a wizard's relatives never cause trouble at or after his execution. He is buried in the same way as everyone else, and one of his goats is

sacrificed at the funeral, and if he has no goat, a goat is bought with his spear.

It is universally believed that a wizard can transmit his powers to another, with or without the latter's knowledge, by causing him to drink a certain drug secreted in a pot of beer or honey. If on arrest a condemned wizard states that he was originally innocent of the art and that a certain person gave him the witchcraft in a pot of beer and that thus he involuntarily became a wizard, moderate men will remit the death penalty (though it still remains a legal sentence) on condition that he divulges the name of the principal wizard. If he refuses to do so, he is executed. If he indicates the principal wizard, they may set him at liberty, keeping, however, all his livestock, and then they execute instead the principal wizard. But if they disregard his information and execute him, his relatives will either secure compensation for his death from the principal wizard or (as is more usual) kill the latter and seize all his property.

Defamation.—The penalty for defamation is a goat or a cow, according to the seriousness of the libel, paid in compensation to the person so libelled. For a false accusation of witchcraft the compensation payable is the same as for homicide, as such a charge, if unrebutted, would entail the death penalty.

Loans.—The loan of a small he-goat must be repaid by a she-goat ; a large he-goat is repaid by a bull ; a bull by a heifer. She-goats, heifers and cows are rarely loaned, and are repaid without increase. Sometimes a man will accept a large bull in settlement of a debt of a heifer or a cow, if the debtor cannot pay him anything else, but if he accepts this the settlement is final and cannot be reopened at a later date.

Reference must be made to the practice of the neighbouring Bira ¹ in the matter of loans, as their procedure is occasionally adopted by the Didinga. The correct Didinga practice is that a heifer is paid for the loan of a bull and the transaction ends there. But by Bira practice

¹ An Acholi nickname generally adopted by Europeans as the tribal name. They call themselves Lokathan and are called Locheka by the Didinga.

the debtor pawns a heifer with his creditor until such time as it bears a heifer calf. When this calf is weaned he takes his original heifer back. If bull calves are born, the debtor takes these away, leaving his pawned animal until it produces the necessary heifer. It is very essential to bear this distinction in mind as there is a tendency now to claim refunds in accordance with Bira custom on debts paid in the past by Didinga practice. For instance, some ten years ago, A, a Didinga, borrowed a bull from B, and repaid him a heifer. The matter is legally closed. Now A, seeing that the heifer has probably produced half a dozen calves, conceives the idea that he may be able to carry off a bluff and claims under Bira law that he should have back all the animals save one heifer calf. It is essential therefore to ascertain clearly under what code the original settlement was made.

A cow or heifer paid either in settlement of a loan or as dowry or for some other reason, if it dies before calving and if its carcase is returned, is replaced by another animal. A bull is replaced at any time, if it dies, on return of the meat and hide to the donor.

If an animal dies which has been entrusted to your custody, its owner must be apprised at once to enable him to examine the carcase and to take the meat and hide. If the death is not reported, the animal must be replaced by you on the same terms as a loan. But if the owner is absent, a friend or relative must be informed, and you may either eat the meat and pay the owner one goat in settlement or sell the meat for a goat and hand it to the owner.

An animal of which you have the charge can only be returned to the person who entrusted you with it. Even if he is an agent of the owner, the animal cannot be handed over to the owner except through his agent.

Animals, especially bulls, are generally borrowed for food. A party of young men decide that they wish to eat a bull and borrow an animal either from one of themselves or from someone else. The actual killing of the animal is a matter of some ceremony, accompanied by the killer's bull-song, and consequently the one who has the honour of killing it has to pay the heifer due for the loan: its value is not shared by the other participants of the feast. When the animal has been killed certain portions are set aside for distribution according to convention:—

(1) *Labalap*¹ and *nyodo*¹ to the killer, who has to give the latter to his mother-in-law, or, if he has not one, to his mother; (2) *Lomaichar*¹ to the old men. If they are not present, the killer takes the meat to the village for them; (3) one *nyariket*¹ to the owner of the kraal in which the bull was kept.² The other *nyariket* is usually asked for by one of the young men to take to his mother-in-law or mother, and it is bad form for the killer to refuse the request. The rest of the meat is eaten indiscriminately.

Mischief.—(1) A deliberate act of arson is unknown, but crops and huts are occasionally burnt by carelessness. Damage to crops is compensated for by a few goats or a cow, according to the extent of the damage. A cow is the usual compensation for the burning of a house.

(2) The giraffe is supposed to be spiritually inimical to standing crops, and consequently no giraffe skin or meat can be taken into cultivation. Apart from cultivation there is no danger and the meat is eaten, but giraffe-skin shields and sandals and whisks of giraffe's hair are strictly prohibited from cultivation. Anyone transgressing this rule must sacrifice a goat in the cultivation and scatter the intestinal dung over the crops, which would otherwise fail.

(3) No one may wash himself in a pool of standing water at which cattle drink, as such an act is thought to bring disease on the cattle. The water must be drawn and carried to a reasonable distance from the pool. No sacrifice is required from a transgressor, but he is flogged and mulcted of a bull which is eaten by the users of the pool.

(4) Anyone watering sick cattle at a pool used by non-infected herds or grazing infected cattle where others habitually graze or knowingly moving infected cattle to non-infected areas is flogged and fined a bull which is eaten by the owners of the cattle endangered by this breach of quarantine.

¹ I regret that I do not know the English equivalent of these anatomical terms. Roughly, *labalap* means the meat over the stomach, *nyodo* the stomach, *lomaichar* the thigh, and by *nyariket* is meant the meat on the flank extending from and including the lowest rib to the hip joint.

² It should be noted that owners do not keep more than a few of their cattle in their own custody. They are entrusted to different friends and relatives for reasons which do not require discussion here. Whenever any animal is killed, the owner of the kraal in which it is kept is always entitled to 1 *nyariket*.

Territorial rights.—These mainly consist of grazing and watering rights, the whole country being divided into grazing areas which are controlled by the various communities, geographical units not clans. Permission may be obtained by individuals to graze and water cattle in areas to which they do not belong, but infringement of territorial rights without prior permission entails a severe flogging.

There are four recognized ranks or titles: *kabu*, *alan*, *bang ti lotu*, and *bang t'olu*. The *kabu* was originally the head of the *kabuchet* or clan, but that significance has long since passed and the followers of a *kabu* now generally include several clans, though his own clan predominates. Only in the initiation ceremonies does he retain his old function of a clan leader. His modern functions are much more those of a war-leader and a civil chief.

The *alan* is now almost indistinguishable from a *kabu*, but possibly is a man of less importance. In the past he was probably the elected or self-made war-leader as contrasted with the *kabu*, the hereditary clan-head.

The *bang t'olu* (owner of a village or settlement) is a hereditary title, and his duties are mainly religious. He must try to prevent sickness reaching his settlement, and must purify it after an epidemic. He is also responsible for success in hunting which is secured by magico-religious rites.

None of these three has any territorial rights, which are entirely vested in the *bang ti lotu*, the owner of clan lands. His title is hereditary and he is responsible for all the cultivation in the area which he controls. Members of other clans and communities have to obtain his permission before cultivating there. If for any reason he migrates to another part of the country he still holds his title and powers and must return to fulfil his duties every year.

About February when timber has to be felled and ground prepared for the season's cultivation, he appoints a day and goes to the area which it is proposed to work. There is no sacrifice, but he delivers a long harangue to the land, exhorting it to be fertile and adjuring the trees to fall well under the axe, and himself cuts the first tree. Were he to omit this someone would certainly be killed or injured by a falling tree. For this he receives a fee of a hoe or a knife.

None of the crops may be weeded until he names a date, when he proceeds to the cultivation and pulls up a handful of weeds before anyone else is permitted to do so, throwing them away without ceremony. He makes no sacrifice and receives no fee.

When the ear is beginning to form he goes to the cultivation for the third time and is provided with a goat which he sacrifices, scattering the intestinal dung over the crops, to ensure a rich and full harvest. This time he receives a fee of a goat and a spear.

A man may start cultivation in a virgin area, but he cannot thus win to the title of *bang ti lotu*, which is hereditary, as the whole country, including unbroken areas, is within the provenance of some *bang ti lotu*. But such a man, though he has no rank and is a commoner among commoners, has a duty to fulfil. If others follow his lead and cultivate there, he must sacrifice a goat on their behalf annually to ensure good crops, as his was the responsibility for taking them there. He has, however, no territorial rights, though a certain local prestige.

Hunting.—All hunting is free and no dues are paid to chiefs. If an animal is snared and breaks away with the rope and is killed by another, the animal is the property of the owner of the snare. If the killer hands over the meat, he receives the neck as his own portion. If he keeps and eats the meat, he has to pay the owner a small goat in compensation.

Oath.—There is no form of oath, but to take up and break a twig or a piece of grass or to put it in your mouth is almost tantamount to an oath, as it is said that a falsehood to this accompaniment would be followed by death. The efficacy of this asseveration is, however, of doubtful value as death appears to be risked with complaisance.

Miscellaneous.—If a youth insults an old man, the elders are called together, and make a cairn of stones in the semblance of a funeral cairn, sacrifice a goat or pour some honey at the cairn and on the cairn curse him to death or to the loss of all women's love. It is believed that he will die or be an object of sexual aversion to women. If later

the lad pays a bull to the elders and asks their forgiveness, the curse is removed by the old men, who pour water on the cairn and scatter all the stones.

A similar stone cairn is erected, generally but not necessarily, every year, at cross-roads to prevent the premature harvesting of grain and the theft of growing grain by women. A goat is sacrificed when the cairn is set up in the presence of all the women and the curse of death (the cairn symbolizing the funeral cairn) is laid on any woman who harvests before the time, or who steals grain from the cultivation of others. When the time for harvest is ripe, water is poured on the cairn, the stones of which are scattered, and the harvest is gathered in safety.

NOTES

NORTHERN SUDAN

Bisharin Fables

ABU el Hussein the fox, was very hungry ; it had been bad hunting for two nights. He was returning to a shady place among the rocks when an idea came to him. He threw himself out upon the ground and hoped the raven, thinking he was dead, would come within his reach. The raven soon flew over and saw Abu el Hussein, and after flying round, came down upon a stone, a distance off. He looked and shrugged his shoulders and then walked round and looked, and shrugged his shoulders from the other side. " Well ! " he said, " Well ! he sleeps, for were he dead, the wind would blow about his ears." Abu el Hussein began to move his ears with caution up and down. The raven with a loud Hah-Hoh, flew off.

Abu el Hussein was out late ; bad hunting had kept him from returning to his home, within the rocks, long after the sun was up. Passing a bush he saw a lizard sitting in its upper branches warming the night cold from his limbs. " Happy news ! lizard," said Abu el Hussein, sitting on his haunches and looking at the lizard with his tongue out. " Happy news ! there is peace between all the animals." The lizard moved nothing, stared in the same direction, and said nothing. " Lizard," shouted Abu el Hussein, " can't you hear the good tidings ? there is peace between all the animals." The lizard did nothing and said nothing. Abu el Hussein got annoyed. " Can't you hear ? " he said, " can't you answer ; what are you staring at ? " " Nothing," said the lizard, " only the man coming along over there with his dog." " What ! " shouted Abu el Hussein, in alarm and jumping up. " Only the man over there," said the lizard, " with his dog ; but don't bother, there is peace between all the animals." " I daresay," said Abu el Hussein, as he hurried off, " but he mightn't have heard about it."

The lion had just died, and the animals were holding a council to decide who should succeed. Some were for the Merafib (Hyena)

and some for the Abu el Hussein. Eventually Merafib was chosen. Merafib was pleased—was honoured, and he laughed. Abu el Hussein was annoyed; he despised Merafib. "You have chosen a foul feeder for your King," he said. "Merafib," cried the council with one voice, "you must give up that vile, obnoxious habit which you have of eating putrid meat." Merafib was distressed. "May I not even smell it?" he asked. "We can't help that," said the council. "What if when I've smelt it, I run towards it and jump over it," said Merafib, "any objection?" "No good," said the council, "if you once did that you'd eat." Merafib consented to restrict his pleasures to smelling putrid meat at a distance, but he was very sad. Abu el Hussein dragged an old friend who had died, to the windy side of the King and went his way. Merafib soon smelt, was tempted and rushed off to gorge his full. The council dismissed him and chose Abu el Hussein.

W. E. JENNINGS-BRAMLY.

Stories of the Gerarish

I. BLINDNESS

IN the golden light of the evening, and the long dark shadows of the trees on the river bank, the caravan of camels drew up to unload for the night. Some groans from the camels, and hurry among the men preparing for the night, and once again the spirit of the sunset hour, disturbed by man, returned. A blind man, with his long stick feeling the indent of a camel-track, passed by, hurrying towards some huts a mile or more to southward, nor would he stop for proffered hospitality from all the men.

The guide, the old Garaishi, white bearded, sitting on his farwa, smoothed out the sand before him and on the smoothed-out surface drew various figures with two fingers. "Blindness," he said, "is a distress, whether it be man, or beast or bird, that suffers, and many have sought its cure. Of one cure, however, I know, having heard it from an aged Dervish, a learned and worthy man. The vulture, alone of all the birds, knows of a tree that grows, standing solitary in the uttermost deserts. A twig of this tree will bring sight to any eye it touches."

"But, O my Lord, how is the vulture to be approached for such a purpose?" "Know then, that in the season birds build, choosing always a ledge of rock high up and difficult to attain, the vulture builds its nest. This nest is just a mass of sticks. When he who seeks the cure has found the nest, he climbs up to discover if the young are hatched and, should they be so, he blinds one and then goes down. The vulture, returning to the nest, finds its young in distress and flies at once into the desert, far beyond our ken, to find the healing branch. The man now climbs the rocks again and, hiding near the nest, awaits the bird's return. She comes and with the twig she carries in her beak she cures the blindness of her young. The man jumps out, the twig is dropped in the nest, and then, O Allah! of those thousand twigs that make the nest, which one caused the cure? Each twig is held on end and the one that has no shadow is the healer and is called 'Elixir'."

The old Garaishi looked gravely across the river. The birds in the failing light were flying with noisy chatter to their roost among the trees. "For myself," he said, "I use a little warm milk. People say it is equally efficacious."

II. THE SOOTHSAYER

We were riding towards Omdurman from the north along the river bank, and were still some fifteen miles away when the Garaishi said, "Excellency, may we stop and enter that wood where lives a holy one whom I would question on the welfare of my brother, now two year absent in Darfur and from whom no news has come?" We put the camels down and went together into the wood. Under a tree, lying on his back, with his legs crossed, was an old man with long grey hair. About ten yards from him was a collection of various gifts, bread, a little money, two earthenware pots, the gifts of those that come to ask his help; but the Garaishi said they were gifts for anyone to take away. He lived on what was left, if any was left. Money he did not use at all.

The Soothsayer took no notice whatever of our approach. By the gifts the Garaishi knelt down and asked whether his brother lived, whether he was well, had prospered, was free to return. Without moving, staring up into the branches of the tree, the Soothsayer said in a very irritated voice, "Why bother me with all these questions? Your brother has returned to Omdurman." The Garaishi broke out into

vociferous thanks and called down all the blessings of Allah on this Holy one who, however, from first to last took no notice whatever of our presence. Leaving a present, we departed.

The Garaishi was now jubilant, and it was no use advising him to wait for Omdurman. "The Holy one," he said, "spent years in a cave in the desert, fed by ravens and gazelles, and there acquired great knowledge. He speaks the truth." One of the first persons we met when riding into Omdurman was the brother.

W. E. JENNINGS-BRAMLY.

Note on the Halenga Tribe, by Sheikh Jaafar Ali, Nazir of the Halenga

INTRODUCTION

The following historical note on the Halenga tribe of Kassala was written at my suggestion by the present Nazir, Sheikh Jaafar Ali.

Owing to the destruction of many of the tribal records by the Dervishes he has had to compile it largely from what can be remembered by the old men of the tribe.

The Halenga are, perhaps, in many ways the most satisfactory people in Kassala District. They are now practically sedentary, and, whilst still owning large herds of cattle, have taken up agriculture with great keenness. They are very law abiding and orderly and whilst giving little trouble themselves provide a large number of recruits for the Police and thus are of great assistance to Government.

It is satisfactory to record that they are now rapidly increasing in wealth and in a few years should be very prosperous. They are, in fact, a refutation of the popular belief that the Fuzzy, for the Halenga, in spite of all their pretensions to the contrary, must be generally classed as such, can never be made into a useful and law abiding citizen.

J. A. DE C. H.

THE Halenga are an Arab tribe living on the Gash in Kassala Province in that district formerly known by the name of El Taka. They are frequently taken to be of Bega origin but this is an error due to the lack of reliable historical evidence. They are really Arabs from

Arabia and are descendants of the Hawaziñ who, in consequence of the oppression of El Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf,¹ moved across to the African shore. This was during the Khalifate of Abdul Malik Ibn Marwan.²

The story of this migration has been handed down from generation to generation and was previously recorded in documents which were lost or destroyed during the Mahdia.

The Hawazin, having crossed the Red Sea, encamped at first to the south of Masawa near a mountain called Gadam. Thence they divided into two parties, the one taking a northerly route whilst the other went into Abyssinia and became somewhat dispersed. This section, as opposed to the northerly one, who were camel owners, were largely horse owners and always carried "whips" and because of this, the Abyssinians called them "Halenga" which means whips in Amharic.

How long they actually stayed in Abyssinia is not known, but it is reckoned at about two centuries, during which period they paid tribute to the Abyssinians. Eventually the Abyssinians became so grasping that they demanded their daughters as tribute and this was a thing they could not bring themselves to do.

As a result of this and to avoid the disgrace to their tribe the Halenga fled and followed a stream which led them in a northerly direction to a gorge where water flowed down rocks and was lost in a deep hole. The Halenga set to work and cleared these rocks and obstructions by throwing them down and by making large fires by slaughtering cattle and burning their fat until they got a continuous stream flowing. This stream they followed until they reached Kassala Jebel and settled at its western base at a post called Uwaitala, and the stream continued its way and flowed out in the Dar of the Hadendoa. This is the origin of the Gash Stream.

Whilst they were thus fleeing the Abyssinians followed them up, but the Halenga drove their families and cattle in front of them and followed themselves on horseback, thus leaving no tracks except those of animals. At this juncture two of the tribe volunteered to sacrifice themselves for the remainder and offered to mislead the Abyssinians who were in pursuit. They went off and got into touch with the enemy

¹ Cf. Sir William Muirs, *The Caliphate, Rise, Decline, and Fall*, chap. 1.

² A.D. 685 to A.D. 705.

and said they would show the way the women and wealth of the tribe had gone. The Abyssinians were induced to follow them, and they led them into a place where there was no water and all the pursuers perished. By this stratagem the remainder of the Halenga were delivered.

Such is the story of the coming of the Halenga, and to this tribe belongs the credit of bringing the Gash to Kassala as they freed it from the hills and followed its flow.

After the arrival of the tribe in Kassala it came into contact with the neighbouring Beja nomads who used the same grazing areas and wells, and from that time it lost the use of Arabic and adopted that of the Beja.

The tribe increased in number and wealth, and became divided into three sections, one round Kassala, another at Abraid (between Akala and Gulusit), and the third about a day north of Kassala at El Dabab (Mekali, where the Gubba stands).

At this period the Halenga were famous as people of good faith, upholders of Islam, and for the large number of pious men and Ulemas they produced. They were also famed for hospitality and the support they afforded to all holy persons. The tribe owned large numbers of horses and cattle, and were keen cultivators. They were at great enmity with the Hadendoa, and many were the fights which took place between them, but the Halenga managed nearly always to emerge victorious, and at one time the influence of the Halenga stretched as far as Suskin, Massawa, and their western boundary was the Atbara.

Their chief allies at this time were the Beni Amer and Shukria.

During the Mahdia they fought side by side with the Government until most of the tribe was dispersed. The tribe also suffered heavily from famines and pestilences, and their most populous areas, i.e. Abraid and El Dabbab, are now empty.

As regards the section which after the migration to Africa took the northern Red Sea route, these were largely camel owners and wandered amongst the Bega in search of pasture and water. They maintained their blood fairly pure, and after much wandering they came at last to the Gash, where their brothers were and were amazed at its fertility. Here they settled. Owing to their long wandering they did not recognize

at once their relationship with the branch which had previously come to Kassala and fights broke out between them. However, after some intermarriage between the two sections, the truth of their common ancestry appeared, and they joined hands against their common enemies.

For the first few centuries the Halenga were in Kassala the tribe kept its blood very pure and refused to intermarry with outside peoples. About two centuries ago, however, they intermarried in some cases with such tribes as the Ashraf Abdullab, Rubatab, etc.

The Ashraf trace their descent from a pious man named Sheikh Hamid Basi who, like other men of religion, came to this country from the Hedjaz. This man intermarried with the Halenga, and there are families known as Sheikh El Ailat Inda. (Inda being the Rutana word for Ailat.)

As regards *the Abdullab* some of these were chiefs of the Halenga until the Turkish occupation. They had the leadership until the time of the Blue Sultanate (Fung), and they trace their descent to the Abdullab Kings. Their descendants are now known as Hadaa Inda. Their chief is known as "Mangil",¹ and their big men as "Arbab". They had also a cap called Um Gurein. After the Turkish occupation the leadership of the tribe was a continual bone of contention between these Abdullab and the family of Sheikh Abdullah Ali of the Rubatab, known generally as Abu Rayat, and this continued until the end of the Turkish regime.

This Sheikh Abdullah belonged to the Songarab section of the Rubatab of the Abu Hamad District.

It is related that one of the men of this section, Mohammed Aila by name, met Ahmed Pasha Abu Wedan on the Athara and guided him to Kassala. On the approach of the army the reigning Chief Awad Musmar fled to the Hedjaz and the Rubatab section held the Nazirship.

As regards these descendants of Sheikh Abdullah Ali of the Rubatab, they are known as El Sheikh Inda, or Ailat El Sheikh Abdullah. They were mostly men of religion, and until the Turks came they had nothing to do with the leadership of the tribe. During the Turkia it was held alternatively by them and the Sheikh El Ailat Inda.

¹ Cf. MacMichael, *History of Arabs of the Sudan*, vol. i, iii, 2, xi.

The founder of this line, Sheikh Abdullah Ali (Abu Rayat) has a tomb at Mekali which is the resort of many.

Since the reoccupation of the Sudan the leadership has been in the hands of the Abdullab branch.

Another foreign element amongst the Halenga is the *Zeyla'in*, who are the descendants of a certain feki Ahmed El Zeyli, who came from Zeyla on the Somaliland coast.

This feki married into the Halenga and his descendants are known as El Fiki Inda. They are famous in council, and have the right always to take part in all important discussion either religious or on matters of tribal policy.

They have a special Mesjid known as Allabsaniab, and these privileges survive until to-day.

In spite of these foreign elements in their blood the tribe remains largely of pure Hawazin Halenga stock.

It is related that certain tribes who occupied the Nile valley are of Halenga extraction, viz., Khawawid of Tayiba and Kubushia, and Ambokol, Dongola Province.

Also a large section of the Amara tribe of the Red Sea Province. The latter are said to have been the offspring of a certain Halengi who fled to the Red Sea Province to escape punishment.

A Nuba Wake

ON a February afternoon in 1925 the top of Gebel Kordofan was the scene of unusual commotion. Five days had elapsed since Channa's death, and his relatives had set aside the afternoon for the completion of the obsequies. From far and near friends and their friends were continually arriving to pay their last respect to the memory of the dead man—of course, all the home village were there, men and women, boys and girls. But numbers had come from further off—from Augolo a "shid" to the North, even from Tais which takes a full day's march to reach. No wonder, for a wake in Korongo is an affair of importance.

By half-past four there must have been gathered some seven hundred persons. They formed picturesque groups on the hill slopes.

The centre of interest was, of course, the abode of the dead man. Like all the dwelling of the Korongo Nubas it was a stocky little place, a nest of one-story turrets all walled between : a veritable toy-castle. Here had been gathered numerous jars of merisa and from the interior came forth the sounds of much wailing.

Without the house the cattle had been collected, most of them the small hill kind, but here and there larger ones bought from the Homr Arabs with grain. It is etiquette for all who have for one reason or another been on terms of special intimacy with the deceased to drive in their herds for the wake and from them are selected the beasts for slaughter.

The space occupied by the house and the cattle might have been the stage of a Roman theatre, since the rocky sides of the hill sloped up behind in a semicircle, and the cultivation terraces caused the audience to group in tiers. Men and women mixed freely, greeting each other and passing the time chatting. The Nuba of Korongo do not wear clothes, and being of specially fine physique—as one would expect in a tribe of wrestlers—the sight of the large crowd, with their spears and shields and body ornaments was one not easily to be forgotten.

In the crowd immediately surrounding the cattle it was evident something was going on. It was the beginning of the "Sibr El Baqar". Each family hands down from generation to generation the *kujur* of its cattle. Here the *kujur* takes the form of a ram's horn stuffed with various roots. It is buried in the cattle-pen and on the occasion of a wake, ash from fires lit over the place where the *kujur* is hidden are collected. What was now to be seen was sprinkling of the herd with this ash. Some of the relatives, their bodies smeared with mud, or vari-coloured vegetable stains, were to be seen running in and out among the cattle, throwing it on. This done, Angatihi, the blood-brother of the deceased, indicated by smiting them with a gourd, the cattle that were to be killed. It appears he had ascertained the wishes of individual owners before doing so.

As there were visitors, some Arabs come to buy grain, as well as the small Government party, a bull was set aside for them. The killing of the rest, in this case about seven, was then proceeded with. The son

of Angatihi, his skin smeared with yellow stuff, made his way from one to the other, dealing the death blow by a sharp jab of his spear in the heart. The animal would barely start at the time, but in a couple of minutes it would start swaying and then topple over on its side, where it would lie motionless. There was no selection of animals on the score of sex, a good cow and a promising heifer were amongst those slain.

Directly the last animal had fallen the remainder of the herds were driven off and spear throwing commenced. The spears are of bamboo with ebony shovels that formerly in time of war were poisoned, and are thrown at about fifteen or twenty yards. One man throws and another takes the shock on his shield, a round plate of giraffe or elephant hide, mounted midway on a shaft decorated with goat hair. The spear thrown, the thrower in turn takes his shield, and his opponent throws.

There may have been four or five couples in the arena throwing in all directions, and the skill shown in attack and defence was equally remarkable. Indeed, there is no room for mistakes, and should a man fail to interpose his shield in time the penalty is very likely his life. Happily though fatal accidents are not unknown they are very rare, and none marred the obsequies of Channa, though a shield or two was held up with a point transfixing it, penetrating the hide by several inches.

Spear throwing was the occupation of such of the guests as cared to exhibit their skill. When it was in progress to the accompaniment of notes sounded on the horn, or the Karhka, a gourd made to give forth low vibrant notes, and the beating of the Tambur, a wooden drum, the sept of the deceased had collected on an upper terrace. Then in war paint of wood-ash, or other stain, some with skirts of leaves, or wild blossoms, they danced in rhythm, half skip, half tramp, four or five or six abreast, forwards a hundred yards, then turn and back again, chanting the while. But by now long shadows were thrown out over the plain two hundred feet below and the dust stirred up by all this movement burned ruddily in the rays of the setting sun. When darkness had fallen the contests would cease and all present would get down to the really serious business of preparing and roasting the meat. So to the accompaniment of dancing and music through the night there would be gorging and deep drinking.

N. B. H.

The Bandala of the Bahr el Ghazal

BANDALA or Mandala is the name given to slaves, or the descendants of slaves, of the Rizihat and Habbania Arabs, who are born amongst the Arabs or of Arab slave stock, as opposed to newly acquired slaves. There are large numbers in southern Darfur; these, I understand lead the ordinary life of an Arab slave. Numbers pass through the western district of the Bahr el Ghazal, hunting elephant or bringing their masters' cattle for sale.

I deal with the colony permanently settled in the north west of the Bahr el Ghazal.

The country inhabited by these is roughly speaking a line from Gabal Eri ($9^{\circ} 30' - 25^{\circ} 30'$) to Gabal Telgona ($8^{\circ} 50' - 26^{\circ} 10'$).

All this country previously belonged to the Feroghi, though since early Dervish times the Telgona area has been handed over to an offshoot of the Bego, now represented by Nasr Andal.

The Feroghi are a semi-Arab tribe, the result of intermarriage between a Bornu slave trader, who with Fur assistance made himself sultan of most of what is now the western district, and his followers with the "Fartit" or slave type woman, the original inhabitants.

It is said that in the time of the Feroghi sultan, who was the fourth predecessor of the man whom Zubeir found in power, three families of Bandala or Arab slaves arrived in the country and asked permission to settle there, with immunity from their Arab masters.

They were allowed to do so, on the condition that they paid one half of all ivory obtained by them, to the Feroghi sultan, also *zaka* and *futūra*. If they committed any offence they were to pay the sultan fifteen *tukia* or pieces of cloth, but no work was to be required of them. At the same time it was arranged with the Arabs that they should not attempt to recapture such runaway slaves, on the understanding that the Feroghi would only harbour Bandala, or slaves born in the Arab country, whilst returning to their masters any newly acquired slaves, who might have escaped to them.

Since that time a large colony of Rizihat Bandala has been formed. Some have been continuously settled for several generations, others stay a few years and then return to Dar Rizihat.

In 1914 there was a colony of Habbania Bandala. These have now all returned. The Habbania are said to treat their slaves better than the Rizighat, and their presence was probably due to Ali Dinar.

These Bandala fought in most of the Feroghi sectional fights, and with the Feroghi, against the Dervishes, and in the continual inter-tribal fighting of late Dervish times.

Some of them assisted the Rizighat in a blood feud with the Feroghi, which occurred about 1914. In the same year Ali Dinar, when fighting the Rizighat, raided a large number of their villages in the northern Bahr el Ghazal. Many fled back to the Rizighat and some of these return each year.

The country they now inhabit is just beyond the edge of the ironstone, mostly black cotton soil and thorn trees. It is generally flooded in the rains and devoid of water in the dry season. Some villages drink from one stinking well, five miles from the village.

As far as crops are concerned, whilst the soil is fertile enough, heavy rains, which elsewhere would mean a bumper crop, kill by inundation.

However, except for one or two villages, the Bandala takes but little interest in his crops. When his dura is gone, he eats *kordali*, which is generally plentiful in his country. Some villages subsist mainly on the fruit of the *doleib*. His main interest in life is hunting and fishing. From the time the grass is burnt, until the rains are well on, hardly a fit man is to be found in the whole country.

Another great disadvantage of his country is the extreme prevalence of guinea worm. Whole villages are laid out in the rains. However, although plenty of excellent sites are available further south nothing will persuade the Bandala to leave this land of poisonous thorns and mud. I imagine the reasons to be that firstly he wishes to stay within easy reach of his former masters and secondly that this part of the country has not previously been much visited by officials.

Although others have been there recently and in the early days of the war, and I myself was there in 1923, the Feroghi chief, who administers the country and accompanied me said, in every village we got to, "Now, you see the Government has really arrived." This was in 1925.

Their villages are usually slovenly; after the first building no repairs are carried out until the house falls. The northern Bandala build the same type of house as the Arabs resident in the district, plain thatch, not layered as with the Dinka, and plaited straw or wood sides. The eastern Bandala have in some cases adopted the house, raised on poles some 4 feet from the ground, built by some of the Fartit tribes.

Arabs come and work the iron in some of the Bandala villages during the dry weather. The only local industry is cloth making.

Every village grows a few shrubs of the native type of cotton, which bears for several years, and all have old men weaving *damur* (*khishin*). When the Bandala first arrived the Feroghi sultan placed them under two of his big hereditary sheikhs. Minor Feroghi chiefs were then appointed, and known as *kursis*, to deal with the Bandala chiefs. So the chain goes: Bandala—Bandala chief—Feroghi *kursi*—Feroghi chief—Feroghi sultan.

Although the original chiefs have now lost their Bandala the same form is still kept up, with the Bandala remaining under the Feroghi. Gessi says of the Bandala: "In Bahr el Ghazal there is a tribe called Mandala, which occupies the north. The principal villages are Perogie, Tembeli, and Delgauna. The Darfourese, although the Mandala are Mussulmans, looked upon them as slaves, and the Mandala to escape slavery emigrated to the Bahr el Ghazal. The chief is a certain Rashid, the subject of Suliman Zubeir who during the war sent many combatants to assist the rebels. All the Mandala country is very fertile and the quantity of honey produced there is fabulous. They used to throw the wax away, but now it forms part of the tax paid to the Government. The tamarind harvest is also very rich. Maize is there preferred to dura, but the principal harvest is furnished by millet, which succeeds better than dura. The Mandalas are occupied in hunting elephants with spears. Almost all are clothed in a long shirt, reaching below the knees. They cultivate cotton and weave a grey cloth, called damur. The well-to-do dress in Indian cotton of bright colours, but they never cover their heads. When the waters (of the River Telgona, or Boro, as now called) subside, the Mandalese go fishing and preserve the fish by drying, smoking, and packing in balls, for use during the

rainy season." In this description the Bandala and the Feroghi are rather mixed up. Now dura is commoner than millet, and I have not observed the well-to-do, clothed in bright colours. Also they now wear turbans, when properly dressed.

There are a few cattle in their country. In the early days of this Government the country is said to have been full of fly. The fly have now receded from the Bandala country and they talk of again increasing their stock of cattle.

By blood the Bandala are mostly of the Fartit tribes of the western district and neighbourhood, Krech, Banda, etc., though some have Dinka or Shatt, etc., blood. Intermarriage during slavery has mixed together the blood of all these tribes, and also of course intercourse with their masters has introduced Arab blood.

There is not much in them but what one would expect from ex-slaves. The laziness of the Fartit, slightly exaggerated as a recoil from the work they were forced to do as slaves, and a few improvements learnt from the Arabs.

I now come to the strange twist in their outlook on life.

In order to show this, I must lay stress on their independence and bravery. Their independence is most evident during a tour of their country. I suppose it is the natural result of their successful throwing off of service to the Arabs. It is also fostered by the fact that they have usually had their own way with the Feroghi, by threatening to return to the Rizighat, if they did not like anything. And they think they can still play the same game.

The principal feature of Bandala hunting is elephant hunting on foot with spears. Nowadays they do not get as much ivory as the Arabs, who have horses; but all the young men go out, large parties together. The two ordinary plans are:—

- (1) A direct combined rush on the elephants.
- (2) Some lie in ambush, whilst the others drive the elephants on to them.

In either case the elephant is speared to death with the long heavy Arab spear.

The party is led by an *aqid*, often only a boy himself. This *aqid* and the Bandala village sheikh get a small fixed proportion of the

ivory obtained. The Feroghi sultan gets a half, out of which he returns a portion. Larger shares are given to the first two men to spear the elephant. The remainder is divided between the fifteen or so other men of the party.

Thus, with a biggish elephant, the two men who have been lucky enough to rush him first, may get say £E3 each, whilst the others, who have finished off the infuriated beast, get a few piastres each. Notwithstanding the extreme danger of this sport and the fact that £E3 would buy a fairish rifle in the western district, where there are always plenty for sale, very few Bandala have bought rifles, preferring the sport to the gain.

Quarrels as to who is the best elephant hunter are very frequent, and sometimes lead to murders.

When life's greatest ambition is such, lawlessness is to be expected. The Bandala is very ready to profit by making others go through the mill he has escaped from.

Slave raids by the hunting parties, at times even on villages, have made the Bandala a bye-word to both natives and officials of the Bahr el Ghazal generally.

Now for the opposite side of the picture.

Very few Bandala have been freed from their Arab masters, and unless they have been freed they call themselves slaves, even though they may have lived in the Feroghi country for several generations. Whilst living in the Feroghi country they do no work for their "masters", nor do they pay them any tribute. If they give them anything it is only in the nature of an exchange of gifts.

They pay tribute to the Feroghi sultan, as stated above, as lord of the soil. They are living in the Feroghi country as an act of direct rebellion against their "masters".

Amongst the Fartit, whom the Bandala much despise, the term "slave" is one of grave abuse. You may refer to a group of Bandala, in which both sheikhs and young "bloods" are represented and in the hearing of all, contemptuously as "the slaves" without causing the least offence to anyone.

All laws regarding the inter-relation of the sexes are based on Mahomedan slavery customs.

Free intercourse with an unmarried woman is no crime, the theory being that, as with cattle, any progeny is all to the master's advantage.

A Bandala woman cannot be married except through her Arab master. If one likes to go to him, and pay the fee he asks, he can marry her and have full rights to the children of the marriage. The Arab then is, theoretically at any rate, able to recompense the mother or not, just as he likes.

Unless the husband has been to see the master, intercourse is casual, and there is no right to the children.

Hence the Feroghi and other tribes have not intermarried with the Bandala.

However, there is a form of Bandala marriage which occurs amongst themselves and a few people who have attached themselves to them. A Bandala can marry by making a payment to the Arab master. But a short circuit of the relatives, unless they have been guilty of some breach of contract, is among the things that are not done. The Bandala form of marriage is for the man to approach the girl's mother, and the latter's relatives. If approved he pays one *tob* to the mother, one *tob* to the girl, and maybe a pot of honey. (Casual intercourse known to the relatives, is certain to occur earlier.)

The girl then lives with the man as his wife, but the man cannot take the girl away to another village without the consent of her relatives. All children of the marriage belong to the mother and her relatives, the man having absolutely no right in them. In the case of divorce the various *tobs*, etc., are all returned to the man.

The theory is that all these children belong to the Arab master. Nearly all non-free Bandala, even though they may have been generations actually free, adopt this practice.

Again, if a Bandala is killed blood money must be paid to his Arab master.

Perhaps the strangest thing of all is the mess into which their property laws have got.

A slave can own no property. But the Bandala, living on his own in the Feroghi country, became possessed of property, slaves, cattle, donkeys, rifles. They did not wish these to leave their country and go to the Arabs, so they made a compromise.

On a man's death his property goes to the man having the same master, who is most nearly related to the deceased, the important point being that the property must go to another slave of the same master, and this in spite of the fact that the property would not be given to the master, even if he asked for it. Similarly with the children, who are supposed to be the master's; if he asked for a girl, she would only be given by the good will of the mother, and might be refused.

Thus a man's heir is rarely his son, as his son belongs to his wife's master, who is probably a different person from his own.

Again, suppose a Bandala acquires a female slave and declares her his concubine in front of the village, and later dies.

If the woman has borne him no child she remains the slave of the Arab master and of the Bandala, who is the deceased's heir, in Dar Feroghi. If she has borne him a child, by Mahomedan law she becomes free. But a free what?—a free Bandala—in other words a free slave. She remains the slave of the deceased's Arab master (in theory) but is free of deceased's heirs in Dar Feroghi, the practical result being that she is to all intents and purposes free, except that she must remain in deceased's village.

All Bandala, however long they may have been settled, know who their "master" is; and very many keep up good relations with him.

The master stays with them, if he comes down for hunting, whilst they often go and visit him. If they return for good, they revert to the ordinary position of a slave, unless they have succeeded in making special arrangements to the contrary. Many do return.

The Bandala profess to be Muslims, though a few consult Fartit *kujurs*. (Fartit is the name given to the purely negro (non-riverain) tribes, such as Krech, Binga, etc., who are the original inhabitants of the western district of the Bahr El Ghazal.)

Many Bandala are quite devout Muslims, and nearly all wear the praying necklace.

As devout Muslims, they quite admit that they should either return to their masters, or by making an arrangement with them, and perhaps some small payment, make themselves full Mahomedans, becoming free men. But they will not act up to this, nor except in the case of a very few, more enlightened, take the law into their own hands and

declare themselves free by the lapse of years. No one could prevent them, or would even try to do so.

They are all divided into sub-tribes (*khashm el bet*) according to those of their masters in the Rizighat, calling themselves, "Awlad Mahimid," "Dar Suliman," "Dar Kabaga," "Awlad Balul," etc.

Some Bandala sheikhs are free, and some are not. The matter simply does not at all enter into eligibility for sheikhship or the reverse. The sheikhs of each sub-tribe are generally elected from relatives of the previous incumbent, and each sub-tribe, if it has twenty men or so, likes to have its own sheikh, just as if the so-called sub-tribe denoted real racial affinity of its members, and not merely a conglomeration of various nationalities and mongrels, the collection made by some Arab.

The state of mentality which can support such a paradox interests me. I suppose the original emigrants were so impressed with the superior social development of the Arabs that they decided to retain, as far as was convenient, the laws under which they had lived in Dar Arab. Here conservatism now retains this absurd state of affairs, combined perhaps, on the part of the young men with a love of the freedom from continual adultery cases, the frequency of which is such a prominent characteristic of many of the free tribes.

G. K. C. HEBBERT.

Magicians, etc., among the Raik Dinka

ONE often sees lists of such people and their different activities written out for other tribes but among the Raik there is very little that is hard and fast and universal practice. The clans vary greatly in this as in other things, and much depends on individual caprice. Practitioners often invent new ceremonial for themselves and among such credulous people any new magic which is either invented or introduced spreads rapidly at first, but is gradually added to the long list of the old ones that sometimes work, but more often fail.

The following offices and names are widely known:—

1. *Beng Bit* (*Mon-e-bit* in the East) owns an ancestral spear and cures sickness by sacrifice, he makes peace and brings rain and presides at sacrifices to eminent ancestors. He has a good deal of influence generally and is more or less sacrosanct.

2. *Alueng* is a doctor and cures cattle sickness ; he is often M.C. at weddings and arranges for the first child to be a son. Sometimes he is called *Ashom* and his office may be hereditary. *Awudweng* is another name.

3. *Atit* is an interesting man. He is a bone setter and his trepanning of broken skulls is often skilful though a good advertisement for the hardness of the patients. Sometimes the office of spear-haft straightener is combined.

4. *Keitt* is the leader in war, but owing to the great independence and hatred of discipline of these people his office was no sinecure ; it has almost died out except on the Nuer border.

5. *Doll* may be a man or a woman and spits on infants to cure sickness. Generally recognizable by a big bundle of finger rings worn round the neck, the gifts of grateful mothers.

All the above are beneficent and their general name is Teitt.

There are evil magicians too.

6. *Ashen* uses a gourd to cast spells on the enemies of those who pay him. His activities are liable to be cut short by the enemy of the client or a disappointed client himself, and no one is particularly sorry when this happens.

7. Another kind is usually known by the name of the magic used. They are usually charlatans from foreign tribes or Dinka who have travelled and see an easy way of living on their less sophisticated neighbours. They dig roots in the forest and sell various things that, for instance, cause a man to sleep soundly while his cattle are stolen. Muslims selling pieces of paper with writing upon them to be eaten or soaked and drunk come into this class.

Some one of the above may be asked to preside at the initiation of youths, but it is not essential, nor is there any elaborate ceremony or even an absolute rule except that the removal of the lower teeth is followed by the *gornum* (tribal marks round head) and then cicatrization. These three practices are universal, but circumcision is not : the latter seems a matter of caprice and often some sons are circumcised and their brothers not—apparently at haphazard. Few of the circumcised have come in contact with Muslims.

G. W. T.

Burial Alive Among Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province

THE Fagong family and their subdivision the Farum alone had this custom originally—it is very old—and the Faiyae have copied it; this applies to central and neighbouring districts; there may be others elsewhere. The totem (*yat*) of the former is the *awar* grass and the *rual* tree (*umm shutūr*), of the latter the *kwel* (*gammeiza*). It is done in the case of great men only, especially the owner of an ancestral magic spear (*monebit*). It was given up in the time of the Misery (i.e. the Mahdia). The procedure is as follows.

When a man, who has this right, is very old and his senses fail, he feels death is near, but is ashamed to die like a sick cow. So he calls his sons round him and explains his wishes and makes them promise to carry them out. The news is sent round and parties come from all the clans to say farewell, bringing bulls and goats, etc., to slaughter at the funeral feast.

A vast grave is dug in the man's big cattle-house (*mak*) and at the bottom is tethered his favourite ox; at the other end of the grave the man is laid out on a sleeping skin (*biok*) with a "pillow" under his head and another under his feet, and a second skin is placed over him to prevent earth falling into his eyes or ears. He is given a gourd of milk and a spear, and then a stage is built right across the grave and covered with grass. Once he enters the grave he usually does not come out, though I have heard of one successful change of mind. Some one watches the grave, while dancing, singing, and drumming go on night and day round the *mak*. If the man pushes up the spear the earth is immediately filled in, but if he does not, the earth is filled in on the tenth day, by which time he is dead; the ox generally dies in eight days.

The *mak* continues to be used as before, and when it is abandoned in the ordinary course, earth is taken from the grave and used to make the horned bull-shaped tomb (*yik*) of the deceased.

I have never been able to hear any confirmation of the scandal one sometimes hears spoken of the Dinka among neighbouring tribes, that a slave-boy sometimes took the place of the ox. There seems no reason why they should deny it if it had occurred, as they tell of "human sacrifices" in the old days—once to bring relief to the very

sick mother of a chief for whom bulls had been killed in vain, and once by a Rainmaker in a desperately dry year, when bulls had similarly failed; they were not unknown among neighbouring Nilotics.

The "sacrifice" of bulls for the recovery of the sick, for rain and for various other things is of daily occurrence, and probably not much more than an excuse for eating meat for which purpose alone it seems a wicked waste to kill a good beast.

G. W. T.

Archaeological Notes

THE following notes on recent archaeological discoveries outside of regular excavations may be of interest.

A MEROITIC TEMPLE

The ruin of the small temple about to be described lies between Nagaa and Musawwarat, and has not, as far as I know, previously been recorded. It was pointed out by our guide to Mr. T. P. W. Barty and me while we were travelling recently between these two places (January, 1926), but its exact situation is a little difficult to define. As one journeys northward from Nagaa to Musawwarat the cliffs on the right recede, forming a bay about 5 miles across. Beyond this bay the direct track to Musawwarat bears to the right through an opening in the hills, but if instead of taking this turning one continues straight on toward the wall of rock directly ahead, the temple is encountered after about a mile. Lying as it does in the midst of scrub and long grass, it is quite inconspicuous and most unlikely to be noticed by the traveller on any of the usual routes. Mr. Barty and I reached it just before sunset, and had no time to do more than take hurried measurements of the main outlines, which were recorded by Mr. Barty, and from which I have drawn the plan here reproduced. The orientation is only approximate and is based on the observed position of the setting sun.

The temple stands on a low bank of gravel, and consists of a single chamber, standing on a platform or terrace, surrounded by the usual enclosing wall. Of this wall nothing now remains above ground level, but at this level the wall is complete and can be traced throughout

its entire perimeter. It is built of small dressed blocks of yellow sandstone. There is nothing to indicate the position of a gateway in front, and the enclosure was presumably entered over a low step or sill.

The chamber itself is almost completely destroyed, and only from one to two courses of the walls now remain. These walls are very thick—1 metre—and are rubble filled walls with a facing of small dressed blocks both on the inside and outside. The recessed stones forming the lowest courses of the door jambs are still in place, and the floor of the building appears to have been paved with sandstone slabs. Nothing was seen that could be recognized as an altar.

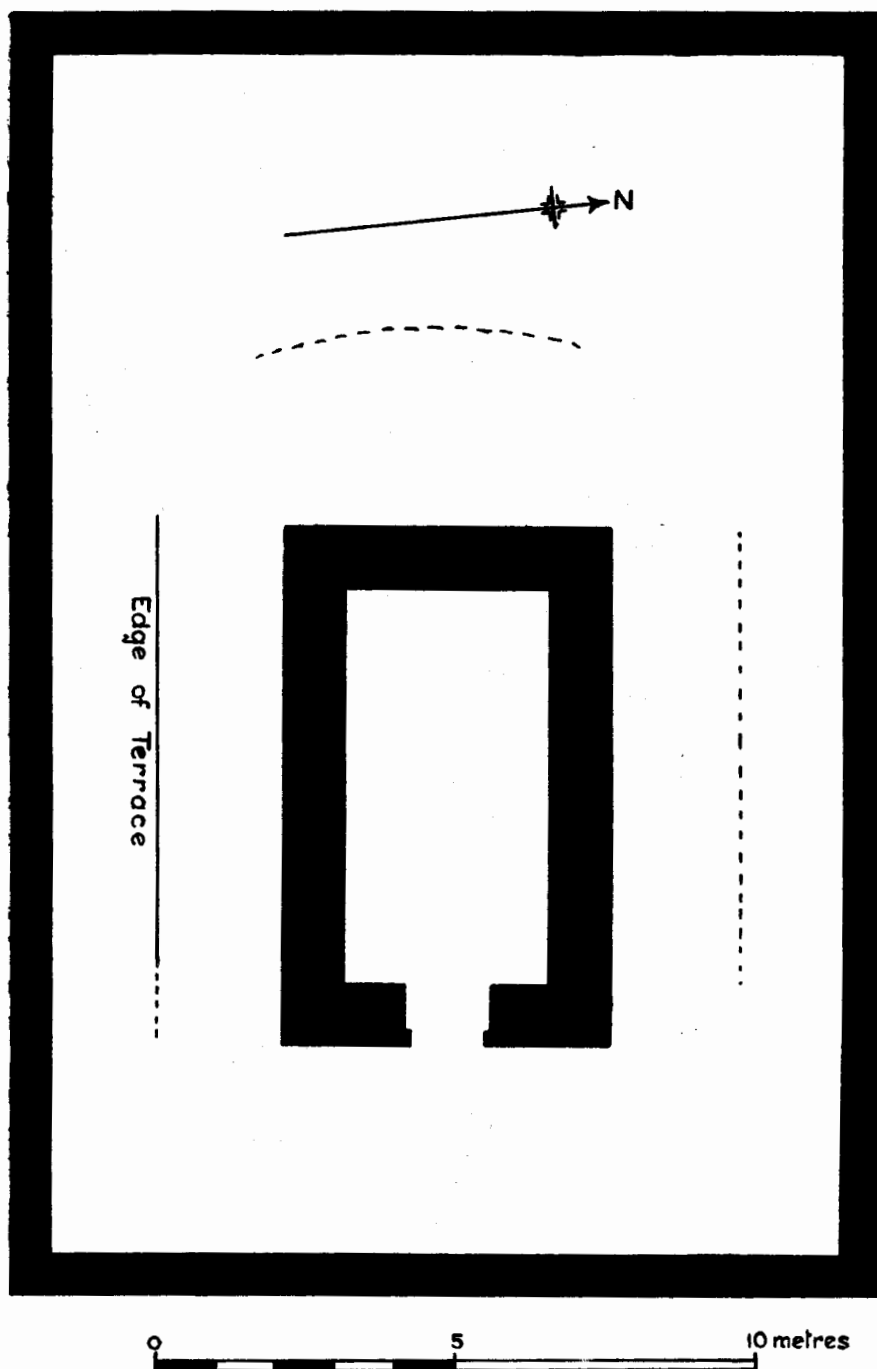
The terrace on which this little shrine stands is 60 to 70 centimetres high, and its southern edge is quite clearly defined. Elsewhere it is broken down, and at the west end it is a jumble of fallen blocks having a roughly semicircular outline, though without clearing it is impossible to say what its original form may have been. It appears, however, to have extended further at this west end than at the sides and front.

The small size of the stone blocks used in the construction of this building, and the marked absence of the red brick so conspicuous on most Meroitic sites, suggest that it belongs to the same period as the neighbouring ruins of Musawwarrat. The date of these have never been satisfactorily determined, but the second or third century A.D. is generally accepted.

To the north of the temple, at the foot of the hills, we noted a reservoir of the usual Meroitic type, but we did not examine it closely.

ANCIENT REMAINS NEAR GEBEL TAGERU

Readers of this journal will remember Mr. Newbold's extremely interesting "Desert Odyssey of a Thousand Miles," in Vol. VII, and his discovery near Gebel Tageru of potsherds which could with some confidence be ascribed to the Meroitic period. Confirmation of this date for the ancient remains in this remote part of the Sudan has recently been received in the shape of three iron arrow-heads, one from near Gebel Atshan and two from the plain west of Gebel Tageru. They were found by Bimb. Cunningham and sent by him to Major Archibald, who passed them on to me.



The arrow from Gebel Atshan is too far rusted to be of much use, but those from Gebel Tageru are of the "harpoon" type, i.e. having only a single barb, and this is the type of arrow-head found by Woolley and MacIver in the Romano-Nubian cemetery at Aniba,¹ and by Griffith in the Meroitic cemetery at Faras.² The third century A.D. is the date chiefly represented in the Aniba cemetery, and at Faras the graves in which the arrow-heads occurred were of the period first—third century A.D. which is the date already provisionally assigned to the pottery found by Mr. Newbold.

Here is further proof of the connexion between the people of the Southern Libyan desert and those of the Nile Valley in Nubia, to which attention has already been drawn by Dr. Reisner.

With the arrow-heads Bimb. Cunningham also sent a fossilized human skull and some bones, but these still await study by an expert in that particular field.

F. ADDISON.

The Chinese Banana and its future in the Sudan

I AM convinced that under proper cultivation, no plant has greater future possibilities in the Sudan than the Chinese Dwarf or "Hindi" Banana.

It thrives from Roseires on the Abyssinian frontier to Dongola in the north; and I expect it does equally well on the White Nile where suitable soil is found.

Humboldt says of the plantain, a related plant, that it produces as much nutritious food per acre as 144 acres of wheat. Of the "Hindi" banana, 1,000 plants will grow to the feddan; plants in Singa garden have produced bunches weighing 22 okes, and the fruit has at times found a ready sale at P.T. 10 per oke.

A simple calculation will show that combining these figures a theoretical maximum return would be £E 2,200 per feddan. No one could pretend for a moment that this is obtainable in practice, but if only between 4 per cent. and 5 per cent. of the possible maximum were realized, the return would be £E 100 a feddan, and I have no doubt that this is obtainable and might be exceeded.

¹ Karanog, *The Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, pls. 34 and 35.

² *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. xii, p. 77.

At Singa, one-eighth of a feddan (about the area netted in for a tennis court) brought in a revenue of £E 40 in one year. At Merowe I estimate that a somewhat similar plot which has been rather neglected for the last year or two, has averaged over £E 25 for several years past.

Multiplying these figures by eight, we get a return of £E 320 and £E 200 respectively, but of course I admit that fruit grown in such small quantities commands a luxury price.

As I have said, 1,000 plants will grow to the acre. If 40 per cent. fail, if the remainder bear bunches of 7 okes (which I should call small bunches) and if the fruit is sold at $2\frac{1}{2}$ P.T. the oke (or roughly 4 to the piastre) the return is £E 100 per feddan. I consider that there would be an unlimited demand anywhere in the Sudan for good fruit at this price.

The banana is not suitable for native methods of cultivation, it requires regular watering throughout the year, it also requires methodical but not laborious attention, a certain amount of capital expenditure, and regular maintenance which need not be costly. Natives on the other hand make preparations for a few months at most after which the land is left fallow, and the wheel overhauled until a new crop necessitates new preparations. The banana though not exacting, has certain requirements the reverse of the above.

What these are I propose to enumerate.

SHELTER FROM THE WIND

This must be thorough. The plants should be arranged in a block, a few dotted along a gadwal are doomed to failure for this and other reasons.

Advantage may be taken of a high gadwal preferably with a hedge on the reverse side of a hedge of Oleander, Tamarhindi, or Guava (but not Sesaban whose roots travel too far and rob the soil); of a wall from 1 to 2 metres high; or of a rough trellis covered with quick-growing creepers such as Loofah, Argeria, etc.

The shelter could run round the whole plot, and preferably consist of a combination of several of the above methods.

Important as it is to shelter bananas from strong winds, it is also important to exclude the continuous draughts of dry air characteristic of winter conditions in the Sudan.

If properly spaced, to which I refer later, the leaves should form a continuous canopy under which should lie a still layer of moist air. Often a part of a garden will seem sheltered, but will allow draughts to filter through.

Those accustomed to boat-sailing will realize that a breeze may be smothered by obstructions on the lee as well as on the weather hand, hence the advisability of shelter all the way round, and not only in the direction of the prevailing wind.

REGULAR WATERING AND DRAINAGE

Stagnant water is fatal, and excessive watering may be as dangerous as an insufficient supply. Luckily the river silt is so porous that stagnant water is unlikely. I need not at present discuss the possibility of growing bananas on cotton soil. Ability to drain the plot after heavy rains should be considered and the watering should never be pushed to the extreme of making the soil "pasty". It is quite normal for the leaves to droop in the middle of the day, and this is not necessarily a sign that the plants want water. Roughly speaking water should be given every five to eight days, according to the heat or to possible assistance from rain. The whole of the area under bananas must be watered, it is a mistake to water trenches and leave dry areas between.

SPACING AND PRUNING

This is much more important than might be thought. The plants will not fruit well if allowed to grow into a jungle. If the planting is carried out as suggested later, all "peepers" or "suckers" should be cut off until the parent plant is within reasonable time of being cut down, when a follower may be allowed to start growth ready to take its place. Conditions and seasons vary, but it will probably be soon enough to allow a second shoot to grow when the original stem pushes out its flower. The fruit takes about three months to ripen, so that the young shoot should be a fair size by the time the old one is cut down.

If it is desired to increase the plantation the young shoots may be allowed to grow a little before removal, or may be removed small and put in a "nursery" or preferably a small patch may be allowed to produce suckers without regard to the consequent loss of fruit.

MANURING

The alluvial soil of the Sudan seems to contain sufficient lime and phosphates, and no marked results have been observed from their application. Undoubtedly nitrogenous manures help and are best administered by sprinkling a small quantity of animal manure on the ground before watering in cool weather, especially during the rains.

Heavy manuring is not recommended and quite good bananas can be grown for some years without any manure at all. Under an old-established plantation the soil becomes black and well stored with humus from shade and moisture alone. Still manuring increases the yield.

ACCIDENTS

Bananas are as subject as any other crop to occasional disaster, such as a swarm of locusts or the breakdown of a pump, but it is worth mentioning that the Hindi is much less readily attacked by locusts than the Beladi kind. In either case it is possible that the crop of the current year would suffer, but the plant is very difficult to kill, and in the next year would recover more completely than many others.

PLANTING

The best time for planting is from April to July, earlier in the south and later in the north. The worst time is from October to January. The plants should be not less than 6 feet or 2 metres apart, and I think preferably not much more.

This can be obtained by planting at 6 feet intervals in rows 10 feet apart, and inserting one between each four as one might turn the four of diamonds in a pack into a five.

A young plantation has a rather hard life, the shoots are checked by transplanting, and while small are fully exposed to the wind and the heat of the sun both direct and reflected off the ground. Too much must not be expected from the first generation but the second year should give a fair crop, and by the third the plants should be in full bearing.

A very marked improvement in the first year's growth is noticeable if Lubia or Cow-pea (preferably I think, the latter, as less likely to bind round the shoots of the bananas) is planted with them, and allowed to

cover the ground. It may be dug in later as green-soiling, or simply left to die as the shade of the bananas increase.

SUPPORT

If cultivation is successful and good bunches are obtained, forked sticks are necessary for their support, or they may break the tree by their weight.

WARNING

It has been pointed out above that given regular supervision and attention to a few details, bananas should thrive. They do not always do so of course, and the difficulty is that unthriftiness is shown by much the same symptoms whatever the cause. The whorl of leaves at the top of the stem appears packed in too tight a spiral, yellow or brown blotches appear on the leaves or the curved part of the fruit stem scorches black and the fruit splits. One has to ask oneself which of half-a-dozen causes has led to the failure.

I should put them in order of probability as follows :—

- (1) Too heavy a soil or bad drainage.
- (2) Exposure to strong or drying winds.
- (3) Drought or the roots pushing out into unwatered or sun-baked soil.
- (4) Overcrowding or insufficient pruning.
- (5) Too wide spacing allowing the sun to get to the ground between the plants.
- (6) Cussedness.

There are only about five mistakes that are likely to be made, but it is hard to tell without practice which of them has occurred. I should therefore strongly recommend anyone who has a garden with a regular water supply to experiment with a few plants. One hundred would occupy about 20 square yards and in the second year should give 400 okes of fruit worth £E 10 (the revenue from berseem—one of the most paying crops—would be from £E 2½ to £E 3 from an area of this size).

It will give experience to the owner and training to native gardeners in cultivating a plant that has, I believe, a very important future in the Sudan.

I am indebted to Mr. R. A. Bence Pembroke and Major R. F. B. Knox for much of the data and experimental work quoted in these notes, the forecasts are my own.

W. R. G. BOND.

Coloration of Gazelles

THERE can be few people who have ever carried a rifle in the Sudan, who are not aware that some species of Gazelle have a black stripe along the side, while others have not. The stripe forms a ready means of recognizing the *Rufifrons*, for instance, from the rather similar *Dorcas*, and most people are probably prepared to leave it at that.

If, however, the subject is pursued further, some very interesting lines of speculation are opened up.

One might think, especially in the northern Sudan, that it was more normal for Gazelles to be without the stripe, and that it has been acquired by a few species only.

If we look, however, at Gazelles and allied genera from other parts of the world, we find that the great majority have some kind of a line, dark, but not always black, separating the fawn colour of the back from the white of the under parts, and running roughly between the points where the fore and hind limbs join the body.

So constant is this feature that we can only assume that it is a very ancient character deriving from a time when the Gazelles and their allies had not branched off from the main stock of the Antelopes, in fact the suggestion of a somewhat similar line in the Sable Antelope and the Gemsbok seems to indicate that it is older still and dates back to a period when the Antelopes were little differentiated among themselves.

It seems, therefore, certain that the *Ariel*, the *Ril*, and the *Dorcas* are descended from ancestors which possessed a black stripe and have lost it in the same way that many other animals which live among desert surroundings have lost distinctive markings and have adopted a more or less uniform fawn coloration. A familiar instance of this is the Lion. The striped and spotted coloration of the majority of the *Felidæ* is well known, and in this case it is common knowledge that the lion, especially when young, shows very distinct traces of ancestral

markings. No such traces can be found in these Gazelles. I have examined many young Ariel and Dorcas and a few young Ril, and have never found any darkening of the hair in the position occupied by the stripe in other species.

Some writers of books of sport state that the Dorcas has a faint dark line. If they mean that the hair is more darkly pigmented along this line, I can only say I have shot, watched, or kept as pets, some hundreds of this species, and have never in any single case observed a trace of it.

I shall have, however, to refer to this again.

Returning to those species that have the dark stripe, it is hard to believe that a character so ancient and so widely spread among the Gazelles and their allies has no significance ; it is equally hard to suggest what that significance may be. Is it protective ? I think not, my own observations have led me to believe that under similar conditions of light and background the black stripe of the Rufifrons makes them rather easier to detect than the Dorcas.

Is it a sexual ornament ? It is certainly not so in the sense that the brilliant colour of the " Durra-bird " is. In that familiar case the colour is only adopted by the male bird, and only in the breeding season for purposes of display ; in the Rufifrons the stripe is common to male and female, old and young, and in fact I have found that if one selects from a herd the animal with the most conspicuous stripe one is nearly sure to bag a female or young male. Like the chestnut horseshoe on the breast of the common partridge, which was long thought to mark an old cock bird the marking is of little use as a guide to age or sex.

Does it protect any vital organ from the direct rays of the sun ? Obviously not. It overlies no particular internal organ and is on a part of the body shaded from, rather than exposed to, strong sunlight. That pigmented hairs and feathers do afford protection from the sun can be seen by watching the Indigo-finch feeding on the ground. The male in full breeding plumage will often feed in the sun, while the rest of the plain grey flock will take advantage of every scrap of shade. Does it act as a warning signal ?

There are several ways by which Gazelle convey alarm to the rest of the herd, but I do not see how the black stripe can be used for

this purpose. To make my meaning clearer I would allude to the theory that has been put forward to account for the white underside of the Rabbit's "scut", namely, that when the Rabbit is feeding quietly his tail is hidden, but on any sudden alarm the flash of his white tail as he bolts for his hole gives warning to his companions.

I shall now return to the Dorcas and make note of an observation without which the above remarks would be of little interest, and which may throw some light on the question.

I have already said that in hundreds of Dorcas gazelle examined by me alive and dead in the Sudan I have found no trace of a stripe due to darker coloured hairs.

Nevertheless a Dorcas in summer coat standing in the sun often shows a very distinct dark line (which will sometimes come out quite black in a photograph), exactly in the same position as the black stripe of the Ruffrongs.

It is, however, totally different in origin. It is not due to pigment at all but to the "lie" of the hair and the play of light and shade upon it.

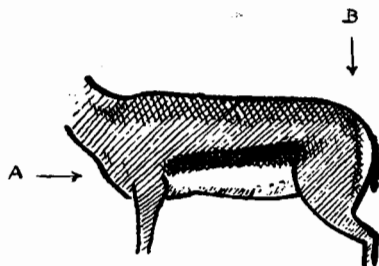


Diagram of a Dorcas gazelle in which the play of light on the hair produces shadows similar to the black stripes in other species.

The diagram shows that where the hair lies sleek and smooth along the sides the colour appears lighter, but where, as along the back there is a slight roughness in the hair, the coat appears distinctly darker. This is particularly the case where the fawn hair overlies the white along the flank and down the back of the haunch. These positions, indicated by the arrows "A" and "B" in the diagram, are exactly where dark pigmented lines are found in many other Gazelles and in genera allied to them.

I think it is a very extraordinary thing to find precisely the same effect produced in similar species by totally different means.

There must have been a time when the ancestors of the Gazelles had not yet acquired dark stripes. When they acquired them they did so in exactly the positions where natural shadows would lie if the supposed ancestor was similar in shape to the Dorcas which seems not improbable, and if the lie of the hair was also similar, a matter on which we have little means of forming an opinion.

Since the shadow stripe of the Dorcas has no material foundation, but is merely due to the play of light and shade, it can only be appreciable to the eye, and we may assume primarily only of value in the eye of another Gazelle.

Where the same effect is produced by two quite distinct methods it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that in one or both cases it has been consciously or unconsciously selected. We do not know much about the æsthetic sense in animals, but if human instincts in this direction are any guide, it seems that there is a tendency to admire any slight enhancement of an existing characteristic, or in other words something slightly different from, but similar to, the normal. It is on this assumption that ladies will artificially make the eyes a little darker, the complexion a little pinker, or the lips a little redder. Artists will draw the human form with some feature more or less exaggerated; if the exaggeration is slight the effect is often artistic and pleasing, but if it is too great a departure from what we are accustomed to we experience a feeling of irritation and repulsion.

In a herd of Gazelle the play of light and shade on the bodies of their companions is constantly before each individual's eyes—to human eyes at least it is an object of great beauty. It does not seem unreasonably far-fetched to suggest that Gazelles become connoisseurs of the play of light and shade on their companions' bodies, and are educated up to admire it or marks resembling it.

The chance appearance or a dark marking along a line where a dark shadow was already expected may have given its possessor an added attractiveness in the eyes of his or her companions, and may have been preserved by sexual selection.

I do not put this forward as a definite theory but as an interesting line of speculation.

Animals accustomed to watch their companions in bright sunshine may come to admire lines resembling the shadows on a body in a strong light, while others accustomed to move in dappled light and shade may learn to appreciate and admire dappled markings, much in the same way as an Englishman accustomed to the soft colouring of his native surroundings might take pleasure in ornaments of grey or green, where a native accustomed to tropical contrasts might choose black, white, red or yellow.

It seems possible that animals living and searching for food constantly on the yellow surface of the desert, become accustomed to, and connoisseurs of, shades of fawn and yellow and choose consciously or unconsciously any variation in that direction in their mates.

If so sexual selection may have been one of the factors that have peopled the deserts with yellow and fawn coloured species.

W. R. G. BOND.

Some Notes on the Barbary Sheep in Northern Kordofan

MY personal experience of the Barbary Sheep is not great, as I have only actually set out to hunt them on one occasion, which effort, I am glad to say, was not inadequately rewarded. I have, however, in the last three years had many conversations about them with the Hawawir Arabs, a tribe amongst whom are found the best shikaris I have seen in Africa, and who are extraordinarily interested in, and observant of, game. Thus possibly my own limited observation, added to the greater store of knowledge gleaned from these Arabs, may be of some interest, especially as little appears to have been written about the habits of these animals.

The Barbary Sheep is only found on the northern and western fringes of Northern Kordofan, with the exception of one colony of them on Galaat Dowowir and J. Shatr el Umm, some 30 miles north of Soderi ; it was probably from the latter place that a huge ram strayed which was killed in April, 1925, by a native of J. Katul with an axe in his cultivation, having been brought to bay by the village dogs—a sad end truly for an aristocrat of the mountains. His horns, which

are in my possession, measure $28\frac{1}{2}$ in. on the curve, which appears to be a record for the Sudan, though run very close by a head possessed by Captain Evans, of Northern Darfur.

The main haunts of the sheep, as I have said, are further north and west, in such ranges of desert hills as Js. Audun and El Ain on the Dongola border, J. el Heitan towards the border of Darfur, and J. Tageru, where they are said to be very numerous, in the extreme north-western corner of Kordofan. They also exist in various places in Northern Darfur, such as Js. Meidob and Tagabo, and doubtless spread right across the Sahara to Algeria and Tunisia. As far as I know their eastern limit is represented by the Shabluka hills on the Nile north of Khartoum, although I do not know if they are still to be found there. I do not know if they exist east of the Nile.

The Mountain Sheep is a surprisingly big and solid beast, with a fine fringe of long coarse hair on his throat, and great tassels in front of his knees somewhat reminiscent of the Zulu warrior or the rickshaw boys in Durban. His general colour is sandy, making him extraordinarily invisible when standing still on his sandstone rocks. He goes about usually in small family parties, eleven, including at least two fine rams, being the greatest number I have seen together. The appearance of the latter is really most striking and impressive.

Of the hills I have mentioned as being frequented by him in Northern Kordofan, probably Jebel Heitan, where I have myself hunted the sheep, is a fairly typical example. It is a sandstone formation, with steep sides of some 300 ft. high, covering a large area of country, and having perfectly flat plateaux on top. The sides, which as the name implies resemble "walls" in the distance, consist of a welter of tumbled rocks and scree, usually leaving a bare precipitous brow of unbroken rock just under the edge of the plateau. These walls are broken here and there by gorges, whose sides near the mouth are of similar character, and which run up to nothing in the interior of the plateaux. The tops are usually perfectly smooth and flat except where broken by these valleys.

The sheep frequent the open faces, and appear to dislike the flat smooth tops, except when crossing from one wall to another. At night they descend on to the level to graze, keeping, to judge from

their tracks, always within a couple of hundred yards from the foot of the rocks. Sometimes, however, they will cross from one range of hills to another under cover of darkness. In the morning they move up again on to the face of the hill, and in hot weather spend the day right under the precipitous brow, where the rocks afford them shade.

They appear to be independent of water.

Their tracks resemble those of domestic sheep, but are considerably larger, especially in the case of the adult rams.

A few observations on hunting the sheep may be of interest. As the hills they frequent cover enormous areas, and the going is a mass of rotten rock and tumbled scree which beggars description, the most practical way to get them is to work round, or send trackers round, the base of the hill to look for new tracks. Until this is done, there is nothing to be gained by climbing the hills at all, unless, indeed, your main object is to reduce your weight. New and promising tracks being reported in a certain wadi or bay of the hills, you should then get to the top above that place and a little to leeward in the earliest dawn, and work cautiously along, "spying" from the brow at intervals with glasses. The sheep, unless badly scared by your trackers, will be on the face below you somewhere not very far away. It is easy to approach them from above, but almost impossible from below. As long as they do not get your wind I have not found them at all wild, and even if they see you will not move far.

Both sexes carry horns, and to the unpractised eye it is hard to distinguish the best head; a Hawari Arab will tell you at once.

They are extremely hard to stop, unless disabled at once by the first shot. And as they can move at a great pace over the most break-neck country, and one where tracking is difficult, the risk of losing a wounded one is considerable.

A good deal has been talked in the last few years about the protection of these sheep from the Arab. Inasmuch as they are the only wild sheep in Africa, and in this country very local in their distribution, such an object must command one's fullest sympathy. How far it can be attained is another matter. I do not, however, believe that the sheep suffer from the Arabs much. The Arab has a great dislike of hills and stones, and very few of them would go clambering about

jebels if they could get meat any other way. They also tell me that they are not fond of their flesh, though I have found it very good myself. Occasionally an Arab on the level marks down a sheep on the face of the hill and shoots him, and sometimes a few young men drive a bit of the hill and bag two or three, but this appears very uncommon. It is, indeed, rare to meet an Arab who has ever seen a sheep at all, though he may pass their haunts every year.

I myself do not fear their extermination, unless these far deserts become a popular resort for energetic European shooting parties. Such appears unlikely, fortunately for the peace of a most interesting and fascinating animal.

J. F. P. MACLAREN.

Merissa

WHEREVER the dura crop is found in the Sudan, there also is merissa made, and the method of its making in spite of local variations is essentially the same. The Galla in Western Abyssinia treat their maize flour in the same way as the Dinka Shilluk or Arabs treat dura.

The methods and recipes detailed below do not pretend to be invariable, but were collected from a Rufaa Arab, a Nuba woman, and one or two Dinka and Shilluk. In fact, much depends on the artist who makes the merissa, and local connoisseurs assert that they can tell at the first sip the *endaia* whence the drink has come.

Both white and yellow dura are available to the Arabs; the former is especially sought for *kisra*, the latter for merissa. The Dinka dura (Dura Ajak) being a mixture, combines both virtues. The colour of the drink depends chiefly upon the colour of the dura, but also on the cleanliness of its making. There are two methods of making merissa, first by soaking and the second by boiling.

The Method by Soaking.—The dura is ground on the stone, or in the South in the *funduk*. One-third of the flour is sprinkled with water and kept until it swells and ferments. It is called in this state *Ziri'a*, and it works as yeast. The whole quantity of flour is worked into a dough (*'aġin*) and baked; it is then called *suriġ*. This *suriġ* is put in a *burma* and water poured in to the required amount. In this state it

is known as *daboba* and stands for two days or more, the longer the stronger and more bitter it becomes. During fermentation it looks like a grey broth with sinister bubbles emerging from its depths. When it has fermented sufficiently the liquid is poured off into a canvas bag and is strained through it. The bag is squeezed out, but retains the drained *daboba*.

The result of this first filtration is called *dugga*, which is the best quality of the soaked merissas. But the economical housewife does not throw the dregs away yet. A second soaking in the burma produces a second grade called *karafin*, a third time produces *wirid*, and the fourth the *wirub*. By this time the virtue of the flour has departed, and it is termed *mashkhub* and thrown out to the chickens or the goats.

Among the Shilluk and Nuba, and also I think in the North, travellers carry the *surij* which is dry and crumbled in a bag. When a wayside drink is required they pour cold water on to a handful of the *surij*. It is allowed to soak a few minutes and is then drunk. The grains of *surij* in the beverage catch in the teeth, whence this drink has earned the inelegant name of *um tuff*.

Boiled Merissas.—The process for boiled merissas is exactly the same as for those soaked, except that when the *daboba* has fermented for some time it is boiled up and allowed to cool again before being strained off through the bag. Boiled merissa is more commonly drunk than the unboiled, and there are two or three grades of it of which the best is *bilbil*. This is one recipe for this grade. Use only yellow dura and take two parts of *ziri'a* to one of *surij*. Allow to stand for seven days before boiling. The result should be a full amber coloured liquid, quite clear and with but little head to it. This is a gentleman's drink, and is usually unobtainable by the cupful at the *endaia* and has to be bought by the full *burma*.

There is also another grade called '*asalia*'. This name is applied as well to other drinks which are made with honey, e.g. the Abyssinian *tej* or mead. A proportion of yellow dura is generally used and in appearance the drink is pale yellow with a good head to it.

The proportion of *ziri'a* and the period allowed for the fermentation are the factors determining the alcoholic strength of the drink. The sheikha is therefore entirely responsible whether her hospitality is

above or below proof. The average strength of *bilbil* and '*asalia* is low ; and much, so I am told, can be drunk with impunity. But there is one kind of merissa of which the reputation is instinct in its name—*kabs el tor*. Its manufacture has one distinctive feature ; the *ziri'a* is ground up into the '*aḡīn*, not mixed by hand. The *daboba* is thus considerably strengthened and allowed to stand a considerable time before boiling. In colour the drink should be a dirty grey with a fine heavy head. In it the potency of '*aragi* can be found without the expense.

'*Aragi*.—The cost of '*aragi* is high because the manufacture is illegal. The methods and apparatus are everywhere much the same. '*Aragi* is distilled merissa or rather distilled *daboba*. The ingredients of the *daboba* is entirely *ziri'a*, and after it has fermented for some days a metal cap is fitted over the head of the *burma* from which a pipe ascends vertically. This pipe, generally a hollowed bamboo, is carefully jointed at right angles and the joint packed round with rags. At the other end of the long centre piece a second right angle joint turns the pipe down into a copper kettle which catches the drops of distilled liquid. A charcoal fire is kept burning until all the moisture has evaporated from the *burma*. If cleanly made the '*aragi* should be as clear as water and have the distinctive smell of decaying vegetables. The first distillation is called *bikri*. Then the *daboba* is resoaked, and several distillations of decreasing strength are taken, the final one having no "body" in it—a fact which neither appearance nor smell betrays until it is too late to the chagrined but helpless buyer.

C. B. TRACEY.

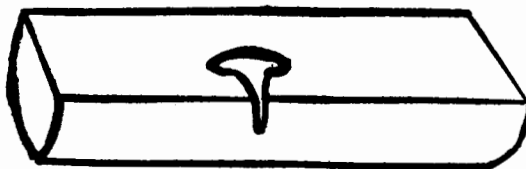
Firesticks

THE natives of the Sudan with whom one is most in contact—servants, soldiers, police, townspeople—are all so obviously users of matches that one is apt to overlook the fact that the vast majority of the population who are not in these categories habitually make fire by more primitive means. In my own case, it was not until I camped at the foot of an unfrequented Nuba hill and heard the startled exclamation of one of its inhabitants at the striking of a match, that I paid any attention to the matter, although before that time I must frequently

have seen, without noticing them, a pair of firesticks tied to the framework of a native angareib, in villages where I had camped.

Then and there I had fire made for me by the hillmen, with sticks which they produced from the village. One of these was about eighteen inches long, rather thicker than a lead pencil. This is the most convenient length for the purpose. The other stick was about three-quarters of an inch thick. Its length does not matter much, since it is not manipulated in the fire-making process. Nine inches or so would be adequate. One side of this stick should be slightly flattened and peeled with a knife. Both sticks should be thoroughly dry and there must be no trace of bark at the business end of the thin stick.

The operator begins by making with a knife a small depression in the middle of the flattened side of the thick stick and connecting it by a notched channel with the edge of the flat surface, as shown diagrammatically in the figure. He then takes a small bundle of dry grass or of dry tindery rags, places it on the ground and puts across it the thick firestick, flat side up. For choice a companion holds it



in position for him, but if he is alone he squats to the job, with one foot tucked under him and the stick held in position by the prehensile toes of the other.

Next he puts a tiny pinch of dust into the small depression on the "mother" stick, murmuring, if he is an Arab, the jingle *Nār el tureiba gureiba*—"Fire with sand is at hand." Now he places the peeled end of the thin stick into the depression and, holding it vertically, begins to spin it, this way and that, between the palms of his hands. As he spins, his hands work down from the top of the stick to the bottom. If he is alone, he has to stop there and take a fresh grip at the top, but if two are doing it, the man squatting opposite to him takes over

at the top of the stick as the first man reaches the bottom, and so on, alternately, so that the spinning is continuous.

As soon as the thin stick is moving well, fine wood-dust appears where the sticks meet and trickles down the notched channel on to the grass or tinder. Presently smoke rises and the wood-dust begins to clot and fall in little lumps. Finally one of these lumps comes down red-hot, on to the grass.

Now the sticks are discarded, and the bundle of grass is folded gingerly about the glowing clot, is raised and swung gently to and fro, the draught of air through it causing it speedily to burst into flame.

It is impossible to watch this feat performed without wishing to emulate it. The result, for most white people, as I know from experience, will be an aching back, badly blistered hands, and the realization of how grossly untrue is the statement that there is no smoke without fire. For the benefit of experimenters, I will pass on the tip given to me by an Arab who, unfortunately, withheld it until I had done damage to my hands which it would take weeks to repair. It is, to spin the stick quite lightly, with hardly any downward pressure, until the smoke-producing stage is reached, and then to apply considerable downward pressure, while spinning, until the red-hot clot of wood-dust appears.

By this means a European, with courage and good fortune, may produce fire in time; a native of the Sudan, under favourable conditions, will do so in less than thirty seconds, though normally the process takes a minute or two.

Numerous friable woods are suitable for use as fire-sticks (Ar. *māfārīk*, sing. *mufrāk*) and various regions of the Sudan have each their own favourites. The following is a list supplied to me from native sources.

<i>Name of Tree.</i>	<i>Provinces which use it.</i>
Palm Boughs (Ar. <i>Jerīd</i>)	Halfa, Dongola, Berber.
Acacia Ehrenbergiana (Ar. <i>Salam</i>).	Halfa, Dongola, Berber, Red Sea, Khartoum, Kordofan.
Dura stalks.	Dongola, Berber, Red Sea, Blue Nile, Kordofan.
Tamarisk (Ar. <i>Tarfa</i>).	Dongola, Kassala, Blue Nile.
Cotton stalks.	Red Sea.

<i>Name of Tree.</i>	<i>Provinces which use it.</i>
Zizyphus Spina Christi (Ar. <i>Sidr</i>).	Kassala, Khartoum, Blue Nile, Fung, White Nile, Darfur.
Cordia Abyssinica (Ar. <i>Inderâb</i>).	Kassala, Khartoum, Fung, White Nile, Kordofan, Darfur, Nuba Mountains.
Acacia Nubica (Ar. <i>La'ôl</i>).	Blue Nile, White Nile, Kordofan.
Acacia Nilotica (Ar. <i>Sunt</i>).	Fung, White Nile.
Balanites Ægyptiaca (Ar. <i>Hejlîj</i>).	Fung, Kordofan, Darfur.
Bamboo (Ar. <i>Gana</i>)	Fung, Kordofan, Nuba Mountains.
Grewia Salvifolia (Ar. <i>Basham</i>).	Fung, Kordofan, Nuba Mountains.
Salvadora Persica (Ar. <i>Arâk</i>).	White Nile.
Acacia Tortilis (Ar. <i>Samar</i>).	Kordofan, Darfur.
(Unidentified) (Ar. <i>Zân</i>).	Kordofan.
Terminalia Cycloptera (Ar. <i>Sabâkh</i>).	Nuba Mountains.

R. D.

REVIEWS

SUDANESE GRAMMAR. By ALLAN WORSLEY, M.B.; Ch.B. S.P.C.K.,
London, 1925. 80 pp.

THIS small book, dealing with that dialect of Arabic spoken in the Northern Sudan and in Omdurman in particular, should prove of considerable value to residents and officials in this country, especially to officials arriving in the Sudan for the first time with a certain knowledge of semi-classical Arabic already acquired. Their existing knowledge will render the grammar readily comprehensible and the points therein set forth will enable them to listen for and detect the main differences between the local dialect and the Arabic they have already learned. Great pains have been taken throughout in the careful accentuation of every Arabic word, and if attention is paid to this, the beginner will be enabled to avoid a frequent source of error.

For the complete novice the book will not be quite so useful as a certain pre-existing knowledge of Arabic seems to be assumed. Thus there are references to the "te marbūṭa" and to the "measure", "fa'ala", but it is not explained what these are, or how they work. Similarly the section on broken plurals is very sketchy; it might, for instance, be pointed out that for certain measures, e.g. *amīr*, *hilla*, the formation of the plurals generally follows the same pattern. Again, it is not explained, for the benefit of the beginner, that inanimate masculine plural nouns do not take masculine plural adjectives.

In some respects there is a tendency to over-emphasis. For instance the forms *burumti* (for *burmati*), *shāmilti* (for *shamlati*), *yaharis* (for *yahris*), *takitbi* (for *taktibi*), are undoubtedly current; but it might be thought from the text that these are the invariable forms, whereas the regular formations are in fact just as common, if not commoner.

The following minor criticisms may be made. On page 31, the common Sudanese present auxiliary *bi* is introduced very abruptly; a reference might have been inserted here to the fuller explanation on page 36. On p. 33, under class 6 b, there is an evident lacuna, what

is evidently a note for the author's own use not having been filled in. On p. 41, weak first radical verbs, the usual future form of *wazan* is surely *yūzin*. On p. 48 a "t" has been accidentally dropped from the participles of forms V and VI.

The transliteration of the book is on a phonetic basis. It is regrettable to think that, phonetics never being taught in schools, so few will be able to profit by this side of it. The grammar, which is on sale at the Victoria Bookstall, contains the promise of a forthcoming volume of exercises and vocabularies, and a reader. It is to be hoped that these will not be long in making their appearance.

L. F. N.

SUDAN ARABIC: AN ENGLISH-ARABIC VOCABULARY. By S. HILLELSON.

Published by the Sudan Government. London, 1925.

THE author, in his preface, rightly claims that this is a new work rather than a revised edition of the English-Arabic Vocabulary of the late Captain Amery, and it would be ungrateful to the latter book, which, despite many obvious defects, has served a very useful purpose in its day, to institute comparisons between the two.

An introduction, as interesting as it is scholarly, defines the scope of the work and explains the method of its presentation. Sudan Arabic "is not a homogeneous language . . . but rather the common term for a number of local forms of speech which constitute a group owing to a general similarity of type, and in consequence of geographical and political contacts." Of these local forms of speech, the author broadly distinguishes sub-dialects for the Northern Sudan, the Central Sudan, the Western Sudan, and the Baggāra tribes and he notes, further, that the speech of nomad Arabs everywhere differs from that of the settled population.

These sub-dialects present a great diversity of vocabulary and of idiom. Words in everyday use in one region are sometimes not only not used but not even understood, in another. Nevertheless, there is a large common stock of words which pass current throughout the whole country. Thus in any given region there will be found this common language, or *Koiné*, side by side with the local dialect.

To these two categories, the *Koiné* and the dialect, must be added a third, consisting of technical terms, connected with the administration and the army and such Egyptian words as have been taken into the vocabularies of the official class and other educated natives of the Sudan.

For purposes of a vocabulary of this kind, these three categories of words are not all on the same footing. Users of the work may reasonably expect something approaching completeness in the collection of *Koiné* and technical words, but no such standard is applicable to the dialects. Completeness, there, is not only unattainable in the present state of knowledge, but would not be consonant with the plan of the book. All that can be expected is an illustrative selection of dialectical words.

The book has not been published long enough to receive due appraisal, based on study and use, but even a cursory examination justifies a laudatory description of it which is unlikely to require serious modification.

It appears to contain between four thousand and five thousand English words, so that, *prima facie*, it is improbable that many words of the common language of the country are omitted. These are given first place, among the Arabic equivalents of the English terms ; they are followed by dialectical forms, if any are given ; technical terms come last, in square brackets.

Beginners in the study of the language will welcome the transliterations which are given of all Arabic words, as also the large number of plural forms shown for nouns and the indications of the characteristic vowels of the aorist forms of verbs. They will also find extremely useful the judicious selection of examples of the idiomatic use of words and of the periphrases by which Sudan Arabic expresses certain English ideas.

The Vocabulary contains dialectical forms in sufficient abundance for illustrative purposes. It would have been a mistake to include a much greater number in a work of this kind, which aims at general utility, but it is hoped that officials in out-stations will be stimulated by this publication to make complete collections of words used around them which are not found in the Vocabulary.

So much having been said, the author can afford to concede to the reviewer such small modicum of unhallowed joy as the amateur can, in this instance, derive from detecting the expert in error. Like another lexicographer, who defined the pastern as the knee of a horse (" Ignorance, Madam, sheer ignorance "), Mr Hillelson is not completely happy in equine matters. Thus *ashgar* is not roan, but chestnut ; and *ahau* is not chestnut but brown.

There is always a danger in defining the meaning of a dialectical word from insufficient data. On a former occasion Dr. Seligman attempted to restrict the meaning of the verb *nashagh* to " to go north-west ", basing his definition on the usage of certain sections of the Kababish tribe. Mr. Hillelson avoids this error, but falls into the similar one of defining *wōlā* as " to move south to the river (Bagg) ". In fact, *wōlā* is the complementary word to *nashagh*. The latter is correctly explained in the Vocabulary as " to disperse in grazing grounds during the rainy season ". The former means to " move back to dry weather quarters when the rainy season is over ". It is perfectly true that for the Baggāra this is a move south to the river, but the Kababish also use the word for a movement which is neither towards the south nor to a river.

Readers of this review will rightly infer that if criticism is directed to nice points of this kind, it is for lack of serious blemishes in the work.

There are one or two omissions due to sheer oversight, as when the author directs the searcher for " wood " to " see forest ", a word which accidentally is omitted, though its Arabic equivalent will be found under " scrub ".

Those thoroughly familiar with the dialect of a particular region will be in a position to point out that here and there the author has included a rare dialectical word while omitting a more common or more useful one. This, indeed, could hardly have been avoided except by organized collaboration with provincial officials. Thus westerners (and possibly others) will have difficulty in finding the ubiquitous word *bārid*, as applied to lawfulness of possession, which is hidden away under the heading of " clear " and will look in vain for its antithesis *hāmī* or *hārr*, as also for the vulgar but very common *Kīrī*, applied generally to stolen camels after they have passed from a thief to a receiver.

The introduction to the Vocabulary contains a number of interesting notes of grammatical phenomena with a half-promise of a fuller work to come, on the subject of Sudan Arabic grammar. There is also a hint which leads us to hope for an Arabic-English idioticon of the Sudan, containing the vocabularies of specialized pursuits and of songs or ballads. Both of these works are assured of a cordial welcome from all who are interested in the language of the country.

High praise must be given to the form of the book under review. It is handy in size ; the type used, both for English and Arabic, is admirably clear ; the spacing is generous and makes for easy reading.

The Vocabulary should, and doubtless will, be obtained by all the British whose work necessitates intercourse with natives of the Sudan, and it is not too much to hope that it will effect a sensible improvement in the quality and quantity of their speech in Arabic.

R. D.

Three Recent French Books

1. MANUEL DE POLITIQUE MUSULMANE. By UN AFRICAÎN. Bossard, Paris, 1925.
2. L'ISLAM ET LA PSYCHOLOGIE DU MUSULMANE. By ANDRÉ SERVIER. Challamel, Paris, 1923.
3. ISLAMISME CONTRE NATURISME AU SOUDAN FRANÇAISE. By P. BRÉVIÉ. Leroux, Paris, 1923.

THE first book contains less than two hundred small pages and is hardly more than a pamphlet, but it is well worth reading. The author speaks with knowledge and excellent judgment of political problems in French North Africa, which have much in common with those confronting us in Egypt and in the Sudan. The temper in which he approaches these problems is, if one may say so, not unlike the temper in which an Englishman would approach them ; he is well acquainted with the writings of Cromer and Milner, and he has little patience with the passion for generalization, *si français*, which blinds many of his countrymen to hard facts. To an Englishman, consequently, many of his conclusions go without saying but, to quote what in another connexion he quotes from some wit, they go *encore bien mieux en le disant*.

Perhaps the most interesting of his criticisms are devoted to the religious question and the attitude which a French administrator should adopt towards Islam, and the recognition he should expect from Moslems. It is right and necessary, our author says, and our first duty, to secure complete liberty for Moslems to practise their faith and it is right to see that religious endowments are honestly used for religious purposes, but we should not expect gratitude or even respect for this, we must not be surprised if many Ulama think we behave thus either because we are ourselves at heart dominated by Islam, or because we have no faith in our own religion : nothing can be more childish than the exaggerated display of mosque-building and ceremonial *fantasias* which are popular with perfervid Islamomaniacs in Paris and elsewhere. We cannot, in honour to ourselves, depart from the great principles of religious toleration, but we should behave with discreet and rather distant deference to religions we do not share, and above all should not be so naive as to fancy we are acquiring merit, in the eyes of the orthodox, Moslem or Christian, by gushing over their rites. We stand on a different level.

This sane and dignified realism finds equal expression in his remarks on administrative problems proper. In order to justify to our own consciences our position as conquerors, we must give the conquered the largest possible measure of security and material prosperity in the first place. To do this we may adopt the machinery of direct or of indirect administration. The latter he regards as a *pis aller* justified only by want of men or money, but the former is not a permanent solution either. *Memento tu regere* is the motto of the longest chapter in the book, and firm government he considers the first duty of France to-day, but *la conquête est une conception dynamique* and the conqueror can only maintain his position by vigilance and resource in meeting the changing demands of a shifting situation. For the Moroccan of old days the term Morocco as a national entity meant nothing—there was a Sultan and a Government and a number of tribes : now with the Riffian revolt we must admit that what is called nationalism has come to the birth. Only the most inveterate idéologues would dream that there existed a universal panacea for all the troubles attendant on this. Our author's remarks on education are brief but sound :

we must not be obscurantist but we should not force the pace, and we need not take too seriously the Frenchified *semi-intellectuels* or *semi-primaires*.

A chapter on *Le rôle français en Islam* concludes the book, but it appeals naturally less to us, the writer regarding things primarily from the French nationalist standpoint and only *d'une manière générale* as sub-serving *la civilisation tout entière*.

(2). The second book on our list, *L'Islam et la Psychologie du Musulman*, by André Servier, is a curious contrast in temper and conclusions to the anonymous brochure we have just noticed.

Three-quarters of M. Servier's book are taken up with hot denunciations of Islam and the Arabs. The Arab, i.e., the Beduin, as the most characteristic and vital representative of the race, is drawn as a marauding barbarian, restless, brutal, insensible, without a trace of imagination: Islam is a secretion of the Arab brain: Arab civilization is a misnomer, what we admire as such was really the last flowering of the old Greco-Latin civilization, all that is good in it was the work of the non-Arab subjects of the Caliphs, its fall was due to the triumph of the Arab elements over the others: Islam is really the extinguisher of all culture. Even the colloquial language spoken in North Africa to-day was not brought by the Arabs but is the old Punic tongue. Islam and the Arabs are therefore the natural enemies of France, which is now become the heir and representative of the old Greco-Latin culture.

The chapters in which this thesis is developed are followed by an interesting account of the present political situation in North Africa. M. Servier is fairly well acquainted with pre-war Egyptian politics; he sets forth very clearly the differences between Egypt, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, and his programme for the last three countries is defined with the utmost possible sharpness of outline. Algiers is the country most immediately concerned, but the ultimate goal is the same for all—complete assimilation of the natives to the governing people in a transmediterranean French Empire: the means, a return in general to the system of direct administration coupled with extensive colonization from the Mother Country as preached by Marshal Bugeaud and with certain new measures tending in the same way.

France, as we have said, is represented as the heir of Greco-Latin civilization, the successor of the Roman Empire, commissioned to carry on the wonderful work initiated in Rome: Islam is the great enemy, and it is to Islam and the mentality it has created that all nationalist opposition to France is traceable.

Some of the new measures suggested are ingenious, others strike us, to be frank, as disgusting. Among the former is the religious policy he puts forward. Left to themselves the Arabs will never repair a falling mosque: why should we do it for them? Why should we encourage the teaching of the Koran or the higher Islamic religious studies which without Government assistance will certainly decay? Why should we facilitate the pilgrimage to Mecca, which is a hot-bed of international political intrigue? Let us adopt the same secularist policy towards Islam which in Europe has transformed the eldest daughter of the Catholic Church into Republican France. But, at the same time, let us remember, with Cardinal Lavigerie, that the Barbers were once Christians, that a Christian religious education is much more likely to produce friendly subjects than a lay education, and that the good cause would be further helped by reserving profitable posts for converted natives. The more French teaching we can introduce, the better therefore, and not only French teaching but French blood: the mixed marriage between a Frenchman and a native woman does not lead to satisfactory results, but it is very different, he argues, in the case of a marriage between respectable natives and Frenchwomen, of whom there is a surplus in France to-day; this produces an immediately beneficial effect upon the home and the new generation.

It is unnecessary to criticize this fantastic policy in detail, but I would venture to offer two general remarks.

In the first place, M. Servier takes a very narrow view of Latin civilization: the Spanish and the Italians in Algiers and elsewhere are to be submitted to the same Gallicizing measures as the natives, although elsewhere he recognizes that there is no essential difference between French, English, and German civilization.

Secondly, the problem of nationalism is regarded also from too narrow a standpoint: its connexion with Islam in North Africa is purely accidental, we meet the same phenomenon in the Ethiopian

movements in South Africa, among the Hindus in India, and in China and Japan where Moslem influence is non-existent or negligible. It seems to us to be an expression of much the same national egotism which has dictated M. Servier's proposals to Frenchify Spaniards and Italians. "First cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

(3) The third book on our list, *L'Islamisme contra Naturisme au Soudan français*, is the work of M. Brévié, a high official in the French Colonial service, and is concerned with problems of administration in areas where, as in our own southern Sudan, there is a mixed Moslem-Pagan population. His proposals, which are mainly educational, have been endorsed by M. Maurice Delafosse, himself an old Colonial governor, as one of the wisest programmes of native policy yet put forward, and we propose to confine ourselves to these, ignoring the long anthropological disquisitions which occupy a large part of the book. These proposals are consistent with the Mohammadan policy outlined by *un Africain* and embody all that appears sound in M. Servier's propaganda.

According to M. Brévié the first administrators in the French Sudan were inspired by the work of General Faidherbe in Algiers, and were strongly pro-Mohammadan in sympathy: they argued that both Sudanese and Algerians were Africans, that what suited one would therefore suit the other, that Islam was a higher religion than fetishism, and that conversion to Islam would be naturally the next step in the advance of the Sudanese and one much easier than conversion to Christianity. A few years before the war there was a change of front to which political considerations admittedly contributed. The spread of Islam among the impressionable and vigorous tribes of the Sudan might endanger French hegemony, and it was also felt that after all Islam might not be in the natural line of African progress, that it had arisen in a very different cultural environment, that whatever good it might do to individual negroes it was entirely disruptive of their social institutions, that the Pagan tribes had fought again and again with success against Islam, and that Islam was actually on the wane when the French conquered these provinces. A circular was accordingly drafted in 1911 which explained lucidly the new orientation of policy

in regard to fetishists and Mohammadans respectively. All effort were to be made to stem the disintegration of native fetishism : the old customs, *émanation profonde et spontanée du génie de la race*, were to be collected and codified : instruction in them was to be provided in French schools just as instruction in the Shari'a was given in Islamic schools : evening classes were to be held for adults : the chiefs and the councils of native notables were to be supported, and the customary decisions in their courts upheld in every reasonable way. With regard to the Moslems, on the other hand, Government must act in a liberal, tolerant, and enlightened way, but it was essential that complete lists should be made of all the marabouts—our fikis and Khalifas—in each district, with notes on their character and loyalty, that they should be stopped from wandering about to collect alms, and watched in their own villages : that licences for the pilgrimage should be referred to the Governor, and no more schools or mosques opened without sanction.

The new policy was immediately successful : the Pagans welcomed the further recognition they had received, and the Moslems, as we can readily appreciate here, were glad to escape from the extortions of the marabouts. One part of the programme remained a dead letter, the instruction in customs in the schools, and this by reason of the ignorance of the schoolmasters concerning these customs.

M. Brévié now thinks that the time has come to take a further step. The economic development of the country and the changed outlook of thousands of black ex-soldiers who have served in France and elsewhere during the war, render impossible the maintenance of the existing fetishism. As to what the future may bring forth, whether in the political, the cultural, or the religious sphere, he knows no more than anyone else but he is confident as to the duty of the French Colonial Government. The Government must not do violence to the convictions of any of its subjects but it can no longer remain disinterested in the religious side of their institutions : otherwise the swept and garnished chambers of the native mind will be occupied by some travesty of Islam. These considerations lead M. Brévié to put forward a new educational programme.

In this programme a sharp distinction is drawn between the absolute truths of positive science which are the same always and

everywhere, and the contingent verities of the social or political sphere which vary from race to race and from time to time. The former, he says, can be safely administered in large doses to young Africans and with the happiest results. Prove by continuous experiments, he exclaims, that the shadow is not a soul but due to the interception of the sun's rays: that lightning can be imprisoned in a Leyden jar and discharged at will: that rain is the result of evaporation and not the gift of a spirit we can move by prayers: that diseases are due to natural causes and not to malevolent genii and so on. If you can saturate Africans with these truths, you will accomplish in one generation what it has taken Europe centuries to learn, and you will have destroyed the ignorance and fear on which charlatans of all religious professions have played for so long.

In the social or political sphere, on the other hand, which is concerned with the relations of the individual with the family, the clan, the tribe, and the state to which he belongs, we cannot avoid too carefully any approximation to the European social catechism which will breed nothing but misunderstandings and consequent perturbation. In this sphere the teacher should still look for inspiration in the rites and myths of the old native Paganism. "Would it not be a crime," M. Brévié asks, "to destroy our old French legends with their naiveté and freshness? Let us then protect African folklore in the same way. . . . The religion of the hearth will give touching instances of family virtue, of patriotism, and the respect for age: totemism of mutual help and solidarity: the secret society of obedience, discipline and self-sacrifice." But a programme of this kind is not lightly to be drawn up, nor is it the work of one man: the negro, the black, the Pagan, these are all abstractions, it would be almost as futile to try to draw up a catechism suitable for all negroes as to give them one drawn up for white children: what we should want here, for example, is one for Shilluk, another for Dinka, a third for Zandé, and so forth. Nonetheless we should not exaggerate the difficulty of the task. M. Brévié's reference to French folklore will perhaps enable us to appreciate his main point, all good teachers know that they must use as their medium the general conceptions they find ruling in the home of the children, that they must illustrate their lessons from local examples

and that they must show all respect to the local sanctions. The work of the educator will become much easier as the knowledge of the Latin script, not with the French or English language, of course, becomes more widely diffused and the various tribes are able to put in writing their beliefs and traditions.

In addition to this, M. Brévié naturally would provide occupational training of varying standards wherever it seemed profitable, silviculture in one place, veterinary practice and science in another, agriculture in a third, in place of the regular school gardens where children are taught to grow a few European vegetables.

M. Brévié is frankly and consistently anti-clerical, but his conclusions impress one as the work of one who has come to close grips with the real problem at issue, closer than, say, the writers of the Phelps-Stokes reports. They should interest us vitally, for we, like the French, are beginning to find ourselves "*en face d'une poussière d'individus qui ne bénéficiant plus, dans leur formation morale, de la discipline de la famille et du clan, augmenteraient considérablement les difficultés déjà grandes de notre œuvre civilisatrice*". We, like the French, want to make our southern tribes into happy and intelligent associates in the development of the somewhat meagre resources of their country : we do not want to assimilate them either to ourselves or to the Northern Sudanese or to one another. The programme sketched by M. Brévié should not be rejected without the most careful consideration.

J. W. C.

CORRESPONDENCE

FOLKLORE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Perusal of the Note, written by Sir Edgar Bonham-Carter in the last number of *Sudan Notes and Records*, on Sir James Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament*, led me to seek in that monumental work elucidation of statement in the Note which puzzled me greatly. The result was an increase, rather than a diminution, of my difficulties, which I therefore venture to state for the consideration of readers of this journal, interest in the matter overcoming my diffidence in expressing opinions contrary to the judgments of so distinguished an anthropologist as Sir James Frazer.

The Note states that in part i, chapter i, of the *Folklore* are collected traditions of primitive tribes as to the creation of man, illustrating two very different views of the matter, which, to quote Sir James Frazer, "may be distinguished as the theory of creation and the theory of evolution." According to the latter, the human race "was evolved by a natural process out of lower forms of animal or even vegetable life".

One of the traditions quoted in the Note in illustration of the "theory of evolution", is that "amongst the Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast, the horse-mackerel family traces its descent from a real horse-mackerel whom an ancestor of theirs once took to wife", and it was this example which aroused my curiosity, because it resembled very closely a legend about a snake-ancestress of two sub-sections of the Homr-Felaita, which I had recorded years ago in *Sudan Notes and Records* (Vol. II, No. 3) without any thought that it had reference to the origin of man.

I turned to the *Folklore* to learn more of the story of the horse-mackerel ancestress and read: "She lived with him happily in human shape on shore, till one day a second wife, whom the man had married, cruelly taunted her with being nothing but a fish. That hurt her so much that, bidding her husband farewell, she turned to her old home in the sea, with her young child in her arms, and never came back again. But ever since then the Horse-mackerel people have refrained from

eating horse-mackerels because the lost wife and mother was a fish of that sort."

Have we really here what purports to be an account of the origin of man? I cannot think so.

It is obviously implied in the story that the "ancestor" and the "second wife" were already human beings, created or evolved independently of the horse-mackerel-turned-woman, on whose fishy origins contempt was poured by the human co-wife; and if it be objected that the Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast are perhaps so unsophisticated as not to perceive that they beg the whole question in ascribing the origin of man to a pre-existing man and a fish, the answer is, first, that this pitfall has been avoided by all the tribes, some of them the most primitive possible, who hold the "creation theory", and, secondly, that this objection will not bear scrutiny in the case of the Homr-Felaita, who, telling a precisely similar story of a snake-ancestress, nevertheless believe that mankind, with the rest of the universe, was created by God in seven days.

I submit that legends of this particular form are not accounts of the creation of man at all, but totem stories to account for the peculiar relationship which subsists between a totem and its people, preventing the latter, in some instances, from killing, injuring or eating the former. Sometimes, as in the present examples, this relationship is attributed to intermarriage between a human ancestor of the tribe and a female of the totem-creature in human shape, but it may also be attributed to something less intimate, as was the case with the giraffe-totem whose story I recorded in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. II, No. 3.

I do not suggest that none of the traditions collected by Sir James Frazer support the theory that primitive man has, here and there, had glimmerings of the idea of evolution, but that, of a score of examples quoted in the *Folklore*, perhaps one-third, like that of the Horse-mackerel, are irrelevant to the question of creation, while the relevancy of another third, such as merely record, for example, that "The Wanika of East Africa look upon the hyæna as one of their ancestors", must remain doubtful until this ancestor-relationship has been more fully investigated.

R. DAVIES.

23rd October, 1925.

NOTES ON MR. NEWBOLDS DESERT ODYSSEY
(S.N.R., Vol. VII, No. 1)

Mr. Francis Rodd forwards the following comments on a number of points arising out of Mr. Newbold's paper :—

1. The drawings in Qelti Um Tasawir are (in part) illustrated on plate vii, and on page 76 it is said, "There were no pictures of camels at all so far as I could see." The top left hand drawing on plate vii, however, is of a camel. All the Tuareg use a conventional glyph of this sort to depict a rider on a camel. I enclose a sketch (Fig. 1) showing various forms which this glyph takes. The only other thing which this sketch of Newbold's might represent is a rider on a horse, but I do not think that it is that.

2. P. 54. . . . "found an iron hoe head of undoubted pre-Arab workmanship. It was of thin beaten metal and T-shaped." What was its shape? Was it as in the enclosed sketch, Fig. 2? That is the shape of the hoe heads made by the iron working Hausa (Magazawa) in Northern, and north of, Nigeria. It is found in use all over the western Sudan ¹ (in the true Arab sense).

3. P. 49. . . . "but these herds were probably not going to drink water for six months." I am sure Newbold is right; but whenever I make a remark like this in public I get into trouble with some sun-tanned gentleman, of African or Indian antecedents, who says he has spent twenty years in the intimate society of camels and that it cannot be true. I floored the last man who asked me rude questions at the R.G.S. by quoting Newbold's corroboration at him till he sat down, quietly murmuring "Liars"!

4. Plate ix. Human figures at Qala'at el Wish. I would like to draw Newbold's attention to a curious coincidence which will appear on one of the plates in my book. The human figure is indeed often represented all over N. Africa as he shows it. (See my enclosed sketch 3 A), but near one such group in Air, I found the two marks (my sketch 3 B) which are, of course, letters (ligatured and plain) in the modern Tifinagh alphabet which is still used by the Tuareg.

¹ I am not clear when Newbold speaks of the W. Sudan, whether he means W. Nilotic Sudan or the country as far as the Upper Niger.

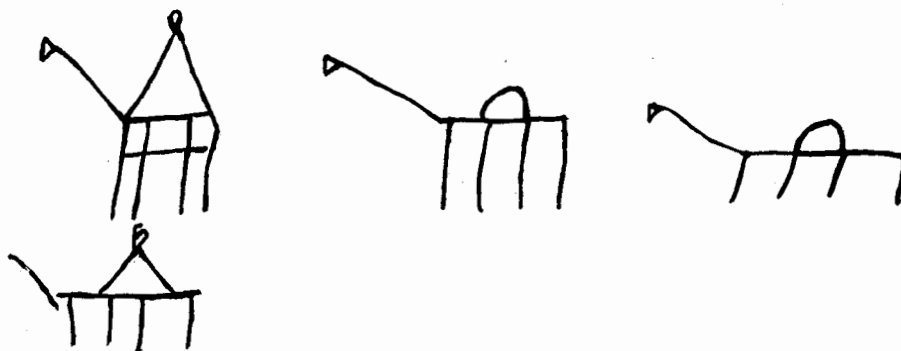


FIG. 1.

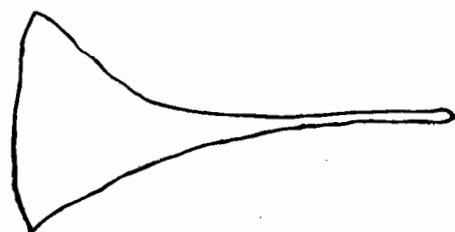


FIG. 2.



A



B

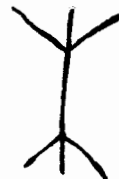


FIG. 3.

5. P. 81. Newbold regards the drawings as "the work of the Ancient Libyan Nomads, the Tamahu of the middle and late Dynastic time". I expect this is so. Of course I need the Tamahu as the ancestors of the Tuareg, but this need in no way impugn the accuracy of Newbold's supposition. I regard the Tuareg and their ancestors for reasons which I cannot go into here, but which I have touched on elsewhere, as essentially of a different race from the rest of the Libyans like the Kabyles and Sedentaries of the Cro-Magnon type on the N. Coast and in the N.W. of N. Africa. By the same token I prefer *never, never* to mention the word "Berber" except in a linguistic sense, like Aryan.

6. P. 82. I cordially agree about a migration from the N.W. and N. across N. Africa and discarding the theory put forward by Ibn Khaldun that some of the Libyans and some of the Mulethmemin in particular, come from the Himyarite country. This seems to be a case of people adopting a legend from foreigners with whom they have been in contact: in other words, adopting the story from the negroids of the Sudan, who probably represent a negro-cum-Semite (Himyaritic) fusion extending far west of Lake Chad.

7. Generally, I am far from sure that Newbold can be so satisfied that the rock drawings are as early as he thinks. My experience is that patination is no guide. The Tuareg to-day continue to make drawings in all respects similar to those which Newbold has produced.

8. P. 66. Camels in Africa. Newbold is doubtless aware that in Palæolithic times the Camel did exist in N. Africa as is proved by skeletal remains. I know that this complicates matters, but the camel and elephant are both represented among the fauna of Algeria and Tunisia in association with early man. I agree that the animal was probably not much used before the third century A.D., but it *was* known; cf. Gell, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord.*, vol. i.

THE CARRIAGES AT THE KHALIFA'S HOUSE

When Governor of Khartoum, Mr. R. E. More, collected a number of relics of pre-Dervish times at the Khalifa's House, which has always been a centre of interest for visitors to Omdurman, some of the items were formerly exhibited in the Sudan Government Museum at the Gordon College, and were handed over for the collection at the Khalifas'

House. Lately the Museum's Board took up the question of their proper care, and a list of the principal items was sent to Sir Rudolf Slatin Pasha with a request for information, especially about the history of the carriages, some shakos, and the piano. It is of interest to record his reply, which is as follows :—

“ Four Carriages : one a Victoria, was sent from Cairo by the ‘ Darb el Arbain ’ (Siut-Fasher) to Hussein, Sultan of Darfur. When Zubeir Pasha took Darfur he found the carriage covered with damur (cotton homespun) in a mud house at Fasher. Ismail Ayoub, then Governor General of the Sudan, joined Zubeir Pasha at Fasher, and sent the carriage to Khartoum.

“ The other carriages belonged to the Governors General of the Sudan, including Ismail Ayoub, and were kept at Khartoum. Gordon never had a carriage, and, as far as I know, never drove in a carriage at Khartoum.

“ The Shakos which I believe belonged to the old Egyptian army, were found stored at Khartoum. It is possible that Hicks had some with him.

“ The old piano was the property of the Roman Catholic Mission, and Consul Hansal used to play the hymns on it during church service.

“ As far as I can judge the explanations about the other relics are correct.”

The other relics include three Nordenfeldt machine guns originally presented to the Sudan Government Museum by Sir F. R. Wingate. They belonged to Hicks Pasha's Army, and were subsequently recaptured from the Dervishes.

The printing presses and the lithographic stones were used by the Dervishes for printing the Khalifa's Ratib (breviary) and proclamations, and were formerly in the museum at the Gordon College.

There are several coin presses used by the Dervishes and also some cartridge loaders, dated Alexandria, 1872, probably used both by the Old Government and the Dervishes. The coin presses show rough workmanship, and were certainly made locally.

Besides these there is a quantity of old rifles, spears, pistols, and swords which also belonged to the Dervishes, but to which no individual histories are attached.

G. W. G.

GORDON'S TREE

Most residents in, or visitors to, Khartoum have at one time or another been shown the large haraza-tree about 3 miles up the White Nile, and have been told that it is called Gordon's Tree, and possibly have heard some legend about his connexion with it.

Before legend crystallizes into history it may be as well to put on record that the tree is not really properly so named, and that any connexion with Gordon is pure invention.

The tree is well known to natives as Muhi Bey's tree. Mahu Bey was Governor of Khartoum in 1826, and the tree marks the place where formerly was his tomb. It was standing in 1840 when Ferdinand Werne made his expedition up the White Nile at which time two haraza-trees overshadowed it.

The name of Gordon's Tree arose as follows. The first winter after the reoccupation that a few tourists were allowed by Lord Kitchener to come to the Sudan, the seat of the Government and residence of officials was still in Omdurman, and naturally there was not very much for them to do. An officer of the Royal Marines attached to the Egyptian Army was put in charge of the tourists by Lord Kitchener, and a river trip up the White Nile personally conducted by this officer was one of the amusements provided, and it was he who in a moment of inspiration and to excite the interest of his party gave the name to the tree, which with the British community has stuck to it ever since.

W. S.

THE SWALLOW-TAILED KITE

On re-reading a few days ago Mr. Abel Chapman's book, *Savage Sudan*, I was surprised to see that, on pages 144-6, he speaks of the Swallow-tailed Kite (*Nauclerus viocouri*) as a rare bird, and mentions that Mr. A. L. Butler shared this opinion.

I do not know if this judgment holds good at the present day, but if so, it may interest some of your readers to learn that this beautiful little hawk is by no means uncommon in its season all over the steppes in the more northerly parts of this district.

They appear to arrive here to breed about April, and nest in solitary thorn trees right out in the middle of bare open steppes. I have

found both single nests and also, more commonly, "communal" nests consisting of a platform of sticks holding the nests of three or four pairs together. They appear also to be fond of the company of other Raptores, and I found last month three pairs of these kites sharing a tree with an eagle owl, who sat quite unconcerned while I rode past on a camel, and the kites circled and twittered and screamed all round him.

In June, 1923, I found some of these kites sharing a tree with two pairs of smoky-grey kestrels (*F. ardesiacus*?).

Specimens and eggs would be easy to obtain here if required.

I have never seen these kites before April, nor after the end of the rains.

J. F. P. MACLAREN.

AN ALBINO WHITE-EARED COB

In your issue of December, 1924, reference was made to an Albino White-eared Cob (*Cobus leucotis*), which had been shot in the Pibor District. Your correspondent does not state whether it was a true albino with pink eyes and no dark colouring. I have searched the records of this office, and can find no previous reference to albinism in this species.

In 1913 Major Stevenson-Hamilton published a very interesting pamphlet on albinism in the common Reedbuck (*Cervicapra arundinum*), three specimens of which appeared in the Sabi Game Reserve during 1911. One was killed by wild dogs, another left the Reserve, and was shot, while the third, a female, was secured by Major Stevenson-Hamilton for the Pretoria Museum.

He describes it as follows:—"The animal proved to be a female about two years old, and of a perfectly pure white colour throughout. The muzzle and inside of the ears, membrane round the eyes, etc., were pinkish or flesh colour. The skin on the back of the ears was scabby and unhealthy looking. Eyelashes white. Pupils reddish black. Inner irides grey-blue. Outer irides pearly with darker rays. White of eyes normal. Hoofs and lateral hoofs pale horn colour, the former nearly white at bases."

He also mentions the interesting fact that a male albino native lived in a village within a mile of where he saw the Reedbuck, and that "Native information states that albino children have been born before in the same village, and that white Reedbucks have also been seen in former years in the district."

I am indebted to the *Field* for the following notes on albinism in wild animals.

An albino of the defassa Waterbuck was shot in Zambesia by Mr. R. H. Story in 1903, and presented to the Natural History Museum ; and a white example of *Cobus ellipsiprymnus* was shot near the Guaso Nyiro River in Kenya Colony in 1904. The eyes of this specimen were not pink, but perfectly normal in colour.

Another example was seen near the mouth of the Tana River in the same colony. The natives say there that they are not at all uncommon.

A very pale race exists near the Lorian Swamp, and has been described as *Cobus ellipsiprymnus canesuns*.

A white Chinkara (*Gazella bennettii*) was recently captured near the village of Hissar in India. This was a perfect albino with pure white hair and pink eyes ; even the horns showed a pinkish hue, and the hoofs were white.

Last year, and again this year, a pure white bushbuck was seen in Southern Mongalla. The horns, although not fully developed, certainly seemed a lighter colour than the normal, but it was not possible to see the colour of the eyes.

H. C. BROCKLEHURST,
Game Warden.

THE AGE OF TEBELDIS

In connexion with the recent discussion on the age of Tebeldi-trees, the following notes may be of interest, since they concern trees of which the ages are almost exactly known.

These are five tebeldis planted at Malakal along the river avenue, of which the age is not less than 12 and not more than 15 years. I give the total height, the height up to the first branches, and the girth at that point of each. I have marked the trees A to E, starting from north

to south, so that they may be identified by anyone who may wish to take future measurements.

It will be noted that the measurements are very uniform, except in the case of C, which has a girth double that of the next largest, although the conditions of soil, site, etc., are the same for all.

As the soil of Malakal is not suited to *Tebeldis*, it is unlikely that the rate of growth there would be faster than in provinces where the trees grow naturally, but these seem to compare favourably with the trees described in the former correspondence, which were supposed to be of great age, although small.

These five trees, especially C, are growing rapidly.

I may add that magnificent *Tebeldis* were seen in the country bordering the Abyssinian frontier, fully as large as any I have seen in the Nuba Mountains or the Fung province; they reappear wherever the soil becomes stony or sandy, but are non-existent in the cracked cotton-soil plains.

<i>Trees.</i>	<i>Total height.</i>	<i>Height to first branches.</i>	<i>Girth just below first branches.</i>
	ft.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.
A.	20	4 4	2 10½
B.	16	5 8	3 1
C.	22	5 2	6 7
D.	18	6 9	2 10
E.	20	6 8	3 4

K. C. P. STRUVÉ.

NESTING HABITS OF THE BUSTARD

When riding over a stretch of open sandy country some 50 miles north of Soderi in Northern Kordofan on 21st June, 1923, a Greater Bustard suddenly rose from beneath a low thorn bush within a couple of yards of my camel's feet. On glancing down I saw she had a nest. This was a mere scrape in the ground, containing one dark olive-green egg, about the size of a turkey's.

Other observations on the Greater Bustard's nesting habits might be of interest, if any of your readers have made such.

J. F. P. M.

A NATURAL HISTORY NOTE

The accompanying photograph shows a snake and a lizard which came to untimely ends in an unusual way. The snake, a young specimen of *Zamenis diadema*, had attempted to swallow the lizard, a young gecko of the species *Tarentola annularis*, but the skin of its throat had ruptured and the head of the lizard emerged. Neither



creature was then able to free itself, though it is possible that had the snake continued its efforts to swallow, the lizard might have emerged entire through the tear in the snake's throat. When brought to me, the lizard was dead but the snake still alive.

I am indebted to Mr. R. Cottam for preparing the photograph.

H. H. KING.

OBITUARY

Georg Schweinfurth

THE death of Georg Schweinfurth, which occurred at Berlin on 19th September, 1925, removes the last survivor of the classical age of discovery, during which the dark Continent at last yielded up its long-guarded secrets. To all concerned with the Sudan his labours in the Bahr el Ghazal region are of permanent interest.

Schweinfurth was a native of Riga, where he was born in 1836, but he was German by race and language, and pursued his academic studies at the universities of Heidelberg, Munich, and Berlin. The main subject of his early interests, to which he remained faithful throughout his life, was botany, and his first steps in African exploration were visits to Upper Egypt, Abyssinia, and the Red Sea Coast in order to study the botanical features. In 1868, he set out on his famous voyage to the Bahr el Ghazal, for which he obtained financial support from the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin. His progress in the Sudan may be traced in the volumes of Petermann's *Mitteilungen*; one of his earliest communications published in the 1868 volume is a study of the plant geography of the Nile Basin and the Red Sea Coast; in a letter dated Khartoum, 25th November, 1868, and published in the *Mitteilungen* of 1869, he reports of his journey as far as Khartoum, and on his preparations for the further voyage. Keenly interested in all he sees, he does not confine his observations to plants and geographical features; writing about the country to the north of Khartoum he refers to the lamentable state of the natives due to increased taxation and diminished production, though he hesitates to hold the Government entirely responsible without close study of the question. "In the district of Damer and Shendi the constantly increasing emigration forms the main topic of conversation amongst the natives. The unmarried men flock to Khartoum in order to take service as so-called soldiers with the merchants of the Upper Nile who maintain complete legions of armed men in those extended territories. The older men desert their cultivation and endeavour to eke out a scanty existence

with a few goats and sheep in the desert." For the voyage to the Bahr el Ghazal Schweinfurth entered into an agreement with the Copt Ghattas, one of the notorious slave-traders of Khartoum, about whose character and dealings he had no illusions. "When Cæsar was amongst the pirates he howled with the wolves; later he had them all hanged. This is my principle also, and the only possible principle if the scientific object is to be kept in view, instead of being sacrificed to a foolish desire to set oneself up as an arbiter of morals in matters which are no concern of ours."

To the 1869 volume he communicates a detailed account of the route from Suakin to Berber, which is interesting as containing an early reference to Sinkat (Singat) and Erkowit (Erkauit) where he notes the fine view extending far over the Red Sea Coast.

The three subsequent volumes of the journal contain preliminary reports on the Bahr el Ghazal (Residence in the Jur District, 1870; Voyage into the country of the Niam Niam and Monbuttu, 1871; Voyage through Dar Fertit and in the Bahr el Ghazal; Return to Europe, 1872). The beautiful scenery of the Wau river inspires him to an effort in verse, which in view of the subject may be appropriately described as doggerel:—

Two dogs I brought for comfort's sake
See to it that I keep awake:
Wow Wow.

The separate barkings of each hound
Fill all the forest with their sound
Wow Wow.

The answering echoes loud proclaim
The lovely little river's name
Wau Wau.

And thousandfold around is heard
Monotonous, the canine word
Wow Wow.

Both sound and river evermore
Shall dwell in memory's sacred store
Wow Wow.

Blue water 'neath the verdant bough,
Such is the little river Wau.

The account of the Niam Niam (Azande) and Monbuttu emphasizes their cannibalistic habits—due to savage greed and by no means to lack of other foodstuffs. Throughout these reports there are numerous

detailed observations on topography, natural history, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants. Schweinfurth returned to Europe in the autumn of 1871, and soon afterwards published his magnum opus *The Heart of Africa* (English translation, London, 1873), a classic of African exploration remarkable not only for the wealth of new knowledge it contained, but also for the beautiful drawings with which it is illustrated. A parergon of the same journey is a collection of vocabularies of the Bongo, Zande, Kredj, Jur, Gulo and Dinka languages, which was published in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (Berlin, 1873). Valuable as these publications are, the results of this journey might have been even more extensive, had not a fire in Schweinfurth's camp destroyed the greater part of his collections, journals, and drawings.

Schweinfurth did not return to the Sudan; residing first in Cairo and later in Berlin, he devoted the rest of his long life to the further study of African subjects and contributed numerous papers to learned periodicals. A work of special importance is *Artes Africanæ*, a volume devoted to the description and pictorial reproduction of objects of Central African arts and crafts, which was published in 1875.

An intrepid traveller, a scientist of no mean merit, a keen observer, and withal an attractive and human writer, Schweinfurth will always be honourably remembered in the annals of African discovery.

S. H.
