SUDAN
NOTES
AND
CORR
22.2

Sudan Notes and Records.

Vol. XXIII, 1940.

PART I.

CONTENTS.

ARTICLES. PAGE.

The History of Kassala and the Province of Taka. D. C. CUMMING .. 1
(*Continued from Volume XX, Part I.*)

Folk Stories of the Sudan. I. E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD. A. C. BEATON 55

The Nyamang of the Nuba Mountains of Kordofan. R. C. STEVENSON 75

String Figures from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. JAMES HORNELL .. 99

Reminiscences of a Berber Merchant. P. B. BROADBENT 123

Mansfield Parkyns. G. O. WHITEHEAD 131

The Baramka. H. B. ARBER 139

The Coinage of Ali Dinar. A. J. ARKELL 151

A Ruin in the Wadi El Qasr. J. M. EDMONDS 161

Tales of the Wadai Slave Trade in the Nineties.
W. E. JENNINGS-BRAMLEY 169

NOTES.

Two Ghost Stories. C. B. TRACEY 185

Soap Making at Karkoj. L. TURNER 189

A Bari Stone. R. C. COOKE 191

An Arrowhead from Zankor. J. M. EDMONDS 193

Lynch Law in the Eastern Jebels. T. R. H. Owen 195

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Name Mongalla. R. C. COOKE 199

Gwek's Pipe and Pyramid. A. H. ALBAN 200

African Genealogies. E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD 201

Dikdiks and Duikers. H. B. ARBER 202

REVIEWS.

Historie du règne du Khédive Ismail, Tome III 2e Partie. G. DOUIN .. 203

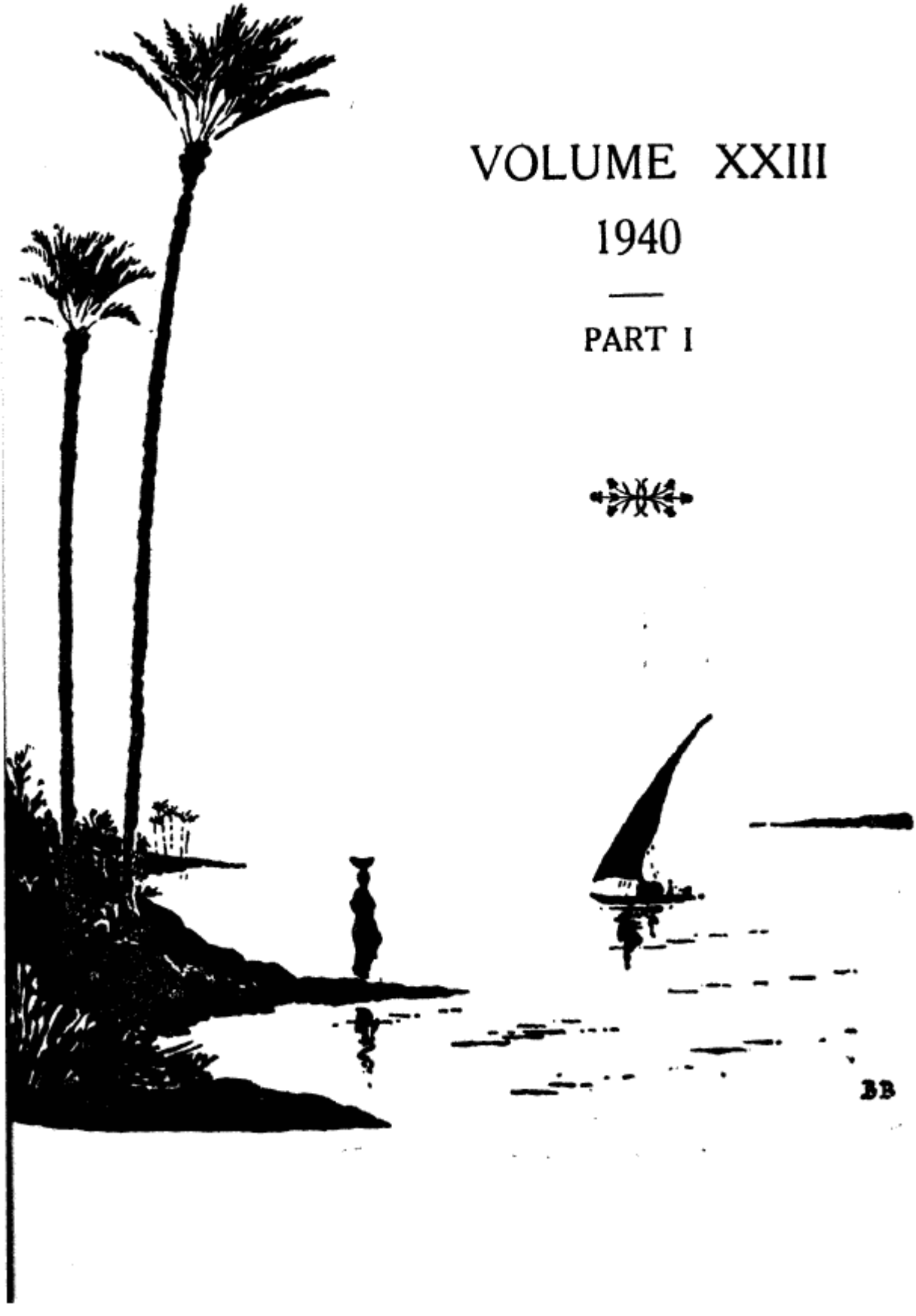
The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan. M. F. SHUKRY 205

Anomalous Dentition and its Ritual Significance in Africa.
S. LAGERCRANTZ 207

Rock Drawings of Upper Egypt. II. H. A. WINKLER 207

Printed by McCORQUODALE & Co. (SUDAN), LTD.

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS



VOLUME XXIII

1940

PART I

ERRATA.

PAGE 56. Line 10. *for* a and *read* and a.

PAGE 78. Plate. *for* MANADAL *read* MANDAL.

PAGE 131. NOTE. Only one photograph of Mansfield Parkyns has been printed for reasons of economy.

PAGE 202. Fourth line from bottom *for* suprising *read* surprising.

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

FOUNDED 1918.

Patron : LT.-COLONEL SIR STEWART SYMES, G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.

Committee :

Chairman : D. NEWBOLD, C.B.E.,

Members :

F. D. RUGMAN, C.M.G., M.C. — G. W. GRABHAM, O.B.E.
J. D. P. CHATAWAY.* — R. L. HILL.*
A. J. ARKELL, M.B.E., M.C.* — H. W. BEDFORD.
G. C. SCOTT

Editorial Secretary

K.D.D. HENDERSON

Hon. Treasurer :

J. CARMICHAEL.

* Editorial Committee.

The attention of those interested in any special subject is particularly called to the very complete index of the first twenty Volumes of *Sudan Notes and Records* compiled by Mr. F. Addison and printed at the end of Vol. XXI (1938) Part II.

Subscriptions and notifications of change of address, should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer, *Finance Department*, Khartoum.

Contributions should be addressed to the Editorial Secretary, the Civil Secretary's Office, Khartoum.

The annual subscription, payable in advance, is P.T. 50 or 10s. 6d. This covers the cost of two numbers, post free.

Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to the " Hon. Treasurer, *Sudan Notes and Records.*"

Payment can most conveniently be made by a Banker's Order, and a form is enclosed with each issue.

Back numbers are obtainable at the following places :—

Editorial Secretary, Civil Secretary Office, Khartoum.

The Sudan Government London Office, Wellington House, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.1.

The Sudan Bookshop, Khartoum.

Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

adopted by the Editors of *Sudan Notes and Records*

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

VOWELS.				DIPHTHONGS.
fat*h*a	a,	lengthened	ā	ـَي—ai (as in aisle).
kasra	i,	,,	ī	ـَو—au (as in mauser).
*ḍ*amma	u,	,,	ū	

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ة) is omitted.

NOTES.

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

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

e.g. beled, Mo*ḥ*ammed, bēt (or beit), *ḥ*osh.

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

Sudan
Sudan
8-13-53
S3942

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ARTICLES.

The History of Kassala and the Province of Taka.
D. C. CUMMING 1
(*Continued from Volume XX Part I.*)

Folk Stories of the Sudan. I.
E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD. A. C. BEATON 55

The Nyamang of the Nuba Mountains of Kordofan.
R. C. STEVENSON 75

String Figures from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.
JAMES HORNELL 99

Reminiscences of a Berber Merchant. P. B. BROADBENT .. 123

Mansfield Parkyns. G. O. WHITEHEAD 131

The Baramka. H. B. ARBER 139

The Coinage of Ali Dinar. A. J. ARKELL 151

A ruin in the Wadi El Qasr. J. M. EDMONDS 161

Tales of the Wadai Slave Trade in the Nineties.
W. E. JENNINGS-BRAMLEY 169

NOTES.

Two Ghost Stories. C. B. TRACEY 185

Soap Making at Karkoj. L. TURNER 189

A Bari Stone. R. C. COOKE 191

An Arrowhead from Zankor. J. M. EDMONDS 193

Lynch Law in the Eastern Jebels. T. R. H. OWEN .. 195

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Name Mongalla. R. C. COOKE 199

Gwek's Pipe and Pyramid. A. H. ALBAN 200

African Genealogies. E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD 201

Dikdiks and Duikers. H. B. ARBER 202

REVIEWS.

Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail. Tome III. 2e Partie.
G. DOUIN 203

The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan.
M. F. SHUKRY 205

Anomalous Dentition and its Ritual Significance in Africa.
S. LAGERCRANTZ 207

Rock Drawings of Upper Egypt. II. H. A. WINKLER .. 207

EDITORIAL NOTES

Mr. T. R. H. Owen retired from the Editorial Secretaryship at the end of 1939. Letters received from many subscribers agree that he succeeded during his period of office in increasing the interest and variety of the numbers without lowering the standard or quality.

A complete set of *Sudan Notes and Records* is offered for sale in good condition. It comprises volumes I to XV (including the Index to Volumes I to VI) bound uniformly in cloth. Volumes XVI to XXII inclusive are also in excellent condition but unbound. The whole occupies 1 foot 10 inches of shelf.

Will anyone interested please communicate with the Editorial Secretary or direct with Mr. W. R. G. BOND, Tyneham, Corfe Castle, Dorset.

PART I OF VOLUME I OF *Sudan Notes and Records* HAS BEEN UNOBTAINABLE FOR MANY YEARS AND IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT MANY SUBSCRIBERS LACK ONLY THIS NUMBER TO COMPLETE THEIR SETS. IT MAY PROVE POSSIBLE TO ISSUE A REPRINT AT A REASONABLE FIGURE IF ENOUGH PEOPLE ARE PREPARED TO PUT DOWN THEIR NAMES FOR A COPY. WILL ANYONE THEREFORE WHO WANTS A COPY PLEASE SEND HIS NAME TO THE EDITORIAL SECRETARY ?

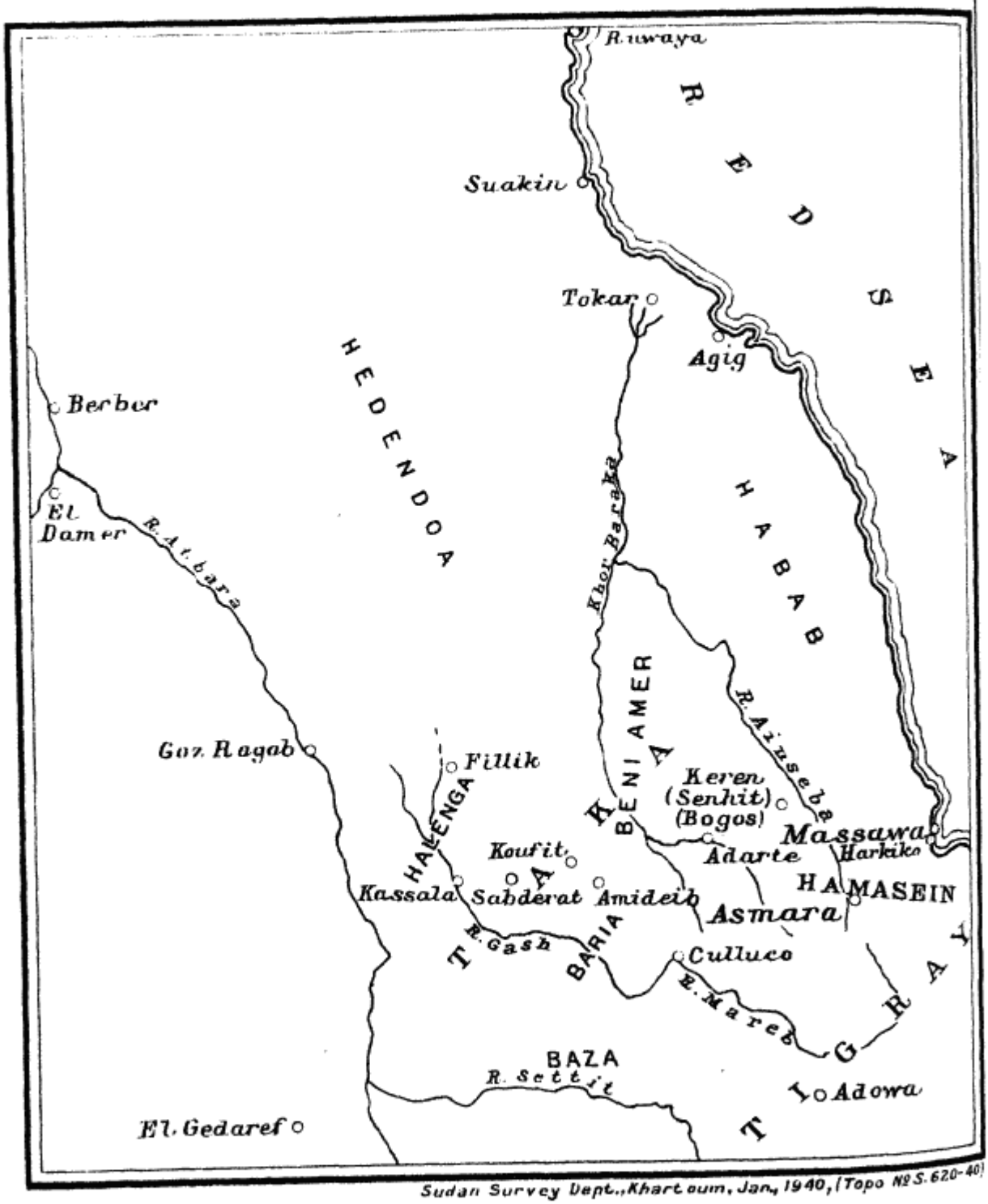
Attention is drawn to the request for Folk Stories on page 55.

Short biographical notes on contributors will in future be printed at the end of each number for the information of subscribers, especially those who live outside the Sudan.

It is also proposed to print a Contents list of the current number of sister publications A list of the contents of Volume 7, No. 3 of the *Journal of the Uganda Society*, published this month, will be found on page 222.

Pp. 222—223 are a reprint of the back page of the latest issue of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, the parentage and general make-up of which should be familiar to readers of this Journal.

SKETCH MAP OF THE EASTERN SUDAN



Sudan Survey Dept., Khartoum, Jan., 1940, (Topo No S. 620-40)

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXIII. Part I. 1940

THE HISTORY OF KASSALA AND THE PROVINCE OF TAKA.

(*Continued from* VOLUME XX, PART I)

By D. C. Cumming.

CHAPTER VI.

ISMAIL PASHA AND THE SUDAN—EXPANSION OF TAKA PROVINCE TOWARDS MASSAWA—HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIAN OCCUPATION OF MASSAWA—EGYPTIAN EXPANSION FROM MASSAWA—WERNER MUNZINGER—KING JOHN OF ABYSSINIA—OCCUPATION OF KEREN—RELATIONS WITH ABYSSINIA TO 1873.

I.

During the reign of Ismail Pasha in Egypt (1863—1879), the history of the Sudan assumes a coherence it had not previously experienced under Egyptian rule. Educated in France, Ismail Pasha obtained a superficial familiarity with European political theories and a first hand knowledge of the imperial ambitions of the Third Empire. The policy he conceived for Egypt under the stimulus of this experience was, however, stamped with the oriental concept of sovereignty and emerged as one of personal aggrandisement based on high principles but implemented at the expense of his subjects. To the execution of this policy Ismail Pasha applied the exceptional energy and industry he had inherited from his grandfather, Mohammed Ali Pasha the Great, but he coupled with it an extravagance that cost him his throne, brought Egypt to bankruptcy and sacrificed her independence as well as her empire in Africa. His concepts were broad, his expressed intentions often inspiring, his achievements not negligible: possibly, if he had possessed a better intellect and less energy, and if he had not acquired an extraordinary facility for taking vigorous action on bad advice, he might have gone down to history as a great ruler.

It was in the Sudan that Ismail Pasha displayed some of the weaknesses that brought about his downfall, although at first he gave promise of creating a better administration in that country than it had previously experienced under Egyptian rule. His predecessors had aimed at either extorting what they could from the Sudan or merely maintaining their authority : but Ismail Pasha had a relatively clear idea of his aims and expended considerable sums of money under the impression that he was investing it in a dependency that could be made both profitable and creditable to himself and his dynasty. The pity was that his ideas were tinged with cynicism, that he never visited the Sudan to see his schemes in operation and that they were allowed to spring immaturely from his own inexperience or the dishonest judgment of the self-interested officials he employed.

Although Ismail Pasha never visited the Sudan the archives of his reign show that he not only devoted much attention to the affairs of the country but also that he had an intimate knowledge of current events there. Some of his representatives were men of better education than their predecessors, whatever may have been the similarity of their fundamental characteristics. Some were Europeans, and because they were more literate, we can follow the course of events with greater accuracy. This is particularly true with regard to Taka Province where so many external interests were involved and which was more accessible to tourists. A Swiss governor, foreign consuls at Massawa, missionaries and members of commissions of inquiry from Egypt all recorded their experiences and their opinions[1].

2.

It has already been explained[2] that the temptation to expand at the expense of Abyssinia had been placed in Egypt's way by the acquisition of Kassala and Massawa. Between these two centres,

1. See especially Douin's *Histoire du Règne du Khèdive Ismail. Tome III. L'Empire Africain*. M. Douin has very greatly enlarged our knowledge of this period in the Sudan by means of his researches into Egyptian Govt. archives. I wish gratefully to acknowledge the extensive use I have made of his book in writing this article.

2. *Sudan Notes and Records*. Vol. XX, Part I p. 38.

in the undelimited eastern part of Taka Province, lay the mountainous, salubrious, and relatively fertile tongue of land that now forms the back-bone of Eritrea and of which Asmara and Keren are the two principal towns[3]. On the Red Sea coast Massawa was a natural outlet not only for the trade of Abyssinia and Eritrea but also, to a lesser extent, for the eastern Sudan; and since the direct road between Kassala and Massawa ran through these hills Ismail Pasha felt that he should rule them. Purely acquisitive instincts may have played an equally important part in the formation of his plans but there were a number of obstacles in the path of straight-forward annexation, apart from the resistance to be expected from Abyssinia, attributable to the unusual manner in which Egypt gained a title to Massawa and to the interest that England and France took in Abyssinian affairs.

Massawa had been annexed by Turkey and included in the *pashalic* of Mecca in 1517. The place consists of two small islands situated, like the island of Suakin, close to the shore to form a well-protected roadstead. When the Turks arrived the immediate hinterland was commanded by the Belu, a tribe with Beja affinities, which preferred to avoid conflict by handing over the islands of Massawa for a monthly rental of 1005 dollars: in addition they undertook to act as a sort of militia in the service of the Turks for the defence of the harbour against Abyssinian aggression. The chief of the Belu was to hold the title of Naib under a *firman* renewable annually by the wali of the Hejaz; he was given the privilege of collecting a duty on Abyssinian imports through Massawa—export duties were taken by Turkey—tribute from the local nomads and the tribes of

3. See the sketch map opposite page 1. Place-names in this area present a difficulty because writers have frequently used the names of small villages and tribes to connote relatively large tracts of country. For instance, the term 'Bogos' or 'the Bogos' is almost invariably used to indicate both the area between the head-waters of the rivers Baraka and Ainseba, of which Keren is now the Italian capital, and also a local tribe. Under the Egyptian regime the village close to Keren—Senhit—was the capital and the real name of the local tribe is Bilein. Consequently this piece of country is now usually referred to as Keren; in the latter part of the Egyptian regime it was called Senhit, and before that Bogos. I have used the name Keren as far as possible but in some quotations the other names occur. According to information given to me in Kassala by inhabitants of the place, the word 'Bogos' means a 'beautiful place:' according to Douin (*op. cit.* I. p. 47.) it is Senhit (Sennaheit) that means '*beau pays.*'

the Asmara plateau, together with the important monopoly of supplying drinking water to the Turkish troops on the Massawa islands. It is hard to imagine a less prudent arrangement. The Ras of Tigray, ruler of the large northern province of Abyssinia, not only claimed suzerainty over the Belu and tribes of the Asmara plateau (Hamasein) but also over the harbour of Massawa itself. On the other hand, while the Belu were not strong enough to hold off a large Abyssinian force they were able, through their command of the water-supply, to exercise a strangle-hold on the Turkish garrison. For three centuries the Turks maintained their precarious hold, sometimes occupying a small piece of the mainland, at others being virtually prisoners on the islands with the vicarious enjoyment of claiming the suzerainty of the whole of Abyssinia for Turkey as their only political consolation. The most persistent source of friction between the Turks and Abyssinia arose from the efforts of the Naib of the Belu, who lived at Harkiko, a village on the mainland close to Massawa, to profit from his share of the bargain because, in collecting dues of the Abyssinian caravans, he was obliged to resort to methods bordering on brigandage. As long as the volume of trade remained small this was not a matter to attract the active intervention of the feudal rulers of Abyssinia but with the general resurgence of international commerce in the 19th century and with the arrival of European traders and consular representatives, the rulers of Abyssinia began to take active steps to rid themselves of this parasitical growth on their principal trade-route.

In 1844 the then Ras of Tigray gave point to his claim of suzerainty by harrying the neighbourhood of Massawa, without actually obtaining a foothold on the islands. It was a result of this foray that the Turks decided to occupy the mainland opposite the islands only to meet with a humiliating repulse at the hands of their own Belu militia. The attempt was not renewed and in 1846 Massawa was leased together with Suakin, to Mohammed Ali Pasha of Egypt, for his lifetime, in return for an increase in the Pasha's tribute to Turkey.

The Egyptians soon made their presence felt. Immediately after their arrival the Ras of Tigray reminded the new Governor that

he had not given up his claim to the coast, to which the Bashibazuk Elias Agha, who commanded the troops, replied with some bravado, "that he acknowledged him nowhere and as nothing, that all the country round Harkiko belonged to Mohammed Ali as a gift from the Sultan, and that if he had any pretensions to this country he had better support them with his army and that he would await him[4]." The Governor then ordered the Naib to attack the nearest Abyssinian chief and when he refused to do so he shelled Harkiko from a man-of-war and burnt it to the ground. In addition he began to take steps to extend his master's authority along the coast in the direction of Cape Gardafui, on the Indian Ocean; but Lord Palmerston was not slow to point out that he considered these advances detrimental to the commercial relations recently established between Great Britain and Abyssinia. The activity was short-lived; before long the Ras of Tigray made another raid on Massawa and refused to raise the investment until he had been bought off with 2000 dollars from the Governor.

On Mohammed Ali Pasha's death in August 1849 the lease of Massawa expired and a Turkish force from Jedda reoccupied the town. Anarchy continued along the coast, increasing in intensity when the Emperor Theodore began to vent his fanatical hatred for all Muslims on the garrison of the town. Even the Naib turned on his masters and obliged them to summon a force of Bashibazuks from Kassala to save them.

Neither Abbas Pasha nor Said Pasha made any attempt to regain the port for Egypt but when Ismail Pasha became Viceroy in 1863 he was not slow to take advantage of the situation which had arisen under the lax Turkish administration. Massawa—'that baracoon of slavery'—had become notorious for the number of slaves it exported, so Ismail was able to combine a demonstration of his adherence to the principles of humane administration with the acquisition of an important base for future operations against Abyssinia. The ports

4. Douin. *op. cit.* I, p. 238. Despatch from the French Consul at Massawa, 23 April 1847.

of Massawa and Suakin were handed over to Ismail Pasha by a *firman* given by the Sultan in May 1865.[5]

3.

The subsequent Egyptian administration was energetic compared with anything Massawa and its neighbourhood had experienced before and it was welcomed by the nomads of the coastal plain who had been suffering severely from the depredations of the hill tribes. In fact it was not long before some of the hill tribes themselves began to seek Egyptian protection when Abyssinia lapsed into a state of anarchy under the increasingly erratic rule of the Emperor Theodore. But although the local Egyptian Governor, who showed an almost total ignorance of his government's treaty commitments, was anxious to further the wishes of all who sought his protection, Ismail Pasha deterred him[6]. He was not only involved in a war in Crete but the news that Theodore had imprisoned the British Consul and a number of other British nationals, had attracted the attention of a power that treated Abyssinia as a sovereign state.

During the Magdala campaign the Khedive gave permission to the British to land at Annesley Bay, some fifteen miles south of Massawa, and instructed the Governor to give the punitive force all the assistance in his power. The assistance he could give was necessarily limited but, in addition, Sir Robert Napier had been accurately informed that too much assistance from Egypt would be resented in Abyssinia, for if the Abyssinians as a whole disliked their demented Emperor they feared and disliked the Egyptians on their frontiers with equal warmth. In short Egypt contributed little to the success of the Magdala campaign and derived little direct advantage from it. Ismail Pasha, however, incurred considerable expense because he was led to believe by the Governor of Taka that the British would be betrayed and defeated, and on the strength of this he heavily reinforced the garrisons on the Abyssinian frontier with a view to exploiting any opportunity that

5. The standard works on the history of Massawa are Munzinger's *Ostafricanische Studien* and Lejean's two books *Voyage aux Deux Nils* and *Voyage en Abyssinie*. The best summary is in Douin, *op. cit.* I, c.I, 8.

6. *idem.* I, c. VII, 8.

might present itself if these prophecies came true. He was disappointed, for not only did the Abyssinian barons permit the British expedition to chastise their Emperor but Dejazmatch (or Dejaj) Kassa of Tigray also imprisoned the ruler of the Asmara plateau (Hamasein) who tried to throw in his lot with Egypt. In fact when the British kept their promise to withdraw from Abyssinia all that Egypt could point to with advantage was the publicity which her occupation of the Red Sea coast had received and to the elimination of Theodore as the menacing tyrant of Abyssinia. That a successor was to appear who would prove to be more formidable an obstacle was a contingency that had not been seriously considered and in the meantime the ease with which Great Britain had overthrown Theodore led the Khedive dangerously to under-estimate the martial power and skill of a united Abyssinia[7].

4.

After the defeat and death of Theodore and the departure of the British troops, Abyssinia was never long out of Ismail Pasha's mind. He was already well on the road of imperial expansion in the southern Sudan and a preliminary reconnaissance of Darfur had been made. There remained the east which, from an economic point of view, appeared to be most promising of all. In this direction, however, lay Abyssinia where warfare was as ordinary a weapon of policy as it was repugnant to Ismail Pasha. The latter preferred painstaking and tortuous diplomacy in which the belief that every man had his price and that his treasury would never fail him played an important part. When Werner Munzinger threw in his lot with him, any inchoate plans the Khedive may have harboured for his future policy towards Abyssinia received not only expert examination but also a flattering endorsement.

Munzinger was more than a mere European adventurer ; he seems to have been one of those men who, lacking some of the qualities that would be necessary for great success among his equals, found in Africa a stage on which he could play a part that satisfied his vanity. But

7. *idem*, c. V, 6.

whatever his motives may have been, the fact remains that for twenty years he was an outstanding personality in the eastern Sudan and on the Red Sea coast. Indirectly he did much to influence the future of both Egypt and Abyssinia. He was born in Switzerland in 1832, the son of one of the seven councillors of the Federal Council at Berne, and he studied oriental languages and history at the universities of Berne, Munich and Paris. German was his native tongue but he spoke French fluently and had a good knowledge of English, Italian, Arabic and at least two native dialects. In 1852 he began his long connexion with Africa by going to Cairo, where he studied Arabic, and then joined a French trading firm which enabled him to visit all the ports in the Red Sea and which subsequently gave him the opportunity to become the French consul at Massawa. French interests at that time were closely linked with the Roman Catholic missionaries in the hinterland and so in 1855 Munzinger moved to Keren, to which he became romanticly attached, and for the next six years he explored Eritrea, recording his geographical and ethnological observations with thoroughness and accuracy: twenty years after its publication, his *Ostafricanische Studien* was translated into Italian as a text-book for the first Italian officials in Eritrea and it is certain that the early officials in the Sudan never had the benefit of a comparable work.

In 1861 Munzinger joined von Heuglin's expedition, which had been raised in Prussia to carry out an elaborate plan of scientific exploration from the Red Sea into Central Africa, but left in it northern Abyssinia to follow the Gash and the Atbara to the Nile and Khartoum. He subsequently rejoined it and succeeded von Heuglin as it leader in an unsuccessful effort to reach Darfur. Then, after a short visit to Europe, he returned to Massawa and was put in charge of the British Consulate after the substantive Consul had been seized by the Emperor Theodore. It was a short step from this post to that of political assistant to Col. Merewether who did the preliminary survey for the Magdala expedition. During the expedition itself his intimate acquaintance with Abyssinian personalities and affairs together with his knowledge of the Tigray and Amharic languages were invaluable:

when he was not, in the opinion of many, adequately rewarded for his services, the matter was raised in the House of Commons and he received the C.B. Sir John Markham, who accompanied the expedition, described him as " an accomplished and sound geographer," and again as a person who " brought to the work a frank conciliatory manner with the natives, a single minded zeal, an honesty of purpose, and an ability which did credit to Col. Merewether's selection, and rendered his services simply invaluable[8]." Others who knew him well at a later date disagreed with this appreciation of his character and there can be little doubt that he acquired, during his long residence among the peoples of northern Abyssinia, a taste for political intrigue in which his earlier educational advantages ceased to operate for good. He married a girl from the Bilein tribe who, he used to assert, was a ' Princess ' of the local ruling family but who was considered by others to have had humbler and less respectable origins[9]. Subsequently his manners and appearance seemed to some to become distinctly oriental. " Mr. Munzinger," wrote Hormuzd Rassam in 1865, " dined with us on Easter Sunday .... Notwithstanding my regard for him, I sincerely hope never to meet him again at Massawah, otherwise than as a traveller passing through it[10]."

The other principal actor in the confused and violent events east of Kassala was Kassa who later became the Emperor John and who, after a remarkable succession of military victories, in which he overcame rebellious Abyssinians, Egyptians and Dervishes alike, was finally killed in action against the Mahdists near Gallabat.

Kassa was also known as Abba Bazbaz, (owner of a horse called Bazbaz, meaning ' destroyer '), and was usually referred to as King John after his coronation in January 1872. In general it may be said that he was a staunch conservative with no great breadth of vision but a determination that, if he did not feel equal to the task of keeping

8. C. R. Markham. *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*. London. 1869. p. 131.

9. A. B. Wylde. *'83 to '87 in the Sudan*. London 1888, p. 324. also Douin *op. cit.* II, p. 321.

10. H. Rassam. *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore (1865—1868)*. London 1869. Vol. I. p. 69. See also Munzinger's obituary in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. 46, 1877.

pace with a rapidly changing world, he would at least not allow his country to lapse into the state of anarchy that had preceded Theodore's reign[11]. His military skill and personal courage were proved often enough but, although he was sometimes contradictory and inconsistent; he also had considerable intelligence and political skill. Opinions of him vary widely. Naturally his character was blackened by those who suffered at his hands but from more disinterested sources it appears that appreciations of him improved in proportion with his success. One who met him during the Magdala campaign tells us that "the weak-minded Kassa went about with a sort of crown on his head, which was always coming down over his eyes, and gazed with stupid wonder at the rocket practice of the Naval Brigade. He is evidently a tool of the more powerful chiefs, whom accident has pitchforked into supreme power, and who may or may not be allowed to retain it; but in any case little good can be expected from so poor a creature[12]." On the other hand, a traveller who visited him in 1873, when he was still neither firmly seated on his throne nor rid of the Egyptian menace, described his impressions in the following terms: "The King Yohannes sat on an *alga* at the upper end of the hall, with his two English rifles beside him . . . rarely have I seen a more intelligent countenance, or one that a physiognomist like Lavater would have examined with greater interest. The brow was beautifully moulded, though small and slightly retreating; the nose aquiline, with very delicately formed nostrils; the eyes deep-set, and not very large, but singularly courageous and penetrating; the cheek bones high for an Ethiopian . . . . That King Yohannes is an astute diplomatist has been proved by the manner in which he put himself at the head of the large and turbulent empire which, at the death of Theodorus, was left to be disputed for by several large and warlike chiefs, some of whom were not less powerful than Kassa himself, and yet Prince Kassa obtained his present supremacy with comparatively little bloodshed . . . But although the King has always preferred policy to warfare, I was

11. This appreciation of King John's character has been obtained from Abyssinians who were formerly employed at the Court of the Emperor Hailu Selassie. King John's military record is greatly admired but he is not given the deference accorded to the memory of Theodore, who is looked upon as the creator of the nation.

12. Markham, *op. cit.* p. 381.

assured by K. that he is a hardy and fearless soldier, prompt in action, and ever to the forefront in the battle . . . But he possesses other qualities than those of a soldier and a statesman, for he is of a studious disposition and well read in the laws and history of Ethiopia. Nor is his outward sobriety and piety of life less remarkable[13]." Another visitor who saw him ten years later writes, " His clothes were the same as any other Abyssinian chief, but of better stuff than ordinarily worn . . . face regular except the chin, which is slightly receding ; cheek bones a little high; face oval, neither thin nor fat, and neither strikes one as the face of a great genius nor as that of a cruel and sensuous man[14]."

Throughout Sir Robert Napier's march to Magdala Kassa, as the ruler of Tigray, the northern Province of Abyssinia, was situated on the right flank of the advancing column with 10,000 warriors, and it was essential that his neutrality should be assured. Capt. Grant, the famous explorer, and Munzinger were sent to interview him and as a result of friendly conversations Kassa gave no assistance to the Emperor Theodore and even performed an important service to the British by ordering his people to sell food and forage to the sorely burdened commissariat. He hoped, in return, to receive British support against his Abyssinian rivals, particularly against the Wagshum Gobasi of Shoa who seemed to be the probable heir to the Abyssinian hegemony on the death of Theodore. Napier, however, had been strictly instructed to avoid entanglement in the internal politics of the country and he did nothing for Kassa beyond rewarding him for the pacific assistance he had given during the campaign. They met on Napier's return from Magdala, Kassa mounted on a white mule and shaded by a red parasol and the General mounted on an elephant. On Queen Victoria's birthday 1868 Napier held a review at Senafi at which Kassa assisted, and on the following day he was presented with 850 muskets, 40,000 caps and 28 barrels of powder, together with a promise of twelve pieces of artillery from Bombay. Not the least valuable acquisition was Sergt. Kirkham of the Gordon Highlanders who was left by Napier as instructor to Kassa's musketeers.

13. E. A. de Cosson. *The Cradle of the Blue Nile.* London 1877. Vol. II, p. 4
14. Wylde, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 11.

Napier then sailed away from Zula with his army, fulfilling, to the evident surprise of some European powers, the British Government's assurance that the Magdala expedition would make no annexations in Abyssinia. So the fate of that disturbed country was left to be fought out between three main contestants, Gobasi of Amhara, Menelik of Shoa, and Kassa of Tigray, with Egypt waiting on her northern frontier to see what she could pick up out of the spoils of civil war[15].

Kassa was by no means a certain victor in the ensuing contest for the crown. An ancestor had been a famous ruler but his father had been given Tigray by a usurper and had subsequently been put to death by Theodore. Both Gobasi of Amhara and Menelik of Shoa had better claims than he and, in addition, Gobasi was an outstanding general who might have had Napier's support if he had not ignored an invitation to visit him on the grounds that his people would consider it an act of subservience. As it was, Gobasi soon proclaimed himself Emperor and took up residence at Gondar while Menelik used the title of King of Kings for the next ten years. Kassa had therefore plenty to occupy him in the interior of his country without involving himself in frontier disputes with Egypt. But neither was Egypt a free agent for she knew well that both England and France were watching her activities in this area.

4.

England had not ceased to consider the western coast of the Red Sea and the Somali coast east of the Bab-el-Mandeb to be areas of strategic importance since Aden and the Island of Perim had been occupied in 1839 and 1857 respectively. But she no longer considered, as she did earlier in the century, that the internal affairs of Abyssinia itself had a direct bearing on the safety of the coast. To some extent the British Government were committed to seeing that Kassa established himself as Emperor because they felt that a reasonable substitute for the late Emperor Theodore was due to the inhabitants of the country whose leader they had so rudely removed and Napier had considered Kassa to be the most promising candidate.

15. Markham. *ibid. passim.*

A more tangible interest was the prospect of profitable trade with a peaceful Abyssinia. But, generally speaking, British policy in this area was inconsistent partly because it was managed by the Government of India, which took too narrow a view of the points at issue, and partly because reliable consular officers were not posted either at Massawa or in Abyssinia after the unfortunate experience of Consuls Plowden and Cameron. As a result the French were much better informed about events there. They too had trade interests and also hopes for imperial expansion: but they had to reconcile these with a traditional friendship with Egypt, a task that was not always easy. They were interested, for instance, in the fate of the various missions in Abyssinia and held a belief that the Christian Abyssinians themselves had a claim on their protection, a claim that was often inimical to their relations with Muslim Egypt. The missions, however, made the situation difficult by dabbling in local politics, supporting discredited political characters and generally by behaving in an emotional and wrong-headed manner on the assumption that something close to extra-territorial status was their due.

As for the Abyssinian feudal barons, they wanted to be left free to pursue their ancient quarrels and generally to live life as they liked it. Their national pride had been stimulated, to some extent, during the more rational period of Theodore's reign and had been stung by Napier's invasion until they now attached some importance to the vague frontiers their country claimed. In defence of them they might be prepared to forget their quarrels, close their ranks and offer a united, and indeed formidable front to an invader. Yet national unity was a sacrifice for them just as it was the natural goal of the Emperor. He himself did not take a wide view of the matter but he was conservative enough to feel and act passionately on any foreign threat, particularly if it came from a Muslim country. Nor was he tempted to run the risk of inviting foreigners into Abyssinia to help the country towards civilization. His policy was to play one foreign power off against another without committing himself to the actual intervention of any.

It was essential to Kassa that he should be properly installed on his throne if he were to avoid attacks from his rivals on this important score. As Munzinger put it, "English guns on the one hand and spiritual thunder-bolts on the other would make the throne safe for him[16]." But the Abuna, the head of the Abyssinian church whose duty it was to perform the ceremony had died in prison at Magdala and a successor had to be appointed by the Patriarch of the Coptic Church at Alexandria. To do this it was necessary to send him a priestly delegation bearing presents. The delegation left but delays followed and stories were put about in Egypt that the presents were inadequate, that Abyssinia was still unsafe, and that the Abuna would not set foot in Abyssinia until all the Catholic missions had been removed. There was at least a substratum of truth to these stories and Kassa showed little hesitation in risking his good relations with the French, who were to a large extent the guardians of the missions, in order to expedite the arrival of the Abuna[17].

In due course the Abuna arrived and not only did he show that he himself wished to have the Catholic missions removed but, by declining to crown Kassa until he was satisfied that he was master of the country, he made his wishes felt. The missions had already been in trouble through refusing to pay taxes and soon Munzinger, as French Consul, found himself in the position of having to persuade Kassa to show more tolerance and to return to the churches some of the objects that had been taken from them by the tax-collectors. "It is by tolerating the Catholics," Munzinger told him, "that you will make sure of the friendship of France, which will always defend your frontiers against Egyptian aggression." To which Kassa replied "I prefer a Turkish invasion to that of the French missionaries." Munzinger considered therefore that some pressure was necessary and he began to get in touch with the northern barons who had shown disloyalty to Kassa. In particular he befriended the Dedjazmatch Walda Mikhail, the ruler of Hamasein, who was an energetic and utterly unreliable scoundrel in close touch with the missionaries.

16. Douin. *op. cit.* II, p. 299.
17. *ibid.* II, c. VI. 3. *passim.*

In August, 1869 this Walda Mikhail went so far as to write to the Emperor Napoleon III seeking his friendship: "Although I owe allegiance to Kassa," he wrote— "I am nevertheless, through my ancestors, the legitimate ruler of my country of Hamasein." In forwarding the letter to the French Government, Munzinger commented that, "As the supreme authority in Abyssinia is continually changing hands, it is, I think, opportune that we should be certain of the friendship of this frontier chieftain under all circumstances." Unfortunately Kassa got wind of this letter and immediately threw Walda Mikhail into prison[18].

Nor was this the only direction from which Kassa was menaced. In Amhara, Gobasi seemed to be increasing in strength every day, to the extent that many believed that Kassa would be unable to defeat him in a pitched battle. So depressed did Kassa become that he even wrote to Ismail Pasha for assistance. Nothing came of it however because the French Consul-General got wind of the appeal and the British agent received a similar appeal addressed to Her Majesty's Government. Both obtained assurances from Ismail Pasha that he would take no action[19].

Shortly afterwards an attempt was made on Munzinger's life when he was leaving Keren for Massawa[20]. The assassin was the tool of a fanatical Abyssinian priest and both were soon arrested and sent to Kassa at Adowa for judgment. But when Kassa released the priest and showed hesitancy in dealing with the assassin, Munzinger decided, as soon as he had recovered from his wound, to visit Kassa himself and not only seek personal redress but also try to do something effective for the persecuted missionaries who looked to him for assistance. The meeting took place in March 1870 and appeared to Munzinger to have produced favourable results. For a year he waited for Kassa's promises to be honoured only to find that the Catholic missions had been further restricted. He had come to the end of his patience and addressed a most undiplomatic document to Kassa. "You have

18. *ibid.* II, c. VI. 4. *passim.*
19. *ibid.* II, c. VI. 5. *passim.*
20. *ibid.* II, c. VI. 6. *passim.*

driven out the Catholic priests. These priests were in Abyssinia before you were heard of . . . but, badly advised, you have maltreated them and driven them out. If what I have written is untrue, tell me... If, on the contrary, what I say is true, know that your kingdom will be destroyed, and that you yourself will perish even as Theodore perished. You must not forget that sovereigns who have dared to attack the Catholic clergy, have all fallen. You will fall as they fell. Yet they were kings. If France is weak at the moment, she is still strong enough to come and chastise you. And I, as I guided the English into Abyssinia, so I will be able to guide the French against you. Now, consult the history of Ethiopia and reflect ; it is a piece of advice that I give you. The object of this letter is to let you know the fate that awaits you[21]."

It was obvious that Kassa would not continue to tolerate Munzinger as a neighbouring Consul or that France would continue to employ him. The matter was not, however, of moment to Munzinger himself because he was already trying to get employment elsewhere : for all his attachment to life in Africa, Munzinger's German sympathies predominated and with the Franco-Prussian war in progress it was not surprising that he should be tired of service with France. He had already declined an offer of employment by the British Resident at Aden when he recognised and seized an opportunity that promised real scope for his ambitions. On April 6th, 1871 he was appointed Governor of Massawa by Ismail Pasha and thus entered the service of a country that he had not tired of denouncing as the greatest menace to the independence of Abyssinia. The significance of the appointment was not lost on Ras Kassa[22].

5.

Within a month of his appointment Munzinger had contradicted most of the views he had expressed as French Consul. He had many ideas for the future of his province gained during the years he had spent there as a spectator of the short-comings of the Egyptian rulers.

21. *ibid.* II, p. 313.
22. *ibid.* II, p. 320.

But one plan over-shadowed all others : he was determined to include Keren in his province and to justify this he claimed that the safety of Taka was endangered as long as it was not held by Egypt. At the same time he felt that until his plan was complete it would be prudent to stimulate dissension against Kassa by supporting his opponent Gobasi.

The strategic importance of Keren was undeniable for it commanded the water-shed between the rivers Baraka and Ainseba which gave access both to the Hamasein Plateau, and thence into Tigray, and also to the passes leading down to Massawa. But there could be no doubt about its status. The Bilein were immigrants from the heart of Abyssinia and although they had been fairly independent, because they lived in the extreme north, they had always paid tribute to Hamasein who, in turn, owed allegiance to Tigray. Ismail Pasha, on the other hand, had weakened his case by telling the British Consul-General in 1863 that he had no designs or claims on this areas[23], so that when he now had to restate his case he fell back on the argument that Ahmed Pasha Abu Udun had annexed it in 1840, when Kassala was originally founded. He could never have substantiated this claim and, one imagines, there would have been no-one better qualified than Munzinger to prove its fallacy. There was more substance to the contention that the security of Taka was threatened by the ineffective Abyssinian administration of the hill tribes which allowed them to raid the Beni Amer and other Taka tribes at will. This was largely due to the fact that the ruler of Hamasein was himself under the impression that the administration of the Bilein demanded nothing more than an annual raid to collect their tribute. Kassa had on one occasion gone so far as to nominate a certain Réné, a mechanic from Marseilles who was employed by him as an armourer, to protect them but he did not last long[24].

In 1871, when Munzinger began to threaten Keren, Kassa was fully occupied with other matters, for Gobasi had finally advanced against him. It was not long before the issue was settled. In July

23. *ibid.* I, p. 90.
24 *ibid.* II, p. 408.

1871 Gobasi, after some preliminary skirmishes and much manoeuvring, reached Adowa, the capital of Tigray, with a large force and in the ensuing battle he was decisively defeated. If we are to believe an eye-witness, nearly all Kassa's troops, with the exception of Kirkham's 2,000 musketeers, had sold themselves to Gobasi while Kassa's agents had purchased the non-intervention of a considerable proportion of Gobasi's men. Moreover Kassa's gunners were Turkish mercenaries who had readily accepted a bribe to fire over the heads of their opponents. The outcome of the battle would have been doubtful if Kirkham's regiment, according to Kirkham himself, had not stood fast and, responding with admirable discipline to the English commands of their leader, taken a heavy toll of Gobasi's hordes[25]. But Kassa's victory was complete in the end. Gobasi was duly imprisoned on the top of an inaccessible hill for the rest of his days while Kassa was acclaimed "King of Kings" and changed his name to Yohannes—John. He was finally crowned at Axum in January, 1872. But there were still other centres of revolt to deal with and while he was pre-occupied with these, two incidents occurred that added to the tension on his northern frontier. In the first place a letter had been found in Gobasi's camp from Mgr. Touvier, the head of the Catholic missions, offering support to the rebel. On the strength of this, John took further steps against the missions. Secondly a stray rebel baron descended on the neighbourhood of Keren and further demonstrated the lack of security there by levying exhorbitant demands on the populace and doing much damage.[26]

A crisis was reached in February 1872, when the Governor of Taka reported to Cairo that the Abyssinian chief south of the Settit had raided the Baza, killed about fifty persons, lifted a large number of animals and driven off some 600 people as slaves. Munzinger happened to be in Cairo at the time whither he had been summoned by the Khedive "to discuss certain delicate questions." He had taken with him documents that amounted to declarations of submission, which the chiefs of the Bilein had signed at his instigation in the previous year. When

25. de Cosson. *op. cit*, Vol. I, p. 148.
26. Douin, *op. cit*, II, p. 327.

news of the raid on the Baza arrived Ismail Pasha wrote to Munzinger on 25th March 1872: "Having been verbally informed that the members of the tribe of the Bogos (Bilein) presented you with a request that they should reattach themselves to our Government so that they can obtain peace, security, and defence against the attacks of the Abyssinians, we have no objection that they should become dependent on this Government. We send you this order for you to conform with it[27]." Munzinger returned to Massawa at once and on the 4th June 1872 he entered his beloved Keren at the head of an Egyptian battalion and proceeded to occupy and fortify Senhit, close to Keren. Almost immediately his mind began to turn over schemes for an advance further south to occupy Hamasein but he moved with caution, knowing enough about the country to realise that King John would not rest idle while Egypt, and Munzinger in particular, nibbled at his northern frontier. According to Munzinger, emissaries had already appeared from Hamasein who expressed their desire to live in the shade of the Egyptian Government. "This region," he wrote to Cairo a month after the occupation of Keren, "is the key to Abyssinia. Once taken there is nothing more to fear, peace and security will reign in all places dependent on this government; but I am not able to occupy Hamasein since I do not yet know the intentions of the King of Abyssinia in connexion with Senhit, that is to say, whether he will remain quiet or organise a movement of some sort following the seizure of this region, which he resented because of the profit he used to draw from it[28]."

In a strictly geographical sense Munzinger was right when he said that Hamasein was the key to Abyssinia, for it is through the passes that lead up from Massawa to the Hamasein plateau that an army must march to gain access to Tigray. But having gained the key it did not necessarily follow that Abyssinia was at the mercy of the invader; there were a great many other obstacles to be overcome. Napier made good use of it when he marched on Magdala largely because his lines of communication were unmolested and because he was confronted

27. *ibid.* II, p. 338. Letter from the Khedive to Munzinger.

28. *ibid.* II, p. 344. Munzinger to the *mikradar* of the Khedive, 14 July, 1872.

with only the remnants of Theodore's army. On the other hand both the Egyptians in 1875 and the Italians in 1896 suffered defeat when they crossed the Mareb : it was not until 1936 that an Italian army, equipped with modern armament and transport, succeeded in advancing from a base in Hamasein to inflict a defeat on the Abyssinians. At this stage however, Munzinger was not proposing more than that the passes should be brought under Egyptian control by an advance south of Keren and he anticipated that, while this could be achieved by a bold stroke, it would certainly lead to a counter-attack by King John. He was, in fact, proposing that the Khedive should follow a policy that might not only end in a trial of military strength between Egypt and Abyssinia, but also one that would probably be frowned upon by the European powers interested in Abyssinia. Hamasein was as much a part of Abyssinia as Tigray itself. For this reason careful diplomacy was necessary to show, first, that the occupation of Keren was justified, secondly, that the occupation of Hamasein was necessary to insure the safety of Keren, and thirdly, that the occupation of Hamasein was not to be the prelude to still further encroachments on Abyssinian territory.

Ismail Pasha relied, to some extent, on the claim that Ahmed Pasha Abu Udun had occupied Keren but, as we have already explained, this did not really hold water. A more effective argument was that the Egyptian troops had advanced to maintain security and put a stop to the persistent raids from across the frontier. It was not, according to Ismail Pasha, a matter of Egyptian aggression against Abyssinia so much as an invasion of Egyptian territory by the Abyssinians and with Munzinger wielding complete authority on the frontier instances of this were not lacking. In reality, however, the raids were little more than the frontier forays that had been going on in this area since time immemorial. Security inside the Sudan itself would not bear close examination. In addition, Munzinger was able to stir up trouble by getting into touch with and encouraging any recalcitrant Abyssinian baron who thought that he could profit from King John's embarrassment. He even espoused the cause of

two notorious bandits for whom King John was searching and housed one of them under the protection of the Egyptian Government in the Governor's house at Keren and the other at a village near the frontier in the neighbourhood of Massawa. He also began to build a road from Massawa in the direction of Hamasein.[29]

The news of the occupation of Keren reached Europe in August through the medium of the *New York Herald* which managed to have one of its ubiquitous reporters in Massawa at a time when the Egyptians were doing their utmost to keep their actions quiet[30]. The incident was referred to as ' the invasion of Abyssinia ' so that Ismail Pasha soon found himself faced with some awkward questions. To one and all he gave replies that represented only half the truth and he even found it necessary to write to the editors of various influential papers in England and France to get them to view the matter in a more favourable light. The general opinion in diplomatic circles was that the Khedive had made up his mind and was actively clearing the way towards the conquest of Abyssinia.

A letter the Khedive wrote to Munzinger on August 26th, 1872, within a few days of his denying to the British Consul-General that he harboured any aggressive intentions against Abyssinia shows a confusion of motives that is typical of Ismail Pasha's correspondence. " I am very pleased with your administration," he wrote, " and the manner in which you have executed my orders ; prudence, vigilence, and intelligence with these I am sure you will make the populace happy and make me happy too. I am sending you £E. 8,000. You can spend part of this on secret service, for it is not necessary to economise on that sort of thing. Accurate news received in good time is the foundation of success in these affairs . . . thereby you can save untold amounts of men and money. . . only do not pass this sum through your books, put it in a separate account, send it to me directly and I will write you an order to charge it against general expenses. You have more troops than you need, I will send you more money than you have asked for . . . It is not that I want the conquest of Abyssinia ; on the contrary, this would be altogether opposed to my

29. *ibid* II. p. 357.
30. *ibid*, II, c. VI. 7. *passim*.

ideas. But, on the other hand, I will not allow Abyssinia to steal our men, and women, and make them slaves; to depopulate the whole country, or to maintain the pretence that we have not the right to pardon persons that belong to Egypt and who have rebelled or are in revolt but who now ask us to pardon them. You must not cede a foot of what is now Egyptian territory or which used to be Egyptian territory; for after all the Bogos and all these tribes are only Egyptian tribes and the Abyssinians do not exercise any rights over them except to destroy them as they destroy other tribes[31]."

In spite of this, the attitude and the actions of Egypt were increasingly menacing throughout 1872. Munzinger proposed the extension of Egyptian influence along the coast with a view to taking possession of the valuable salt deposits at Aussa and also of getting in touch with Menelik of Shoa who had already sent messengers to Germany and to Egypt to enlist the support of these countries against King John. Further west Waronya had now set himself up as the almost independent ruler of Amhara and he wrote to Khartoum to get in touch with the Governor there, although, at the same time, he dug up an old bone of contention by asserting that the sheikhship of Takarir at Gallabat belonged to him. The Governor sent back an envoy with presents but, at the same time, obtained permission to reinforce the garrison at Gallabat. The Governor of Taka, for his part, established a new Merkaz at Amideib, six hours south of Koufit and sufficiently near to the Baria and Baza to be able to spread Egyptian propaganda among those buffer tribes. Altogether things looked uncertain for King John both at home and abroad[32].

The King had been absent dealing with a Galla rising when he received the news that Keren had been occupied and he hurried north to resist this act of aggression with force. But on his arrival he was met with counsels of restraint and in the first instance he merely reinforced his army on the frontier and answered a threatening letter from Ismail Pasha in which the latter had alleged that certain of the frontier incidents to the south-east of Kassala made it necessary for

31. *ibid.* II, p. 353. A strictly personal letter written in pencil from the Khedive to Munzinger, 26 August, 1872.

32. *ibid.* II, c. VII. 10. *passim.*

Egypt to extend her influence in that area in order to give security to the inhabitants. "I must inform you, dear brother and friend," he wrote, "that the places above, that is to say the Baria and Baza country, have always belonged to our government and that their Governor has been appointed by us. After acts of pillage and brigandage had been committed by the people of this area on some of our native merchants in which several were killed and others seized to be sold into slavery, we have given orders to the local authorities for their punishment so that they would not in future commit such acts. As for the Taka area it has not been the object of encroachment on the part of our government .... I wish to make it known to Your Highness that there are intrigues and machinations operating between us through the medium of certain imposters and slanderers who wish to shed human blood for the satisfaction of their vain ambitions. And this is why Munzinger Pasha has concentrated the troops sent by Your Highness and has led them into the country situated between the frontiers of our possessions and those of Your Highness. These frontiers are Keren and Halhal and all the Hamasein area ... Our Empire extends in this area as far as the coast. We hope that the coastal area that has been lost will be returned to us. The servants of Your Highness's government do not confine themselves to the occupation of the said coast but have extended their encroachments into the places where we actually live. The sincere friendship of Your Highness proves that a neighbour is a brotherly friend; if he commits acts of aggression on his brother by unjustly seizing his possessions, where will be the friendship between them? If Your Highness would like to have information on these places you have only to ask the Europeans who are always coming here and to avoid listening to the words of slanderers in order that peace and good relations may always be maintained between us. If Your Highness is unaware of these movements I beg you to order your troops to return to their posts and if you wish to take possession of these places I beg you to let me know[33]."

33. Dated 31 July, 1872. *ibid.* II, p. 346. In a footnote Douin comments: "There is, in the archives of the Abdin Palace, an English translation of King John's letter which differs notably from the French version given here and which was sent by the Khedive's secretary to Stanton (the British Consul-General)." This version was forwarded to the British Foreign Office.

His other hope of succour lay in the European powers which had previously shown an interest in Abyssinian affairs, particularly when it was a matter of stopping Egyptian expansion in that direction. He therefore sent Kirkham, who by this time had been given an Abyssinian title equivalent to that of General, to London with a letter to Queen Victoria. He bore copies also to Lord Granville, the Foreign Secretary, M. Thiers, the President of the French Republic, and the sovereigns of Austria, Germany and Russia. In these letters the King again denounced the evil influence of Munzinger and recalled that in the past Abyssinia had resisted all aggression from Muslims "I have written you all this," he wrote to the Queen, "to obtain your advice, because I do not want Christian blood to be shed in vain . . . I ask you to do me the great favour of sending a man of good character to see how I am oppressed by Ismail Pasha, and I will defray all his expenses." King John was still under the illusion that the European powers had shown sympathy in the past on grounds of religious sentiment, but in spite of this, Kirkham's efforts were not without avail. The British Consul-General in Egypt was astonished when he heard from him that Ismail Pasha was claiming the Mareb as his frontier with Abyssinia and hastened to obtain assurances that this was not the case. The Khedive gave them readily enough. Finally Kirkham was able to return to his master with a reply that was so satisfactory that it was translated and posted in all the churches of Abyssinia. "The Khedive" wrote Queen Victoria, "has given us the most formal assurances that he has never considered the annexation or invasion of your territory and that all the movements of his troops on the frontier have no other object than to protect his subjects against the incursions of marauders[34]."

34. *ibid*, II, c. VIII, 1 & 2, for Kirkham's visit to Europe.
The story of Kirkham's adventure is really a study in itself. It is sufficient to remark here that he was, at various times, one of General Walker's 'fillibusters' in the Nicaraguan campaign; an instructor in Gordon's Ever Victorious Army in China; a Sergeant in the Gordon Highlanders; a steward on a boat in the Red Sea from which he joined Napier's army and so qualified for the post he was given under King John. Not long after his return from Europe he retired and took up farming near Asmara, where he fell foul of the Egyptians and finally died of dysentry and an excessive fondness for brandy in prison at Massawa. Kirkham's arrival in London as the emissary of King John seems to have horrified the Foreign Office and he never got nearer Lord Granville than an Under-Secretary. The French Ambassador in London wrote to his government that, "The envoy sent by the Negus is English. A long sojourn in China and particularly in Africa, has caused him to forget European habits which without doubt he has never had the opportunity of observing in the best society. One is tempted to take him for an oriental ineffectively concealed under a western disguise."

But this temporarily favourable result had not been achieved without a mild commotion in the Chancelleries of Europe, particularly in those which were a little uncertain of their African geography. Kirkham, after a stay at Aix, arrived in Vienna and the Austrian Foreign Office consulted Bismark before drafting an answer to King John's letter. He replied that, "the real commercial interests of both Germany and Austria necessitate the maintenance of good relations with Egypt, which would only be disturbed by taking notice of the King of Ethiopia's request. Germany is not bound to the latter country by any interest and does not share France's mania for extending her sphere of influence with the sole object of displaying the abundance of her power." Austria ignored the great diplomatist's rather artless remarks and told her Ambassador at Constantinople to obtain the views of the Porte. In London the Cabinet discussed the matter and instructed the Consul-General in Cairo to urge the Khedive to abandon his aggressive attitude. At the same time the Turkish Government was reminded that in matters of foreign policy the Khedive, as the Sultan's vassal, had to take his directions from Constantinople. But the situation was not beyond the Khedive nor his nimble-witted Minister, Nubar Pasha. They adopted an attitude of great correctness. The rocky hills and thorny plains where a real Turk had never set foot and where these disastrous plans were taking shape became ' Your Imperial Majesty's possessions ' : the frontier raids were met with even more righteous indignation ; Sir Bartle Frere was asked to support the view that an extension of Ismail Pasha's power would hasten the abolition of the slave-trade[35]. In the meantime Munzinger played his part on the frontier by employing all the resources of the skilful aggressor, and by completing his plans for the encirclement of Abyssinia. In September 1873 all the Egyptian territory from the Somali coast to the Settit was combined in one province under his command. " The Khedive's favourite idea at the moment," wrote the French Ambassador at Constantinople in June 1873, " is to profit from, or rather exploit, central Africa. With an imagination at once fanciful and calculating, he dreams of a great African empire founded on his genius, opened to

35. *ibid.* II, c. VIII. *passim.*

civilization by his enterprise and destined to provide his depleted finances with resources that he believes to be inexhaustible. The centre of these projected operations is the vast triangle between the Blue Nile, the Atbara and the hills of Abyssinia. This Mesopotamia, which is about 200 miles long at its base and has a height of about 300 miles, seems to be very fertile; watered by two branches of the Nile and by the tributaries that flow down from the Abyssinian mountains, it appears to be ready for the cultivation of all the tropical products, cotton, sugar-cane, coffee; a population which the Khedive puts at four million blacks, provides submissive labour. Ismail Pasha's intention is to build a railway which, starting from Khartoum, would follow the Nile valley and carry to Cairo the fruits of this intensive exploitation. Another line branching off at either Khartoum or Shendi, would go to Massawa and link up this new centre of production with the Red Sea.

"The expeditions directed against the frontiers of Abyssinia are to insure that this plan can be carried out. Are they at the same time intended to prepare the way for more extensive adventures? Nubar Pasha absolutely denies it. As he will be called upon to give advice to the Khedive, he says, he will resolutely oppose all idea of the conquest of Abyssinia .... But in spite of Nubar Pasha's denials, one is permitted to think that the annexation of Abyssinia is part of a vast programme for a future that Ismail Pasha has dreamed for Egypt. If he recoils from the suggestion of an armed expedition and a military conquest, he is perhaps considering less violent means.

"You will not overlook, Monsieur le Duc, that the progress of the Egyptians in this area has been obvious enough; not only have they penetrated south of Massawa and caused the Italians to renounce the bay of Assab, but they have extended their activities outside the straits of the Bab el-Mandeb; a settlement has been founded by them at Berbera, on the Gulf of Aden, 200 miles below the straits. Their real pretension is to consider the whole of the African coast of the Red Sea as a natural dependency of Egypt. If, turning from theory to fact, they reached the point of strongly fortifying all this

coast, one can conceive that circumstances might arise in which Abyssinia, surrounded on every side, without communications either with the sea or the Nile, would be at the mercy of Egypt and forced to accept her conditions[36]."

There is every reason to believe that the Count de Vögué's interpretation of the situation was accurate. From Egypt's point of view the diplomatic exchanges had gone in her favour. Only England and France were sufficiently interested in the fate of Abyssinia to take any active steps and of these France was too weak from the war with Prussia to be able to exert much influence. As for England she was unable to obtain accurate information about a situation in which information was essential. The Consul-General in Cairo asked for permission to visit Massawa to see things for himself but his request was refused by Lord Granville on the grounds that he could not make a penetrating inquiry during a short visit and that his presence there might involve the government in all sorts of complications. The Government has not forgotten the £2,000,000 it had cost to retrieve Consul Cameron from that part of the world. So the confusion continued. More Abyssinian raids were reported; Ismail Pasha offered to negotiate while he simultaneously increased pressure on the frontier; King John began to utter grandiloquent threats; finally, in June, 1874, Lord Derby, who had now become Foreign Secretary, wrote as a marginal comment to a despatch from Cairo, "Absolutely avoid involving us in these matters in future[37]." Egypt had at last obtained a free hand to act as she pleased with regard to Abyssinia. The two crushing defeats she received at the hands of King John during the next two years were the result.

There is no necessity to be censorious over an attempt which, if it had been successful, would have taken on a very different complexion. But it is hard to imagine greater folly. Ismail Pasha's only hope was to be able to deal with a disunited country, for it was on the experiences of Napier's Magdala expedition that he had based

36. *ibid.* II, p. 416. M. de Vögué au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, 24 juin 1873.
37. *ibid.* II, p. 432.

his belief that he could survive a trial of strength with Abyssinia. With this in view, he had done his best to hinder King John's efforts to consolidate his position, at the same time creating a state of insecurity to which he could point in justification of his policy. In the end his policy had just the opposite effect. Similarly, he believed that his reorganized army was a powerful military instrument which, armed with modern weapons, could rout the Abyssinian swordsmen. In fact his army proved to be a cowardly rabble.

To preserve a proper perspective when considering the allegations made against Abyssinia during these preliminary exchanges, three points must be mentioned. Keren, which Ismail Pasha claimed had belonged to Egypt since 1840, was the subject of a conversation with the British Consul-General in 1863, in which Ismail Pasha assured him that Egypt had no right to the place. It had in fact never been visited by other than marauding parties of Bashibazuks. Secondly, Hamasein, which was represented as being laid waste by the Abyssinians was visited by an English traveller in 1873 who commented that " the village of Asmara was almost deserted, and the plains round it depopulated, for, being so near the frontier, they had been exposed to the ravages of the Egyptian soldiers sent to conquer Bogos, who had made many pillaging expeditions up here, and caused most of the inhabitants to flee into the interior of the country for safety[38]." Thirdly, far from the slave-trade being suppressed in the Egyptian empire, Gallabat was at this period one of the most notorious of slave-markets.

38. de Cosson, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 50.

CHAPTER VII.

COUNT RAOUL DU BISSON'S EXPEDITION TO KOUFIT—MUTINY OF THE 4TH REGIMENT AT KASSALA IN 1865—THE MURDER OF THE POWELL FAMILY.

I.

The year 1875 marked the peak of Ismail Pasha's efforts to make a success of the Sudan. Before examining the unhappy events that accompanied and followed Egypt's war with Abyssinia, one must recall three other incidents that occurred in or near Kassala while Ismail Pasha's star was still in the ascendant.

To the south-east of Kassala, populating on both sides of the Gash as far south as the River Settit, live the Baria and Baza (or Kunama) tribes. These aboriginal negroids, isolated from the Nilotic tribes to which they are akin, were at this period living in autonomous and discordant village communities which formed, in agglomeration, a buffer state between the Sudan and Abyssinia. In this capacity they were obliged to repel raids from north and south : only their courage and the skilful tactical use they made of their hilly and broken country enabled them to survive. The Baza in particular were warriors of such ruthlessness that their name was feared in the eastern Sudan[1].

The Beni Amer had levied a sort of Dane-geld on the Baria for many years before the Egyptians arrived but this was diverted to Kassala in 1840. Egypt, however, established no permanent post in the Baria country until 1852 when a small defended camp was built at Koufit a place some 40 miles due east of Kassala on the main route to Keren and Massawa. The presence of the troops restored some order among the various sections of the tribe and put an end to the more extensive of the Beja raids : the country even became safe enough for a market to be established at Mogello. But the Baza, living to

1. See Alberto Pollera's *I Baria e I Cunama.* Rome 1913.

the south of the Baria, received no protection and found themselves the prey both of Egyptian tax-collecting expeditions and the raids of the Abyssinian ruler at Addi-Abo. Making a virtue of necessity they threw in their lot with the latter.

When Said Pasha visited the Sudan in 1857, he ordered the abandonment of Koufit and as a result the Baria were left in no better state than the Baza, for although Egypt abandoned Koufit as a permanent post and ceased to provide any real protection from the Beja and Abyssinian raiders, a body of Egyptian troops returned each year to levy tribute.

This was the lot of the Baria when, in 1864, they became momentarily involved in an adventure of a most romantic but venal kind[2]. It began at Paris where in July 1863, M. Palmero, a wealthy contractor and his son-in-law, Comte Raoul du Bisson, approached the French Foreign Office with a request for a letter of introduction to the French representative in Egypt. They said that they wanted to start a cotton plantation in Upper Egypt and since the American Civil War was then at its height and the resultant shortage of cotton had led to a widespread search for other sources of supply, the request did not appear to be unreasonable : it was merely unusual in that they proposed to take French colonists with them. The recommendation was given and when M. Palméro and his son-in-law landed at Alexandria they were met by the French Consul-General bearing a summons to an audience with the Viceroy in Cairo together with an order that their baggage should be exempt from Custom dues. But the examination of the baggage revealed some surprizes for the various packing cases contained, among other things, 400 muskets, 4 cannons, 400 kilos of powder, and a large assortment of armaments ranging from swords to blunderbusses.

When the Count visited Ismail Pasha he explained that the expedition was merely a scheme for furthering the agricultural development of Central Africa which he felt sure would command His Highness's

2. The best account of this incident is in Douin's *Histoire du Règne du Khédive Ismail, Tome III, Ire. Partie, Chapitre II, 2. passim.* Most of the contemporary travellers make some mention of it. Extracts from official correspondence and reports are from Douin.

sympathy and support. Ismail Pasha was interested but there were certain aspects of the scheme that needed fuller examination and he suggested for instance that the Count might be carrying out some sort of secret mission of an imperial nature for the French Government. Du Bisson admitted at once that the expedition had indeed another side to it, that of establishing a military post on the Abyssinian frontier from which they hoped to be able to rescue M. Lejean, the French Consul at Massawa who had fallen into the hands of King Theodore. But, he added, his mission was so secret that if it was disclosed he would at once be denounced by those who had authorized it.

This plan appealed to Ismail Pasha partly because he admired enterprise and partly because it gave him an opportunity for laying at the door of a European power some of the responsibility for incidents on the Abyssinian frontier which his policy in the Sudan was likely to provoke. He therefore wrote to Musa Pasha Hamdi, the Governor-General of the Sudan, ordering him to concert his plans with those of the Count, and to take the opportunity of accompanying him if he crossed the Sudan frontier into Abyssinia. The Viceroy also ordered the expenses of the expedition to be defrayed by the Egyptian treasury.

Du Bisson, who had by now taken entire charge of the expedition, left Cairo on the 8th of October 1863 accompanied by his father-in-law, his wife, about forty Frenchmen, and some sixty other colonists collected from the riff-raff of the cafés of Alexandria and Cairo. If further evidence of his eccentricity were required it was provided during his journey up the Nile : at Korosko, where he was kept waiting for the 160 camels he required, he threatened to claim 20,000 francs compensation from the Egyptian government for the delay caused to his expedition. But the journey across the desert to Abu Hamad sorely tried the spirits of his colonists : the promised land was still distant and appearances in the neighbourhood of Berber discouraging. They demanded further information about both the destination and the object of the expedition. To this M. du Bisson could do no better than reply with an offer to change their original agricultural contracts into contracts for military service for three years with pay of 15 francs

a month and a promise of an allotment of land on their discharge. When this did not appease the colonists he told them that they were going to Abyssinia and that they were only the advance guard for two other contingents. On their arrival they would divide into two corps, one, under the direction of M. Palméro, would be employed on agricultural schemes: the other, under his own command, would act as a military force to keep the enemy at bay. The profits of the agricultural schemes and the booty from the military enterprises were to be divided between all the members of the expeditions according to the services rendered and the rank of each individual until all had attained a position of relative wealth. Having no means of returning home the weary colonists accepted his promises and signed the contracts: nearly all elected to join the military branch of the expedition.

In the meantime some embarrassing evidence had come to light in Egypt. Du Bisson's medical officer, a retired Italian army doctor, had been delayed in Europe and on his arrival in Alexandria he went to the French Consul-General to borrow money. He produced the contract he had been given by du Bisson. In addition to a salary of £E. 1000 it stipulated that the doctor should receive 60 hectares "of extremely fertile land" with beasts and implements for cultivating it, land capable of yielding annually between twenty-five and thirty thousand pounds sterling, situated near a railway that was under construction and a port.

Moreover the Viceroy had been informed that the French Government knew nothing of du Bisson and his intentions and the British Consul-General had protested against the support that Egypt was giving to a French expedition against Abyssinia only a few months after the British government had advised King Theodore to abandon his aggressive attitude towards the Sudan. The Viceroy therefore hastened to change his orders to Musa Pasha. "We attach," he wrote on 15th October 1863 "a letter for the Count informing him that it is impossible for you to accompany him beyond our frontiers. If he insists you should make the excuse that the Viceroy has ordered you to go as far as the frontier and no further. If he wishes to build a fortress or strong-

hold on the frontier ask him to explain its object and if he replies that it is for security, tell him that our troops are posted for his protection and that we shall take care of him. But try to divert him from his project by advice and diplomacy. If the Count insists on crossing the frontier put at his disposal the arms, water skins, and camels he requires and if he or any of his companions wish to establish themselves on our territory appoint an official to guard them and provide them with the necessities of life ; but at the same time make it clear to the troops that they must not cross the frontier."

When du Bisson had been handed the enclosure to this despatch and after he had satisfied himself that Musa Pasha was not to be deceived, he gave yet another version of his intentions. He had learnt, he said, from the Lazarist priests at Keren that there were 60,000 feddans of cultivable land in that vicinity which the natives wished to dispose of. His expedition was therefore primarily an agricultural project but the French government, hearing that he was about to leave for northern Abyssinia, had asked him to do what he could to rescue the captured French Consul[3]. Musa Pasha had rightly foreseen by this time that in the end du Bisson would present the Egyptian government with a heavy bill for damages on the grounds that his agricultural scheme had been ruined, after the Count himself had provided the means for its ruin. It was not the first, and certainly not the last time that this sort of trick was to be played on Ismail Pasha.

After a short stay in Khartoum, where du Bisson re-equipped himself at the expense of the Egyptian treasury, the party set out for Kassala. At Berber M. Palméro died of fever after expressing emphatic disapproval of his son-in-law's conduct, and at Kassala, du Bisson

3. *cf.* Rassam, *loc. cit.* Vol. I. p. 44. " A report reached Massawa that a ' French General '—a ' Count du Bisson '—had arrived on the northern border of Abyssinia with a large body of followers, intending to establish themselves in Hamasen, an Abyssinian district to the north of Tigre . . . . Some of the Count's letters at that period, about Theodore and Abyssinian affairs generally, which appeared in a French Journal, and alleged to be founded on information received from strange officers of high rank in that country, afforded us a fund of amusement, owing to the stupid and barefaced inventions which formed the staple of the correspondence . . . . the report that he had come back into the neighbourhood of Hamasen afforded Theodore with a good excuse at the time, as we subsequently heard, for retracting the promise which he had made to his European artisans at Gaffat to release Consul Cameron and the Missionaries."

found that the French Consul he had intended to rescue, had already arrived in the town. Moreover the Governor of Kassala showed no disposition to further his designs so that he decided for the time being to abandon his plans for going to Keren and to stay on Egyptian territory instead. The abandoned fort at Koufit was suggested to him as a suitable place for his purposes, so it was for this place that he set out with his colonists, escorted, in accordance with the Viceroy's instructions, by ninety Sudanese soldiers.

The scene was indeed remarkable. "About a hundred town Arabs were induced to join the European party—a useless set of vagabonds, who adorned themselves with regimental uniforms, accepted the rifle, pistol, and sword, drew their rations, were punctual in their attendance and always ready to salaam, but showed much dislike to the drill and other civilized notions the Comte and his officers endeavoured to impress upon them. Their departure from Kassala for the land flowing with milk and honey was quite theatrical; in front rode on a camel, a gallant captain (who had taken his discharge from the Austrian service) playing on the bugle a parting "fanfare"; behind him, the second in command, mounted on a prancing charger, and followed by the European part of the force, who with military step, and shoulder to shoulder, marched as men for whom victory is their slave. Behind came Le Comte himself, clad in general's uniform, his breast covered with many decorations which sovereigns had been only too proud to confer on such a noble spirit; next to him rode gracefully his beautiful wife, looking handsomer still in the picturesque kepi and red uniform of a French zouave; behind, closing the march, the well-knit Arabs, with plunder written in their dark bright eyes, marched with quick elastic step and as much regularity as could be expected from men who abhorred order and had been drilled for so short a time[4]."

The expedition passed through the low hills to the east of Kassala at Sabderat and at Dagga it received a reinforcement of 120 regular soldiers. On 12 April it arrived at Koufit which proved to be a valley

4. Blanc, H. *A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia.* London, 1868.

between low hills with a ' khor ' flanked by dom palms running along it. The breadth of the valley was about 16 kilometres : half of it was uncultivable and half was covered with stones or sandy soil. Close to the wells in the ' khor ' was the large ' Zeriba,' embracing some huts, which had served as the Egyptian post until 1857, and which was now occupied annually after the rains by the tax-gathering expedition. Du Bisson took over the ' Zeriba ' and had a shelter built around the wells for his own residence.

On the day after his arrival he sent his interpreter to the Baria sheikhs with the following message : ' A new ruler has arrived who wishes to live with you, a just Pasha who asks nothing of you ; on the contrary, he will give instead of take, he will protect you against the Turks and Abyssinians, and you will pay no more tribute either to the one or the other from the moment you came under his protection.' In response to this fifteen Baria and four Basa sheikhs visited him. Each was asked how many warriors he could put in the field, each was expected to co-operate in suppressing ' rebels ' and in defying the neighbouring Abyssinian chiefs. The wily Mohammed Nur of the Gadein forthwith denounced the Bilein as ' rebels ' and obtained the Count's permission to raid their country, but the Egyptian authorities intervened and prevented him from taking advantage of his heaven-sent opportunity.

As for the agricultural side of the scheme it advanced very slowly. The Courts collected between sixty and seventy tribesmen to clear the ground of stones and thorns but after a day's work they never returned. For the rest he constructed a rough stone fort near the ' khor ' with a gun position commanding the approach to the wells and a long wall joining it to the ' Zeriba'.

This was the state of affairs found by Bimbashi Khattab Eff. who was engaged in the collection of tribute from the Baria when he visited Koufit. Khattab Eff. had also been given the responsibility of guarding du Bisson's expedition as far as the frontier but, after giving him some reinforcements he had returned to Kassala with the

'durra' which du Bisson thought had been collected for the use of his party. His alarm at finding du Bisson in friendly conclave with the Baria sheikhs, making presentations of firearms, welcoming complainants and building entrenchments around the Egyptian zeriba, was so ill-disguised that du Bisson hastened to denounce him direct to the Governor-General before the Bimbashi could give his report in Kassala. The escort he had received, he complained, had been left without rations: they were so discontented and mutinous that he had had to send back all but fifty of them. Moreover the rains were approaching and he had been obliged to construct some huts and provide himself with some minor defensive works. "The intentions of His Highness and yourself have not been fulfilled" he continued, "You are my friend, you have too noble a heart and you are too great a warrior to allow His Highness's and your own friend to be treated with such indignity. My life is in peril—that is the lot of a soldier and it does not worry me: but I think of my wife and must make every effort to ensure that she is not murdered. The Bisha have given us land to cultivate. They have helped us and they want reward. By dint of ingenuity and gifts I have won the friendship of the Baria and Basa. It is a question of life or death in the position I am now in. I have, it is true, given each sheikh a flint-lock but they are mere toys. The Abyssinians wish to attack us . . . and I am prepared to receive them. I know, of course, that my defensive measures do not please the Bimbashi who is the enemy of all Europeans . . . . God's will be done, but I demand satisfaction of Bimbashi Khattab Eff. and if I did not rely on your justice I would have him soundly flogged."

Our knowledge of Khattab Eff's subsequent career leads one to think that the Count had some grounds for his protestations but events had gone too far. Ismail Pasha had already withdrawn his support as soon as he had received news from the Governor-General that du Bisson intended to go to Keren. Such a step might lead to the establishment of French influence there and, although he had recently informed the British Consul-General that Egypt had no right to the occupation of that area, by a complete *volte face* he ordered the

Governor-General to send a representative there, as secretly as possible to confirm its dependence to Egypt.

The Deputy Governor of Kassala was given the task of conveying the Viceroy's decision to the Count and also of putting an end to any further construction of fortifications at Koufit. Du Bisson's account of what followed was dramatic :

" At about 9 a.m. of May 3rd I heard the distant sound of drum and fife. The two Egyptian companies encamped with us take up their arms, go out, draw up in order of battle, not as troops who want to fight, but as soldiers who are meeting their comrades. Only at this moment does Mohammed Agha (Commander of the escort) deign to inform me officially of the arrival of the Deputy Governor Suliman Eff. and his troops . . . . I estimate that there are about 800 men apart from the two companies already with us.

" Suliman Eff. tells me : " Musa Pasha, Governor-General of the Sudan, in the name of the Viceroy of Egypt has sent the following orders : You will turn out the French from the lands they occupy : you will not let them stay there any longer ; you will prevent them from cultivating, building, trading, pitching their camp. Such are my instructions."

" Suliman adds that he has 1000 men in the camp . . . . All resistance is impossible . . . He returns to his troops and orders them to enlarge one side of the camp by breaking it down and settles down there. His soldiers invade the barracks of my colonists, steal all our wood and material for their comfort. Lacking animals, they slaughter ours. Some scuffles occur : our officers intervene. During the night, all my flocks of sheep in the folds outside the camp disappear.

" The Turkish officers do not tire of telling us that on their departure from Kassala they received orders to attack us if we did not submit and to butcher us to the last man . . . They and their men are eager to mingle with our native supporters accusing them of cowardice and treason. They call it a crime to serve Christian dogs, they provoke

mutiny. A French N.C.O. is insulted by the Muslim soldiers, another sees the hand of a corporal raised to strike him . . . Finally a certain Abdulla, the most active instigator of the mutiny, after an attempt to murder a French officer, deserts with the arms and equipment and wishes to kill a *sous-directeur* who opposes his purpose."

M. du Bisson went as far as to condemn this Abdulla to be shot but he reprieved him in the face of the firing squad. "Since then, more mutiny. On the 6th" he continues, "eighteen French lost courage. In the face of this unprovoked attack they despaired of the result and asked to be released from their engagements. I agreed and they left for Massawa." The Count then gave Suliman Eff. a letter of protest signed by all the colonists and declared that he had submitted to force. But, according to du Bisson, the general pillage of the camp followed and so, within a month of its arrival at Koufit the party returned to Kassala. "We covered 50 leagues of desert, without food, without water, on foot; women, children a prey to every kind of suffering. As soon as we were out of sight the Egyptians abandoned themselves without fear to every act of brigandage and rapine. The Deputy Governor seized the sheikhs, the Baria who had accompanied us . . . Then he ordered the demolition of our fortifications, the devastation of our work; everything was plundered, and razed: the wells poisoned and filled in".

The Count's account did not however tally with that given by one of his followers nor with the facts as revealed to a commission, consisting of M. Garnier, the dragoman of the French Consul-General at Alexandria and an Egyptian Kaimakam, which visited Kassala in the following year to hold any inquiry. The troops in Taka were far from being properly disciplined, as events in the same year were to reveal with some violence, but on this occasion they had acted with reasonable moderation. The country was not as hostile as the Count had pretended, nor had he been deprived of food and transport during his return to Kassala. Shortly afterwards the real purpose of the expedition appeared in the form of a claim for compensation, a claim

so accurately predicted by Musa Pasha. Item : loss of revenue from 12000 feddans of land purchased from the Baria sheikhs for three Marie-Theresa dollars per feddan, being the estimated value of the harvest of indigo and cotton, 360,000 francs for the year 1864. Item : compensation for 800 Europeans engaged on contract to replace an equal number of natives, 2,500,000 francs. Item : cost of transport of the said Europeans, 880,000 francs. Item : cost of 100 ploughs and teams, 30,000 francs. Item : cancelled contracts, purchases of gold, ivory, coffee and capital advanced, about 80,000 francs. Item : loss for one year on salaries, daily wages and rewards, damage to goodwill and credit 5,830,955 francs. The total was the immodest sum of about twelve millions of francs.

It is hardly necessary to add that Ismail Pasha refused to countenance this fantastic claim. He had withdrawn any support as soon as he had found out that du Bisson had deceived him over the true purpose of his expedition. Moreover, to examine his claim in detail, du Bisson had not bought any land from the Baria ; he had not arranged for any further colonists to join him, and he had not purchased any of the articles mentioned. And so the adventurous Count had to return in ignomy to Kassala where some of his men at least proved their courage during the great military mutiny of 1864. The Count himself returned to France where he gave his life in the defence of Paris against the Prussian besiegers in 1872.

2.

The history of the Sudanese regiments of the Egyptian Army is, for the most part, a remarkable record of heroism, stubbornness and patient endurance. It is all the more unfortunate therefore that their military lapses, which hardly ever called into question their fighting qualities, should have so frequently taken the form of mutiny. Mutinous troops usually imply short-comings in the system of command ranging from wilful mishandling to miscalculations of temperament. But it is unnecessary to examine the temperament of the Sudanese troops that took part in the mutiny at Kassala in 1865 for

under similar circumstances troops of any complexion or temperament might have mutinied[5].

Since the days when Mohammed Ali Pasha had conquered the country with his polyglot mercenaries, the effectiveness of the army in the Sudan had declined. The troops best suited to the purposes of the Government were the Bashibazuks, an irregular corps made up of foreigners or their half-caste offspring, together with the Shaigia companies of the irregular cavalry which if their methods made them unpopular bore a loyalty to the Government that was beyond question. The Bashibazuks, if they had been reasonably well organised and employed in sufficient numbers, provided an adequate force for preserving internal security, but the rulers of Egypt went beyond this and also made use of warlike tribesmen in the remoter parts of the Sudan for swelling the ranks of the regular army into which they found difficulty in recruiting their 'fellahin'. Mohammed Ali Pasha used them in Morea and Ibrahim Pasha in Arabia; Ismail Pasha lent some to Napoleon III for service in Mexico and mobilised others in anticipation of war with Abyssinia.

The Arabs of the Sudan, with the exception of the Shaigia, had shown that they would not join the army, and attempts to enlist them were soon abandoned, but, to the Egyptian officials of that period the Nilotic and Nuba pagans were human only in form and they had small compunction over recruiting them into the army by methods amounting to slave raiding on a grand scale. The liberal Said Pasha tried, it is true, to put an end to this practice by the rather equivocal plan of accepting recruits in lieu of 500 piastres of their tribal tribute, and this was one of the obstacles Ismail Pasha had to circumvent when, shortly after his accession in 1863, he found it necessary to reconcile his professed humanitarianism with his decision to increase the army in the Sudan. The Governor-General, Musa Pasha Hamdi,

5. The authorities for this incident are Douin, *loc. cit.* Part I, c. VI, *passim* who bases his account on official correspondence and reports and Na'um Bey Shukayr, *Tarikh el-Sudan* (Arabic text), Cairo 1904. Na'um Bey probably recorded his acount from informants in Kassala and elsewhere. I have been able to fill in certain details from information given me by two eye-witnesses who were still alive in Kassala in 1934.

who had wide experience of raiding southern tribes for recruits, proposed that the Khedive should accept a free interpretation of his predecessor's plan and authorise him to make an expedition both to the Fung and to "the neighbouring mountains not dependent on Egypt." To this Ismail Pasha replied "... I am unable to accept recruits for these battalions as slaves in lieu of taxes. But if you ask each sheikh in the Fazughli and Fung hills, as in the case of the Shilluk and Dinka, to supply a given number of fit men and they accede to your request, this can be considered as a service rendered by them to the Government and you may remit their taxes by 500 piastres for each recruit ... As for enrolling men by force from the mountains not dependent on Egypt that should be considered as a blow to the liberty of the individual and a form of slavery. If, on the other hand, you first ask these people to submit and they refuse it would be very natural to compel them by force to acknowledge their dependence and in that case, the enrolment in the army of those who are fit for service would be altogether appropriate[6]."

Armed with these instructions Musa Pasha visited both the Fung and the Nuba Mountains and the increased establishment of the army was completed. But the material he collected was dangerous. The recruits brought with them tribal allegiances more binding than those that grew from the indifferent discipline they found in the army. The male population of a village or even a section of a tribe might find themselves serving in the same regiment as the chiefs they had obeyed before they were captured and their tribal instincts were not to be extirpated by a few years of military service. If a soldier had a grievance and dared to express it he could often count on a support from his comrades which had behind it traditions of extreme self-sacrifice derived from generations of fighting for the survival of the tribe.

But the Sudanese regiments were not made up entirely of raw recruits: the recruits of earlier days had settled down to life as they found it in the northern Sudan and formed in the garrison towns, what amounted to a privileged military class. While serving in their regi-

6. *Ordre supérieur* of 1 June 1863. Douin, *ibid.* 1. p. 113

ments they were separated from the people of the northern Sudan by their origins as well as the nature of their work and when discharged, which under the financial vagaries of the country was not infrequent, they lived in villages of their own linked by their common professional interests and a confused sense that they were a people in exile. Moreover, long experience had taught them to know their officers for what they were worth. A few Sudanese officers of long service and outstanding personality commanded their respect but familiarity with their foreign officers bred a truculence which was restrained only by fear of punishment and the *esprit-de-corps* inspired in the primitive mind by military service.

In view of the mutinies that had occurred in the past, the organisation of the Sudanese regiments was also dangerous. Egyptian officers commanded regiments of three battalions but the admixture of Egyptians and Sudanese was carried through all the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, and even among the private soldiers a certain number of Egyptians were to be found. If the Egyptian officers had held the confidence of their Sudanese colleagues the system, which gave a relatively generous opportunity for promotion to the Sudanese, might have had much to recommend it, but they did not and complaints of favouritism and dissatisfaction at the choice of the men promoted to commissioned ranks were frequent.

The 4th Regiment had been transferred to Kassala from El Obeid in 1857 when Said Pasha visited the Sudan. The move was unpopular because most of the men, including many Nubas, had built houses for themselves in El Obeid and were encumbered by families. Moreover, the march from El Obeid to Kassala was in those days an undertaking of some magnitude and the hardships of the road were not softened by the discharge of several hundreds of men on their arrival in Kassala. One or two incidents occurred for which a number of popular non-commissioned officers were shot but although most of the discharged men settled down as cultivators they formed a discontented community always ready to lead the younger serving soldiers astray.

By 1864 the garrison of Kassala had swollen to 3200 infantry (the 4th Regiment), 300 Bashibazuks commanded by Said Agha Abu Felga, 300 Shaigia irregulars and 4 guns manned by Sudanese under a Turkish officer. There was good reason for ensuring that every possible measure should be taken to preserve discipline, for the troops, who were paid about 20 piastres a month, had received no pay for six months. The treasury was in fact nearly empty although there was still sufficient for the senior officers to draw their pay in full. The steps taken, however, could only have been calculated to increase the danger of mutiny. The Egyptian officers tried to segregate themselves from their men by obtaining more lucrative employment in the local departments—one became Collector of Customs, another the Storekeeper and so on—and an effort was also made to split up the troops by sending them on tax-collecting expeditions, during which discipline was relaxed, and which usually ended in a dispute between the commanding officer and his men as to the division of the booty. But a truly remarkable state of affairs prevailed among the troops in the isolated posts among the Beja tribes. These posts existed because harassed Beja sheikhs were in the habit of excusing themselves for their lack of success in collecting taxes by pleading that their tribesmen would not obey them. If the Government, they protested, did not give them proper support it could not expect to get its money, and the Government, urgently in need of its revenue and not unwilling to disembarrass itself of a few troops by sending them to live off the country at a safe distance, was only too willing to assist. This was delectable work for the troops who accepted all the fat sheep offered to them to speed them on their rapacious way and who, on their arrival, settled down to enjoy the hospitality of the sheikh. In the meantime the tribesmen decamped to the hills and, since it was cheaper to keep a handful of black soldiers contented with beer and meat, which were plentiful, than to send them away with money, which was scarce, the troops were not pressed to return. Instances even occurred of a sheikh depriving his military guests of their arms and holding them as hostages. In 1864 no less than a thousand men were distributed in this way in the neighbourhood of Kassala.

The discontent came to a head in October 1864 when Bimbashi Khattab Eff. was ordered to undertake an expedition against the Baza, with 500 infantry and a troop of Bashibazuks, to collect grain for the empty stores of Kassala. The troops had received no pay for months and as Bairam would be celebrated before they returned, they asked for a few piastres to leave with their families. Ibrahim Bey Adhami, the Governor, who throughout these hard times had continued to line his pocket while doing nothing to face the real storm that was brewing, gave a characteristic answer for he issued Khattab Eff. with his full salary but declined to give a millieme to the troops. Khattab Eff. then returned to his men who, backed by their families, had collected on the parade ground outside the east gate of the town with their arms piled in front of them. He gave the order to fall in but a tall Dinkawi called Garnazbat came forward and shouted that not a man would move until they had received some pay. Khattab Eff. shouted back that he would drive them to the Baza country with whips to which the younger men replied with war-cries and began to leap in the air. Then the women added their shrieks and a stick was thrown at the Bimbashi who took refuge in flight pursued to the safety of the fortress by a murderous rabble.

Two Sudanese officers—known as Abu Tuzluk and Hag Mughli—took command of the mutineers and they decided to leave Kassala and overtake Said Agha and his Bashibazuks who had gone ahead with the ammunition to Sabderat. On their way there a messenger from the Governor reached them to say that their pay was being sent to them, but when, after several hours, there was still no sign of the money, they seized the ammunition and pillaged the village of Sabderat. Said Agha was painfully wounded and a number of his men killed.

In the meantime the Governor had disarmed the remainder of the regiment and confined them to barracks under a guard of Bashibazuks. He also asked Sayed el Hassan el Mirghani, a man of great religious influence in the eastern Sudan, to take 4,000 dollars to Sabderat and distribute it to the troops. It was a difficult task but he accomplished it so successfully that he even manged to pursuade the mutineers to

go on the raid against the Baza, having conveyed to them the Governor's promise that Khattab Eff. would be removed from his command and that no report of the mutiny to higher authority would be made.

Ibrahim Bey had, of course, no intention of keeping his promise but neither he nor the Governor-General, to whom he reported the matter, proposed any action beyond the usual inquiry. The Khedive, however, was made of sterner stuff. The Governor-General was to go to Kassala himself to investigate. He was to shoot all the ring-leaders forthwith, officers as well as men, without waiting for further orders. Of the remainder one out of every twenty was to be shot and the others distributed between the various Mudirias, chained hand and foot as prisoners for life. But by the time these orders reached Khartoum, Musa Pasha was dead and his deputy, Omar Bey Fakhri, decided that they did not apply to him. All he did was to send Hassan Pasha to Kassala to take command of the troops with Ali Bey Abu Udan as the new Commander of the 4th Regiment. When they reached Kassala the mutinous troops on the Baza raid had not yet returned so it was decided that on their arrival they should be divided up among the Beja posts. A good deal of persuasion was required, however, to get the order carried out for by this time the Sudanese troops were virtually in charge of the situation, but in due course some 500 men left for the Gash, the largest section staying at Melitkinab. Although they had so far escaped punishment and all had had their arms returned to them, their pay was still in arrears.

In March 1865 the acting Governor-General received orders from Egypt to transfer a battalion of Sudanese to Egypt, whence they were to be sent to Mexico as reliefs for the troops that had been serving the French there for the last two years. Omar Fakhri Bey naturally seized this opportunity of getting rid of some of the Kassala mutineers and a battalion of the most vigorous young men was formed to go to Egypt via Suakin. They petitioned to be allowed to take their families with them and it was not until they had accepted the Governor's assurance that they would be absent for only a short time that they consented to move. As it was they had to pass through Melitkinab where they

met their more intransigent comrades who had little difficulty in convincing them that they were going to be thrown into chains and deported. So the two contingents combined in chasing away their officers and stealing all the Government arms, ammunition and specie they could lay hands on. Ali Bey Abu Udan managed to escape to Fillik with 150 loyal followers, where the Nazir of the Hadendoa gave him sanctuary but nothing could be done to stop the mutineers from pillaging the villages of the Gash on their march to Kassala. Except in the fortress of Kassala the authority of the Government ceased to be felt throughout the province, and even the fortress was not to remain entirely in its hands.

A subaltern brought the news of this debacle to Kassala and Hassan Pasha could think of nothing better than to send messagers post haste to Khartoum and to disarm the rest of the Sudanese troops. Unfortunately he left their rifles in the storeroom of the barracks while he concentrated his officers and personal escort among the Mudiria buildings at the northern end of the town. The Shaigia and able-bodied merchants were posted in the bastions on the northern and western side of the walls with orders to shoot the rebels as they entered the town. In fact his only prudent act seems to have been to hand over the defence of the powder magazine to Said Agha Abu Felga and his Bashibazuks.

At noon on July 5th 1865 the mutineers arrived at the western gate, marching in good order under their officers. Hassan Pasha, thinking perhaps that he could still avoid a fight by further concessions, at once gave orders that no resistance should be offered to them and the gate was opened to let them in. But when a few files had passed through a shot was fired from the bastion north of the gate which hit a Shawish in the back. The shot had been fired by Bulukbashi Mohammed Agha el Mardali who sought revenge for a cousin killed by the rebels at Sabderat, and was followed by a second shot that felled an Onbashi. The rebels at once ran amok. One party made for the prison to release their comrades who were chained there, another went to the barracks and seized the rifles which had been put in the unguarded store-rooms and a third caught a group of officers

in the open. They fled for one of the houses but before they could find safety a Bimbashi, a Sagh, eight Yuzbashia and six Mulazimin were killed. Among them was Khattab Eff. whose body was dragged away and burnt by the infuriated mob.

The troops then turned to the sack of the market and private houses, during which, it is said, Khattab Eff.'s house yielded 30,000 dollars. This first stage of the operations was indeed more of a riot than an organised attack and it was only when the troops returned to their barracks to eat some food that they discovered the urgent necessity for obtaining ammunition. Consequently a night assault was planned against the Mudiria, the magazine and the house occupied by fourteen Frenchmen who had lately been serving the Comte du Bisson. The Government forces numbered only 150 but they held out all night and remained comparatively safe until the rebels managed to get a lodgment in the back of the Mudiria at noon on the following day. Then, just as a final attack was about to be delivered, one of Sayed el Hassan el Mirghani's khalifas appeared bearing a letter tied to a long piece of *qassab* and shouting " Aman ! Aman ! lay down your arms. He is an enemy of the Prophet and of Sayed el Hassan who does not lay down his arms ! "

The Sayed himself had been absent at Sabderat when the rising started and had now returned at the request of the Governor of Kassala. Such was his influence among these recently converted Moslems that they ceased fire forthwith and waited for the Sayed to enter the town. When he entered they crowded round him to kiss his hand and ask his help. He promised them all the assistance he could give if they would stop fighting and then arranged for a meeting between the surviving Egyptian officers and the leaders of the rebels. The Governor once again offered the rebels forgiveness, but the important move from the point of view of the government forces was to get the rebels out of the fortifications into an undefended position where they might ultimately fall a prey to the Beja tribesmen already collecting in Khatmia. This was a consideration to which the rebels were not blind and although many of them were anxious to regain their homes, they

refused to leave the town without ammunition. Hassan Pasha was even ready to concede this but Said Agha Abu Felga, who commanded the Bashibazuks, absolutely refused to obey orders. He had an account to settle with the rebels for the wounds he had received at Sabderat during the previous year and in any case he interpreted his duty as guardian of the magazine as a personal charge from the Khedive. If the necessity of placating the rebels was a matter of life and death, he would choose death and if anyone tried to seize the magazine they would find him sitting there on a barrel of powder with a lighted match in his hand. And so, by Said Agha's determination, Hassan Pasha was prevented from committing the supreme folly of giving the rebels ammunition. Only one party left the town in an attempt to reach the Baria country but they were hunted down and killed by Beja horsemen.

After the truce of July 6th the two sides occupied opposite ends of the town, the Government in the northern end and the rebels in the southern. The Government improved their position by erecting defensive works in the houses round the Mudiria and it remained for them to maintain their position until reinforcements arrived. As for the rebels they were short of food, ammunition and leaders. The various tribes soon began to collect together in different parts of the town to try to eke out a living by combing the already deserted shops and houses. The Dinkas sacked the Jaalin village to the north of the fortress, killing a good many women and children, but none of them dared to go far afield for fear of the Beja who by now were in control of the countryside. Those of the Beja who were not collected under the control of Sayed el Hassan at Khatmia were committing various acts of violence along the roads and against their neighbours. But why did they not join in the rebellion against the government at whose hands they had suffered for so long ? Munzinger gives an interesting explanation :

" The Arabs have their own domestic politics. It is certain that many of them viewed with pleasure the scene of black and white rulers fighting amongst themselves . . . But the jealousies of their chiefs

prevent them from uniting against the foreigner. Sheikh Musa, the paramount Hadendoa chief, was arrested by Musa Pasha Hamdi for the murder of a German and some soldiers two years ago: a pretext that also gave him the opportunity for extorting several thousands of dollars. It was only a few days before the mutiny began that the order for his release had been received from Cairo. It is certain that Sheikh Musa will not forget this year and a half in captivity but if he rebelled there would be plenty of relatives, such as the children of his maternal uncle, Mohammed Din, ready to seize the opportunity of supplanting him in the favour of the Government. Those who seek independence are always in the minority because of the quarrels among the Arab nobility.

"The majority of the sheikhs have a vested interest in conserving the Egyptian regime. They have fixed salaries from the government which are collected at the same time as the ordinary taxes and none of them want to risk a sure position for a state of disorder which might have unpredictable consequences. But in spite of that they are not content. Everyone is tired of the Egyptians, but no one knows by whom to replace them . . . The sheikhs want a government strong enough to maintain them vis-a-vis their rivals and their subjects but weak enough to need their support . . .

"As for Sayed el Hassan" Munzinger continues "it is difficult to give an idea of his real power. A word from him would suffice to unite all these discordant elements against the Egyptians; the Arabs know him alone. The Egyptians, who sought his help in their hour of danger, almost fear him because they know he has small liking for them. They are wrong for Sayed el Hassan is too intelligent to change the moral and constant power that he now enjoys, for the temporal but ephemeral power that was his for the taking. He was the only person who could have made himself master of the situation in those days when everyone had lost his head. It is to be hoped that as long as Africa belongs to Islam, there will always be these prophets, venerated and feared, who, when governments totter in the throes of revolution, are

there to throw themselves between the combatants, to quieten for the salvation of society the passions and hate that are let loose[7]."

Since the news of the mutiny had reached Omar Fakhry Bey in Khartoum on about July 10th the reinforcement of the Kassala garrison had been slowly taking effect. Ali Kashef, the Commandant of the troops at Gedaref might have arrived there in a few days had he not received contradictory orders from Khartoum and Kassala. Similarly the Bashibazuks from Berber and Shendi might have arrived earlier if they had had horses to ride but their leaders, who excused themselves on the grounds of ill-health, had pocketed the money for forage and remounts. The two main columns were commanded by Ismail Ayoub Bey, who marched via Abu Deleig and Goz Regab, and Adham Bey el Tegalawi who took the Rufaa and Asubri road with Sheikh Ahmed Abu Sin as guide. Both columns were held up for lack of transport because the nomads had driven their camels to distant grazing grounds when the first rains fell.

So it was not until July 27th that Ali Kashef reached Kassala with 200 horsemen and not until a full month later that Adham Bey completed the arduous march across the Batana and reached the Atbara. There he learnt that the Bashibazuks had been delayed so he crossed the Atbara and pushed on to Kassala as fast as his weary troops could march, arriving there on August 30th with 343 men of the 3rd Regiment from El Obeid, 200 of the 1st Regiment from Khartoum and 200 of the 2nd Regiment from Wad Medani. On September 6th Ismail Ayoub Bey followed him with 411 Bashibazuks.

In the meantime fighting had broken out again in the town. Shortly after the arrival of Ali Kashef from Gedaref the mutineers stole a camel, a musket and some ammunition from one of his men and although Sayed el Hassan tried to arrange for the matter to be settled amicably, Ali Kashef attacked a group of mutineers by night and by the following day the fighting had become general. No frontal attack was made this time ; the mutineers preferred to loop-hole the

7. Affaires étrangères. *Corresp. consul.*, Massawa. Report by Munzinger, Kassala 12 August 1866. Douin, *ibid.* I, p. 194

houses in the vicinity of the Mudiria and harass it at close range. For twenty-six days it was extremely dangerous for anyone to venture into the streets.

This was the situation when Adham Bey arrived outside the walls on August 30th. The town was in ruins except for the permanent buildings such as the Mudiria, the magazine and one or two of the better houses, and shots were still being exchanged from the loop-holes of the fortified houses. But he managed to enter the Mudiria by night to discuss the situation with Hassan Pasha. It was decided that the black troops among the reinforcements should be kept outside the town and out of all contact with the Mudiria and that Adham Bey should use his influence to bring the mutineers to terms.

After considerable haggling the rebels agreed that they would trust Adham Bey who was a Nubawi, and after he had sworn that no punishment would be given to them except with the Khedive's approval they piled their arms outside the walls of the town on condition that they were allowed to take their families and household effects with them. But when the rest of the troops arrived and the rebels were no longer superior in numbers further demands were made. Ismail Ayoub Bey ordered that all arms should be handed over together with bayonets and any stolen property pending an answer from Cairo concerning the fate of the rebels. They handed in 1800 firearms but no bayonets and only a few donkeys. Thereupon the troops surrounded the rebels and ordered them to re-enter the town. As they passed through the gate each was tied up but after three hundred had entered a rebel Shawish struck a Bashibazuk who tried to seize his son and Abdallah Pasha, the leader of the Bashibazuks, used this as an excuse for ordering his men to open fire. About six hundred were shot down outside the gate so that out of 2396 in the 4th Regiment, 759 were arrested and 1637 were either killed or missing. The loyal troops lost 31 killed and 83 wounded during the course of the siege.

When the Khedive received the full reports of the revolt he gave firm, almost panic-stricken, orders. Taka was placed under martial

law; Jaafer Mazhar Pasha sent to take command; large reinforcements hurried to the Sudan ; a drastic reorganisation of the army was taken in hand under which the garrison of Sudanese troops was reduced and the Egyptian troops correspondingly increased ; all rebel non-commissioned officers and one out of every ten of the men were to be shot.

It was not until November 12th. that Jaafer Pasha reached Kassala. " An hour from the town," he recorded, " all the soldiers there came out to meet us. All or nearly all of them had fever and an odour of putrefaction arose from the town. At length we proceeded to Kassala and I had the tents pitched at a decent and healthy distance". Then he opened his enquiry and in the course of it 1329 persons appeared before the military court out of whom 240 officers and men were shot and buried in the graves they had dug for themselves under Jebel Makram ; 531 were sentenced to hard labour for life. On the other hand Adham Bey received the congratulations of the Khedive, three leaders of the Bashibazuks were given the Order of the Mejidiah (4th Class) and Sayed el Hassan el Mirghani received a pension from the Government. Omar Fakhry Bey was reduced from acting Governor-General to Deputy Governor of Kordofan and died a year later. Abdulla Pasha, Hassan Pasha and Ibrahim Bey Adham, Governor of Kassala, all died from the cholera epidemic that followed the revolt : local tradition has it that the latter committed suicide by poison.

As for Kassala itself it was desolated. A traveller who passed through the place in November 1865 recorded the following impressions : " We found the town in a most wretched and desolate plight, owing to the late mutiny and a fatal epidemic combined, which had decimated the population. Hundreds of families had fled the place, first to escape the mutineers, and then the Albanians, the latter having completed the wreck of the unfortunate surviving inhabitants by despoiling them of what little property the murderous and plundering Soodan troops had left them. This town which a few months ago was in a most flourishing condition, is now little better than a heap of ruins . . . Of the regiments that had mutinied about 800 men had escaped with their lives. These had been imprisoned with their wives

and children ; but so badly cared for were they that numbers died during our sojourn in Kassala, and their corpses, instead of being decently interred, were cast into ditches outside the town to be devoured by hyenas[8]." Another found Kassala "covered with ruins and rank vegetation .... haunted by a few remaining ghostlike and plague-stricken citizens[9]."

3.

In April 1869, Mr. Thomas Powell of Coldrahall, Monmouthshire, went on a shooting expedition in the neighbourhood of Massawa. Recalling Sir Samuel Baker's accounts of the shooting on the Settit and having decided that the country in that direction was friendly as a result of the Magdala campaign, he set out in that direction to see if he could shoot some elephant. His party included his wife, who was presumably emulating Lady Baker ; his son, whose age is variously given as six and twelve ; his ghillie, Donald MacDonald ; an Alsatian called Makrer who had been one of the prisoners recently released from imprisonment at Magdala, and a number of native servants.

The party made its way to Cullucu on the Gash about 90 miles south-east of Kassala in the heart of the Baza country where a Swedish mission had been founded in 1866. There they stayed for a time while Mr. Powell busied himself with his sport. After a time he decided to cross the Gash and go to the Settit but he foolishly went ahead with his wife, son and the missionary Elfablad, all of them riding mules, while MacDonald, Makrer and another missionary called Kjellberg followed with the heavy baggage on camels. The second party lost the way so that the Powell's made camp and waited for them. In the meantime, however, the Baza had decided that the party was setting out to establish another mission station and, since they believed that the existing missions were not only the cause of the frequent Beni Amer raids but that they had also brought a curse on their crops, they determined to attack them. The whole party with Mr. Powell was attacked and killed in its tents in the early morning and only Mrs.

8. Rassam, *loc. cit.* p. 137.

9. H. Blanc. *Story of the Captives.* London. 1868. p. 33.

Powell, although mortally wounded, had the time to seize a pistol and shoot two of the assailants. Later the other party was attacked. All were killed except Donald MacDonald who was drawing water at the well when the attack took place and who managed to make his way back to Keren and, eventually, to his native heath.

One of Mr. Powell's brothers, Walter, was a Member of Parliament and when the news of the tragedy reached England in June he raised the matter in the House. Receiving no satisfaction another brother, Henry, set out for Egypt to try to recover the bodies and to ask the Khedive to obtain satisfaction from the Baza through the Governor of Kassala. This put the Khedive in rather a quandary because while he claimed that the Baza belonged to Egypt as a tribe, he had also let it be known that he considered the Gash to the the frontier between Taka Province and Abyssinia. At any rate he decided that the obvious lawlessness involved was a matter that had better be laid at the door of King John and, as the incident had taken place on the far side of the Gash, Mr. Powell set out for Abyssinia. He recovered two of the bodies, which were subsequently interred at Basseleg, near Newport and King John sent a party to chastise the Baza concerned which killed some twenty persons and burnt a number of villages[10].

10. *cf. The Times*, 7th to 26th June, 1869; de Cosson, *op. cit* Vol. II, pp. 27. 44. 55: Douin, *op. cit.* I, p. 429.

FOLK STORIES OF THE SUDAN

Introductory Note.

1. It is hoped to publish a number of folk stories from different parts of the country. As a nucleus we have a series of Anuak tales collected by Dr. Evans Pritchard and some Fur stories from Mr. Beaton. *The Editorial Secretary would be most grateful if anyone in possession of similar stories would submit them for publication.*

2. The stories recorded by Dr. Evans Pritchard were collected during an enquiry into the Anuak political system in 1935. He comments on them as follows :—

> " Manifestly they are incomplete and give little more than the gist of the tales. They were not taken down word for word from the lips of the informant, but notes were made as they were told and they were immediately afterwards written from these notes. My informants refused to tell the stories in the day time as it is believed that were a man to do so he would fail to find his maternal uncle when he looked for him* . . . . .
>
> The collection of stories provides further information for a comparative study of Nilotic cultures. Several are very similar to stories recorded amongst other Nilotic peoples. Some day it may be possible to undertake a comprehensive study of Nilotic folklore and to determine its distinctive characteristics."

It is hoped that the response to the appeal for further stories may contribute to this end.

3. Mr. Beaton's stories were told him by a young tribal dresser with a local reputation as a teller of tales during a wet afternoon in his tent on trek near the Marra hills.

4. Dr. Evans-Pritchard describes the Anuak stories of Man and Dog and the first two tales of Uyo and Ukelo reproduced in this

---

* Mrs. D. S. Oyler recorded a similar fear in the narrators of her " Examples of Shilluk Folklore " (*S.N. & R.* Vol II p.216) but the reason given by the Shilluk was that if a person told the stories in daylight he would be taken by a lion.

The Rev. Edwin W. Smith in a lecture on the Function of Folk Tales printed in the January, 1940 number of the *Journal of the African Society* mentions that amongst some African Tribes the penalty is going bald.

number as having "the appearance of what may be called sacred mythology and they are probably accepted by the Anuak as fact. They explain how death came to mankind, how man got fire and millet, why he cannot see fish in water, and how dog brought up the ancestors of the Anuak. The remaining tales explain the characteristics of certain animals . . . . and seem to lie between sacred mythology and those having the character of pure fiction, which are mainly animal stories."

Four of these "Fairy Stories," told by Ujulu of Beet, are included in this number a and further selection will be published in Part II of this Volume.

TALES OF MAN AND THE DOG.

Told by Uyo of the Eastern Anuak and Ukelo of the Western Anuak.

I.

How Death Came to Mankind.

God decided to cast a rock into the river so that when man died he should die for ever. Now, when Dog heard that the beasts had been summoned to council by God he said to Man, "You look after the cattle tomorrow morning and take them out to pasture and I will go and listen to the words of God." But Man was angry and asked Dog "Am I your servant? No! I will go and listen to the words of God myself." Dog said that Man would not properly understand the words of God, but, since he insisted that he should go, Dog gave way and cautioned him not to miss any of God's words.

Now up to that time Man had died for a few days only and had then come to life again. God had summoned all the beasts to come and throw the rock into the river and so terminate Man's life. When God spoke to the beasts Man did not clearly understand what he said, as Dog had foreseen, so that the beasts cast the rock into the river. When Dog was out herding the cattle he heard a great splash nearby and ran to see what had happened. When he saw that the rock had been cast by God into the river he ran home and brought Man and showed

him the place where the rock had fallen and told him to collect all his people to pull it out of the river. But Man replied "No, why should I pull it out ? I shall be tired and I may injure myself with it and break a leg." So Dog tried to pull it out by himself, but it was too heavy for him and however much he pushed it and pulled it, it kept on rolling back again and the people did not help him but only stood on the bank and laughed. So he bit as large a piece out of the rock as he could manage and carried it home with him. In consequence of Dog's action Man takes a long time to die. If Dog had not saved a portion of the rock Man's life would be very short.

II.

How Dog brought Fire to Man.

Once upon a time Man had not knowledge of fire. People placed their porridge in the sun and after warming it a little in this way they ate it. One day it rained all day long and Dog was wet and miserable. He went round the village from hut to hut seeking shelter but everybody turned him from their door with bad words and blows. At last he reached the hut of a woman with a small daughter. The daughter started to drive Dog away from the entrance to the hut, as the other people had driven him, but the mother rebuked her and said that Dog was like a human being and ought to be allowed to enter huts to dry himself if he wanted to do so. So Dog entered the hut and lay there till his coat was dry.

Dog then asked the woman where her fire was. She replied that she had no such thing, so Dog told her to place a heap of dry grass before him and when she did so he urinated on it and made fire. He told the woman to blow on to the fire and heap sticks on it to keep it alive. He then said to her, "When everybody else drove me away from their huts you alone allowed me to enter so I have given you fire. When the other people ask you to give them fire make them pay a necklace of *dimui* beads for it." So when people asked the woman to give them fire she replied, "No, I cannot give it you for nothing. Its owner said that I was to take a *dimui* necklace for it." Many

people came to the woman and paid her for a portion of her fire and so spread it to all mankind.

III.

Told by Ujulu of the village of Beet (Ajungmir) at the mouth of the Sobat river. (This village is much influenced by Nuer Culture).

How Dog brought up the ancestors of the Anuak.

Once upon a time there were only cattle and animals on the earth. There were no men and women Dog was the intimate servant of God. Then God created a male child and a female child but did not like his creation and told Dog to take them away and throw them into the river. Dog said he would do so, but instead of taking them to the river he carried them to a distant place in the bush where he hid them in the hollow bole of a tree. Now at that time all the beasts, cattle, and birds, lived together in a single camp in the centre of which was a large tamarind tree.

The two children grew up into boy and girl. One day God sent for Dog and asked him, " Those two children whom I told you to throw into the river, did you throw them in as I told you ? " Dog replied, " Yes". God said, " That is untrue, you did not throw them into the river". Dog insisted, "But I did throw them into the river." Nevertheless, God knew that the words of Dog were untrue and after God had promised not to injure the children Dog fetched them from their hiding place. So Dog brought the children before God and God gave the boy a wooden spear and the girl a wooden pestle. The boy herded the goats of God and he and his sister grew up to be man and woman and they lived together as husband and wife, and Dog lived with them. Besides saving them from God he had further earned their gratitude by saving them from Lion. Lion intended to eat the children but dog overheard his plans and kept them hidden for a while till danger was past.

Now one day God sent for Buffalo and told him that on the following morning he would distribute claws and eyes and horns to all the animals. He told Buffalo that he wished to give him all the spears he

possessed but that if he wanted them he must come before dawn so that the other animals would not know. Dog heard this conversation and told Man that on the following morning God intended to give all his spears to Buffalo before dawn. He told Man to remain in his hut and that he would manage the affair.

Long before dawn Dog was awake and he trotted off to the home of God. As he neared God's home he began grunting like a Buffalo. Now God was in his hut and when he heard the grunts and the sound of running he asked, "Who is there?" "It is I, Buffalo," replied Dog, "I have come for the spears you promised me." So God went to the back of his hut and took his spears and threw them out of the hut and said, "Here are the spears, take them." Then Dog asked, "Is that all of them?" God replied, "Yes." Dog told God he had better look round his hut to make certain that there were no spears left behind. So God searched in his hut and found no more spears and told Dog that he had given him every one. So Dog bound them together and carried them away and gave them to Man.

Shortly after Dog had left God's village Buffalo came panting up to God's hut. God asked, "Who is there?" Buffalo replied, "It is I Buffalo, I have come for the spears you promised me". "Then who was it that came just now and said he was Buffalo?" asked God. "I have given him all the spears. Take this instead." And God gave Buffalo his two canoe paddles and Buffalo put them on his head. These are Buffalo's horns.

Later in the day all the animals came to the home of God and to each he made gifts of eyes and hooves and claws and horns. Hyaena came last and there was nothing left for him so God fashioned a set of teeth out of clay and gave them to him. This is why Hyaena's teeth are a single unsegmented block.

Lion now decided to eat Dog. When Dog learnt of this he told Man to hide in the grass in a certain place and told him that when he was tired he would lead Lion to that place and then Man was to spear him. Lion, who was chief of the camp where all the animals lived,

invited Dog to come and play a game of hockey. During the game Lion sprang at Dog but Dog was on the watch and ran away. Lion pursued him. Dog led Lion a chase in circles so that they again and again passed the place where Man was hiding. Now, when Dog felt tired he ran between Man's legs and Lion rushed after him and was slain by Man. After the death of Lion the camp was broken up, all the animals ran into the bush, for Lion had been their chief. God went up to the sky to live there. Man and his wife and Dog remained alone in the village.

IV.

Told by the Fur.

How Dog became the friend of Man.

The Lion and the Hyaena and the Leopard and the Dog and the Wildcat were all sons of the same father and mother, except the Dog whose mother was different. When their father died, he left many possessions, cattle and donkeys and goats and chickens. That same day the Lion addressed them all, saying, " Let us divide our inheritance", and to the Dog, he said, " O Dog, bring your mother too, we must include her in our father's possessions". The Dog refused and called the Fox, saying, " Come with me and let us go to the houses of men." Meanwhile the Lion seized the cattle and gave the donkeys to the Hyaena, the goats to the Leopard, and the chickens to the Wild Cat. Then the Dog said to Man, " My rights have been taken from me and I have nothing."

" O Dog," replied the Man, " Rise and come with me," and shouldering his axe and with his spear in his hand, he went to the Lion's Kraal, where he called to the Lion, " O Lion, was not the Dog a son of thy father's ? Why then have you denied him his rights ? " and when the Lion saw the spear lift to strike, he leapt over the fence and left behind the cattle, which the Man told the Dog to drive off.

They next went to the Hyaena, to whom the Man said, " O Hyaena, are you not bloodbrother of the Dog ? Why then have you denied

him his due?" and the hyaena, seeing the axe lifted, leapt over the fence and vanished. Likewise also the Man took the goats from the Wild Cat, all of which they took home with them. The Dog then said to the Man, "Keep all these animals, I do not want them. Give me but a little milk—that which is sour—to drink, and the chickens that die to eat, as for the rest, keep them; but if the Lion finds your cattle, he will kill them, and the Hyaena your donkeys, and the Leopard your goats, and the Wild Cat your chickens. Verily are their hearts enraged for that you did succour me, the Dog."

MORE TALES

Told by Uyo and Ukelo

V.

How Man Got Grain.

Once upon a time Man had no millet. It all belonged to the Spanish sparrows. Man asked them to give him some seed but they refused. So Man dug holes in the path and as the sparrows walked along it, carrying millet seeds on their heads, they put their feet in the holes and stumbled, spilling the seed. Thus Man became possessed of all the millet seed. The sparrows then made a case before God, saying that Man had taken all their seed. God said that they must share the millet; that Man would plant it and, when it grew, the sparrows could eat it. But he has also taught Man how to make a stick to throw pellets at the birds.

VI.

Why Man cannot see into the Water.

Once upon a time Man saw into the water and observed fish and crocodiles. These made a case before God and persuaded him to swim in the water in the form of a fish and to throw some water into Man's face so that he would not be able to see clearly under water. Now Man can see only a little way into water, and hardly at all at night.

VII.

Why the Tiang can be Milked.

Once upon a time Tiang were the cattle of men. But they broke their tethering cords and went to the bush and were lost. Now if you happen to wound a female tiang in the bush you can milk it and drink the milk before killing it.

VIII.

Why the Elephant's Eyes are Small.

When God was giving the animals their various organs Elephant said that such a big person as himself needed no eyes as no one would dare to attack him. Later Man speared him and he went to God and asked for eyes, saying that there was a person who threw spears at him and that he needed to see. God then gave him eyes but very small ones so that he cannot see well with them.

IX.

Why the Millipede is Blind.

Once upon a time the bird Oluek had no eyes and the millipede possessed eyes. It was shortly after God had made all the beasts and birds and reptiles, and they were discussing among themselves where they were to go and what they were to do. Those with wings did not understand that they were to fly into the air, and so forth. Oluek heard the discussion of these matters but, as he was unable to see, he could not help the other creatures. He went round to each of the beasts and asked him for the loan of his eyes, saying that he would return them the next day. All refused. At last he came to Okol, the Millipede, who likewise at first refused the loan of his eyes but, after being pressed, grudgingly lent them on condition that Oluek would return them on the following day.

As soon as he could see, Oluek cried "*Aliya*," and flew into the air, calling to all the birds to follow him and live in the air and to all

the beasts to go on their legs to the forest and live there. This settled the discussion and the animals dispersed to their various homes. But when Millipede asked for his eyes back Oluek cried in triumph from the air, as he does today, "*Wa ariek, wa ariek, ana kal wang Okulu,*" and refused to return them. This is why Millipede has no eyes today.

X.

How the Dog got his Mouth.

Once upon a time Dog had a whistle but could not get a proper sound out of it as his mouth was so small, no larger than a man's mouth. When Frog (Ogwal) saw him trying to blow it he said that it would be better if he had the sides of his mouth slit. Dog asked, "Would that be so?" "Yes, that would certainly be so" replied Frog. "All right, you do it for me," said Dog. So Frog took a spear and cut Dog's mouth. Hence Dog's split face and long mouth today. However, Dog could blow the whistle even less after the operation than before it. Meanwhile the frog had plunged for safety into the water.

XI.

How Rain got the Lightning.

Lightning was once the possession of the saddlebilled stork (*alil*). Rain said to Stork that he wanted it, but Stork refused, because it was his light, and every night he held it up while the birds were fishing, to assist them. Rain poured down on him till Stork shivered with cold so much that he dropped the lightning and Rain immediately seized it and has kept it ever since.

Told by the Fur.

XII.

Why the Guineafowl says "Segerre, Segerre."

Long ago the guineafowl decided to depose their chief, who was called Soke, because they thought that his exaction of two bulbs and

a half from each of his subjects was tyrannous in the extreme. They chose in his stead one called Segerre. Now they lived in peace until the time came round to pay their yearly dues to their Chief, who announced that every ablebodied bird should render him five bulbs and all greybeards two and a half. Then indeed they knew how kind a chief Soke had been, who only called for two bulbs and a half, and, lamenting bitterly, they all set out to find him and make him their chief again, but to this day they have sought in vain for him. Thus it is you hear guineafowl cry "Segerre, Segerre," when something has disturbed them, but "Soke, Soke," when all is well with them.

XIII.

The Story of the Hornet, the Pig, the Baboon, the Hornbill, and the Woodpecker.

Long ago the Wild Pig, and the Baboon, and the Hornbill and the Hornet, and the Woodpecker lived in one village. The Wild Pig had a camel, which always went to the grazing ground and shared a waterhole with the others, who objected saying, "If your camel is going to drink at our waterhole, we must fix watering hours. We will drink on one day and the next you and your camel." The Wild Pig agreed, but next day when he took his camel out to graze, he fell asleep and the camel wandered towards the waterhole, where the others were drinking. Then the Hornbill exclaimed, "My brothers, what shall we do with a camel that always comes to the waterhole at our drinking hour. Let us slaughter him." As they all agreed, he cut its throat and told the Hornet to flay it and divide it up, the Baboon to boil it, and the Woodpecker to fetch wood for the fire. When the Wild Pig awoke, he sought in vain for his camel until he found its head lying by the waterhole, whereat he squealed bitterly and complained to his God, who scattered the culprits far and wide. Now the Wild Pig has not squealed since the day he squealed for his camel. As for the Hornbill a red ruffle was put on his throat, so that all men might know him for a butcher, and the Baboon had a crooked tail set on his spine, so that all might know that he had stirred the meat in the pot, and the Hornet's

waist was pinched, where he had girt his loincloth about him while cutting up the meat, while the Woodpecker to this day pecks at the tree, since it was he who fetched the wood to cook the stolen meal.

FAIRY STORIES

Told by Ujulu of Beet

XIV.

The Crocodile's Child.

Once upon a time there was a family of one girl and forty brothers. The brothers despaired of marriage. Now one day the girl was bathing in the sandy shallows of the river, for it was in the dry season, when a crocodile came out of the water and spoke to her and said "Let us chat together." The girl answered that a person could not chat to a crocodile but the crocodile insisted, so the girl gave way and they chatted together. After courting the girl for a while the crocodile had congress with her.

She became pregnant and her mother asked her who had made her pregnant and she answered that it was a crocodile which had made her pregnant. The mother of the girl told her forty brothers what had happened and they were plunged yet deeper in despair for a crocodile has no cattle with which to pay bride-wealth. So they dug a deep hole and lighted a great fire in it and one after the other jumped into the hole and were burnt. The girl was left alone. The people heaped a mound of mud over the hole in which lay the bodies of the forty youths.

When the girl was delivered she gave birth to a male child and a crocodile's egg. She took the egg to the river and threw it into the water. The crocodile took its egg and buried it in the sand to hatch out. When the child was able to walk about by himself he used to spend all day playing at the river's edge and in the water with his crocodile brother. When he became a big boy the crocodile asked him if he knew where his forty maternal uncles were buried and he said he knew their grave, because his mother had shown it to him, and that a bush had sprung up on the mound. The crocodile told him that on the following morning he was to go to the grave and pull up the bush. On

the following morning the boy went to the grave of his uncles, seized the tree, and tore it up by the roots. With it came his forty maternal uncles. They asked him who he was and he told them the name of his mother, so they knew he was their sister's son. The crocodile then summoned the uncles and they discussed the cattle of marriage. The crocodile told them to come to the river in three days time and he would bring the cattle. He brought so many cattle that all the forty uncles were able to marry with them.

XV.

The Story of Awili.

Once upon a time there was a girl called Awili who had a brother called Owili. There was no more beautiful girl in the whole country than Awili. When she went to a dance all the men admired her more than any other girl. Also, there was no more handsome youth in the country than her brother Owili. Owili made up his mind that no stranger should marry his sister and that he would marry her himself.

He told their mother who disapproved of the marriage but said that she would not oppose it as it was none of her business. Their father would have nothing to do with it. The girl herself reluctantly consented. When her husband was about to enter her hut to lie with her she armed herself with a razor and small axe. When Owili gripped her thigh to open her legs so that he might have congress with her Awili took her razor and with a slash cut off the end of her brother's organ.

Awili ran out of the hut and called the girls of the village, of whom she was chief, and said to them, "Let us go into the bush." They consented and all left the village, Awili being accompanied by her white dog. They walked all day till they came to a very large termite mound. Awili looked towards it and called on God to open it that they might enter. The mound opened and after the girls had entered it, closed behind them. Towards evening they came out again and for three days they journeyed till they saw that they were approaching a village. Here Awili saw another termite mound and after she had prayed to God, it opened and the girls took shelter in it.

When the cattle were taken out to pasture in the morning a bull came and rubbed its neck and shoulders against the termite mound. This caused Awili to sing the verse of a song. The bull put its head down and listended to the song with its ear to the ground. When the song ceased the bull started rubbing again and when Awili commenced once more to sing it again listened intently with its ear to the mound. The boys who were herding the cattle were amazed when they watched the bull and the third time it listened to Awili's song they listened also. When they heard the song one of the boys was sent by the others to tell the people of the village that there were voices coming from the termite mound. The chief of the village sent two men to investigate and they took the bull along with them to the mound where once more it rubbed its neck and shoulders against it. Once more Awili answered with a song. They returned to the village and told the chief that it was as the herd-boys had reported.

The chief told the people to prepare beer. On that day they pounded the grain and moistened it ; on the next day they filtered it ; and on the third day they took it, accompanied by the whole village, to the mound. Here the bull was again made to rub itself against the mound in order that the chief himself might hear the singing. Then the chief told the young men to dig, but, however much of the mound they cleared away, it grew again to its original size. The chief thereupon sacrificed an ox and the youths, having drunk beer, started again to dig.

When Awili knew that the hoes were approaching them she said to her companions, " Let us go out." She herself jumped down the throat of the white dog. The maidens came out of the ground with Awili in the belly of the white dog. At once the young men of the village seized them, each man a wife for himself. But there was one poor and ugly youth who got no wife, for whenever he seized the arm of a maiden she slapped his face and then accepted a more handsome youth. The poor and ugly youth was dismayed and they told him in contempt, " You can take that dog which is running among the people." So he tied a cord to its neck and led it to his home, which was far from

the rest of the village. Here he lived alone with his old mother. The mother offered porridge to the dog, but it would not eat. Also it would not rest in the cattle byre, but always lay on the ground at the entrance to the sleeping hut.

Next morning the poor youth and his mother went to hoe their garden. When they had left the homestead the white dog vomited Awili and she did the work of the household, swept the hut, pounded the millet, cooked the porridge, and poured butter over it. She then jumped back into the dog's belly. When the youth and his mother returned home they were amazed to see the work of the household done and a meal awaiting them. They asked themselves, " Where is the person who has done all this ? " Meanwhile the dog continued to refuse all food.

The same thing happened on the following day and on the third day the mother told her son to hide in the long grass and see what happened. She then said to her son in a loud voice, " Come, let us go and hoe." They went out of the homestead together but the son returned by himself and hid in the long grass. When they left the homestead the dog got up and looked after them to make sure they were out of sight and vomited Awili who at once started on the household duties. The son crept quietly behind her and seized her. She changed under his grip into a cow, a hippopotamus, a leopard, a pelican, and other beasts and birds. But the poor and ugly youth kept his grip on her and at last she resumed her human shape.

Awili then explained to him what had happened, how she was the chief of the girls, how they had entered the termite mound, and how she had been swallowed by her white dog. She then told the dog to summon three of her maidens and they came and prepared beer. When the beer was ready the whole village assembled and sat down and were given beer to drink and in the midst of their drinking Awili appeared in the doorway of the hut with a leopard-skin over her shoulders and holding in her hand a bamboo cane and an ambatch hand-guard. Her arms and legs were decked with iron rings. All

were amazed when they saw her. She then told them that the girls they had seized were her maidens and that she was their leader. She said that the poor and ugly youth was refused a wife and given the dog but, as she was inside the dog, she was therefore his wife. The chief of the village coveted her and said, " I will make you my wife," but she refused, saying : " No, I am this man's wife."

The chief of the village continued to desire her very much and he decided to slay the poor and ugly youth. He called all the men of the village together for a hunting expedition. They travelled far away from the village and the chief speared the young man in the bush and covered his body with branches of thornwood. But the white dog licked his wound and, with its face covered in its master's blood, ran back to his homestead. When the youth's mother saw the blood she knew that her son was dead and lamented. But Awili was pawed by the dog, which jumped up at her and whined and ran towards the bush, and returned and pawed her again and ran again towards the bush, whining for her to follow. So she went with the dog, wearing her leopard-skin and carrying her ambatch guard.

When she saw her dead husband on the ground she removed the branches of thornwood and took off her leopard-skin and laid it on his body. She then sang over him and fanned him with her ambatch guard. He woke up from death. Again she sang over him and fanned him with her ambatch guard and he sat up. Again she sang over him and fanned him with her ambatch guard and his wound was healed. Then she espied a tiang in the bush and to test his strength she told him to catch it, which he did. She let it run away again. Then she again fanned him with her ambatch guard. Now she espied a giraffe and told him to bring it to her, which he did. She let the giraffe go also. Again she fanned him with her ambatch guard. Now she espied an ostrich and told him to bring it to her, which after a close and long race, he did. She let the ostrich go also.

They then returned home together and arrived at the homestead of the youth's mother in the evening. Awili summoned the chief

of the village and all the people and they came to the homestead of the old woman. Awili accused the chief of slaying her husband, but he denied it saying—"It was not me." Then Awili took her bamboo staff and planted it in the ground. Immediately the ground opened and all the people of the village except Awili and her husband were swallowed up.

After four days the poor and ugly youth prayed Awili to let the people come out of the earth again. But she refused and it was only after they had spent a month in the earth that she gave way and again thrust the bamboo staff into the earth so that it opened and all the people came out. They were partly eaten by termites but were alive. They promised Awili never again to spear her husband and they made her chief of their village.

XVI.

Unayo and the Pigeon.

There was once upon a time a boy called Unayo whose father was a chief. One day he and his father went out to chop wood. They came to a wood. The father asked his son, "Do you know this wood?" The son said he knew it. So the father said, "Let us go beyond." They continued till they came to another wood. The father asked his son, "Do you know this wood?" The son said that he knew it. So the father said, "Let us go beyond.' After walking half the day they came at last to a third wood and when the father asked his son whether he knew it the son replied that he did not know it. So the father said, "Let us cut wood here" and the father began to chop wood in one place and the son in another place. Every now and again the son would pause in his work and call out "Father," and the father would give an answering shout to assure him that he was nearby.

Then the father defaecated and he spoke to his dung, saying, "When my son shouts 'Father' do you know what answering call to give him?" The dung replied that it knew. So the father set off for home. His son thought he was still in the wood, for whenever he called his father there was an answering shout.

Now the boy was tired and shouted to his father and set off towards the answering voice. When he reached the dung he did not see his father, but, on giving a shout, he saw that the answer came from the dung. He asked the dung whether it had been giving the answering shouts and when the dung said that this was so he levelled it to the ground. He shouted again and there was still a reply from a small piece of dung which he had not entirely broken up.

The boy had no idea of his way home so he wandered aimlessly through the bush till he came to an old village site near a watercourse. He was so tired that he could go no further and he sat down and fashioned out of clay two bulls, three oxen, and ten cows. It was now sunset. He then prayed God to put life into these clay beasts and at once all became live and full-grown cattle. Then the boy prayed to God again saying, " See you have given me cattle but I have no byre in which to tether them. Give me a byre also." As soon as he had prayed thus a fine cattle-byre appeared on the old village site and he took his cattle and tethered them in the byre. He placed his bulls one on either side of the entrance to the byre. In the night while he was sleeping on the platform above the fire, a lion entered the byre to kill the cattle but from either side the bulls horned it and it fled. Next day the boy went out to hoe a garden. And so he lived for many days and weeks. But he was very unhappy because there were no people to whom he could talk.

So one day he called all the birds together and asked each in turn "If I send you to my father's village what will you say to my father?" They either replied that they did not know what they would say or merely uttered their accustomed cry. To each in turn he answered "I will not send you." Finally he asked a small pigeon, called *Atuk*, what it would say and the pigeon sang a song in which he told the father where his son was. So the boy sent the pigeon to his father. When the pigeon arrived at the father's village there was a big dance in progress. It settled on the drumpost and sang its song. The people stopped the drums and the father told the pigeon to repeat the song. When he heard that his son was alive he told the pigeon that they would set out

together, the pigeon in the air and he on foot, on the morrow. At dawn they departed.

After finding and greeting his son the father said : " Let us depart at once for home and drive the cattle before us." So they set out together. When they had gone a long way the youth remembered that he had left his ox-bell in his byre and while the father waited he ran back to fetch it. When he arrived at the byre a lion sprang at him and seized and bound him with cord. After waiting for a very long time the father sent the pigeon to find out what had happened to his son. The pigeon flew to the byre and back again and told the father that his son had been bound by a lion and that he must hurry back to release him, for he would be eaten by the lion in the evening. The father ran back to the byre and rescued his son and they went back to the village together.

XVII.

The Boy who changed into a Monkey.

Once upon a time there was an enormous snake which covered the ground with its gigantic scales. Every day it ate many men, women, and children. One day a woman was taking a pot to the river to draw water when the snake came to her and said that it was going to eat her. Its mouth was red. The woman was pregnant and she said to the snake that she had in her belly that which would kill it if it ate her. So the snake was afraid and did not eat her. But it went to the village and ate all the other inhabitants. Only the woman was left. In two months she was delivered of a son.

The snake was determined to eat the woman and she saw its mouth shining like fire in the distance. When the child grew up to boyhood he went one day and saw the snake and stroked its red mouth. When he came home he told his mother about it and asked her what it was he had met. His mother thereupon told him how the snake had eaten up his father and all his relatives and forbad him to go near it again.

The boy turned over in his mind plans of vengeance and when he was bigger he erected light platforms here and there over a course and on each he placed one or two spears belonging to the men of the village whom the snake had eaten. He then asked his mother to prepare beer. She prepared a pot of beer and he drank it. He then armed himself with several spears and started to throw them into the body of the snake. The snake was so surprised that it allowed the first few spears to be thrown into its enormous body without retaliating. Then it became angry and started chasing the boy, who led it past the platforms, from each of which he took the spears he had placed on them and threw them into the body of the snake. When the boy was nearing the last platform he speared the snake first through one eye and then through the other and it died at sunset.

Then the boy slit open the belly of the snake, and as he slit it the people of his village came out. As each came out he asked his mother "Is this my father?" and she said "No." His father was the last to come out of the snake and he was reddish in colour, for he was in the bowel and about to be defaecated. His son pulled him out. Some days later the people of the village in their gratitude offered him several maidens as his wives, but he refused them, saying that he had heard of a beautiful maiden in a distant country and was going to marry her. He set out with two puppies. On the way he changed into a monkey and carried a puppy under each arm as a monkey carries its young. When he saw the girl, who was the daughter of a chief, he was amazed and while gazing at her the people of the village seized him. They said that the monkey would be useful for carrying firewood, making up the fires, and drawing water.

Now, wherever the monkey went by itself in the morning it took food with it and when far away from the village changed back into a man and gave the food to the puppies to eat. One day he was feeding the puppies and the small sister of the beautiful daughter of the chief saw him changing from a monkey to a man and back again. She ran home and told her sister what she had seen. But when the monkey came home her elder sister said she was a liar for she saw the monkey

coming back to the village, and it was a monkey and not a man. So one day when the people were going to hoe, the beautiful daughter of the chief said that she felt ill and would remain in her hut and asked that the monkey might be left to look after her. When the people had left the homestead the monkey changed into the youth and had congress with the daughter of the chief. She became pregnant and gave birth to a male child. When they asked her who was the father of the child she said she did not know.

When the child was some four years old the chief summoned all the people of the neighbourhood and the men sat in a circle in several rows. The child was given a stick and, as the men drank beer, the chief told him to go among them and strike with the stick the man who begot him. The child walked round the first row of men, then round the other rows, until he came to the monkey who sat alone behind the people. He struck the monkey with his stick and the chief was so angry that his daughter should have had relations with a monkey that he said he would kill it. As they advanced on the monkey it changed into the youth and his two puppies became huge lions which leapt at the people and bit them. Whenever the people threw spears at the lions they missed them. So they called to the youth and beseeched him to spare them and he called off the two lions which at once became two puppies again.

Then the youth told the people how he had killed the great snake and how he had been offered wives but had refused them, because he heard how beautiful was the daughter of the chief in this distant village. He said he would now go and get cattle to marry her. So he went off with his small son and when he returned with the cattle he married the daughter of the chief.

THE NYAMANG OF THE NUBA MOUNTAINS OF KORDOFAN

By R. C. STEVENSON

INTRODUCTION.

The Nuba Mountains of Kordofan, covering an area of 30,000 square miles with an estimated Nuba population of over 300,000, are practically untouched by anthropologist and linguist alike. It is one of the most fascinating fields for research in Africa. A welter of tribes have in the course of history found refuge in its granite hills, whose boulders rise in profusion from the plain of Kordofan. We are therefore presented, over a small area, with great diversity of culture and language.

The inhabitants of some of the hills have been described by Prof. C. G. Seligman[1], J. Sagar[2], P. D. Kauczor[3], D. Hawkesworth[4] and others, but recently there has been no attempt to give a comprehensive account of any one hill or group of hills. The result of the labours of Dr. S. F. Nadel in the Otoro hills in the east is awaited with interest.

The aim of this short study is to present a general picture of social life in the simple agricultural community of the Nyamang hills in the N.W. of the Nuba Mountains. As it is the result of only a year and a half's residence in the district all that is claimed is that it is a faithful record of first impressions, which will serve as a basis for future field-work. The paucity of existing material on the Nuba is the excuse for its compilation. Though much that is set forth here can be paralleled elsewhere in Africa, attention has been drawn to certain features which merit detailed research.

At the outset it must be made clear that the term 'Nuba Mountains' is a double misnomer which has unfortunately persisted. It

1 C. G. Seligman: "*Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*"—Chapter, 'The Nuba.'

2 J. Sagar: "Notes on the History, Religion and Customs of the Nuba" *S. N. & R.* Vol. V. p. 173.

3 P D. Kauczor: "The Afitti Nuba of Jebel Daier" *S. N. & R.* vol. VI, p. 1.

4 D. Hawkesworth: "The Nuba proper of Southern Kordofan" *S.N. & R.* vol. XV. p. 159

has long been recognised that some of the northern tribes of the Kordofa hills are a branch of the Nubians who migrated eastwards from a poin somewhere between Kordofan and Darfur[6], expanding northwards t the Nile and southwards into Kordofan, where they settled in severa groups of hills after dispossessing their inhabitants. It is asserted that on this account the Arabs gave the name Nuba (Nubawi) to thes peoples and later erroneously applied it to all the hill tribes, who ar by no means homogeneous.

A second error arises in the use of the word 'mountains' t describe hills which nowhere rise to more than 3,000 feet from th plain, the majority being much smaller. Throughout this article propose to refer to the region and peoples respectively as the Kordofa hills[7] and hill-tribes.

Many of the hills are Arabicized (but not Islamized); the Nyaman hills are among those that have come least under outside influence. Th Nyamang-speakers (estimated at over 30,000) occupy an area of approx mately 100 square miles. This region, in addition to the Nyaman hills proper, includes the Mandal hills to the north. The latter sho more external influence and are outside the scope of this study.

Devolution has been applied here, and an enlightened Nati Administration (centred in Salara, a leading village) has recentl been extended to cover not only the Nyamang-speaking hills b also three other small language groups. Many of the meks (chief have seen service in the army, and are progressive in outloo

5 *c.f.* Dr. J. Lukas: "Linguistic Research between Nile and Lake Chad" *Afr* vol. XII, 3. p. 338.

6 *see* S. Hillelson: "Nubian Origins" *S. N. & R.* vol. XIII, p. 137. Also subsequ notes and articles by K. D. D. Henderson and L. P. Kirwan (vols. XIV p. 90, XVIII p. 3 XX p.47, XXI p. 222.)

7 Historically Kordofan is also a misnomer for this area, as it originally applied main to the area to the north and many inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains district speak 'going to Kordofan'. The term "Kordofan hills" would also be misleading as there number of hills, some quite large, in the Arab districts to north and west. It is tr that the Nuba hills hardly deserve the title of "mountains" but the name is n established and it would be a pity to change it. Lastly as 'Nuba' (as opposed 'Nubian') has now become associated definitely by philologists and anthropologis with these people, the terms 'Nuba Mountains' or 'Nuba hills' should be unobjectionable —*Ed.*)

The Nyamang people have great independence of mind and vigorous tribal traditions which are deterrent to much outside influence. The army men who have remained true to their tribal culture make the best leaders.

The Kordofan hills were long the object of slave and cattle raids by the plains Arabs. The negro peoples are slowly emerging from the state of 'inferiority complex' in which their subjugation has left them, and are being encouraged to hold their own mentally and culturally with their neighbours. They have always been renowned as doughty fighters, and in the past possessed an astonishingly large number of rifles (spoils of Hicks Pasha's campaign of 1883, traded from the Arabs). Even to-day a large number are left.

ORIGINS.

Of the several traditions relating to Nyamang migrations one commonly accepted is that a large band came to their present hills from a large village named Kwija, about seven days' journey by foot to the west, near Jebel Tima. When they came to their present home they found the Hill Nubian peoples in possession, and established a place for themselves by warfare, wedging themselves in amongst them and driving the Nubian further out. It is a fact that to-day the Nyamang occupy a central position, encircled by Nubian speakers. However there is another side to the story: the Nubian-speakers have it[8] that before they came from the north, the Nyamang and Koalib (of the eastern hills) were neighbours. These, in addition to the present Nyamang and Koalib ranges, inhabited the hills of Dilling, Dering, Kulur and Shiama. They were driven out of the latter four (of which only Dilling is now inhabited) and separated by the incursion from the north, which formed a wedge between them.

Another tradition—of a Nyamang ancestor descending from heaven—is referred to below.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT.

The old Nyamang chiefs (*shila*) were spiritual as well as secular heads, and many exercised the power of rainmaking. They were

8 Sagar, *op. cit.*

hereditary rulers by patrilineal descent, and many to-day who claim 'royal' blood name over twelve generations of ancestors. The principal rainmaking family traces its ancestry to one Wije, who descended from heaven and introduced fire to the earth[9]. One of his family, Ula, of miraculous birth and growth, seized power from another clan when his own was exterminated by a feud. This family lost temporal power in 1917 when Ajamna (or Ajabna) was hanged for revolt against Government authority[10]. His son Ahmed (or Jelda) carries on the tradition of rainmaking and is the chief of a small village but secular authority has been transferred to a mek chosen by the Government. As this mek is not of 'royal' blood, the Nyamang do not apply the term *shila* to him.

Tribal elders, being the heads of the larger families, have existed as long as Nyamang tradition and exercised secular power long before there were lines of chiefs. Of great importance also is the authority of the *kujurs* or tribal priests: many of the tribal elders are in addition *kujurs*. In the old days tribal councils were not regular, but were called to deal with important problems as they arose. The solution of problems through the seizure of the *kujurs* by ancestral and other spirits in whose name the *kujur* speaks in a trance-like condition, is to this day a feature of Nyamang social life. This question is dealt with below in the section on religion.

Under Indirect Rule the system of tribal elders is continued together with the Government-appointed *Sheikhs*, several of whom may be also elders (in Nyamang *wa didia*—'big' people.) The mek with his council of elders and *sheikhs* forms the basis of local government, which is thus in line with Nyamang tradition.

THE FAMILY.

The social unit is the family head with his children and grandchildren. The father has considerable power, which extends over his sons, of whatever age they may be. It follows that a grown man may be under this domination until the day of his father's death.

9 Hawkesworth, *op. cit.* p. 165.
10 Major A. J. R. Lamb: "Operations against the Nuba Jebels" in '*The Cavalry Journal*' vol. XXV. Nos. 96-8.



NYAMANG NUBA HOUSEBUILDING.



MANADAL NUBA GIRL PREPARING GROUND FOR CULTIVATION.

Though this may be irksome at times, especially to the Nyamang who has been in the army and seen a little of the world outside his hill, there is coupled with it a wholesome respect and veneration for his father, or more often rather for the senior authority for which he stands. The elderly father is well versed in the law and traditions of his tribe and family, of many of the finer points of which his sons remain ignorant until he chooses to tell them.

A broader unit is the clan, consisting of all who claim their descent from a common ancestor. Among the Nyamang this is exogamous, and descent is patrilineal. In the course of time considerable migrations of clans and clan-sections have taken place, and many large clans are split up over several villages, or are found in separate enclaves in the same village. On the average six or seven clans are represented in each village.

Sons remain in the father's compound (consisting of two or three huts) until they marry, usually between the ages of 23 and 28. They then set up house for themselves in the vicinity of their father. It is usual for each son only to have one house, standing by itself in its compound, until the size of his family warrants more. Sons are not expected to move out of their father's locality. The case may be mentioned of the Government wishing a Salara man, Tour, member of a leading family, to become a *sheikh*. This would have entailed, in his case, removing from his father's district. Permission to do this was refused him by his father, and so he lost the opportunity of holding office.

The father exercises considerable influence over the sons' family, and gives advice on anything connected with his grandchildren. An ill-disposed father even has it in his power to turn his grandchildren against his son.

All cattle, including that of married sons, is under the father's control. Buying and selling of cattle are strictly regulated by him. If a son wishes to sell a cow, or to give one to his wife's family, he must obtain permission; if he buys a cow, it technically belongs to his father. Milk for family use is normally divided by the father, but sometimes he places a cow at the disposal of a son's family; the son's wife or wives will then take the milk and divide it.

The relations between husband and wife are dominated by the will of the former. He is the undisputed ruler of the household and considers himself by far the physical and intellectual superior. A view commonly held is that after a woman has borne her first child she degenerates and her brain becomes 'like a donkey's'. Household duties, and responsibility for different parts of the houses and compound are fairly evenly divided between husband and wife. At mealtimes they eat separately, in a different part of the hut. Children eat usually with their mother, out of separate gourds.

Polygyny is practised, but few men can afford more than two wives, and many have only one. The chief mek of the Nyamang has eight, and elders and sheikhs normally not more than two or three. The birth-rate is on the low side. The average Nyamang household (living in one compound) consists of two men (over 20), two women (wives and widowed mothers) and two children.

A taboo exists between a man and the female members of his wife's family. He may not eat with them, nor look at nor speak to them directly. If he speaks at all in their presence, he must do so very formally while averting his gaze.

ECONOMIC LIFE.

The Nyamang villages are situated either on the hills or hug closely their lower slopes. In former times no doubt they lay on the plain, but it must have been at a remote period as the Nyamang are confirmed hill-dwellers. After the patrol of 1917-18 the Government obliged them to come down from the hills to places more accessible for administration, but the necessity for this is passing. Many Nyamang have regretted it, asserting that in the well-watered hills they had better cultivations and sickness was less prevalent.

The villages are large and straggling—portions of them are in many cases isolated from the main village in a valley apart, or hidden away in a recess in the hills. Cultivation and pasture land is mainly at a great distance from the villages, but most Nyamang go out to their crops and return the same day, in the season.

The Nyamang are first and foremost an agricultural people, and their cattle are relatively few. Cattle once played a larger part in their life than they do at the present day, but have been reduced by raids and ravaged by disease. Both men and women take a major part in agricultural activities, sowing, hoeing, weeding, reaping, winnowing. The men undertake the threshing of the grain and the erecting of zaribas; it is the women's responsibility to take the grain home for storage. They are energetic and industrious cultivators, and their year provides the picture of a continuous round of hard toil. Their land is not of the most fertile; much of it is gardud 'red earth', although a proportion consists of black 'cotton soil'. Diligent and careful work is required on their part to make the most of their cultivations. Land has vital value and is never wasted.

Details of Nyamang agriculture cannot be entered into here; a few general indications must suffice. The main crops are dura millet (early and late), dukhn (guinea-corn or bullrush millet), and sesame. Subsidiary products are ground-nuts, maize, and a small variety of vegetables which include marrow, pumpkin, beans and tibish, a small type of cucumber.

Early (red) millet, some dukhn and sesame are grown in the vicinity of the houses, where they are tended chiefly by the women. Sesame is planted amongst the millet. On the hillsides rows of stones are used to form terraces, though there is little attempt to level the latter. On the plain, fields are divided by zaribas, and each field is sectioned off in long strips with millet stalks. Hoeing is done with small iron hoes (bought in the *suqs* of Dilling or El Obeid) which are fitted into long thick cane poles (asodu). For finer work short wooden handles (wardal) are used.

A form of crop rotation exists, based on exhausting a piece of land with millet for four or five years and replenishing it by sowing sesame and ground-nuts. It is then left fallow for a year or two before millet is again sown. Portions of a large millet field are sown in turn with sesame by some cultivators. The fertility of the soil is maintained also by a wise annual moving of the cattle zaribas until a wide area is

manured and left clear for the heavy grains. In the villages themselves houses and zaribas are moved every two or three years. Burning of grass on a limited scale also occurs.

Cultivation land is regarded as a family possession for all time, and the father is its trustee on behalf on his ancestors and descendants. He may however, at his discretion, sell a small portion or buy other land ; a bull or several goats are paid over in these transactions. As a favour to a friend, a piece of ground is sometimes loaned for two or three years.

The Nyamang are not unmindful of the significance of the stars in agricultural life, and many are named and their courses known. Those whose positions are most relied upon to indicate times of sowing etc., are the Pleiades (Kai), Sirius (Twin dio dori), the Plough (Jo) and Orion (Kirou kwai—a man chasing girls).

Agricultural and pastoral ceremonies and festivals make a long story, which it is not possible to relate here. They are referred to in the following short summary of the annual cycle of village life :—

Kwokwur. *April-May* : The beginning of the rainy season (boro). At the first fall of rain (gɔrnɛdo) the cattle are taken out to pasture and left in charge of the young men. The cattle-horn (bwireshɛr) comes into its own and gives its name to the hunting and festivities which follow. Before people go to the cultivation the Sari ceremony (a beer-offering) is performed by the ***kujurs***. Dura millet (mɔnɔŋ) and dukhn (ara) are sown, together with beans, marrow and cucumber. Maize is sown in a place by itself.

Every fourth year newly initiated men dig cattle holes (wōrdi) to collect rainwater for the cattle.

Aman. *May-June* : Known also as the month of bwɛdi dia (much hoeing). Rainfall increases and with it agricultural activity. A first hoeing and weeding takes place. Sesame (mɔsɔl) and ground-nuts (kuldi) are sown. Some have already begun to transplant dura and dukhn to a new portion of cultivation or to rectangular beds. The cattle remain in the zaribas away from the villages in the care of the young men.

Tɔtɔ. *June-July*: The height of the season. Time is completely taken up by hoeing, weeding, transplanting, and (where necessary) re-sowing. Collective hoeing of the cultivations of many, who provide beer for their helpers. Some hire workers. Food stores are getting low and are being eked out. Children go out to look for caterpillars, which they collect in gourds (tɛŋ).

Bibila. *July-August*: Concentrated agricultural work continues. Tobacco is planted in the vicinity of the houses, among the grain or in rectangular beds apart. Millet is getting tall. Grain shortage is seriously felt, and many families find hunger hard to appease.

Kwɔrad. *August-September*: The new moon which begins this month is joyfully acclaimed as a sign that games and festivities to celebrate the ripening of the grain must commence. There is a welcome respite from the toil of the past few months. The following evening the cattle are brought into the village, where they remain for a month. The next day[11] each household performs the firstfruits ceremony of the 'lubia' bean (kwanyaru tanyari). The leaves of the bean are soaked in milk and thrown on the ground as an offering, while prayer for a good harvest is made. Communal dancing and wrestling take place in the evening. After a few days people resume their work in the cultivations. In this month and the next, shouting must cease in order not to disturb the growing grain. The food shortage continues, but is alleviated somewhat by maize and vegetables. Youths to be initiated parade the villages.

Kwishi. *September-October*: Annual circumcision of youths, followed by their seclusion in the hills for over a month. In the cultivation, final hoeing and weeding is done. Early millet is cut, and a ceremony (mɛlo tanyari) performed in each house for blessing on family and crops. Tobacco is cut. The cattle return to pasture until the grain is threshed in a few months time.

[11] The firstfruits ceremony is performed in each village in turn (in order of seniority) at intervals of a few days. The above applies only to Salara.

Uruf. *October-November*: The early part of the month sees the Jàl ceremony—it is initiated in Nitil village and from there a wave of shouting spreads over all the villages, and people throw smouldering sticks out of their compounds to drive away spirits which may do evil. On the following day the initiated men come down from their seclusion in the hills. Young boys and girls bring out long tin flutes (sorɔr), on which they play frequently. Children make bull-roarers (awuwiŋ) as toys from millet stalks. It is a quiet month in the cultivation. Some sesame, marrow and cucumber are cut but most people are given up to home activities, or resting after labour in the crops. Some prepare stacks on which sesame is laid to dry in the cultivation. The cutting of tobacco ceases, and it is allowed to grow fully.

Fil kwɛrɛn. *November-December*: Dukhn and sesame are harvested (wɛdilou). Dura millet is ripening fast. The harvest festival of the new grain (mɔnɔŋ kanyɛr) is initiated by the 'ceremony of the ants' (kwɔrɔm) in Kelara village—a beer-offering is made and the senior *kujur* touches with his staff a new anthill (wishibi) in recognition of the tradition that grain was first discovered in an anthill. Each village then makes animal and beer sacrifices and prayers for the harvest. Merissa is plentiful. Mid-month sees a big gathering and dance of the initiated men, known as elu leda (milk-drinking, which characterizes it). Tobacco is entirely cut.

Kwinyɛ. *December-January*: The late millet continues to be harvested, and is collected together in hedged enclosures in the cultivations. Sesame is stacked. Dukhn is threshed and taken to the grain stores (tilfu). A beer offering (kwadinyo ashi—the beer of the grain-knife) is made in each household during the grain-cutting time. Men begin to collect and stack grass for thatching (this continues until almost the beginning of the next rainy season). The final big festival (Wodo) of the initiated men is held, and new tobacco is distributed to them. Food is more plentiful. Preparations for marriage are evident, and

girls who are to marry the following month do not go to the cultivation in Kwinye.

Kishikur. *January-February*: The men are fully occupied in threshing (mondelo). There is communal threshing of the larger cultivations. Food is plentiful. This is the marriage month par excellence.

Bwie. *February-March*: Threshing continues, and the grain is winnowed and carried by the women to the family grainstores. Timber (for roofing, walls and supports) is cut and brought home. Some women begin the making of clay pots. Thorn hedging is collected. There are some marriages. The end of this month is marked by the Kɔrumar, or returning of cattle to the village in the charge of the young men. For a time they sleep no longer in the zaribas.

Tigidi: *March-April*: All the grain is brought in. People remain at home and have a month's rest, apart from very occasional cleaning of cultivations—removing millet stalks etc. Children glean ground-nuts. Early in the month the girls' initiation ceremony takes place and later the girls parade the villages in a body, singing. For men there is much home activity, such as repairing and re-roofing houses ready for the rains. Women have more time to devote to clay pot making. There is also much mat making (although, in a small degree, it is spread over most of the dry season). Cattle are taken daily to pasture.

The dry season (mara) extends from Kwɔrad to Tigidi, and the rainy season (boro) from Kwokwur to Bibila. It should be noted that the latter does not cover the whole period in which rain may fall, merely the time of heaviest rain and greatest agricultural activity. The equivalents in the Roman calendar are only approximate, and vary from year to year. Although the Nyamang calendar is lunar, it is not a rigidly fixed system as each month is associated with changes in the world of nature. This is not infrequent in Africa.[12]

12 *cf.* Prof. E. E. Evans-Pritchard: "Nuer Time-reckoning" in *Africa*, vol. XII. 2.

THE SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

The individual's life is continually directed and his freedom limited by family and tribal loyalties. We shall now trace his life from birth until its end, and endeavour to see how he fits into the structure of the Nyamang tribe. The scope of this article forbids a thorough examination of events connected with each stage of his development, but a general impression can be given.

As with most races, the birth of a boy is joyfully acclaimed, and a girl is not so welcome. Be it so, in either event a sacrifice is made to *abidi* (see section on religion) for increasing the family. In his lifetime a male is the bearer of many names, significant of his ties and loyalties; he receives separate childhood names from father, mother, brothers, uncles and important friends; another name on initiation from a *kujur*; a name given by his age-class fellows; and finally during the ceremonies which mark his entry into old age.

In earliest years boys and girls are left very much to play by themselves. There is no definite sex segregation, but they are encouraged not to play together more than can be avoided. Every opportunity is given them to play with simple toys of their own making; animals and pots of clay, reeds, little bows and arrows.

A boy is wealth in the economic sense. From the age of five or six he is put in charge of goats, and taught gradually to tend other animals be they cows, donkeys, chickens or dogs. He has a toy hoe with which he pretends to hoe his father's cultivation. He tries his skill with bow and arrow, he owns a toy gun, and goes with older companions locusting, rat-hunting, or collecting caterpillars. He goes out to the cultivation, where he may be asked to perform small tasks such as carrying millet stalks or feeding his father's donkey. He begins to take part in festivities and learns to wrestle and dance. As he grows older he acquires more and more responsibility and with it the self-assurance that tells him he is occupying a definite position in the family and contributing to its welfare. His play activities gradually come to an end, as his part in the serious business of life increases.

A girl's development is on parallel lines. As soon as she can stand she begins to assimilate knowledge from the feminine circle. She helps to amuse a smaller sister or brother and plays at housekeeping by making little clay pots and practising on a small grinding-stone. As she grows bigger she becomes nursemaid to the smaller members of the family, and performs minor duties in the house for her mother. At festival times she mimics older girls' dancing and acquires supple and rhythmic feet. Later she fetches water from the well in a tiny pot, and soon she has reached the age when she can help to grind the flour, to crush sesame, or to look after the food on the fire. As adolescence approaches her time is taken up in daily journeys to and from the well and the cultivation, to which she takes food for her father. She may bring back a small quantity of wood for household use. The loads she carries on her head are increased little by little, the earthen pots become larger and heavier, the bundles of wood assume greater proportions. At this age the Nyamang girl is a fine healthy person. She takes her place gradually and imperceptibly in the family routine, and in tribal life as a marriageable girl.

It is not proposed here to examine the learning processes involved in this development. Suffice it to say that in the Nyamang child self-reliance and social sense are induced by a happy blending of example and discipline on the part of the parents. They let pass nothing slipshod; carelessness and neglect are followed by summary punishment; on the other hand there is every encouragement to a child who proves thoroughly useful and trustworthy. When he or she is found responsible in little things, bigger tasks are entrusted.

In late adolescence young men and girls spend nights in the cattle zaribas during several months of the year. Immorality however is uncommon.

Let us now turn to the life of a young man in late adolescence and in the early years of manhood. If he is strong and works well he may cultivate a small portion of his father's crops on his own account. The adolescent Nyamang males, sori as they are called, are raw, strapping 'lads of the village' of splendid physique, lithe

bodies, loose limbs and high spirits. They form a definite class in all Nyamang villages, taking a major part in games and festivals and making the most of life before serious responsibilities overtake them.

Men's Initiation : It has been noted above that the entry into manhood is by circumcision, and seclusion in the hills for over a month. This takes place approximately between the ages of 22 and 26. The circumcision of a young man in any particular year is dependent upon the ability of his family to provide sufficient grain to yield beer for all the accompanying festivities.

Before circumcision the youths parade in special dress —white shorts, a red loin-sash, sheep's hair round the ankles and girls' armlets. The latter indicate that they are as yet like women; they have not yet attained the status of men. Waving short thick sticks and preceded by boy attendants carrying a sword with bell attached, they tour their village for three weeks. At the end of this period they must offer a sacrifice if there is any wrong or trouble in their household.

On the prescribed morning each youth leaves his house early, singing, and followed by his friends makes his way up to a nearby hill where he is joined by fellow-initiates. The circumcision is performed by an expert by the crude method of bringing down a sharpened hoe-head or axe on the outstretched foreskin. At this moment the young man is expected not to utter a sound, nor to give any indication that he feels the pain. In each village there are several localities where the circumcisions are performed, each band consisting of about half-a-dozen men. The operations do not all take place on one day, a week may elapse before all the circumcisions of the tribe for one year are completed. An initiated man is known as kwai kanyer, 'new man,' *i.e.*, a new man has been added to the tribe.

The circumcision and seclusion is not so strict that no provision is made for the comfort of the kwai kanyer. From this point of view the Nyamang custom differs from the stricter ordeals of many Sudan tribes, *e.g.*, in the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Each kwai kanyer has two boys and two girls who bring him food and minister to him in many small ways. Sesame oil is applied to the wound, and there is no objection to other soothing medicine being used.

The kwai kanyɛr live in a shelter of millet stalks (which they build themselves) or in a cave. On their return to the village they 'celebrate' with a round of festivities. Immediately on leaving their hill each group of men goes to the house of their leader (the man first circumcised). Wearing only spiral armlets (kwɛli) and carrying axe-shaped sticks they file up outside the compound, in the entrance of which a hoe-head has been laid. A gourdful of water is poured on it by the senior man present in the crowded compound, and the spirit abidi is asked to bless the house and the crops. The kwai kanyɛr then file past him and are blessed in turn. A beer libation is made. Following on the initiated men are a number of friends carrying millet stalks. The whole ceremony is thus dominated by agricultural life; new men have been added to the tribe, men capable of wielding axes and hoes so that crop production may be maintained, and the yearly supply of fresh grain assured.

Girls' Initiation (nyɔwɔru dwildha): Nyɔwɔru dwildha means 'ear-piercing' and describes the essential characteristic of the girls' initiation ceremony. Indeed it is little more than this. No female circumcision is practised, and the initiation is devoid of undue ceremonial. It takes place towards the end of the dry season and starts with a short parade round the village, as for men. After her ears have been pierced and ringed in several places, each girl puts on sandals and retires to a pre-arranged locality on a nearby hill. The period of seclusion is short, varying from seven to fifteen days. On coming down from the hill, the girls go at once to work in the cultivation. There is no further ceremony in Salara, but in some other villages a festival is held five months later. At this the girls may receive married women's blue beads (bardugɛlɛ) temporarily for dancing.

Age-classes: The male members of each village are grouped roughly according to age in age-classes or sets (kwaida). The kwai kanyɛr of each year head an age-class, which comprises also the initiated men of the following three years. It follows that there is a considerable amount of overlapping, as each year's group of kwai kanyɛr belong to four age-classes, of one of which they are the

leaders. In practice there is no confusion, as the criterion of social standing between members of each age-class is whether or not they have taken part in the communal activity of deepening the cattle-holes (wördi). This is required of the newest age-class every seven years. The members who for any reason have not taken part are of junior standing and cannot sit or eat with their age-fellows.

In the Nyamang hills further investigation is necessary to determine the privileges possessed by certain senior grades, and a true correlation between the age-classes on the one hand and tribal social ceremonies on the other has yet to be worked out.

Morality and Marriage: The Nyamang moral code does not permit pre-marital sexual intercourse, but is disposed to forgive it if no illegitimate child is born. Intercourse with a betrothed girl, seduction and adultery are grave offences, and punished by fine or imprisonment.

Polygyny, on a limited scale, has been mentioned. Wives are obvious assets in a man's cultivation, but a consideration which appears to be of equal importance is that of beer-making, which entails considerable work, and for which more than one wife is deemed necessary. The desire for children provides an adequate reason for another wife if the first is barren or does not bear a male child. The childless first wife is a sad feature of Nyamang life; she is generally lonely, and has ceded her place and popularity to younger women who often have little regard for her.

Marriage Ceremonies: Nyamang etiquette insists on a delicate approach to the girl's father by an intermediary; the suitor's father or a mutual acquaintance. When the preliminaries have been arranged, the first ceremony known as tɛŋo kwɔdɔ (gourds of goats) takes place—the suitor bringing the first part of the bride-wealth, consisting of six, seven or eight goats and a calf to be sacrificed to the spirit abidi. The number of goats is equal to the number of deceased ancestors of importance in the girl's family. The suitor must never eat in the house of his 'in-laws' nor with the girl until she has borne him her first child.

Between this and the second ceremony many gifts pass from the suitor to his sweetheart's family. These are generally gourds full of beef, pork or goat. Often a guinea-fowl or a rabbit which he has shot is sent. The second ceremony takes place in the suitor's home. His future mother-in-law makes three or four gourds of a sesame preparation known as turuŋishi, and half-a-dozen large pots of beer. Some are distributed to the suitor's friends, the rest is consumed by his family, with a libation and petition to abidi for blessing on the household.

Before the third and final ceremony, the girl goes through initiation, unless she has already had her ears pierced. During this period no further large gifts are brought, except cattle as part of the bride-wealth

The bride-wealth was formerly seven cows and one rifle (or twenty goats). The number of cows has now been reduced to three, as young men were finding it increasingly difficult to supply the larger number ; this may be another indication of former wealth of cattle.

The final marriage ceremony is called wɔrgɔlu kwudu tanyari—the ceremony of the goats (brought to) the entrance of the house. This refers to the goats brought to the girl's house for slaughter—the same number as in the case of tɛŋo kwɔdɔ. There are many details in this ceremony which need not concern us here ; a brief resume only is necessary. There is a complicated system of sacrifices for the dead, which varies in each case. In addition to the goats, the suitor provides tobacco for the male and female relatives of the bride and for friends of her father, and a spear which the senior man present lays against the throat of one of the goats to signify that the killing may begin. The suitor is not present when they are eaten, by all except his bride. The ceremony ends when the senior man asks abidi to accept the offerings, and to grant happiness and offspring to man and wife. He then extinguishes the fire with a gourdful of water and the company disperses.

Normally the final ceremony does not take place until all the bride-wealth has been handed over, but sometimes exceptions are made.

The outward sign of a married woman is a girdle of blue bea (bardugɛlɛ) worn round the waist ; this is brought by the bridegroo before the wɔrgɔlu kwudu. With the girdle are worn a metal ' tai which hangs behind, and a triangular piece of leather covering t pudenda ; without all of these no married woman would appear.

The night following the marriage, the bride sleeps with her husba in his house. She then returns to her parents' house, where h husband pays her nightly visits, until the parents give her permissi to go and live with her husband. This is given after the bride father has collected moderate quantities of different grains to prese to the couple ; a few months or even a year may elapse. The husban then builds a separate house for himself and his wife.

Old Age : Old age is a pleasant thing among the Nyaman In addition to the satisfaction that all stages of tribal life have bee passed through, it brings with it power and respect. The older fo are the custodians of tribal culture, the embodiment of tribal wisdom the patriarchs of their people. For them is the responsibility an privilege of passing on the torch of tradition to their sons, as the fathers passed it on before.

Recognised entry into old age is marked by two allied ceremonie which include a practical test calculated to ensure that the men ar still in possession of their faculties. The first, a preliminary ceremony is known as gwosu tiŋida (bull-flogging)—a bull, gift of the trib elders, is beaten to death by the entrants and returned to the giver The former then take gifts of grain to the chief rainmaker and receiv a bull in exchange. Later they collect in a specified place and ar obliged to run over a short stretch of country. At the end of th race the first arrivals receive well-chosen new names from some o the senior men.

The final ceremony is called ashio lida (beer drinking) but i much more than its name implies. Each man in turn takes a sword and runs with it up a steep slope and back, in a previously chosen locality. He then receives a new name, indicative of his position in the village and of his contribution to the life of the community.

The interval between the two ceremonies is only a few months as they are usually held the same year. However a group of men which has gone through the gwosu tiŋida must not undergo the ashio lida immediately following but wait until it is next held—after an even number of years, normally six, eight or ten.

The death of an old person is not an occasion for undue sadness in the Nyamang hills; rather it is an occasion for rejoicing that a man has lived his life to the full and has earned his rest. Some time before death, an old man will indicate his wishes to all his family. He will usually divide his cattle and land equally among his wives and sons, but sometimes the eldest son receives more than the others. If one son is unmarried he may be given a larger share.

The levirate is practised, and a widow may remarry another member of her late husband's family should she so desire, or into another family provided it belongs to her husband's clan. In the latter case the second husband pays the full bride-wealth; no bride-wealth is asked of anyone related to the first husband. Children of a second marriage are in all cases considered children of the deceased.

Death: Death, like other natural events such as sterility or drought, may be attributed to a bewildering number of causes—the breaking of one of the many taboos, the result of a curse, etc. When a death occurs, wailing at once commences in the dead person's house. It is taken up first by those watching over the dying man, then by neighbours and friends as they come into the compound to offer their condolences. At the same time male relatives and friends proceed to the burial-ground and quickly dig the grave. In common with other hill-tribes of this area the Nyamang dig a cylindrical shaft, four to five feet deep, which opens out into a subterranean chamber, the resting-place of the body. Half-way down the shaft is a ledge which serves to support the flat circular stone placed to block the mouth of the grave.

As soon as the grave is dug, the body is carried from the house on a bed, a wailing procession following. When the burial ground is reached it is removed and slowly lowered, feet first, unto the grave.

A man stands below to lay the corpse out in the grave chamber. The dead person wears all the ornaments he or she wore in life. A shroud is laid over the body during the procession and lowering into the grave. While the burial is in progress all wailing ceases, to be resumed once the grave has been filled in.

The body lies on its left side, with head pointing north and face looking east. Any other position is kwir (taboo), but no one was able to give a reason. An important personage—a chief, elder or *kujur*—is buried lying on his bed; other dead persons lie on two planks (kubaŋ) placed on the earth floor of the chamber, although in the case of children the kubaŋ are frequently dispensed with. A young person who has died will be placed in the same grave as a relative; for older persons (and for small children) a fresh grave is dug.

The flat stone over the grave mouth lies at an angle and is sealed round with small stones and mud. Earth is scraped in over this, and a mound raised over the grave by collecting the earth together with broken pots, afterwards left on the mound. Freshly cut branches are then laid upon it, with large stones to keep them in position. Later, when the branches are dead, they are removed and the stones alone remain—they are thought to be deterrent to hyenas. In the case of a woman the graveside ceremony has a distinctive ending. A cooking-pot is placed beside the mound; the brother of the dead woman takes an axe-handle and with a sharp blow breaks the pot in two. The broken pieces are then put on the mound. The breaking releases the 'spirit' of the pot, which rejoins the woman in her new existence.

After the burial a goat is sacrificed in the dead person's compound and water is poured on the ground. This is food and drink for the geshin, the person's spirit. The chief mourners shave their heads and men allow their beard to grow. Heads remain shaven for several months, as the mourner wishes. A month after the death another goat is sacrificed.

RELIGION.

Nyamang religion has many ramifications, and much remains to be investigated; also it is not certain how much of it is truly indigenous.

and how much is due to the influence of surrounding tribes. The Nyamang has many reasons for belief in a power beyond himself. He sees the wonders of nature—the sun, moon, stars, rain, wind, thunder and lightning ; he sees grass become green and grain ripen ; human and animal offspring come into the world ; men sleep and enter the realm of dreams and nightmares in which some part of them seems to leave their bodies ; they die and leave the world for regions unknown. There is much that is pleasant, and yet much that is disastrous—drought comes, grain fails to ripen, children die immaturely, houses and cattle are struck by lightning, man is stricken with disease.

From these facts he concludes that there is a wonder-working power in the world—a power which produces all that benefits man, and yet can strike hard and bring misfortune and misery. The good and the evil are attributed to this life energy which permeates all things. With the Nyamang the emphasis in religious belief is on fertility and growth. The powers that be dwell tɔŋ ariŋɛ dɔŋ, ' in the place of the rain,' ' in the sky above ' (rain and sky are synonymous terms) ; fertility springs from thɔwɔ̀r, a wonder-worker supreme over offspring and grain. Thɔwɔr induces conception in women, and is present to ensure the growth of grain. In his dealings with men he uses an intermediary known as abidi.

The notion of a maker (Abradi) exists, of whom the Nyamang claim but a vague knowledge. He lives tɔŋ ariŋɛ dɔŋ, and apart from fashioning the universe has little to do with daily life. He is regarded with such great reverence and awe that his name is rarely mentioned. There is little doubt that Abradi is an extraneous notion, derived from the ' Hill-Nubian ' speakers in particular. Abradi and abran she (to make, fashion) are loan-words—Dilling Bel epti (' God' the Maker) from ebir-er, to fashion.

From the evidence of breath, shadows, reflections, dreams, the Nyamang concludes that man possesses some part of this life energy or vital force which can separate itself from his body, and which consists not of one ' shadow ' or ' soul ' but of many. These may number four or five. When a man is sleeping, all his shadows (lu)

except one leave his body, and may wander about in the form of a ca dog, mouse or other animal, One shadow remains to guard him an maintain life. One must be careful not to kill an animal at night for fear of taking away a man's shadow; once a shadow is killed it cannot be replaced. Death comes with the releasing of the last shadow which is then known as geshin. Men, animals and inanimate objects alike possess a geshin; to the Nyamang all are endowed with the same power of life.

In the life after death needs, desires and pursuits continue as before. The dead person must be assured of comforts and possessions. For this reason a goat is killed in his compound and water spilt so that the geshin of the food may travel to him; a pot is destroyed besides a women's grave in order that she may have a 'spirit' pot in after-life; a bowl of food is placed beside a *kujur* as he lies on his bed in the grave.

The abode of the spirits—Kɛdiŋɛ—is said to be two days' walk from the Nyamang hills. Some say it is near Ghulfan (one of the 'Hill-Nubian' speaking villages), and a certain practising *kujur* (not yet fully initiated) claims to have been very near it on one occasion by accident. No one would dare to investigate. In Kɛdiŋɛ there are other 'souls' besides geshin, separated by a zariba. No one knows much about them, but some informants say that they resemble men but have no bones, and eat very little food—a small gourdful lasts twenty of them a long time. They eat frogs, snakes, and 'dirty things'; they do not speak as men do, but make only strange noises.

Geshin do not always remain in Kɛdiŋɛ but return to possess people or remonstrate with anyone who has wronged them in their lifetime. They still take an interest in the affairs of men and are able to intervene with the increased power that their new state of life gives them; their power, which may be used for evil, necessitates counter-measures on the part of those remaining on the earth. For example, when a geshin seizes on a child, a goat is sacrificed to placate it; in the early part of the month of Uruf all the villages join in shouting and throwing brands to counteract evil geshin.



RETHATCHING.



A "KWAI KANYER" (INITIATE).



KUJUR OF ADLAN.

Spirits other than geshin are recognised, and bear the name of kwini. They are very powerful, and with few exceptions none was ever a man. The exceptions are some very distant ancestors who did not receive proper burial. Abidi, referred to above, is the name of the most important kwini, who takes first place in Nyamang religious life. This is not the spirit of any departed man, but is regarded as supernatural in origin. Abidi enjoys a unique position and has power over all lesser spirits, *i.e.*, those of the various ancestors and kwini. His power is derived from Thɔwɔ̀r whose messenger and mouthpiece he is, just as Thɔwɔr is subordinate to Abradi. Consequently all prayers (*e.g.*, for rain, good crops, blessing on the household, children) are addressed to him.

Petition accompanied by sacrifice (tanyari) plays a leading role in Nyamang religion. Such ritual sacrifices (common to most of the hill-tribes) are known to Europeans by the Arabic name of '*sibr*' (custom), a word to which the hillmen who are acquainted with Arabic have given a specialised meaning; it also serves to denote taboo. They provide a good excuse to eat meat and drink millet-beer, for in most cases a libation is made to abidi. Only the elders may perform a '*sibr*'; others remain as witnesses. When an important *sibr* is to be performed by a whole village, elders visit each house in turn in their immediate neighbourhood. All leading ceremonies are signed and sealed by dancing and games.

Spirit-possession is another vital factor: anyone may be possessed by a spirit or even by more than one, but only a relatively small number of people, possessed by powerful spirits, become tribal priests. These are known all over the hills by the Arabic name of '*kujur*.' *Kujurs* are essentially the fathers of the community, which they guide and advise. They are not to be confused with witch-doctors and are distinct from rain-makers. When a spirit seizes them they fall into a trance and, holding in their hand a small black stick (tou) symbolic of the spirit's power, pace up and down and speak in a different voice. They are then said to '*kujjur*.' Occasionally a *kujur* will behave with violence, throwing himself on the ground or hurling the stick into a corner of the compound.

When some particular problem arises, *kujurs* are looked to to provide a solution through their spirits, ancestral or otherwise. Many of the spirits are regarded as having special powers in certain directions, *e.g.*, over cattle, locusts, trees, cultivation. There is always some practical issue involved such as finding a thief, settling a dispute, driving away sickness or locusts, and the *kujur* '*kujjurs*' with this end in view. This does not prevent those standing round from arguing with or questioning the *kujur* while he is in a trance, and he answers them in his trance voice, which is interpreted by one of those present.

It may be asked whether the trances are genuine. To this one would reply that some are while others are not; it depends on the individual *kujur*, and the state of mind he is in. Hawkesworth notes that 'the trances are brought on by starvation, alcohol, and concentration of will-power.' In the present author's short experience of the Nyamang *kujurs* he would say that the two latter points were the most important. At times a *kujur* who has been trying to work himself into a trance will announce that he is unable to do so—the spirit is angry and will not come. In such cases the spirit has to be propitiated by gifts of grain, or by a sacrifice.

It would appear that rainmakers in the Nyamang hills are somewhat less important than formerly. The chief rainmaker says that once gifts were brought to him in great numbers, but that now he is much worse off. Many Nyamang regard the rainmakers as just as capable of holding up rain for malicious reasons as of inducing it. Last year a drought was attributed to a dispute between the spirit of the chief rainmaker and that of the mek. Women were required each to take a small gourdful of grain to the rainmaker for the appeasement of his spirit.

A fitting conclusion to this description of the Nyamang would be to apply to them the words of Milton:

> "Godlike erect, with native honour clad
> In naked majesty, seemed lords of all,
> And worthy seemed . . .
> Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,
> Severe, but in true filial freedom placed,
> Whence true authority in men."

STRING FIGURES FROM THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

by James Hornell, F.L.S., F.R.A.I.

DURING the winter of 1938-39 when on a lengthy tour of the waterways of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, I devoted my utmost efforts to the collection of string figures, for, so far as I was aware, none had ever been recorded from this region. Just ten years previously I had broken new ground in Sierra Leone where I succeeded in collecting 42 string figures or games during my journeyings and I hoped to be equally successful in the Sudan.

This was not to be, for while I managed to record a fair number from the Nubians and the Arabic-speaking section of the population farther south, I was disappointed to find that the most important of the Nilotic Negroes—the Shilluks, Dinkas and Nuers—know no string figures whatever. This result was quite unexpected in view of the fact that several observers have found them abundant among Negro tribes throughout the whole of West Africa, while Haddon, Cunnington and Kraus have described a fairly large number from East Africa, south of the Equator.

In all, I collected 25 different figures. These are tabulated below with the addition of whatever records there are of the occurrence of similar or related figures in other parts of Africa, in order that their distribution may be studied. As will be seen the Sudanese figures come from two distinct areas; these are a Northern and a Southern area, divided by a wide belt inhabited by tribes, largely cattle owning, who know nothing of such things. The Northern String-figure region includes the country of all the tribes, mainly Muhammadan, located between Wadi Halfa in the north and Kosti in the south. The Southern region is restricted to a marginal area in the extreme south, where from among the pagan tribes living there a small number of figures were obtained; I feel sure that there are others known to these tribes which remain to be collected—my opportunities to do so were few.

In the following table the string figures of the Sudan are classified into (*a*) North Sudan, extending from Wadi Halfa to Kosti, and (*b*) the South Marginal Sudan lying towards the northern boundaries of Uganda and the Belgian Congo, where I obtained string figures from the Bari of the Nile, the Bongo of the Bahr el Ghazal and the Azande of the Congo frontier region.

No.	Name	North Sudan	South Marginal Sudan	West Africa	East Africa S. of Equator	Egypt	Remarks.
1	Munshar A ...	X		X			
2	Munshar B ...	X		X			
3	Munshar C	X			X		
4	Munshar D	X					
5	Mizān	X			X		
6	Rigl el Naam A ...	X		X		X	
7	Rigl el Naam B ...	X		X			
8	Rigl el Wizza ...	X		X	X		
9	Timsāh	X	X1	X	X		1. Bongo
10	Shabaka A	X		X		?	? Doubtful
11	Shabaka B	X	X2	X	X		2. Bari and Azande.
12	Maqass A		X3				3. Bari.
13	Maqass B	X					
14	Maqass C	X		X			
15	Ras sukkar	X					
16	Kibo lodit A ...		X4				4. Bari.
17	Kibo lodit B ...		X4				
18	Kheima	X					
19	Nigma and Tramwāy	X					
20	Arūsa		X5				5. Bongo.
21	Ragil naim ...	X					
22	Nameless		X6				6. Jur.
23	Angarib	X		X	X		
24	Serīr	X		X			
25	Angarib sijada hōsh	X				X	
	Totals ...	**20**	**6**	**11**	**6**	**3**[7]	**7, one doubtful**

Figures 1, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, & 25, are also known in India (Gujarat and Kathiawar).

From this tabulation it will be seen that the Northern Sudan possesses the greatest number of string figures here recorded, for it has 20 out of a total of 25. Of these 20 figures, eleven are also found in West Africa, six in East Africa, south of the Sudan, while three (including one doubtful example) are common to Egypt and only two are known among the Bari, Bongo, and Azande of the Southern Sudan.

The figures known to people of Egyptian descent comprise two well-known in Egypt and throughout Europe, for they are similar to the Cat's Cradle and Crow's Feet of Britain.

It is evident from examination of the distribution given, that the North Sudan is linked most closely with West Africa. As Arabs of pure blood seem to have few string figures (if any), it is fairly certain that most of the figures recorded have been acquired by the Nubian and Arabic-speaking tribes mainly from intercourse with West Africa. The chief contributory causes may have sprung from (*a*) the annual pilgrimage of West African Muhammadans to Mecca and (*b*) the arrival at the slavemarts on the banks of the Nile of caravans from the west laden with captured negroes drawn from most of the tribes in West Africa.*

As already stated the Shilluks, Dinkas and Nuers aver consistently that they know no string figures. I tested this in every way I could imagine, always with a negative result. The solid block of these tribes, inhabiting the banks of the great waterway between north and south must have presented in the past an impenetrable obstacle to diffusion across this region to and from East Africa of this particular form of culture.

What importance string figures may have in the culture of the various peoples of the Sudan is quite uncertain. A stranger collecting these figures is always at a disadvantage ; the games possessing magical or erotic significance are concealed from him or have their meaning evaded. Only those forms of no importance in their eyes as being merely pastime games for children are usually shown. One exception may be *Timsāh*, the crocodile ; it is the figure most widely known in

* The bulk of West African slaves, however, were sent direct across the Sahara. The Nile markets were fed from local sources. (RD.)

the Sudan, for it is found everywhere except among the Shilluks, Dinkas and Nuers. It may, therefore have magical significance among riverain tribes to whom the crocodile is an ever present enemy. Another instance, which, however, relates to a string trick and not a string figure, is unquestionably magical in its intent. It was furnished to me at Atbara by the gardener employed by Mr. J. H. Dunbar, Chief Mechanical Engineer to the Sudan Government. This man when interrogated stated that he knew one string device which he proceeded to demonstrate. He called it *Shabik*, a corruption of *shabaka*, a net. It was played thus :

On each hand the man passed the string of a loop round the back of the index, the palmar side of the middle finger and the back of the ring finger and extended the loops. He then inserted the left middle finger through the right middle finger loop from below and drew the loop out ; he repeated this with the right middle finger, and extended all the loops. Finally, bending down, he brought the tips of both hands together and shook off the loops upon the ground, crying in a loud voice Mahdia " *Shabik, shabik, samak* ! ", meaning " Net, net, fish "

In old days (in the Mahdiah or Mahdi's time) he said that a rosary of beads was used and that this is the correct procedure, though string is now often employed. There can be little doubt that this is a fisherman's magical rite to ensure that his net shall fish well and obtain a good haul of fish. The man belongs to the Shaiqiya tirbe who live on the banks of the Nile in the great bend north of Berber.

It is highly probable that the figures now recorded are far from exhausting those known by the peoples of the Sudan. Little time is left, I fear, in which to obtain descriptions of the remaining ones, among which are probably the more complex and significant. With every day that passes, these age-old games, heritage from the old Negro world, tend to die out and be forgotten before the assimilating influences of European and Arabic civilization. If knowledge of these unrecorded games is not to be lost, it is imperative that systematic efforts be made forthwith to make the record as complete as possible and to fathom the inner meaning of those not worked solely for pastime.

With a view to enable anyone interested to give intelligible descriptions of the methods used in manipulating the string loop, I shall now define such of the terms as it is necessary to employ for this purpose.

Except when otherwise stated a loop means a closed loop ; a piece of cord between six and seven feet long is the most useful length from which to form it by neatly joining the two ends. If the thumb and the little finger of each hand be inserted into the loop and the hands stretched apart as far as possible, we obtain a position very commonly assumed when commencing these figures ; to save needless repetition this is termed " Position 1 " ; in this position we have a string crossing the palm of each hand, so this string is described as *palmar* ; if it crossed the back of the hand it would be termed *dorsal*. The string around any digit is a *loop*; such a loop has technically two strings, that on the thumb side of a finger being termed the *radial* string and that on the little finger side, the *ulnar*. When no confusion can be caused, as when the hands are held upright with the palms facing each other, *near* and *far* may be substituted for radial and ulnar. Two other terms in common use are *distal* and *proximal*. Thus, if there be two loops on a finger, the lower is the proximal and the upper the distal. With these few terms nearly all the moves, even in an intricate game, may be clearly described, eked out with ordinary English.

Returning to " Position 1", which I shall assume is now made upon the reader's hands, insert the index finger from below (*i.e.* from the proximal side) behind the palmar string on the left hand and draw this string out upon the back of the index and return to the original position with the hands ; if the same movement be performed by inserting the left index behind the right palmar string and drawing out the latter to form a loop on the left index, we get a figure known as " Opening A". This is a common continuation from Position 1, and when a game be commenced in this manner, the various moves are summarized in this term.

Another useful term is " Navaho". Sometimes two loops are formed on one of the fingers ; *to navaho* is to lift the lower or proximal loop over the higher or distal one and thence over the finger tip and then

to drop it. The term was coined by Dr. A. C. Haddon to describe a movement very commonly met with in string games played by the Navaho Indians of North America; being found useful, it has come into general employment as a technical term.

1. *Munshar*, THE SAW.

This figure is worked in several different ways by Arabic-speaking Sudanese from Wadi Halfa southwards to Omdurman.

METHOD A.

(1). Position 1. (2) Pass the right index into the left palmar loop, draw out, cross the strings by rotating the index a full turn and extend. (3) Do the same with left index. (4) A second player pulls

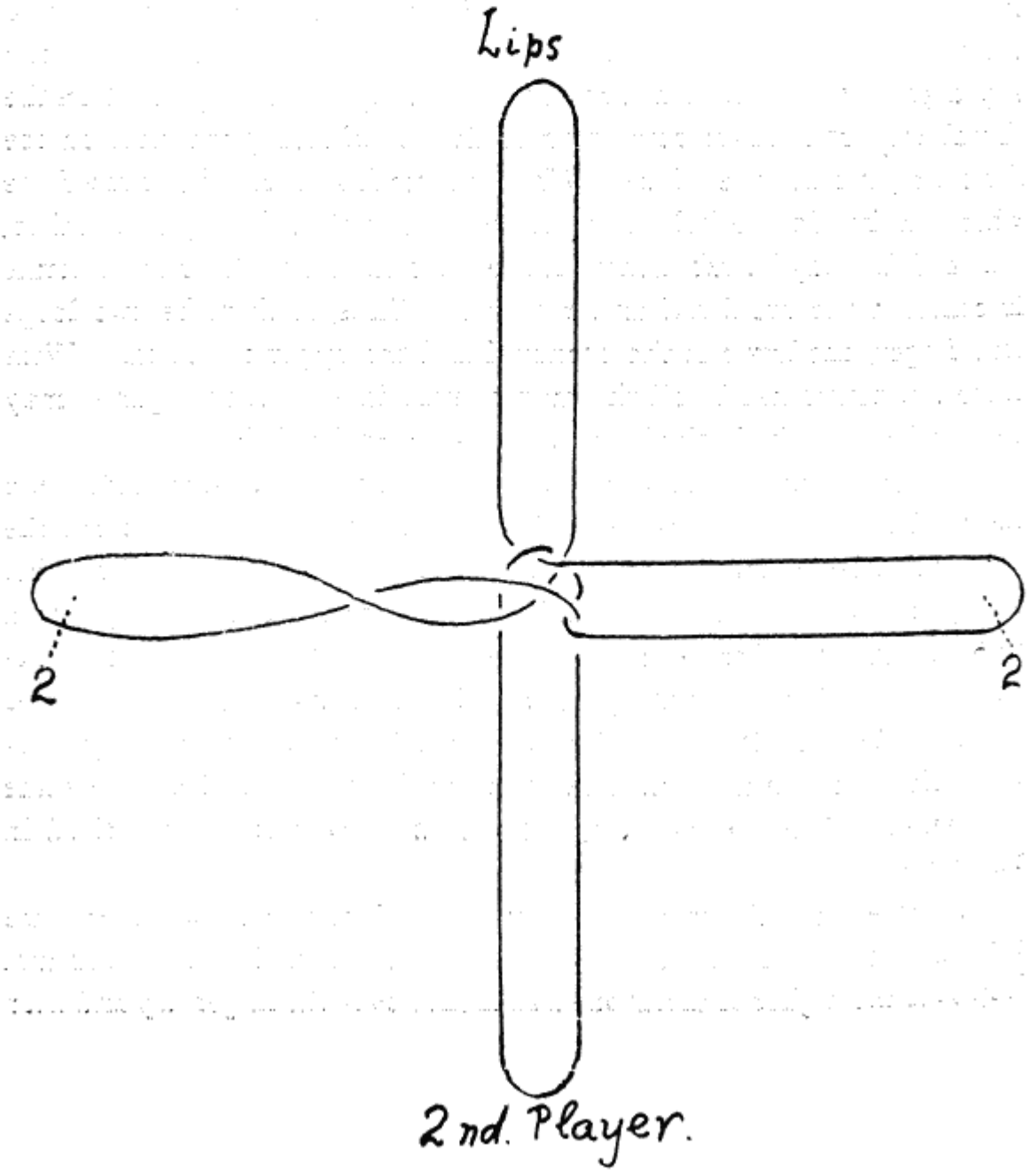


Fig. 1. *Munshar*, THE SAW. METHOD A.

out the far little finger string, whilst the first player catches the near thumb string with his lips, releasing his thumbs and little fingers at the same time. The players then begin to "saw".

Shown by a boy from Dongola. This method is related to the Mende game of *Ngenye* of West Africa.

2. METHOD B.

(1) Hang one end of a closed loop on the crown of the head, cross the pendent loop, lift the lower end of the loop and take it between the lips and teeth. (2) Pass each hand into its respective side loop, bring down the head loop and give it to a second player. By moving the hands inwards and outwards alternately, a sawing movement is produced.

Worked by (*a*) a girl of the Hassanieh tribe, from Darau, north of Wadi Halfa; (*b*) by Nubian boys from Dongola; and by a boy of the Ababda tribe from Gezira Mograt, near Abu Hamed.

Here the method is identical with the Temne and Kru *Sisa*, also from West Africa.

3. METHOD C.

(1) Sitting on the ground place one end of a closed loop over the big toe of one foot and hold the other end between the teeth. (2) Make a small loop at mid-length of each string. (3) Pass one loop

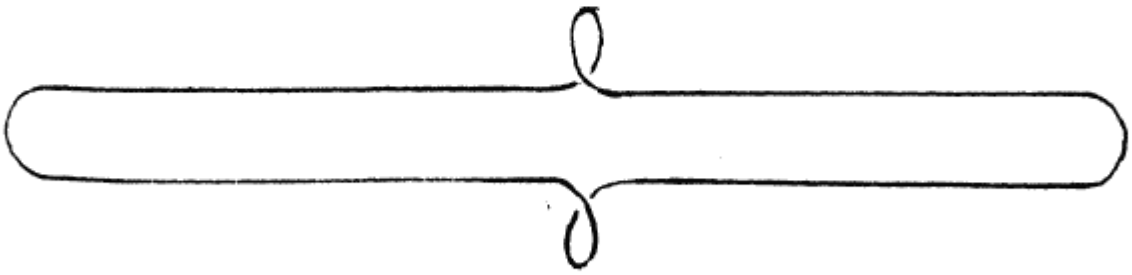


Fig. 2. *Munshar*, THE SAW. METHOD C.

through the other, and pull out, one loop in each hand. Saw with the two hands, mouth and foot, the units of each pair alternately approaching and receding from one another.

A simple and effective method. It was shown by an Arab boy the Shaiqīya tribe. The Zanzibar *Sumeno* is identical. It is also known from India.

4. METHOD D.

(1) Sitting on the ground stretch a closed loop between the big toes. (2) With the left palm turned downward, hook the little finger over the near string and draw it upward and to the left. (3) Similarly, with the right little finger hook up the far string proximal to the left loop. A figure of two triangles, a left and a right, is thus formed. (4) Pass the left index and thumb downward through the left triangle and catch the far string of the right triangle and draw it back through the left triangle. (5) Pass the right index and thumb through the right triangle, turn the fingers upward, and, from above, catch the far string of the left triangle, draw it through the right triangle and then carry it upward or give it to a second player, seated opposite. Sawing may now be begun.

Shown by a girl at Atbara, by a Shaiqīya Arab and by Hassan Omar Azhari, a Government school teacher, Port Sudan, who learned it at Omdurman.

5. *Mizān*, THE SCALE OR BALANCE.



Fig. 3. *Mizān*, THE SCALE OR BALANCE.

(1) Position 1. (2) Pass the right index from the proximal side under the left palmar string ; draw this out, rotating the finger in order to give a twist to the loop. Do the same with the left index but do not rotate the finger. (3) Drop the right thumb and little finger loops and extend.

Shown by Hassan Omar Azhari, who learned it at Omdurman.

The same figure is known to Coptic children in Port Sudan, under the name *Kheima*, the Tent.

The working is similar to that of the Zanzibar *Mnazi*, the coconut palm.

6. *Rigl el Naam*, THE OSTRICH'S FOOT; *Rigl el 'asfūr*, THE BIRD'S FOOT; *Rigl el dijajat*, THE FOWL'S FOOT.

(1) Opening A, using the middle fingers instead of the index fingers. (2) Bend the fingers of each hand into the thumb loop and throw the near thumb strings over the bent fingers to form a dorsal loop across the back of each hand. (3) Transfer the middle finger loops to the thumbs. (4) Lift the dorsal loops over the fingers and hang them on the middle fingers. (5) Slacken the loops, pass the little fingers over the far middle finger strings and then *under* the near little finger strings, returning with the latter on their backs. (6) Navaho the little finger loops. (7) Release the thumb loops and extend.

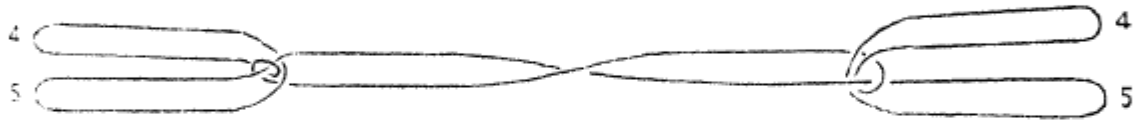


Fig. 4. *Rigl el Naam*, THE OSTRICH'S FEET.

Shown (*a*) as *Rigl el naam* by a boy of the 'Ababda tribe, living at Gezira Mograt, near Abu Hamed; (*b*) by Hassan Omar Azhari, who learned it at Omdurman, under the name of *Rigl el dijajat* and (*c*) by an Egyptian Coptic priest at Port Sudan as *Rigl el 'asfūr*. Save for trifling variations in some instances it is identical with numerous figures from Sierra Leone:—the Mende *Ndopo vanggi* (little drum), the Temne *Tankwa* (drum) and *Kadir* (rice-mortar), the Sherbro' *Hiniki pel le* (sleeping hammock) and *Lompo* (Pigeon's tail).

It is the most widely distributed of all string figures, for besides Africa, it is found either in this form or in one of its variations in Western Europe, India, Australasia, Oceania and America.

7. *Rigl el naam* (second method).

(1) Opening A, using the middle fingers instead of the indices. (2) Lift off the thumb loops, turn them over and replace upon the ring fingers. (3) and (4) Same as 5 and 6 of the first method. (5) Release the middle finger loops and extend.

Shown by a boy of the Rubatab tribe from El Damer, near Atbara. It is worked in the same manner as the Fula *Koide gerto* (The Fowl's feet) and the Temne *Karump* (Rice-pounder). It is also known from India, where, in Kathiawar, it is called *Morna pag*, the Peacock's foot.

8. *Rigl el wizza*, THE GOOSE'S FOOT.

(1) Seated on the ground, extend a closed loop between the big toes. (2) Turning the hands downward, hook the little fingers over the near string; going under this string, hook the index fingers over the far string, drawing it upwards toward the body; a median loop is thus formed. (3) From below pass the thumbs into this loop, withdraw the index fingers, reinsert them from the lower side and withdraw the thumbs simultaneously. (4) On each side pass an index finger from the outer aspect under the lateral section of the far string; hook the string up and draw it through the median loop. (5) Release the toes and extend, turning the hands outwards with the backs opposite one another.

Shown by a Dongola native and by a girl from Wadi Halfa, both Nubians.

In its working this figure is similar to the *Karump* (Rice-pounder), second form, of the Temne tribes, Sierra Leone and the *Umuzwa* (Wooden spoon) of the Yaos of the Shire Highlands, Central Africa. It is also closely related to one of the Indian variations of *Morna pag*.

9. *Timsāh*, THE CROCODILE.

(1) Double a fairly long closed loop and hang the two loops round the neck. (2) Pass the left thumb through the two pendent loops at their lower ends, keeping them taut and some distance apart: turn the thumb downwards. (3) Pass the right hand to the left, distal to both loops; with the finger and thumb lift off the lower loop from the left thumb; carry it upward and over the other loop and place it on the left little finger while turning the hand palm upward. (4) Pass the right index and thumb through the little finger loop and take hold of

the ulnar string of the thumb loop, return with it through the little

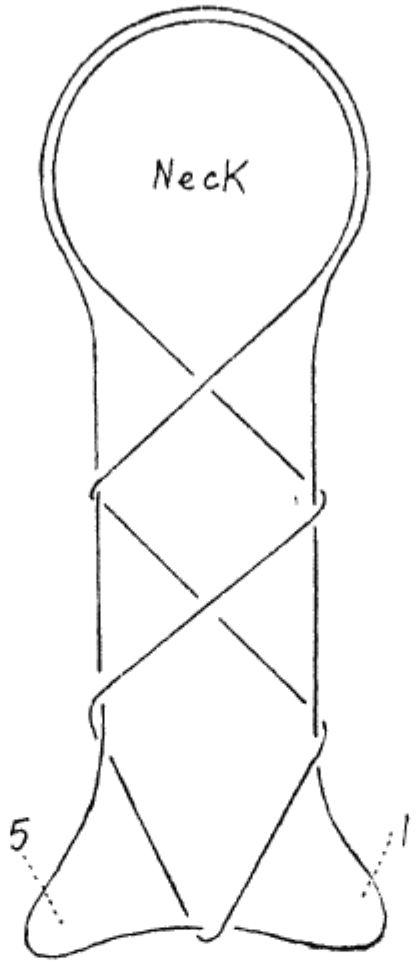


Fig. 5. *Timsāh*, THE CROCODILE.

finger loop and hang it on the little finger after previously releasing the original little finger loop. This completes the figure which is supposed to represent a crocodile head downwards.

Known to Sudanese girls at Atbara Mission schools and shown by Osman Duwas, belonging to the Bongo tribe, living in the Bahr el Ghazal. He states that he learned it in his native village before being carried off in a slave raid.

It is identical with Parkinson's *Ebuson* (Camp-bed) from the Yoruba country and Cunnington's *Kitala* from Central Africa. Except for some variation in the method of working it is also the same as Griffith's " Breastplate of the Fetish Man " from the Gold Coast.

10. *Shabaka*, THE FISHING NET (Simple form of two diamonds).

(1) Opening A. (2) Release the thumb loops. (3) Going over the index loop, thrust the thumbs from above into the little finger loop and bring back the little finger ulnar string upon their backs. (4) Lift the left index radial close to the root of the finger and place it upon the thumb as a loop ; do the same on the right hand. (5) Revolve

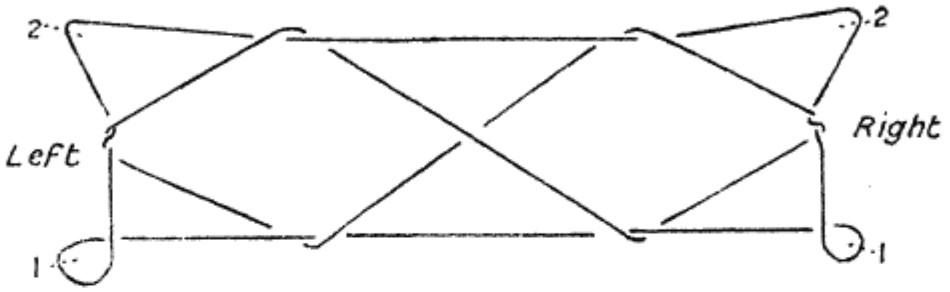


Fig. 6. *Shabaka*, THE FISHING-NET : simple form.

the thumbs downwards thereby navahoing the thumb loops. (6) Having turned the thumbs upward again, turn the index tips down and insert them into the small triangles having their base formed by the string across the face of each thumb ; keep them hooked downward. (7) Release the little finger loops, turn the hands palm outwards and straighten the indices : the figure then appears.

Demonstrated by Coptic children at Port Sudan and by a boy of slave origin, belonging to the Jaaliin tribe, who used his teeth when making moves three and four.

Similar figures are played by the Temnes and Mendes of Sierra Leone and by the Krus of Liberia. Known also in India.

11. *Shabaka*, THE FISHING NET (Large form with four diamonds).

(1) Opening A. (2) Release the thumb loops. (3) Pass the thumbs under all the strings, catch the little finger ulnars on their backs and return. (4) Insert the thumbs from above into the index loop, pick up the index ulnars on their backs and return. (5) Release the litle finger loops. (6) Pass the little fingers distally over the index radials and from below pick up on their backs the thumb ulnars and return.

(7) Release the thumb loops. (8) Take the little finger radials on the backs of the thumbs from above and return. (9), (10), (11) and (12) as in numbers (4), (5), (6) and (7) of the "Two diamonds form."

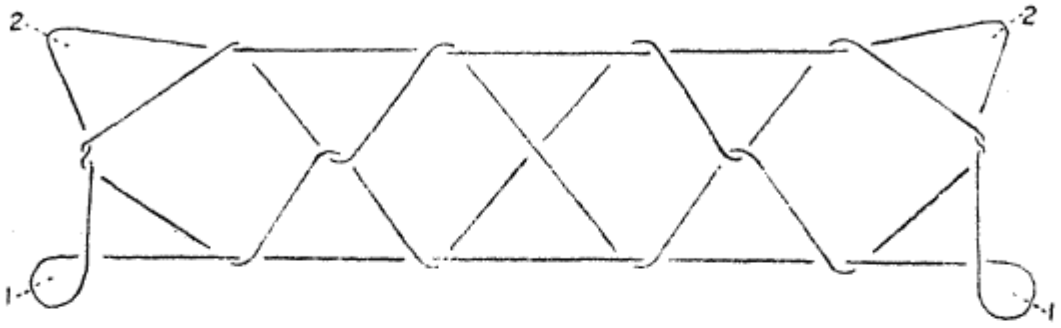


Fig. 7. *Shabaka*, THE FISHING-NET, 4-diamonds form.

This figure is widely known. It was worked by a Hadendowa at Suakin; a Baggara girl at Atbara; a boy from Gezira Mograt, near Abu Hamed, of the 'Ababda tribe; A boy of the Rubatab tribe from El Damer; several Dongola men; and a boy from Kordofan. All these except the Hadendowa were Arabic-speaking. Of Negro peoples it was shown by several Bari boys at Juba; they called it *Kittikik*, which is the string lacing of the native bed frame; some, however, termed it *Viria*, a trap. It was also worked by a Zande boy who called it *Bina*, a trap. I was told at Juba that it is a game known among the Latuka.

Elsewhere in Africa it is played by the Temnes, Mendes and Sherbros of Sierra Leone, by the Yoruba of Nigeria, and in Central Africa (Tanganyika and the Shire Highlands). In India it occurs in Gujarat.

Wātwāt, THE BAT.

The boy from Kordofan, mentioned above, by inserting a longish stick vertically between the top and bottom strings at the centre of *Shabaka*, made a change in the figure which he termed *Wātwāt*, a bat.

12. *Maqaṣṣ*, SCISSORS.

This is a continuation of the Bari *Kittikik*. A Bari boy of the Põjelu sub-section showed it to me at Juba.

Having formed the figure, it is laid flat on some flat surface, and then taken again on the hands as follows :—thrust the indices into the upper triangles at the sides of the two median diamonds or meshes, and the thumbs into the corresponding triangles on the opposite or lower margin ; carefully raise the figure on the backs of these digits and extend. By rocking the indices and thumbs of the two hands a " scissors " motion is imparted to the figure.

13. *Maqaṣṣ*, Scissors (Second form).

(1) Position 1, after twisting the loop to form crossed strings at the centre. (2) Pass the index of each hand, from above, into the palmar loop on the opposite hand, turning the loop over while so doing. (3) Extend, drop the thumb loops and then work the figure by partially rotating the hands from side to side.

Taught to me by the schoolmaster Hassan Omar Azhari, who learned it at Omdurman.

14. *Maqaṣṣ*, Scissors (Third form), also called Duck's beak.

(1) Position 1 on left hand. (2) With the right index pull out the palmar string to the full extent. (3) Repeat this, and release the pulled out loop. (4) Pass the right hand through the dropped pendent

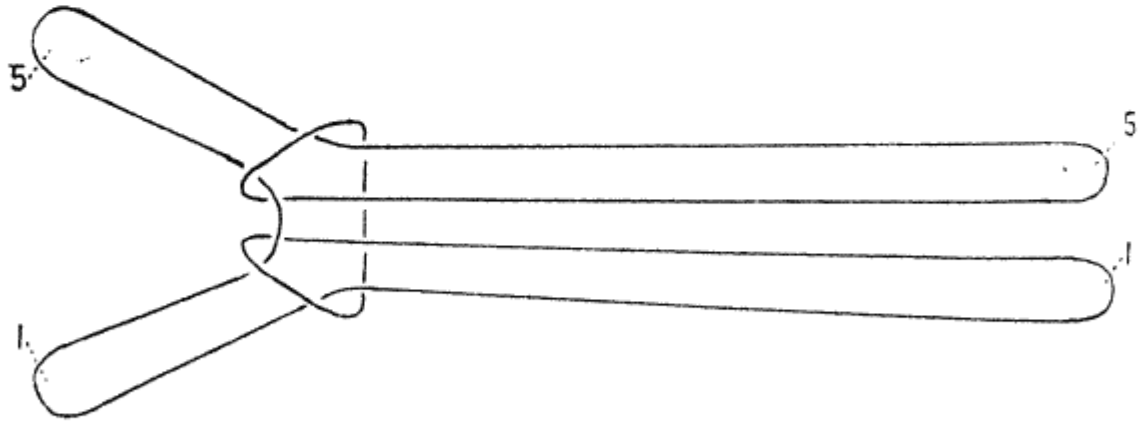


Fig. 8. *Maqaṣṣ*, Scissors. Third form.

loop, insert the right thumb and little finger respectively from above into the left thumb and little finger loops and draw out ; pass the right four fingers from the far side into the two drawn out loops and release the thumb. (5) By alternately pulling and slackening the upper sections of the drawn out loops and moving the right thumb and little finger towards and away from one another, the opening and closing of the blades of a pair of scissors (or of the beak of a duck) are simulated.

Shown by two people who stated that they learned it in Omdurman.

It is similar to the Yoruba moving figure, No. 7 of Parkinson's list and to Griffith's Gold Coast *Afa* or Skin-bellows.

15. *Ras sukkar*, THE SUGAR-LOAF (a continuation of *Maqass III*).

(1) Make the third form of *Maqass* on left hand. (2) Pass the left middle finger into the double long loop from the ulnar side and carry this double loop over the middle finger and leave it pendent on the back of the left hand. (3) Pull out to its full extent the small loop which will be found in the centre of the palm and a pyramidal figure results, The name is possibly a transference from an older one of "Salt loaf", as salt was made for many centuries in this form at Shendi.

Shown by an Egyptian schoolmistress (C.M.S.) who said she learned it in Omdurman.

16. *Kibo lodit*, (A), THE SMALL BOAT—A MOVING FIGURE.

(1) Position 1 on left hand. (2) Pass the pendent loop from above through the palmar loop, and throw it over the left hand to the back thereof. (3) From below pass the four fingers of the right hand through the little finger loop and then from above through the thumb loop and draw out to the full extent. Return the loop at the back of the hand to the palmar side. (4) Lift the thumb loop and place it on the index

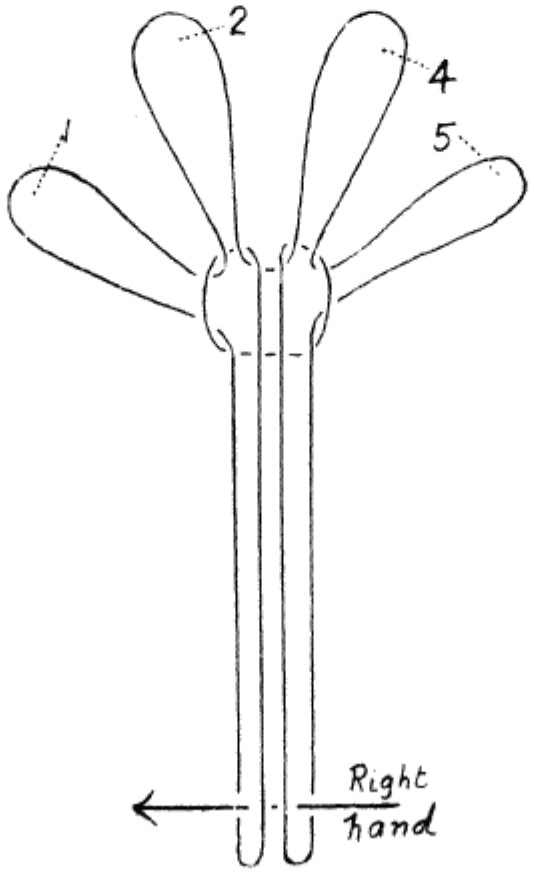


Fig. 9. *Kibo lodit*, (A), THE SMALL BOAT.

and the little finger loop upon the ring finger. (5) Of the upper pair of strings in the long loops held in the right hand, place the radial string over the thumb and the ulnar one over the little finger; release the right hand. (6) Going from the distal aspect, with right finger and thumb pull upwards the pendent loops through the small circular loop on the palmar face. Pass the four fingers of the right hand again through the loops thus drawn out from the ulnar aspect. By rocking the right hand the paddling of a canoe is simulated.

It is a technical continuation of No. 14, *Maqass* (3rd. form —Duck's bill).

Shown by a man belonging to the Bari tribe, sub-section *Pöjelu* (pronounced Fujelu). Juba, 20 Feb., 1939.

17. *Kibo lodit*, (B), THE SMALL BOAT.

(1) Opening A. (2) Going below the loops catch the far string of the little finger loop with the lips and pull out. (3) Pass both hands from below through this mouth loop which is then released. (4) Drop the little finger loops. (5) With the right index and thumb lift off the left thumb loop and the left index loop, gripping the strings passing between the thumb and the index and place them as a double loop over the thumb and the little finger on the palmar side; When replacing this double loop the finger hold must travel to the radial side of the thumb. Proceed similarly on the right hand. (6) Lift off one (either)

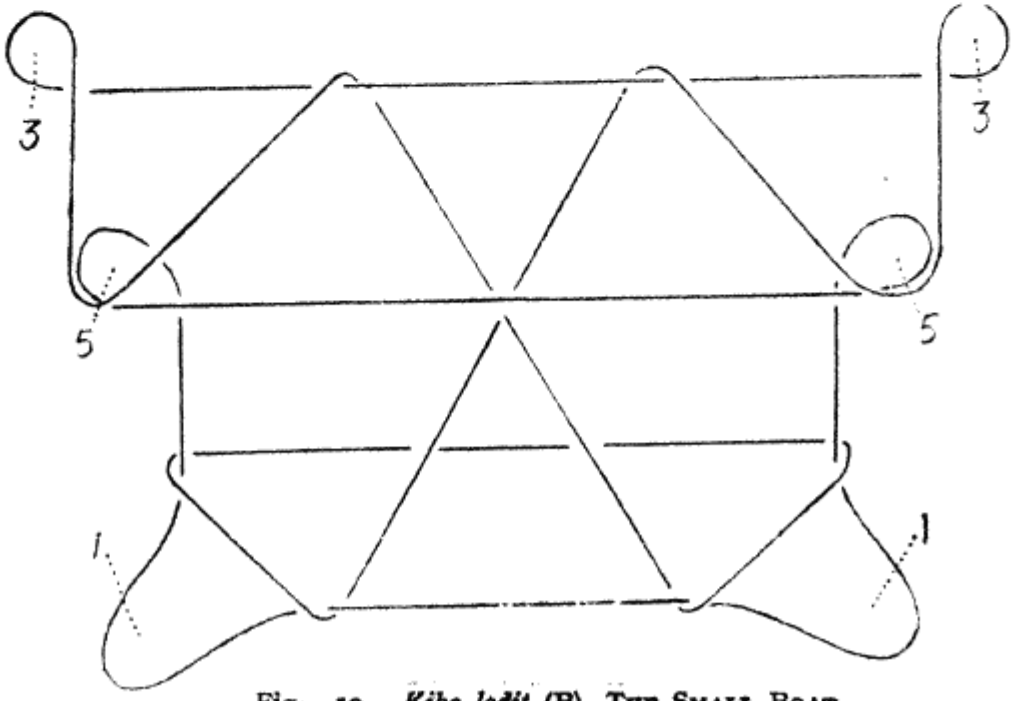


Fig. 10. *Kibo lodit* (B), THE SMALL BOAT.

of the left thumb loops, and transfer it to the index by passing the index tip into it from above ; do the same on the right hand being careful to lift off the loop of which the radial string is continuous with that of the left loop previously taken off the left thumb. (7) Lift off the remaining left thumb loop, pass it under the index ulnar, over the remaining strings, and bring it back under them and replace upon the thumb ; proceed similarly with the right hand. (8) Pass the wrist loops over the hands and extend with the thumbs and indices turned upward and the little fingers downward ; stretch tightly and work the strings till the figure appears clearly ; it should have a trough-like form, V-shaped in transverse section, suggestive of a sharp-keeled boat.

Shown by a Bari boy at Juba. He knew only two figures to both of which he gave the same name—*kibo lodit*, (*kibo* =boat, *lodit* =small). See No. 16 for the other figure.

18. *Kheima*, THE TENT.

(1) With the hands turned palms downward, insert the thumb and index of each hand into their respective end of the loop, (2) turn the hands palms upward, bringing the strings back between the index and the thumb of each hand, and with a palmar string between them. (3) Draw out the palmar loop from across the base of the thumb and index of the left hand with the index and thumb of the right hand, turn it over to cross the strings and place it over the thumb and index of the right hand. Do the same with the right palmar loop. (4) Lift off all the three loops on the left hand turn them over and replace on the index and thumb ; the same with the loops of the right hand. (5) A second player then seizes the four strings that cross at the centre of the figure, at the point of intersection and pulls them upward in pyramid form. The figure is completed by releasing the dorsal loop between thumb and index of each hand.

Shown by a boy of the 'Ababda tribe, from Gezira Mograt, and by Hassan Omar Azhari, who learned it at Omdurman.

19. *Nigma*, THE STAR.

This is a continuation of *Kheima*. The second player releases his hold upon the strings at the centre of the figure and simultaneously seizes and pulls out the ulnar index string that runs along the far side of the figure whilst the first player pulls out the radial thumb string with his lips. The star form is then made apparent.

19*a*. *Tramwāy*.

This is a third phase of Kheima. It results when the two players release respectively their holds on the ulnar index string and the radial thumb string. The figure which results is a moving one ; as the hands are drawn slowly apart the loops at the centre of the figure are disentangled and separate into a crossed loop on each side, which move progressively outwards towards the palms suggestive to the native mind of two Khartoum tram cars moving away along the tram lines after passing one another.

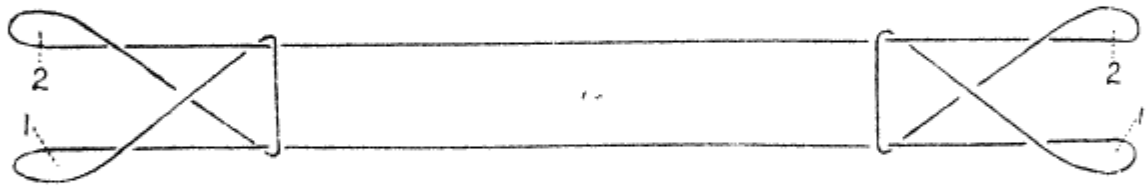


Fig. 11. *Tramwāy*, THE TRAMWAY.

Probably this figure had another name in the days before tramways were laid down in Khartoum.

Both *Nigma* and '*Tramwāy*' were shown by the 'Ababdi boy from Gezira Mograt.

20. *Arūsa*, THE BRIDE (but the implication is "the bridal bed").

(1) Opening A. (2) Transfer the index loops to the middle fingers and the thumb loops to the index fingers. (3) Going under the strings with the thumbs take upon their backs the far little finger string; return and release the little finger loops. (4) From above pass the thumbs into the middle finger loops, pick up the far string and return. (5) Pass the little fingers over the strings of the middle and index fingers, insert them from below into the thumb loops and return to position with the thumb ulnar upon their backs. (6) Release the thumb loops. (7) Going distal take up the near little finger strings on the

backs of the thumbs and return. (8) Lift the index radials and place

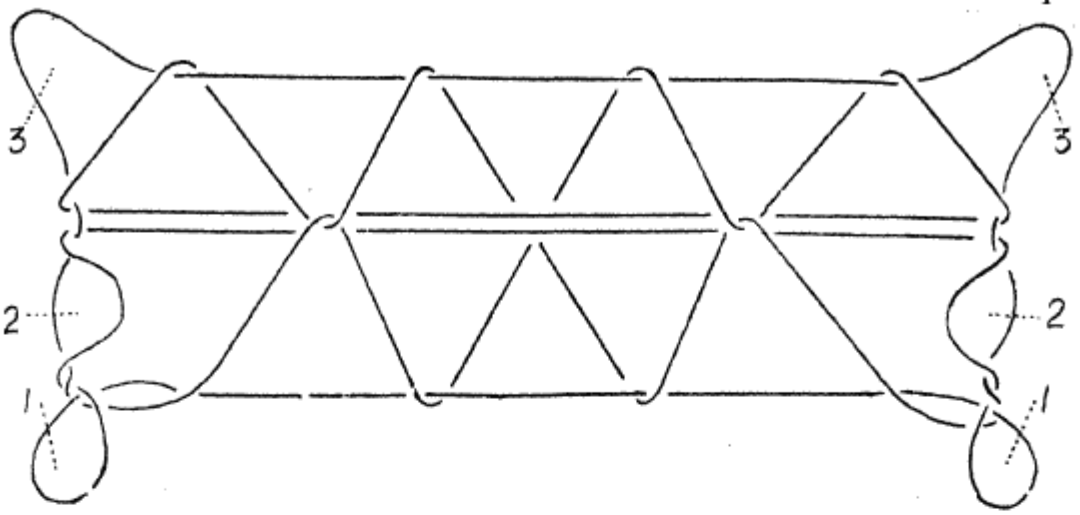


Fig. 12. *Arūsa*, THE BRIDE.

them over the thumbs. (9) Navaho the thumbs. (10) Successively on each hand lift the string that runs from between the thumb and the index towards the centre of the figure over the two strings issuing from between the index and middle fingers and turn the middle finger down, passing it into the middle finger loop over the moved string, *i.e.* outer to it. (11) Pass the indices into the triangles outside the thumb palmar strings. (12) Drop the little finger loops and extend, the palms turned downwards.

Demonstrated at Omdurman by Osman Duwas, a man of the Bongo tribe, Bahr el Ghazal, who was brought as a slave to Omdurman during the rule of the Khalifa; now employed by the C.M.S.

The Bongo name was not obtained; ***arūsa*** is the Arabic substitute.

21. *Rāgil nāim ʿala ʿangarīb*, A MAN SLEEPING ON A NATIVE BED.

(1) Opening A. (2) Pass the thumbs and the outer three fingers of each

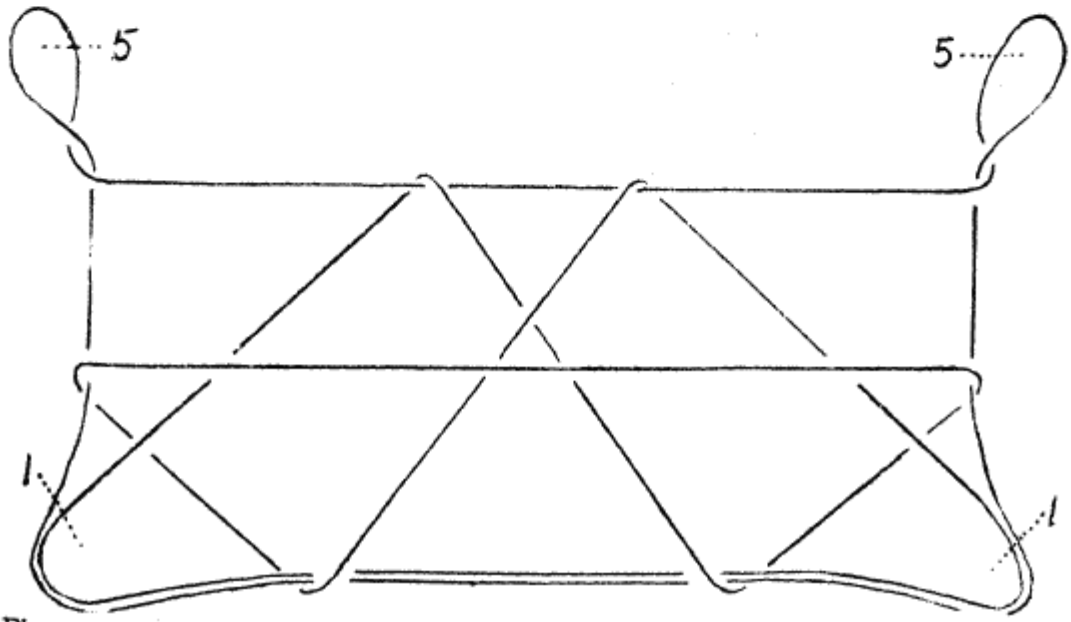


Fig. 13. *Ragil naim ʿala ʿangarib*, THE MAN SLEEPING ON THE NATIVE BED.

hand from below into the index loop and thereby transfer this loop to the wrist of its respective hand. (3) Going distal, with the lips pull out the crossed strings on the ulnar side of the hands ; pass the thumbs under these strings. (4) Release the strings from the lips. (5) Lift the wrist loops over the hands and release them. (6) With the lips lift the single string running between the thumbs and pass it over the thumb tips. (7) Extend and the figure appears.

Showing by a boy of the 'Ababda tribe from Gezira Mograt.

22. NAMELESS.

(1) Position 1. (2) From below pass the right hand through the left palmar loop and the left hand through the right palmar loop and pass these loops down to the wrists. There will then be an ulnar little finger string passing straight between the hands and two strings crossed

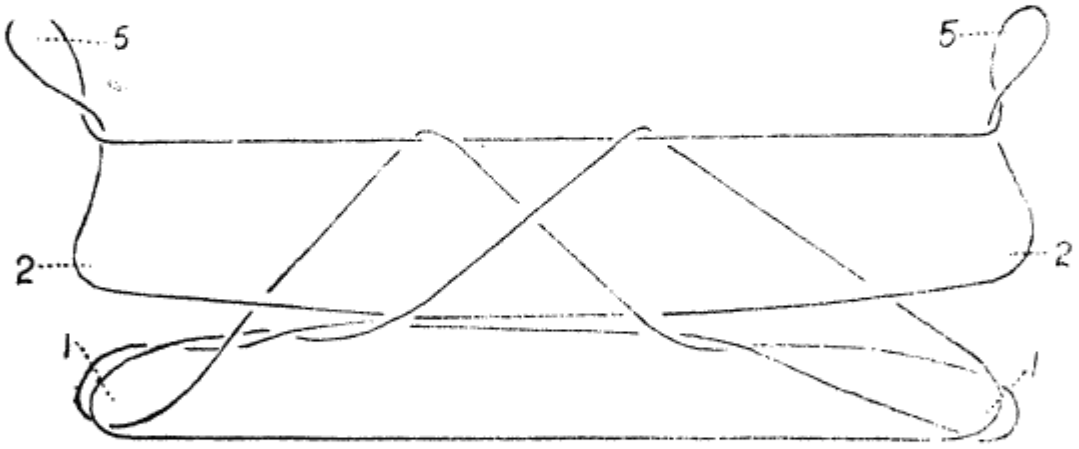


Fig. 14. NAMELESS.

below it. (3) Pass the thumbs simultaneously under the lower of the two crossed ulnar strings, each on its own side and the indices under the upper crossed strings close to the crossing point and return with these strings on their backs. (4) Lift the wrist loops over the hands, release them and extend.

Worked by a Jūr boy from Wau.

23. *'Angarīb*, THE NATIVE STRINGED-BED.

(1) Pass the loop string round the back of the ring finger, the palmar side of the middle finger and the back of the index, on both hands. (2) Pass each middle finger from below through the opposite

middle finger loop and extend. (3) Closing the fingers tightly upon the strings, turn the left hand back upwards; with the index and thumb of the right hand pull out the dorsal string of the ring finger loop, lay it over the dorsal string of the middle finger loop and pull the latter through the dorsal ring-finger loop. (4) Repeat this movement by pulling the dorsal index loop through the dorsal middle finger loop and place the loop last pulled through upon the thumb. (5) Repeat the same movements on the right hand. (6) There are now six strings running straight from hand to hand; lift the nearest of these and pass it over the thumb; navaho the two loops on the thumb. (7) Repeat the same movements on the right hand. (8) Proceed similarly and alternately on each hand with each of the remaining transverse strings. (9) Having navaho'd on the thumbs of both hands all the transverse strings, transfer the final thumb loop of each hand to the little finger of the same hand and extend.

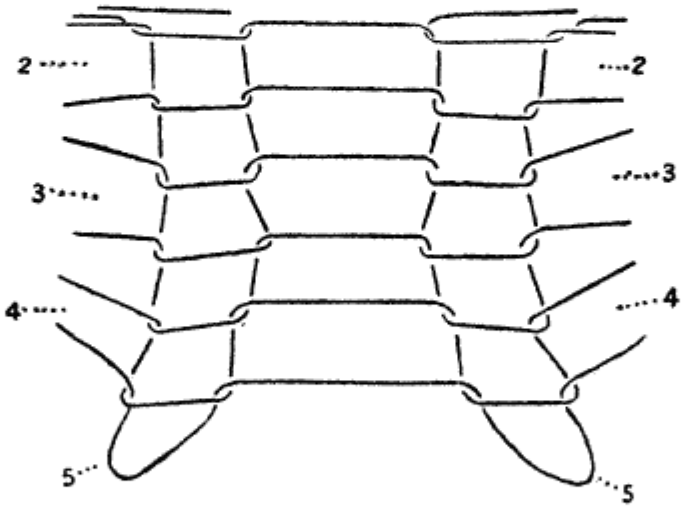


Fig. 15. *Angarib*, THE NATIVE BED.

Shown by a boy of the Ababda tribe, from Gezira Mograt, near Abu Hamed.

This figure, intricate though it be, is widely distributed in Africa. It is the Mende *Mbume* and the Temne *Tenta*, both meaning hammock, the Kru *Bo*, a fence, the Yoruba *Ile unde*, a parrot cage, and it is also known from Tanganyika (Kraus). I consider this to be one of the most characteristic of African figures.

24. *Serīr*, THE BEDSTEAD (OF EUROPEAN FORM).

(1) Opening A. (2) Turn the thumbs over the near index string and pass them from above through the index loop and bring back on their backs the near little finger and the far index string; drop the little finger loops and extend. (3) Keeping the two strings taken on the thumbs well up toward the thumb tips and so apart from the original thumb string, throw the three thumb loops over the *upper* extremities of the four digits and extend with the palms turned upwards. Be careful to keep the twisted radial index string low down on the finger and the two other radial index strings close to the tip. (4) Pass the thumbs under the two upper radial and palmar strings and extend, dropping all others except the simple index loop. (5) Turn down the four digits into the thumb loops and throw them over the tips of the digits. (6) Pass the thumbs under the two upper index radials and extend as in move 4. (7 and 8) Repeat (5) and (6). (9) Repeat (5). (10) With the thumbs lift the lower or single index string over the index tip and release; catch the lower of the two strings that pass between the index and middle finger, bring it *under* the double index radial strings and lift it to the backs of digits 3, 4 and 5. (11) Pass the thumbs under the double index radials on the palmar side of the little loop that crosses them at the base of the index and extend, dropping all strings but those on the thumbs and indices.

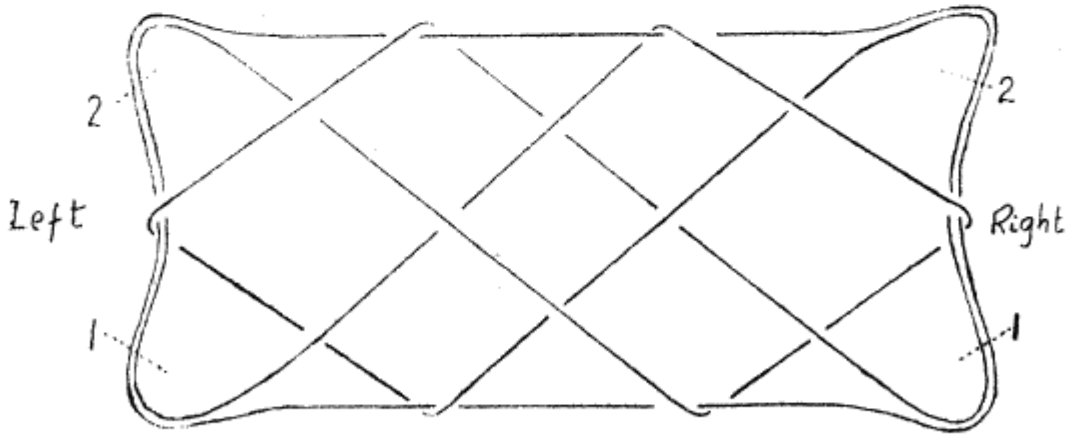


Fig. 16. *Serīr*, THE BEDSTEAD (European form).

Shown by Hassan Omar Azhari who learned it at Omdurman.

The Gold Coast figure of *Ohóroto*, the Rapids, described by Griffith, is similar in its final form but the movements are different.

They have, however, a strong suggestion of affinity and the two methods may be taken as variations of the same theme.

25. *Angarīb sijāda hōsh*, THE BED AND ITS CARPET IN THE COMPOUND.

This corresponds to the first three figures of the English game of Cat's Cradle, played by two persons. The first figure, our "Cradle," is the *angarīb* (native bed), the second, identical with our "Snuffer tray," is termed *sijāda*, the carpet, whilst the third is the compound or yard (*hōsh*) of the house.

The idea embodied in this sequence refers to the custom prevalent in Egypt and the Northern Sudan of sleeping outside the house during the hot weather season upon a stringed bed (*angarīb*) covered with a carpet or rug.

Shown by a girl in Omdurman whose father was an Egyptian, by Coptic children in Port Sudan, mostly of Egyptian parentage and also by several Dongola natives who, however, had different names for two of the figures; their sequence ran :—1, *Angarīb*; 2, *Sharia* (road); 3, *Markab* (boat).

This game is well known in Egypt and its presence in the Northern Sudan is due to this cultural contact with Egypt; it is not to be counted as an indigenous African game.

PRINCIPAL REFRENCES

1. CUNNINGTON, W. A.—" String figures and tricks from Central Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, XXXVI, pp. 121-131. 1906.
2. CUNNINGTON, W. A.—" String Tricks from Egypt," *Man*, No. 82, 1908, pp.149-150.
3. GRIFFITH, C. L. T.—" Gold Coast String Games," *J.R.A.I.*, LV, pp.271-302. 1925.
4. HADDON, A. C.—" String Figures from South Africa," *J.R.A.I.*, XXXVI,pp. 142-149. 1906.
5. HADDON, K. (Mrs. Rishbeth)—*Cat's Cradles from Many Lands*, London, 1911.
6. HANDY, W. C.—" String Figures from the Marquesas and Society Islands," *Bull. No.* 18, *Bernice P. Bishop Mus.* Honolulu, 1925.
7. HORNELL, J.—" String Figures from Fiji and Western Polynesia," *Bull.*39, *Bernice P. Bishop Mus.*, Honolulu, 1927.
8. HORNELL, J.—" String Figures from Sierra Leone, Liberia and Zanzibar," *J.R.A.I.* LX, pp. 81-114. 1930.
9. HORNELL, J. — " String Figures from Gujarat and Kathiawar ", *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, XI*, No. 4, pp. 147-164 ; Calcutta, 1932.
10. JAYNE, C. F.—*String Figures*, New York, 1906.
11. KRAUS, H.—" Lufambo," *Globus*, XCII, No. 14, pp. 221-222, 1907.
12. LINDBLOM, K. G.—"String Figures in Africa," *Riksmuseets Etnografiska Avdelning, Smarre Meddelanden*, No. 9, Stockholm, 1930.
13. PARKINSON, J.—" Yöruba String Figures," *J.R.A.I.*, XXXVI, pp. 132-141. 1906.
14. ROTH, W. E.—" North Queensland Ethnology," *Bull. No.* 4. Brisbane, 1902.
15. STARR, F.—" Ethnological Notes from the Congo Free State," *Proc. Davenport Acad. of Sci.*, XII, pp. 148-175. Davenport, Iowa, U.S.A. 1909.

REMINISCENCES OF A BERBER MERCHANT

Recorded by P. B. Broadbent.

COLONEL Gordon came for the first time to Berber in the year '93 Arabic[1]. At that time my father, Mahmud El Dawi, was head of the Mejlis of the people, and he accompanied the *Naib Mudir* to meet Gordon, the *Mudir* being on trek.

Gordon asked for a boat for his journey to Khartoum, and my father produced a boat, made a deck for it and supplied stores. He refused to take any money for them and so Gordon took them as a gift and wrote down the name of Mahmud El Dawi in his book.

Mustafa Bey Murad was Governor of Berber at that time, and when Gordon returned from the Bahr El Ghazal he sent news to the Governor that he proposed to visit Berber, and that a salute of twelve guns must be arranged. We fixed the guns on the river bank and made great preparations to receive Gordon, the soldiers being all drawn up in lines as a Guard of Honour. But there was a strong wind on that day and Gordon's boat was delayed at Mikeilab. When it came to the time of the Noon-tide prayer the Governor, who had been waiting on the bank, dismissed the soldiers and we went up into the town to pray. While he was praying Gordon arrived. Finding no soldiers and no salute of guns he was very angry and went up to the Governor's house and asked him why he was not on the bank to greet him. The Governor replied that he had waited a long time, but when he saw that Gordon was delayed, and that the time for prayer had come, he had just gone up to pray. Gordon said " Very well. I should not wish you to have missed your prayers". This was a great relief to the Governor.

Gordon asked for twentyfive camels and set out on the same evening for Korosko. After that he went to Cairo and was appointed Governor-General of the Sudan. He sent a telegram promoting

[1] A.D. 1876-7 but the correct date is 1874—ED.

Mustafa Bey Murad to the rank of *Lewa* and making him his *Wakil* during his absence from the country. Mustafa Bey accepted this as a sign that he was forgiven.

At the end of the year '93 (1877 A.D.) Gordon came to Berber again, and brought a small steam boat with him. He greeted all the merchants but treated my father with especial kindness and courtesy because he had helped him so much when he came before. Then he went off to Khartoum, and after that to Kassala and Suakin. From Suakin he came to Berber again, and on this journey he met in the desert some merchants with five hundred slaves, whom they were going to export to Jeddah. When they saw Gordon they fled, but he wound some white cloth round his stick and waved it, ordering them to come to him and not to be afraid. He questioned them:

"Where have you come from?"

"From Kordofan."

"Did not the *Mudir* of Kordofan see you with all those slaves?"

"No."

"Where did you come down to the river?"

"We came down to Jebel Kerreri, near Omdurman."

"Did not the *Mudir* of Khartoum see you?"

"No. We came by the desert to Dakhala."

"Did not the *Mudir* of Berber see you?"

"No. We arose and started across the desert by night."

"Very well," said Gordon, "if three Mudirs have not seen you neither did Colonel Gordon see you . . . . *itfaddal.*" So the merchants went on their way very pleased, for they had been very much afraid. When Gordon reached Dakhala he straight way erected the telegraph which he always carried with him in a box, and sent telegrams ordering one month's 'cut of pay' for the *Mudirs* of Kordofan, Khartoum and Berber, and one month's 'cut of pay' for Colonel Gordon also.

He stayed after that a long time in Khartoum and bestowed many honours on the people. He made my father Mahmud El Dawi a *Miralai*. At the end of '96 or at the beginning of '97 Gordon went to Cairo by way of Korosko and met Ra'ouf Pasha, who came out as Governor-General in his place[2]. In the year '98 the Mahdi arose and Abu Sa'ud Bey was sent with a steamer and two hundreds oldiers to bring him to Khartoum[3]. The Mahdi killed most of the soldiers while they were stuck in the mud on the river bank but Abu Sa'ud, when he saw this, cut the ropes of his steamer and sailed away safely. After that the Mahdi was able to go and take Kordofan.

At the beginning of the year 1300 (1884 A.D.) Gordon brought Hussein Pasha Khalifa and made him *Mudir* of Berber and Dongola Provinces. He made Zubeir Pasha head of the army, and put Mahmoud Bey Hussein Khalifa at the head of 1,000 troops. Then Gordon himself arrived[4] and was met by Hussein Pasha and my father at Gananita. Gordon said " I want you to find me a clever policeman to go to Kordofan and deliver a letter from me to the Mahdi." Hussein Pasha brought one named Abdullahi Wad Kurub, and Gordon gave him the letter and a suit of clothes. I myself gave him two hundred *rials* for his expenses and Gordon gave me this money afterwards. The letter said, after the customary greetings, that Gordon wished the Mahdi to take the south and to be Sultan of Kordofan, and that Gordon would take the northern Sudan.

After a little while the messenger returned from the Mahdi with a letter to Gordon in which the Mahdi said, " I am the Mahdi the Expected, and if any one should say that I am not, he lies."

Some time after this the Ja'aliin cut the telegraph line between Berber and Khartoum; the people who were responsible for this were Hag Ali Wad Saad and Abdulla Wad Saad, his brother, of Metemma. I was very young in those days but Hussein Pasha was in the habit of consulting me on many matters: he asked me if I

2 This was in December, 1879—Ed.
3 August, 1881.
4 11.2.84.

thought that the telegraph line between Berber and Dongola would last for two weeks. I replied that I did not think that it would last for more than one week, for I used to meet many people and hear much news in my shop, and I had heard that the Arabs of Omar El Fezari were on their way to cut the wire. So Hussein Pasha telegraphed to Cairo accordingly and said that after one week communication between Cairo and Berber would be broken. He did not receive an official reply but had a telegram from Sayed Beringar which said, "You must make a strong plan, and must protect the *Mudiria* and the Telegraph. In seventeen weeks time the army will come". After one week, as I had foretold, the wire was cut, and after that Hussein Pasha had to send all his messages sewn up inside the shoes and the clothes of men who travelled as beggars. Some messages were hidden in the ends of sticks.

Then the Rubatab, the Manasir, the Bisharin and the people of Berber rose for the Mahdi, and with the Ja'aliin they numbered about 70,000. Mohammed El Kheir from Ghabush was their *Emir*. Other people were very frightened for their skins and fled to the west bank of the river; so Berber was empty. We had one gun only, which is now at Ed Damer, and along the ramparts we could post only one soldier every four or five yards. It was on the 22nd of this very month, the month of Regab, in the year 1301[5] that the Dervishes came to attack Berber. The Ja'aliin came from the south, the Bisharin from the east and the Rubatab peoples from the north. In the evening of that day Mohammed El Kheir lay at Dikka, in the house of one Tahir El Shogali, afraid of our rifles and bullets. The attack on the town came at four o'clock in the morning. I was in my house, and Hussein Pasha was in his. Our gun fired seven or eight times and then stopped. The Dervishes all carried bundles of grass on their heads; these they threw into the trench surrounding the rampart, and thus entered the town.

Some of the soldiers were killed, some ran from the ramparts to the *Mudiria*, others to the Grain Store, and some took boats to the

5 May 12th, 1884.

west bank. The Dervishes seized the Magazine of rifles and ammunition. I was in the middle of my house, which was on the east of the main street near the *Mudiria*, and my slaves were up on the roof firing at the Dervishes for we had all been issued with rifles and ammunition. The soldiers in the *Mudiria* defended the safe which contained a sum of £E. 53,000 on its way to Gordon from Cairo. There was also £E. 7,000 odd belonging to the *Mudiria*.

The town was sacked, the women taken and we lost all our possessions. Then the Dervishes made an attack on the house of Hussein Pasha Khalifa, but Mohammed El Kheir stopped it and gave orders that there was to be no more killing. He then proceeded to take over the safe and summoned the *Bashkatib* Medani Eff. Osman, the *Sarraf* Abdel Gelil and also El Feki El Medani Ahmed, *Rais* of the *Yomia*. All these were found alive and were brought to Mohammed El Kheir, who ordered the safe to be opened and took over the money, after satisfying himself that the accounts and seals were in order.

Hussein Pasha Khalifa went to Kordofan, having received a summons from the Mahdi, and remained a prisoner there for about a year and a half. A short time before this he had entrusted his son Abdel Azim with £E. 1,000 and had sent him to Darraw to purchase horses. When Abdel Azim heard that Berber had fallen he did not buy horses, but returned to Berber by the desert, declared himself a Dervish and asked to be sent to his father. He took the £E. 1,000 with him and found his father starving; so the money purchased food for them for some time.

Gordon was at this time in Khartoum, and the Mahdi sent one Ibrahim Adlan to Berber to fetch the £E. 53,000 which had been sent from Cairo. When this order came all the people of Berber rose up and shouted: they said, "This money is ours and not the Mahdi's. We will take four fifths of it and he can have one fifth." So Ibrahim Adlan sent a letter to the Mahdi telling him of this; whereupon the Mahdi sent Sheikh Mudathir Ibrahim with a notice which was read to all the people of Berber. The people rose up and shouted again but

they had to give up the money. Ibrahim Adlan opened the safe, crossed to the west bank with the money and went straight to the Mahdi to whom he handed it over.

Meanwhile the relief army had killed Musa Wad Helu and was now coming down from Abu Klea to Abu Rimali, south of Metemma. There were two steamers waiting for them down there. The Mahdi announced this to his people and said, " If the army enters Khartoum we are lost, so let us take Khartoum. If we can take it in three days we shall be safe . . . " Gordon saw through his glass the armies of the Mahdi approaching from the east and west ; then the Dervishes entered the town. The Mahdi had given strict orders that Gordon should not be killed but the army was large and without discipline, and many of the people had not heard of this order.

The man who told me about the death of Gordon was El Rayah Wad Hamed, who was present and saw everything. His story was that Gordon descended the steps of the Palace with three other officers. He was wearing full uniform with many decorations and held himself very erect. While he was speaking to the leaders of the army an Arab, who knew nothing of the Mahdi's order, and was an ignorant man with long hair, threw a spear with a toothed point at Gordon. The spear struck Gordon in the side below the heart ; he laughed and took the spear in his left hand to pull it out of his body, but owing to the teeth which were fixed in his stomach he could not move it. Then he fell to the ground and the people rose up, killed the other officers, and cut off Gordon's head with his own sword. They took the head to the Mahdi who when he saw it was very angry with Ahmed Suliman, the Financial Secretary, for allowing him to be killed. But it was not the fault of Ahmed Suliman, for he had stood up in front of the army after the Arab threw the spear and had shouted repeatedly that his people must not kill Gordon. But the crowd was so large that no one could hear him.

After three days the steamers arrived at Khartoum and sailed right up to the town. But there were no soldiers to be seen, so they

returned, and as they were passing Tuti Island they were fired on by the Dervishes concealed there.

Hussein Pasha was all this time with the Mahdi who now placed trust in him and gave him letters appointing him *Emir* of the Provinces of Ginir and Isa. He addressed letters also to all the principal people in those parts telling them to obey Hussein Pasha and to open up those provinces for the Mahdi. Hussein Pasha sent a letter to me asking me to make all preparations for his journey from Berber to Korosko. He arrived at Berber with Abdel Azim and was met by Mohammed Kheir who gave him £E. 75. Mohammed Kheir asked him when he intended to set out on his journey, and he replied, "The day after to-morrow." But I had prepared everything for him and he told me that he wished to slip away secretly the same evening. He told me not to tell anyone he had gone until the next day. His baggage animals and his women (for I had given him two myself) started out by the west gate of the town in the evening to go straight to Korosko by the desert. Abdel Azim was in charge of this party. Hussein Pasha himself set out later and I rode with him as far as Nagazu, where we found that the *Hamla* had already gone on. We stopped and drank some coffee and Hussein Pasha drew me aside and whispered, "There is no Mahdi. He is a liar. I am going to Darraw. Take care of your blood, and of the blood of your father. You must serve the Mahdi and you must rub your nose in the dust, or you will die; but nevertheless, he is a liar."

Abdel Azim and the *Hamla* went to Darraw but Hussein Pasha went straight to Korosko. He had sent a message to Cairo so he was met by a steamer at Shellal and he went on to Cairo in that. He handed in the letters which had been given to him by the Mahdi and was appointed *Wakil* of the Dakhlia of the Arabs, but he died soon afterwards. There is no truth in the rumour that he was poisoned, for he had no enemies. He had an old illness in his side, and I have several times seen him when he was taken ill in Berber; he was then like a dead man. So there is no doubt that he died from this disease and was not poisoned.

I know many other stories about Gordon and Hussein Pasha which I could relate at another time. They both loved me with a very strong love, and Gordon treated me with great kindness because of all the assistance that I gave him. For in those days I was a very prosperous merchant and a wealthy man. The Dervishes took all that I had.



MANSFIELD PARKYNS.

MANSFIELD PARKYNS AND HIS PROJECTED HISTORY OF THE SUDAN.

By G. O. Whitehead

NOTE.

The photographs are from originals in the possession of the family. The author also wishes to express his appreciation and thanks to Mrs. Bannatyne of Malvern, Wilts, for a great deal of information about her father, and to the Deputy Keeper of Zoology of the Natural History Department of the British Museum for information about *Balaeniceps Rex*. Of the seven manuscripts referred to in the article Nos. 5, 6 and 7 are now in the possession of Mr. Whitehead himself, Nos. 1 and 3 are believed to belong to Mr. S. Hillelson, No. 2 to Mr. A. J. Arkell, and No. 4 was presented to Professor Almazia, sometime Professor of Geography at the University of Rome, and lodged by him with the Royal Geographical Society of Italy. (EDITOR.)

Since Mansfield Parkyns spent over two years in the Sudan in the middle of the 19th century and gathered material for an account of the history of the country and of its inhabitants, a few notes on his life and the manuscripts that he left may suitably appear in *Sudan Notes and Records*.

Mansfield Harry Isham Parkyns was born at Ruddington, Notts on February 16th, 1823. He was educated at Uppingham where he remained from August 1833 till December, 1835. He went up as a pensioner to Trinity College, Cambridge in October, 1840, but was sent down from the University before he could take a degree for painting and adorning some statues in one of the courts of Trinity. The supposition that he was at some time at Woolwich Academy is incorrect, since there is no official record that he was ever there. The Dictionary of National Biography observes that after the Cambridge episode "a strong craving for a more adventurous mode of life led him to Constantinople in the autumn of 1842", a town that he reached by way of Milan, Trieste, the Ionian Islands, Greece and Smyrna.

He then moved on to Alexandria and Cairo, and after a two months voyage on the Nile, left Suez towards the end of March, 1843, for

Abyssinia. After a prolonged stay in that country, related in his two-volume book "Life in Abyssinia,"* he made his way into the Sudan, passing through the district where Sheikh Nimr and his people had taken refuge, across the Atbara, and so to Abu Haraz on the Blue Nile. As he approached Khartoum he heard of the departure of Ahmed Pasha el Menickly; since el Menickly's governorship terminated on the 14th December, 1845, it must have been towards the end of that year that Mansfield Parkyns reached Khartoum. A few weeks later Francis Galton arrive in Khartoum and hearing of the recent arrival of a strange Frank, called with his friends upon him, and "came into the presence of a white man nearly naked, as agile as a panther, with head shorn except for the Moslem tuft reeking with butter, and with a leopard skin thrown over his shoulder." Mansfield Parkyns became Francis Galton's guide round Khartoum, and together they celebrated their birthday February 16th, 1846, and made a short trip up the White Nile. From that date until January 1848 the young traveller's movements cannot be clearly fixed: he speaks of a time when he was "all but dying of a pestilential fever that kept me five months on my beam-ends at Khartoum" (vol. 1, p. 84), and more generally of "the four years I passed in Nubia, Sennar, and Kordofan, on the White Nile, with the desert Bedouin and in Egypt."

On January 24th, 1848, as is clear from Document No. 4 (see below), he left El Obeid, and set out in company with an Austrian merchant, Isachetto Morpurgo, to travel to Egypt. He seems to have spent rather more than a year there, in Cairo and Alexandria, with a tour, apparently, to Sinai, for he painted a water-colour of Mount Horeb in the year 1848. In 1849 he must have returned to England; in June of that year he was elected to Arthur's Club, and in December he was proposed as a member of the Royal Geographical Society. According to the Dictionary of National Biography he was appointed as attaché to the Embassy at Constantinople on the 15th February, 1850, and retained the position until the latter part of 1852. It seems doubtful whether he actually took up this position, for he was finally back in

* Copy in Civil Secretary's Library—Ed.

England in June, 1850. It is certain that in the space of these few months he paid one more visit to Egypt, for he speaks of going out to bring his third collection of birds and curiosities safely home to England. But by June he was home again, for on the 10th he was giving the Royal Geographical Society his paper on the Kabbabish—the sole record that he left in print of his observations in the Sudan.

The material gathered by Mansfield Parkyns to serve him as a basis for an account of the Sudan contains the following documents:—

(1) Notes in Arabic on the history and customs of the people of Dongola; they deal with such matters as historical traditions, marriage customs, death, food, drink, clothing, and treatment of sickness. The manuscript is incomplete and at the end seems to be the work of a "somewhat illiterate scribe."

(2) Notes in Arabic upon the history of Sennar and the Fung, upon the Arabs of the Gezira and of Kordofan; details of customs connected with childbirth, circumcision and marriage; notes upon the geography of Kordofan, upon prevalent diseases and native medicines. This manuscript, of which the beginning is missing, may be by the Fiki Suliman, who is mentioned as an informant in No. 4.

(3) A fragment containing tales about the Ja'ali kings of Shendi: incomplete at the end. This was written while Mek Nimr was still alive, but after the coming of the Turks. It contains a number of interesting verses in the colloquial.

(4) A letter written by Grabau, a rather uneducated Italian merchant in Kordofan, and dated Feb. 3rd 1848. This gives an account of Kordofan, its inhabitants, slave traffic, climate, crops, fauna and flora, the dress and customs of the natives, etc.

(5) A manuscript in French, dated 1849: incomplete at the beginning. It deals principally with the operations of the Russian engineer, Kovalsky, to find gold in the Berta country in 1848.

(6) A history of the Turkish occupation of the Sudan from the murder of Ismael Pasha until 1846. This is written in Italian, and appears to be the work of a man long resident in Khartoum, and intimately acquainted with the doings of the government and the European residents, perhaps a merchant or financial official.

(7) An account of the tribes of the Nuba mountains. This is in Mansfield Parkyn's own handwriting, but part of it is clearly a translation from an Arabic source.

Mansfield Parkyns was referring to these documents and perhaps to others, now lost, when he wrote in the introductory chapter to his "Life in Abyssinia" of "the ponderous heap of papers I accumulated during that period" *i.e.* of his travels in Nubia, Kordofan, and Egypt. He thought that some day he might publish them. To judge from the way in which the rough drafts which he wrote where arranged in order, and from a scribbled memorandum, he meant to arrange his work on the following plan:

(a) The later history of Nubia from the death of Ismael. Document No. 6 was probably the main source for this; there was apparently to be some reference to the earlier history of the Peninsula of Sennar, taken perhaps from Makrizi.

(b) Notes on Kordofan. This was to be constructed with the help of Grabau's information, (No. 5), and probably from that of the Fiki Suliman as well (No. 2).

(c) Notes on the Nomadic Tribes. This was the only part of the work completed, and became the account of the Kabbabish, contributed to vol. XX of the *Journal of the R.G.S.*

(d) Notes on the tribes of the Nuba hills. These are described as "Notes on Tagulla, the Noubas, Dowleet, etc." and are No. 7 above.

(e) Notes on the History and Manners of Dongola. For this part of the work Documents Nos. 1 and 2 would have formed the basis.

Mansfield Parkyns has a further claim upon the interest of students of the Sudan, for he was the first Englishman to bring home a specimen of the *Balaeniceps Rex* or Shoebilled Stork. Rumours had been heard of a strange bird upon the White Nile; Werne, the German explorer, had been told of the existence of a bird as big as a small camel, with a pelican-like beak, but without any pouch. In a letter to Sir William Jardine, Mansfield Parkyns gives an account of how the bird came into his hands: "I am sorry that as regards the King Stork I can give you but little information. You must be aware that it is no easy matter to collect birds in the countries and climates in which I have travelled. The excessive heat and being occupied in other matters prevented me from doing as much as I should have wished. The bird was neither of my shooting nor skinning; as I was in the habit of taking one line of country myself and sending persons (natives) in various directions, I could not always obtain the exact information I required from them on their return after some months absence. The bird was shot on the White Nile at somewhere about the 10th degree of latitude N. I was not aware of its being an uncommon bird, nor did the natives make any remark on it. I have never seen the bird elsewhere, nor know ought of its habits." (Letter of April 17th, 1851.) According to von Heuglin two specimens were secured by a certain Nicola Ulivi, an Italian slave-dealer: he brought two skins to Cairo between 1848-9, where they passed into the hands of an English traveller, who brought them home to England where they were described and figured by John Gould. It is not difficult to reconcile the two accounts. Nicola Ulivi is presumably the Monsieur Nicola, a Tuscan naturalist, whose collection Charles Melly and his father visited in December, 1850, while Nicola himself was absent upon an expedition on the White Nile. He was probably in the habit of making collections which he sold to European travellers in Khartoum or Cairo.

The larger of the two Whale-headed Storks, the male bird, was acquired by the Natural History Department of the British Museum in 1926; since it was the type-specimen described by Gould it was of great scientific interest. The second and smaller bird is now in the

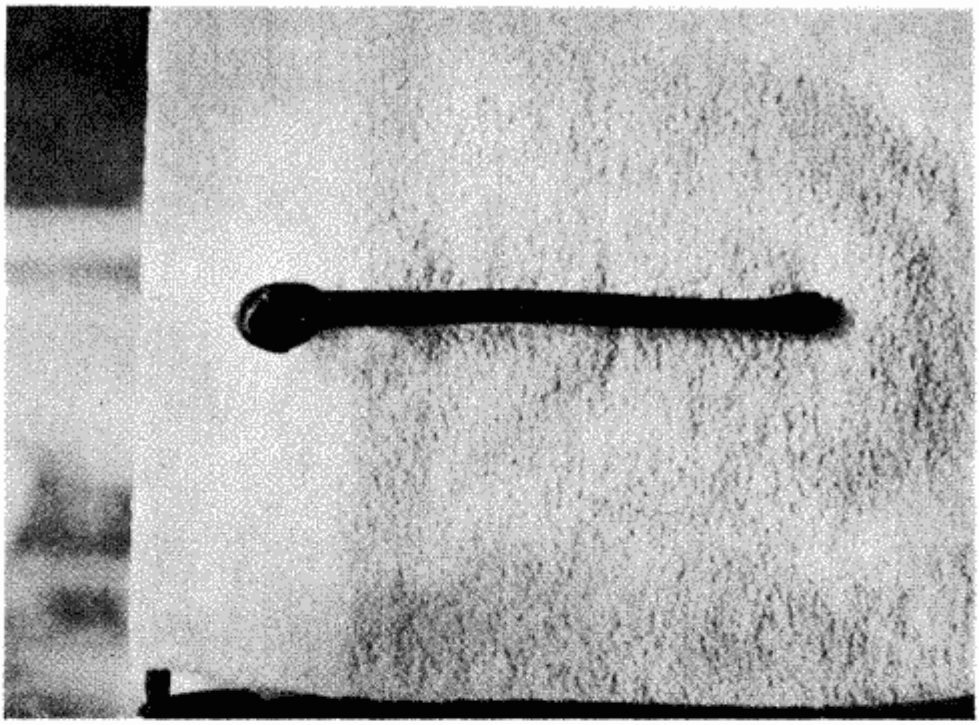
Natural History Museum at Wollaton Hall, Nottingham, together with more than a hundred other species of birds, all that remains, it seems, of the twelve hundred birds of his first, or Abyssinian, collection, and of the six hundred birds of his third, or White Nile, collection.

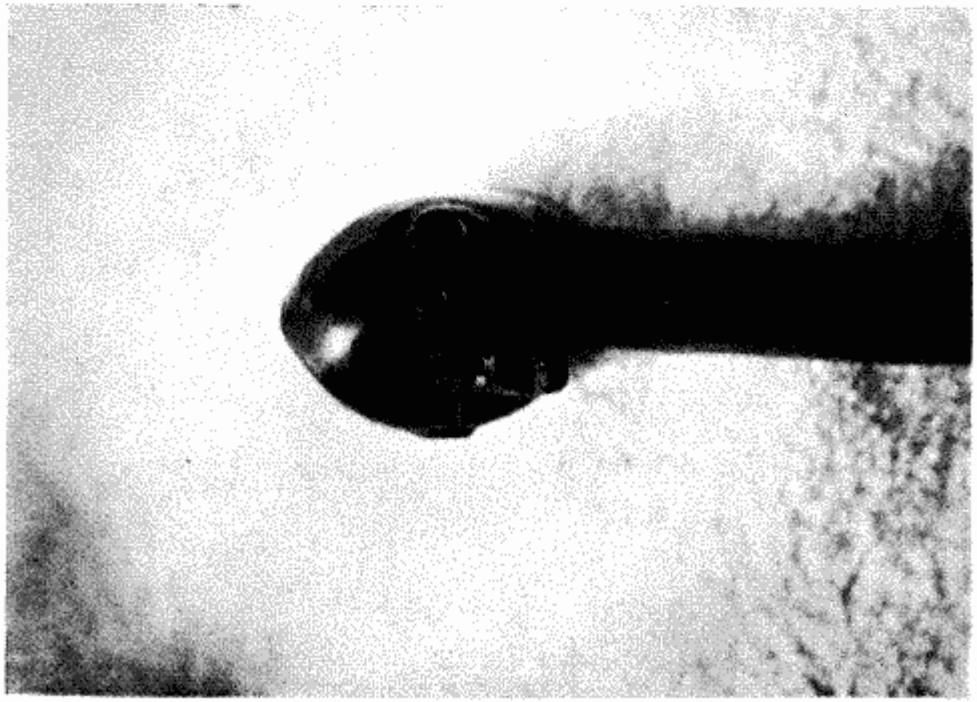
Three other specimens of Mansfield Parkyns's collection, this time ethnological not ornithological, are not without interest. They are two carved wooden figures and a truncheon, the knob of which is carved to resemble a human head. The better of the two figures is now in the Liverpool Free Museum, the cruder one in the Pitt Rivers Museum, and the truncheon still in possession of the family. The interest of these specimens lies in the fact that they belong to a small class of carved wooden objects almost certainly of Bari origin. Though specimens were brought back to Europe during the 19th century, and their existence mentioned by Stigand in the 20th century, no trace of them has been found by more recent enquiries.

The truncheon, here figured,* is paralleled by a wooden staff with carved human head which is in the Museo Preistorico Ethnographico at Rome, and which is described as of Bari origin (No. 48035).

The better carved of the two human figures, now in the Liverpool Free Museum, closely resembles another figure there which was presented to the Museum in the 60's and came from a collection made by André Melly, who was in Khartoum for a few days during the winter 1850-51. We do not know the origin of either the Melly or the Parkyns figures; all we know from Mansfield Parkyns is that his third collection which he brought from Egypt in 1850 consisted of about six hundred birds, and "about a ton weight of nigger arms and implements." It was Nicola Ulivi who sold them to Parkyns. And we also know from the Mellys the sort of collection that Monsieur Nicola made, for Charles Melly described it as consisting of some living animals, stuffed birds and animals and a number of horribly sculptured fetishes. From these facts then the place of origin of these figures appears to have been the

*It is hoped that if any readers in the Southern Sudan know of any similar truncheons made by Bari, Bongo, Azande or other tribes today, they will report them to the Editor and if possible send specimens to the Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology for the Khartoum Museum.—(Ed.).





White Nile, and comparision with other specimens makes it probable that they are of Bari workmanship.

The position of Mansfield Parkyns among the travellers of the Sudan has not been adequately recognised. This no doubt is due to his having published so little of what he saw and did during his years in the country. Sir Francis Galton ranked his friend very high among travellers: "of the many travellers I have known I should place Mansfield Parkyns (1823-1894) as perhaps the most gifted with natural advantages for that career. He easily held his own under difficulties, won hearts by his sympathy and could touch any amount of pitch without being himself defiled. He was consequently an admirable guide in that then sink of iniquity, Khartoum. The saying was that when a man was such a reprobate that he could not live in Europe, he went to Constantinople, and thenceforward under similar compulsion to Khartoum. Half a dozen or so of these trebly refined villains resided there as slave-dealers; they were pallid, haggard, fever-stricken, profane, and obscene. Mansfield Parkyns complacently tolerated and mastered them all." He was physically tough, cheerful, adaptable, and quick at mastering languages. Yet for all these talents and advantages it is possible that his book on the Sudan, had he published one, would not have added to his reputation. The Dictionary of National Biography speaks rather coolly of his Abyssinian book as "interesting, though desultory," and it is true that he lacked the scientific training that would have enabled him to have made the best of his material. His departure from Cambridge, and nine years wandering during his most formative years deprived him of the equipment that no native brilliance could supply. In this respect he was not unlike other great English travellers in the Sudan. He, Speke, and Baker were all English gentlemen breathing an atmosphere of sport and open-air adventure, and their easy amateur attitude to scientific studies makes a strange contrast with the outlook of three such men as the Italian Brocchi, and the Germans Emin and Schweinfurth. These latter had a rigorous scientific training and a passion for information and understanding

that would have consorted ill with the mid-Victorian idea of how an English gentlemen, who was born in easy circumstances and chose to be a traveller, should set about his task. As a result, though their natural qualities of leadership and easy friendliness made them so successful in their man-to-man contacts with natives and foreigners, when they retired to their studies to edit their journals and write their adventures their books lacked that grasp and maturity of mind, which is partly the product of intellectual training. Thus it is well that Mansfield Parkyns lives for us, not in his unwritten book, but in Tom Richardson's pleasant portraits and Francis Galton's glowing praise.

THE BARAMKA

By H.B. Arber

THE Baramka, the tea drinkers, are found throughout the Baggara of Kordofan and Darfur. In its simplest form a Baramka club is a collection of members, mainly youthful, for the ceremonial drinking of tea usually with songs in praise of sugar. It spread like a craze from the Baggara to those in contact with them and with its spread gained in scope of ritual and usefulness until it now forms a type of youth movement embracing not only Baggara but sedentary Arabs, Arabicised Nuba and pure Nuba themselves. In the areas where it has found its most developed form, its frivolous make-up of tea-drinking and public-school privilege rules covers a more solid structure of agricultural co-operation: it has an air of permanence and its appeal is strong enough to have enabled it to weather in the past dozen years both Government's and tribal disfavour. If it has come to stay it is worth studying to discover whether it has any future place in local social life.

The name derives from the historical Barmecides of the Abbasid Califate. "That the Barmak family contested the palm of charitable extravagance with the sovereign Califs is a matter of history," writes Philby,[1] and their reputation for generosity is commemorated by the general use of their name to-day, *Barmaki* (plur. *Baramka*), to mean "generous," "lavish with hospitality," to the Arab. To us it has come through the Arabian nights tale of the Barmecide's feast to connote a parsimoniousness which is the exact opposite of its meaning to an Arab. The foundation of the Barmak ascendancy was laid by Khalid ibn Barmak, who raised himself to the post of Wazir under the Calif Saffah and died full of riches under Mansūr. His son Yahya, well trained by his father, became tutor to Mahdi's son*, Haroun, and it was through Yahya's services that Haroun safely entered on his Califate. Yahya became Wazir and virtual ruler of the realm: with his two sons, Faḍl and Jaʿafar, appointed to high posts the Barmak

1 *Harun al Rashid*, (1933) by H. St. John Philby.

* Mansūr's Grandson — Ed

family monopolised the offices of state. This was the period of their riches and extravagant generosity: it is Ja'afar, the boon companion of Haroun, who is most remembered for his wild luxury, and when he finally overstepped the bounds of discretion and was beheaded by Haroun in 803 A.D., the Barmak fell from power. The Baramka clubs particularly identify themselves with Ja'afar, and the following tale of his fall was told me by a local Baramka head: Ja'afar made a bet with Haroun that he would give the more lavish party of the two, and the rivalry between them was so great that they went to the Kadi Abd es Salam and swore that the loser of the bet should be hanged. Ja'afar gave his party and the teapot was of silver, the cups and saucers were of silver and even the chains were of silver: but when Haroun gave his party, everything, even the chains, were of gold: so Ja'afar lost his bet and was duly hanged.

If the derivation is clear, investigation has not yet revealed any historical link in its use as a Club name. The Arabs themselves have no explanation beyond that the name was adopted for its meaning and it looks as if they are right. Most of the historical references reveal the name in a disreputable light: a note found in Dr. Junker's[2] "Travels in Africa" runs:—"Ghaziyeh, plur. Ghawaza, professional female dancers in Egypt, nearly all of whom belonged to a special caste or guild claiming descent from the famous family of the Barmecides. In 1834 the Ghawazi, or as they like to hear themselves called, the Baramikeh, were banished by Mehemet Ali to Upper Egypt." They are mentioned by Lane,[3] who says: "They probably have no more right to call themselves Baramikeh, than because they resemble that family in liberality, though it is liberality of a different kind."

These dancers are also mentioned by Bouvat[4] who could find no support for their claim to be connected with the Barmak family[5], and noted that the name had become the equivalent of an insult in Egyptian villages. The use of the name as an insult is also mentioned by Sheikh Mahmoud Abduh,[6] but everywhere else it continued to bear its propitious meaning. We know that some of these Egyptian

dancing girls were introduced into the Sudan by refugee Mamelukes[7], and it is likely that they brought with them their Baramka alias. Further evidence of the use of Baramka as a club name comes from India[8] where it is used for the groups who "get together to smoke hashish in bowl pipes or alternatively drink it in a concoction like tea." The propitious meaning of the name has persisted and there may be something in the suggestion that it was popularised during the Mahdia by those Dervishes who hoped that their reign might come to emulate the Califate in its splendour.

---

2. pp. 130-1. 1875-1878.

3. Manners: Chapt. XIX: "*Public Dancers.*"

4. Les Barmecides d'Apres les Historiens Arabes et Persans in *Revue du Monde Musulman* Vol. XX p. 110 and 125. (Paris 1912.)

5. As a family name, however, Baramka *has* persisted. Mr. Mitri Baramki, an official of the Palestine Antiquities Department, claims to be descended from the original family and the following note was written by him in 1938:—

"When Harun el Rashid heard in Mecca of the child of Jaafar el Barmaki and Abbasa he decided to do away with the Baramika on his return. Jaafar was killed outright, and Yahya, his father, and El Fadl Mohammed, and Musa, his brother, were incarcerated. Yahya died in prison and Fadl soon followed. Mohammed and Musa were released after a short time. Mohammed on his release took to the desert and Musa fled to Constantinople. We trace our descent through Musa, who naturally was converted to Christianity at the time; religious tolerance being unknown in those days.

"The family then multiplied in two branches, the desert Moslem Arabs who have become a tribe living in different parts of the Syrian Desert and a clan of which lives near Lejjun (Megiddi) during the summer. They breed horses and are known to possess some of the finest Arab horses in the Near East." (N.B.—Mr. G. W. Bell writes from Tiberias in Jan. 1931 that "Throughout Palestine and Syria and Transjordan a 'Barmaki' is a man who owns a stallion which he takes round to serve mares. He is usually a Bedawi but belongs to no particular tribe. Although the word 'Barmaki' connotes a generous fellow in ordinary speech, when used of the horse-owner it implies considerable social if not moral stigma. The 'Barmaki' charges P.T. 50 for a service. In Damascus I'm told there is a special quarter of the town reserved for these stud grooms and their families. The appellation 'Barmaki' can be used to imply generosity or as an insult.")

Mr. Mitri Baramki's note goes on:—"Ibn Khallikan, the famous Arab historian is descended from the desert Baramka. The descendants of Musa multiplied in Constantinople and up to about 1830 knew Greek better than Arabic. My family claim descent from Musa supported by documentary evidence compiled in the 18th century by a certain Father Michalaki Baramki. One of my ancestors came as a pilgrim to the Holy Places about 1616 and remained here, from whom the family we know in Egypt, the Sudan, Brazil and Palestine are descended. All my ancestors from 1616 to 1917, when my father died were priests.

"My Baramki relations in Egypt live at Ezbet el Zeitun, and migrated about 1912 from Jerusalem. I also have a cousin in the Sudan Railways at Aswan, George Baramki who migrated about 1910 to avoid military service in the Turkish Army." (ED.)

6. *Sharh Maqamat Badi 'azzaman al-Hamedhani* (Beirut 1885) p. 89.

7. J. L. Burckhardt '*Travels in Nuba*' mentions on p. 168 that the remnant of the Mamelukes under Ibrahim Bey el Kebir and Osman Bey Hassan took refuge in 1810 in the hills near Haimar (in the Atbai country) and had with them "several dashing Egyptian dancing girls, the price of whose charms had increased in the mountains." (ED.)

8. Communication from G. W. Bell, June, 1938.

The Baramka can throw no more light on their club name and all are agreed that there is no long history behind it : the club is contemporary with the modern luxuries of tea and sugar. It is said to have been brought by the riverain people to the Habbania of Sherkeila, probably some time after 1914, the hunger year known as *Sanat Umm Kursan*, the year of roots.

The Habbania are naturally convivial and the club fell on fruitful ground : from them it made its way to their relatives in southern Darfur where it had not been known before the occupation : at the same time the Awlad Himeid who came north to Habbania country in the rains picked it up and took it south where it caught on among the serf-like communities of the Southern Kawahla at Errio, at Werne and at Elliri. Since then it has proved so infectious that its vogue spread among most Baggara, Hawazma, Messiria, Homr, and was just as attractive to arabicised Nuba in Talodi, Kadugli and Dilling, and finally even to pure Nuba.

The Baramka first came to official notice in 1926 when the District Commissioner Rashad discovered it among the Awlad Himeid and sedentary tribes near them and ordered them to desist. Mr. Hillelson confirmed at the time that similar coteries of youth were found among the Homr[9] and Messiria. The movement was frowned on and forbidden, and nothing more was heard of them until District Commissioner Dilling in 1930 reported a revival in the Transport section of the Camel Corps which had apparently picked it up by contacts in Talodi and Elliri, and in some Jebels. Reports were then called for from all districts and it was made clear that the movement was very widespread, being found in all the Jebels districts and in Eastern and Southern Kordofan, in tribes as widely diverse as the Dubab of Jebel Daier and the Homr. The best account was given by Mr. C. Nicholls who gave a detailed description of the club and its rules among the Felaita section of the Homr. It was laid down as official policy that the club should be forbidden among all

9. Mr. Hillelson quotes a reference to Baramka in a Homr song ("Honeyed rice-cake on plates, the breakfast of Baramka ") in *S. N. & R.* Vol. XII (1929) p. 81.

troops and police as being possibly subversive of discipline, and in the tribes left to the discretion of the native authorities who might deal with it as they desired. This policy has certainly resulted in no diminution of the Baramka: in some tribes the movement has definitely been stopped: the Nazir of the Messiria originally quashed it about 1926: Nazir Mahmud Abu Sa'ad stopped it in Dar Habbania, Darfur[10], by fining all members: the Nazirs in Dar Homr put it down, but Nazir Radi Kambal of the Awlad Himeid has frowned in vain. In fact the club has spread, and has actually gained a more stable and useful place among the sedentaries. The club has two faces: the one the frivolous tea-drinking side, the Frothblowers of the Baggara: and it is on this that Nazirs have frowned for its extravagance and lightness: the other the mutual-aid agricultural club.

The following are detailed rules of a representative club among the Kenana (sedentaries) of Abu Gibeiha, Eastern Jebels:

1. Following the formation of a club the officers are appointed—

Sir	,	the patron
Nazir	,	the president
Omda	,	the chairman
Sheikh	,	
Kadi	,	who settles disputes
Effendi	,	clerk and treasurer
Mulahiz	,	inspector of manners
Askari	,	chucker-out.

2. No member is recruited without swearing on the Koran to obey the regulations and all orders.

10. The following is an extract from the Darfur Province Monthly Diary for August, 1938.

Western Darfur. There has been a certain amount of friction between the Central and two of the outside Courts. In one instance, the Central Court took a less serious view than the Local Court of the case of some youths in Dar Turra who were accused of having taken to themselves the titles of Civil Secretary, Governor, Director of Intelligence, etc., with a view to imposing on the credulous and obtaining free beer and other entertainment. On appeal they averred that they were only continuing a local custom, by which in the days of the Sultans young men at dances would assume the title of Sultan, Shartai etc., even in the presence of the real holders of these offices. The Central Court released them on guarantee and the whole matter is now being enquired into by the District Commissioner. (ED.)

3. The aim of the society is to help each other in work like cultivation, the building of houses and so on: and share with each other in joy and grief.

4. Whenever any member needs the help of his fellows for work like hishing, he gives a date and on the date provides refreshment at a fixed scale for the workers. Anyone who cannot attend is supposed to pay the equivalent of a labourer's wage (15-30 m/ms.). Tea, *merissa* and a slaughter animal are provided if possible.

5. The club assembles at fixed times for the ceremonial drinking of tea: business is discussed and the court sees cases. A Barmaki attending the assembly must wear clean white clothes with an *emma* or cap on his head. All members sit on *bursh* on the ground. The *Sir* sits on a chair, the other officers on *angarībs* with coverings, and the secretary on a *bambar* (stool). Tables are set. No one is allowed to put one leg over the other except the *Sir*. No member may put his tea cup on the ground, nor pass it to another when his head is naked. Any breach of these rules is subject at once to punishment by fine. The 'overseer' is responsible for watching for mistakes, which he reports to the Sheikh for trial.

6. The powers of the officers are limited in exact imitation of N.A. Courts: *i.e.*, a Sheikh may fine up to P.T. 1, Omda up to P.T. 1½, Nazir P.T. 2., and Sir P.T. 3. The piastre is called a pound and sentences are always announced in pounds.

7. The Secretary, or sometimes the Kadi, attends all courts held, collects and keeps all fines which are spent on providing fare for the assemblies.

8. When a Barmaki resigns, or a man fails to get elected as a Barmaki he becomes a Kamkalli, the hanger-on whom all insult.

This is the constitution of the most advanced type of club: other elaborations may be added. In some areas regular subscriptions, generally about P.T. 2., are made by all members to any of their number, who either is getting married (*ʿUd el ʿirs*), or circumcising his

son (*ʿUd el tahir*), or has a death in his family (*ʿUd el mot*). There is no real limitation as to the age of a Barmaki and it seems that many middle-aged men will remain as members until two at any rate of the above contributions have become useless to them or the burden of cultivation parties becomes too heavy. Usually the retiring age appears to be about 35: the age of joining is probably only limited by the power of producing the necessary small cash. The club may extend over considerable areas, being for instance in the Hawazma Halafa coincidental with the Omodia divisions.

In the sedentary tribes the Baramka have fixed meeting-places: sometimes large trees become so used (Elliri) or spacious *rakubas* are built (Errio and S. Kawahla). There is a free-masonry among Baramka by which hospitality is provided for visiting members and quarters found if no club-house is available (strangely reminiscent of the age-class club-houses of Nilo-Hamitic tribes in the South). An extension of the communal cultivation party has also been the developr ment of the Club plot of cotton, designed to be worked by theilabour and to provide funds for the club festivities.

The movement is primarily male but female Baramka are found in parallel with the male in many tribes. Their rules are said to be much the same and their head girl is called the *Melika*, with officers under her bearing the usual names. The strength of the girls' clubs seems to depend on their ability to collect funds.

The Baramka is an adaptable type of club and can be dressed up to suit any type of society: the Nubas on adopting it tend to militarise it. In Ghulfan Kurgul it has square parade grounds, marching and military formations. In Elliri the name has been changed to *Turak* and the nomenclature of the leaders to Bey or Mufettish with a Yuzbashi in place of Omda or Sheikh. They further differentiate themselves from the Arab by drinking *merissa* instead of tea and so are said to include in their number many more of the older men.

The club is essentially the light hearted child of prosperity and its emphasis lies more on the meetings, the mimicry of its elders, the uniforms and the songs. The uniform is usually spotless white clothes,

ostrich feathers in the *emma,* coloured diagonal breast-bands and a cane. In this they dance on important occasions. The songs, which are in typical Baggara form, are an important part of their meetings when they are sung back and forth: they are many in number and mostly in praise of sugar and tea, describing their progress from outside the Sudan to the pot. Other songs revile the Kamkalli. (plural Kamakla) describing his miserable lot. There is no discoverable origin for the name of the Kamakla and it seems to be as much a Baggari invention as are the unprintable names of two even lower categories of non-members whom they revile[11]. In the songs there is much poetic licence and sense is often sacrificed to rhyme.

THE SUGAR SONG.

The sugar stands in its place	السكّر محلّها*
And what has a better look?	وما اسمح نظرها
No blacksmith has made it.	حدادي ما دقّها
The Stoker[12] got up, the father of shoes,	قام العطشجي ابو جزمه
a Book in his hand and a pipe in his mouth	دفتر في يده وكدوس في خشمه
And talked with the Queen:	ورطن مع الملكة
Blue paper her turban	بالقرطاس عمّة
And string her girdle:	بالدوبارة ركّبة (؟)
And on a train he put her	وفوق القطر خطّها
Beyond Abu Himera and took a ticket.	واجهة ابوحميرة وقطع تذكرة
He got out at Rahad, father of shops,	نزل الرهد ابو دكّانا
Found the Young Men singing their thanks:	لقي صبيان يشكّرها
Let us sell a bull, let us sell our cattle:	نجلب ثور نجلّب بارا
Since he took his money he has divided it:	من شائل غروش وزعها
Some buy Heads of Sugar and some want a Wagga.	ديل يبيع في رؤوس وديل يسألوا الوقّة
Oh Guests, the owner of that little colt,	ضيفان سيد الفرس الابتر
Who is drinking tea, who is that?	البشرب الشى الياتو دا
Hamdi el Shegawa Abu Musa.	حمدي الشقوي ابو موسى

11. See also the description of the Baramka and Kamakla in G. D. Lampen's article "The Baggara Tribes of Darfur" *S. N. & R.* Vol. XVI 1933, pp. 112-13. Mr. Lampen also describes another "society," the *Tayata* (or 'fools'), who have a sheikh and several clans mostly with scurrilous names. (ED.)

12. "The Stoker" figures in many of the Songs: He appears to typify 'civilization.'

* Query: « ما احلاها » contracted? "How sweet it is!" — Ed.

Pour out for you the polished glass سقيك المتمّرة
And like the engine whose maker was the tinsmith: وزي الوابور كان سيده السنكر
You asked for the Omda of the Baramka. سالت من عمدة البرامكة
He is Tahir son of the Old One, father of the well washed hand. هو طاهر ود العجوز ابو يد المغسّلة
Gather the Baramka, call out the Clean ones لمّوا البرامكة اسأل من الحرفاء

THE TEA-SONG.

The Beloved. المحبوب
Leaves of tea from the West : قشّ الشي الغروب
With his head pierced. ابو راسا مقدود
And bound up with string. بالدوبارة مكروب
The Baramka the Clean Ones drink him, يشربوا البرامكة الحرفاء
With a cane in their hand في اليد خزران
And on their feet shoes or slippers. في كراعه جزمه أما مركوب
The kettle has boiled فارت الكفتيرة
(And) polish the glasses وتمّر الكباني
And let all hearts be glad. وابتسط القلوب
By Allah my brethren, let the young man hand round the tea. والله اخواني صبي يمدّ الشي
You are my beloved brothers. أنت اخواننا محبوب

THE KAMAKLA.

Kamkalli, little cuss ! الكمكلي ابو نعلي
Sit over there away from the people. اقعد هناك من الناس
With your clothes on your thighs. هدوم في وركي
Offer him the tea, عمدوا الشي
He will not say 'thank you' to the one in the middle, ما يقول شكّر الوسطاني
He will say ' Why is this tea so hot ? ' يقول الشي مالها حار كي

THE KAMKALLI'S WIFE.

Oh wife of the Kamkalli, مرأة الكمكيلي
Who has eaten the bread ? مَن اكل العيش
She is as fat as Abu Aza. (A traditional fat man.) سمينة كيف ابو عزة
But the wife of the Clean One ومرأة الحريف
She boils a chicken and grills the liver : تغلي جدادة وتحمّر كبدها
She in these days does not drink tea or she would be overthrown. نفسها في الايام ديل ما تشرب الشي هي تكون مغلوبة

MORE PRAISE OF SUGAR.

The Prince of Politeness,	جبّار الخواطر
Yellower of our teeth :	صفّارة الفواطر
You never look hungry,	ولا يشبه جيعان *
Are never called worthless.	ولا يسمّوا باطل
We take you as profit	نشيلك ارباح
We drink you as tickets :	نشربك التذاكر
The Pipe and the Brandy,	الكدوس والكنياك
Drink of plenty	شرب الكافي †
The Stoker was pleased :	انبسط العطشجي
He increased the tickets,	زوّد التذاكر
From the time of the Mahdi awaited,	من زمن المهدي منتظر
With the Tale of the Barmaki	حديث البرمكي
Written out in his books.	مسطر في الدفاتر

The popularity of the Baramka is surprising and its spread indicates that the ground was ready for its seed. It has primarily an economic back-ground, the praise of sugar and tea, and the rough date of 1914 (the year when the newly opened railway to El Obeid probably made these luxuries cheaper to the tribesman) and the linking of its subsequent growth to the rise of cotton emphasize this. Money is necessary to the Baramka and a year like the present (1938-39) when the grain harvest in all Eastern Jebels Baramka areas has been badly damaged by locusts, will see a falling-away of its activities everywhere and will kill some of the weaker growths. Initially the aping of their elders by taking their names and powers must have tickled the fancy of the young men enormously, and probably still does: all Baggara tribes tend to gerontocracy and the endless rule and admonition of the greybeard must breed a compensating youth movement. In this the elders saw a challenge to their constituted authority: and this was the reason of the numerous complaints to District Commissioners by Nazirs and the subsequent breaking-up of the club in different areas: their charge of extravagance had some substance

* Query يشبع "It never sates" e.g. One can't have enough of it, — Ed.

† Query الكافر — (the infidel stoker) ? — Ed.

if it was money begged from the fathers. But the spending of money on better clothes and shoes is all to the good, and a band of clean Baramka is a refreshing sight after some of their elders. The charge of insubordination to authority has occasionally found substance, but generally the Baramka are harmless and if handled right, do useful work on repairing roads and rest-houses or on digging hafirs, tackling the jobs in a gang spirit.

The Baramka inherited in many communities two old-fashioned ideas: the *nafir* or communal cultivation-party, which is common in all peasant Africa, and the age-class system. In the Tegali Kingdom there existed a society called the "Malika," whose purpose was organised cultivating. To join this a man paid a he-goat as entrance fee, known as the *wad ed dam*: there were special rules of contribution and a fixed scale of beer (7 jars usually) to be provided for a party: there were fines for non-attendance. The society had songs for threshing and cultivating, and certain ceremonial customs such as the observance of dead silence while drinking. This society was clearly evolved by the Arabicised Nuba out of the simple *nafir*[13] of the pure Nuba, and its rules strikingly resemble the Baramka cultivating rules.

The Baramka must fill some gap in the social life of the tribes among whom it is popular: it is probably stretching it too far to say that they have dimly inherited an age-class tradition from the many pagan mothers who have helped to black their Arab faces but that at any rate is the function the Baramka performs for them: it gives them a youth organisation which is to all intents and purposes an age-grade, and maintains their self-respect vis-a-vis the greybeards. Mr. Beaton has noticed a similar spontaneous movement among the Fur where the old age-grades were replaced by youths' clubs, which used their elders and betters' titles in the same way as the Baramka.

To those who know them this article may seem to have over-rated the Baramka: perhaps they are just the tea-drinkers, the froth-blowers, and the trade winds (and the locusts) may becalm them.

13. G. W. Bell. Nuba Agricultural Methods. *S. N. & R.* Vol. XXI Pt. 2 p. 247.

But they have survived other bad periods and will do so again. At present they are perfectly open and rarely subversive of authority, and they are worth remembering in the scheme of social life : too much notice and official use might make them shy, but they are a good medium for propaganda and with an increasing number of educated members may form the nucleus of genuine farmers' co-operative societies.

" Ali, call the Baramka, let them come
Let us go to the cultivation.
Some of them are paid of the cultivation
And have gone to the River.
But *hishing* is easy."

THE COINAGE OF ʿALĪ DĪNĀR, SULTAN OF DARFUR, 1898—1916

By A. J. ARKELL

REPRINTED FROM THE *NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE*, FIFTH SERIES, VOL. XIX.

MR. WALKER'S valuable note on this subject (*Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xix, p. 147) inspired me to collect all the evidence still available at El Fasher concerning the issue of the *radina* piastres. Unfortunately the two men, Hamid Mohammed el Gorani the silversmith, and Beshir Mohammed Radi the armourer, who made the dies, have already been gathered to their fathers; but I have been able to interrogate Hamid's two chief assistants, Abd el Hakim Adam and Idris Fadl Mula, also Hassan Sabil, the late sultan's chamberlain (*amin el beit*), Ismail Qamr el geila, the last *rais el worsha* or overseer of all the royal workshops, and Sheikh Mohamed el Sennari Ahmed, the late sultan's secretary.

These coins were not first struck in 1915 in order to finance the raising of an army with which to attack the Sudan Government, as stated by Mr. Walker. They were first struck owing to a shortage of small change at the end of 1908, and they continued to be struck until the sultan's return from Bringil in July 1914, when the issue was stopped by the sultan because there were then enough of these coins in circulation.

They were not made out of petrol tins, as has sometimes been stated, but out of copper in which there was a small percentage (about 10 per cent.) of silver.

Mr. Walker very kindly arranged for the analysis of four specimens by Mr. Phelps of the Royal Mint, London, and the result was as follows :—

Specimen No.	*Regnal year*	*Silver*	*Copper*	*Tin*	*Nickel*
		per cent.			
1.	١٧	12.8	80.9	(1.0)	small trace
2.	٧١	12.4	81.4	trace	trace
3.	٧١	7.4	82.6	(0.5)	small trace
4.	(not clear)	9.4	87.6	(0.5)	small trace

Mr. Phelps states that the figures given for tin are approximate, but that the amounts present cannot much exceed those given, and he concludes that tin can hardly be an intentional constituent of any of the coins. No. 2 has a white colour due to a thin coating of silver probably obtained by dissolving the alloy from the surface metal and polishing. The deficiency from 100 per cent. is apparently accounted for by dirt and products of corrosion. The coins were almost certainly made of silver and copper only, each metal of course containing small quantities of impurity.

The introduction of the issue was on this wise. During the first years of ʿAli Dinar's reign, the only small change available was a limited number of the Egyptian piastres, which were known in Darfur as *Kabbashiat*, because they were introduced by the Kabbabish Arabs of Kordofan (Mr. Walker's figs. 1 and 2), and a few examples of a small silver Egyptian piastre locally known as *giragandi*.[1] In fact so great was the shortage that for a silver *rial majidi*, which was worth 20 piastres, one could only obtain 14 piastres. When the sultan ceased striking *radina* piastres, the rate of exchange was over 40 to the *rial majidi*, and 60 to the Egyptian silver 20-piastre piece.



FIG. 1.

In 1905 a certain Jewish merchant known as Khawaja Ishag el Aini came to El Fasher, and seeing the shortage of small coins, obtained (? from Europe) a supply of nickel silver copies of the Egyptian "Kabbashi" piastre. Of twenty-seven specimens examined six bear the date 1213 A.H. and have the regnal year 13, while twenty-one are dated 1223 A.H. (Fig. 1).

1 The other coins that circulated in Darfur at that time were Turkish, *i.e.* quarter, half, and one *rial majidi*. *Giragandi* is said to be a Sudan Arabic word meaning "small."

The following is a description of a specimen :—

Obv. Tughra or official emblem containing the name of the Turkish Sultan Mahmud II within circle surrounded by an entwined design containing in each of its eight loops a cluster of dots.

Rev.

١٣	13
ضرب في	minted in
مصر	Cairo
١٢٢٣	1223

All within design as on obverse.

Mr. Walker points out that these coins are thinner than the Turkish coins of Mahmud II, and have no graining (popularly called " milling ") on the edge. Mr. Phelps's analysis gives—

	Silver	*Copper*	*Tin*	*Nickel*	*Zinc*
	per cent.				
" Kabbashi " piastre	46.0	52.7	nil	nil	nil
" Abu zaberlag " imitation (struck with countermark)	nil	63.0	nil	17.5	19.5

and he comments that the *abu zaberlag*[2] coin consists of very clean metal, and is presumably a modern imitation, this alloy, known as nickel silver, being only found in modern products.

At first the sultan agreed to the importation of these false piastres, and the Jew began issuing them at the rate of 20 to a *rial majidi.* Soon the country became flooded with them, and there were many complaints from merchants as to their uselessness for external purchases, with a result that the sultan forbade the import of any more, and had all those that had been already issued stamped with a countermark, bearing his name Ali in Arabic علي and the date ١٣١٢, 1312 (see Fig. 2).

[2] See below, p. 154.

Of 28 specimens examined, 7 bear the countermark on the tughra and 21 on the reverse. In return for the countermark the sultan took 5 out of every 20 coins stamped. Certain merchants, however, continued to import these false piastres, and eventually in 1907 a Gellabi called el Khatmi was caught stamping some of them with an imitation of the sultan's countermark, in return for two or three piastres for every twenty coins stamped. He was condemned to death and hanged, and from that date the sultan forbade any imitation Kabbashi piastres being accepted as legal tender, and they became known as *abu zaberlag*[3], *i.e.* the false coins.



FIG. 2.

A year or so later Hamid Mohamed, the chief silversmith, quarrelled with sultan Hassan wad Abukr Naga, the Beigo sultan, and was imprisoned by ʿAli Dinar. When he was arrested his house was searched, and in it among other things was found a die with which Hamid had been making forged Kabbashi piastres. This gave ʿAli Dinar the idea of issuing his own coins, and he sent for the silversmiths Idris Fadl Mula and Abd el Hakim Adam, and asked them whether it would be possible to alter the tughra and the name of the mint on the die so that the coins should be his own. It was beyond the skill of these silversmiths, but they visited Hamid in prison, and persuaded him, although reluctant to oblige before he was released, to make the necessary die.

They then had a discussion with the sultan as to the composition of the metal to be put into these coins. Abd el Hakim suggested

3 *Abu zaberlag*, a word of uncertain derivation, is an expression used in Darfur for a liar or anything false or forged.

that there should be one rial of silver in every 80 piastres, but Idris Fadl Mula, who had worked in the Khalifa's mint in Omdurman, was against debasing the coinage more than necessary. About 400 piastres were then struck with great care from a mixture of copper and silver, which was such that every 32 coins contained a rial of silver. They were the exact size of their prototype, and had so much silver in them that it was obvious in their colour. These piastres were then taken down to the market by Idris and Abd el Hakim and displayed along with the sultan's sword, and people were told that the sultan would cut off the head of any one who refused to accept the new coinage. From that day the coins were known as *ghurush radina*, غروش رضينا, "the piastres we have accepted." The silversmiths then reported to the sultan that the new coins had been accepted. He, however, was not pleased when he found that they had only made 32 out of a rial of silver, and for a long time demanded that they should make 80 to the rial. Eventually he agreed to 70; because although from that day onwards the agreed proportion was 4 rials of copper to every rial of silver[4], the coins were too thin when 80 were made from that amount of metal.

The method adopted was to mix the silver and copper over the fire. The bar of alloy so produced was then hammered out into long thin strips of metal in breadth one diameter and in length 70 diameters of the Kabbashi piastre. From these strips plain discs were cut out with a circular punch. The edges of the discs were then touched up with a file, and their colour whitened by immersion in a solution of *ardeib* juice.

At first five silversmiths were employed on this work. At the beginning of the day each silversmith was given one rial of silver and 4 rials of copper, and in the afternoon he had to produce to the head silversmith 70 plain discs. Normally only one silversmith was employed in striking the discs with the die. He was given a number of discs, and worked alone under the supervision of a guard, and when

4 More or less confirmed by the analysis, made at the Royal Mint, London, of four specimens, which give on the average 83.1 per cent. copper to 16.5 per cent. silver.

he had finished the coins were checked and handed to the overseer by the head silversmith. There were five dies in all, and these were kept in a box in the charge of the overseer of the *worsha*. The first two dies were made and engraved by Hamid, and the three others were copied from them at the sultan's command by the chief armourer, Beshir. Whenever a die became worn it was re-engraved by Hamid, who after three months as a prisoner was restored to his post with a warning to refrain from meddling in politics.

Each of the five silversmiths had a slave whom he trained in the work of coining.

Notables could bring metal to be coined and receive in return 49 out of every 70 piastres coined from it. The other 21 piastres were divided, half to the silversmiths as wages and half to the sultan. The sultan's share formed a fund from which further copper and silver was purchased when required.

For some time coins were only struck under close supervision inside the palace *hosh*, but later, in order to move a noisy business farther away from the royal ears, the mint was transferred to the *worsha*, which lay outside the palace on the west bank of the town lake, and, the services of the silversmiths being required for other things, such as the ornamentation of saddlery and sword hilts, and engraving the sultan's name on his rifles, increasingly less supervision was given to the actual coining, which was left more and more in the hands of



FIG. 3.

underlings, with the inevitable result that the size of the coins decreased, and it is possible that there was no silver in the latest issues.

My informants are confident that no *radina* piastres were forged at El Fasher except by employees of the *worsha*. An armourer called Ibrahim el Haj ʿAli was on one occasion detected doing this, and was warned by the sultan that he must in future bring all his metal to the *worsha* to be coined, or face the consequences: and there must have been other similar forgeries.

The following is a description of a typical ʿAli Dinar piastre (Fig. 3):

Obv. Tughra embodying the name of ʿAli Dinar (علي دينار) inside a border similar to that on the imitated Kabbashi piastre described above.

Rev.

٧١ 71 (regnal year)
ضرب في minted in
الفاشر el Fasher
١٣٢٧ 1327

I have recently collected over 600 ʿAli Dinar piastres at El Fasher.

These may be grouped as follows:—

Type	*Number of specimens*	*Figure in place of regnal year*	*Date*
(a)	1	٦٥	١٣٢٣
(b)	332	٧١	١٣٢٧ (Fig. 3)
(c)	92	١٧	١٣٢٧
(d)	6	٧٦	١٣٢٧
(e)	7	٥	١٣٢٧
(f)	7	٧١	١٣٢١
(g)	2	١٧	٣٢١
(h)	1	٧١ (?)	١٢٦٨
(i)	2	٧١ (?)	١٣٢
(j)	1	?	١٢٢
(k)	2	?	٧١٣٢
(l)	1	١٧	١٣٨٧

In the remainder the "regnal year" is indistinct, and, whenever it can be read, the date is ١٣٢٧, 1327. Mr. Walker and

I have examined them all together, and the following is a summary of our conclusions :—

Type (a) is full size and well made, and appears to be genuine. If it is, the date ١٣٢٣, 1323 is probably an adaptation of ١٢٢٣, 1223, a date which occurs on all specimens of the Egyptian prototype; and this type is probably one of the first struck in Darfur, for it is agreed by all that 'Ali Dinar did not begin striking his own coins till the end of 1326 A.H. (=A.D. 1908),[5] and that 1327 A.H. (=A.D. 1909) was the year in which they were first coined in any numbers, whence the date on the very large majority; for although they were coined continuously for five or six years after that, the date was never altered intentionally.

Some of type (d) are rough, but one at least is well made, full size, and appears to be genuine.

Type (e) are all roughly made and possibly forgeries.

Types (f)-(l) are all carelessly made and contain mistakes in the date, which is presumably in each case intended for 1327. They are probably the work of individual forgers among the sultan's workmen. In type (h) not only are the ٣ and ٢ transposed, but the ٣ is reversed, becoming ٣.

I have discussed the origin of the figures in the place of the regnal year at length with all my informants, and, although the engravers of the dies are both dead, I am certain that the fact that this figure on the prototype indicated the regnal year of the sovereign was not realized in Darfur, and I presume that the figures were in the first place copied unintelligibly from actual specimens of the Kabbashi piastre.

The coiners of the Mahdi and the Khalifa did not understand the regnal year. (See H.S. Job, *The Coinage of the Mahdi and the Khalifa* in *Sudan Notes and Records*, iii, p. 179.) Idris Fadl Mula, who worked for 'Ali Dinar, and was one of my informants, worked in the Khalifa's mint at Omdurman as a youth from 1890 till the end of the Mahdia in 1898. He states that 'Ali Dinar coins were copies

5 'Ali Dinar reached Fasher and became Sultan in Jamada al Awwal 1316 A.H. —Sept/Oct. A.D. 1898.

of the Turkish coins current in the Sudan before the Mahdia, as were the Mahdist coins also[6].

It seems probable, therefore, both for the above reasons and also from the fact that the greater number of the piastres bear the date ١٣٢٧ and the regnal year ٧١ that this was the approved type, and that all the other types, including that with the same date and regnal year ١٧, were unintentional variations of it.



FIG. 4.

None of the types so far discovered bears the regnal year ٢١ as shown in Mr. Walker's Fig. 4. We have examined again the specimen from which his drawing was made, and agree that it is one of type (c) with the regnal year ١٧, although it also resembles type (d) in which the regnal year is ٧١.

The dies are said to have been left in the *worsha* after the occupation of El Fasher[7], but they have vanished, and were probably looted for the metal of which they were made in the interval between the flight of the sultan and the occupation of the town by the Government forces.

Since writing the above, I have discovered that for a short time 'Ali Dinar also coined two other types, the half-piastre, and the 5-piastre or quarter-rial. These coins are now very rare, and I have only been able to discover three of each.

The 5-piastre piece (Fig. 4) is a copy of the Turkish (*majidi*) coin of similar denomination, as also were the Mahdist coins. On

6 Idris Fadl Mula is a respected member of the family of Sheikh Ismail el Mufti, and Khalifa of that *tariqa* in El Fasher. He visited El Fasher on business in 1904, and having been detained there by 'Ali Dinar against his will, has been there ever since.

7 Incidentally El Fasher does not mean "the camp" as stated by Mr. Walker, but is a word (? of Bornu origin) meaning the open space used for reviews, parades, &c., in front of the Sultan's palace, and so naturally came to mean the royal residence. El Fasher became the residence of the Fur sultans at the end of the eighteenth century. Mr. Walker intended to write "campus" and not "camp."

the obverse there is the name علي *ʿAli* in large script and دينار *dinar* in small, with the ر continued to form the tughra. On the reverse the legend is عز نصره "may his victory be glorious" above ضرب في الفاشر "minted in el Fasher," and the date ١٣٢٨, 1328 A.H.

My informants say that about 800 of these coins were struck and put into circulation about four months after ʿAli Dinar had begun striking piastres. They contained one part silver to three parts copper. The issue was not continued, because it was not a success. Quarter-rials and half-rials had never been common in Darfur. The coins in common use were the *rial majidi* and other Turkish *rials* and the Kabbashi piastre. 'Ali Dinar's quarter-rial contained little silver, because silver at that time was scarce, and a rial's weight of pure uncoined silver cost 25 piastres in Darfur. It was not popular, because it was both debased and of an uncommon denomination, and when 'Ali Dinar found that it immediately came back to the treasury in payment of taxes he discontinued it.

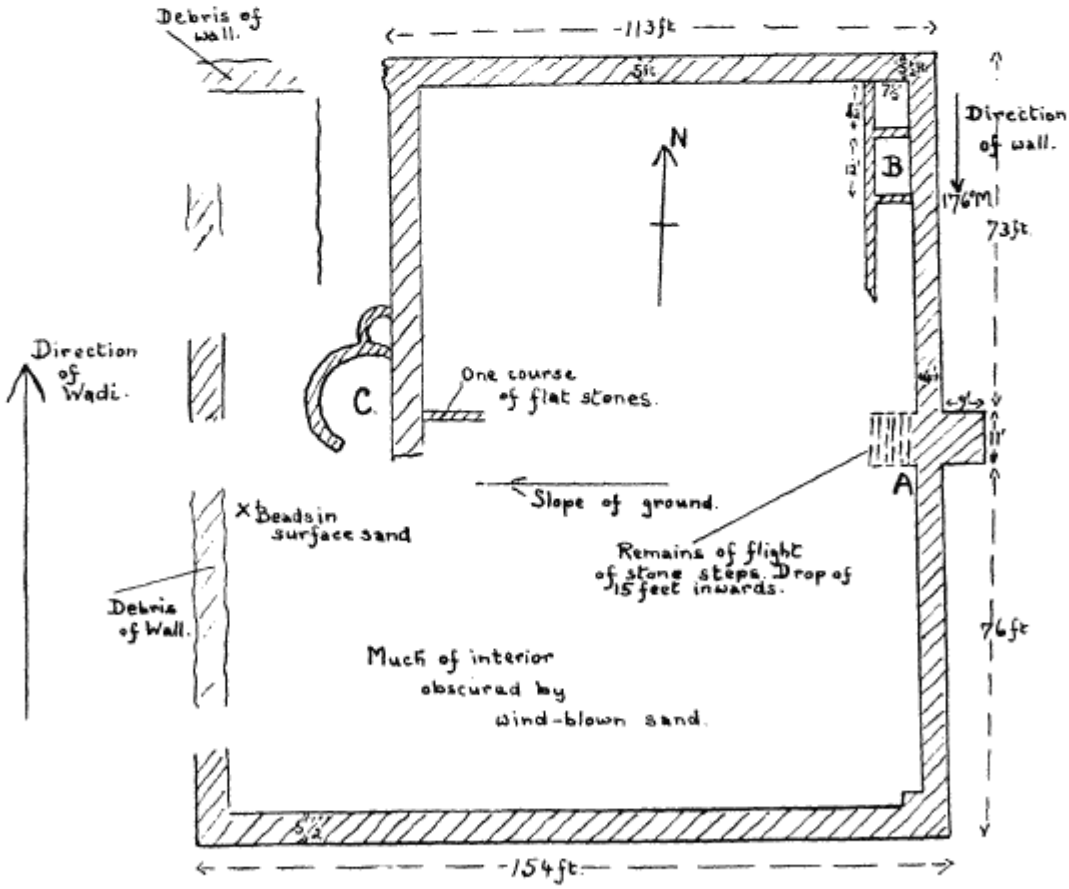
One of the three specimens of the 'Ali Dinar quarter-rial which I discovered was being used at El Fasher as a 2-dirham weight. On being treated with *ardeib* juice, as were all ʿAli Dinar's coins before issue, it looked just like silver. The specimens vary slightly in diameter, being 0.95, 0.95, and 0.85 in. respectively.

A few months after the quarter-rials were coined, ʿAli Dinar suggested that they should make half-piastres. Up to that date the piastre had been the lowest unit of value, and as the piastre had a low purchasing power, there was no demand for half-piastres, and they were only issued for a very short time.

As far as my informants know, only one die was ever made for the half-piastre—by Beshir Radi—but the three specimens seem to come from two dies. Of two, which appear to come from the same die, one gives the regnal year as ٨, 8, and the other the date as ١٣٢٨, 1328. Their diameters are respectively 0.7 and 0.72. The third coin, which may be a forgery, and appears to be intermediate between these half-piastres and the piastre is 0.9 in diameter: and certainly comes from a different die, although the date and regnal year cannot be read with certainty.



RUIN IN WADI EL QASR, FROM THE WEST. *[Photo, R. C. Wakefield.*



SKETCH PLAN OF RUIN—WADI EL QASR.

A RUIN IN THE WADI EL QASR

By J. M. Edmonds

THE Wadi el Qasr is a valley which runs roughly from south to north and joins the Wadi el Melik at its end just south of Ed Debba on the Nile.

The valley is a desert one in a late stage of erosion. It is wide, shallow and vaguely defined for the most part, but in places the low sandstone ridges which form its sides approach to within a few hundred feet of each other. That water sometimes flows in the valley can be deduced only from the discontinuous line of tufts of grass and scrub vegetation which winds over the wadi floor, but the valley has now reached a stage when there is no true flow of water through it from end to end. Where storms break over the valley intermittent streams will occur, but they do not succeed in cutting channels and they end in pools which are later marked only by thicker patches of grass. These streams succeed in fact in building up low barriers to their own progress by the deposition of sand and gravel when they lose speed, and so, in places, the 'slope' of the valley appears to be 'upstream,' with the result that the flow of water at a subsequent time may just as well be up the valley as down it.

The width of these desert valleys in relation to the amount of water which must now flow in them is always a striking and apparently anomalous feature. It is due to the greater erosion across the valley than that which is taking place along it. With the local nature of the rainstorms the water flows into the valley from the sides and has a much stronger flow and a greater erosive effect on the steeper gradient of the transverse slopes than it would do on the gentler lateral slope of the valley floor. Thus the ridges bordering the valley are worn back and sometimes neighbouring parallel main valleys are joined from place to place where the divides have been completely lowered.

Most desert valleys assume a more normal aspect at their head. The valley is usually cut back into an upland, is narrow and V-shaped with steep rock sides, and has a sandy watercourse in its bottom. The Wadi el Qasr is however remarkable in that it has now no true head. It has its 'beginning' in a wide flat plain in which what drainage there may be seems to pass eastwards towards the Wadi Kheleila. To the southwest of the plain is the scarp which begins the sandstone plateau stretching west and southwest to the Wadi el Melik. The drainage out from this scarp once formed the original source of the Wadi el Qasr but the main flow from this plateau has long ago been diverted eastwards.

There is a main camel-route along the valley from Dongola and Ed Debba to Omdurman, although for the whole 50 miles of the Wadi there is now no water supply. It is interesting in this connection to note the sites of two groups of dry wells, Kufriyat El Atash, 26 miles south of Ed Debba and Kufriyat El Rawyanat, 12 miles south of Debba. At the first of these places there is, in addition, the ruin of a stone-built building which dominates the well site and is the only sign of permanent occupation that I was able to find in the neighbourhood apart from the circular grave mounds which occur very frequently on the slopes of some of the hills.

KUFRIYAT EL ATASH. Approx. Lat. 17° 41′, Long. 31°03′.

The wells and building are situated in the middle of a sharp S-bend of the valley where it is narrow, about 300 yds. wide. To the north, the valley quickly widens to a wide stony plain; to the south, a bend in the valley hides the wadi from view and makes it very doubtful that the building could be used for guarding a route, since anyone who wished to pass by without visiting the wells could easily do so without being seen from the building. Very likely, the building was used solely for patrolling the wells which it dominates completely.

THE WELLS.

In the wadi bottom are three circular cupshaped mounds of sandstone debris, obviously marking the remains of three wells, aligned

down the valley and at about 50 yards interval. Banks of sandstone debris 10 to 15 feet high form the rims of circles of about 25 yards diameter and are apparently of material dug from the wells. It is to be assumed that these banks surrounded the well mouths and protected them from the occasional spates in the wadi but there is now no sign of the excavated wells and as the surrounding banks are breached, the wells must through neglect have become refilled with debris. There is nothing to show whether the wells were lined or what depth they were. That they ever produced water can only be inferred from the substantial building near by.

THE BUILDING.

The ruin is on the sloping ground on the east side of the wadi. It is approximately square but with the outer walls not exactly straight. These walls are from five to six feet thick and built without mortar. The outer facing is of blocks and slabs, in some cases trimmed. The interior of the walls is a stone rubble. The whole of the material making up the building is sandstone.

The ground slopes to the west and the interior has an irregular surface. Much of the detail of the interior is obscured by drifts of wind-blown sand. On the uphill side of the walls there is a centrally placed buttress, nine feet by eleven feet and on the inner side at this point are the remains of a flight of steps, leading down into the central space, the wall having a height of about 15 feet on the inner side at this point (A). The flight of steps can be seen in the photograph to the right of the figure. The top and bottom steps have the original surface of trimmed sandstone blocks still in place.

The internal structure of the building is incompletely preserved and further obscured by sand, but it appears that within the thick outer walls there were a number of walled divisions or (rooms,) some of which (*e.g.*, B of diagram) must have been extremely small. There are also low circular walls built against one of the main interior walls (C).

In the south west corner of the building was a flat circular mud-stone slab about 3 ft. in diameter. It was seen to cover a sandfilled hole. The slab was replaced.

A number of pottery fragments and beads were picked up within the building.

POTTERY FRAGMENTS.

A selection of fragments of pottery found within the building was collected. One fragment of pointed and glazed white pottery thought to be modern was not brought away. Of the ten pieces collected, five are rough and unglazed, one is a fragment of 'turned' base, three show a red slip and one shows yellow slip and signs of painted decoration.[1]

BEADS.

These were found inside near the west wall among surface sand. They were (a) cowrie shells; (b) three quartz crystal beads showing hexagonal crystal faces; one showing octagonal sides; flat ended, orange coloured; one shows agate banding; 2 cm, 2.2. cm, 2.5 cm., long, about 0.8 cm., thick, bored lengthways[2]; (c) One blue-green glass bead, rectangular prism 1 cm × 0.7 × 0.7 cm. bored lengthways with wide hole[3]; (d) one yellow glass bead in form of a flat whorl 1.1 cm., diameter, 0.5 cm, height, bored at right angles to the circular base[4].

These materials may not give any indication of the age of the building, since the ruins are still used as a temporary shelter by travellers along the camel route, and the pottery and beads could have been dropped at any time.

KUFRIYAT EL RAWYANAT. Approx. Lat. 17° 53′, Long. 30° 57¾′.

At this point, twelve miles south of Ed Debba, there are four dry well shafts aligned down the centre of the wadi and spaced about seventy yards apart. Full details of the measurements of these abandoned wells is given in the Geological Survey Report No. 45/9. From the point of view of the present article, the chief interest rests in the name given to them. Considering that the shafts are comparatively near Ed Debba, it is likely that the place is better known than the more southerly site, but I was unable to hear of or to find any trace of a ruined building in the vicinity.

The deepest shaft is 68 ft. deep and all are partly lined with burnt brick and also partly filled by sand. The bricks are of two sizes, 9″x 9″x 2″ and 9″x $3\frac{3}{4}$″x $2\frac{1}{2}$″—the latter being nearer to the modern standard size of brick. The mouths of the shafts are from six to eight feet diameter and are raised slightly above the wadi floor by broad, sloping, circular platforms of brick and sandstone. In one of the shafts there appears to be a set of spiral steps cut in the wall of the well below the lining. [5]

The two sites are twice mentioned in Count Gleichen's *Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* Vol. 2 (Routes), firstly in the route report of Major H.V. Ravenscroft in January, 1900 and secondly in that of Mr. James Currie in April, 1903.

The first report records—" J. Kufri ; two wells on track, one in use, recently repaired by Government. Water about 55 feet from surface ; no rope, so could not taste it." And later—" Kaser el Fokani, 15 miles from J. Kufri and 25 from Debba. One old well called Atesh, closed for a long time. Well marked track."

Mr. Currie's report records—" Bir Kufra (1) ; no water but guides stated it existed not far from surface." And later—" Bir Kufra (2) 10 miles from Bir Kufra (1) and 21 miles from Debba. Stopped at 10 a.m., at another old well, Kufra (2) but guides state water non-existent at any depth."

From these two reports, it seems that on neither occasion was the ruined building at the southern site noted. The word Kaser (or Qasr) applied to the site (and also to the Wadi) implies that the building was for defence purposes. The term Kufri or Kufra applied to the northern wells, even when in use, would seem to imply an ancient origin and the usual flat bricks may be from an old lining reincorporated in the repaired structure.

Both sets of wells were probably of the deep *sania* type of rock-cut well, such as are found in the Wadi Mugaddam. These reach the permanent water table in the sandstone and, not being dependent on yearly local rainfall, yield abundant water.

H.C. Jackson has described, in *Sudan Notes and Records* Vol IX (2) 1926 pp. 1-36) a ' fort ' in the Bayuda " at Furaa near Jakdul . . . which must have been erected to guard a water supply " (p. 29) and which is ascribed by him to " Mediaeval Christian " times. He dates as " Early Arab " other walled structures at El Kab and Gandeisi Island (p. 31). That at the latter place " is a square building some sixty yards long with walls varying in thickness from six to ten feet," and from Jackson's description it can be compared in some ways to the ruin in the Wadi el Qasr. I however found no evidence on which to attempt to date this ruin.

The wadi is spelt on current maps as Kasar and the word Qasr (قصر)— a castle or fort does not appear to be known locally.

The word, Kufriya (كفرية) a ruin, is however commonly used.[6]

NOTES ON ARTICLES FOUND AT KUFRIYA

(1) Of these sherds which are now in the Khartoum Museum, two appear to be of fine wheel-made ware dating from the Christian period, and one to be a fragment of a wheel-made ' pilgrim bottle ' of uncertain date, such as are only known at present from the *gizzu* country N. of Dar Kababish in N.W. Kordofan (see *Sudan Notes & Records* VII: Plate XII). The other sherds are of coarse ware about which it is difficult to make a definite pronouncement. Two are from a kind of bowl with apparently degenerate handles of an unusual type. They are profusely speckled with some substance, which appears to be fragments of miciferous rock that have turned blue in firing. Mr. R. C. Wakefield thinks that this ware must have been imported, for he knows of no mica in the vicinity.

(2) These are three carnelian beads of flat hexagonal cross-section, bored with a diamond drill. They have undoubtedly come from Cambay in N.W. India, and may be less than 200 years old. They are not likely to be more than 500 years old at the most.

(3) This is a piece of a glass tube of square cross-section. It show signs of considerable wear, probably due to friction with wind-borne sand. I will not hazard an opinion as to its date: but do not think it is more than two or three centuries old.

(4) This is a small wire-wound bead of opaque yellow glass which was probably made at Hebron and is not necessarily more than 100 years old. See *S.N.R.* XX p. 300. This bead is similar to the first three examples on plate XXIII.

(5) Details of these wells as given in G.S. Report are as follows :—

No. 1. Northern well: 52 ft. deep and 7 ft. 6 in. diameter. Lined to 14 ft.

No. 2. 70 yds. S. of No. 1 : 68 ft. deep and 5 ft. 6 in. diameter. Lined to 17 ft.

No. 3. 70 yds. S. of No. 2 : 26 ft. deep. Lined to 24 ft. diameter at top is 7 ft. 6 in. widens a little below.

No. 4 Southermost one: 70 yds. from No. 3: 24 ft. deep: all lined with bricks. Width 7 ft.

(6) (قصر) a castle is not uncommon in the northern Sudan. Kufriyat in the N. Sudan is, I understand, applied to pre-Islamic sites and usually implies one that dates from the Christian period. That this may be the case with Kufriyat el Atash is indicated by some of the sherds from there. If there was never a building at Kufriyat el Rawyanat, the word must refer to the stone-lined wells which occur at both places.

A. J. A.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The root كفر seems to have two main meanings :—

(i) (Current in the Sudan) associated with Kafirs or infidels *ergo* anything pre-Islamic in the Sudan

(ii) (Unknown in the Sudan but common in Egypt) connected with villages and rural settlements.

The Kufra Oasis in the Libyan Desert appears to carry the former meaning.

TALES OF THE WADAI SLAVE TRADE IN THE NINETIES

Told by Yunes Bedis of the Majabra to W.E. Jennings Bramley.

I was born in Jalo[1]. My father was a merchant there, and used to act as a guide to other traders travelling south to Wadai. Sometimes these caravans contained as many as two hundred camels, with a full complement of men, because the road south of Kufra to Abeshe was dangerous for a small party, being exposed to attack from the Goran [2] and the Bedayat. My father always rode in front and at night two men would ride beside him continually striking flints so that the sparks would be a guide to the caravan in the dark. Such a guide has privileges : he always chooses for himself the best place when the halt is made ; he draws water first when the well is reached ; and his word is absolute as to the length of each day's journey.

When I was fifteen years old my father arrived at Jalo from Wadai with sixteen slaves on his way to Cairo to sell them, and he took me on with him. All the slaves were women except one, whom we sold at Zeitun, east of Siwa, for £15. We struck the cultivated land at Difishu, but went up into the desert again and encamped with our slaves behind the pyramids at some distance into the desert. My father then went into Cairo and made an arrangement with the Wakala Sharaiba that a harem carriage be sent along the Pyramid road. In this, at a pound a head, the slave women were to be taken in to the Wakala, where my father had taken rooms for them. God in his great mercy so far helped us that all reached Cairo in safety. Had we been able to arrange with a purchaser in town, as the custom then was, his carriage would have driven out in the evening on the Pyramid road with some of his harem. Then the carriage would stop, and the eunuch and ladies would get out for a walk among the crops that grow in the basins to the north and

1. In Tripoli, between Benghazi and Kufra. It is the centre of the Majabra tribe, of which there is a small colony in El Fasher today. Ed.

2. The Goran inhabit Tibesti and Borku, and the Bedayat the country between Borku and the N.W. frontier of Darfur. Ed.

south of the road. In a field of high durra the slave would be handed over (by appointment) to this party and dressed in clothes similar to those of the other women ; so four ladies instead of three would walk back through the fields to the carriage and drive to Cairo in security.

We had sold seven slaves and all was going well when, through the information of Suliman el Agari to " Nasr el Bassas" (Nasr the Spy) my father was taken by the police. Suliman had not intended to betray my father but to frighten him into paying £50, but the spy wanted all the reward and so went and told the police. We had early news that morning that Suliman and Nasr had been seen talking together, and we removed all the women to a downstairs room. The police went to look in the room upstairs which was known to be ours, and there they found in a corner, overlooked by us, a small piece of cotton stuff such as is worn by the women of the Sudan and is different to that worn by women of Egypt, and this small piece of rag smelt of the scent which every Sudanese woman uses. Although therefore the slaves were not found my father and Osman Farhat, a relation of ours, were taken to prison for six months and the £200 found in my father's belt was confiscated. We engaged a lawyer named Selim for £40 to speak for us in court, but it was no use. In the meantime Tahir el Bishari took and sold the remaining nine slaves.

When four months of prison were over a slave called Khadija, who was one of those we had sold, escaped and gave evidence to the police. My father was put among many others but she pointed him out at once as the man who had brought her from the west. As however the court had sentenced him before on the assumption that he had slaves, he was let out after finishing the two months that had still to run.

During the months that he was in prison, I had been grazing our camels to the west of the Pyramids with one of our slaves. When he came out we loaded up with cotton stuff and returned to Jalo. This

cotton has to be dyed in lines of dark and lighter blue for Wadai, as that is the only colour that has a market in that country. Once we had our merchandise we left at once for Jalo.

In Jalo we remained for six months, resting after the annoyance of prison and arranging for a caravan to Wadai. This caravan consisted of thirty merchants trading between central Africa and the countries of the north coast.

Most of them were Majabra like ourselves. The merchandise we carried consisted mainly of this cotton stuff dyed for the Sudan market. It is sold in Cairo in seven metre lengths for P.T. 10 and it fetched P.T. 15 in Siwa, Jaghbub and Jalo, P.T. 20 at Kufra, and in Wadai P.T. 30 at least; or rather we bartered it there for that amount in goods. A camel would carry about 200 pieces, weighing about 330lbs., and his hire cost us P.T. 120 from Cairo to Jaghbub, and P.T. 60 from Jaghbub to Jalo.

Other prices were as follows:

	Cairo	Wadai
	m/ms.	m/ms.
Soap per piece	5	33
Tea per oke	150	400
Striped sheeting per metre	15	25
Striped " fuat " (yellow and black on brick red) each	100 & 150	200 & 300
Blue " Dubalan " cloth per piece	250	500
Sugar per pound	7	(In Kufra from 25 m/ms. to 100 m/ms. in times of scarcity).

When the caravan was made up we left Jalo, it now being winter, and went south to the wells of Buttafal; in this wadi the water is good and plentiful: wherever you dig at one and a half metres below the

surface you can get water. When the camels were watered and the water skins filled, we started for Zighen. By riding from sunrise to sunset you can reach this well in winter in eight days. The Turks opened a well about half way between Buttafal and Zighen in the Wadi Farah and found water, which was bitter but potable. The Zwaya, the tribe who live in all this country, were having trouble at this time with the Turks, so they had filled it in. From Buttafal to Zighen there is nothing but sand to the east and nothing at all to the west except a flat pebbly plain ; " *There is generally not that*" (and here the narrator pushed his thumb out from his front teeth as a sign of desolation) " *to be had for the animals to eat until you get to Zighen.*" The Ailat Fakrun section of the Zwaya were at Buseima well at Zighen but we did not go there, because the well is off the road to the west. We went straight on after watering at Zighen and reached Jof [3] in Kufra in four days.

You come suddenly upon Kufra out of the sand, for it is low lying and a bad guide can easily miss it unless he is on one of the well-marked caravan routes. There are many date trees at Jof, which is like most other towns in the world, outside of Cairo and Alexandria. The houses are made of mud and stones. When we got there the place was full of Zwaya, Gilulat and Sideidi sections. The Senussi Wakil was living in the *Zawia* to which Sidi Mohammed el Mahdi came the following year [4]. We stayed ten days but were unable to sell much of our merchandise so we continued our journey. As far as Bishra, a journey of three days, the desert is open and the going good. From Bishra it is good for one day going south, then there is half a day of sand, then the caravan has fairly good going in a desert that is not considered dangerous, as far as Tekro. It took us eight days to reach Tekro from Bishra. From Tekro we reached Lebaied in one day and the day after Unianga. We were now in the land of water, and the desert was covered with arak, talh and dom. The arak and talh is eaten by camels, and the branches of the arak bush are cut by the Sudanese into pieces about a foot long ; the bark is then

3. Jof is the trade centre of Kufra. See A. M. Hassanein. *Lost Oases*. p. 178 (Ed.)
4. 1894. See A. M. Hassanein. *Lost Oases*. p. 64 (Ed.)

cut off about an inch from one end so that the long fibres that make up the interior of the branch are exposed. These are used for cleaning the teeth. The outside husk of the dom is made into powder and when mixed with milk is eaten, but it is poor food, and the dom nuts are generally left round the foot of the palms where the husks are gnawed off by donkeys.

From Unianga we journeyed three days to the spring of Bedadi—and another three days to Fanfan. From Fanfan it is a day's journey to Oueita, three days from there to Wadi Nua, and another three to Um Shaloba. From Um Shaloba we journeyed past Wadi Arada and from there reached Abeshe the residence of the Sultan of Wadai. According to custom we camped down in the Wadi Shau about half an hour's ride out of the town. The Sultan's palace was built by masons from Cairo and cost a great deal of money. In the rainy season each year the outside is plastered all over with mud to preserve it, so that it has quite lost its shape, and the windows are so deep in the walls that very little light can penetrate.

Nothing of interest happened to us in Abeshe on this trip; we just sold our goods and returned to the north. When we got to Unianga on our return journey we found a man waiting for us who asked where the head of the caravan was. He was very tall and black, wore a cotton shirt and a big sheep skin, and was armed with four small throwing spears, one big spear and a sword. He went with us. He did not speak on the way but when we got to Bishra he asked if we had a slave who knew how to interpret for him.

He said "I am a Gorani. At Unianga I heard a woman saying that I had killed a man in the Bedayat country, so I have taken refuge with your caravan." My father told him we should be at Kufra in three days where Sidi el Senussi was, and where he could stay without fear. We were making tea at the time and my father got up and said he would see to the things outside the tent, as we were to make an early start. The man went out too, and when my father was bending down over one of the loads, the man drove his spear into him. As he fell, my father called out that he had been killed. I was on the other

side of the tent. I chased the man for about four hundred yards, and when he saw that I was alone he turned on me with his javelins. I was only about seventeen years old at this time. The small slave boy we had with us ran after me with my gun. Two spears which the Gorani threw at me missed, but I managed to hit him with a stone. Two other slaves of ours then got round behind him and he made for me again. By that time the small boy had given me my gun, and I went down on one knee as I wanted to make quite sure of hitting him. As I took aim he threw his last spear, which stuck in the ground between my legs. Then I fired and knocked him over but did not kill him—so the slaves held him down, while I cut his throat from the back, which took some time. I thought he was too bad a man for me to cut it in the front. My father was unable to ride so we carried him on a stretcher to Kufra where he lay ill for forty days.

In Kufra the Akhwan el Mahdi, Mohammed el Reini, and Abd el Hadi Fadil came to me and wanted to take the camel of the Gorani I had killed but I would not give it to them. Then Sidi Husein Bazama and Sidi Hasan Bazama came to me and said they would keep the camel until the man's family came for it. So I gave it to them, and they sold it for 45 rials *mejidi*, but although up to this day the man's relations have not come, the Akhwan refuse to hand over my 45 rials.

When my father had recovered we went north to the Akaba country with eight women and two men slaves. We sold these slaves to the Arabs and then went back to Jalo. We bought four camel loads of powder from the Awlad Ali and with these my father, Haggi Mohammed Yunes Megaied, Hamid Omar, a relation, and myself made up a caravan. We had paid £40 for about 1,400 pounds of powder, in barrels, each barrel weighing 9 okes (about 25 pounds). We went direct from Jaghbub to Kufra, this time by the Darb ef Mahamsa. The Mahamsa is a large sand hill eight days south ol Jaghbub—Sidi el Mahdi tried to make a well under it and went down sixty metres but did not find water. From there it takes two days to Bir el Dakkar and three days on to Hawari.

We stopped two months at Kufra as the Senussi were afraid that

if we went on alone we should be attacked on the way to Wadai. At this time Sidi el Mahdi was at Jaghbub—Kufra was in the hands of Sidi Hasan Bazama, Sidi Husein Bazama and Abd el Hadi Fadil of the Ogila tribe. These three had been there since Sidi Mohammed el Senussi became Mahdi. There were about two thousand Zwaya and Majabra living there. After two months no more merchants had come in, so we decided to push on. We saw no one on that journey for twenty-one days until we came to Nana, where we met some Goran hunting ostriches. They were men of Sheikh Shinia. They thought we were a raiding party. They had seen us since dawn and were afraid to come near the well. When we saw them we prepared to fire but they threw down their spears.

Five days after this we reached Wadai. When we reached the outskirts of Abeshe, we camped in the usual place and early next morning I rode ahead to the palace of Sultan Yusef which stands by itself to the west of the town. When I got outside the house I fired my gun, the usual signal. The Sultan's boy-servants (*tueirat*)[5] took me inside and the Sultan asked me who I was. I told him I was the son of my father, whom he knew. He was much surprised that three men could come alone over such a road. Then he sent for food and I ate. He gave me as a present a male camel and a robe of the kind made in Bagirmi—a *gallabia* with very wide sleeves. Then he allowed me to send at once for the powder, although the custom is for caravans to wait a day in Wadi Shau and pay a tax of two rials a load before entering the town. He bought powder from us at four *muqta* a pound. A *muqta* is a piece of cotton stuff worth 16½ piastres. Two thousand make a camel load. Eventually we took seven kantars of ivory as the equivalent of 2000 *muqta*. The rest of the powder we sold in the market at 5 and 6 *muqta* the pound. We had to be very careful or the Sultan would have punished us, powder being a royal monopoly.

Then the Sultan sent me out with Dinkis, the officer in charge of his herds, to choose a camel for me. I gave him five rials to allow me to make my own choice and so secured a very good beast, which

5. lit. "small birds" (ED.)

I sold later in Kurdassa for eight pounds. The robe fetched 20 rials. These robes are made of strips of cloth an inch wide which are sewn together.

We also sent 50 pounds of powder to Sultan Sara Abu Risha of Sila[6] for which we got 150 lbs. of ivory (6 *megata*), because the Sultan's son, Abu Rishain, was a friend of ours. I had visited Goz Beida, the Sultan's residence, on my first trip to Abeshe. It is an eight days journey through very hilly country. One day E.S.E. from Goz Beida is the hill called Jebel Sila, which has only one path to the sunken centre where there is water, and where the people take refuge with their flocks in time of danger. In this country there are many lions which roar at night. We were a party of seven ; and I went to the house of Abu Rishain the sultan's son, where I stayed for nearly three months. I sold my goods for ostrich feathers and ivory, a slave and a slave girl. I bought the girl from the Sultan's gunsmith, a man called Mohammed Mendarani who had got her from the Sultan of the Fur as a reward for repairing some guns. Mohammed had quarrelled with the woman—the woman said " Sell me " and he swore to sell her. I bought her for 25 " Baheri " which are worth fifty rials. She had only been with me twenty days when Mendarani tried to get her back, but I would not give her up. He then complained to the Sultan saying she was a splendid woman, worth £100 in Cairo. The Sultan summoned me and after questioning me said Mendarani had no right to her, but asked me as a favour to return her to him. At first I refused and Abu Rishain suggested that the case should go before the Sharia court, but the Sultan said this was useless, as there was no doubt as to who was right, but he wanted it as a favour. At last I agreed to give her back in exchange for 50 rotls of ivory. The woman did not want to return, nor did I want to give her up, but as the Sultan was the only man through whom I could sell my merchandise, I thought it best to give way. I received about 2½ kantars of ivory and the Sultan gave me a tent. When I got back to Abeshe I had to get my ivory in by night to where my father was staying, as there was a tax of 30 rials a kantar.

6. The Dagu Sultan. (Ed.)

Spotted hyaenas (*merafib*) walk about the streets of Goz Beida at night, and the people tie pieces of meat to the end of a gun barrel and poke it through a hole in the door. When they feel the hyaena has got hold of the end of the gun they pull the trigger. Sometimes the gun bursts, and the people on the other side of the street are apt to make a fuss when their houses are spattered with shot.

The Sila people formerly belonged to Darfur[7], but they are a strong people and rebelled. This happened under the sons of Bakhit and Ali. The soldiers wear a small red coat and drawers as their full dress uniform. Their rifles are of any make they can obtain, and they have no cannon. They were trained by men from Darfur, I think from the old Egyptian army, in some kind of military exercises. One of these instructors is a fellah from the village of Mansuria. These men are given cartridges and must produce something of value for each cartridge, an ostrich or an elephant. The officers who command 200 men are the Sultan's sons or his relations.

We left again for the north, and sold our goods in Cairo without any incident worth recording and then returned to Wadai with cotton goods. My father had with him a horse which he had bought from Abdallah Geiballah who was killed fighting against the French. It had been given to Abdallah by Ali Bey el Masri, Sheikh of the Gawazi. This was because Abdallah Geiballah belonged to the Zwaya, a tribe whose families are "*Marabet*"[8] to the various Saadi tribes, and the family of Abdallah were *marabet* to the family of Ali Bey.

(Ali Bey el Masri was the son of the Arab chief El Masri who left Egypt in Ismail Pasha's time when there was a question of cancelling the exemption of the Arabs (from military service). He was a small man but a great leader, and the tribesmen who left Egypt with him, under his leadership became such a nuisance in the west, where they raided tribe after tribe, that the Turkish Government begged Ismail Pasha not to interfere with the Arab exemption, and take back this marauding chief. One story told of him is that on a raid he was

7. Mixed history. Sila was a colony of the Dagu Sultans of Darfur (ED.).

8. Holy men, the equivalent of "fiki" in the Sudan (ED.).

hurrying into the fight without arms: "Stop" shouted two of his friends "You have forgotten your arms." "No" said the chief, "there will be plenty thrown away as soon as the fighting begins; and I can take my pick.")

My father had paid three slaves for this horse. It was a bay, and the people of Wadai don't usually care for that colour, but a Majabri called Fetita el Meseiseri who was in Wadai at this time and was very friendly with the Sultan, told him that my father had bought down a very good horse and if the Sultan offered a small price, he would accept it. The custom in Wadai is that the Sultan sits on top of his house and any new horse brought by the merchants from the north is led past. So when I rode past on this horse, the Sultan sent to my father offering about £40 for it, but the horse was worth at least double, and we refused to sell. The next day a Fiki came to us from the Sultan and said that no one was to buy the horse but the Sultan. My father said he would not sell the horse at all. For a month nothing of interest happened; we just sold our merchandise bit by bit. At the end of the month Jerma, the maternal uncle of the Sultan, who rules over half Wadai, gave a feast. He collected all the horses, for at such a feast it is the custom for horsemen to gallop up and down before the company. My father was present with his horse but did not gallop it. Jerma came to my father and asked him why he was not galloping with the others, and my father said to Jerma "I will race my horse against any other in Wadai and if my horse is beaten I will give it to the owner of the horse that beats me." Jerma then sent for five horses, the best that were present. The race was a long one, about fifteen miles. My uncle Haggi Ali Girgeila rode the horse. The course was five times round a big tract of country. When the horses came past the first time my father's horse was a short distance ahead of the others, but after that it left all the other horses a long way behind; it was in fact hardly a race at all, as the horse finished by itself. Jerma went to the Sultan that night and told him it was unjust to offer so little, and to prevent others from buying, so the Sultan sent and offered us 300 rials. My father refused this offer, but I advised him to sell, as all the people

were talking about the horse, and I was afraid that the evil eye would harm it. My father decided I was right, and agreed to sell the horse. When the Sultan bought it, he gave it to Omar Agid el Birsham, one of his men, but the horse died within a month.

We left Wadai soon after selling the horse, and reached Kufra where we found Sidi el Mahdi Mohammed el Senussi[9]; and as we arrived from the south, Sadik Bey the Turkish envoy arrived from the north. He came with twenty boxes, a present from Sultan Abd el Hamid of Turkey. With Sadik Bey were many big people from our village, Jalo. They came into Jof by night as the Zwaya tribe resent people coming to Kufra and it was thought they might do harm to Sadik Bey. Sadik stayed at the *Zawia* with Sayed el Mahdi. It was said in Kufra that the Mahdi refused all the presents, and we certainly saw the boxes being returned. He stayed six days at Jof during which time he walked about and looked at the place. We went on to Cairo and sold our ivory.

When all was sold Zubeir Pasha gave us letters for Rabeh in Bornu. Sheikh Shiteiwi who claimed to be a Senussi agent also gave us letters to Sid Ahmed el Rifi. Shiteiwi was a man who came originally from Zleitin, and was turned out of Jaghbub for some fault. He then came to Cairo and went to the Azhar mosque where he still is. When I delivered his letter to Sid Ahmed on my return to Jaghbub, it contained information that we were carrying letters for the English. I was questioned and denied. When my father came with the second load, he also was questioned and said that the letters were from Zubeir to Rabeh, and refused to give them up though Sid Ahmed wished to take them. Sid Ahmed then told my father to take them back to Cairo but this he also refused to do. As this trouble about the letters had caused much talk we thought it probable that passing Arabs would carry the news ahead to Jalo where the Turkish official might hear of it, so we arranged that I should stay at Jaghbub with half the goods and that my father would go to Buttafal, and deposit the rest there and so enter Jalo from the south. When

9. 1894 (Ed.)

the Kaimakam heard of my father's arrival he sent for him and said he heard that he was carrying letters from the English to Rabeh. My father said this was all a made up story, and that his things were some way off. The Kaimakam said that he must bring his merchandise to Jalo. My father went out in the night alone riding one camel. When the sun rose he found he was being followed by Turkish soldiers, on horses. They fired over his head but my father shouted out that if they came nearer he would shoot one of them. It happened that one of the soldiers was a relation enlisted at Jalo, and he said " Give us the price of tobacco and we will let you go." As they were now at Buttafal my father got the soldiers to help him load up his camels, and when they had everything on the camels they seized my father, who was not expecting treachery. We had two camel loads of powder, and he gave the men £10 to leave the powder behind, but when they got him to the town, they informed the officer that they had left the powder behind. I arrived at Jalo that day from Jaghbub, and I went to a friend of the Kaimakam called Hamid Feratice (Fertisha ?) and gave him £10 to give to Ishak Eff. the Kaimakam in return for a certificate that the powder left behind was not ours. All our baggage that the soldiers had brought was now searched, and the letters and coat we were carrying from Zubeir to give to Rabeh were taken and sent to Benghazi.

My father was sent there too and put in prison, and the letters were sent on to Stambul. I and my mother were imprisoned at Jalo as it was thought we might attempt a rescue. Eventually he was released and Ishak Effendi was sent from Jalo to Derna where the Arabs killed him. My father then went to Rabeh, with some other merchants and stayed a year with him. Rabeh gave him a horse and twenty-five slaves, but they were taken from him by the French, as he was still with Rabeh when the French made their attack. Eventually he returned bringing with him a load of ostrich feathers.

I in the meantime had returned to Egypt and married a fellahia of the village of Wardan. I did not remain for many months at Wardan but returned to Jaghbub on my way to Kufra. At Jaghbub Sidi el

Medani said I was accused of guiding an Englishman [10] who was trying to cross from Dakhla to Kufra. This he had been told by Sidi Mawhub the Sheikh of the *Zawia* at Dakhla. He thereupon told me I was never to come near the *Zawia*. I said "I will come whether you want me to or not." I was travelling with some Mejabra, whom Sidi el Medani persuaded to desert me, thinking that by doing so he would stop me going on to Kufra, but I got up in the morning and went off on my camel. I went to Buttafal, and from Buttafal I went to Kufra. When I got there Sidi Ahmed el Rifi said "You are showing the English the way to Kufra." I said I had had one man with me; could one man take Kufra? He said he had heard that I had been with an Englishman who wanted to come to Kufra. "I hear also," he said, "that you inform the Government when you hear that any of us are in Egypt—or that this man or that has done this or that." I said "Up to now I have never done such a thing, but in future I will, since you say I have." Sidi Ahmed said "No, remain as you are." I was three months at Kufra—one day I met Mawhub and accused him of giving evidence against me and spying on me when I was with the traveller, but Mawhub said that he happened to be travelling to Kufra and was not spying on us.

Sidi Ahmed now sent for me and said "I want you to carry corn for Sidi el Mahdi from Kanem to Guru; this will please the Mahdi and will in some way atone for your many faults, which grieve him." When I saw the Mahdi he said nothing of all this, only asking after my health and saying the *Fatha* with me. I stayed at Kanem seven months and was there when the French arrived. We heard one day that the French were at Guri (?). I went out in the morning with other horsemen, but before we reached Guri we were met by all the people with what goods they could carry and all their flocks driven before them; and before we got to Guri the French were in the town. Finding this we all fired off our guns and returned to Kanem. The Aulad Suliman now left us. We went out again towards the French and lying up in a Wadi, waited to see what would happen. From the

10. This was myself. I went alone with Yunes from Farafra to Siwa, via Dal, and came out at Zeitun having missed Bahrein as neither of us knew the way. W.E.J.B.

Wadi a small village could be seen, so I went off to see if I could steal anything from the houses, but no sooner did I get there than the French opened fire on me so I returned to Kanem. Then I went back to Guru where I found Sidi el Mahdi. There were about two hundred men who had escorted him from Kufra. They were pleased to see me for they had no corn. I stayed there ten days and then went to Kufra and Jaghbub where I found Sheikh Medani ; he wished me to carry letters for him to his family, but I refused.

The next year I went again to Kufra and while I was there, four men headed by Mustafa el Samalusi set off south east by order of El Mahdi to find a quick road to El Fasher. They travelled for seven days and got water at Uweinat and after seven more they reached a wooded spot called Merga belonging to the Terrana [11] ; and in the night the Terrana stole their camels. The men turned round and tried to get back on foot. Mustafa el Samalusi stayed at Uweinat, but Libeish of the Tacia [12] tribe reached Kufra. When the news of this mishap arrived, El Mahdi got together 105 men but there were very few animals, so that they started two men on a camel and in some cases three. Before they left the Senussi said to them " You think this is a raid, but it is not, I only want you to find a road and bring back the stolen animals." At Merga they found only two men with the camels that had been taken, and on the return journey they had a very bad time and several camels died. The Senussi chiefs had wanted me to go, but I refused as Ibrahim Feratice was going, and I did not like him. My uncle also refused to go. I was sitting on a rock with Haggi Qwayatin of the Jahama [13] Tribe, when this sorry cavalcade arrived on their return journey, all tired out, and now reduced to four and sometimes five to one camel : we jeered at them for going on such a foolish errand.

Then we left for Jalo as the water is scarce on this road there being none between Zighen and Buttafal ; the slaves were only given

11. ? Goran (Ed.).

12. ? Unidentified. Surely not Taeisha ? (Ed.).

13. One of the Tribes who first conquered Kufra from the Tibu. A. M. Hassanein. *Lost Oases* p. 175. (Ed.).

water from a bath, the water-skin being emptied into this and the slaves obliged to kneel and drink ; for we find that they then drink less than if we give it to them in a tin cup.

(this ends the story of Yunes Bedis)

NOTE ON SLAVES

Sayed Mohammed el Mahdi used to say " So far as we Muslimin are concerned there is no harm in having slaves, but if you go with blacks to the north the white men that live there will make it an excuse to fight you and take your country—and as they fight with engines such as you have not, and cannot have, they will beat you—therefore do not go with slaves to their country."

Slaves generally speaking do not have a very bad time and do not object to being taken into a town family, where they live in more comfortable surroundings than they would have in their native land, but they hate being sold to Bedouins who use them as shepherds, in which case they live in much the same surroundings as they would have in their own country, but have none of their own people about them for company. I have known of a slave who wished to leave one master and go to another, but his master objected, so he killed a camel belonging to the man he wanted to serve. Then there was a meeting between the owner of the slave and the owner of the dead camel, and the arrangement was made according to custom that the slave is handed over to the owner of the camel to compensate him for his loss. Slaves are generally well treated by the slave merchants as it is very important that they should be in good condition when put up for sale.

On the shores of the Red Sea an old slave said to me once " The only thing we fear in crossing that sea is the wicked boats of your countrymen, for we are put into irons and if one of your boats gives chase we are dropped into the sea in our irons ; so that we all offer prayers to God when we reach the shores of Arabia in safety."

W.E.J.B.

TWO GHOST STORIES.

By C. B. Tracey

The Bride of the Jinn. A true record.

In 1925 there lived in Jelhak market on the Upper Nile a young and one eyed merchant by name El Khidr. He was as shameless as he was dishonest. He ate the goods of his revered uncle the chief merchant and was sent away in disgrace to set up shop at Renk.

There his one eye fell on the sister of the office boy—a comely girl of twenty years or more, unusually advanced in years for a virgin. Reason there had to be. She was reputed to be the wife of a *Jinn*.

The ingenious Khidr however was not to be deterred by such an obstacle from a cheap and pleasurable union. "For" said he—"If the *Jinn* comes and finds me in possession he will see that I have but one eye, and uneasy as to where the other has got to, he will be afraid and leave me in peace." So he wed the girl: but his reasoning did not satisfy the prudent.

A short time later the District Commissioner by mere chance examined a boat that was calling at the pier, and discovered therein a consignment of giraffe hide addressed to El Khidr. The fine was five pounds, and very bad luck for a purely technical offence. But the prudent shook their heads.

A short time later the Armenian merchant, a mild and patient man, lodged a complaint against El Khidr. He had been induced to make a substantial cash advance on a big groundnut crop which was still in the ground. El Khidr had said that it was his own when he signed the bill; but now ingenuously explained that it had never been really his—it was his brother's —and he therefore regretted that he was unable to meet the bill. This simple commercial expedient found no favour with the court; and after a vigorous, raucous and well

nigh hysterical defence the magistrate wrote him down for six months and in accordance with the provisions of the Code informed him kindly of his right to appeal. The answer was a flood of tears and a wild insistence that on no account should any appeal be lodged. Such a complete reversal of Arab form surprised the magistrate: but the village understood.

So El Khidr worked in the Government garden till only one day of his sentence remained. And Lo! a column of smoke arose from the merchants' quarter. The Sergeant Major came hurrying down to the alarm from the lines, and bawled to a passing urchin "Whose house is it? Clear and fateful came the reply--

"El Khidr's! The *Jinn* has got him again."

The prisoner emerged a broken man; and divorced the office boy's sister. Such a run of luck could not be accidental. Or on second thoughts was it? For he has since taken her back and the children are doing well.

The White Snake. A true ghost story.

Towards the close of 1927 the Department of Public Works arranged to build a new house for the District Commissioner at Renk. The site was chosen half a mile north east of the District office on the top of a low sandy ridge. The ground plan had been pegged out and the materials had been sent up by river and dumped on the site. Pending the arrival of the building party a local villager had been taken on as watchman to live on the hilltop and prevent the theft of Government property. He was, like many of the Melakia there, a westerner from Darfur, who had been in the Khalifa's army till the end; and when demobilized had come and settled down at Deim Komshuar which lay a quarter of a mile away at the bottom of the slope.

One day the District Commissioner on his evening stroll came up the hill and found the old watchman sitting in a small shanty which

he had made himself from sheets of corrugated iron. To pass the time of day he said "Bit of luck you getting a nice job like this. There aren't many jobs like this going in these parts."

"Ho?" replied the ancient in a hollow tone "There ain't many folks as would take it on—staying up here all night—wouldn't do it myself weren't I an old soldier."

"Gracious! Father! What are you afraid of?"

"Afeared! I ain't afeared! But" a pause—"'Tis the people of the hill (*Nas el debba*). Only last night towards morning they came athrowing pebbles at me on this here shanty. But I took my stick and I went out after them and they run down yonder hole in the shape of a large white snake." And stepping over to the corner peg of the house he tapped it, pointing out what appeared to be a rat hole beside it.

Well. It is no good arguing on matters like that: and the District Commissioner departed in peace: and next week the builders came and began to dig out the foundations beside that peg; and three feet down they found the skeleton of a man.

Inquiry elicited an explanation long forgotten. Sixty years or more ago the Dinkas used to have a cattle camp up there, till the son of the chief had been accidentally killed in a dance there. They had buried him in a hut on the spot and left the place; and ever since the hill had remained empty.

Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness. Medical Services wear to this day the snakes of Aesculapios in their badge. According to Aristophanes those snakes were white; and according to the classical archaeologists the snakes depicted on the funerary tablets at Pompeii and elsewhere were perhaps symbols of the vital spinal column—emblems of immortality.

And why should an illiterate Sudanese watchman specify a white snake?

It is no good accusing the local *merissa*—it is not strong enough.

But it is strange.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

cf. The snake cult in Darfur as described by Macmichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan* Vol. I p. 101.

SOAP MAKING AT KARKOJ.

By L. E. Turner.

A small soap making industry has been established at Karkoj, in the old Fung Province, for many years. Formerly it was carried on by one family at Karkoj only, but they have now spread to Singa and other people have also taken up the trade at Karkoj, Singa and Wad el Nail.

Soap making was started at Karkoj in the following circumstances:

A man named Hassanein Mohamed, Ashraf of the Maghrabi tribe, a native of Tunisia and a *Bulukbasha* in the Egyptian Army was stationed at Sennar during the Dervish rebellion. When Sennar fell to the Dervishes he escaped and went first to Gedaref where his family were living and then, taking his family with him, to Karkoj.

Living with this family at Karkoj was a young boy, the son of Hassanein's sister, whose father, a native of Berber, had been killed by the Dervishes. In the year six of the Mahdia, when there was a great scarcity of food and the Hassanein family were finding difficulty in supporting themselves, the boy was asked what he could do to earn his keep, and he replied that he knew how to make soap. A rotl of simsim oil was procured with small quantities of natron and lime and the boy set to work watched by the whole Hassanein family.

The soap making was successful and soon larger quantities were made, but instead of natron the boy now obtained the alkali required from the ash of a plant called dalli (*Trianthema salsoloides*). This plant is plentiful in the district and large quantities of the ash can be obtained at little cost.

At that time soap was almost unobtainable in this part of the Sudan, a small piece is said to have cost ten piastres, and the inner bark of the heglig tree was commonly used as a substitute.

The women of the Hassanein family quickly learned the soap making process and the Berber boy remained working with them till the year "eight" when he set out for Berber with a new outfit of clothes and £E. 3 in his possession, but he was killed by Dervishes on the way.

When more settled times came to the Sudan, the soap making business flourished and Karkoj soap was sent as far north as Wad

Medani and south to Roseires but the competition of cheap soap from the north has now somewhat reduced the market for the home made article. At Karkoj fourteen and at Wad el Nail one soap boiling pans are working intermittantly and at Singa about five are working fairly regularly. The output is roughly 1,000 kantars at Karkoj and about the same at Singa annually. The price obtained by the soap maker is now about P.T. 75 per kantar.

The method of making soap as now practised at Karkoj is as follows :—

Quantities of dalli are collected, dried and burnt and the ashes mixed with an equal quantity of lime. The lime is made locally from limestone found in the bed of the Blue Nile. Forty rotls of the ash and lime mixture is put in a pan which has holes pierced in the bottom and over it is poured slowly ten petrol tins of water. From this is collected seven tins of more or less alkaline solution, about three tins of water being wasted in the process. The first tin is rather dark coloured and fairly strongly alkaline and No. 7 is clear and only faintly alkaline.

Twenty eight rotls of simsim oil is now put in a pan and to this is added No. 7 tin of water and the mixture is boiled till most of the water has boiled away, then No. 6 tin is added and later No. 5 and so on. A tin of water is not poured in all at once but added gradually. After No. 2 tin a rotl and a half of salt is added and finally the strongest solution from No. 1 tin.

The whole boiling process takes six or seven hours and the soap is ready for cooling when it reacts to the following test.

A stick or the tip of the finger is dipped into the pan and the mixture adhering is smeared quickly on the palm of the hand. If it peels off easily the soap is ready for cooling but if it sticks to the hand, more boiling is required.

If dalli ash is not available the soap-maker may use natron, soda or a whitish earth which is obtainable, in this district, only at Launi. When dalli ash is used equal parts of ash and lime are mixed, with natron six rotls to one keila lime, with soda two okes to one keila lime and with the white earth two keilas earth to one keila lime.

A BARI STONE.

By R. C. Cook.

UNDER Paruk, one of the mountains which forms the Bilinian range, (Long: 31° 45′ and just north of the 4° 45′ parallel) is to be found a stone figure near the grave of one Lualla Lo Pundö whom it is said to represent. (See Plate I)—(a) and (b).

This figure is inserted in the ground 1 foot 1 inch, has a total height of 2 feet 5 inches, and is 9 inches across at its widest point. When I asked the Chief if either he or his men would remove the figure to enable me to photograph it he said they were afraid, but they had no objection to my removing it. My police orderly, a converted Catholic from Lulubö said he was not afraid to assist in its removal or replacement.

The figure's features are now barely discernible after the weathering that has taken place during the last 150 years. Lualla Lo Pundö was a very great man in his time which is said to be somewhere about 1785 in the reign of Chief Dere Lo Subek of Bilinian (See Mr. A. C. Beaton—A Chapter in Bari History: *S. N. & R.* Vol. XVIII, 1934). He was a great rainmaker and is revered even unto this day. In March of every fifth year rites are carried out at the site of his grave which the writer hopes to attend as in 1940 a fifth year comes again. He belonged to the Bekat Limat clan, and all its members, men and women and children, living at Bilinian attend the ceremony. Other members of the clan who live elsewhere may also attend if they so desire. The rainchief, clan head and elders assist in the celebrations which include the slaughtering of a bull or two and some goats. Later they all return to the village of Bilinian, some three miles away, to drink beer and dance until well into the small hours of the next day. The observation of this rite is supposed to eliminate sickness amongst the people and cattle, to make both their women and cattle fruitful and to cause the rain to fall so that they may have crops in abundance.

I have heard of no other carvings of this nature and the chief tells me that this is the only one of its kind and that the mason's art has not been handed down.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

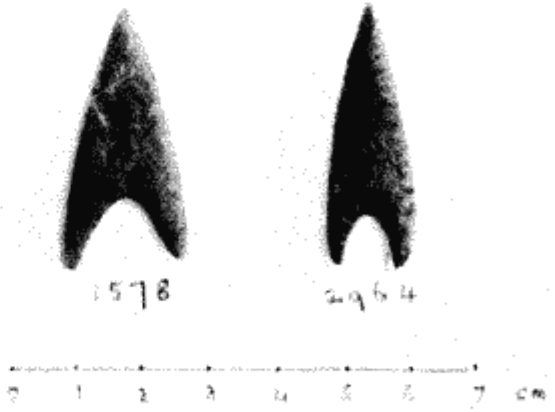
(Compare article by G. W. Bell on Nuba Fertility Stones in Vol. XIX p. 313)—



(*a*) A BARI STONE.



(*b*) A BARI STONE.



(*c*) QUARTZ ARROWHEADS.

A QUARTZ ARROWHEAD FROM ZANKOR.

By J. M. Edmonds

The ruins of Zankor were described by A. E. D. Penn (*S.N.R.* XIV 1931 pp. 179-184) after he had made some excavations there. During a brief visit to Zankor on December 25th, 1937, while walking over that part of the site lying within the stone enclosure, my wife picked up from the surface of the ground a small Libyan-type arrowhead (number 2964 in the collection of the Antiquities Service). The point at which the arrowhead was found, referred to the diagram, figure 1 of Penn's paper, is within the walls of site A and about the position of the S of the word RUINS.

Measurements :—

Length	.. 40 mm.
Breadth	.. 14 mm.

Plate I, (c) shows this arrowhead photographed beside a somewhat similar arrowhead found in tumulus 6 at Kurru by Dr. Reisner (No. 1578 in the Antiquities Service Collection).

I would like to add a few notes on some of the points arising out of Penn's paper.

The ' flints ' (Penn, page 180, 3rd line from bottom) are fragments of vein quartz. They appear to be of natural origin and to come from the weathering of the bricks on the site. These bricks contain much coarse sand and angular quartz and were probably made locally in the valley to the east of the site. The vein quartz fragments must originally have come from veinlets in the metamorphic rocks in the neighbourhood.

The ' cement-like ' jar, which has now a home in the Khartoum Museum garden, and the stone pillars on the site, are of sandstone.

The *midden* on the flank of the hill and south of the site (Penn, page 181) is covered with iron slag and may mark the position of an iron-smelting works.

LYNCH LAW IN THE EASTERN JEBELS.

By T. R. H. Owen

At the end of July 1939 the Otoro-Tira court in Eastern Jebels district sentenced a Tira man rejoicing in the name of O'randy O'murray (no other spelling represents the sound quite as well) to one and a half years imprisonment, ostensibly for causing hurt by witchcraft and stopping the rain. It was also reported that he had been nearly killed by an angry mob. The judgment, as it stood, could not be supported and had to be quashed and the man was released. The details are of some interest and I therefore record them.

O'randy's sister's daughter had married a man of the Noli clan, one of the two clans (the other being the Rai) among the Tira Nuba associated with rain, storms and thunderbolts. O'randy himself had no hereditary connexion with such things whatever, but he was something of "a dealer in magic and spells" and dabbled in roots and cures and curses, often obtained from West Africans and suchlike disreputable non-Nuba sources. He did not like his niece's marriage and put a spell on her, by administering some root-medicines to her food, which should make her barren and cause her to hate her husband and fall in love with another man. The spell worked admirably; no heir appeared, she could not abide her husband and began to receive the advances of a rival.

Her Noli husband began to suspect what had happened and accused O'randy of putting a spell upon the girl. O'randy denied and said that he would take an oath, and a meeting of elders and sheikhs decided to administer it. The Noli clan keep a special spear for such oaths; the Rai also keep one, which is if possible more terrible than that of the Noli. These spears are in charge of particular members of the clans and are kept hung up in the smoke from the house-fires where they get blackened and smoke-stained. Anyone swearing falsely on these spears of the rain-clans is sure to find himself in the

path of the next thunderbolt which comes his way. On this Noli spear, in full assembly, O'randy was sworn that he had not bewitched the girl.

A day or two later he appeared, with a black goat, before the girl's husband. He was deeply distressed and said that, as a matter of fact, he had perjured himself and would his adversary please "sprinkle" him. When you have taken a false oath there is only one way of avoiding the consequences. You must sacrifice a black animal, a cock, goat or sheep, and the person offended by the oath must take a bowl of water and with his hand sprinkle it over your head and so release you from your guilt. The Noli man, justly incensed and having lost the affection of his wife, refused to do anything of the kind and said the culprit must incur his punishment.

O'randy was terrified. It was July, storms were about daily, and the next lightning flash might find him out. He was not of a rain-clan and had no hereditary influence on approaching troughs of low pressure. However other magic might avail, and he went to a Kahli fiki then living on the borders of the Tira, and bought from him for P.T. 20, which he did not pay, a suitable recipe for averting storms. A day or two later a healthy and much needed storm was approaching the Tira hills and O'randy was seen by six witnesses standing with upraised spear in front of his house, in the stance of a pantomime fairy with upraised wand. Tied to the spear, below the head, were some fowl's feathers, some grass from the roof of a house, a roll of blackish paper with texts on it, and two pig's feet. This mixed bag he waved slowly backwards and forwards, repeating an abracadabra which the witnesses could not hear and he will not divulge. The storm obediently passed by to one side and Tira was left dry.

This happened several times running. O'randy was not a popular figure at the best of times and now what need was there of further witnesses? If rain was to come he must be killed. The Tira had killed a similar rain-stopper ten or twelve years ago, forcibly restraining two Government police while they did so, and Government had only

made them pay a number of cows as blood money. They had killed another one about 1914 and all Government had done was to take one or two of the offenders and put them into the army. Was it not better to pay a few cows or provide a few recruits than to lose all their crops? Accordingly a large party set out to deal with him.

Very fortunately they found him absent from his house, which they pulled down; and meanwhile Mek Rahma Loicho of Tira, hearing what was afoot, sent to search for O'randy, discovered him and had him put under arrest. The vengeance party arrove shortly afterwards and demanded blood. Mek Rahma said that he wanted to do a bit of inquiry into the case, it was already evening, and he would hand him over for death in the morning. This partly pacified the avengers but what pacified them more was that the moment O'randy had been landed safely under arrest with the Mek a rainstorm had begun which continued till the small hours of the following morning.

During that night the Mek sent him up to the court-house at Kauda, ten miles away, where the Otoro-Tira court, under Mek Arnu Keppe, was going to hold its monthly sitting next day. Thither the mob repaired, now swollen to considerable numbers and armed with spears, sticks and guns. These weapons were laid down, except the sticks, when the crowd demanded their victim. When you kill a rain-stopper it must only be done one way: neither gun nor spear must be used: he must be beaten to death with blows on the body; the head must not be struck and anyone doing so is liable to be the victim of the next thunderbolt.

The court had considerable difficulty in keeping the mob from rushing the court-house. It eventually however succeeded in hearing the witnesses, extracted the whole story, and informed the multitude that it had decided to hand the accused over to the Government to be put to death—while actually recording a sentence of eighteen months imprisonment on O'randy for putting harmful spells on a woman and for deliberately preventing the rain.

Whether the public would have accepted this is uncertain, but the decision had scarcely been announced when the clouds, which had

meantine accumulated, burst in a rainstorm which left no doubt that the judgment was approved by the Highest Court. The crowd dispersed and a day later O'randy found himself lodged safely in gaol.

He is now out of prison and living in Rashad, on the strict condition that he does not return to Tira. If the rains are bad this coming season, we shall know what to do.

When a man commits an act which he firmly believes will have a certain effect, knowing that effect to be anti-social, and that effect comes to pass, while a sceptical twentieth century Government declines to agree with him that the effect was the result of his act, has he committed a tort, a felony, or nothing at all ? I will leave this to the pundits of the Law.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NAME MONGALLA.

THE EDITOR,

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS,

DEAR SIR,

I have seen correspondence dealing with the origin of the name Mongalla in *S.N. & R.* Vol. xxi 1938 and Vol. xxii 1939 and in consequence I made some local enquiries which may be of interest and which I think may clear up the origin of the name Mongalla.

In the latter volume Whishaw is quoted as calling Lado, Lado-Mongalla. I have seen the oldest inhabitant of Lado, aged nearly 80, who is quite emphatic that Lado was never known as Lado Mongalla, but as Lado only. Both this ancient and a headman, who lives some five miles from Mongalla, state that the name Mongalla was given to that place by the first Government Officials who arrived to make the station. On arrival they asked the headman's father, Lado Lo Wusöŋ, who was then chief of the area, the name of the place, and he replied Mankaro. Mankaro is the name of the headman's village and was also the name of the country round about including what is now known as Mongalla. If Mongalla is pronounced as it should be *i.e.*, almost eliminating the first "a," and Mankaro with a very short second "a," they sound, when a native says them, very similar and could easily be mistaken. This I feel is the correct explanation. Another story which has been told is that a number of cattle were seized as a fine at about the time of the occupation of Mongalla, being brought in from the Beiri of Lafon. Amongst them was a very fine Bull and when the official asked its name, he was told Mongalla, whereupon he said he would call the station Mongalla.

My ancient laughed at this story and said the teller was only a lad at the time Mongalla was founded and knew nothing about it.

R. C. COOKE.

Juba
Equatoria Province.

GWEK'S PIPE AND PYRAMID

THE EDITOR,

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS,

DEAR SIR,

I was very interested in Mr. Coriat's article in your last number about the pyramid of Dengkur. Though not present at Gwek's demise I was nearby at the time as I was then in the process of taking over the District.

Until last year Gwek's pipe used to repose under my office table first at Abwong and then here, and I used to get a considerable amount of amusement out of watching the faces of Nuers whom I used to offer to have a smoke out of it. Unfortunately, while I was out on trek, owing to the foolishness of a Mounted Policeman, the *kurnuk* in which it was kept went up in flames and it was not saved*. Perhaps a good thing.

It was not particularly remarkable as a work of art. The Anuak make heavy brass bracelets with knobs on. The pipe bowl, similar in shape to all Nuer pipes, was made of this metal and in this fashion, which probably the Nuer thought wonderful. Nuer pipe bowls are made of clay, so this was a bigger and a better pipe, and metal they know very little about.

As regards the origin of the Ngundeng family and why the pyramid was built, about which Mr. Coriat is in doubt. According to Lil Ngundeng, (brother of Gwek), who has now inherited the 'spirit,' the family tree is as follows :—

GA'A

Ding Targaa
Gaa Ding
Wujok Gaa
Gil Wujok
Jithcuor Gil
Can Jithcuor

Bul Nuer

first who came to Lou.

*NOTE.—After writing the above Capt. Alban caused a search to be made and found the remains of Gwek's pipe, pieced it together again, and at the request of Mr. Coriat (the lawful owner) has presented it to the Khartoum Museum. (ED.)

Bung Can first who married into Lou.
Ngundeng Bung first to get ' spirit.' Built pyramid.
Gwek Ngundeng, Lil Ngundeng.

If this is correct, it will be seen that the family is of the aristocratic lineage (diel) of the Bul Nuer.

The pyramid was built for this reason. At that time the Lou, and probably all the Nuer in this area, were ravaged by small-pox and rinderpest, which may have been a new thing for them. It was thought that this was something to do with the earth or land. So Ngundeng Bung, who was a land chief (Kwar Muou) hit on the idea of burying these plagues in the earth. Naturally it had to be a big thing, and as for the shape it was bound to follow that of a Nuer cattle 'luak', as they had never built anything else. This was done, and a number of cattle sacrificed at the same time.

It worked perfectly and the disease stopped (wore out as of course we know) and did not occur again for a long time (as is natural with these diseases after all have been bitten by them).

I think it must have been then, when his credit stood so high, that Ngundeng announced that he was possessed of a ' spirit'.

Even this year, because of the locust plague, people are saying it would be a good thing to ' close up ' the pyramid (blown up in Nuer Settlement, but only the top knocked off) so as to enclose and bury this plague. Lil asked for permission to return in order to do this, which request was refused.

Akobo, A. H. ALBAN.
Upper Nile Province.

AFRICAN GENEALOGIES

THE EDITOR,
SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS,
DEAR SIR,

I am studying East African Genealogies and am anxious to obtain information on certain points about any tribe in the southern Sudan. I shall be very grateful to anyone who can give me information on the following points.

(1) Some peoples, like the Nuer, can trace their descent from an ancestor many generations back. Others, like the Azande, cannot trace back their descent for more than three or four generations. Information is desired about the number of steps to which a people can trace back their descent.

(2) Among peoples who have chiefs it frequently happens that although Commoners cannot trace their descent far back they know the descent of their chiefs for many more generations. Among such peoples information is desired not only about the number of steps to which they can trace back their own descent, but also about how far back they can trace the descent of their chiefs, and how far back the chiefs themselves can trace their descent.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

Exeter College,
Oxford.

DIKDIKS AND DUIKERS

THE EDITOR,

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS,

DEAR SIR,

I must question the accuracy of the first footnote in Dr. Corkill's Kambala article in Vol. XXII (1939) Part II. He gives the Latin name of UM DIQ DIQ as *Rhynchotragus sp.* and may have fallen into that old game-trap of thinking that UM DIQ DIQ is the DIK-DIK when it is nearly always the DUIKER.

Rhynchotragus is a subgeneric group of the generic group of DIK-DIK, the other being *Madoqua*. In the Sudan we have *Rhychotragus guentheri Smithi* in the Torit-Kapoeta area and *Madoqua saltiana* in the Kassala area. Brocklehurst also gives an undefined DIK-DIK in southern Darfur.

The Nuba Mountains are full of the ordinary Abyssinian DUIKER, *Cephalophus grimmi abyssinicus* (given as *Sylvicapra grimmi abyssinica* in Brocklehurst), and it will be suprising if Dr. Corkill has been familiar with a DIK-DIK in the neighbourhood of Kadugli.

H. B. ARBER.

Rashad,
Kordofan Province.

REVIEWS.

Histoire du Règne du Khédive Ismail. Tome I I I. L'Empire Africain. 2e. Partie. (1869-1873) *par G. Douin. (Membre corresp-pondant de l' Institut de France.)* Published by *La Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte.* 1939. PRICE. P.T. 160.

M. Douin's second volume on the history of the Sudan during Ismail Pasha's reign in Egypt covers the interesting period during which he was trying to make a success of the country. It completes the very full account of Sir Samuel Baker's expedition to Equatoria, covers the events that led up to the Egypto-Abyssinian war of 1875 and gives much miscellaneous information about the administration from the time of Jaafar Mazhar Pasha to the beginning of the rule of Ismail Pasha Ayoub. Five years of Sudan history during a period about which little was known, apart from the scraps that were recorded by a few European travellers, here occupy 750 large pages. The book is well printed on good paper, and contains fifteen good sketch maps and a complete nominal index. The binding is not very secure.

This period of Sudan history is flattered by the expert and scholarly treatment that it is receiving from M. Douin. The narrative is based, to a large extent, on the archives in the Citadel and the Abdin Palace at Cairo and represents a prodigious amount of research, not only among those papers but also among the archives of the other governments that were involved in events in the Sudan. M. Douin expresses opinions sparingly and, it is unnecessary to add, with admirable objectivity. It is a pity, perhaps, that he has not made more use of the memories of people in the Sudan, for although the archives sometimes show that the Egyptian officials of that time had a better grasp of affairs than one might imagine, they had not an intimate knowledge of the doings of the bulk of the people. As a result, tribal affairs do not receive the attention proportionate to their importance in the history of the country. This is a minor criticism in view of the amount of new information about the doings of the government.

The account of the Baker expedition is an important addition to the history of Equatoria and also throws light on to the sincerity of Ismail Pasha's desire to suppress the slave trade as compared with his interest in imperial expansion. But the greater part of the book is, as in the first volume, devoted to the affairs in the eastern Sudan and particularly to the rather involved diplomacy that accompanied the scramble by both Egypt and the European powers to obtain bases in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. The description of the confused events in Abyssinia between the departure of Lord Napier and the time when King John secured the throne is admirably arranged. The Abyssinian version of this period has been fully told before but the Egyptian side of the picture, and particularly the part played by Werner Munzinger, has long been obscure. Munzinger, it will be remembered, was killed in 1875, at what was to have been the peak of his career, and, prolific writer though he was, his despatches both as French Consul at Massawa and later as Governor of Massawa and Governor of the Eastern Sudan, have hitherto never been published.

The account of Munzinger's occupation of Keren is all of it new material: it was Ismail Pasha's intention to keep his actions as obscure as possible while he was completing the encirclement of northern Abyssinia and until these archives were published he had succeeded in doing so. Munzinger, it appears, even went so far as to suggest that the seat of Government should be moved from Massawa to Amideib, a post south-east of Kassala in what is now Eritrea, to avoid the little publicity that his actions were receiving. The detailed description of the diplomacy that followed the occupation of Keren casts a revealing light on the methods practiced in Cairo at that time and for duplicity they would be hard to better. One looks forward to M. Douin's account of the Egypto-Abyssinian war of 1875, an incident which at present, apart from the battles fought, is shrouded in mystery.

As regards the administration of the Sudan, this volume covers the work of the Governors-General, Jaafar Mazhar Pasha and Ahmed Mumtaz Pasha. The former is less interesting than the latter who, as the man who started the commerical cultivation of cotton, claims

a good deal of attention. M. Douin's account of him does not lead one to believe that Mumtaz was anything but the most superficial of fair-weather economists. Again the eastern Sudan receives most attention because it was first as Governor of Suakin and then as Governor of the Eastern Sudan that Mumtaz developed most of his schemes. In addition there are long extracts from the report of Shahin Pasha who was sent to the Sudan by the Khedive to report on its economic prospects. Railways, telegraphs, and public works all receive attention and if education, medical services and justice receive rather scantier treatment, one may be sure that it is only because they were considered to be proportionately less important by the government.

It is difficult to over-state the importance of M. Douin's work on this period of Sudan history and one hopes that the *Société' Royale de Géographie d' Égypte* will not remove its patronage from M. Douin's work until he has thrown light into more dark corners of our history. For anyone who is interested in the Sudan under the Egyptian regimé and who feels equal to studying it in some detail in French, these books are essential both for general reading and for reference.

D. C. C.

THE KHEDIVE ISMAIL AND SLAVERY IN THE SUDAN

(1863-1879)

By M. F. Shukry, Cairo. Librairie La Renaissance d'Egypte, 1938.

Through the liberality of the Royal House of Egypt students are now allowed access to the historical archives of the Abdin Palace which contain a wealth of material concerning the Egyptian administration of the Sudan.

It is a welcome sign that the younger Egyptian historians are applying themselves to the study of Sudanese history. The field is enormous and they have the documents at their door. In this thesis for the doctorate in the University of Liverpool the author, who is

himself a lecturer in modern history in the University of Egypt, has made use not only of the Abdin archives but has carried his researches into the dossiers of the Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay. On the whole he has succeeded in steering a judicious course through a vast ocean of partisan evidence.

The point of view throughout this book is Egyptian and therein lies its value. The author attempts to see the problem of slavery as the Khedive Ismail saw it. He sets out to explain and, in explaining, to justify Ismail's policy towards slavery in the Sudan. He traces the relationship between the slave trade and Mahdism. Ismail was a ruler of enlightened if not always realistic views but he has not enjoyed until recently what may be called a good press. But the passing of the years and the study of archives have engendered a more sympathetic attitude towards that interesting man.

The author makes detailed reference to the parts played by Baker and Gordon in the suppression of the slave trade. Gordon comes out well from the ordeal of investigation though a tendency to ' debunk ' Sir Sam is unworthy of the quality of the rest of the book. Baker was certainly a fighting man but he lacked subtlety and placed himself at a disadvantage in his dealings with the pashas and the slave traders. The difficulties which beset Baker's expedition of 1870-3 to the Upper Nile in carrying out the objects of its mission were immense. It would have needed a superman combining in his person the courage of Baker, the cunning of Raouf and the patience of the Devil to have stamped out the slave trade on the Upper Nile during those anarchic years.

A full bibliography completes an important work. It is a pity that the author should have adopted a transliteration from the Arabic which makes the names of persons and places needlessly hard to identify. Poor typography and a misprint on almost every page have spoilt at least one reviewer's pleasure.

R. L. H.

ANOMALOUS DENTITION AND ITS RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE IN AFRICA

S. LAGERCRANTZ

43pp and four distribution maps. No. 46 Publications of the Royal Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, price 4 kroners.

This is a valuable contribution to the study of medical and applied anthropology. It throws much light on infanticide practised among African tribes through a belief in magic. A copy should be in the hands or availabe to all medical practitioners as it is clear from the text that sympathetic advice or if necessary a minor surgical operation might save the life of the infant.

It illustrates one of the many cases where any legislation would be futile and the personal influence of a medical officer or medical missionary would be effective.

Sudan Notes and Records and *Tanganyika Notes* and *Records* are among the authorities cited for some of the cases noted.

A.E.R.

" ROCK DRAWINGS OF SOUTHERN UPPER EGYPT. II "

SIR ROBERT MOND DESERT EXPEDITION

HANS. A. WINKLER.

ROYAL Quarto, pp. viii + 40 + 62 collotype plates (one in colour) and folding map. Price 25s. or to subscribers to the Egypt Exploration Society 17s. 6d.

Published by Humphrey Milford (Oxford University Press) for the Egypt Exploration Society. 1939.

This publication (referred to, for convenience, as RSUE. II) is a companion volume to Winkler's " Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I." (RSUE. I.) which, it will be recalled, was reviewed in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XXII, Part I, 1939.

The area covered comprises the west bank of the Nile from Qena to Aswan together with the Western Desert as far as Uwenat and the

Gilf Kebir by way of Kharga and Dakhla so that this RSUE. II. rounds off RSUE. I. which deals with the Eastern Desert and the east bank of the river.

The classification of the collected material is the same in both volumes, that is to say under the three main headings I, Inscriptions, II, Signs, and III, Pictures, with divisions for Arab, Graeco-Roman-Coptic, Dynastic, Predynastic, and Undatable Early.

The Sudan Civil Service earns an honourable mention in that Winkler acknowledges his indebtedness to Douglas Newbold, our Civil Secretary, in general terms (Preface, *p. V.*) and more specifically (p. 23) for the elucidation of an otherwise uninterpreted rock-painting.

Although many of the rock-drawings from the west are matched by similar finds in the east (RSUE. I.) nevertheless RSUE. II. brings to us much material that, in Winkler's words, is " new and partly quite unexpected " and it is to this new evidence that we shall particularly turn our attention.

Wherever his work during 1937-8 bears upon that of 1936-7 Winkler reports that his earlier conclusions are strengthened, and in some cases encouragingly amplified, so that, in this respect, the results of the two seasons work dovetail together very satisfactorily. For example the Earliest Hunters remain unchallenged in their pride of place as the first petroglyphic artists and the predynastic frame-work outlined in RSUE. I. is confirmed. In RSUE. I. the Earliest Hunters are described as coming we know neither whence nor when and disappearing we know not whither. We are still ignorant of their origins but Winkler now finds, from their latest elephant pictures, that they evolved into, or fused with, the Amratians. His arguments may not meet with universal acceptance but they are much less exiguous than many I have known put forward by prehistorians and to me they are not unreasonable. It is to be hoped that some day Winkler will be in a position to suggest an upper chronological limit for his Earliest Hunters though it seems to me that such evidence will hardly be forthcoming from the Western Desert.

It will be remembered from the review of RSUE. I. that, up to that time, the Libyan sheath or penistache had not been reported west of the Nile. This point has been more than cleared up for Winkler now shows that the Libyan sheath was the " typical garment " of the Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers.

We would hardly expect any thrilling discoveries amongst the Arab petroglyphic finds and, in the main, the additional material of this period conforms to the stereotyped inscriptions, *wusūm*, foot-outlines or sandal marks, feluccas and camels. However, from a number of distinguishing features allied with an unusual variety of subject-matter Winkler is able to draw conclusions that are interesting and important. In the Eastern Desert the Arabic inscriptions are mostly the legacies of pilgrims to the Hegaz while in the Western Desert they are the work of slaves and slave-traders and there is a unique picture of a row of slaves chained together and led by a slave-trader. One might note, in passing, some inscriptions dated 1914–1918 and left by the Senussi and their adversaries the Australians. Winkler is able to distinguish Arabs of the Nile Valley and beyond, with their boats, crocodiles, and scimitars, from Arabs of the west and south, with their straight Hamitic swords and throwing-irons, and finds that this suggestion from the petroglyphs is supported by oral tradition and is confirmed by the *wusūm*.

The Graeco-Roman-Coptic material is, as one would expect, comparatively scanty and, like the Arab, it is stereotyped with a few departures from type. There seems to be a fondness for red paint in this period for, in addition to incised work, there are paintings and even some pictures in a mixed incised-painted technique. The subjects include men on horseback which Winkler rightly interprets as representing the warlike holy men of the Coptic legends and of which I have seen fine examples amongst the Christian remains in Lower Nubia. Winkler also found a peacock, a dragon, three fish arranged in the form of a star, and palm branches, all of which subjects are from Coptic religious symbolism.

The Dynastic Period has bequeathed us very little west of the Nile and this, in Winkler's area, is confined to a single station near Dakhla. We note this dearth of dynastic material in our passage to the Predynastic and the pre-Predynastic (Winkler's "Undatable Early") within the indeterminate limits of which the bulk of the petroglyphs in this part of the world are to be considered as falling.

So far everything has been plain sailing but from now on things become more difficult, so much so that some of us may be tempted, on occasion, to part company with Winkler and to paddle our own canoes.

We come to Winkler's Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers who, as in the Eastern Desert, occupy a position of key importance. To quote Winkler (p. 17). "The Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers were cattlebreeders, probably the forefathers of those peoples whom we know in historic times as speaking Hamitic languages. Their rock-drawings were found in the Eastern Desert as well as in the Sahara. They cover by far the largest space. They were already present at a time when giraffes and elephants still roamed over the deserts of today. They continued to live in the manner of their forefathers probably right up to dynastic times. Indeed, I believe that the Blemyans and the modern Hamitic bedouin in the Eastern Desert are their descendants. The researches of the season of 1937-8 gave rich evidence of these Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers in the Western Desert." Winkler finds the rock-drawings of his Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers "in compact masses" at the "pasture oases" and in the "valleys with rich vegetation" and reports that they are lacking or occur only very scantily in the intermediate spaces. He argues that these people are dependent on their cattle which are their livelihood and that they were thus tied to the oases. After stating (p. 18) that "they persist through a long period of time" he goes on to say (p. 19) "In an early time of larger rainfall communication was possible over wide tracts, for instance from Uwenat to the Eastern Desert, and was a fact. Increasing dessication first isolated the groups of the Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers in their various

pasture oases, and finally drove them out of them—one group one way and one another". Now if the Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers "persist through a long period of time" and if they "were already present at a time when giraffes and elephants still roamed over the deserts of today" and if they were "first isolated by increasing dessication" and if they drew pictures of giraffes, antelopes, and ostriches (as Winkler tells us they did) why should Winkler regard them as Cattle-Breeders and as the Hamitic blind alley having no connexion whatever with his Earliest Hunters? It will be remembered that I raised this same question in the same context in my review of RSUE. I.

The longest chapter in Winkler's book is that dealing with Uwenat and though his new material greatly enriches our knowledge of this intriguing and important station it is doubtful whether we shall all agree with his interpretation of the evidence. At Uwenat there are as many rock-paintings as there are rock-engravings and, after a careful study of both paintings and engravings, more particularly as regarding their style and subject-matter, Winkler concludes that they were all done by the same people and that these Uwenat folk were Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers to whom he gives the specialised label "Uwenat Cattle Breeders." Let me quote from Winkler, "Engravings of giraffes and ostriches appear occasionally underlying those of cattle. In these few cases we learn merely that the game had been engraved before the cattle, but whether by a different people we do not know. (p. 20.)—There are such remarkable differences in style and subject that one is inclined to think that there was one people who painted and another who engraved. But a closer study shows that paintings and engravings must be the work of the same people. (p. 20.)—The scarcity of real hunting-scenes is noteworthy. Trapping was probably the main craft of the hunter. (p. 22.)—Cattle are more frequently represented than anything else in the paintings and engravings. No doubt cattle-breeding was the livelihood of these people. (p. 22.)—Engravings never occur on walls bearing paintings. (p. 23)." From a general consideration he finds that, in

both paintings and engravings, "cattle is the main subject" and that cattle-paintings and cattle-engravings have so many features in common as to furnish proof that all the paintings and all the engravings were the work of the same people. (p. 24.). He then proceeds to a detailed analysis and records that the paintings include 129 cattle, 3 game animals, and 77 men of whom 2 have sticks or clubs, 11 have bows and 1 has a shield while the engravings include 114 cattle, 217 game animals, and 74 men of whom 37 have sticks or clubs, 2 have bows and 20 have shields. He concludes (p. 25.) "This comparison is highly surprising. The engravers are interested in game, in trapping, in dogs, in bulls. Their weapons are bent and straight sticks, clubs, shields, but rarely the bow. Their women are undressed.

"The painters are not interested in game and hunting and not in bulls, but in the udders of their cows and in the peaceful behaviour of cattle. Their men carry the bow, half of their women are not undressed but wear skirts. The painters show huts with the milk-pots hanging from the roof.

"I am convinced that the paintings and the engravings are made by the same people. So this extraordinary difference must be explained as the result of two different social groups within the same people.

"This leads to the following conclusion. The shelters are the dwellings of the married people. Here the families lived. Hence the interest in huts, in cows, in udders, in milk-pots. The skirt seems to have been the dress of the married woman, and the bow the main weapon of the married man. As elsewhere in primitive societies the grown-up lads were kept out of doors. They lived somewhere near these family homes outside these good shelters. And here outside they drew on the rocks what they had in their minds: giraffes, ostriches, and other game, trapping and dogs. They enjoyed the power of the bull, and displayed their dancing equipment: sticks, clubs, and shields.

"If our conclusion is so far right, we must explain why the people in the homes of the families painted and why those out of doors

engraved. The answer is that in all probability the painting was done in most cases by women."

On p. 25 Winkler also writes " I have to insert here that at site 80 a scene of fighting archers has been painted. This picture can scarcely have been done by women but rather by men."

Let us now ask ourselves a few questions about Winkler's interpretation of Uwenat. Has he persuaded us to share his " conviction ? " Do we find his explanation as satisfying as it is ingenious ? When the grown-up lads took to themselves wives did they suddenly lose all interest in game animals and in engraving ? If the painters had no interest in hunting but in the udders of their cows or in the peaceful behaviour of cattle and if the painters were women what were the married men doing ? What is the significance of the painted scene of fighting archers ? Did the Uwenat Cattle Breeders fight amongst themselves or with strangers and if with strangers were the strangers the earlier inhabitants of the district or were they later intruders ?

I should like to add here a few words on Winkler's " conviction." Winkler has studied these Uwenat pictures while I have not but I have seen enough thousands of rock pictures to know that the authorship of a petroglyph is not as demonstrable as is a proposition in Euclid. To those who clamour for " scientific " argument I would say " What is our vaunted " reason " that we should trust it to the total exclusion of our " feeling " and why, like nineteenth century materialists, should we rely always on our heads and never on our hearts ? "

To me the most important feature of the Uwenat pictures is the absence of elephants for " the elephant does not appear in their art " (p. 27.), and I shall return to this point when we come to consider the Earliest Hunters.

Let me round off this discussion of Uwenat by quoting " the material collected at Uwenat covers a long period. When we have at our disposal a richer collection comprising all the paintings still to be discovered at Uwenat, and further in the Western Gilf, it will probably be possible to demonstrate subsequent forms of this style

in this area. At present we can only distinguish a few variations, but we do not know how far they are confined to individuals, how far to schools" (p. 26). I should like to add that more engravings may yet be discovered as well as more paintings and that we must not lose sight of the fact that many paintings and many engravings have undoubtedly disappeared: more particularly is this so in the case of the engravings which were often on soft sandstone that has been badly eroded.

Winkler now breaks new ground with his "Early Oasis Dwellers" from Dakhla of whom he writes "This people and its drawings were the main discovery of last season" (p. 27). The type-picture is an engraving of a pregnant woman or rather an engraving of a statuette of a pregnant woman, and is unique. These pregnant women seem to be carefully, even richly, dressed and their voluminous skirts, almost like crinolines, show various patterns that Winkler attributes to weaving. These women remind me of some of the C Group women of Emery and Kirwan from Lower Nubia and whom, from their wide striped and checked skirts, I have been accustomed to refer to, in my own mind, as "milkmaids." The Early Oasis Dwellers also drew giraffes, antelopes, ostriches, and cattle but Winkler looks upon them as being neither hunters nor pastoralists and concludes, presumably by elimination, that they were probably plant-cultivators. There is petroglyphic evidence that, for some time at least, they shared their oasis with the Earliest Hunters with whom they seem to have lived on the friendliest terms.

And so we come to Winkler's last group (which is, chronologically, the first group), his Earliest Hunters, about whose distribution west of the Nile we should like to be better informed. On p. 31 Winkler writes "The Earliest Hunters have been found widely dispersed in the Western Desert," while on p. 32. we read "The Earliest Hunters have been found widely dispersed from the Nile Valley up to Dakhla Oasis" and again, on p. 17. "The group of the Earliest Hunters was observed all along the Nile and in the Oasis area." He found no "unmistakable characteristics" of this group at Uwenat though

some of the giraffes and antelopes at that station " recalled to me drawings of the Earliest Hunters " (p.20.).

What cannot but strike us most forcibly in connexion with the Earliest Hunters in the Western Desert is the lack of elephant pictures. Winkler's explanation for this is " In the Eastern Desert the elephant was apparently their main big game, in the Western Desert the giraffe. This difference is easily explained. The Eastern Desert was and is still far better watered than the Western one. In those days of greater rainfall the elephant found in the Eastern Desert suitable conditions of life, but not in the Western Desert. This country, on the other hand, was enough watered to provide ideal conditions of life for the giraffe" (p.31.). Further interesting comparisons between the Eastern and Western Deserts will be found on p.3 and on p.35. The Eastern Desert is today still habitable and is " a bridge between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea " while " The Western Desert is an endless emptiness." In the Eastern Desert the " peaks still gather the clouds, and the rain pours from time to time its blessing into the wadis," while " The Western Desert has been for a very long time a great sheet of pale parched land with here and there green spots—the oases." In the Western Desert the " earliest pictures come down to us from a time when the giraffe was still man's companion in the green spots of the yellow desert."

Winkler's comparison between the Eastern and Western Deserts demands our serious attention for this is a matter of the utmost importance to us. I think that the position as Winkler sees it would receive support from the works of Sandford and Arkell though I very much doubt if these authorities would push the aridity of the Western Desert as far back in time as does Winkler. Furthermore, is Winkler quite consistent here ? He describes two elephant pictures between Kharga and Dakhla (pp.33-4.) which he attributes to the last of the Earliest Hunters and which he equates with the Amratian period. He also refers to communication between Uwenat and the Red Sea " in an early time of larger rainfall" and of dessication setting in at the time of the Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers (p.19.) who, it will be recalled, are much later in Winkler's scheme than are his Earliest Hunters.

It seems to me that there are, on the evidence available at the moment, three possible solutions to this problem.

1. That the Earliest Hunters were contemporaneous all over the Eastern and Western Deserts as well as in the Nile Valley in the latitude of Upper Egypt but that while the Eastern Desert was elephant country the Western Desert was giraffe country. This is Winkler's view.

2. That the Earliest Hunters originated east of the Nile in elephant time and gradually worked their way westward, reaching the Western Desert in giraffe time. On this hypothesis those who demand a " cradle " for neanthropic man in these parts must look to the east rather than to the west.

3. That the Earliest Hunters were contemporaneous all over the Eastern and Western Deserts and in the Nile Valley and that their first pictures were elephant pictures but that whereas these elephant pictures have survived in the Eastern Desert and in the Nile Valley they have disappeared (through the erosion of comparatively soft rock) in the Western Desert. This is my opinion. I think also that the petroglyphic succession was the same in all three areas, namely, elephants, giraffes, antelopes, ostriches, cattle, but that the oldest pictures now surviving in the Western Desert are those of giraffes.

Most prehistorians have a bias towards a magical explanation when it comes to discussing the motives which inspired rock-drawings and in this connexion one must draw attention to Winkler's fair-mindedness. He considers that the Arab pictures are all the result of idle pastime and seem to have no magical significance (p. 15). Of the pregnant-woman engravings of his Early Oasis Dwellers he writes " It is obvious that we must look for a religious or magical explanation for these curious drawings " (p. 29,) while of the Uwenat paintings he tells us " Not for magical purposes or idle leisure were these pictures created, but for the love and joy of art " and of the Uwenat engravings " Even among the engravings occur drawings displaying this pure artistic spirit (p. 26). I would remind you that these artists who painted for the love and joy of art were, in Winkler's view, mostly women.

We are now in a position to consider the possible ethnic synthesis for Upper Egypt that suggests itself from Winkler's petroglyphic

researches. It will be remembered that RSUE. I. left us with four different strains, the Earliest Hunters who were chronologically as well as in other respects a race apart, and the three predynastic peoples, the Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers, the Early Nile Valley Dwellers, and the foreign Eastern Invaders. In RSUE. II. we meet these same four peoples again together with another predynastic foreign element in the Early Oasis Dwellers, and though Winkler's work in the Western Desert brings the prospect of a synthesis much nearer there still remains much work to be done before the complete pattern can be disclosed.

Although the Eastern Invaders crossed the Nile they did not go beyond the west bank and the Early Nile Valley Dwellers demand equally brief notice in that they did not penetrate the Western as they did the Eastern Desert. The only widely spread peoples are the Earliest Hunters and the Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers. Our knowledge of the former is now enlarged in that they survive into the Amratian though their source is still hidden in the mist beyond the predynastic while the origin of the latter is still a tantalising problem to which "we do not know the answer" (p. 37). Winkler teaches us more in that these five peoples had various contacts over a long period and which were on the whole, very friendly. Would we be justified in going a step further and suggesting that some of these peoples may have been relatives?

I seem to discern in Winkler's work a few hints and clues that might well repay further investigation. From RSUE. I. it is clear that there is a most unusual variety in the styles of the petroglyphs of the Early Nile Valley Dwellers, some being canonical while others are surprisingly like those of the Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers, whose penistache the Early Nile Valley Dwellers seem also to have worn. Winkler writes (p. 30.) "We may imagine that the style of the Early Oasis Dwellers could result, if people with the style of balanced exaggeration (that is to say the Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers) met the Earliest Hunters with their style of primitive exaggeration of detail." To quote further from p. 30. "The surface

around the sites of the Early Oasis Dwellers was covered with stone implements. Among them the frequest occurrence of Neolithic implements typical of the Faiyum is noteworthy."

It seems to me from the evidence available at this stage that the Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers occupy the crucial position in this ethnic puzzle. Why should they not be related to the Earliest Hunters, and to the Early Oasis Dwellers, and to the Early Nile Valley Dwellers? Winkler already looks upon them as the forefathers of the Hamites. Why should not the final synthesis result in a basal Hamitic stock which starts with the Earliest Hunters and continues in unbroken succession to the present day Beja with, as far as the predynastic is concerned, a foreign element in the Eastern Invaders?

May we hope that further field work by Winkler will result in RSUE. III. in which he will turn his particular attention to, as far as may be, a complete reconstruction of conditions in Upper Egypt as suggested by the petroglyphs?

Readers of *Sudan Notes and Records* will be particularly interested in Winkler's work at Uwenat, partly because it recalls Newbold's explorations in the Libyan Desert (*S. N. R.* Vol. VII and Vol. XI) and also because Winkler writes " we may confidently guess whither the Uwenat people went. The scarcity of rainfall pushed them out of their home at Uwenat. East, north, and west, all is sand and barren stone, so they must have gone to the south—on the trail of the giraffe—and they certainly survive in some tribes of the Sudan " (p.37.).

Winkler notes one resemblance between an Uwenat painting and a similar subject at Hierakonpolis but of the complicated and contentious comparisons between Uwenat, Eastern Spain, and South Africa, he contents himself with writing " The most striking feature in the material collected at Uwenat is the beauty of the pictures, characterized by a clearly determined style. Where was this style of balanced exaggeration first discovered, and by what kind of men (Query? should men include women?)? We find it in Eastern Spain, in Crete, in Greece, in various early statues in Egypt, and again in East and South Africa. Here in Uwenat we have one of the richest provinces of it. Did this style come from the Mediterranean to Africa,

or from Africa to the Mediterranean ? (pp.36-7.). In this connexion read Newbold's " Rock-Pictures and Archaeology in the Libyan Desert " (published in " *Antiquity* " Sept. 1938). I might add that Winkler's description of Uwenat paintings of " very slim human beings as thin as thread " (p.27.) reminds me of Wright's reference to the nematomorphic figures of men from Eastern Spain and Southern Rhodesia (" *Tools and the Man* " p. 202 and p.180).

Winkler's concluding paragraphs on the innate urge of the archaeological researcher " to conquer bit after bit of the unknown, to find the truth " are fine writing and will be enjoyed by all who read them. Taking this book by and large I look upon it as just about the best I have read on petroglyphic art and it is all the greater triumph for Winkler that he has won such appreciation from one who does not always agree with him. Winkler is an enthusiast (and no one but a real enthusiast could survive even the physical trials of petroglyphic research) but he is never bigoted or biased. He is frank and he always plays fair. He shows you all his material and tells you what he deduces from it, and why. If you do not come to the same conclusions nothing gives him greater pleasure than to discuss your differences and all who know Winkler will agree that his conversation is as attractive as is his writing.

It will not be out of place, in this review, to draw attention to two published articles that have a bearing on Winkler's work. Students of ethnic problems and of the light that may possibly be thrown upon them by petroglyphic art are reminded of Sir H. Richmond Palmer's " Observations on Mr. Francis Rodd's ' *Rock Drawings from Air,*' compared with Dr. Winkler's ' *Rock Drawings from the Eastern Desert of Upper Egypt.*" (Man, No. 106. July 1939). I refer also to R. F. Peel's " *Rock-paintings from the Libyan Desert* " which appeared in " *Antiquity* " for December 1939. This article has the sub-title " An Appendix to Dr. H. A. Winkler's ' *Rock-drawings of Southern Upper Egypt II* " and the writer of it accompanied, as surveyor and geographer, the Bagnold—Myers 1938 expedition which Winkler joined for that part of his work which was carried out in the Uwenat area.

J.H.D.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

D. C. CUMMING: Sudan Political Service. District Commissioner Kassala from 1.12.29 to 31.12.34.

A. C. BEATON: Sudan Political Service. Assistant District Commissioner Western Darfur from 1.11.35 to 31.10.38.

DR. E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD: Research Lecturer in African Sociology at Oxford University and sometime professor of Sociology at the Egyptian University, Cairo. His work in the Sudan needs no explanation to readers of this journal.

R. C. STEVENSON: Church Missionary Society (Linguistic) Worker in Western Jebels area of Kordofan.

JAMES HORNELL: Late Director of Fisheries to the Government of Madras, Marine Biologist to the Government of Ceylon, and Fishery Adviser to the Governments of Sierra Leone, Palestine, Malta, Mauritius etc. Mr. Hornell is the author of upwards of 200 papers on Zoology, Fishery Research and Administration, Botany, Ethnology, Archaeology, Folklore etc. Ethnologically he has specialised in Water Transport and String Figures.

P. B. BROADBENT: Sudan Political Service. District Commissioner Berber from 1.1.25 to 30.11.28. Edited *Sudan Notes and Records* from 16.4.33 to 15.11.37.

G. O. WHITEHEAD: Of Dover College. In the Sudan 1926—1931; worked under the Church Missionary Society at the Nugent School of the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission 1927—31.

H. B. ARBER: Sudan Political Service. Assistant District Commissioner Eastern Jebels District since 1936.

A. J. ARKELL: Sudan Political Service. Sudan Government Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology. Served in Darfur from 1921—1926 and again from 1932 to 1937.

J. M. EDMONDS: Sudan Government Geologist from 1934 to 1939.

Major W. E. JENNINGS BRAMLEY: Late Commandant of Eastern District of Western Desert Frontier Districts, Administration of Egypt, formerly Inspector of Dar El Kababish, Kordofan, Sudan 1915—17.

SISTER PUBLICATIONS

I.

The Uganda Journal

List of Contents of Volume 7, No. 3 of the UGANDA JOURNAL *published in January*, 1940. Subscription 10/- per annum.

Editorial.

The Power Concept in Lango Religion .. T. S. S. HAYLEY

Some Birds of Prey of Lake Victoria .. C. W. CHORLEY

The Supreme Being among the Acholi of Uganda—Another Viewpoint .. A. C. A. WRIGHT

Notes.

Some Antique Chairs in Namirembe Cathedral H. B. THOMAS, O.B.E.

A Legend of some Hills in Bulemezi .. G. W. NYE

Book Reviews.

Communicatlons should be addressed to the Honorory Secretary, Uganda Socity, Private Post Bag, Kampala.

II.

Tanganyika Notes and Records

is a Journal published twice yearly containing information dealing with Tanganyika Territory; with the flora and fauna, the fishes, the shells, the birds; tribal traditions and history; customs, superstitions and beliefs; boat-building and designs; types of native buildings, cultivation, irrigation and husbandry; the journeys of the great explorers; stories of the slave-running days; histories of places of historic interest, coastal harbours and ancient settlements; occurrences of stone implements and pottery; systems of land tenure; native lore, secret societies and witchcraft; geological formations and mining development, etc.

No. **1** Synopsis of the Geography of Tanganyika—Learning of Tribal Languages—Fostermothers in Ulanga—Ukara Island: Agricultaral Practices of the Wukara—Notes on the Mafia Island Group—The Story of Mbega—Agricultural Notes—Examination of the Engaruka Ruins—Nesting Habits of the Birds—Native Materia Medica—African Good Manners—The Tembe at Kwihara—Primitive Education in Bukoba—Sukuma Fables—Wasukuma Dance Societies—A Witch-Doctor at Work.

March 1936

No. **2** Retreat of the Kilimanjaro Delta—Historical Notes on East Africa—Meteoric Iron at Mbosi—Pole and Fuel Plantations and Windbreaks at Kwimba—Indonesian Echoes in Central Tanganyika—Native Medical Treatment—Tribal Organizations and Sleeping Sickness Concentrations of the Aba-Ha—The Menelik Legend.

October 1936

No. 3 A 1646 Africa Description—Longido and the Ketumbeine Mountains—Sea-Angling off the Coast—Mashokara Cultivations—Shirazi Colonizations of East Africa—Geological Notes on the Coastal Region—Notes on the Fipa—Ruins near Bagamoyo—Voyage de Marseille au lac Tanganyika en 1902—Anti-Locust Memoirs.

April 1937

No. 4 Introduction of Trout into Tanganyika—The Rufiji River—Migrant Birds of Tanganyika—East African Native Songs—Ancient Means of Water Transport—Vituperative Alliances between Masasi Clans—Some Ruins near Tongoni—Iron Smelting in Fipa—Some Tales of Tanganyika Natives.

October 1937

No. 5 Tribal Museum at Bweranyange—Tanganyika Mangrove Woods—Land Tenure in Usukuma—Voyage de Marseille au Tanganyika en 1906—African Pastimes—Flowering and Ornamental Shrubs and Trees—Mlau Cultivation in the Rufiji Valley—Banangoma and Basumba Batale Societies of the Bukwimba Wasukuma—Sea-Fishing near Tanga—Ngindo Honey-Hunters—Church Missionary Society, Ngambo—Arabic Family and Individual Names—The Ntore System in Bugufi—Letter-Writing in Ulanga.

April 1938

No. 6 A Key to the Recognition of the Commoner Birds of Tanganyika—Prehistory in Tanganyika—Rift Valley Ruins—Kilwa Civilization and Ruins—T.R.S. *Mwanza*—Soil Conservation amongst the Matengo Tribe—The Making of an African Historical Film—Sukuma Salt Caravans—Observations regarding Millipedes—Swahili Fables—Masai Cattle Auction.

December 1938

No. 7 Fishing on Lake Tanganyika—Filariasis—Strategic Retreat from Tsetse Fly—The Early Church Missionary Societies—The Grave of Fred Barker—The Machinga Caves—Haya Surnames—Bibliography of Ethnological Literature—The Position of Rainmaker among the Wanyiramba—A Curious form of Chiefly Succession in Ufipa—Shirazi Colonizations: Vumba.

June 1939

No. 8 Macroscopic Key to the Indentification of Timbers—History of *Robusta* Coffee—James Frederick Elton—German Medicine during the East African Campaign—Anthropological Notes from the Zanzibar Protectorate—The Watumbatu of Zanzibar—The Seasonal Rains in East Africa, etc.

December 1939

All members of the Tanganyika public are invited to send in articles and pictures, remembering that the scope of *Notes and Records* is intended to be as wide as possible and that contributions of general interest are as welcome as those on more specialist topics.

¶ Copies of the Journal can be obtained from the Editor, The Secretariat, Dar es Salaam. The first five numbers are being sold at Shs 2/50 (two shillings and sixpence) each (plus postage 30 cents). ¶Numbers six, seven and eight are sold at Shs 5/- (plus postage 30 cts.) ¶Subscription forms are obtainable on application to the Editor.

Sudan Notes and Records.

Vol. XXIII, 1940.

PART II.

CONTENTS.

ARTICLES.

The History of Kassala and the Province of Taka. D. C. CUMMING .. 225
(*Continued from Part I.*)

Folk Stories of the Sudan. II. E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD. A. C. BEATON 271

The Madi of Equatoria Province. J. V. ROWLEY 279

Stone enclosures in Dar Hawawir. J. M. EDMONDS 295

Fur Dance Songs. A. C. BEATON 305

Charms and Customs associated with Child-birth in the Northern Sudan.
ELAINE HILLS-YOUNG 331

The Relationship between the Anuak and the Fŏri.
E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD 337
(Reprinted by kind permission of the Royal Anth. Socty.)

NOTES.

On Game Migration in the South Eastern Sudan.
F. O. CAVE and A. CRUICKSHANK 341

Description of a ceremony by which a Nuba Chief became a Kujur.
D. HAWKESWORTH 345

An Ancient Sudani. G. W. GRABHAM 349

Exhumation of a Latuka Rain Chief. J. F. MADDEN 351

CORRESPONDENCE.

Wooden door locks. G. W. TITHERINGTON 355

REVIEWS.

The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis. J. G. PERISTIANY 357

The Oxford University Excavation at Firka. L. P. KIRWAN 359

Vita di Romolo Gessi. CARLO ZAGHI 366

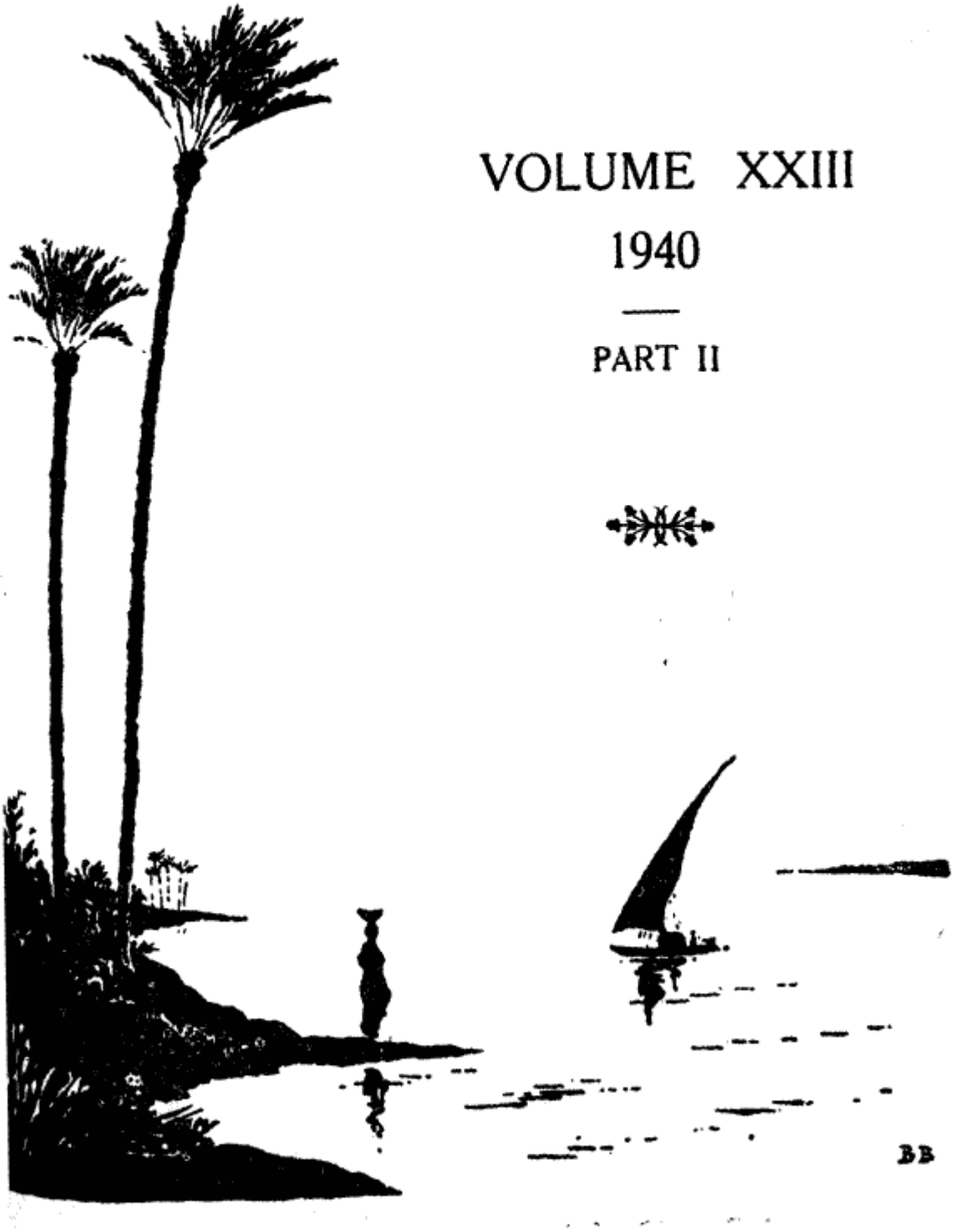
Storia della Politica Inglese nel Sudan. ETTORE ANCHIERI 368

La Costruzione Dell 'Impero : (Gli annali dell 'Africa Italiana) 370

Il Sudan Anglo-Egiziano. CAV. DOTT. FRANCESCO SARUBBI 376

Printed by McCORQUODALE & Co. (SUDAN), LTD.

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS



VOLUME XXIII

1940

PART II

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

FOUNDED 1918.

Patron : LT.-COLONEL SIR STEWART SYMES, G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.

Committee :

Chairman : D. NEWBOLD, C.B.E.,

Members :

F. D. RUGMAN, C.M.G., M.C. — G. W. GRABHAM, O.B.E.
J. D. P. CHATAWAY.* — R. L. HILL.*
A. J. ARKELL, M.B.E., M.C.* — H. W. BEDFORD.
G. C. SCOTT

Editorial Secretary

K.D.D. HENDERSON

Hon. Treasurer :

J. CARMICHAEL.

* Editorial Committee.

The attention of those interested in any special subject is particularly called to the very complete index of the first twenty Volumes of *Sudan Notes and Records* compiled by Mr. F. Addison and printed at the end of Vol. XXI (1938) Part II.

Subscriptions and notifications of change of address, should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer, *Finance Department*, Khartoum.

Contributions should be addressed to the Editorial Secretary, the Civil Secretary's Office, Khartoum.

The annual subscription, payable in advance, is P.T. 50 or 10s. 6d. This covers the cost of two numbers, post free.

Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to the " Hon. Treasurer, *Sudan Notes and Records.*"

Payment can most conveniently be made by a Banker's Order, and a form is enclosed with each issue.

Back numbers are obtainable at the following places :—

Editorial Secretary, Civil Secretary Office, Khartoum.

The Sudan Government London Office, Wellington House, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.1.

The Sudan Bookshop, Khartoum.

Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

adopted by the Editors of *Sudan Notes and Records*

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

VOWELS.

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

DIPHTHONGS.

ـَي—ai (as in aisle).

ـَو—au (as in mauser).

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ة) is omitted.

NOTES.

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

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

e.g. beled, Mo*ḥ*ammed, bēt (or beit), *ḥ*osh.

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ARTICLES.

The History of Kassala and the Province of Taka.
D. C. CUMMING 255
(*Continued from Part I.*)

Folk Stories of the Sudan. II.
E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD. A. C. BEATON 271

The Madi of Equatoria Province. J. V. ROWLEY .. 279

Stone enclosures in Dar Hawawir. J. M. EDMONDS .. 295

Fur Dance Songs. A. C. BEATON 305

Charms and Customs associated with Child-birth in the Northern Sudan. ELAINE HILLS-YOUNG 331

The Relationship between the Anuak and the Föri.
E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD 337
(*Reprinted by kind permission of the R. Anth. Socty.*)

NOTES.

On Game Migration in the South Eastern Sudan.
F. O. CAVE and A. CRUICKSHANK 341

Description of a ceremony by which a Nuba Chief became a Kujur. D. HAWKESWORTH 345

An Ancient Sudani. G. W. GRABHAM 349

Exhumation of a Latuka Rain Chief. J. F. MADDEN .. 351

CORRESPONDENCE.

Wooden door locks. G. W. TITHERINGTON 355

REVIEWS.

The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis. J. G. PERISTIANY 357

The Oxford University Excavation at Firka. L. P. KIRWAN 359

Vita di Romolo Gessi. CARLO ZAGHI 366

Storia della Politica Inglese nel Sudan. ETTORE ANCHIERI 368

La Costruzione Dell 'Impero : (*Gli annali dell'Africa Italiana*) 370

Il Sudan Anglo-Egiziano. CAV. DOTT. FRANCESCO SARUBBI 376

EDITORIAL NOTES.

1. Apologies are offered for the belated appearance of this number. There were other and more pressing claims upon the local presses.

2. So far little material has been received suitable for inclusion in Volume XXIV, which will be issued in one part later in the year.

3. Attention is drawn to the notice on the back of the Cover.

4. The following contributors to this issue are not included in the Notes on Contributors at the end of Part I.

J. V. ROWLEY: Sudan Political Service; Assistant District Commissioner LATUKA, Equatoria Province, from 1.12.34 to 1.12.37.

ELAINE HILLS YOUNG: Principal, Midwives Training School, Sudan Medical Service, Omdurman.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXIII. Part II. 1940

THE HISTORY OF KASSALA AND THE PROVINCE OF TAKA.

(*Continued from* VOLUME XX, PART I)

By D. C. Cumming.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION OF THE SUDAN UNDER ISMAIL PASHA—THE GOVERNORS OF TAKA—MUMTAZ PASHA—MUNZINGER PASHA'S RE-ORGANISATION—DEVELOPMENT OF COTTON—TAXATION—PUBLIC SERVICES—THE ARMY—TRIBAL AFFAIRS.

I.

It was the rule, whenever a new ruler appeared in Egypt or the Sudan, for the newcomer to denounce his predecessor and undertake a reorganisation of the administration. While this was not necessarily a characteristic confined to Egyptian rulers it was a tendency that can only have been stimulated by the Sudan, for nothing could have been so apparent nor so easily proved as the necessity for a change in the existing state of affairs. Moreover, by the time Ismail Pasha became the Viceroy of Egypt, a number of the senior men in his service had been educated in Europe and, like himself, they wished to repair the damage of a thousand years by putting Egypt on a level with the more civilized European powers in a generation. From Ismail Pasha downwards, with few exceptions, they made the mistake of concentrating almost entirely on the aspect of civilization which seemed to confirm their belief that a highly privileged class was not only necessary but that its magnificence represented the degree of advancement of the nation. They and their class may have led a precarious existence under the erratic patronage of their supreme ruler but they had never lacked the luxuries they valued so highly and when the cotton boom of the sixties arrived they found that wealth was not only to

be had by oppressing their less fortunate countrymen but also through the mysterious largess of world commerce. Convinced that Egypt must possess something more than a fertile soil and docile cultivators to account for this prosperity they, and Ismail Pasha in particular, decided that they had the touch of Midas and forthwith set about exploiting it to the full. The hare-brained schemes for economic development were approved; the obvious tricksters from Europe were given financial support for their schemes and allowed to escape with ample booty. In short the rulers of Egypt behaved in the same lightheaded manner as many more experienced financiers have behaved under 'boom' conditions. Much of it was done in the name of civilisation, progress, development and the glory of the nation. It was partly the outcome of a genuine urge to break with a past that contrasted so dismally with what was known of modern conditions in Europe and partly the effervescence of European technical training in minds that had been allowed to be fallow too long.

For Egypt the results were ruinous. There was some material gain in the sense that much of the money spent was invested in works of direct or indirect public utility but while an over-adventurous financier might squander the savings of thousands and possibly end his days in gaol, Ismail Pasha invested in the taxable capacity of his people. As long as his people had the strength to till the soil they could continue to produce taxable crops: there was no finality to their capacity to invest other than by rebellion. Such was the price the vast bulk of the population of Egypt had to pay for an attempt to buy for Ismail Pasha the place of a *parvenu* in the family of nations. The Sudan had also to contribute in return for less tangible benefits, but unlike the *fellahin* the Sudanese were neither docile nor tied to their land. In theory they were to be the workers who would produce from their vast country even more wealth for Egypt in return for which, after paying a subvention to the Egyptian treasury, they were to receive sufficient to justify the protestations of Ismail Pasha that he was bringing civilisation into the heart of Africa.

When Ismail Pasha became Viceroy in 1863 his denunciation of his predecessor could be amply justified, for Said Pasha had shown no

capacity for administration and had already entangled Egypt with financial commitments to Europe. A reaction from Said's ill-digested liberalism was inevitable and when his reforms spread to the Sudan one of his first moves was to re-establish the office of Governor-General which Said Pasha had abolished partly because the great expanse and slow communications of the Sudan made this centralisation cumbersome, and partly to give the central government in Egypt more direct control over the Governors of the four provinces into which the Sudan was to be divided. The new Governor-General was Musa Pasha Hamdi, a blood-thirsty relic of the earliest days of the administration.[1] His appointment was a fair gauge of Ismail's departure from the spirit of liberalism. And yet when Musa Pasha died two years later Ismail reverted to the previous system, saying that the Sudan was too big a unit for one man to administer although only Suakin, Massawa and the White Nile Province had been added to it in the meantime. "The proof is," he wrote in all truth, "that these provinces have not attained for some years the degree of civilisation anticipated. I ardently desire the development of these provinces in pursuance of their known capacity for progress and advancement and I have ascertained that these hopes can only be realised by the division of these regions into sections each to be ruled by a capable Governor."[2] The three sections were to be roughly the east—Taka, Suakin and Massawa; the centre—Khartoum and the White Nile; and the west Kordofan, Dongola and Berber. Almost immediately however it was suggested to him that this division might cause difficulties in the future through a lack of co-ordination between Governors who were faced with the same administrative problems but who had powers

1. Douin, G. *Histoire du Règne du Khédive Ismaïl, Tome III* Ire. Partie, p. 60. Musa Pasha had spent at least twenty years in the Sudan. He was a Circassian who had originally been sold as a slave in Cairo. Ismail Pasha considered him "just, trusty active, zealous": his successor as Governor-General of the Sudan called him, "a drunkard, a gambler and a thief." What the tribes of the Eastern Sudan thought of him is indicated by Lejean, "*Lorsqu'on prononçait son nom devant un Bichari, il portait involontairement la main à l'aine pour s'assurer qu'il n'avait rien perdu.*" There are references to him in most of the books of contemporary travellers and these are summarized in A. E. Robinson's article, '*The Rulers of the Sudan since the Turkish Occupation.*' *Journal of the African Society*, Vol. 24, 1924. He held the title of *Roumili Beklerbiki* or The Bey of Beys for Turkey in Europe, which was the military equivalent of the title *mirmiran*.

2. Douin, *ibid.* p. 177.

to settle them without reference to any central authority. So six weeks after the post of Governor-General had been abolished it was re-established again and Jaafer Pasha Sadek appointed to fill it in July, 1865. He was removed six months later after the report on the Kassala rising had been received and replaced by Jaafer Pasha Mazhar with the difference that Suakin and Massawa were now given the status of special administrations.[3]

This organisation lasted until 1869 when Jaafer Pasha recommended that, in view of the addition of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Fung, some form of decentralisation should be introduced. The Khedive replied in familiar terms: "In view of the vast extent of the provinces of the Sudan and the distances between them which makes it difficult for the central government to carry out inspections and to give proper attention to the interests of their inhabitants, and in view of the necessity for adopting the appropriate measures for bringing the inhabitants towards civilisation and progress, and for encouraging them to devote themselves to agriculture by which they may reap the fruits which form the basis of national wealth and prosperity, and to develop commerce etc., for all these reasons we have decided to unite an independent governorship to be called the 'governorship of the Red Sea Coast' including the provinces of Suakin, Massawa and Taka, as well as the rest of the Red Sea coast as far as Berbera, the frontier of our government and I name Ahmed Mumtaz as its governor[4]." Since Sir Samuel Baker had already become the independent Governor of Equatoria, Jaafer Pasha was left with the centre and the west and so the Sudan found itself split into three parts again. A year later a further redistribution of provinces was made. Khartoum, Sennar, Fazogli, and the White Nile were grouped together under the rule of Ahmed Mumtaz; Kordofan became a separate administrative unit under Abdel Wahab Bey; in the north Berber and Dongola were joined together under Hussein Bey Khalifa; in the east the governorship of the Red Sea Coast was suppressed, Taka became an independent province under Alladin Bey, Suakin was independent

3. *ibid.* p. 180. They became *muhafizia* similar to Cairo and Alexandria.
4. *ibid.*, *2e Partie*, p. 238.

under Shakib Bey and Massawa, and the coastal possessions to the south of it, were given to Munzinger. But in September, 1873 the whole of the Eastern Sudan, with the exception of Suakin, was again joined under Munzinger.[5]

As for Taka itself there had been the usual rapid change of Governors. Ibrahim Bey died of cholera before he had to meet the inevitable disgrace that would have been his lot if he had appeared before the court of inquiry to answer for his conduct of affairs during the military rising in Kassala. Ibrahim Lutfi became Governor in April, 1866 and was replaced by Abdel Razak Bey six months later. In 1871 Abdel Razak was followed by Alladin Bey who thus began the unhappy connection with the Sudan which was to end so disastrously on the field of Shekan. He was in Kassala until October, 1873 when he was transferred to Suakin, a place too remote from the Abyssinian frontier to engage the full attention of Munzinger. His successor was Feraq Bey el Zeini.[6]

There is little to be said about most of these. Ibrahim Bey, the Albanian who had the misfortune to govern Taka in 1865, has left nothing behind but a reputation for cowardice and a legend that he committed suicide. He had died before the British mission to King Theodore passed through Kassala and they were received by his deputy, Suliman Bey, who was already on his death-bed. "In the afternoon," wrote Hamuzd Rassam, "my companions went with me to call on the Governor, Suliman Bey. He received us most politely, and apologised for not having called on us, but indisposition had prevented him. No such spoken apology was necessary, for he really looked seriously ill. He remarked that he had had many difficulties to contend against during the previous five months, owing to the mutiny, sickness and scarcity of food. Five persons belonging to his establishment had been carried off by cholera and fever, and within the last two months he himself had been attacked by the latter malady, and during that period could obtain nothing but bread made of ground millet to eat, to which diet he attributed his present

5. *ibid.* p. 395.
6. *ibid.* p. 560.

ailment."[7] This was the Suliman Bey who had turned the Count du Bisson out of Koufit.

Abdel Razzak Bey was made of sterner stuff and of all the Governors of this period he is best remembered by the Beja. He seems to have come to the Sudan as second-in-command of the 10th Regiment which was sent from Egypt to the eastern Sudan when the news of the Kassala mutiny reached him. He became Governor in July, 1866 and held the post for the unusually long period of nearly five years until January, 1871. In the following year he became Governor of Khartoum Province in succession to Ahmed Abu Sin and in 1872 Governor of Sennar. He appears to have been level-headed enough to resist the fantastic agricultural schemes of Ahmed Mumtaz even though it cost him his post in Kassala and it is probably for this reason that the Beja of the Gash remember him.

As for the Governors of the Eastern Sudan, or the Province of Red Sea Coast as it was also called, the first, Ahmed Mumtaz, made his mark in Sudan history. He arrived in the Sudan in 1865 as the first Egyptian Governor of Suakin after Ismail Pasha had leased the post from Turkey. He was an engineer officer and he soon displayed both his remarkable capacity for thinking out impracticable schemes for public works and his malignity in the methods he used in trying to put them into practice. Imagination he had in full and although so many of his schemes failed it was Mumtaz who first grew cotton, with a view to starting an export trade, at such places as the Tokar and Gash deltas. To this day his name is sometimes used in Gedaref and the Gash to signify cotton.

Shortly after his arrival at Suakin he wrote a despatch to the Khedive about a plan for a railway which provides a good example of how his mind worked. "It appears from my own observations as well as those of Ismail Bey," he wrote, "that the construction of a railway in the vicinity of Sinkat, situated between Suakin and the hills, will be very simple and will not cost much. The river beds in this area are few and it will be easy to construct bridges from the stones on the neighbouring hills. As for the country between Suakin

7. Rassam, *loc. cit.* Vol. I, p. 137.

and Kosseir, it is crossed by many impetuous torrents, that would necessitate the construction of bridges of some size and strength. For all that this work will be satisfactorily accomplished and without much cost thanks to the stone that exists in large quantities in the neighbouring mountains and which one could bring to the spot by means of narrow gauge railway[8]." Because there is stone one can build bridges and if bridges can be built the construction of the railway is easy: because the stone is near at hand the bridges will be cheap, therefore the railway will be cheap. Then if there is a railway the economic resources of the country will be developed for the country can grow cotton—if there is water, suitable soil and willing labour. But if, for various reasons, cotton could not be grown in profitable quantities then it was no benefit to have a railway even if the stone were to be picked up already squared for the bridges.[9] Mumtaz was right up to a point in that he knew that cotton could be grown in the Sudan and that, at the high prices then obtainable, its export would be profitable. But he never stopped to make a proper investigation as to whether prices would hold up to a level that would allow a profit after paying for the railway, or whether in a country where public security was so poor, the government could stop the Arabs from destroying the railway or whether the people would be prepared to grow cotton. Mumtaz was essentially a fair-weather economist who was simple enough to believe that enterprise deserved and received its own reward.

While he was at Suakin he showed great activity in the construction of public works on which the Khedive was prepared to spend liberally. Some of this work was of permanent value, particularly the bank he built round the wells at Shata. He also proposed the construction of a fresh-water pipe-line from Tamanib but nothing came of this. Close to the wells he planted some citrus trees and

8. Letter from Mumtaz Bey, 15 March, 1867, Douin, *ibid.* I, p. 291.

9. No less typical was his letter about one of the arid islands close to Aqiq which boasted 150 inhabitants and some ancient cisterns dating from Ptolemaic times. "Without doubt," he asserted, "by the impetus provided by his Highness and by the grace of his solicitude the island will regain its ancient splendour." Douin, *ibid.* c. VI. *passim*.

proposed the planting of these at Sinkat, Erkowit and Tokar also. For the beautification of Suakin he ordered from Egypt cuttings of vines, mulberry trees, sugar-cane, roses, jasmine and various flowers. And at Tokar he grew, or rather 200 of his troops grew for him, 50 feddans of cotton as an experiment. Curiously enough his reward was a complaint from Jaafer Mazhar Pasha to Ismail Pasha that he was extravagant and idle and asked that he should be removed; but the Khedive dearly loved a man of Mumtaz's stamp and he continued in his post until 1870 when he was made the Governor of the new province of the Red Sea Coast which embraced Taka, Suakin and Massawa.[10]

In his new post Mumtaz Pasha shewed enterprise in extending Egyptian influence farther down the Red Sea coast until he met with the British at Berbera. It was Mumtaz also who proposed that Munzinger should enter the Khedive's service. An important success occurred when he was supported by the Khedive in a dispute with the Governor-General, Jaafer Pasha Mazhar over a tribal matter. Jaafer Pasha was a believer in the necessity of tribal discipline and when the Nawayma section of the Shukria crossed the Atbara to graze off land that the Hadendoa considered belonged to them, the Governor-General gave an order that they should return. But Mumtaz Pasha decided that the Nawayma represented more hands to the task of making the desert bloom. The Khedive supported Mumtaz, recalled the relatively popular Governor-General to Cairo and never permitted him to return.[11] Mumtaz did not actually succeed him as Governor-General but as the Governor of the central of the three provinces into which the Sudan was divided, and during the one year for which he held the post he managed to gain the enmity of the bulk of the people. The exact reasons for his dismissal on 8th August, 1872 are not known but they are presumed to be connected with embezzlement. He died before he left Khartoum and his epitaph, which was no doubt written by one who had suffered

10. *ibid.* I, p. 238.

11. *ibid.* II, p. 473. The trouble started by Mumtaz Pasha over the Nawayma crossing the Atbara has not yet been finally settled although it is an almost annual subject of negotiation between the Hadendoa and the Shukria.

at his hands, is eloquent: "And while they were distracted with uncertainty and conjecture (*i.e.*, at the recall of Jaafer Pasha) and were relieving the tension by clinging to the ropes of hope, lo! they were overwhelmed with a great disaster and stricken by a terrible blow, by comparison with which their previous affliction was of no account, for in the month of *Regab*, el-Khartoum and its neighbourhood suffered a calamity such as had never been known, namely the appointment of one who was in every respect the opposite of his predecessor, and whose name (viz; Mumtaz, *i.e.*, "Distinguished") was completely distinguished (Ar: Mumtaz) from his character; for his character was that of those men of whom God in His precious Book spoke the words "Be ye separated this day (from the righteous), O ye evil doers!"[12]

In some respects Werner Munzinger, as an economist, had the failings of Mumtaz Pasha, but his ideas were based on more careful study and he lacked his malignancy. He is remembered in Kassala chiefly for his energy: he was continually coming and going between the various posts in his province and wherever he went he spent much of his time in writing in the little note-book he carried about in his pocket. But Keren was the place to which he always returned, although, when he became Governor of that place, he did much to destroy its amenities by building his fort out of the stones of the ancient grave-yards and by cutting down the trees to improve the field of fire.[13]

An English visitor who met Munzinger in Kassala in 1875 gives a fairly full account both of him and the town. The description of the town would have been passably accurate fifty years later. "He speaks English very well which is a great comfort . . . He received us in his office, a bare-looking room with a raised cushioned seat at one end and a writing table to represent the furniture . . . The town of Kassala, though the capital of the Soudan country (sic) and the great military centre of this portion of the dominions of Egypt, can be described in a few words, for it almost entirely consists of low

12. MacMichael, H. A. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Vol. II. p. 404.

13. James, F. L. *The Wild Tribes of the Soudan*, London, 1883, p. 240.

houses, made of bricks baked in the sun, or of dried mud for the richer community, and of dhurra-stalks or palm-leaves for the poorer, and is surrounded by a fortified wall made of sun-dried bricks, and outside this by a moat. After passing through the chief gate of entrance, which is guarded by soldiers, a wide street surrounded with Arabs buying and selling at the minute stores, consisting chiefly of grain and calico fabrics of European manufacture, one soon arrives at an open space, around which are congregated the few buildings of any importance, such as the mosque, palace, and prison, as well as two or three shops kept by Greeks for the supply of goods to the few Europeans who reside in or visit this place ; and here, under the shade of a clump of trees, two oxen may be seen perpetually walking round in a circle whilst turning a wheel with buckets attached to it, which brings up from a well the chief supply of water to the inhabitants . . . Beyond the main thoroughfare numerous narrow by-ways are found winding about amongst the houses, so narrow that there is barely room for a camel to pass, and so dusty that one feels almost stifled in them . . . Of all the noisy places at night Kassala would not be far from heading the list, for by no human ingenuity could it well be surpassed in this respect. Not a moment's quiet, for innumerable dogs keep up an incessant barking to keep off the hyenas, whose cry is continuously heard in the outskirts ; drums are being beaten, sometimes for a wedding, at others for a death ; women are screeching, and priests are calling the faithful to prayers, or the watchers of the night are shouting in response to one another ; whilst our old friends, the cocks, more cruel than ever, begin their crowing soon after sunset . . . . In the evening Munzinger Pasha dined with us, and we gave him all the delicacies available from our home supplies . . . Iced champagne was not forgotten to be ordered, but unfortunately the freezing machine, though it had proved a great success at Cairo in an experimental trial, refused to act . . . However, we consoled ourselves with the thought that champagne, even without ice, was not to be obtained every day in Kassala . . . He gave us much interesting information on various subjects connected with the country. Kassala he says has now a population of about 25,000 persons, excluding the

villages in its neighbourhood . . . There are a great number of men of bad character here who are sent in banishment from Cairo, and they are allowed to be at large so long as they behave themselves properly . . . The prison has generally about sixty culprits in it, almost all under punishment for theft ; a surprisingly small number, considering that it is the only prison for the whole of the country over which he rules, consisting of a population calculated at 2,000,000 . . . . In the open space in the centre of the town are fixed two high poles with a cross-bar, to which men are strung up by the thumbs as a punishment for any great crime, and this exquisite torture is sometimes continued from fifteen to twenty minutes . . . . The death-rate of the army quartered in Kassala, numbering 1800, averages sixty per annum, or 33.33 per 1,000, intermittent fever and dysentry being the chief causes . . . The system of taxation has been much altered of late years, and the priesthood and ' nobles ' who were formerly exempted have now to pay their share . . . Munzinger Pasha has a great idea that the country in the neighbourhood of the river Gash might be brought under cultivation, and he has now engineers surveying one portion, eighty miles by twenty in extent, with regard to its capability of being inundated. If, as he believes this can be done, it will be covered in a short time with crops of cotton and indigo, both of which are found to thrive here, 2000 acres having been already tested with them most successfully, and specimens sent only this autumn to Cairo . . . In the afternoon we went for our promised ride with Munzinger Pasha, who, dressed in a loose white suit, and wearing only a tarboosh on his head, was mounted on his favourite donkey, whilst two of us had horses, and two donkeys. Four soldiers marched in front and four behind, armed with Remington rifles and forming his guard, and so we went round the town . . . As we passed amongst the straw houses in the poorest districts, it was almost surprising to see with what very marked respect Munzinger Pasha was received by the various tribes, every man standing up and bowing low before him, whilst the women shouted in their own peculiar way from within their houses in order to do him honour. He first took us to a large cotton manufactory, in which he takes great interest, as he thinks it will prove a complete success.

The machinery was made in England, but the chief engineer is a Frenchman. The building is made of brick, made in a kiln close by; but many failures took place before the proper amount of sand to mix with the clay could be decided upon to ensure a good brick . . . For a time the manufactory will be worked by the government, but Munzinger Pasha hopes that it will ultimately pass into private hands . . . . He believes that within three years there will be a war between Egypt and Abyssinia about the Bogos country, which partly divides them, for the Abyssinians are very jealous of Egypt obtaining power in any portion of this disputed territory, and they are now only waiting until they are better prepared to wrest it from her . . . . Go where we may, we can never expect to meet again a man who will take such a sincere interest in our welfare as Munzinger Pasha has done; his frank open manner has quite won our hearts, and one cannot be thrown into his society for even a short time as we have been, without feeling confident that he is thoroughly in earnest in the difficult task he has in hand in his official life, and wishing, for the future welfare of Egypt, that the Khedive could number many such men amongst his highest officers of state." As a footnote at the end of the chapter Mr. Myers added, " Munzinger Pasha has been recently waylaid and killed when on a tour of inspection."[14]

Mr. Myers and his companions were not, one imagines, very astute observers; they were one of a number of parties of wealthy British big-game hunters that visited Kassala about that time and they managed to shoot a ' maarif ' on the Settit. The reference to the fact that Munzinger died on a tour of inspection seems particularly ingenuous when it is recalled that he was killed in carrying out a flank attack in an invasion of Abyssinia which he was largely responsible for engineering, but there is no doubt that Munzinger was well ahead of his time in his ideas of administration in the Sudan. He had studied the short-comings of the Egyptian government for a number of years when he was a trader, explorer and consul, so that when he became Governor of the Eastern Sudan he did not hesitate

14. Myers, B. R. *Life with the Hamran Arabs.* London, 1876. p. 40.

to make useful recommendations for its improvement. His proposals are worth recording in full. They were written in Cairo during his visit there in October 1873 : [15]

" In submitting this proposal for the organisation of the Eastern Sudan, I ought to explain first of all that I do not propose that it should be adopted or put into force immediately ; I wish on the contrary : first, that it should be examined ; second, that it should not be put into force until after a year, but once adopted that it should be assured continuity of at least five years. The reasons for my reserve are that any hasty reform is upsetting, that the reorganisation of a province is a great task, and that in consequence its implementation might hinder the works already taken in hand or approved ; I will name only :

1. The salt-pans at Rawaya and the railway ordered for it three years ago.
2. The construction of the telegraph line from Massawa to Kassala, 300 miles.
3. The erection of ginning factories for cotton at Tokar and Taka.
4. The study of canalisation at Tokar and Taka.
5. The construction of roads from Kassala to Massawa and Suakin.
6. The construction of the buildings approved more than a year ago, namely : mosques at Suakin and Keren, three hospitals, schools etc. ; all that is enough and more than enough for one year, without mentioning ordinary administration.

" On the other hand I fear these reforms so much that I do not wish to have this new constitution adopted until after it has received mature

15. Douin, *ibid.* II, p. 547. Abdine Archives, a note signed by Munzinger, Cairo October, 1873.

consideration and trial in detail ; I fear them because the uncertainty produced by too many changes in the past is one of the reasons for the bad state of the Sudan ; each new Governor finds fault with what his predecessor has done ; the people of the country who have seen both persons and things change have not the confidence nor the respect necessary for the execution of the reforms. It is for this reason that I want to perfect the new system before it is adopted, so that we can make a constitution so excellent that it will be unshakable.

" My ideas for change rest chiefly on three points :

1. On the division of the districts.
2. On the method of collecting taxes.
3. On the administration of justice.

" 1. Division of Districts.

At present there are three large districts, that is to say : Massawa, Suakin and Taka formed haphazard without regard to geography. The frontier of Taka in the direction of Khartoum is six miles from Kassala the headquarters of the district ; to the north it is 300 miles away. The nomads of Suakin and Taka are of the same tribe, moving about continually so that the Governor of Suakin has to search for his taxpayers in the neighbourhood of Taka and vice versa. Thus there is no natural frontier to account for these boundaries.

" 2. Taxes.

At the time of the conquest of the Sudan the government placed as large a tribute on each tribal leader as it thought he could pay without being crushed ; the chief divided it among the sheikhs and they divided it among the tax-payers. The results were disastrous both for the country and the government : the taxes, moderate in themselves, were doubled by the exactions of the sheikhs ; the division was often unjust being based on old assessments which they were too idle to revise. A large part of the country had gained exemption from taxation, as for example all the aristocracy. All this contributed

to the unhappy lot of the tax-payers, explains the arrears in taxation and gives the officials a chance to profit from the confusion.

" Now I assert that throughout the world honest and intelligent men are rare ; this applies with even greater force in the Sudan. It is then necessary in the first place to establish a form of government in which temptations are rare, and this lies in regulating the taxes on the basis of an assessment by which each tax-payer knows what is due from him and which he can pay without the intervention of sheikhs and soldiers. The execution of this plan will not be vexatious, because it is popular and has already begun to operate in several places. The government has only to proclaim that everyone has the same obligation to pay taxes and to invite all the tax-payers to share according to their respective fortunes under the supervision of the Governor. The result should be an increase in revenue without any disadvantage for the people, and in the regular payment of taxes without the use of soldiers or seizures.

" 3. JUSTICE.

Justice is administered by three courts at Massawa, Suakin and Taka. All sentences passed by these courts have to be sent to Cairo and it is there that everything is decided. The courts themselves seldom have members who are lawyers and particularly who have regard to the forms of justice. The result is that the cases sent to Cairo from the Sudan for several years have not been confirmed, a thing which, in criminal matters is a great wrong both to the accused and to the public ; for in provinces deprived of civilisation and organisation, progress does not consist of the imitation of civilised methods or in the introduction of the written and complicated procedure of ancient Europe ; true progress lies in the provision of prompt, firm and simple justice obtainable without expense.

" It is with this object in view that I propose to create a superior court above the existing courts, situated at the headquarters of the province, which will give a final decision on all cases without further appeal.

" In pursuance of these proposals I have the honour to propose the following :

DECREE.

" 1. Munzinger Bey is ordered to put into practice for the Muduria of Taka and the Muhafizias of Massawa and Suakin a new organisation, which should be submitted to His Highness's government for authority on February, 1874, with the exception of the new organisation of justice which shall be brought into operation at once as an experiment according to the principles laid down in the attached decree.

" 2. The principles that will guide Munzinger Bey in this project should be :

I. The Muduria called the Eastern Sudan to consist of the districts :

(a) Massawa (the town, Samhar, Dankali) ;

(b) The salt-pans of Jedda ;

(c) Suakin (the town and Sinkat) ;

(d) Tokar ;

(e) The Gash (Taka proper)

(f) Northern Hadendoa (Goz Regab) ;

(g) Amideib (Baraka, Beni Amer etc.) ;

(h) Adarti (Bogos, Marea, Habab, etc.).

" The last district would be administered directly by the central government (*i.e.*, Munzinger himself). The Mamurs of Massawa and Suakin would retain the title of Muhafiz. Massawa District situated as it is on the frontier of Abyssinia and having many foreign contacts would be the particular concern of the Governor. The other Mamurs will be military officers.

II. There will be only one accounts office at the central government, whose position will be central.

III. The duties of Mamurs are to preserve public security and to collect taxes.

IV. A complete system of reports on political, judicial, statistical matters etc., between the Mamurs and the Governor and between the latter and the government in Cairo. Proper forms will be prescribed for this purpose.

V. The Governor will have a deputy and assistants who will share the various departments and make regular visits to all districts at not too long intervals.

VI. There will be a new division of taxes and everyone will be under an obligation to pay them.

" Before I conclude I must add that this new '*tertib*' shows an economy of between four and five thousand pounds sterling on the old; that the deficit will shortly disappear and a real surplus be produced instead, we have a force of a thousand workers and we shall feed a regiment without asking anything from Cairo at all: clothes and food, the produce of the country."

There is much sound sense in these proposals, assuming that Munzinger intended them to be the framework for future administrative development. Although his ideas seem to have run in the direction of a rather bureaucratic organisation he was not unaware of the necessity of using the existing tribal system for the immediate administration of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the province. But he seems to have based his hopes for the future of his revenue on the singularly insecure foundation of the willingness of the populace to pay their taxes simply because they had been accurately assessed. The following is the budget he drew up for the financial year of 1874-75:[16]

16. *ibid*, II, p. 551.

1. Administration of the Muduria.

	£E.
REVENUE.	
Taxes	33,866
Customs	19,491
Salt concessions	11,382
Various	6,548
TOTAL	91,287†
EXPENDITURE.	
Administration	30,150
Eight companies of infantry	11,632
Four battalions and artillery	34,390
Various	15,115
TOTAL	91,287

The cost of the provincial administration was given in greater detail:

		£E.
1.	Province Headquarters Administration :	
	Staff	4,044
	Services, engineer	2,000
	Public Health, Quarantine	1,773
	Posts and Telegraphs	2,089
		9,906
2.	Districts :	
	Massawa	1,850
	Salt works	799
	Amideib	252
	Taka	1,385
	Suakin	1,786
	Tokar	624
	Hadendoa	228
		6,924
3.	783 Bashibazuks	13,320
	TOTAL PER ANNUM	30,150

† Douin remarks on the mistake in addition and suggests that the taxation figure should be £E. 53,866—*Ed.*

It must be remembered that this was an independent budget and that there were no central services on which he could draw for staff or funds so that the whole of the social services took only 6% of the budget as against 33% for administration and 67% for the armed forces.

2.

It will be seen that the military garrison of the Sudan eat up a large proportion of the revenue, apart from causing the administration a good deal of worry and coming nearer to overthrowing it than any rising of the sorely-pressed inhabitants. In the army as in every other branch of the government there was no continuity of policy: hurried searches for recruits were followed by drastic reduction in the establishment which created large settlements of discharged soldiers in all the larger towns in the northern Sudan, men whose real homes were in the south and who were never properly assimilated in the north. The Kassala mutiny of 1865 was not an isolated incident although it was by far the most important: there had been similar incidents in Mohammed Ali Pasha's time and within a few months of the Kassala mutiny there was another minor out-break there in spite of the terrible retribution that had fallen on the mutineers in the previous rising. When Shahin Pasha arrived at Berber on his way to investigate the Kassala mutiny, he found that the local troops were also in revolt, and that eighty of them had tried to set fire to the powder magazine. The Khedive ordered him to shoot all the ring-leaders and one in every seven of the rest that had been involved.[17] In fact Ismail Pasha became so alarmed at the re-current rebellions that he decided to disband all the Sudanese regiments and replace them by Egyptian battalions, camel companies, mountain artillery on camels, and larger numbers of Bashi-Bazuks. In total, however, the establishment of the armed forces in the Sudan was considerably reduced and with it also their fighting efficiency, for the Egyptian troops could not stand the climate. Even in the high-

17. *ibid.* I, p. 229.

lands of Keren a third of the original battalion Munzinger took there were out of action within a few months. As for the disbanded troops, Ismail Pasha decided that they and their families should be sent to Egypt and Jaafer Pasha Mazhar was told to complete this complicated manoeuvre as expeditiously as possible in 1866. The result was chaos. Some of the troops were to go across the desert to Korosko and then to be quartered in the barracks at Kenna, Esna, and Assuan, but cholera broke out among them at Korosko and the move had to be held up. Others were to go by sea to the garrison towns of lower Egypt but by the beginning of 1867 only 3,272 had arrived and the Governor-General was asked to report on the delay. His answer is an illuminating document.[18] The establishment of troops to be sent to Egypt was 10,644. Out of this number 4,031 had been sent as directed, 424 discharged, 1,408 had died, 267 had been shot by order of Courts-Martial, 16 exiled to the White Nile or Fazugli, 531 sentenced to hard labour and sent to the prisons at Kassala and Suakin. Some two thousand men had been transferred to fill vacancies in various new companies, 265 had been employed as labourers on the buildings under construction at Khartoum, 65 detailed as artizans in the tailoring and shoemaking establishments, 70 attached to the civil government, 276 appointed as warders for the imprisoned rebels of the 4th Regiment, 21 seconded to the hospitals and 48 to the arsenal. Soon the Governor-General was asking permission to reappoint some of the discharged officers but Ismail Pasha refused : he wanted the officers and men of the Sudanese regiments to serve for a period in Egyptian units so that they could absorb some of the discipline that was such a marked feature of the Egyptian army of that period.[19]

As a result of this reorganization the establishment of the army in the Sudan in 1866 appears to have consisted of six or seven Egyptian battalions and the following irregulars ; nine companies of Bashi-Bazuks, a detachment of camelry, two Sudanese foot companies, seventeen companies of Shaigia and sixteen companies of ' muhafizin'

18. *ibid.* I, p. 298.

19. Letter from Jaafer Pasha, *ibid.* I, p. 300.

17,000 men in all.[20] Each company of Bashi-Bazuks (mostly Albanians) was about 300 strong and two were stationed in the eastern Sudan, one under Orafli Mohammed Agha at Kassala and one under Ali Kashef at Gedaref. The strength of the Shaigia companies varied widely but with the exception of two large companies of 212 and 105 respectively the strength was fixed at 26 men per company in 1866. Of these four were stationed at Kassala, three at Koufit and five at Gedaref. In addition both Kassala and Koufit had two companies of 'muhafizin' each. On top of all these, two regiments (the 1st and 2nd Sudanese) of four battalions each were reformed in Egypt and sent to the Sudan at the end of 1867, and of these the 2nd Regiment was given the responsibility of garrisoning the eastern Sudan. The 1st Battalion went to Keren, the 2nd was divided between Suakin and Massawa, the 3rd Battalion at Amideib and the 4th at Kassala.[21] Their discipline did not however appear to have benefitted from their stay in Egypt because they got out of hand as soon as they arrived at Suakin and after they had been posted to their various stations desertions became frequent.

The garrison was of course heavy but, in view of the reckless policy Munzinger was pursuing with regard to Abyssinia, it cannot be said to have been excessive. Munzinger had also to balance the budget he had proposed when he became Governor and in order to do this he decided to convert the battalion at Kassala and the battalion on the coast into 'muhafizin' with a much reduced establishment. The establishment remained at this level until reinforcements began to arrive for the Abyssinian adventure of 1875.

This was the strength and distribution of the army, but what was its value as a military force? Ismail Pasha had taken over a sorry army indeed. Since the days when Colonel Sèves had trained the troops that Ibrahim Pasha lead to victory in Syria, the Hedjaz and the Sudan, the whole organization had run down and the fighting qualities of the troops had been enervated by the long periods of

20. *ibid.* I, p. 418.

21. *ibid.* II, p. 450.

inactivity under worthless officers. The Sudan had been considered unsuitable for Egyptian troops and had been more and more left to the care of those recruited locally, but even the obvious martial qualities of the Sudanese had also been undermined. A visitor to Kordofan in 1844 described the troops he found there in the most derogatory terms. " The soldiers wear only a white cotton uniform . . . The *chaussure* consists of shoes and sandals, but a part of them appear on parade barefooted, for they are not over-rigid disciplinarians; the covering of the head like that of all the other troops is the tarboosh—a red cap and the only article about them in decent preservation . . . On meeting one of these foot-soldiers without his accoutrements a stranger is really at a loss how to classify him, and before he has thoroughly accustomed himself to the sight he would rather take him for a scare-crow than a soldier . . . When the men mount guard the women accompany them, or, if they happen to be unmarried, some of their comrades follow carrying the straw mats and pipes of the detachment; for it is the first maxim among them to make their visit to the guard-room as pleasant and comfortable as possible . . . Their drill and exercise is at the same ebb as their garrison and field . . . I have seen the commanding officer on a field day not even able to bring his battalion to form a square ; he had, in fact, to take each separate man by the arm, and lead him to the place where the square was to be formed, and yet this is the only manoeuvre to which they are obliged to pay attention, because frequently put in practice in skirmishes, in warfare with their neighbours or in those expeditions of slave-hunting."[22]

In the same year Lepsius drew a no less dismal picture: " We then went to the barracks, in the large court yard of which the men are exercised. The commanding officer ordered out the band of music, and they played several pieces before us. The first was the Parisienne, which sounded most strangely in this country . . . There were only twelve hundred soldiers present belonging to the regiment, which consists of four thousand men, almost all negroes, whose black

22. Ignatius Pallme. *Travels in Kordofan*. London, 1844. p. 200.

faces staring out of their white linen uniform and red-tasseled caps, made them look like dressed-up monkeys, only more unhappy and oppressed. The negroes are incapable of any military discipline or regular exertion, and generally sink below the imposed yoke. We did not, however, suspect that these same people would two days afterwards rebel in a body, and set off to their hills." [23]

If this was true as early as 1844 there was certainly nothing that happened in the ensuing twenty years to suggest that a further deterioration had not taken place. Ismail Pasha was not the man to tolerate this state of affairs and he decided in 1870 to recruit about seventy officers from America, most of them from the Confederate army, some of them graduates of West Point. General Stone, the senior officer, was made chief of staff and he found that he had to begin from the bottom. There were no maps or other essential military documents at the War Office and the only trained European officer in the army was a Frenchman who was absent buying equipment in England and who did not return to Egypt for the next ten years. The Egyptian officers who had been trained some years previously still believed in a Headquarters organization that Napoleon had found suitable at the beginning of the century with the difference that they had modified it to meet their own easy-going ways. Only a third of the officers were literate. Under the circumstances no immediate improvement could be expected, not only because the most elementary training and preparation had to be undertaken but also because the American officers had none of the experience that the British officers who subsequently reorganized the Egyptian army possessed through familiarity with eastern conditions. It was generally agreed, however, that there was an improvement in parade-ground smartness and in equipment. "We sat down in state," wrote de Cosson in an account of his visit to Gallabat in 1873, "while a regiment of soldiers, composed entirely of slaves, who had been given the Hobson's choice of serving Ismail Pasha instead of their masters, marched past to the sound of pipe and drum. They performed their evolutions perfectly, and

23. Dr. R. Lepsius. *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia,* etc., London. 1853. p. 185.

were all clothed in neat cotton uniforms, that contrasted strikingly with their black faces and red caps. While we were smoking, and drinking the inevitable 'fingal' of coffee flavoured with cloves, a Nubian band played several Turkish and Arab airs, and then two new Gatling guns, or mitrailleuses, were wheeled up for my inspection. The Egyptian troops were also provided with bronze mountain pieces and all the men were armed with breech-loading Remington rifles. Before I left I was shown all round the camp, which was well supplied with food and munitions, was very clean, and certainly in first rate order. It was evident that every preparation had been made for a war with Abyssinia, should the occasion occur."[24] On the other hand a German who visited Keren in 1874 drew a most gloomy picture of the conditions prevailing there. "The pay of the troops has not been forthcoming for four months and, owing to this, the discipline has fallen off considerably. Desertion does not take place at the rate of one man, but always eight or ten at a time, with arms and accoutrement, who roam about as robbers, and make the country much more unsafe than it was under Abyssinian rule. The clanking of the chains of captured soldiers, and the native sheikhs and chiefs who have expressed discontent at the Egyptian supremacy, and have to work in chains on a ship's biscuit a day, is dreadful to hear in the camp at Keren."[25] These are extremes and the truth must lie somewhere between them. Under Ismail Pasha the army was provided with better equipment and the American officers brought a certain amount of order into the staff and a superficial parade-ground smartness into the ranks, but fundamentally the military capacity of the Egyptian *fellah* was unchanged. The *fellah* was not a natural fighter ; more than most he needed teaching. But he received no proper instruction and, as Lord Milner observed, he was subjected to an amount of degrading ill-usage that would have knocked the manliness out of a Viking.

If expenditure on the army was large, the funds devoted to the other public services—medical, education, police—was correspondingly small.

24. de Cosson, *op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 165.

25. *ibid.* Note H. p. 315.

Cholera, or a disease resembling it, appears to have been almost endemic, but particularly severe outbreaks of it in the eastern Sudan were those among the Beni Amer in Khor Baraka in 1866 and among the troops in Kassala later in the same year.[26] The army had always had a medical corps attached to it and there seems to have been a hospital of sorts at Kassala since the earliest days of the administration. Jaafer Pasha took the matter up in 1870 and recommended that ten young doctors should be sent from Egypt to rejuvenate the ranks of the aging Sanitary Hakims who were presumably relics of the medical system introduced into Egypt by the able Clot Bey. But his request was refused so the Pasha arranged for ten primary schoolboys to receive instruction in medicine and pharmacy from Sagh. Mohd. Sukkari, the medical officer in charge of the Khartoum Hospital. In return the Governor-General asked that the Sagh. should be promoted to the rank of Bimbashi. Again a refusal was received from Cairo because Ismail Pasha very rightly considered that a solution of this sort was basicly unsound. He ordered the Minister of the Interior to send the necessary number of doctors to the Sudan. Unfortunately this gave the *Conseil Sanitaire d'Egypte* a chance to spread its influence over the Sudan and the first thing Jaafer Pasha knew of it was a request from the Council to furnish it with statistics of population, and of births and deaths. Jaafer Pasha protested that such information could not be supplied but nevertheless he was set to the task of collecting them and in due course submitted figures for 1870 and 1871. They are not worth quoting and what erroneous conclusions the *Conseil Sanitaire d'Egypte* drew from them is not revealed. Kordofan for instance was shown as having a birth-rate of about a thousand a year. In 1871 Taka had 161 births, 199 deaths, no vaccinations and 145 persons treated either at the hospital or in their houses by government doctors.[27]

In education the emphasis was naturally on religious instruction : Jaafer Mazhar Pasha was himself a highly religious man. He welcomed the suggestion that some boys from the Sudan should enter the el-Azhar

26. Douin. *op. cit.* I 296.

27. *ibid.* II, p. 462.

University and when he went to Cairo in 1867 took with him two sons of Sheikh Omar, the retired Kadi of Taka. When he found that one loaf of bread was the daily ration of an el-Azhar student, he asked the Khedive for a daily allowance of P.T. 2 for them. Previous to this he had been concerned over the number of ' ignorant fikis ' to be found in the country and he made an arrangement, which probably never worked, by which ' fikis ' were to be examined and licenced, and distributed throughout the provinces to spread religious learning. They were put under one of the principal ' ulema ' of Khartoum and their pupils were exempted from taxation.[28]

For more secular instruction about a hundred Sudanese scholars were admitted to the Egyptian Primary School in 1868 but the scheme was not a success. The boys were either too old, or not sufficiently prepared, and the young ones were physically unfit. In despair the Director of the school recommended that they should all be put into the army. But in the Sudan the educational reforms did not, at this period, go beyond the construction of three primary schools at Khartoum, Berber and Dongola. These produced a few telegraphists and some boys who were given work on the river-steamers with a view to making them into ship-builders.

From 1866 a form of police force appeared on the lines of the one that existed in Egypt. It consisted of ' cavasses ' under the command of Mamurs " known for their uprightness, integrity and energy". The men were to be "polite, intelligent, and of calm and honest character" but, paradoxically, they were to be selected from the ranks of the Bashi-Bazuks. Drug-addicts and vicious characters were not to be accepted on the grounds that they were brave. The police were organised in sections of nine men, each under the command of a Buluk-bashi: each ten sections were under a ' Kafoushaghassi.' The men received £E. 2 a month, the Buluk-bashi £E. 2.500 and ' Kafoushaghassi' £E. 3.500.[29]

28. *ibid.* II, p. 463.

29. *ibid.* I. p. 308.

3.

The revenue required to meet this expenditure depended almost entirely on direct taxation, and the amount collected reflected either the willingness of the people to pay their taxes or the success of the government in making them pay them. But in the early days of Ismail Pasha's reign there was much emphasis, and rightly so, on the importance of developing the economic resources of the country, not only to relieve the chronic state of stringency in the treasuries of the Sudan, but also to provide Egypt with some contribution towards staving off the day of reckoning with the bond holders in Europe.

There was little evidence after forty years of Egyptian rule of advance in the economic advancement of the Sudan. Agriculture was the only hope for the economic future of the country and nothing had been done to increase its productivity. As for trade the markets of Kassala, Gedaref and Gallabat which traded with Abyssinia alone showed appreciable activity.

At these markets cotton was exchanged for coffee, ivory, gold, slaves etc., and during the picking season it was estimated that in Gallabat market 4,000 bales of unginned cotton weighing 150 rotls a bale were disposed of every Sunday, the local market day.[30] But as a result of the American Civil War the price of cotton quadrupled in Gedaref as in every other place that could grow it. Egypt was finding a fabulous source of wealth in its culture: the Sudan was larger and could therefore multiply the production of Egypt.

It was characteristic of visitors to the Sudan during the last century that they should be deceived by its promises for the future. There was no questioning its size, and if its fertility was not always apparent it was assumed to be latent. The labour was there too and also the water-ways to provide cheap transport to Egypt. All that was needed to reap a rich reward from its light sandy soil was energetic management, careful organisation and imaginative planning. Travellers of various nationalities subscribed to this view—they could hardly return home and say that their laborious journeys had led them to a fruitless

30. *ibid.* I, p. 155.

desert—and, in particular, Ahmed Mumtaz Bey felt that he could supply all the energy, organisation and imagination that was necessary. The supply of rain, the willingness of the people to work, and all the other difficulties he left to a providence that had never smiled benevolently on the Sudan.

His views, however, appealed strongly to Ismail Pasha. In a report dated 25th October 1870, shortly after the Khedive had made him Governor of the Red Sea Coast, Mumtaz pointed out that the Sudan only contributed £E. 5,000 annually to the Egyptian budget. If his scheme for growing cotton were approved the contribution would be raised to £E. 40,000, if not more. According to him the eastern Sudan had unlimited agricultural lands, plenty of rain ; cotton plants that grew as easily as 'durra' and which lasted for fifteen years. Millions of inhabitants could be put to work and land 'where wild beasts and gazelles now roam, will be transformed into vast fields of cotton from which the harvest would reach two million kantars in four years.' It is a serious reflection on Ismail Pasha that he should have given Mumtaz Pasha a free hand to put his ill-considered projects into practice.[31]

Mumtaz Pasha met the Governor of Taka, who was now his subordinate, at Suakin in June 1870 and told him of his plans. According to Mumtaz the Governor agreed that the land in the Gash was better suited for cotton than the delta of Egypt and that it would be possible to construct rafts on the Atbara that would carry it as far as a ginning factory at Cairo. But in September of the same year the Governor wrote a report to Cairo that definitely gave the lie to this assertion. "I have received instructions," wrote the Governor, "from the Governor of the Red Sea Coast to undertake the cultivation of cotton in my Muduria and 200 ardebs of seed have been sent to me for this purpose. When I proceeded to carry out these instructions I received further letters from the said Governor telling me to cut down trees on the banks of the Atbara and to collect them by a thousand or two thousand at a time and float them by river to Cairo putting on

31. *ibid.* I, p. 437.

them the bales of cotton provided by the crop grown in this Mudiria. I cut more than 7,000 feet of timber; but when I consulted the local experts it transpired that it was impossible to float the cotton to Cairo." Moreover the Governor denied that he had told Mumtaz that the soil in Taka was suitable for cotton. Mumtaz brushed aside these objections and, after making a number of irrelevant charges against the Governor, suggested that a commission of notables and merchants should be appointed to go into his actions. There were 16 million acres he declared, waiting to be cultivated by two million impoverished inhabitants. He proposed to send 3,000 ardebs of seed in the following year when at least 100,000 feddans should be cultivated. But Abu Abdel Razak Bey was a relatively popular Governor to whom the Halenga and the Hadendoa came to complain that not only was there insufficient rain to grow cotton but that there was even likely to be famine in grain. He protested again and it is a measure of Ismail Pasha's conviction that he should have supported Mumtaz and removed Abdel Razak from a post he seems to have filled quite adequately for five years. With this opposition removed Mumtaz began to dream of making the Shukria and the Dabainia tribes grow cotton in their vast deserts and of establishing a dockyard at Goz Regab where ten ship-wrights would build barges for exporting the cotton along the Atbara and the Nile. He also proposed to establish a ginning factory at Kassala capable of ginning 1500 kantars of cotton a day, this in addition to the existing ginning machinery run by the Khawaga Yanni Kossika.[32]

The Khedive was, however, a little disturbed by the acute conflict of views that the dispute between Mumtaz and the Governor of Taka had revealed and in the following year he sent Shahin Pasha to the Sudan to make a comprehensive tour of inspection and to render a report. Shahin Pasha had previously visited the Sudan to report on the military rising at Kassala but he does not appear to have had much independence of judgment and on his second visit was infected with Mumtaz Pasha's enthusiasm who in turn seems to have drawn many of his ideas from Munzinger, at that time the French Consul at Massawa.

32. *ibid.* II, c. IX. 1. *passim.*

The sandy valleys among the Red Sea hills seemed to him to show signs of fertility. At Tokar he alleged that he found 2500 feddans of cotton under cultivation, decided that at least 200,000 could be cultivated and recommended that communications in that area should be improved by digging eleven wells on the road between Suakin and Tokar regardless, apparently, of whether there was water to be found or not. In addition he recommended that an engineer should be sent there to build a port and a railway twelve miles long into the Baraka delta.

As for Taka he put the cultivable area at 7,000,000 feddans of which 2,000,000 were to be found in the Gash delta. It is perhaps significant that at about the same time Munzinger reported that " I do not exaggerate in saying that my firm opinion is that the Sudan, properly administered, will produce, with Egypt, as much cotton as America. The province of Taka alone could produce more than 3,000,000 kantars and there is in addition the Red Sea coast where one could easily cultivate 200,000 feddans of cotton. I cannot but mention here that the cotton plant in the Sudan, unlike that in Egypt, can live as long as five years, thereby saving considerable labour. There is no danger that the cultivation of food-crops will be neglected causing a famine, as in India; the vast granaries of the Sudan where the crops are watered by the rain would not be affected by the intensive cultivation of cotton."[33] The administration had lost its head over cotton ; if the most fantastic claims were made for the eastern Sudan, the Blue Nile, Kordofan, Sennar, Berber and Dongola were also to share in its riches. Ginning factories were to be erected in every Mudiria.

The area of cotton planted in 1872 was reported to be 36,600 feddans but in view of the fact that there were no canals in the Gash this was almost certainly a gross exaggeration for, apart from some samples which were sent to the Khedive, only 1,191 kantars appear to have arrived in Egypt and they were purchased by the government. The rest was purchased by the local merchants or seized by the government in payment of taxes. But Ismail Pasha began to take a renewed interest and to all his searching questions Munzinger gave the most

33. *ibid.* II, c, IX. 1. *passim.*

encouraging replies. Some excuses were necessary however and Munzinger rightly blamed the high cost of transport which he felt could be overcome by the construction of a railway, and the lack of facilities for ginning pending the completion of the ginning factory that had already been ordered. The low yield was due to excessive 'humidity' and the damage done by a particularly heavy flood: above all there was no reason to believe that these preliminary difficulties in any way affected the previous estimates of the productivity of the country.[34]

Let us not be led into believing that there was more than a substratum of truth in the claims of these amateur agricultural economists. Only in the fertile deltas of the Gash and the Baraka will cotton grow and it must, of course, be sown annually and be subject to careful and relatively skilful agricultural methods. The quality of the cotton grown is excellent and in fact the cotton schemes of the present government have been a pronounced success, but only after much experiment and, in the case of the Gash, the expenditure of large sums on irrigation facilities and a railway. Seventy years after Shahin Pasha made his estimate that two million feddans of cotton could be grown in the Gash the present government has 100,000 feddans under effective cultivation and of this only 30,000 can be flooded annually if the fertility of the soil is to be preserved and the growth of weeds kept within manageable limits.

As for ginning facilities a French engineer arrived in Kassala in 1874 and began to erect the building which now raises an incongruous factory chimney over the town. But no smoke ever came out of it because although some of the gins and various other pieces of machinery arrived, the transport of the engine proved to be beyond the skill of the camel contractors of Suakin. One half of the flywheel can be seen protruding from the sand behind Berberi's café at Suakin and the other got as far as the outer gate of the town. The gins at Kassala were turned by manual labour for a time and then were abandoned altogether. The best use the Mahdists could make

34. *ibid.* II, p. 542.

of the factory was to use the shade of the engine-shed as shelter for their drummers: the Italians used it as the nucleus for their fort.

Trade in general was still handicapped by the unstable administration and by the low standard of public security. No reliable statistics exist but it appears that the export trade was not large because means of transport were slow and expensive. The camel owning tribes charged exhorbitant prices for the use of their camels and often used blackmail as a mean of extorting their fees. Then there were the corrupt officials along the main routes: customs officers who needed bribes to allow the goods to be released, sheikhs who charged fees to allow camels to be watered at their wells. The time for railways had not arrived and would not arrive until there was sufficient financial stability to pay for their construction and a standard of public security that would allow them to be operated profitably. The Khedive was fully alive to the importance of this question of transport. "It would be harmful," he wrote to Jaafer Mazhar Pasha, "to leave this question as it is, under the pretext that no solution can be found, when the general interest demands that a solution must be found. In no country in the world have railways been built as a complete system. They began by constructing ordinary roads for the passage of wheeled traffic, then, with time and constant progress, these countries have attained their present level of development. Therefore, the passage of wooden carts drawn by bulls along the road between Suakin and Kassala, will facilitate—one does not doubt—the means of transport on this road and will develop trade. We hope that this road will be levelled and graded enough to permit the passage of these carts, that you will take an interest in this project and that you have already examined this road as far as Kassala and drawn up a plan for its organization. Our approval of your work will be in proportion to your efforts for the organization of this road, the establishment of small rest-houses and the digging of wells required at each station."[35] With the usual energy that accompanied Ismail Pasha's idea an expert in

35. *ibid.* II, p. 216.

dynamiting was sent to blast away the rocks which might obstruct the road, but from the accounts of the many travellers who subsequently followed it neither the carts, the organization nor the little rest-houses were in evidence.

Of the other means of communication the posts and telegraphs showed the most tangible results. Said Pasha had established a free bi-weekly postal service between Khartoum and Cairo which took a month for each journey. Ismail Pasha decided to build a telegraph line. The necessity for the line was not merely a desire to be abreast with the times; it was very necessary to Egypt to enable her to get early news of the progress of the Nile flood. But, like so many of his schemes it was not carried out without a great many hitches. In the first place the Sudan did not grow trees that were suitable for telegraph poles and Musa Pasha had to reply that he could not undertake to supply the 30,000 poles he had been told to produce. They were finally ordered from the island of Thasos and in 1864 Mr. Gisborne, the chief telegraph engineer, was sent to England to order the rest of the material.

The work did not begin again until 1866 when the line from Egypt reached as far as Korosko, where it was held up until more equipment could be obtained. Part of the line was laid on the bed of the river itself and it was found that the submarine cable that had to be used was so heavy that it could not be carried by camels, so a special boat had to be obtained. From Wadi Halfa to Ordi the white ants played havoc with the telegraph poles with the result that iron poles worth £10,000 had to be obtained from England. By the next year the line had, with certain gaps that made it impossible to send a message along it, reached as far as the southern end of Dongola Province where it was held up until material became available to carry it across the Bayuda desert. As for the Kassala line the difficulty of poles was somewhat cumbersomely solved by the use of dom-palms but the loss of 1,500 camels and two English engineers during the construction of the first eighty miles was a discouraging start. Only 157 miles had been completed by the middle

of 1867 when the work was again held up for lack of materials. It finally reached Kassala in 1872 and in the same year the Khedive decided to link Kassala with Berber on the one hand and with Massawa on the other. There was the usual delay over the completion of the work—under the circumstances this was not surprising—and before it was completed the Khedive had already decided to extend the line from Kassala to Doka (40 miles S.E. of Gedaref) and from Khartoum via Sennar to Gallabat. His plans were presumably based on the knowledge that the policy he had in mind for the eastern Sudan would necessitate rapid communications with his troops.[36]

The first active steps towards the construction of railways in the Sudan seems to have been taken in January, 1867 when the Khedive appointed Ismail Bey el Falaki to survey a line from Suakin to the Nile. He reported favourably on the prospects of a line from Suakin to Shendi but he did not consider a line to Berber feasible. Mumtaz Bey, for whom physical or financial difficulties did not exist, at once recommended that when the railway reached the Atbara a branch line should be constructed to Kassala[37]. The Khedive was determined that the Sudan was a mine of wealth and that the construction of railways there would open up the country as the Union Pacific Railway had opened up the middle-west of the United States. But there were no statistics of trade on which to base his optimism: if the Khedive had himself visited the Sudan he could not have avoided the conclusion that it was hardly worth the risk of building any railway at all until a sounder administration had been established. According to the only statistics that were attempted the provinces of Khartoum, Sennar, Fazugli and the White Nile exported in 1873, 3,000 kantars of ivory, 2,000 lbs. of ostrich feathers, 2,000 ounces of gold and 600 ounces of kalek. A definite revolution in the productivity of the country was therefore necessary before a railway could be justified.

No less unpropitious for the development of trade was the collection of tribute in kind and the use of forced labour. The govern-

36. *ibid.* I, p. 294 and II, p. 644.

37. *ibid.* I. p. 291.

ment paid such low prices for the grain and animals they took for taxes that they not only dissuaded the people from cultivating larger areas and increasing their herds but they also upset the prices of these commodities in the markets. Forced labour, chiefly in the form of requisitioned transport, was another outcome of the chaotic financial system which always left the Sudan in a state of bankruptcy. "The original sin in the Sudan," wrote Munzinger, "is the *corvée*. The government takes camels by force from the Arabs for the transport of its troops and officials and for their provisions. As the government officials have no interest in these animals, which do not belong to them, it is rarely that the majority return to their owners. The most exhorbitant tax is preferable to this *corvée* . . . The terrified Arabs do not approach the towns and it is the merchants who suffer for the mistakes of the government."[38]

Confusion over the currency was acute. Although all denominations of Turkish currency were used in Khartoum and Kassala, the country as a whole would only use dollars and 'mejidias.' "Maria Theresa dollars," wrote M. Garnier, "are the only foreign coins in currency among the tribes of Taka. At Kassala a dollar is worth P.T. 18, that is to say, P.T. 2 less than in Egypt. These coins are known in the Sudan as Abu Nukta, 'the father of dots', from the dots that represent the diamonds in the jewelry on the Queen's portrait. The crown must have nine dots, the clasp seven and the brooch five; this is the *sine qua non* for acceptance. It is essential also that the dollars, if they are to be accepted without difficulty, should be neither too old nor too new; old, the dots are worn; new, the brightness of the whole piece makes them difficult to count."[39]

4.

So much for the administrators of the Sudan and their economic schemes but what of their administration? The main object was to preserve the authority of the government and with a few unfortunate lapses this they managed to do. The next was to collect the taxes.

38. *ibid*, I. p. 173.
39. *ibid*. p. 171.

Among the liberal steps introduced by Said Pasha had been a general reduction and rationalisation of taxation. The effect had not been altogether satisfactory for it had never been properly applied and it put more money into the pockets of those fortunate servants of the government who could lay a claim to collect the taxes. When Musa Pasha arrived to put new vitality into the administration, one of his first acts was to convene a council of notables, a move which has since been held to his credit as a statesman-like gesture towards self-government in the Sudan. The official archives however put a very different complexion on his action for it is fairly clear that the real motive was to tighten up the system of tax collection. It was said that the people were tired of the liberal system of taxation, which although it was intended to assess the actual taxable capacity of the individual had laid itself open to all sorts of abuses, and that they wanted to return to the simpler but more easily understood system of tribute or poll tax. Musa Pasha conceded this point but he also cast his net wider than his predecessors by putting a 12% levy on the incomes of boat and ferry owners, fishermen, servants and sailors. Even making allowance for the fact that the American Civil War had raised commodity prices, the doubling of taxation in one year was a heavy burden for the taxpayers of the Sudan to bear. Moreover Musa Pasha reversed one other rule made by Said Pasha : he again began to use troops for the collection of taxes. This may have been wrong in principle but it is difficult to see how the taxes could have been collected in any other way under the circumstances. The trouble was that the troops were out of control and that the officers commanding them were more intent on lining their pockets than in collecting what was due to the government. They knew that their pay depended directly on the money collected and they had a natural instinct to see that they got their due before others had the opportunity to filch it. In consequence most of the Sudanese saw the government only as a rapacious tax-collecting organisation which harried great and small alike. The stories of the methods used by the tax-collectors are revolting and probably exaggerated, in that painful isolated occurrences are now considered to have represented the policy of the government, yet there can be no manner

of doubt that the most senseless boorishness and brutality was common. In Taka Province the lack of a knowledge of Arabic was a great handicap to the people. A typical scene, still vivid in the minds of the elders, is that of an Egyptian or Turkish or Albanian officer arriving at a Beja encampment. He would call for the sheikh who advanced with protestations of greeting and hospitality. But when the officer spoke to him in a foreign language he was thrown into confusion : words were followed by shouts and shouts by blows until, in due course, the real object of the officer's visit had become clear. Then there was the difficulty over the amount of the tax and how much of it was payable in kind. The sheikh wanted to muster his resources, talk it over with his people, obtain advice, pay nothing more than was necessary. The officer, on the other hand, wanted to collect the tax there and then and in the end probably drove off some cattle regardless of their condition and ownership, leaving the sheikh to patch up the ensuing confusion with his outraged villagers or organise a raid on his weaker neighbours to replenish his herds. A sheikh who paid his tribute regularly and regardless of its assessment told a visitor, " We are like beasts, and whoever calls : Oh ! Oh ! we follow him."[40]

The record of a conversation between an English traveller and Ismail Ayoub Pasha, who succeeded Mumtaz as Governor of the Central Sudan in 1872, indicates that these were not matters to worry the rulers. " When an Arab Sheikh will not pay me his tribute," said the Pasha, " I despatch a company of Silouks to his village, and they very soon frighten him into sending it. The Arabs have a horror of my Silouk regiment." " Do you find the Silouks give *you* no trouble ? " I enquired. " Not much," he said " give them a few sweet dates and plenty of common tobacco, and they are happy as the day is long. They want nothing more, and are no more difficult to manage than children." " And how do you make the roving Arabs of the desert pay you tribute ? " I asked. " Why," said he, " we wait till the dry season is well advanced, and then send troops to the few wells that still contain water. The Arabs must drive their flocks

40. *ibid.* I, p. 138.

to these wells or see them perish, and we take this opportunity of collecting our tithes in kind."[41]

Taka Province seems to have enjoyed the distinction of always having the widest gap between expenditure and revenue. In 1864 the Governor affirmed that his expenditure was £E. 54,905 and his revenue £E. 30,000. In that year, when expenses were admittedly high because of the extra troops that had been recruited to defend the eastern frontier against the Emperor Theodore of Abyssinia, Egypt had to pay the Sudan a subvention of £E. 150,000.[42] Jaafer Pasha Mazhar had instructions to reduce expenditure and in his budget for 1866 province expenditure in Taka was reduced from £E. 43,350 to £E. 39,450. In the following year Ismail Pasha decided that it was time the Sudan began to pay back some of the money lent to her and up went the taxes by another two-thirds. It was thought that the magic phrase 'economic development' would make the production of extra revenue possible even to the extent that money 'lent' to the Sudan could be repaid in full. In an address made in 1869 Ismail Pasha declared, on what grounds it is difficult to imagine, "that the revenue drawn by the Government from the Sudan has already doubled (thanks to reforms and ameliorations). The Minister of Finance who has lately provided, as a subsidy, £E. 150,000 to the provinces of the Sudan, now receives £E. 75,000, on account of expenses and appointments of civil and military personnel." And Ahmed Mumtaz, who as Governor of Suakin had been no more successful in collecting taxes than the other Governors, justified his claim for permission to pursue his cotton schemes on the grounds that the subvention of £E. 75,000 per annum was ridiculously small for the Sudan to contribute to the Egyptian Treasury.

These efforts to make the Sudan pay were, of course, quite ineffective: taxes continued to be in arrears and there was every indication that the collection of tribute would remain a brutal game of hide and seek until the tribes found something in the administration to give them confidence that they were not its sport, and until they had some evidence that the taxes would be used, in part

41. de Cosson, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 233.
42. Douin, *op. cit.* I, p. 218.

at least, for their benefit. As for the taxes on agriculture the most remarkable was the sagia tax which was rated at a minimum of £E. 3 for each sagia of eight feddans or less and proportionately greater for sagias of larger area. Mumtaz Pasha decided that there were 20,000 sagias in the Sudan, and then stated that not only could this number be increased ten-fold but that the treasury could count on the receipts from the sagia tax increasing in the same proportion. In any case he proposed to do away with sagia-wheels and replace them with wind-mills which would be erected by a group of specialists in each Mudiria. The Government would advance the necessary funds and collect the money by annual instalments.[43]

The position of the accounts in the province of the Red Sea Coast, Mumtaz Pasha's own province, was not good. Suakin was best off thanks to the salt concession at Rawaya, but Massawa was in arrears and, as usual, Taka was in an almost desperate state. The taxes had been doubled in 1866 along with those of the rest of the country, but on the complaint of the Nazir of the Hadendoa some reduction had been made. In 1865 also the taxes had been struck off because of the effect of the military rebellion; yet for the period 1866 to 1870 the Hadendoa alone were £E. 9,520 in arrears. Again the taxes were reduced but in spite of the fact that £E. 40,000 was collected in the province it was still insufficient to balance the expenditure. Mumtaz Pasha pointed out that Taka in particular had cost the Egyptian Government enormous sums of money. "It is therefore my duty," he wrote, "as a faithful and devoted servant of the Government, to break silence on this position and to bring forward certain suggestions in connection with it. The receipts of this Mudiria are very small in proportion to its large area and to the large number of its inhabitants. The fact that this Mudiria has in the past been far from commercial centres and has had to limit its cultivation of durra has reduced the currency in the possession of the inhabitants. The Government has even been compelled on occasion to take from them cattle and other objects for lack of money.

43. *ibid.* c. IX, *passim.*

"For the purpose of remedying these financial difficulties, increasing the national wealth and, as a result, swelling the Government revenue, 200 ardebs of cotton grain were sent last year. These were sown by the inhabitants and the cultivation has been successful. The harvest was taken in place of taxes. The Nazirs of Qisms then realised that by increasing the cultivation of the cotton the inhabitants and the Government would profit considerably. They therefore requested that the Mudiria should be sent 3,000 ardebs of cotton grain, to be sown that year. This quantity was sent to the Mudiria. This was enough to sow only a quarter of the cultivable area, but nevertheless it was considered best to limit the cotton to this quantity for that year because of the lack of ginning and pressing machines. In fact, before a Mudiria can take up the cultivation of cotton it must first of all be in possession of these machines. We consider it preferable on the other hand that the Government, instead of collecting from the tribes taxes in proportion to the expenditure on their cultivations, should require each cultivator to hand over to its representative two kantars of cotton. In this way the Government would be able to count on 100,000 kantars of cotton, and if we take the kantar as being £E. 2, after deduction of expenses, we receive a total of £E. 200,000. This figure could then be increased by encouraging the inhabitants and by putting the unemployed to work in agriculture.

"Moreover, if the Government undertakes the ginning and pressing of the cotton which is delivered to them by the inhabitants (working on their behalf and only until such time as the cotton trade becomes prosperous) and if it sells the cotton and hands over the price after deduction of expenses to the inhabitants, the latter would easily be able to settle their debts to the Government and then make profits out of their cultivations for themselves.

"If my proposal is carried out," added the Governor, "of course everybody will wish to take up the cultivation of cotton, and many inhabitants of whom the Mudiria is at present unaware, will appear in the hope of exploiting this new source of wealth, with the result

that the increase of the population will bring about a proportionate increase of revenue."[44]

In spite of these helpful suggestions from the irrepressible Mumtaz the financial situation of Taka was again desperate in 1871, for by this time not only were the taxes £E. 40,000 in arrears but the Government staff was due another £E. 36,000. The Governor persisted in the belief that the only hope for the future lay in the extensive cultivation of cotton yet even if the people worked their fingers to the bone they would never be able to pay off the arrears of taxation that were marked up against them. As it was, they showed a militant objection to growing cotton at all, if it merely meant they worked as slaves for the government. The Khedive finally ordered the central treasury at Khartoum to remit £E. 25,000 to Kassala to enable the Governor to give his employees something on account and the Privy Council in Cairo called for a statement of accounts.

Enough has been recorded of the short-comings of Egyptian rule in the Sudan over most aspects of administration to show that it failed hopelessly in its main task of supplying the people of the country with peace, security and justice. The essence of the matter cannot be better described than by quoting once again from Munzinger :—" There is no other country as easy to administer as the Sudan ; there is not a tribe capable of resisting half a battalion ; fire-arms are almost unknown. And yet there are rebels within a league of the garrisons. A third of the Beni Amer refused recently to pay their tribute. People are killed daily in the neighbourhood of Kassala. The Baria raid the Hadendoa and sell their booty with impunity in the Beni Amer markets and vice versa, all three tribes belonging to the same district. One cannot go from Keren to Kassala without a strong escort. If one is robbed or killed on the way no one goes in pursuit of the criminals : the tax-payers must not be upset.

" The reason for this state of affairs is that no one is sufficiently interested to give attention to it. All that the government asks, is more taxes. The Sudan ought to balance its own budget as well as

44. *ibid.* II, p. 455.

help the treasury in Cairo, although the army is out of all proportion to the needs of the country. All that is required is a good Governor and nothing more. What is the use of this activity which entails so much responsibility and so little praise ? A commandant for instance, sees a tribe in danger, goes to its help, and loses one or two soldiers. He is blamed because he has lost the government two men that it must replace, because he has chastized tribes that pay taxes, because he has tried to distinguish himself. That is the cross that awaits him. A final reason for this disorder is that the government at Cairo, that knows its servants and, without doubt, has had some unhappy experiences with them, has deprived them of all independence. The smallest detail is regulated from Cairo. But it follows that the smallest affairs drag on, studying the *for* and *against* of every question ; that, in Cairo, with the best intentions, they understand very little of the conditions in the Sudan ; that the Governors lose all self-respect and they become merely reporters, interested in hiding the truth, dissembling before taking action until orders have been received from Cairo, and arising from all this is a spirit of indecision and injustice which makes the government misunderstood in spite of the ten battalions that are in the Sudan. A thousand times better than this state of affairs that ruins everything would be the old system under which the Governors reigned as kings and committed injustices themselves, but at least they were not without that ambition, which is the legal and honourable child of autonomy, of making themselves respected by giving the country order and security."[45]

The Egyptian administrators were simply not capable of dealing with the problems which confronted them. The problems were big enough, as well we know, if Ismail Pasha's ideas of enlightened rule were to be realized. " The organization of the province of Taka is defective," wrote Jaafer Mazhar Pasha on his arrival in the country. " There is not a town or village to which a *muawin* or *mamur* has been posted. Its inhabitants are organized into nomad tribes that are continually moving from one place to another. The distance between

45. *ibid.* I, p. 438.

one tribe and another is at least seven or eight days and it takes a Governor about twelve days to get to know the piece of country covered by a tribe. Most of the sheikhs do not know the Governors and the Governors do not know them . . . They fear the government and the Governors . . . They do not know how to read or write and only five per cent know Arabic. The Mudir has never taken the trouble to make himself acquainted with the situation in the different parts of his Mudiria. He has never intervened in the feuds between the tribes, in spite of the fact that he was aware of them. Actually, the three principal tribes of Taka, the Beni Amer, Shukria and Hadendoa are at war with each other, and it is impossible for the men of one to pass through the territory of the other. Moreover, we understand that the Mudir has imprisoned the sheikh of the Hadendoa, Musa, and put another in his place who is hated by the tribe. This has given rise to an enmity, between the partisans of the two sheikhs, which continues to this day. I have written to the Mudir telling him to release Sheikh Musa, whom I have invited to come and meet me."[46]

When Jaafer Pasha arrived in Kassala his action with regard to the sheikhs was to summon them to a meeting and address them to the effect "that they should stop these acts of savagery and barbarity against each other, that they must present their complaints to the government which was alone qualified to settle their differences, that if anyone settled them by his own means, he will be severely punished together with the sheikh to whom he belongs." At the same time, probably, a court for hearing petitions (*Service des Requêtes*) was started in Kassala under the Mamur, Khalil Fahmy Eff., but when Mumtaz Pasha became Governor of the Red Sea Coast he was dissatisfied with its operation and took the first step towards associating the natives of the country with it. In 1871, Hamid Musa, ex-Nazir of the Beni Amer Qism, was the President, with Mohammed Agha el Awad, ex-Nazir of the Halenga Qism as Vice-President and the Mamur Khalil Fahmy as a member. Two months later the system

46. *ibid.* I, p. 206.

was extended to Suakin and Massawa, in a modified form which gave the Local Councils the powers to settle civil suits also. Khalil Eff. Haidi then became President in Kassala and Sheikh Hamid Musa and Mohammed el Awad were reinstated in their respective Qisms to supervise the cultivation of cotton[47].

When Munzinger became Governor further modifications were made. The Sudan had just been divided into three parts and the post of Governor-General suppressed, but this lead to difficulties because there had previously been a 'Council of the Sudan' at Khartoum which heard cases for the whole country and from it appeal lay to Cairo. In the meantime separate Courts had been started at Khartoum and Berber. The solution arrived at in March 1872 was that similar Courts should be started in Kordofan, Dongola, Sennar and Fazugli and that appeals from all Courts should lie to the Khartoum Court consisting of a President, Mufti, Clerk and members. Justice must have been the most laborious business for the bulk of the population although, in practice, few except the towns of the places where the courts were situated ever used them.

While all these schemes were being carelessly hatched out in the insignificant garrison towns the bulk of the population was making the best it could of a situation which very largely left them out of account. As long as they kept out of the reach of the government their lives were disturbed only by the recurrent visitations of famine, locusts and pestilence which had been their lot since time immemorial. Yet the government was having its effect to some extent on the organization of the tribes by dividing them into administrative districts that were often arbitrary. It was also influencing the tribal leaders by giving them salaries, ranks and honours, and by bringing them into closer touch with "their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas," which Gladstone had once so fervently advocated should be removed from Europe "bag and baggage."

47. *ibid.* II, p. 538.

The Hadendoa were still under the great Sheikh Musa Ibrahim who was well able not only to look after the interests of his tribe, but also to extend its influence in the Gash delta. He was made a Bey by the Khedive but in 1872 Munzinger removed him temporarily to Massawa because he was not making sufficient effort to maintain public security in his area.[48] In his absence Mohammed Billal of the Bereinab section was put in charge of the southern Hadendoa and Mohammed el Amin of the Tirik was made responsible for the northern sections which had previously been put under the *mamuria* of Sinkat attached to the province of Suakin. The Gemilab section were a thorn in the side of the Governor and were feared just as the Baza were feared in Taka.

The Beni Amer also had a strong ruler in Sheikh Hamid Bey Musa although he was no more inclined to stop his tribe from attacking its neighbours than the other sheikhs. The Halenga were already being pressed back into the neighbourhood of Kassala itself by the Hadendoa but they still had villages as far out as Mekali. It was on the Halenga that the brunt of Mumtaz Pasha's cotton schemes fell.

The first mention of the Rashaida is made by Munzinger, although he does not refer to them by name, when he visited Tokar in 1872 to investigate the question of man-power for the cultivation of cotton in the Tokar delta. Even then these 'little-limbed and subtle-brained and supple-tongued Arabians' from across the Red Sea struck a discordant note among the more sober Beja inhabitants. Munzinger had little use for them: they were forceful colonists who showed no hesitation in the use of force if the local tribesmen interfered with them. He found them divided between Mohammed Ghul and Agig and by appointing sheikhs to collect tribute set up quarrels that have not yet ceased to rankle.[49]

(*To be continued*).

48. *ibid.* II, p. 538.

49. *ibid.* II, p. 529.

FOLK STORIES OF THE SUDAN

By E.E. Evans Pritchard and A.C. Beaton

II

TALES OF THE CUNNING OF THE FOX

Told by Uyo and Ukelo

XVIII

Hyaena was Fox's maternal uncle. One day Elephant went down to a pool to bathe and he left his sandals on the shore of the pool, for in those days Elephant wore sandals. Fox said to Hyaena, "Let us go down to the pool to bathe for it is noon." So they made their way to the same pool in which Elephant was bathing. When Fox saw the sandals he persuaded Hyaena to eat them. While Hyaena sat down to his meal and ate the sandals till he was nigh to bursting, Fox ran down to the water's edge and told Elephant what was happening. Elephant thereupon came out of the water and moved with his heavy steps to the place where he had left his sandals. When he arrived, there were no sandals to be seen because Hyaena had just finished eating them. Elephant asked Hyaena whether it was true that he had eaten his sandals and Hyaena denied it vehemently. However, Fox kept on saying that he had actually witnessed Hyaena eating his sandals. So Elephant raised his trunk and gave Hyaena a whack with it across the hip and broke his hip-bone. That is why Hyaena limps to this day. Hyaena swore to be avenged on Fox.*

Some days later Fox said to his maternal uncle, Hyaena, "Let us go fishing together." Fox said he would go on ahead. When Hyaena arrived Fox had already speared a big fish, called *yiu*, and was roasting it. Hyaena asked him for a taste of it, so Fox gave him a piece to eat. When Hyaena had tasted it he liked it so much that he was overcome with greed and said to Fox, "No! You shall

---

Editor's Note * *cf.* the Bor Dinka story related by Archdeacon Shaw in S.N. and R. Vol II p. 275.

not eat that fish, give it to me." Fox gave it to him and he ate it all. When he had finished eating it he said to Fox, "Tell me how you catch these fish." Fox told him to climb a tree and sit in the branches and call to the fish to come. When he saw their heads poking above the water he must fall backwards into it. Then the fish would cling on to his coat and all he would have to do would be to walk out of the water with his catch. Hyaena climbed a tree, called upon the fishes, and, when he saw their faces poking above the water, fell into it as Fox had told him. The fish at once stabbed him with their long fins and his back was stuck all over with them. He scrambled in great pain to the bank and in his agony called upon Crow to pull the fish out of his back. Crow refused. He then called upon Pelican to help him and likewise Pelican refused. Finally Cormorant agreed to assist him. When Cormorant had pulled out all the fish he shared the catch with Hyaena. Hyaena carried his share home, his body swollen and painful, and swore to be avenged on Fox.

However, he could not find Fox who had gone into the bush. Sometime later he came across him in the bush where he was eating honey he had just dug out of a hole in a tree. Hyaena asked him what he was eating and hearing that it was honey asked to be allowed to try a little. When he had tasted it he became so greedy that he made Fox give him all the honey, and when he had eaten it he asked Fox how he could procure such lovely food. Fox told him that there was honey in a hole in a tamarind tree nearby and that all he had to do was to call a man who wore two ivory armlets and a series of brass rings on his forearm, and who happened to be passing at the time, and the man and he would arrange for Hyaena to get the honey. So Hyaena trotted off and brought the man and together the man and Fox bound Hyaena firmly to the tree with his head opposite the hole in which the bees had their hive. They then told Hyaena that all he had to do now was to put his head into the hole and eat the honey. When Hyaena put his head into the hole he was stung all over his head and body. In his pain he struggled so fiercely that he broke his bonds and with swollen head he ran home once more swearing vengeance on Fox.

One day Fox went out to catch lung fish. When he noticed a swelling of the ground he dug with a hoe and brought up the lung fish. Hyaena found him when he was roasting some of the fish. He asked to be allowed to try a morsel and Fox gave him the tail. He ate it with great relish and said to Fox, "You shall not eat that fish, give it to me." So Fox gave it to him. When he had finished eating it he asked Fox where he had got the fish from. So Fox showed him where they were hidden and told him that all he had to do was to dig down till he came to the fish and then lower his organ into the hole, grab the fish with it and haul it up. Hyaena dug several small fish out in this way and was delighted. Then he dug down to a huge lung fish and his delight knew no bounds, for he was certain that he was going to be gorged with fish that day. So he lowered his organ into the hole he had dug and the fish gripped it with its mouth. Hyaena kept on pulling the fish to the top of the hole with his organ and the fish kept on dragging the organ back into the hole again. Eventually the fish bit Hyaena's organ in two (which accounts for its appearance at the present time), and Hyaena ran home, his legs spattered with blood. For a long while he watched for an opportunity of avenging himself on Fox for the trick he had played him.

XIX

Fox was once going on a journey and was very hungry so he begged Ostrich for some porridge. Ostrich gave him some porridge and while he gorged himself with it Ostrich by mistake trod on Fox's water gourd. Fox insisted on being compensated for his loss and Ostrich gave him one of her eggs. Fox went off with the egg and met some giraffe coming along the path. He quickly put the egg in the centre of the path and covered it with grass. All the giraffe, till the last of them, passed over the egg without treading on it. The last one trod on it. Fox shouted to them to stop and when he came up with them he asked which of them had smashed his egg. They began to deny that any one of them had trodden on the egg, when Fox picked out the biggest of them and accused him of smashing the egg, saying that he

Editor's Note *cf.* the Nuer story of the hyaena and the jackal told by Captain Ferguson in Vol VII p. 107.

had seen him smash it with his own eyes. He insisted that the giraffe should compensate the injury with his tail and the giraffe consented to have it cut off.

Fox then went off carrying the tail in his hand. He came to a blacksmith's forge and sat down and watched him at work. After a while he said to the smith. "Take this giraffe's tail and put it in the fire." The smith demurred, pointing out that it would burn if he put it in the fire. Fox declared it would not burn and said again "Put it in the fire." So the smith put it in the fire of his forge and it was at once burnt up. Fox demanded compensation and after altercations the smith gave him an ox. (The story continues, Fox at each encounter obtaining an object of greater value than the one he held, but it was only recorded to this point.)

Told by the Fur

XX

One day the Lion took his hoes to the smithy to be reset and behind him came the Fox, who said to the smith, "O Smith, mend mine first."

"Do you think" said the Smith, "I am going to fall foul of my big brother the Lion, in order to oblige you?"

"The Lion, do you say—he, who is my father's slave?" said the Fox, whereupon the Smith reset his hoes at once. Later the Lion returned, asking why his hoes had not been done, and, when he was told that it was because the Fox had brought his too, the Lion exclaimed, "But did I not bring mine first?"

"Yes," said the Smith, "but he said that you are his father's slave; and that is why I did his first." This so enraged the Lion that he rushed off to the house of the Fox and demanded that he should go at once before the elders, but the Fox was lying down feeling ill, "Ride on my back, then," roared the Lion.

"How can I," replied the Fox, "you are not saddled." "Put on a saddle on my back then."

When they had saddled the Lion, the Fox, who was seated on his back, said to his children, "Give me my switch to keep off the flies."

As they drew near to the smithy, the Fox thrust his feet firmly into the stirrups and pulled at the reins so hard that the Lion shouted, "What do you think you are doing?" "I feel so ill" cried the Fox, and pulling at the bridle, he lashed at the Lion again and again with his whip and galloped him up and down past the smithy, so that, everyone said "It is true, the Lion is his father's slave." Suddenly the Fox slipped off and darted into his brother's hole, leaving the Lion struggling with the saddle and roaring to someone to take it off.

When at last the saddle had been removed, the Lion called for a crowbar, and started digging at the mouth of the hole. The Fox, meantime, left it by another exit and coming up behind the Lion said, "Uncle, why are you digging here?" "You, O Fox," exclaimed the Lion, "Are you the Fox of the Swamp, or the Fox of the Small Streams?" "Neither," replied the Fox ingenuously, "I live in the dry bush." "That's all right, then," said the Lion. "Give me your crowbar," said the Fox, "and let me dig for you," but as soon as he had it in his hands, he struck the Lion on the head, and vanished into the hole again. The Lion sat clasping his head for a little and then seized his crowbar and started digging afresh, when the Fox, who had got out by another exit, came up and said, "O my uncle, why on earth are you digging here?" "Ah," roared the Lion, "are you the Fox of the Dry Bush or the Fox of the Sandhills?"

"Neither," was the placid reply, "I live in the fields." "That's lucky for you," said the Lion. "Give me the crowbar," said the Fox, I will help you," but as soon as he laid hold of the crowbar, he struck the Lion on the head and, darting into the hole, vanished.

The Lion fell to the ground, but after a little he rose and called his friend the Hornbill, saying, "Just watch this hole, while I go and get a drink." Up came the Fox again and said, "Who are you?" "You know very well who I am," answered the Hornbill. "Open your eyes wide" said the Fox, "I want to see how you do it," and when the bird opened its eyes, the Fox threw some sand in them, and, while the Hornbill was flapping its wings in pain, ran out of the hole and home to his children.

"What are you flapping your wings for?" said the Lion on his return. "Here he is, here he is," shouted the Hornbill and the Lion fell into a frenzy of digging, but on opening the whole of the hole, he found that his quarry was gone.

The Lion went straightaway to the house of the Fox, but on finding him absent, he asked everyone where the Fox had gone, and, when they all said that he had gone to his house in the Deleib Palm, the Lion went straight there. On his arrival he found that the Fox had a rope, with which his children used to pull him up to the tree top. This he pulled and shook so that the children of the Fox thought that their father had returned, but, when they realised who it was that they had pulled up, they said, "So, it's you, uncle, we thought our father had returned," "Now, where is your father?" asked the Lion. "He has gone to his cotton patch," they answered, "but sit down, he won't be long."

A little later the Fox came back, and as soon as he shook the rope, the Lion hauled him up. "Can it be my children, who pull me up so vigorously?" thought the Fox, and, when he reached the top, he exclaimed, "Uncle, so it was you!"

"Yes, I have come," growled the visitor.

"Children, give your uncle a drink and some meat to eat; and bring me my long robe and my sharpest knife so that I may cut him a slice to eat." Then while the Lion was snatching the meat, he sawed away, under the cover of his garment, at the branch on which the Lion was seated, until at last it fell with a crash; and with it fell the Lion plop into a large pool at the foot of the tree.

As the Lion struggled in the water, he roared to the other animals, who came up to drink, to help him out. "That's all very well," they said, "but once you are safe, you will set upon us. No, we won't help you out, despite your promises," and they left him where he was. At length some Baboons came to drink and the Lion pleaded with them to help him, promising to befriend his rescuer. "No," they retorted, "we have heard that promise before." In the end, however, one of them was persuaded to let the Lion get hold of his tail and to pull him out. When the Lion was safe, the Baboon cried, "Let go

of my tail." "Wait until I am dry," said the Lion. "Alas," said the Baboon, "I knew you would deceive me, when I first refused to help you." When the Fox saw the straits that the Baboon was in, he came down from his tree and cried, "Wait, I am making you a gift, O Lion, of this meat (*i.e.*, the Baboon), you must not eat it yet, we ought to say grace first," and calling to the others, he said, "Come let us say grace that the Lion may eat his meal without reproach." When they were all ready the Fox said, "First cover the eyes and then raise your hands to God," but, since the Lion was using one hand to say grace, while with the other he kept fast hold of the Baboon's tail, the Fox exclaimed, "If you don't use both hands for the grace, how can your meal be blessed?"

The Lion did so, trying however to hold the Baboon's tail under his armpit, but the Baboon escaped and, as he fled, the Fox cried out, "You beasts of the field, to your holes, and you birds of the air, to your nests."

Thereupon they all scattered and the Lion was left alone, until hunger came upon him and he died.

XXI

The Hyaena and the Lion had received from their chief a cow to share between them, with the gift of a bull to the Lion alone. Now they built them a kraal and for many days drove them to and from the pastureland, until at length the cow was big with calf, at a time when the Hyaena was on a journey and the Lion had been left alone with the cattle. As soon as the cow calved, the Lion took the calf and gave it to his bull, and on the Hyena's return told him that his bull had calved. "Surely it is our cow that has dropped the calf," said the latter, "No, No," maintained the Lion, "my bull has."

When the Hyaena lodged a complaint at this treatment, the Chief called the Lion and all the elders of the village to decide the case between the disputants. Now everyone had assembled at the Court, save the Fox, in whose absence the Lion wished to have the case decided. Although the Chief agreed to this, the others refused to start until the Fox had come. At this moment the Fox was seen to

approach, carrying a huge pot on head, but making for the river, not the Court. His brother cried out, "O Father of Halima, where are you going? Come here and listen to the Lion's case." "I am in a hurry" shouted the Fox, "my father has just given birth and I must fetch some water to give him a bath." "Don't be so stupid," said the Lion, "when did a father ever give birth?" "Then how is it," the rest all shouted, "that you claim that your bull has dropped a calf?" and the elders took away the calf and gave it to the Hyaena.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—*Mr. Beaton remarks on the close parallel between these Fur tales and those of the Bari in Equatoria Province, with whom however Brer Rabbit supp'ants Brer Fox. He comments as follows*:—

"The 'motif' of the tree standing on the edge of a deep pool and ascended by a rope occurs in the tale of Janja and her children; the Baboon too is induced by the double tongued Leopard to help him out of a well and is similarly rewarded for his pains, but the resemblance is most striking in the tale of the Lion and the Fox, which centres round that plot of universal appeal—the out-witting of brawn by brain.

Among the Bari, the Rabbit (who incidentally has emerged as Brer Rabbit on the west of the Atlantic) is always found, though at times apparently worsted, as triumphing over the clumsy and stupid Lion, or the dullwitted Elephant. In one story the Rabbit takes refuge from the Lion in a mouse-hole, over which the Hornbill is posted while the Lion fetches a digging stick, and from which the Rabbit escapes by literally throwing dust in the eyes of the sentry. He later accosts the Lion, who is busy digging at the bolt-hole and successfully hoodwinks him by ringing the changes on the Wild and Tame Rabbit, and, when he has persuaded the lion to hand him the digging stick and to reach into the hole to seize his prey, he stabs him to the heart.

It would be rash to do more than note the similarity in these tales, for the animal story is found wherever a people lives in close contact with the inhabitants of the jungle, but, if some prehistoric African had known the art of writing, the learned world might at this moment be disputing over the existence of a dark-skinned Homer."

NOTES ON THE MADI OF EQUATORIA PROVINCE

By J. V. Rowley

These notes were gathered together at odd moments on trek during 1936 and 1937. The old men from whom they were extracted, although possessing the usual astonishing memory found everywhere in Africa for the names of men and places, are not, of course, infallible historians. In the main, however, they give a true account of the derivation of the many groups of people that go to make up the so-called Madi of the Sudan and are worth preserving.

The Madi proper live in Uganda on the Sudan border, west of the Nile. The Sudan Madi inhabit a stretch of country east of the Nile (Bahr El Jebel) along the last forty miles of the road from Juba to Nimule and as far east as Opari. Until 1923 they lived on the banks of the river and were then moved to the higher ground for sleeping-sickness reasons. Strictly speaking the large majority of them are Madi only by adoption. In origin they are very mixed. Although the total population is under 20,000 it is made up of descendents of small migratory groups from an astonishing medley of tribes: the Madi proper, the Fajelu, the Nyangwara, the Kuku, the Acholi, the Anuak, the Bari, the Luluba and even the Latuka. Racially they are therefore a mixture of Nilo-Hamites from the east and the Moru-Madi group who, according to Seligman, are suspected in the remote past to have come from the west or south-west. With the exception of the Acholi element, this conglomerate has now become Madi, entirely as regards language, predominantly as regards belief, customs and social organisation. The Acholi in the area (of the Shilluk-Anuak family), although classed administratively with the Madi, have kept their own culture; their only concession to Madi influence being that the Acholi and Madi languages (as different as chalk from cheese) are talked with equal facility in their villages. They do not, however, hesitate to inter-marry with them.

It is surprising with what ease these various tribal units seem to have merged their identity into what is now almost a common stock. No native historian seemed able to offer any satisfactory explanation. A common language would be a natural evolution though it should be mentioned here that with the exception of the Luluba the languages of none of the tribes mentioned above bear any resemblance whatever to Madi, though some of them are inter-related. There are, too, so many instances in the Sudan (*e.g.*, the Nuba mountains) where small tribes, living cheek by jowl in a small area for generations, have remained ignorant of each others languages. In only a very few instances could I discover any old men amongst the Madi who were at all familiar with the language of their ancestors. There had been no contact with the outside world until 1850, but there is no doubt that the process of amalgamation received tremendous impetus from the slave raiders during the last century, who drove the tribes off the river to seek a common safety elsewhere. For administrative reasons, too, amalgamations were essential under a European Government. But it seems certain that the process had begun long before.

At the present day the only way in which most of these migratory groups have retained their identity seems to be that they have become exogamous clans with a common nationality. Their system of clans, however, as regards the rules of marriage is complicated and has not yet been investigated. Little investigation into their beliefs, customs and social organisation has so far been carried out. The Sudan Madi are of so mixed an origin that their beliefs and customs must inevitably vary slightly from group to group. It is most probable, however, that they will be found to be almost identical with those of the Madi proper in Uganda.

In comparison with other tribes in the district they have several very marked characteristics. In the first place they are far less democratic. A Madi chief, provided he is in the right line of succession, is almost essentially an autocrat. He is feared and respected by his people. This is in marked contrast to the Acholi where the chief, although he must be hereditary and has influence, is preferred, tradi-

tionally, if he is weakling and easily swayed by his people. In the Latuka courts the people *en masse* are the real judges of the case; with the Madi the populace have little say in the decision which is made by the chief alone. They have a kind of public examiner who interrogates witnesses. The Headmen interject remarks but do not appear to even suggest a decision although the chief no doubt has his fingers on their pulse. This may be the reason why joint meetings of their several courts, again in marked contrast with other tribes in the district, have not been a success. The chiefs are often at logger-heads over a case, private interests and quarrels are apt to creep in and fantastic decisions and sentences are sometimes arrived at.

Another characteristic is that they appear to be singularly free from the curse of witchcraft. Rarely, if ever, does a case of that nature come before their courts. Its place, however, is taken by something even worse, an addiction to the use of various kinds of poison. There is a sharp distinction between those used by men and those used by women. The latter are by far the most troublesome and were the cause of considerable unrest in 1937. The poison used (rarely) by men is of the usual kind commonly met with, the roots and fruit of certain trees and shrubs. It is obtained and used only for particular cases and there are no men who use it habitually. With women, however, the position is different: the science of the trade and even poison itself appears to be hereditary and is handed down from mother to daughter. Their poison is of two kinds: one is said to be made from the venom of snakes and the other either from the umbilical cord of infants or from some portion of the after-birth. It is never manufactured for material gain: you cannot buy it: you can only obtain it by making friends with a poisoner but would probably make some small gift in return, a new cooking-pot or a bowl of beans. Men can never procure it, the reason given me being that women as a sex live a life apart and do not trust them not to reveal the origin of it should they be caught. The senseless way in which many of the professionals are said to use it would seem to point to their being in

some sense perverts. The people show such terror of it that as an administrative problem it is immaterial whether the poison used is actually poisonous. In former times the poison menace was controlled by periodical outbursts of poisoner-hunting on the part of the panic-stricken populace: poisoners were taken out and burnt at the stake or stoned or stabbed to death. During the 1937 unrest the people were undoubtedly of the opinion that it had increased under the present regime. Its difficulty as a problem may be instanced by the case of an old woman who was produced before the court and charged with being in possession of poison. She denied it and said that the men who accused her had beaten her so badly that in sheer desperation she had seized on the first thing that came to hand, wrapped it in a rag, and produced it to them as the poison they sought. The men, admitting the beating, defended themselves by saying: "This woman is a poisoner: all the world knows it: you say she cannot be convicted without proof; well, we had to find the proof."

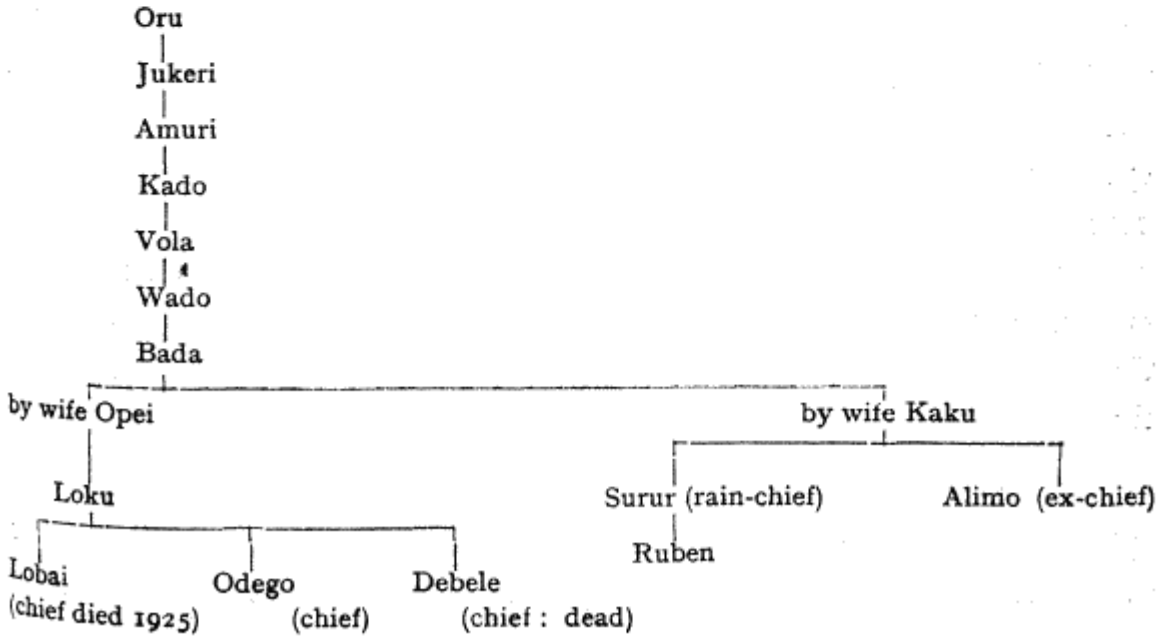
In their social system the Madi have the usual age-classes. These seem to form not nearly so binding a brother-hood as with many other tribes. A man owes implicit obedience to his class leader, even in every day village life. When several age-classes take part in a hunt, each class hunts together and will afterwards at the feast eat together those portions of the meat traditionally awarded it. This, however, seems to be as far as the age-class, working as a corporate whole, is prepared to go. The Madi show little inclination for communal labour of any kind. Even the familiar Latuka and Acholi cultivation beer-parties are absent. They tend to live in small family groups and interest themselves only in the cultivations belonging to the family. As labourers, once they get started, they are better and more hard-working than any of the other tribes in the district: admittedly the standard of the latter is not very high. On the other hand for the most part they are neither very keen nor very efficient cultivators and given the opportunity would probably prefer to buy their food rather than grow it. This is an impression one gets all over their country: it is possible that it is fostered by the fact that they cultivate

the less spectacular crops, potatoes, ground-nuts, and manioc, more extensively than other tribes in the district. They are not cattle-owners owing to the ravages of fly.

They have their rain-chiefs but pay far less attention to them than do the Latuka and the Acholi.

1. The Loa Area.

Here the most important clan is the Odupe (also called the Odukwe) which embraces the local Royal House. If you asked them from what tribe they originated they would answer the Lokoiya. There is, however, no doubt whatever that they are of Anuak stock, descendents of one of a series of migrations south from the Anuak country the first of which probably took place early in the 17th century. These Anuak came via the Nile and a place somewhere between Lyria and the Luluba hills. From here the majority went to Lafon, some to Farajok in the Acholi country, and the Odukwe to Panyikwara also in the Acholi area and Lokai in the Loa region. The Odukwe appear to retain no custom or belief of any kind which betrays their ancestry. They give the pedigree of their most important family as:



The traditional story of their migration from the country in the neighbourhood of the Luluba hills is as follows. All the men were accustomed to sit in the shade of a tree near the village. There was not enough shade for all and as the sun moved overhead so the older men kept pushing the younger out of the shade into the sun. The latter, becoming exasperated, decided in the end to migrate. They were led by two brothers, Nyikwara and Jukeri. The company first settled at Panyikwara, to which Nyikwara gave his name and where his descendents, who are now Acholi, live to-day. Within a short while the brothers quarrelled, Nyikwara accusing Jukeri of having committed adultery with his wife. Jukeri, with half the people, moved on and settled near Loa.

They found the country already occupied by several small groups of people: Vori, Pomoto, Pakori, Paloi, Paluru, Putseri, and Bari. These retain their identity to-day as exogamous clans and are probably true Madi in origin. The most important of them were the Vori who claim to have arrived at Loa from the south by way of the Nile. Their ancestors lived on an island in the river which one day was swept away by the stream carrying the people with it.

At the time of Juker's arrival, the Vori had been at war with the people of Kirippi and had been defeated. They were ordered to produce a beautiful maiden for the Kirippi chief and were unable to find one. The Odupe produced one for them and thus gained ascendency over all the people of Loa. It is probable that they had spent some time in the Luluba country (the Odupe know the particular place as Moru) before the migration to Panyikwara and no doubt were familiar with the language there which is known in the Opari area as Eru. Old men who know a little of it may still be found in the Acholi country It is closely akin to Madi and no doubt simplified the acceptance of the Odupe by the other people of the Loa region.

The Dongolawi slave traders, who arrived about the middle of the 19th century and were followed later by the Dervishes, created havoc in the country. Most of the people fled south of the Unyama river

where they remained until they were brought back to Loa by the Uganda Government. Both the chiefs of that period, Wadu and Bada, were killed, the former by the slave traders and the latter by the rabble left at Dufile by Emin Pasha when he retired south. Wadu died as the result of his ignorance of the efficacy of fire-arms. A party of Dongolawis arrived and one of them, in order to impress the natives, fired at a bird. His marksmanship was indifferent and the bird flew away unharmed. Wado and his people thereupon attacked the party and were heavily defeated, Wado himself being killed.

In the time of Bada there began a feud with the neighbouring Panikeir, who are Acholi, which has occasional repercussions even now. A Vori woman was stolen by the Panikeir. The husband visited them to try and get her back and was murdered. The people of Loa thereupon attacked and defeated them, the mother of the Panikeir chief, among many others, being killed. The Panikeir bribed some of the men left at Dufile by Emin Pasha to help them. Bada was captured and taken to Dufile where his throat was cut. When he was about to die he sent a message to his people telling them to bury the hatchet with the Panikeir.

Bada was also the rain-chief, and first married a woman named Opei. She committed adultery and he disinherited her children from the rain, which descended through another wife Kaku to Surur, full brother to ex-chief Alimo. Loku son of Opio, became chief and was succeeded by two of his sons in turn, both of whom died young (it is rumoured that their uncle Alimo poisoned them). Alimo became chief but was dismissed and imprisoned in 1930 for traffic in arms with Abyssinian poachers. He was succeeded, reluctantly, by Odego.

In 1936 the people of Nimule were included in the Loa chieftainship. The three main clans at Nimule are the Pamanini (also known as Koyi), the Pomoto and the Atsopole. The two latter are pure Madi. The Pamanini are probably of Fajelu origin though they themselves incline to the belief that their forefathers were Kuku. In common with the Pageri of Ito Gaferi they have an important state official called the Oligo, who has great influence and must always be

consulted before any important decision is taken. He is always consulted before any marriage can take place and charges a fee. He may or may not also be chief. The office is apparently hereditary. With both the Pamanini and the Pageri, also, a particular form of insult takes a prominent part in any important ceremony. When a man dies, before anyone is allowed to mourn him he must first come and insult his dead body: "You bleeding piece of earth! you were once a fine strong man and look at you now. What good are you to anyone." If he fails in this he is liable to fall sick and die himself. If a man wishes to marry he must first insult his future father-in-law before pressing his suit. This custom, designed to ward off evil spirits, is not uncommon with pagan tribes, but is not found with the other Madi clans.

The head of the Pamanini, who is also the Oligo and the rain-chief, lists his ancestors as follows:—

Koiyi
|
Manini
|
Gai
|
Tere
|
Aitsa
|
Mohammed (born about 1890)

Until the time of Gai they lived at a place called Igwo, half way up the Kajo-Kaji escarpment opposite Shukoli, and do not remember hearing that they ever lived anywhere else before that. Gai brought them from Igwo to a place called Ara, west of the Nile opposite Nimule. They say they left Igwo on account of famine but there is an old tradition at Kirippi that many years ago a great many people lived west of the Nile at Shukoli until a plague of leopards devoured half of them and caused the others to flee the place.

The Pamanini found no other people at Ara but just across the river at Nimule itself were the Atsopole and a small village of Palobo. These latter were of Acholi (Pajok) origin and have all

migrated in recent years across the Unyama river to Attyak in Uganda. The Pamanini remained at Ara until about 1910 when they crossed the river to Nimule which had been administered by the Uganda Government for some ten years. The Belgians were at that time in occupation of the west bank and the Pamanini, who say they were illtreated by them, crossed the river to rid themselves of their unwelcome attentions. In 1913 Nimule was taken over by the Sudan Government. The people were given the choice of either moving south across the Unyama into Uganda territory or of remaining where they were. About half the Atsopole, including the chief Ajiti, moved off to Attyak. At that time Kara, brother of Aitsa, was chief of the Pamanini and held the rain. He is said to have been deposed because he could not speak Arabic. Surur Abu Kra, who held the post of interpreter at Opari, was put in his place. Several years before, he had made an abortive attempt to usurp the crown by entering a house in which the dead chief lay, taking a coat and bracelet from the body, and producing them to the District Commissoner as the emblems of office, claiming the throne. He reigned for a few days until the District Commissioner was told what had happened, gave him a thrashing, and sent him about his business. Surur remained chief of Nimule until 1936 when he resigned as he refused to be subordinated to chief Odego. Mohamed of the Pamanini was unanimously elected sub-chief.

The Atsopole are an off-shoot of the large clan of the Meto Madi of the Moyo district, Uganda, who now live at Dufile. They settled east of the Nile just north of Nimule. From there they moved to the Loa neighbourhood but were beaten back by Acholi, probably the Panikeir of Opari and returned to Nimule.

The Pomoto are the second largest section at Nimule. They originally lived at a place called Alur in the Arua district of Uganda. Their ancestor, Pomoto, was a fisherman. While drying his nets one day on an island in the river, the stream suddenly swept away the island and Pomoto with it. He landed at the Fola Rapids, took a wife from the Meto Madi and founded the Pomoto at Nimule. They

left the neighbourhood of the Fola and went to live at Lokai near Loa. When the Arab traders arrived they fled, in company with most of the people of Lokai, to Attyak where they remained some fifty years. From there they moved on to the Assua river and thence, in 1924, to Nimule. They have two rainmakers, one of whose forefathers were not Pomoto but Paloki: the Pomoto had no rain-maker and therefore welcomed them. The other inherited the rain from his mother, who is said to have given birth to it.

There is at Nimule a small band of Nupi. They are descendents of the army brought by Emin Pasha from the north. All are followers of Islam and tend to live a life apart from their pagan neighbours.

The Erapi of Palongwa were, until 1936, when they were incorporated in the Loa chieftainship, included in the Panikeir (Opari) area. They say they are Bari of Kela origin, their forefathers having migrated from Gumbiri in the Bari country on account of famine. When they reached Palongwa (between Loa and Ito Gaferi) they were a small band and found the Tadiri of Kirippi in possession of the country. The then Tadiri chief took them under his wing. In later years the Tadiri chief thought they were attaining too much independence so in order to increase his influence over them gave some of his rain-stones to their headman whom he trusted as his vassal. At the advent of Government they had managed to throw off their ties with Kirippi. The latter complained that they should again be put under them instancing the gift of the rain-stones. Their head man who had a private quarrel with the Kirippi chief, refused to agree but consented to be amalgamated with the Panikeir.

2. The Ito Gaferi Area.

Until 1935 when they were brought under Chief Ito Gaferi, the people of Kirippi had always had a chieftainship of their own. There are six main clans of whom the Tadiri are the most numerous. They list the ancestors of their most important family as follows:

Moroki
|
Diri
|
Idzulu
|
Rotsu
|
Bolonga
|
Kotsi
|
Atsari
|
Rotsu
|
Molodia
|
Dzulu
|
Bara
|
Nyangora
|
Lado Kirippi
|
Iberu (born 1908)

They claim to be Fajelu in origin. Moroki and his brother lived in the Fajelu country together until they had a dispute about cows which they had inherited from their father. Moroki then led a migration across the Nile. They settled at the place called Bura, east of the Nile and west of Kirippi. In the time of Rotsu, father of Malodia, a number of the Tadiri moved on to the country of the Meto Madi in Uganda where their descendents now live. Rotsu was one day threading a necklace of beads when the son of his brother, a tiny child, came and ate one of them. Rotsu became enraged and demanded the bead from his brother. The latter told him to have patience and wait until the child relieved himself when he could recover it. Rotsu refused. His brother then offered him a cow in exchange which was also refused. Rotsu then seized the child cut open its stomach and recovered the bead. The child died and its father led the migration to the Meto Madi. From Bura they moved, in a very bad famine year, to the Acholi country. On their return they settled down at Kirippi.

The Agorippi are of Kuku stock and crossed the Nile many generations ago. They lived on the banks of the river until the arrival of Arabi Dafalla who chased them off. I found a man amongst them who had the typical northern cuts on his cheecks. These, he said, had been done when he was a child by Arabi Dafalla himself. He was light in colour and probably had a northern father. Many of the Agorippi were enslaved at that time.

The Afodu clan are probably of pure Madi stock, and say they originated from a place called Gweri in Moyo District, Uganda, reaching the Kirippi neighbourhood on an island which floated down the river.

The Idzupi came orginally from the neighbourhood of Yei. They do not appear to know from what people they are descended but say their ancestors talked a dialect of Bari. The cause of their migration was a fight with the Fajelu who burned down a house in which a number of girls were sleeping, many being burned to death.

The Degi are Kuku: many of them still live in the neighbourhood of Kajo-Kaji, their ancestral home being a place known as Kidziri.

The Patibi are very few in number and claim Latuka descent. Once upon a time two brothers lived on Peeping Tom mountain (Mt. Ondiro near Offerika). One became a cannibal and as there were few people living either with them or nearby, the other somewhat naturally refused to run the risk of remaining and moved off west. He crossed the Nile to a place called Nyeri where they lived a while and then returned to Nyongwa on the east bank and from there to Kirippi.

The Pageri of Ito Gaferi are Fajelu in origin. Of all the Madi clans they are, agriculturally, the most industrious. They say their ancestors left the Fajelu country under a man called Logu who had quarrelled with his brother over an inheritance. They lived first near Kajo-Kaji and later crossed the Nile. Until the coming of the Government they were an independent chieftainship but were put (unwillingly) under the Tadiri of Kirippi on whom they have since

reversed the tables. Chief Ito Gaferi has no hereditary claim to be a chief. At one time he was a sergeant in the Belgian Army and was later put forward by his people presumably because he was a man of character and was familiar with the ways of the European. Respected by his people, he is rather looked down upon by neighbouring chiefs, and especially by the people of Kirippi, as a low-born upstart. A fine old man, if sometimes pig-headed, he has a passion for hats of varied hue, his favourite being a puce-coloured confection in felt. One of his sons seems to have inherited this trait and usually appears under a large-sized Mexican sombrero.

3. The Panikeir Area (Opari).

The Panikeir are, and always have been, Acholi. Chief Dar lists his ancestors thus:

Keru
|
Asivo
|
Kiribungo
|
Kumo
|
Lubango
|
Jumon
|
Olek
|
Apoka
|
Opira
|
Alimo
|
Wani
|
Andoga
|
Mela
|
Mena
|
Dar

Very many years ago a certain Bari chief named Lugeir laid waste the whole of the surrounding country. He eventually penetrated as far south as Parrabong in the Gulu District of Uganda. There he found an Acholi chief named Ker and persuaded him and his people to return north with him as allies in an attempt to subjugate the neighbouring tribes. But Ker and Lugeir soon quarrelled, the latter returning to his own country while Ker and his people settled near Opari where they have remained ever since. They found already living there a few people who called themselves Naio. These are all said to have died out and no one now knows anything about them.

One day while Ker was roaming round the country-side he found in a khor near Nimule a chief over many people stuck in the mud up to his waist. He had been there for many days and begged Ker to release him. The latter first obtained from him a promise to give him a reward. The man offered many things ranging from sheep and goats to beautiful maidens, all of which Ker refused. He eventually agreed to accept the rain-stones which the man had in his possession. Ker pulled him out of the mud and received the rain-stones. The man soon died of the effects of his long immersion and because he was in possession of the rain-stones, Ker obtained jurisdiction over his people. These people call themselves Lagopi. They are Madi in origin but have a strong admixture of Bari blood and have Bari relatives at Rejaf. The sons of Ker have retained their Acholi nationality despite the fact that they do not hesitate to inter-marry with their Madi neighbours. The Madi and Acholi languages are talked with equal facility in their villages.

In addition to the Panikeir and the Lagopi, there are also the following clans in the Panikeir area: Ngaio, Paiyaco, Orolu and Palabek.

The Palabek have lived in the neighbourhood of Panyikwara for generations but originally came from the north and are in origin Mandari. Soon after they reached their present home they split up, half of them moving on south into Uganda where their descendents live to-day at Palabek.

The Ngaio claim to be descendents of some of the original inhabitants of the Opari District. They say they are Acholi in origin and that in a famine year all of them went to Attyak in Uganda and only a few have returned.

The Orolu and the Paiyaco are also Acholi. A small off-shoot of the Paiyaco lives in the Kitgum District of Uganda.

---

4. The Moli Area.

Here there are two main clans, the Lojilu and the Mogi. The Mogi are really Kuku from Kajo-Kaji. They crossed the Nile at Shukoli some five generations ago and from there a cow is said to have led them to the source of the Liro Khor near Moli, where they found the Lojilu settled. For four generations they paid an annual tribute of grain to the Lojilu chief until it was abolished by Geri, father of the present chief Akeri.

There is also a small band of people of Kuku origin living near Shukoli. Their advent there was in comparatively recent times although they, too, are now Madi-ised. They have relatives among the Moroli, near Kajo Kaji, and some of them live at Attyak in Uganda.

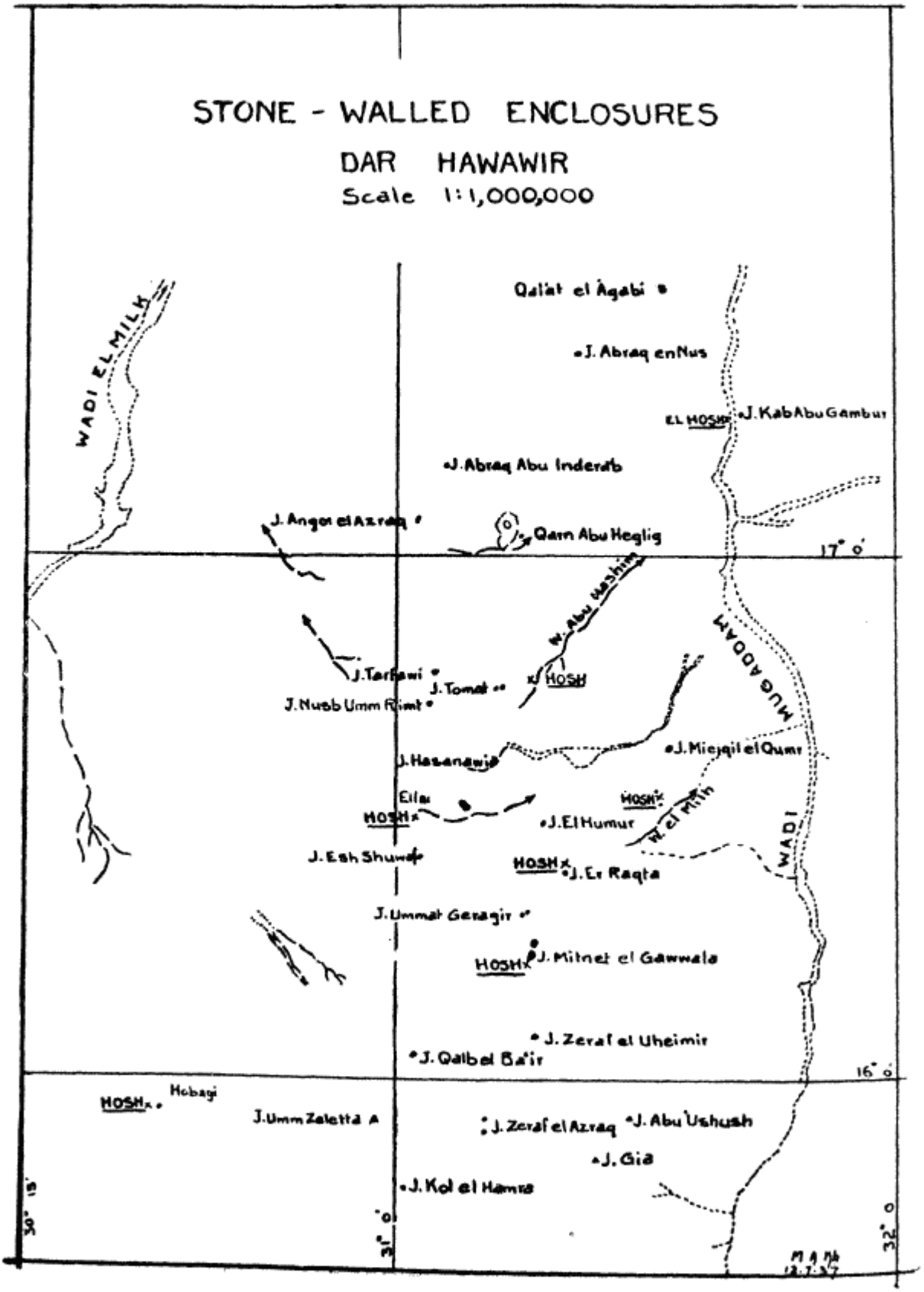
Soon after the Lojilu were joined by the Mogi, a small group of Monangi, a Bari clan, arrived from the Bari country and settled down with them. The Lojilu themselves, the largest clan in the area, are pure Bari in origin. Their forefathers are said to have lived on Gombosi hill, well in the Bari country. Other descendents of the same people now live near Rejaf and have remained Bari. A more than usually adventurous (or lazy) Bari boy at Gombosi, refused to herd his father's animals and settled by himself on a hill called Forki, also in the Bari country. From him are descended the Lojilu. From Forki they migrated in a famine year to the neighbourhood of Moli.

On the arrival of the Dongolawi traders, about the middle of the last century, the people of Moli fled south to Uganda and on their return left behind them a number of Lojilu who have remained there

to this day. This visit to Uganda was probably largely instrumental in causing them to assume Madi nationality, bringing them as it did into close contact with the Madi-speaking peoples of Kirippi, Lokai, Loa and Uganda. Apart from it there seems to be no satisfactory reason why they ever ceased being what they originally were, Kuku and Bari (kindred races speaking an almost identical language). For geographically the Moli area is no farther from the Bari proper than it is from the rest of the Sudan Madi, from whom it is somewhat isolated.

The Moli people therefore afford the best example of all of the spread of the Madi language and culture. Further, and more scientific, investigation of the whole Madi area should yield most interesting results.

Copy of Geol. 344.



SOME STONE-WALLED ENCLOSURES IN DAR HAWAWIR

by J. M. Edmonds

The walled enclosures described here were found in the sandstone area of north-eastern Kordofan, lying south of the Debba (Dongola) bend of the Nile as far as latitude 16° N. approximately. The area is on the fringe of the desert and is sparsely inhabited by the Hawawir and Suwarab tribes. There are no permanent villages and the people live in hair or *birsh* tents in small family groups, usually remote from the wells and wherever sufficient pasture for their flocks and herds can be found. Near the Wadi Magaddam and in isolated soil flats (*nega'*) in the southern half of the area, there is a little rain cultivation, but the Hawawir are almost exclusively pastoral, and trade their animals for grain, which they obtain from the inhabitants of Jebel Haraza.

The people live inconspicuously in the land and, in these days of motor travel, it is possible for a stranger to pass through and to feel that the area is completely uninhabited. Even at the wells there are only a few people watering at any one time. It was therefore the more striking to come upon the remains of well-made stone walls and excavated hafirs which seem to be the handiwork of a people living much the same sort of pastoral life as the present day inhabitants.

Not only are the Hawawir ignorant of the age and use of these enclosures and hafirs but often of their existence. We (R. C. Wakefield and myself) came upon several by chance, after local enquiry had proved unfruitful. The fortuitous manner in which we discovered most of these sites and the incompleteness of our search, leads me to suppose that there are many more in the area, and that there exists a whole network of walled enclosures and hafirs which very likely extend much further westward throughout the sandstone area. One reported in the neighbourhood of Gammam, west of Bir Hassanawi, was not visited.

DESCRIPTION OF SITES.

The sites may be divided into two types covering in all seven localities. In two cases, both types occur in a single locality.

(A.) Walled enclosures, which occur on flat ground were found at :

1. Wadi Abu Hashim (Kernak wells).
2. Mitnet el Gawwala.
3. Eilai.
4. Trace at Wadi Milh, near wells.

(B.) Walled hafirs with inner retaining mound, found on the broken rocky slopes (*keraba*) at the foot of hilly ground :-

1. Wadi Milh.
2. Jebel el Raqta.
3. Mitnet el Gawwala.
4. Near Abu Urug.

In addition, there is an enclosure at Jebel el Hosh, Wadi Magaddam, which differs in form and style of building from the rest and may belong to quite a different date from the others.

Wadi Abu Hashim (*near Kernak wells*).

The photograph (Plate 1) shows the large enclosure here. It lies on the west side of the wadi and on level ground. The wall is approximately circular 260 yards in diameter ; it is 5 feet thick and at present reaches a height of 6 feet but may originally have been nearly twice that height as there is much debris on both sides of it. The wall is built of flat slabs of sandstone and mudstone without mortar and has an interior filling of small rubble, the whole being of skilled construction.

There are at least two entrances, one each at the north and south ends. That at the north end forms a gap 29 feet wide and, near it, the thickness of the wall is gradually widened to 12 feet on each side



ENCLOSURE AT "KERNAK" - WADI ABU HASHIM



Photo R. C. Wakefield.

ENCLOSURES — MINET-EL-GAWWALA

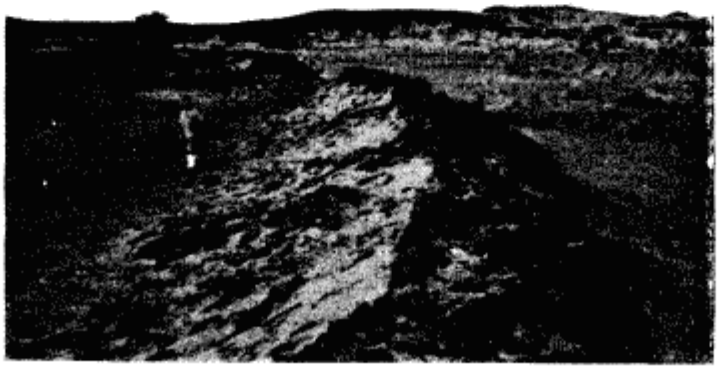


Photo R. C. Wakefield.

WEST SIDE, LARGE ENCLOSURE — MINET EL GAWWALA

ERRATUM : *for* MINET *read* MITNET

diameter of 212 feet, the wall is 3 feet 6 inches wide and up to 6 feet high with an indication that it was originally higher. The nature of the wall can be seen from the photograph. There is an entrance 6 feet wide on the south side.

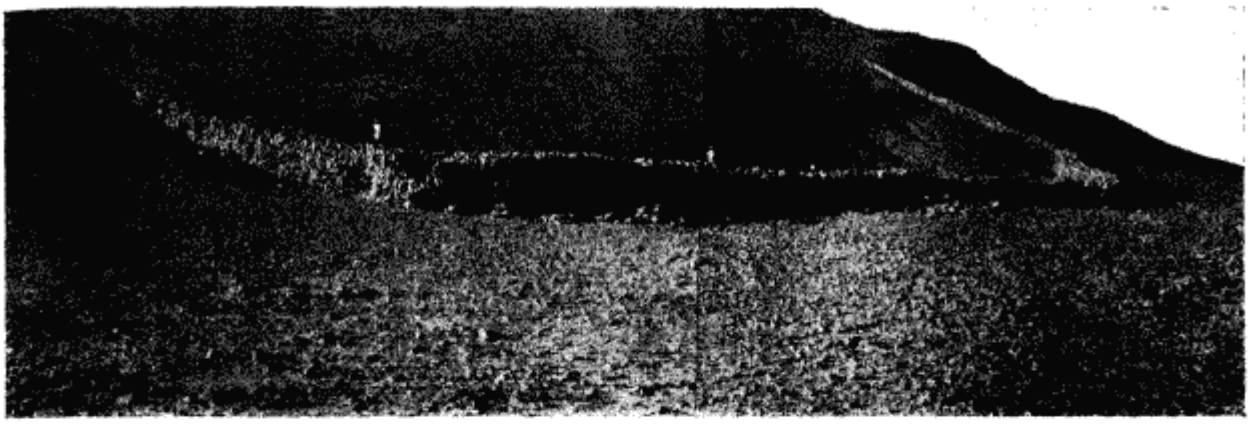
The smaller enclosure is nearer the hill. It is 44 feet in diameter with the wall 2 feet 6 inches thick, rubble-filled and 4 feet high from the inside ground level. The ground within the enclosure is higher than outside it, and it is evident that there is some thickness of debris laid down in it since the wall was constructed. Although there is no evidence at the surface to give a clue to the age of the enclosures, a systematic excavation might well reveal remains which would help to date the sites.

Forty yards to the north is a very small enclosure of 15 feet internal diameter and with the wall 2½ feet high.

The walls are all of excellent and careful workmanship, being dry stone built of straight-edged slabs of sandstone and mudstone with a central filling of small rubble.

On the south side of the hill, a brief examination revealed the remains of a walled hafir. This hafir resembled those in the Wadi el Milh (to be described below) which had been examined previously. It is situated on the fringe of the hill where the ground is broken by small watercourses, one of which had been dammed back by means of a cleverly sited retaining bank of excavated material. In this instance, the bank was 15 feet high and thick, but through long neglect had been cut through by the khor, so that no effective storage now takes place. When it was in use, a very large volume of water must have been stored, reaching a maximum depth of 20 feet and stretching back upstream of the dam a distance of 200 yards.

Around the retaining bank and the high ground above are the remains of a wall, here only poorly preserved, but resembling closely the others seen in Wadi Milh and Jebel er Raqta.



ENCLOSURE AT JEBEL EL HOSH — WADI MAGADDAM



ENTRANCE TO ENCLOSURE — J. EL HOSH



ENCLOSURE AND MOUNDS — EILAI

Eilai.

About a mile west of Eilai wells, at the foot of the hills is a circular, saucer-like enclosure. It is roughly made, 82 feet in diameter, with walls which were originally 6 feet or more high above the outside ground level. A noteworthy point is the thickness of the wall, nine feet, somewhat greater than that of any of the other enclosures. It is difficult to see where the entrance was, but the wall is broken through on its south side.

Closely associated with the enclosure are 18 circular 'grave' mounds, which are up to 20 feet diameter, of larger size than we found elsewhere throughout the area. Several of these mounds can be seen in the photograph (Plate 2) near the enclosure.

I picked up here a number of fragments of pottery, which were probably from 'pilgrim bottles', and also 'flints' which may have been worked.

Wadi Milh.

On the broken ground at the foot of the plateau about one mile north-west of the wells in the Wadi Milh are a number of walls enclosing hafirs. Some of the hafirs have large excavated mounds of earth surrounding them but these retaining banks are now breached, the reservoir has become silted up and there is no longer any effective storage of water.

The photograph (Plate 3), taken looking south-east across the valley, shows one of the hafirs. This enclosure is 250 yards across from wall to wall. Within the wall is the retaining bank made up of material excavated from the central storage space of the hafir. The mound rises to a height of about 20 feet above ground level, and at the highest point (the extreme right of the mound as seen in the photograph) there is a conical heap of stones resembling closely the circular 'graves' found in the area.

The wall is constructed in the usual way, without mortar. It has slabs of sandstone as a facing and has an interior filling of stone rubble. There are, however, two features of interest in the construction of the wall.

On the south-west side, dark ironstained sandstone, of which the wall is built, is relieved at regular intervals by narrow vertical strips of white sandstone. One such strip can be seen in the photograph, at a point in the wall directly below the right-hand edge of the hafir mound. These strips of light coloured wall are uniform in construction with the rest of the wall and the reason for them is obscure, unless it is that they were intended to divide the wall into sections, for the upkeep of which one individual or group was responsible.

The second feature of interest is the presence of small gaps in the wall. These gaps (see photograph) are from two to three feet wide and bounded by flat slabs of mudstone or fissile sandstone placed vertically. On the south side of the hafir where the wall was best preserved, it was seen that a third slab was placed horizontally across the vertical slabs and the wall continued over it at its full height, thereby forming a tunnel some 2 feet high through the wall. In the example in the photograph the roofing slab has given way and it can be seen on the ground between the two uprights. It seems that these tunnels were water drainage channels, but I believe that they were there to provide an outlet for rainwater held up by the wall outside the hafir proper, rather than to let water drain into the hafir, for there is a definite outwards slope from the hafir bank to the wall.

There are at least four other enclosures of varying sizes in the neighbourhood, and all surround old surface water storage tanks which are now broken and disused. One very large one, about one mile north of that already described, has very complete walls about 6 feet high and is associated with other small enclosures in the khors near by, the whole group forming a striking feature when they are unexpectedly encountered. In all cases, the nature of the slope of the ground and the erosive power of the streams have been carefully considered in making the hafirs and the choice of sites bears the mark of skill and experience just as much as does the detailed construction of the wall. There are added refinements such as channels at low gradients leading from other watercourses to the one tapped and the main feeder was not always the biggest watercourse, where this was likely to provide too great a rush of water.



WALED HAFIR — WADI EL MILH



DRAINAGE CHANNEL THROUGH WALL — WADI EL MILH



WALLED HAFIR — JEBEL ER RAQTA

In addition to these hafirs, there is, on the north side of the Wadi el Milh not far from the wells, the outline on flat ground of a circular enclosure, a hundred yards in diameter, the walls of which are now completely razed.

Jebel el Raqta.

On the north side of this hill and on the broken ground near its foot are the remains of a walled hafir (see photograph Plate 3). The walls are built on very undulating ground and enclose an area a hundred yards in diameter, within which the actual storage pool appears to occupy only a small space. There is no complete inner retaining mound but excavated material has been built up as a bank on the lower side.

The wall is only 2 feet thick and does not appear to be as well built as those in the Wadi Milh, but there are similar "drainage tunnels" with the upright slabs of sandstone still present. The entrance, on the north-west side, is 6 feet wide and on the wall at this point are vague weathered markings ⊥ ⫫ , three inches long, probably reproducing animal brands. On the rocks outside the entrance there are other markings made by pitting with a stone, and also some elaborate petal forms made in the same manner. It seems probable that the wall was here intended to prevent the approach of domestic animals to the water and that while the herdsmen were waiting their turn to approach the water, they sat outside the entrance idly scratching lines on the rock.

The watercourse feeding the hafir comes from the south-east and is not the biggest khor, but there is an additional shallow channel cut from a larger khor to lead extra water across when it was required.

There is good grazing ground in the valley to the north-west and north and also cultivation in the soil flats near Jebel el Humr not far away. Near the hafir, there are a number of rectangular grave-like mounds and the impression was received that this was at one time a permanent village site. A thorough search could not, however, be made for evidence.

Hobagi district.

Some 6 miles east of Abu Urug wells, on the route to Abu Inderab, and on low *keraba*, there are at least two walled hafirs, with the walls much broken. These were only briefly examined, but their presence shows how widespread is this type of enclosure.

Jebel el Hosh, Wadi Magaddam.

On the south side of this hill, which is the southernmost of the El Kab group, there is an enclosure which is different in type and in construction from those already described.

As can be seen from the photograph (Plate 2), the wall, which is 100 yards across and 6 feet high, is built across the base of the hill and extends up its face in two horn-like projections, decreasing in height as it climbs the slope.

The wall also differs from those already described in its detailed construction, for only bordering the entrance are the straight-edged slabs laid horizontally. Elsewhere they are built vertically in extremely clever, but unusual, fashion.

There is very little to guide one in attempting to date these walls, but a more careful examination might well disclose definite evidence. The scattered distribution shows that they were the work of an indigenous population and not built by any invader, and their careful construction, the great labour involved and the making of hafir banks also point to the same conclusion.

The association of enclosures with well centres (except at Mitnet el Gawwala) shows that the same sources of water were then being drawn upon. The presence of hafirs shows that, then as now, the supply of well water was not great and that efforts had to be made to conserve it as long as possible. The present inhabitants do not use hafirs; they water their animals from natural rainpools, so long as they contain water, and thereafter from the wells—eventually moving southwards as the water supply becomes exhausted. The hafirs may, therefore, indicate that the animal population was greater then

than it is now, or that the inhabitants were confined to restricted areas and, being unable to make any late season migration, were compelled to conserve water more carefully.

The circular enclosures appear to have been used as folds, into which the animals were herded, presumably at night. This is contrary to the practice of the present-day inhabitants, and if it was the habit from necessity rather than from custom, it points to a fear of raiders or of wild animals.

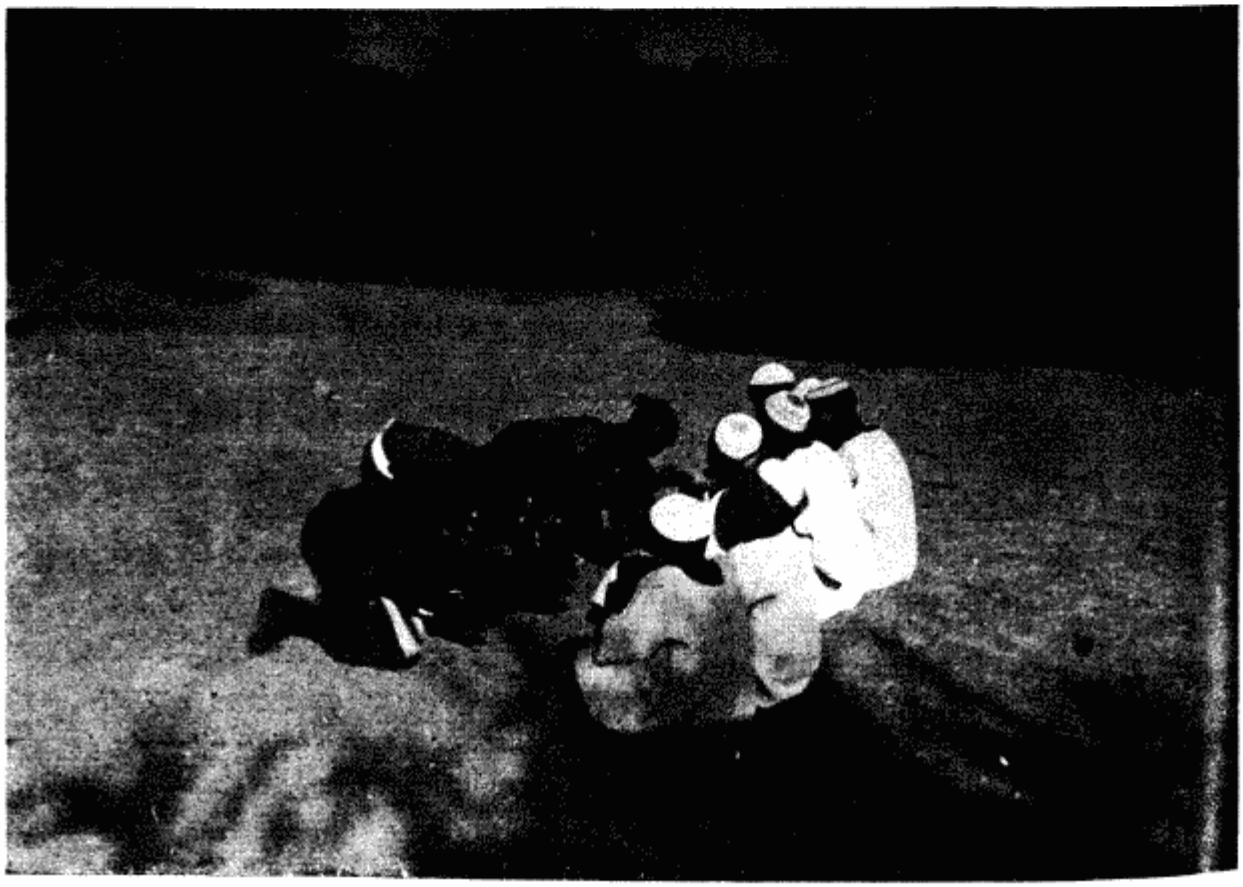
Direct archaeological evidence as to age was not found. At Eilai, fragments of 'pilgrim-bottles' were picked up and circular grave mounds occur near the enclosure. At Wadi Abu Hashim there are circular mounds on the hills near the enclosure, and at Wadi Milh on the debris bank of the excavated hafir there was also one. At Jebel er Raqta there were rectangular graves*, which may have been modern.

Hafirs of great age do exist in the northern Sudan, and J. W. Crowfoot has described (*Island of Meroe*, pp. 14 and 22) two hafir sites at Basa and Um Usuda in the northern Butana which are of Meroitic age. These hafirs, however, do not possess the surrounding wall which is characteristic of those which I have described, although the hafir retaining banks are in part stone-faced.

* Probably Christian. A.J.A.



Fur Girl



Tesa Dance — Rats & Pigeons

FUR DANCE SONGS

by A. C. Beaton

Like the pagan tribes of the southern Sudan the Fur have a great love of dancing, which they indulge as often as occasion invites and authority allows. There are dances for all ages in the community and for the main ceremonies of everyday life, such as marriage and circumcision, and although the children's dances are on the whole innocuos and the dances of the elderly decorous, those of the youths and girls, with the Fur proclivity for sexual promiscuity, give rise to considerable licence and the ritual dances evoke a humorous coarseness that is the usual concomitant of fertility rites.

There are several types,

1. Tɛsa —the children's dance
2. Kɔsɔk —the youths' dance
3. Diktis —the dance of the elderly
4. Jɔmbolɛ —the dance of the Fiki's pupils
5. Jurɛ —the stick dance
6. Dukɔ —the stamping dance
7. Kona kɔriŋ —the war dance
8. Joziŋ kona —the marriage dance
9. Firaŋa biɛ —the circumcision dance.

The following are renderings of a few of the songs as sung by the performers at each dance, where no person's affairs are private and at which an assiduous attender could find material enough wherewith to outvie even the brass-bowelled Diodorus in volume and the (by comparison) selective Aristophanes in ribaldry.

1. *The Tɛsa.*

No drums are needed for the Tɛsa which is performed to the accompaniment of handclapping and song primarily by small children,

although youths and older girls will join in when there is no Kɔsɔk as a rival attraction. It may be danced on the Kɔsɔk floor, if that is vacant, and if the persistence of the youths prevails upon the village head to revoke an earlier refusal, may be readily turned into a Kɔsɔk with the production of the village drums; but where the Kɔsɔk floor is some way off, the main path through the village or the meeting place of a number of such paths forms a suitable venue; a house enclosure is not generally chosen, unless it is commodious and then only after the celebration of a party given by the householder.

It is rarely danced by day except occasionally in Bairam and after circumcisions, but usually starts after dinnertime about 8.30 p.m. and lasts until midnight. It may be performed on any day of the year without leave being asked from the headman, unless the illness or death of a man of some standing in the village has put a stop to local rejoicing for the statutory month.

It is generally started by the small boys who collect together and sing one of the well-known Tɛsa songs to attract the small girls. As soon as a number of these have assembled, the boys stop singing and resign the lead to the girls who clap their hands (*tawa kaldi*) in time to the songs they sing. While one of the girls opens a song and claps to its beat, the rest listen in silence until she stops, whereupon they all take up her song with the girls clapping and the boys shouting as loudly as they can.

The boys and girls line up in separate rows facing one another and after the songs has been sung through once or twice, a number of girls in turn dance up to the line of boys, single out a partner by pulling at the front of his shirt and return to their places. The chosen boys then advance to the middle of the floor to be joined by their partners there. The boys leap in the air getting closer and closer to the girls as they do so and retreating as soon as they have touched them. The girls then do the same in their turn. After this the boys run forward and lining up between their partners and the other girls, face about and repeat the jumps. The return of both to their own lines

is a sign that the dance is over. Another girl starts a new song and the process is repeated. These are the basic movements. There are of course variations, two of which are described below.

1. Ami dwiiŋ iya	O my Mother, it was a crime of one
Jɛni kuu firiŋ	hundred cows ; I have no child in
Wala kwɛ dio asaiŋba,	my womb. Arabs have defiled me.
Dibɛ Sɔlɔŋa kabɛ.	

A song from Kaalu embodies a girl's lament for the loss of her virginity. '*Jɛni kuu firiŋ*' means literally a crime for which the penalty is one hundred cows. In the later days of the Sultanate however the penalty was reckoned in terms of rolls of cloth and varied greatly from place to place. If a child were born, part of the fine would be paid to the girl as compensation.

2. Asi jaula,	If you are leaving,
Diiŋ mataagi	Put your leper
Leliŋ iri ja. (twice)	on a donkey. (twice)
Asi jaula,	If you are leaving,
Diiŋ mataagi	Will your leper be able to drink
Kɔrɔ Gɛndɛ laŋ ba ?	the water of Gɛndɛ ?

The woman at whom fun is being poked has married a leper. The girls urge her to take him off with her if she is leaving the village, otherwise he will be unable to get to the waterhole for a drink and as he is a leper, nobody would think of bringing water for him.

3. Kirrɔ, Kirrɔ,	O copper coloured one,
Kirrɔ baariŋ diɔ,	O copper coloured one,
Ji na sabaŋ si jaula,	O copper coloured one,
Köni dɔŋa sa jɔlɔ ?	Playing in the river,
	If you journey to the east,
	Greet us maidens first.

Kirrɔ is usually translated as green. It has however various shades; applied to animals it means a greyish brown, in persons it signifies a copper colour distinguishable from the usual Fur 'black' and the foreigners' 'red.' Fur youths regularly migrate to the cotton fields of the eastern Sudan, where they work for a year or two trying to raise enough money to pay off the brideprice for their prospective wives.

4. Al taltaal ii	He is tired out,
Wɔkiil al taltaal ii	the Sheikh is tired out,
Na ki luul iilɔŋ.	and he walks by night.
Agi burruŋba,	Do not drive us away,
Bundi na lo taa kurɔ	leave us and when autumn is here,
Naz ki yaŋa ko	we will go with our women and
Na daiŋ ɛli ka.	make our village elsewhere.

The Sheikh of the village, already harassed by the cares of government, finds his burdens increased by having to go round at night with his Imam stopping the dances that have become too frequent for their liking. They have a tricky course to steer to avoid the Scylla of parental recrimination and the Charybdis of youthful high spirits.

5. Saaba ke, saaba ke,	He is in the east, he is in the east,
Bugul al saaba ke.	My wooer is in the east.
Ami dwiiŋ iya,	O my mother,
Agi ajöldiba,	Do not beat me,
Alaŋ ko rigɛ	Let us go to my hut
Na daiŋ kheima kirgɔ.	And tie up our tent.

The singer is asserting that she is true to her lover. On such occasions as these a curtain of cloth is fixed in the girl's hut. The mother is not so much exercised by concern for her daughter's virtue as by the fear that she herself will have to repay whatever portion of the brideprice she has received in advance, if the girl's betrothed

husband returns from the east and finds out that his bride-to-be is no longer a virgin.

6.	Faal Dikɔ	O Faal Diko
	Ki diiŋ bara	And your brother
	Dwiɛŋ töbuŋ twi Du ba.	Bow your head in shame.
	Adam Bainiŋ kwe	Adam, son of Bain,
	Dutuŋ kwe kulɔ	Stole his mouse,
	Al ba swiɛt-swiɛt kom.	That squeaks 'swiɛt-swiɛt.'

Swiɛt-swiɛt is an onomatopoeic adverb describing the squeak of a mouse.

A child caught a mouse in his trap. On his way to a party with Faal Dikɔ it was stolen from him by Adam Bain, who put it in his pocket. The child came running after them crying and his sister, who sings the song, reproved Faal Dikɔ, took the mouse from Adam and gave it back to her small brother.

7.		Waali, waali
		Al waaliyɛ salaama.
	Youths :	Dɛn gurrɛ
		Hirriŋ do
		Din do hirr.
	Girls :	Kɛbɛ kɛbɛ kɛb.

In addition to the dance steps already described, which are traditional and universal, I have seen two variations performed at Witina near Zalingei. They are recent inventions, but whether they are the sort of thing the old folk would never have dreamed of dancing in their young days I have not had the chance to discover. The words as far as I know are meaningless. To perform the dance the girls and boys line up separately in rows some distance apart facing one another and as they sing, they advance four paces in time with the dance beat

and after the fourth pace halt and clap their hands once in front of their faces. After meeting the rows retreat with the same song and movement.

8. Girls :	Kuti bɛtɛ	Girls : The rats cut (—eat)
	Ɔraaŋa.	The pigeons.
Boys :	Huya huya huya.	Boys : Huya huya huya.

The girls are the pigeons and the boys the rats[1], each in separate lines some distance apart. As the song proceeds, the girls advance slowly towards the centre, while the boys do the same. When the lines are close together, the girls sink very slowly to their knees, qend forward in a kneeling position and turn their heads from side to side, while the boys sink down and sit cross-legged until the song is finished.

All sorts of happenings are fit subjects for song and anyone is fair game to the bard. On one occasion when my lorry stuck in the mud and I had to walk back at dusk some six miles to my tents, the episode was seized on at once and it was told with a certain amount of poetic licence how I had walked all night across Dar Kerne. Sometimes the songs have unfortunate results (I know of a homicide case that arose as the result of her friends' jibing at a girl's loss of virginity) but on the whole they are taken with great good humour and even the more precocious compositions are intended primarily as accompaniments to the dance, and in such, malicious spite plays no part.

11. *Kɔsɔk Dance.*

The most popular of all dances, the Kɔsɔk, is the dance of vigorous youth, though older persons are not necessarily excluded from it. The ' elderly ' of about forty-five or so and important persons at a much earlier age regard it as undignified to appear and if a father arrived to take part in such a dance, his grown-up sons would leave it in anger ; no greybeard would find a partner, especially as the Diktis is reserved for those who are getting on in years. At the other end of the scale the smallest of children sit with their elders watching and only join

1 See Plate 1.

in when they can be trusted not to get in the way. The pupils of the Fiki may and do turn up, but not in any great numbers, as they have a form of dance, called the Jɔmbɔlɛ, which is their own prerogative. Guests of either sex are welcome, though members of other tribes would not ordinarily attend.

The Kɔsɔk may be danced by day or night; no day is banned by reason of its sanctity, though dancing by day in Ramadan is naturally unpopular. Even so if a circumcision takes place in this month, as it may, a daylight Kɔsɔk would be performed. A marriage, a christening but not a birth, the visit of a chief are all suitable occasions, and at other times the youths ask leave from the head of the village, especially if he owns a drum. He may refuse if there is famine or sickness in the village. A funeral is never followed by a dance.

Two drums are essential to the Kɔsɔk, the Tɔmbɔl which is about three feet long with a wide mouth and a narrow base and covered at both ends with a skin, and the Tɔmbɔliŋ Kwe (the child of the Tɔmbɔl) which is a smaller drum about eighteen inches long and of the same shape. The larger drum reclines on its side between the legs of a youth, who leans forward to beat its wide end with his hands, while another youth squats on the floor with the smaller drum between his knees and beats it with two plain sticks. If the smaller drum is not available, the second youth will beat at the narrow end of the drum. No other musical instrument is used.

The girls are attracted by the beating of the drums and when a sufficient number has collected, they become responsible for starting the singing. Any girl may start a song, which she does by repeatedly chanting a line or two from the middle of the song, until the dancers take it up. At this point she proceeds to the beginning of the song, which is then repeated until the singers or drummers tire. The first singer, called for the purposes of that dance 'Abo,' leads the girls in a circle round the drums and after an evolution or two, leaves the circle to choose a male partner, with whom she will return to the middle. Then and not before the other girls may do the same. No youth may

take the initiative or enter the circle uninvited. No youth will refuse an invitation, but if he is clumsy and is laughed at by the rest, he will slink away. Such a dancer is called 'Tultulɛ' and it is a disgrace to earn this soubriquet.

There are numerous styles of dancing. Some couples will merely continue side by side circling in time with the music; in other cases the youth will hold the girl by the waist and intersperse jumps with the plain steps; sometimes the couples will part and jump separately and at others two or three friends may lead their partners aside and dance in a small group apart from the main body. The 'Abo' sings the opening of each round as a solo and while she is doing this, she and her partner do not jump, but when the song is in full chorus, they may do so. The bulk of the dancers accompany the solo of the 'Abo' with a prolonged hissing.

The cessation of the drumming is the signal for the end of the dance, when the drummers will throw down their sticks and leave it to others to take their places. It is a point of honour to be able to drum well and as soon as the drums are abandoned, there is a rush from the youths eager to display their skill. In the interval the girls remain in a group near the drums and the youths retire to the side until they are again selected as partners.

Dances usually start after the dinner hour at about nine o'clock and may last until the early hours of the morning. They are frequently the occasion of sexual licence and the consequent disputation before the native court. If a young man has a sister, he will tell her which of the girls of the village has inflamed his desire and will ask her to tell the girl so at the first opportunity during the dance. If the girl accepts his overtures, she will follow the sister away from the dance and will lull suspicions of the elders by telling them that they are merely going for a drink. The prostitute also has ample opportunity of plying her trade.

The night's dancing closes by general consent. The departure of a body of youth and girls who live in a nearby hamlet, for instance,

will break up a dance. In other cases as the dancers get tired, they leave in twos and three, until there are insufficient to carry on or no one can be found to take the drums.

The following are some Kɔsɔk songs.

1.	Aisa waariŋ wa ?	Ho did I sing of old ?
	Jamailiŋ kilma na gi tɔiŋɔ.	The heart of my beloved has over-
	Dogala na saaba bani	come me. O youths, who go to the
	Ailaŋ wosiŋ a,	east, how can ye help me ? From
	Baar duluuma	that sunless sea bring me back
	Na gis Hassan Giddɔŋ kweŋ imme bolo.	the imma of Hassan Giddo.

A woman of Kas laments her lover's forgetfulness. By a transfer of thought she projects her own sunlessness to the regions of the Nile, to which he has gone.

2.	Hamla na bataba,	You have loaded the mules.
	Alaŋ waar bilŋi kaaŋ baurɛl ?	Why do you delay to walk quickly ?
	Sitta malika ki mudiir al bani.	On, O governor with your wife.
	'Ki alaŋ ko Diriba.	'We wish to go to Diriba to see
	'Alaŋ baar kögil.'	the lakes.'

This is a Zalingei song commemorating the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Dupuis to the salt lakes on Jebel Marra.

3.	Aisa waariŋ wa ?	How did I sing of old ?
	Aisaŋ kötiila taura bawi.	That murderers should be driven
	Dauraŋa ki diɛŋ ɛli	out. The men of Daura with their
	Kul kaaluŋa	village are all cowards, that they
	Na iyez Kujugi bɔtɔrɛŋ saaba koŋi.	slew Kujigi to the east of the dance floor.

4. Iya dwiiŋ ama Jaarɛ na ka aurɛl.	O my mother, I dislike my chosen husband. Why do you give me to him ?
Kaaŋ gi bani ? Ka alaŋ o na baaba owiŋa. Dunyaŋ maalaŋ ɛrɛŋ Na gi baurɛl. Geziira na gi baar ami.	Let me go and find another father. For the sake of the wealth my marriage brings, you refuse to hear me. I will go to the Gezira even though the Nile engulf me.
5. Aisa waariŋ wa ? Jaal ɛliŋdiɔ dwiiŋ kilma, Al gi diiŋ wandɛ föyi bulɔ. Kilmasi al dirrɔ ja. Agiŋ kawiba, Basiŋ maal el dunya bɛtɔ.	How sang I of old ? O my beloved, if my husband find you with me, be strong of heart. Nothing will be done to you except that you will be mulcted of a fine.

These songs with those of the Tɛsa dance give a general picture of the thoughts that exercise the minds of the young Fur. Apart from the particular incidents like the stolen mouse and the Governor's visit to the Deriba lakes, the outstanding points are the absence of young men in the eastern Sudan and a not unnatural obsession with the claims of sex. Fur women enjoy a degree of freedom, which goes beyond even that enjoyed by the women of the south, in that they may own property in their own right, and although examples have been given of their laments against unwelcome betrothals, they are free generally speaking to emancipate themselves from engagements into which they have not voluntarily entered. Whether their morals would be any higher if the economic state of the tribe made the yearly exodus of young men unnecessary, is a debateable question. It is the custom of the older members of the tribe to deplore the lenience now meted out to adulterers, but there can be no doubt that the people as a whole are happier under the modern system, whereby an offender against the social code is arraigned for legal punishment and not exposed as in the old days to complete ruin at the whim of his rulers.

3. *The Diktis Dance.*

Since the Diktis is the dance of the elderly, the drums beat to a measure slower than that of the Kɔsɔk. The women circle slowly about the drummers and one by one leave the ring to draw in their chosen partners. Each dancer places a hand in the small of his or her partner's back and the couples move round side by side without that closeness or familiarity characteristic of the Kɔsɔk. The slow, deliberate paces continue until either the drummers or the singers tire. The young have little patience for such dancing and will often take the drums away from their elders to their own dance floor.

1. Sɔlaŋaŋ kɔr ɛla. — The war of the Arabs has come.
Sagala, burɔ na ko. — O Rulers, go forth and let us go to
Sɔlɔŋa killa kwa na gɛ — battle. Are these Arabs men or
Walla kiyaŋa ? — birds ?

This is a song from the time of the Mahdia. The Fur maintain that they can shoo away the Arabs like birds.

2. Adam Rijaal komala, — Adam Rijaal cries in anger, 'Give
Saar gi bani, — me my sword. The men of Bindisi
Bindisaŋ sala kaaluŋa — are cowards that it was burned
Na ki arra kwiɛ. — with wood.'

Adam Rijaal was a famous general of Ali Dinar's. The reference is to the sacking of Bindisi, a village of Dar Zami Toya, by a raiding party of Daju.

3. Ɔrre faalaŋ jundi, — He has left the door open and has
Biir tawiil ro buŋɔ, — rested at the well called Deep
Diitɔ fuka dallɛŋ ɛŋa. — well. He has slept at Red Rock.
Sultan Ali al nyaŋa — Sultan Ali is in flight and has
Na dɛŋ silaah bawa, — carried away his arms with him.
Iyɛ kɔrɔ al niŋ ba Kaalu- — He will drink (tomorrow) at Kalo-
kitiŋ. — kiting.

The song tells of the flight of Sultan Ali in 1916. He rested at Tawila, slept at Diitc Fuka (Red Rock) and moved on next day to Kalokiting.

4.	Sagala böru kɛyɛ	Our leaders planted this village
	Juta waaraŋdiɔ.	in the bush by the palms. This
	In na daiŋ halola	dancing of ours will cause our Fiki's
	Som alaŋ faaruŋɔ	school to disperse.

This song comes from Dar Aribo. When a new Fur village is founded, a Fiki and his school (som) are essential to its success, otherwise people will not settle there. In this case the elders are pleading with the villagers lest their Fiki leave them in disgust at their continual dancing.

Since the Diktis songs are those of 'the old folk, Time's doting chronicles,' they refer mainly to happenings in the early years of this country and in particular to the stirring times of the rule of Sultan Ali Dinar, which lasted for over fifteen years and ended with his defeat in battle in 1916. In them we capture a few sidelights on that minor war[2].

4. *The Jɔmbolɛ Dance.*

The Tɛsa, Kɔsok and Diktis, as previously described, are the dances of the children, youths and old persons, and, since the only qualification for them is one of age, are those mostly seen in performance. Of the remaining six types of dance three are danced by special persons and three are reserved for specific occasions. The Jɔmbolɛ is executed on the male side exclusively by the pupils of the village Fiki (*muhagarin* in Arabic, *muhajira* in Fur) who need not necessarily be natives of the vicinity, but may have been attracted there by the reputation of the teacher. There is however no restriction on the female participators in this dance, which may be joined by all who care to attend.

2 See S.N.R. Volume XXII 1939 page 1, "Darfur," 1916 by J. A. Gillan Esq. C.M.G. and page 149, "Ali Dinar" by Major J.E.H. Boustead, O.B.E., M.C.

It is no uncommon sight for the visitor in the Western District of Darfur to see two or three youths wandering along a bush track, each with a roll of matting and a white board (*lo*, plural *loŋa*) slung over his shoulder ; these are the pupils of a Fiki on their way to school or bent on a food-begging expedition. Great importance is attached by the Fur to this rudimentary schooling and few boys rebel against it, especially if they choose the Fiki with whom they wish to read, and the existence of some sort of school is regarded as an essential part of the village organisation, as we have seen in the Diktis song, No. 4. The boy joins his school (*som*, plural *soma*) at about the age of seven years and will share the instruction given with anything from twenty to a hundred fellows according to the renown of the teacher (*Fögi* plural *Fögiŋa*). He may spend up to seven years at the feet of his master, although if he feels so inclined he may change that master two or three times in the course of his training. In grade nomenclature the *muhajira* are distinguished from the uneducated boys who are referred to as *Sɔbeŋa* (singular *Sɔbɛ*).

The boys arise or are aroused by their teacher daily at cockcrow and huddle in small groups round separate fires chanting the *Sura* of the Koran assigned to their group for the next lesson. When it is light, they will inscribe in execrable handwriting certain verses from the Koran on the boards with a sharpened stick to serve as a pen and ink made from a concoction of water, gum, dust and soot. After each pupil has committed to memory these verses, he will wash it clean and go on to the next *Sura*. The highest award open to these *muhajira* is the profession of Fiki, to attain which coveted position an aspirant must recite the Koran three times, first to his own master and twice to other teachers. The majority of pupils however acquire but a smattering of the Book and abandon a life of learning for one of action in the ordinary duties of village life or the labour markets of the eastern Sudan.

One of the great attractions of the life is its freedom from restraints, especially for those reading away from home. The main work of the day is over before the village is fairly astir and for the rest of the

day the boys are engaged on simple tasks which lay no great toll on their energies. Those who have reached a fairly advanced stage in their studies are sent off to beg grain, vegetables and other foodstuffs from the villagers, while the others remain about their group of huts to grind the grain for their meals or scatter in search of wood and water. On Tuesday the small boys are sometimes sent out in bands of half a dozen to beg food in the most distant hamlets, from which they return in time for prayers at the mosque on Fridays. Hunting is forbidden, but during the rains their master's cultivation calls for attention and if he happens to be Imam of the village, they will collect his share of the yearly dues and tithes (*zeka* and *futra*). The schoolboys lead therefore no arduous existence and it is frequently a matter of complaint by the men of the village that, while they themselves are absent in the fields or markets, the elder pupils have too ample leisure for practising their arts of seduction on the women left at home without in many cases the slightest fear of parental reproof. Indeed I met one lugubrious husband with a bitter complaint against no less than seven such youths, who while cheerfully admitting the charge of adultery, had been paraded in court to rebut his accusation that one of them was responsible for his contracting venereal disease.

To these youths is the Jɔmbolɛ dedicated. They use no drums but open the dance by forming up in a line and singing their special songs. Gradually a number of women and girls will abandon their household tasks and collect in a crowd nearby and after a deal of simpering and giggling will fall into a line facing the singers. While the main body is singing, one or two youths will advance to the middle and execute a series of leaps and bounds imitated in turn by some of the girls and when they are exhausted by their salutations, others will take their place. The songs they sing are peculiar to this dance and are not sung at other performances in the way that Tɛsa and Kɔsɔk songs are interchangeable. There is no holding or even touching of partners and the dance is always held in the daytime, because, it is said and not without justification, that the women are afraid of these school boys by night[3].

3 This description owes much to a note by Major Boustead.

The following is a collection of Jɔmbolɛ songs recorded at Umari in the fief Komoro, North Kas Dimligia, Dar Dima, where the village Sheikh is a Fiki of some repute.

1. Hakuuma al ariaal ii — The government must very naked be
   Na kwaŋ maala ho dorol fi. — To garner taxes thus from you and me

2. Yaŋa ki ka siŋ ko — What bridewealth is there left to
   Na hakuuma kɛŋ riaala bawa? — you and me, when for our taxes we are held in fee?

3. Uwɔŋa kuri bɔŋa — Kneel with respect, ye elders,
   Hakuuma al böriŋdiɔ köri. — do not stand, the government has come into our land.

4. Hakuuma al shadiid ii — The government both strong and
   Kwiiŋ baraŋa azbaluŋba? — mighty is, My brothers are ye ignorant of this?

5. Amilla amuŋɔ — To Amilla I speed and take my rest,
   Tirimbiila ba kwiiŋ lela gɛ. — Lorries have but a donkey's speed at best.

6. Aba dwiiŋ töniŋ balmiŋ, — And if of one to rival me ye speak
   Dwiiŋ töni min daar Kaano ke. — as far away as Kano must ye seek.

7. Ki na som kaiŋ, — We are at school and do ye realise
   Daiŋ eish al ba janaŋ fulɔ gɛ. — our life is like a taste of paradise.

Janan fulɔ means literally 'the froth of heaven.' These schoolboys have a good opinion of themselves.

8. A: Azba al bunɔ? — A: Where did the harlot spend her
   B: Tɔŋ buŋɔ na dɛŋ oso kon. — noon, O where?
   B: At home and ground up ochre for her hair.

Oso is a red earth that is ground up and smeared on pottery before it is baked. When mixed with ground *marhabeib* roots and oil it is used by women as an unguent for the hair.

9. Amtiwei na ulmɔla
Ban injuwa uri suuriŋ al dikɔ
ii.

Fair is my mistress and of beauty bright, her lustre puts the very stars to flight.

10. Umari somdiɔ kaiŋ toya
Ki ajalaŋaŋ baŋ na neriŋ kau.

May our old age find us at Umari in school, still apt for games of harlotry.

11. Sesɛbaaniŋ nima ɔnɔ
Amtiwei, Daga diɔ bɔraz ke.

My mistress sits beneath the tree—a sight to dazzle—for her teeth are milky white.

A song with a slightly higher moral tone.

It was boys such as these who formed the main following of the Fiki who rebelled against the government and marched on Zalingei in 1927. The exploit, as recorded in the first Kɔsɔk song, was of short-lived glory—a police sergeant put an end to the whole expedition with one bullet. The present generation keeps itself amused with jokes at the expense of the government, lays much flattering unction to its youthful soul and gives free rein to the lusts of adolescent flesh; the last is a dispensation of providence, because it is when such spirits become ascetic that they turn dangerous.

5. *The Jurɛ Dance.*

The Jurɛ is danced mainly in Dar Kerne and Tebella by young men and girls, who form up in two lines facing one another. The youths, who carry sticks over their shoulders and at times ornament their ankles with rattles made of dom nuts full of stones or palm leaves plaited into similar shapes, open the song which is taken up by the girls to the accompaniment of handclapping. Two or three youths, whistling with a hissing noise, advance to choose their partners and perform a few steps in front of them. These steps consist of light jumps with a vigorous thrusting both forwards and backwards of each foot in turn. When the chosen girls have taken up the measure, the males alternately retreat and advance followed by the line of their partners, while the remainder clap their hands and sing. As soon

as the first party is tired, two or three other boys take their places to choose different partners and this process continues until the song ends. After a series of these displays the whole line of youths will advance up to that of the girls, each man opposite to his partner and as it retreats again the line of girls will follow as far as the edge of the dance floor. Here the girls turn their backs on their partners and lead them back to their own side of the floor, where they face about to start the movement again. Thus the males move alternately forwards and backwards, but the females always face the way the dance is moving. In the days of the Sultans parties of twenty youths and girls periodically were sent into Fasher from Dar Tebella to give command performances in the palace and for such parties the males used to allow their hair to grow long so that at night, when the show was given, the sexes could only be distinguished with difficulty. For the boys it was sufficient reward to be chosen to go, and as for the girls they doubtless beguiled the hours of preparation with thoughts of romantic marriages with the great ones of the court.

1. Ki kwiiŋ yaŋaŋ hiraam wa — By my wives' divorce I swear it,
Kɛrnɛŋaŋ kiisɔ Nyimitol — Nyimitol, the chief of Kerne, eats
Köwiŋaŋ lɛma ami. — food made from forest grasses.

Every Fur boy has a nickname bestowed on him in youth by his playmates. Such a name is called his '*ausa*' and may refer either to his character or to some childish exploit. Nyimitol (said to mean small) was the nickname of Ahmed Abdel Rahman, Chief of Dar Kerne in Ali Dinar's day. The song celebrates the latter's habit of extorting vast quanties of grain among other dues from the helpless Fur and it is said that many people died of starvation in Kerne as a result.

2. Löwu gila dwiiŋ jaarɛ ? — Does my lover gaze toward me ?
Al ko, abaŋ kwe, — Come with me, my beloved, and let
Na daiŋ ner ka. — us taste love.

3. Ajaala dunyaŋ kwe — Prostitute of all the village, thy
Diiŋ jaarɛ ɛlɛ ; — husband is coming ; will you find
Kɔrɔ la niŋ julmɔ ? — water for him ?

The faithless wife has spent the day dallying with her lovers and now that night has fallen she has no water in the house to give her returning husband.

Such of the Jurɛ songs as can be dated refer to recent events, while the others are of the usual love type. Perhaps somewhere in the Western District there is an old man who once let his hair grow and walked by the side of a girl he loved all the long road to the King's palace. What songs did they practice and what steps rehearse for the royal performance? And when it was all over and they were bidden depart, did he walk home alone?

6. *The Duko Dance.*

This dance, which is peculiar to the Jebel Marra area, is performed without drums to the accompaniment of handclapping. Its characteristic is the stamp which takes the place of the ordinary dance step and which owing to the vigour put into it makes the dance one for the young and athletic only. The youths and girls face up in two opposing lines. Each youth then advances in turn, spins round and stamps with earth-shaking violence in front of the girl he wishes to be his partner. The stamping continues until each has a partner and the girls are ready to join in the dance; this they do by spinning round and stamping in time with the youths who at once start singing. Meantime the girls advance towards their partners beating the ground vigorously with the right foot and forthwith retreat with the youths following them. After the rows have thus swayed backwards and forwards a number of times, they change roles and it is the men who start the next movement by advancing in their turn. Intermittent leaping into the air introduces some variety into the steps executed. The songs which follow were collected at Guldo in the western foothills of the mountain.

1. Dirbat sugiŋ lo
   Na gi Jafaŋa weiliŋ kawi
   Alaŋ o
   Na kɔrɔŋaŋ tɔŋ ögil
   Ai iilɔŋ.

   At Dirbat the market-mongers have ruined me; I will go and pay the home of the apes a visit.

The Jafaŋa or Jabbaŋa were market overseers appointed by the Sultan or Shartai to tour all the market-places and collect the levies imposed on all goods bought and sold there. These activities could lead to a good deal of oppression, especially when it was a question of assessing a tithe on, for instance, four palmleaf mats bartered for one roll of cloth. 'The home of the apes' here means the grain-fields of the singer, who in his absence at the market has been unable to protect his crops.

2. Maskiina komɛ, — All the people are lamenting,
Kaulasiŋ na ro Nyuriŋa kayɔ ; — let us rise and spend the summer
Abdullahi musa na maskiina jaldi — by the river Nuringa ; Abdullahi Musa has flogged us.
Abale ko na gis Omda ker jawi. — Let us go to our ruler and ask him to give us another Omda.

The proclivity of certain Fur Shartais for devouring the goods of their subjects is the reason for the periodic secession of these unfortunates to other Dars.

3. Kwicŋ jɔnjɔŋsi — A waddling pup, if you would take it
Ati bawi, — away, take it away but what good is
Kal Bawi, — it with its yapping ?
Asaŋ deŋ jala ka iyɛ
Al ba dɛŋ kɛrɔla.

4. Koŋsi iyaŋ kwɛ — Mother Konsi is no good.
Al aiiba, — She would not give half a piastre
" Bariiza aŋ aniba — for us to buy fat.
" Asaŋ dɛ julu,"

These two songs are very reminiscent of nursery rhymes. The mention of the hill Fur to those who live on the lowlands about Zalingei generally evokes a smile, much in the same way as Aristophanes' Doric characters amused the Athenian audiences with their outlandish speech and uncouth ways. They are however a most industrious race ; their hillsides are carefully terraced and in addition to the work of the rainy season they labour in dry weather on the ground irrigated by channels leading off the perennially running streams of

the mountain, while the Luwing people in particular work continually at the rich salt pans with which nature has blessed them and descend in all directions to the surrounding markets with this much sought after product.

7. *Kona Kɔriŋ — War Songs.*

The last three types of dance are those for special occasions. War dances are performed by men, who sing their war songs while executing a simple stamp step to the music and brandishing their spears above their heads. It is now many years since they were performed in earnest and nowadays the songs are reserved for the rejoicing that follows the 'tausi'—a beer party given by the owner to all those who gather together to help him with the hoeing of his fields. While the majority of the warriors or cultivators stand in a row chanting and stamping, the more energetic spirits run out one by one on to the open space in front of the line of singers and there go through the motions of a fighter in battle—with shield thrust out on the left arm, with knees flexed and spear poised aloft, he will stand shouting defiance and daring the enemy to attack him. Thrust and parry with sharp swerves and jumps will follow as he engages with an imaginary circle of foes and after he has pierced their defence and dispatched them all, he will return unscathed from the fray waving his spear aloft as if in victory.

1. Kɔleŋa baam,
Keita baam,
Ati kɔr ɛla
Kaaluŋa
Ki biŋa aŋkoba,
Huu! farsa wai kɛlɛ bau.

You eat rams,
You eat goats and if war comes, we will not go out with you cowards. Huu! ye are brave men whom death has frightened.

2. Al biiḍi kom,
Na gaŋgaŋ kom,
Na mɔrlɛ kom
Huu!
Baaba, jurɔ
Na kɔriŋ ko.

Let the tenor drum sound, and the ruler's drum sound, and the whistle pipe. Huu! O father, go out and we will go to war.

3. Al duli fɔya, The tree has fallen, Alas ! ye people,
Huu ! maskiina, search for another father, now that
Al baaba bowiŋa the foreigners have seized the
Turga al böru keyɛ. country.

And that is the epitaph of Ali Dinar.

The younger generation finds its excitements in the cotton fields of the Gezira and on its return sings of the delights of love, but there are still many whose memories are stirred by these songs. They sit at home now, their hair is greying and their limbs have begun to creak with age, but at hoeing time they recapture the thrill of the fight and, when their lungs forbid them to dance another step, ' remember with advantages ' the valorous deeds of their youth.

8. *Josiŋ Kona.*

Since the Fur do not seclude their women-folk, the prospective bridegroom has many opportunities of meeting the girls of his own and other villages, in the fields, at wells, on the way to the market and during dances, where he will if he intends to get married broach the matter with the girl of his choice. This preliminary love-talk is called ' *kiilɔ* ' and if successful will lead to the dispatch of a go-between to the girl's parents. A good deal of love-talk does not and is not designed to lead to marriage ; such is referred to in the phrase ' *kanjala kawi*,' whereby assignations for illicit intercourse are made. When however the youth intends to marry, the messenger (*mirsaal*) who is usually a male relative of the suitor carries four rolls of cloth to the girl's father. This is referred to as a ' mouth-opener ' (*utɔ jouli*) which may persuade the father to give his consent. If the family agree—and it is here the good word of the father is of most service—the ceremony called ' *kwa faati kawi* ' is then held. This is a meeting of the relatives of both parties to the marriage for the congratulations, the drinking of beer and the holding of a drum dance, which the bridegroom, but not the bride, may attend. This is by no means a complete account of Fur courtship and marriage, the details of which I reserve for another occasion, but it serves to show at what point in the ceremony the dance is given.

The Epithalamia of the Fur vary from the innocuous to the obscene and frequently include insults levelled at the bride's family, for they have already received the bridewealth in tangible form, whereas the virtues of the bride and her value both to her husband and his family are as yet unproved.

1. Jiz juwa,
Ajaala, jiz juwa,
Marga jurgɔ ajomba.

You told him (to marry you), you, O harlot, told him; do not weep at the grinding on the grindstone.

2. Soldɛ
Jurɔ na ke,
Diiŋ baabaŋ rai
Kɛlajamba.
Rai al ba
Daiŋ kɛljam.

O Soldɛ, away and let us go.
Do not listen to your father's words
but listen to my words.

Soldɛ is a stock name for an unmarried girl.

3. Na diiŋ baaba
Daiŋ maal ami
Al iri jaari
Na kiiŋ kuru kögil.
Shadiid la jaŋ
Wala ajaŋba ?

Your father ate the bridewealth; stand up and let us look on your strength; are you strong or not ?

The bridegroom's family are addressing the bride and they want to know if she is worth her price.

Fur morals are most lax; divorce and re-marriage are extremely common. A woman is supposed to wait three months and three days for a decree to be made absolute. On one occasion a court elder had to be removed from a court panel, because his passion for a lady who had come before his panel would not allow him to wait even that short period.

Family ties are apt to be most involved. In one case I came across, the married couple before the court not only had offspring of their own union, but each had children of two previous marriages. The sorting out of the various relation-ships and family obligations, when this couple wanted a divorce, required the patience of a Job.

9. *Firaŋa Biɛ.*

The literal meaning of this title is 'the gazelles scatter' and it is used to describe the circumcision dance because crowds of women and girls run in a haphazard mob in front of the boy who is on his way to be circumcised. They scurry about in a frenzied manner brandishing palm leaf branches and gourds filled with stones, while tied to their ankles are rattles made of plaited palm leaves filled with pebbles or grain. As the procession moves on toward the enclosure prepared for the operation, the participants sing lustily and without restraint. Ahmed Eff. Abdel Halim has described briefly the surgical part of the operation as performed by the Arabs[4]. That of the Fur is much the same, although the ceremony is made the occasion of a number of rites connected with the fertility cult, which I hope to describe more fully in a later paper; I am here concerned mainly with the songs that the excited relatives sing.

1.	Saar bani iyɛsi, Murtaŋ iri ba Daldum kwɛ tɔk Bi itesi asbaluŋba Naz immɛ kiribiŋ akeba ?	Give him a sword, put him on a horse, must Daldum, (do you not know him) alone be without festal imma ?

The candidate for circumcision rides along on a donkey or, if his father can afford one, a horse. He is usually clothed in new raiment and carries a sword. Daldum is the stock name for a boy about to be circumcised.

4 See S.N.R. Volume XXII. 1939 Part 1, page 45.

2.	Daldum kwe ajomba Koi ki kwe kaaiagiŋ.	O Daldum, my son, do not weep, we will give you a woman slave and her son.

Fur boys usually pride themselves on facing the ordeal of circumcision without flinching.

3.	Woman : Tiir al kɛ Asaŋ ki walad Jeyis kandɔ? Husband : Wala diɔ asaŋaba Asa ajaala jɛni tɔŋ gis ɛla.	Where is the door that I may have intercourse with a rich man's son? I never thought that my wife would bring adultery to my house.

The singers are dramatising a wife's infidelity.

4.	Daadasi jɛbbia, Kasigi jɛmi Naz jaarɛ asaiŋba.	'Cast aside my elder sister and have intercourse with me who have no husband.'
5.	Al dwiiŋsi kii gis bi Naz jaarɛ asaiŋba?	'Who will come and lie with me who have no husband?'

In these songs the girls are not lamenting the lack of opportunities for sexual intercourse, but are holding out their unmarried state as an added attraction, as the lover will have no irate husband to contend with; as the members of the procession get emotionally worked up the songs become lewder and lewder.

Although for the performance of these dances the Fur need two drums and can indeed dispense with them altogether, certain Shartais maintain a small band, which plays on such state occasions as the arrival of a new District Commissioner. Reference has already been made to that of Aba Dimaŋ (see S.N.R. Vol. XXII 1939 Part II, page 192) which accompanies him on his journeys. It consists of two drummers and two fife blowers. A similar band, maintained by Shartai Abdullah Ali of Dar Wanna, was performing on the *Eid* of the Ramadan Bairam in November, 1938 at a Jɔmbolɛ dance held at his cultivation village, Hagar Kurtal. Its composition is a *Gaŋgaŋ*, a *Biidi*, two *Morleŋa* and a *Kɛrɛ*. The *Gaŋgaŋ*, the Shartai's drum, is a hollow cylinder of wood two feet in diameter and one foot in depth with a skin stretched at either end and is beaten with a drum

stick. The *Biidi*, built on a similar principle but deeper and narrower, is beaten by the hand. The *Morlɛŋa* are rough clarinets and the *Kɛrɛ* is a narrow-necked gourd filled with stones. At intervals during the dance two or three women broke away from the body of the dancers, lined up in front of the band and leaped up and down while waving their arms and uttering shrill cries. After a short spell of this special movement they rejoined the dance and shortly afterwards, another small body of women paid a similar compliment to the band.

Such are the dances I myself have seen and I have not heard of any others. There is however variety enough both in the forms of dance and in the types of song that accompany them and main events of village life excluding birth and death are all catered for. The children can be seen at play, the youths at their lovemaking and the elders at their more sedate recreations. The Fiki's pupils give expression to their outlook on life, the young continue to train for the dance that might lead them to the Sultan's presence and wilder men of the mountain let off their superfluous energy. Battle, marriage and circumcision all come in for their special celebrations. All manner of events—a Governor's journey, a children's quarrel, a chief's oppression—form convenient subjects for a new song. Every dance is thronged and the performers enter into it with spirit and energy, giving expression to an innate cheerfulness characteristic of a vigorous people, who have enjoyed two decades of freedom from the worst forms of oppression. Now that forays and raids are things of the past, the dance forms a healthy outlet for excess of energy and although there may be an undue amount of sexual promiscuity, the suppression of the dance would not serve to limit it. Both men and women enter fully into the life of the community and the ordinary man can rest secure in the enjoyment of his possessions. There is little wrong with a people and the system of government under which they live, so long as they can sing with the zest of which these songs give abundant evidence, and can find in the activities of their rulers, native and foreign, subjects not for resentful discussion in private but for a public display of quiet humour and high spirits.

CHARMS AND CUSTOMS ASSOCIATED WITH CHILD-BIRTH

by Elaine Hills-Young

Whilst trekking round the villages of the northern Sudan inspecting the work of the midwives, I have come across many charms and customs associated with the birth of children. These, naturally, vary considerably in the Provinces and amongst the different tribes but the greatest variety can be found in the town of Omdurman with its large population, made up as it is, of so many people belonging to tribes of almost every part of the Sudan.

The following are amongst the charms and customs seen in Omdurman :—

(1) Bridal Jewels and Trappings, (*Girtig*).

These are worn at the wedding and for forty days afterwards. They are then kept in the *sahāra*—bridal chest—with her clothes until the girl becomes pregnant, when they are worn from the seventh month of all pregnancies until three days after the birth. Then they are wrapped in a cloth or handkerchief and kept on a table or the *ʿangarib* (bed) near the mother for forty days, during which period the mother is completely *ḥarām* and neither she nor her baby are supposed to go out of the *ḥosh* (courtyard).

(2) The Qoran.

A copy of this is always kept near the newly born child, often wrapped in a cloth and either on the pillow, the *ʿangarib* or a table. This is in order that the child may be faithful, clean and untouched by evil spirits.

(3) Dates and Dura Grain.

Quantities of these are kept on a tray or in a basket outside the room at the start of labour until the birth of the child, when several handfulls are thrown into the *ḥosh* as *karāma*. The remainder

are put under the *ʿangarib* and kept there for fifteen days. This is done to ensure continued fertility. The women and the children who have collected in the house and *ḥosh* are also given handfuls of dates.

(4) RAW COTTON.

This is sometimes put with the dates and grain outside the room. As the wind generally blows this away it is seldom that any is left to take into the room after the birth.

(5) INCENSE—(*Bukhūr*).

A copper dish—*ṭāsa*, often an heirloom or prized family possession, is used to hold the constitutents of *Bukhūr* which are :—

(a) Sunt pods —*Garad.*

(b) Alum —*Shebb.*

(c) Bark of *Fasūkh* tree.*

(d) Roots of *Sineir* tree.†

(e) Seeds of *Ḥabb el ʿArūs* tree.‡

(f) Seeds of *El Ser El Faqrie* tree.§

(g) Frankincense—*Lubān.*

and also *Koḥl* in a container with the *murwād*—metal pencil. Quite often these days the only contents of the dish are the *Koḥl* and "*murwād.*"

---

*This is imported from the Hejjaz. Tree unidentified.

† ? The oriental plane tree, called Sinar in some Arabic speaking countries.

‡ABRUS PRECATORIUS. For its medical properties see J. M. Dalziel "Useful Plants of W. Tropical Africa" pp. 224-6.

§Sherr el Figri — Identified by Dr. F. W. Andrews as WITHANIA SOMNIFERA DUN. (No. 612 in Broune and Massey's Flora of the Sudan.)

Dalziel (Useful Plants of Western Tropical Africa, p. 435) writes :—

"The seeds cause coagulation of milk, and the root is supposed to be narcotic, and has been said to be used in India to effect criminal abortion.

On the other hand some South African tribes appear to use it for the opposite purpose, to form up the uterus in women who habitually miscarry and in order to remove retained conception products . . . . .

In Persia and India it is classed as a poison. Its poisonous properties are however in doubt."

It is a leafy herb found in old rain cultivations. Literally "Poor Man's Poverty."

EDITOR.

The dish is kept near the *angarib* on a table from birth until the seventh day and if it contains *Bukhūr*—which may be either all or only some of the above-mentioned substances—a little is taken morning and evening and put in the small charcoal burner *mubkhar*, with the burning charcoal. This is also done some times during the birth so as to ward off evil spirits.

(6) Digging or Chopping Tools (*Turia or Fās*).

A complete one or a head of either may be placed under the *angarib* or near the door of the room after the birth and left till the seventh day, to ward off evil spirits.

(7) Egg Plant—(*Badingan Aswad*).

One is placed under the *angarib* or near the door so as to ward off bad luck which might be brought by the women visiting, who may have come from a recent wedding, a circumcision, another birth *karāma* or a *bika* (funeral).

(8) Charm against Bad Luck—(*Meshahara*).

Some water from the river is brought on the first day in a special small copper dish from Mecca — *tasa*—under cover of the *tob* of the grandmother and put by the door. The grandmother. and the mother do not look at each other until the dish of water is in place and then they must first look at the water before greeting each other.

(9) Dom Palm Branch—(*Jarīda*).

One may be kept under the *angarib* for fifteen days, also to ward off bad luck.

(10) The Placenta.

This is put in a small vessel (*dahlob*) and may be kept three days, but more often it is either taken after a few hours to the river and thrown in with some dura grains and dates, or it is buried in a corner of the *hosh* near the door, with dura grains and dates, in the presence of children and old women. A Dom Palm branch is then pushed into the filled-in hole. Sometimes the grain germinates and a small green patch will be seen for a few days around the palm branch.

(11) THE THIRD DAY—*El Hurrāra* (*precise meaning uncertain*).

Formerly, a feast—*karāma*—was always held on the third day for the women who had assisted at the birth. A sheep was procured and cooked: the skin, head and one leg being given to the midwife along with grain, dates, soap, fat and scent. If the family was well-off the midwife might also receive tea, coffee, sugar and a *tob* and some money.

Now-a-days this *karāma* is usually merged into one with the seventh day feast, when the midwife also receives her fee in kind and cash. This is not always so generously given as in the old days.

(12) THE SEVENTH DAY—*El Simaya* (*lit. the naming*).

(a) There is a feast—*karāma*—primarily for the men and the *fugara*—local priests—when the child is named. Children are usually named after deceased grand parents or, if these are alive, after a near deceased relative. The father decides in the case of a boy and the mother for a girl. In the event of twin boys it is almost the invariable custom to name one Hassan and the other Hussein: if twin girls—Um El Hassan and Um El Hussein and if boy and girl twins—Hassan and Um El Hassan. Within the family circle, the diminutive *Toma* (*teiman* = twins) is often used to either of twin girls.

Two days before the *karāma*, grain is prepared for the *kisra* and, on the day before, a sheep is procured. On the seventh day morning, vegetables, salad and fruit are obtained, also much tea, coffee and sugar, though these may be brought as gifts by the relatives. Early on the *el sebūʿ* or *el dūr* as the seventh day is often called by the women, those of the *hosh* prepare the food, making much *kisra*, *mulāḥ* and salad and they send word round to the women relations and friends to come to dinner; the men also send word to the men relations and friends.

If there has been a recent *bika* then the relations and friends do not come to the *karāma* but are sent raw pieces of mutton.

Should the father of the child be poor and unable to afford a sheep, grain and beans of about seven different kinds are washed and cooked altogether in a large pot and then eaten for dinner with tea and coffee later, or this stew—*belila*—of grain and beans may be sent around to the houses of the relations and friends.

(b) *Kohl.* On the morning of the seventh day, the grandmother, or one of the old women in the *hosh*, applies *kohl* around the eyes of the child to ensure that the eyes are beautiful and free from disease. *Kohl* is also applied in the shape of a cross on the child's forehead to prevent the development of a squint.

(c) *Wadak.* Any animal fat which has been cooked. This is applied to the head of the child over the anterior fontenelle to prevent the child developing a cold or cough as it is thought by many of the women that the child breathes through this part of the skull. At times, sandalwood dust may be added to the *wadak*. If the child's family are well off then *mahlab* is applied to the child's head. *Mahlab* is a sweet smelling seed of the *mahlab* tree and is expensive. The seed is ground and water is added and it then has the appearance of *wadak*.

13. Umbilical Cord—(*Habl el Surra*)

When the umbilical cord of the child dries and comes off—this may be any time between the third and tenth day after birth, the midwife gives it to the mother who keeps it for a few days until the arrangements for disposal are made. Generally, the dried-up cord of a girl is buried in a small hole in the earth of the floor of the mother's room, or in the *hosh* if the floor is tiled. This is to ensure that the girl grows up a good faithful daughter of the house.

The cord of a boy is taken by his father or near male relative and buried either in the earth floor of the nearest mosque or the nearest *khalwa* to ensure that the boy grows up faithful and diligent.

Of the customs mentioned above the one that is most commonly noticed is the one referring to a copy of the Qoran. Some of the others and charms are fast dying out. The writer would be grateful for information from readers who know of other charms and customs

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ANUAK AND THE FÖRI (SUDAN)

by Dr. E. E. Evans-Prichard

(REPRINTED FROM THE APRIL 1940 EDITION OF MAN).

(*By kind permission of the publishers, the Royal Anthropological Institute.*)

Lafon Hill, to the east of the Nile in the Mongalla Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, is a small dot on the map and has a very small population, but it occupies a key position in relation to the distribution of the Nilotic peoples of the Upper Nile and has consequently figured prominently in ethnological theory.

In *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1905, pp. 147-8, Capt. N. T. Borton is quoted as saying that the inhabitants of Lafon Hill, whom he called Beri and estimated at 3,000 souls, are a mixture of Bari and Latuka. We now know that this statement is incorrect. Mr. R. H. Walsh has pointed out that the population of the hill, which he estimated at about 1,800, came from Anuak country ("The Beri, or more correctly Pari," *S. N. & R.*, Vol. V, 1922). Mr. J. H. Driberg has confirmed this statement and added to it in an article ("Lafon Hill," *S. N. & R.*, Vol. VIII, 1925) in which he records some of his observations with excerpts from unpublished reports by Kaim. Borton Bey in 1904 and Bimb. Jennings-Bramly in 1909. Mr. Driberg points out that the Föri fall into three sections: the Pugéri, who claim to be Shilluk from the north, and the Boi and the Kor who claim to be Anuak from the north-east. Father J. P. Crazzolara ("The Lwoo People," *The Uganda Journal*, Vol. V, 1937. p. 8), who recently visited the hill, gives a brief account of the Föri (whom he estimates at 6,000) which bears out Driberg's earlier record. He says that physically and linguistically the people are closer to the Shilluk than to the Acholi and confirms that the Pugéri claim to have come first to the hill and to be an offshoot from the Shilluk. The following points of interest arise from a comparison between Driberg's account and certain observations made by myself during a survey of the Anuak as a Leverhulme Fellow in 1935.

There are Anuak lineages at Dibängo and Umëëda on the Agwei and, I was told, at Udiek on the Akobo and at Ulan on the Gila, who are said to be the last wave of Anuak migration from the south-west to have reached present-day Anuak-land. These lineages are popularly known as Oyuanboi on account of a peculiar spear, unknown to other Anuak, which they once used. This is clearly the Boi of Lafon Hill, who use spears of a type unknown in Anuak-land to-day: a conclusion supported by other evidence. The Oyuanboi call themselves Jowätyuaa, the people of the children of Yuä, and Driberg gives Ywa as the maternal grandfather of the ancestor of the Lafon Boi. It is a common Anuak practice to call a lineage after the maternal grandfather of its founder. Driberg gives the founder of the Boi lineage as Otyeno and the founder of the Kor lineage as his brother Gilo. Both names figure in a Jowätyuaa myth, of which I recorded only a fragment (recorded also by Col. C. R. K. Bacon, "The Anuak," *S.N. & R.*, Vol. V, 1922, pp. 114-115), in which Otyeno killed Gilo, an incident which Mr. A. C. A. Wright, who visited Lafon Hill in 1936, tells me is also mentioned in the Government District Book as occurring in the traditions of the Föri. In Driberg's account Otyeno and Gilo were sons of Eno, son of Ochudho, and his wife Achala. He says that the descendants of Gilo are called Kor because they took the same road (*kor*) to their present home as the Boi, but, neglecting both this popular etymology and wide differences between genealogies* in the two areas, it is suggested that possibly the title of the lineage may be derived from Kööri who, in Anuak tradition, was the wife of Ucudhu and mother of Gilo—called in consequence Gilo *wä* Kööri, Gilo, son of Kööri—the first Anuak king, and the progenitor of their noble house, The mythological ancestor of the Boi and Kor lineages at Lafon Hill and of the Anuak nobility was Ochudho: he does not appear in the two Jowätcuaa lineages recorded in the footnote.* In both areas the myth about him relates that he miraculously appeared out of a river or lake, that the cattle he brought out of the water returned thither because the people broke his command, and that he himself

* The only two Jowätyuaa lineages recorded were those of headmen at Umëëda (Rai—Gilo—Opiau—Agau—Ronyi—Yuä—Boi) and at Dibängo (Udol—Adier—Ngwangi—Dijöm—Bängo—Yuä— Utheno—Ngec—Ngööri—Yuä—Märä—Cäng).

finally returned there after having made a woman pregnant. Anuak say that he left Kööri pregnant, and that she bore him Gilo, the first king; the Föri say that he left Achala pregnant and she bore him Eno, the ancestor of the Boi and Kor lineages.

Driberg was at Lafon Hill for only three days, and I was at Dibängo and Umëëda for only a couple of evenings, so that we have only scratched the surface. Some preliminary conclusions may, nevertheless, be drawn. The already established connexion between the two areas is further strengthened by finding the Boi or Yuaa lineage in Anuak-land, and in that part of it nearest to Lafon Hill. It is true that the Lafon lineages do not claim special rank, although their descent from Ochudho would imply that they are of the same origin as the Anuak nobility; but it must be remembered that sons of nobles in Anuak-land lose their nobility if their fathers have not been invested with the royal insignia, and we know that in past times this often happened. Lineages of persons who have lost their status in Anuak-land are known as Jowātong, and it is interesting, therefore, to note that in the excerpts made by Wright from the District Book the Boi and Kor lineages are designated the Atong clan.

The presence of Shilluk at Lafon Hill, confirmed by Crazzolara, lends weight, as Driberg suggests, to the view held by some writers that the Shilluk at one time occupied these regions, before moving northwards to their present home. The similiarity between the Shilluk royal house and the Anuak royal house may now be viewed in relation to the fact that there are lineages at Lafon Hill which trace their descent from the same ancestor as the Anuak nobles. It can hardly be doubted that there is some historical connexion between the Anuak nobility and the Shilluk nobility, and since it is improbable that either people split off from the other in their present territories, one looks for a geographical link between them. Whatever may be the conclusions drawn from the fact, such a link is to be found at Lafon Hill, a position which fits in with the claims of the Shilluk to have come from the south and the claims of the Anuak to have come from the south-west. It is true that the Anuak of Lafon Hill say (as Walsh, Driberg, and

Crazzolara report), that they migrated from present Anuak country in the north-east, but what little information we have tends to show that at one time there was intercommunication between Lafon Hill and the Pibor and its tributaries, before Beir (Murle) intrusion, and there may well have been movements in both directions.

One of the chief ethnological problems concerning the Anuak is to account for the fact that their royal house is found only in the south-east of Anuak-land, and that in other parts a different political system obtains. A possible explanation, though not the only one, is to suppose that a section of Shilluk origin moved with the Anuak into their present territory, possibly after the settlement of the main body of Anuak; and such a move was probably not from the present Shilluk-land, but is likely to have been from the south. As none of the southern Nilotes have, as far as is known, a nobility like that of the Anuak, it would seem that Lafon Hill is the most likely place, especially since there are at that hill lineages which claim the same descent as the Anuak nobles, and also good evidence of a Shilluk reoccupation. The question has to be left at this point till we have more information about the political organization of the Acholi, and about the headmen of Shilluk local groups and their relations with the Shilluk royal family.

A NOTE ON GAME MIGRATION IN THE SOUTH EASTERN SUDAN

by F. O. Cave and A. Cruickshank.

In *Sudan Notes and Records* Vol. XV Part II 1932 Capt. Whalley mentions the amazing collection of game to be found in the Ilemi triangle and describes a game migration of such proportions that we feel further evidence will be of interest.

Whalley has given us details of the terrain and of the conditions obtaining both in the dry and in the wet seasons. The particular part of the " great thirst," as this region has aptly been called, wherein we saw the game migration was an area of some 400 square miles with the centre at Gebel Kathangor (Lat. 5°70′ N, Long. 34°E′) some 100 miles S.W. of the Abyssinian foot-hills and 80 miles north east of Kapoeta. To the south of this Gebel running roughly S. E. and N. W. is the North Khor, a depression 1-2 miles wide and full of thick impenetrable " Yoey " forest. A dry weather motor road now runs from Kapoeta, crosses the Khor, passes the west side of Kathangor and on to the Boma plateau.

On the north side of the Khor near the road a natural landing ground was found and this proved invaluable in the study of the migration, and it was here in the shade of the Khor that we made camp. Another motor road runs along the south bank of the Khor to the Kengen River and on to Akobo.

On 12th May this year from the air a long line of game was seen trekking slowly S.E. parallel to the North Khor towards the Natilup swamps. It was estimated this line extended in unbroken formation for 10 miles (F.O.C.).

On May 23rd, after heavy rains had filled all the streams, a second flight over the same area was done and this time masses of game were congregated around the Gebel with six or seven formed lines of game all trekking slowly but steadily south-eastwards. From the air it

was observed that the majority of the game was white eared cob, glossy black males and russet females. Right at the base of Kathangor a pure white immature female was seen.

The rain was followed by a dry and very hot spell of weather.

On the 24th of May we proceeded by car convoy from Kapoeta to Kathangor and camped at the edge of the landing ground. On the following day the Hornet Moth was brought up.

The first line of migration was met some 15 miles south of North Khor and consisted of tiang and white-eared cob in mass formation with sections of zebra on the flanks, and this line was moving *north west.* From this point till North Khor was reached there were masses of cob and Mongalla gazelle, and also Grants' gazelle, zebra and giraffe, not in line formation but all moving slowly in the same direction *i.e.*, N.W. or the opposite direction from those seen the day before from the air.

From our camp at North Khor as far as the eye could see, were cob. There appeared to be one main artery on the move whilst all around it were individual families grazing or resting. The main line was roughly in column of ten and packed so close that noses almost touched tails and flanks rubbed flanks. How long this line was could not be estimated but it continued moving past the camp from sunrise to sunset and the following day was again seen but not nearly in such dense formation.

On the 25th five miles north of the camp another great line was seen, and from some high ground it was possible to see it from beginning to end. The length of the column was estimated at 1½ miles and the average width was 25 animals ; there was dense close formation throughout. Allowing an average length of 1½ yards per head the number in this one line was in the neighbourhood of 44,000.

Cob composed 80% of these but there were hundreds of tiang, a few roan and Grants' gazelle and again zebra in hundreds were on the flanks. Two groups of giraffe, 12 and 21 in number, were seen

nearby, but they kept aloof from the common herd. Mongalla gazelle frisked around in their thousands wagging their absurd little white tails, but at the time they were not migrating nor did they mix with the others.

Though most of the male cob seemed mature with lovely glossy black hides, numbers were seen in the transition stage from russet to black. Females to males seemed to be in about the proportion of two to one. This differs greatly from the individual herds of Uganda cob where one buck will have from 10 to 20 does.

An aerial view of this section allowed two pure white cob to be differentiated, one male, one female.

On 26th May a visit by car was made to the Kengen River some 26 miles N.W. The road, as stated, runs along the south bank of North Khor. For some miles dense wild asparagus bush covered the countryside. It was in flower at the time and the strong sweet smell akin to jasmine filled the air. Asparagus is unpleasant prickly stuff to walk through, and so the game had wisely taken to the road and this fifteen foot wide strip of clearing was densely packed for 8-10 miles. Again cob were the dominant feature. The few tiang and roan imprisoned in their ranks looked strangely out of place. Zebra as usual hovered on the outskirts and were difficult to approach. As the car proceeded slowly down the road the cob very reluctantly parted to let it pass; close approach on foot, however, was difficult. The cob were shy of man but not of motor car.

A pure white male with a fine head was seen in this mass. A long stalk accompanied by numerous scratches from the asparagus was finally rewarded by getting a somewhat fleeting photograph in colour of this specimen. An immature white female was also seen.

On this road in addition to those mentioned were seen waterbuck, buffalo, giraffe, Grant's and Mongalla gazelle, and from the air the same day a large herd of lesser eland were spotted, and a few oryx.

Five days later Bimb. Stanton was returning from Boma and reported that around our camp site no game of any description was to be seen, unless the myriads of locust hoppers which covered the ground could be called game; however a few miles south he saw Mongalla gazelle in mass formation migrating N.W. and also came across a herd of lesser eland estimated at 80 head with a number of fine black bulls in it.

From reports it appears that as soon as the Upper Nile grazing grounds become swampy the game migrates S.E. to the Kenya border. This happens in April or May and the return journey in October or November. If during the trek south a dry spell sets in the game about turns in search of the best grazing grounds. From the air we saw the initial southward trek and were fortunate enough from the ground and the air to see the temporary return northwards.

Whalley does not mention cob and we saw no Nile Lechwe; since writing his article however Whalley has had repeated opportunities of seeing the game in this area and agrees that cob predominate, and that though Nile lechwe are seen they do not migrate in large numbers.

We are loathe to attempt to estimate in numbers the head of game seen during this interesting trip lest we strain the credulity of our readers. Personal observation only has convinced us that the game population of this vast and almost uninhabited area numbers millions. Let anyone who doubts this come and see for himself.

A DESCRIPTION OF A CEREMONY BY WHICH A NUBA CHIEF BECAME A KUJUR

By D. Hawkesworth

Chief Nimra Sernoub of Tendia in the Nyimang Group of the Nuba hills became a *Kujur* in 1930. The following is a brief description of what happened.

All preparations had been made. The youth of the village had built a new grass hut close to the chief's house, and a mat had been made of freshly picked Deleib palm leaves. As a reward, a bull had been slaughtered, and the meat divided up among the workers. Instead of killing the animal by cutting its throat in the usual way, on this occasion it was stabbed through the heart with the Chief's spear.

Most of the tribe had gathered together, Many were carrying bowls of grain, and smaller bowls filled with tobacco. The Chief and his senior wife emerged from their house, and the latter began to fill a grain store with the presents of grain which had been brought. Her primary duty was to ensure that no fly entered the store with the grain. The entrance of a single fly is believed to be fatal to the satisfactory completion of the ceremony.

Throughout the whole ceremony, the chief was naked, wearing neither clothes nor adornments. Before he entered the new hut, he asked for a box of matches, saying that it would not be possible to take fire into the hut from outside until the completion of the ceremony. This request was granted, and he entered the hut followed by two boys and two girls, known as the chief's viziers. These viziers must be under the age of puberty, and it is their duty to wait upon the chief.

The chief then told the people to disperse and warned them that from now onwards, until the completion of the ceremony, no one could hold intercourse with him or even greet him.

The chief remained in the hut for seven days. During this period, he could wander about outside provided he avoided the people.

Where ever he went, he was followed by his viziers, one of them carrying his mat in case he should wish to sit down.

All game killed during the week by any member of the tribe was brought as a present to the chief, and the donors received in exchange a present of tobacco.

On the afternoon of the eighth day, the tribe once again assembled together, and many visitors from neighbouring tribes were with them. About four o'clock, the *kuni*, or ancestral spirit, seized up the chief. In a mad frenzy, he seized some spears and emerged from the hut. Instead of going out of the main entrance, he hurled himself at the thorn fence which surrounded his house, and broke his way through. The air was filled with the shouts of a multitude, and everyone raced after the chief, waving spears and firing off rifles.

After running for some distance, the chief stopped and pierced the ground near a Hagleig tree with a spear. This was the signal to return to the chief's house.

In the house of the Chief's senior wife, the final part of the ceremony was completed. A goat was slaughtered and the kidneys and various other parts of the intestines were put into a bowl. Another qualified *kujur* lifted part of the meat and consecrated the chief, by bringing the meat close to the chief's nose and mouth some three or four times, and then allowing him to eat a portion of the raw meat. The bracelets, the insignia of a *kujur*, were placed on his wrists, and he was allowed to don his clothes.

Outside the people demolished the grass hut, and a new one of a superior type was built. This new house was to be the abode of the ancestral spirit, and the *kujurs* spears and other paraphenalia were placed inside. Then the feasting and dancing began. There were some hundred of bowls of native beer, and between forty and fifty goats were slaughtered. The first goat was sacrificed in honour of the ancestral spirit of Kujur Nimra, then others were slaughtered in honour of various other ancestral spirits of neighbouring *kujurs*. Al :the goats were slaughtered with one knife, and the head, the legs and the spleen of each goat were reserved for the *kujur's* household.

This ceremony has no special name. Though a man may be seized with an ancestral spirit, he is not entitled to call himself a *kujur* until this ceremony has been performed. In the Nuba languages the names for a *kujur*, and the names for the ancestral spirit, appear to be the same (*Kuni* in Nyimang language, and *Uri* in the Dilling language).

A man in the Nyimang hills who is seized with the ancestral spirit, but has not yet become a *kujur*, is known as a *Kadakendir*. A man must be a *Kadakendir* for some years before he can become a *kujur*, and he must also be blessed with children and wealth.

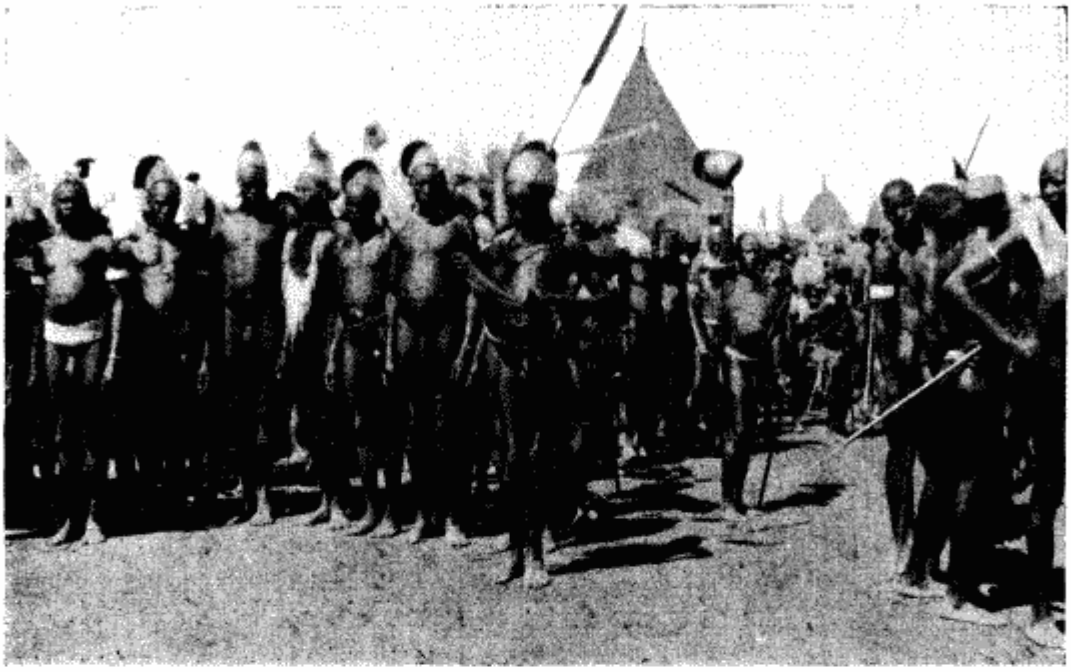
Some of the bracelets which are the insignia of a *kujur* appear to be double ones, *i.e.*, they are two bracelets welded together. Any man wearing this adornment is either a *kujur* or the father of twins. The father of twins is a most important person. He can greet a *kujur* as an equal, and need not bare his head, or get up from the ground if he is sitting.

AN ANCIENT SUDANI

By G. W. Grabham.

In 1924, Mr. W. R. G. Bond, then Governor of the Fung Province, recognised part of a fossil human skull embedded in river deposits exposed at low Nile on the foreshore at Singa. This skull proved to be of considerable interest and was presented to the British Museum, Natural History, where the experts carefully freed it from the matrix in which it was almost completely embedded. It was subsequently examined by Sir Arthur Smith-Woodward and compared with other skulls of early man. The jaws and all the teeth are missing. The brain case is complete and the narrow forehead and prominent ridges above the eye sockets are conspicuous. A description of the skull by Sir Arthur is published in *Antiquity* for June, 1938 pp. 109-195 and he concluded that our fossil may be regarded as ancestral form of the Bushman whose race seems formerly to have been distributed widely over Africa. The skull is slightly mineralised and darkened as consequence of its long interment. Other fossil bones were found in the neighbourhood and they resemble in mineralisation some found below the river bed when the Blue Nile Bridge was being built. These included an extinct form of elephant quite different from the existing one. From its geological position, the Singa man is certainly very ancient and is probably of Paleolithic (Early Stone) age. He lived many thousands of years before the earliest Dynasty of Ancient Egypt.

The British Museum has presented a cast of this interesting skull and it is now exhibited in the geological case at the Khartoum Museum.



SOME OF THE DANCERS



A REST : POT CONTAINING BONES IN CENTRE : CHIEF'S DRUM TO RIGHT

THE EXHUMATION OF A LATUKA RAIN CHIEF

By J.F. Madden

IKANG, the old Latuka rain-queen of Tirangole, died on November 1st 1938. She came from Lyria (half way between Torit and Juba) and belonged to a big rain-making clan of the Lokoia : later she was married in turn to three of the Latuka rain-chiefs of Tirangole and, as there was no offspring from any of these marriages, she herself succeeded to the rain in 1923.

When she grew older she delegated her duties as Government chief to her nephew Lomiluk, and also designated him to be her spiritual successor as the tribal rain-maker.

When she died a grave was dug for her, half in and half out of the house in which she used to live, and some four feet deep. " Dom " palm planks were laid on the floor and the walls were plastered with mud to prevent them caving in. The body, wrapped only in a blanket, was placed in this underground chamber with the head towards the west under the eaves of the house. The pit was then closed with more dom palm planks and earth piled on top to make a low mound. Finally, that portion of the grave which projected beyond the roof of the house was protected with a shelter of palm leaves raised on sticks.

For over a year the body remained untouched : then on November 13th 1939 (the third day of the Latuka month *Isyar' imanyi xari*) the exhumation ceremony took place.

The bones of a Latuka rain-chief are always disinterred after about twelve months, and are placed in a large earthenware jar. They are then conveyed to a final resting place, usually at Tirangole or on the sacred hill of Logurren, some 10 miles to the south east. Ikang's bones however were to be moved south across the Koss River to lie next to those of her mother in the village of Kaforere.

On the evening before the ceremony a dance was held in Ikang's own quarter (" namangat ") of Tirangole. The big chief's drum (named " Khading ") was beaten, in addition to the five usual smaller

dance drums, and the dancers were mostly local people. About sunset, Lomiluk, the new rain chief, put on his dance dress and joined in—though perhaps " dress " is a misnomer, as he was completely naked save for beads, a helmet, and a pair of heavy ivory bracelets round his upper arms.

Rain was threatening, and had fallen heavily in Torit as I left a few hours before, but Lomiluk assured me that he had arranged that it should not fall on Tirangole and spoil the dance. Nevertheless I decided to return to the rest-house, and in spite of Lomiluk's arrangements the rain came down heavily about an hour later. This temporarily broke up the party, but as soon as the rain stopped the drums and singing began again and continued through the night.

Soon after five o'clock the next morning the chief came to fetch me to watch the actual disinterment of the old rain-queen's body. We went to her house—the dancing place was now deserted and all the drums had been removed save the big chief's drum which lay on it's side in the middle of the open space in front of the house. On one side of this area, under the high fence of sticks, were seated the family and connexions of the old woman, together with several of the big Latuka chiefs who had been invited as guests of honour to view the ceremony. I myself was given a place close by the grave, so that I could see all that occurred.

The palm leaf shelter had been removed before I arrived, and behind the grave were the bodies of two goats which had been slaughtered overnight. In silence two old men and an old woman of the Lomini clan (to which Ikang belonged) came forward and removed the earth from over the grave. Next they took off the dom trunk planks one by one and opened up the pit underneath ; and beside it they placed a large new eathernware jar, some 3 feet 6 inches in height.

Rain had broken down the sides of the pit and earth had fallen in onto the body ; this was removed handful by handful by the two old men standing in the pit, and as each bone appeared it was handed up to the old woman who placed it carefully in the jar. All the flesh

had completely disappeared and the skeleton seemed to have disintegrated so that each of the larger bones, and finally the skull, came up separately from the grave.

While this was going on a black bull was driven in and thrown to the ground in front of the house. A rope was put round its neck and it was then killed by strangulation—since the shedding of blood at such a ceremony would in Latuka opinion, bring grave misfortune on the community. The body was left where it lay and the removal of the bones went on—occasionally the old woman would descend into the grave and one of the men would take her place beside the jar. Every bit of earth was carefully sifted to ensure that not the smallest bone remained, and finally after an hour's work the task was completed. The mouth of the jar was then covered with a goat skin.

A gourd of water and a pipe of tobacco were next brought, and each of the diggers took four or five rapid puffs, spitting on the ground between each. They then all washed their hands and arms in the water from the gourd. Finally one of the old men took a spear, slit open the belly of the dead bull and took out a handful of the stomach contents.. These he scattered over the open grave, the jar, the house and the chief's drum : then the jar was carefully lifted and carried to a corner of the enclosure, where there were already two similar jars containing the bones of former rain-chiefs. That concluded the ceremony for the moment ; though later the bones were carried, by the same old men who had dug them up, in easy stages across the Koss River to their final resting place at Kaforere.

The flesh of the bull and of the two slaughtered goats was reserved, I was told, for the old men and women of the community. For the others, the women had an old tribal right to take one sheep or goat from each man's flock, to be slaughtered as food at the big dance which followed the exhumation.

Dancing went on for several days, and all the people from the neighbouring villages turned up in force. A Latuka dance is always picturesque—and on this occasion everyone was out to look his best,

The naked bodies of the dancers were streaked with white, orange or blue, and round their waists were strings of bright blue beads. Those who could afford " full dress " wore the shining copper Latuka helmet with its tall straight plume of closely-set red and black feathers; others had helmets of a similar shape made of red clay and adorned with white, black or orange-dyed ostrich plumes : and as the drums beat and the dance began the whole scene was full of life and colour.

It was a fitting celebration of the old rain-queen's last journey.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR,

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

KHARTOUM.

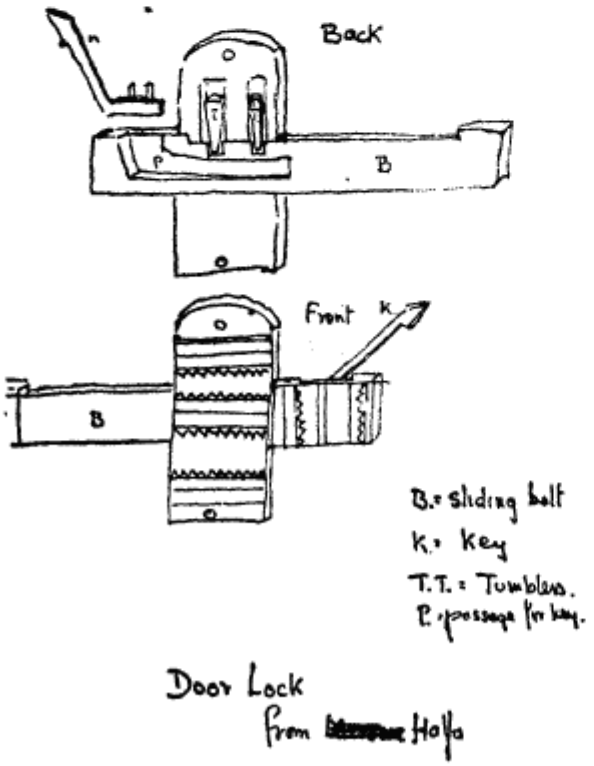
DEAR SIR,

The sketches illustrate two types of wooden door locks in universal use today along the River between Merowe and Wadi Halfa.

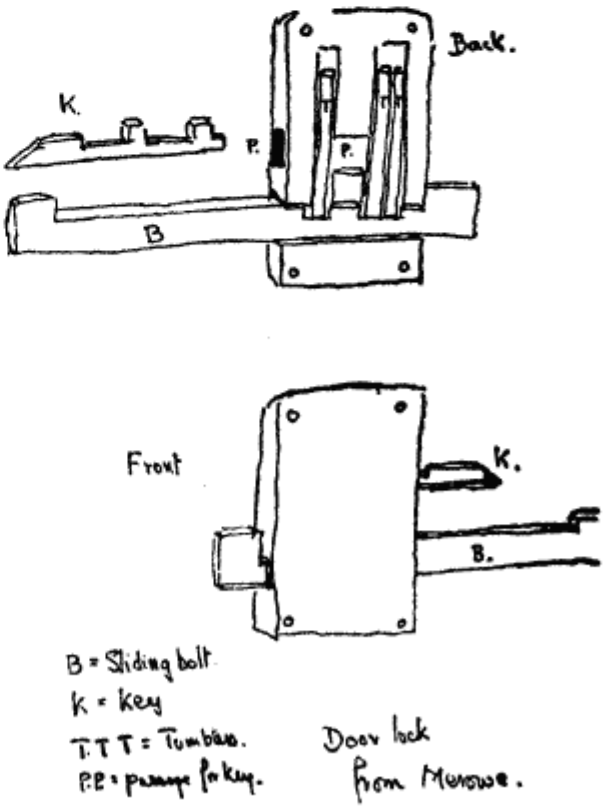
They are still made entirely of wood and without metal and can be bought for a shilling or so in the Suks. The Merowe type is the better mechanically and permits of more varieties in cutting the wooden key which remains in position when the door is open and is worn on a cord round the owner's neck when the door is left locked. To those familiar with the 'easy fit' of local architecture there is no difficulty about finding room between the edge of the door and the mud wall to insert the key.

G. W. TITHERINGTON.

Wadi Halfa.



Door Lock
from [redacted] Halfa



Door lock
from Merowe.

REVIEWS.

THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE KIPSIGIS.

By J. G. Peristiany, D. Phil., F.R.A.I.

(George Routledge and Sons Ltd.) 24 plates and 3 maps.

Price 18s.

This is an account, based on nine months study in the field, of the social organization of a Nilo-Hamitic tribe of about 80,000 members who live in Kenya to the east of Lake Victoria between Kisumu on the north and the Masai on the south. The Kipsigis are said (p. 2) to belong to the same group as the Bari and Lotuka speaking tribes of the Sudan.

The book contains chapters on Initiation, Age-sets, Premarital life of boys and girls, Marriage, divorce, childbirth and adoption, the Family, the Clan, Organization of economic life, War and hunting, Civil authority and law, and Religion and magic, and also an appendix containing a selection of myths, stories and songs. Our old friend Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard provides an introduction, in which he summarizes Dr. Peristiany's discoveries, and points out that their chief value will be to provide a basis for further research into the Nandi-speaking peoples.

The book may be confidently recommended to all readers interested in similar peoples in the southern Sudan, with whom the reviewer has unfortunately no firsthand acquaintance, so that he must perforce refrain from commenting on its main thesis.

Amateur anthropologists and administrators in the Sudan, however, wherever they are, will find in this book interesting parallels to customs prevalent in their districts, and many of these parallels will be illuminating. The reviewer was particularly interested in the shaving of the hair of the initiates; the Kipsigis form of mother-in-law avoidance; the fact that they despise the Jaluo for counting the offspring of cattle in paying bride-wealth and not only the adult cattle

—(I fear they would despise many Sudan tribes as well for the same reason); the fact that a rich Kipsigis is expected to lend half his cattle to his friends and never to take them back unless he becomes hard up; the carrying of a peculiar stick to denote a particular social event, as when the man goes to propose marriage of a girl to her parents; the inheritance of female witchcraft through the mother; the naming of clan-subdivisions after different animals; the marking of clan cattle by cutting their ears (as in the Bari); and the sacred stool of the elders. It was interesting also to find that the problem of the goat, although acute as in the Sudan, has not been solved by the Kipsigis. Although a damaging factor in their economics owing to its extensive destruction of saplings, it is apparently tolerated there as here as being indeed 'the poor man's cow.' There seems to be no alternative, and yet the goat is one of the main causes why the desert is continually advancing.

One slip occurs on p. 222 where the author talks of the milk of a goat 'pregnant for the first time,' where he clearly means a goat that has kidded for the first time. The repeated use of vernacular terms instead of their English equivalents makes the book difficult to read. It is most annoying to have to turn back repeatedly, in order to hunt for the explanation of the various terms used in a sentence such as "In every group of kokwotinwek, and exercising his function over exactly the same area as the *Kiruogindet Neo* and the *Kiptayat neo nebo murenet*, there is a *Poyot ap Tumta* (elder of ceremony)" (p. 216). Yet such sentences are the rule rather than the exception. It would have been so much better to have chosen carefully an English equivalent for each of these vernacular terms, and to have given the vernacular term in brackets on the first mention of the institution in question.

A.J.A.

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY EXCAVATION AT FIRKA.

By L. P. Kirwan.

Oxford University Press. Price 28s.

The expedition sent out by the Oxford University Excavations in Nubia, (the first since Oxford Excavations in Nubia, founded by the late Professor F. Ll. Griffith in 1910, had received the official recognition of the University), worked at Firka on the Nile about 100 miles south of Wadi Halfa in the winter season of 1934-1935. Judging therefore by the standard set by archaeologists in the Sudan many of whose excavations carried out before and during the last war still remain unpublished to the serious detriment of Sudan archaeology, this volume, which was published in 1939, has appeared with commendable promptitude.

The quality of the printing and paper is of the excellence that is expected from the Oxford University Press, although full advantage has not been taken of the format of the book to make the best of the photographs reproduced. This is a criticism which could be applied to at least one other recent archaeological publication. The plates could all (with the exception of one map) have appeared on considerably smaller pages : yet especially in the case of the pictures of the cemeteries and the mounds before they were excavated, more detail would have been of value.

With regard to the subject matter, we are told nothing about how the tombs were excavated ; yet, since it is clear that Mr. Kirwan did not complete the excavation of any of the several cemeteries in which he dug, such information will be essential to future excavators.

From an all too brief description of the sites in the Introduction, in which the only mention of method is the statement that before excavation, he cleared round the base of the mounds, Mr. Kirwan

passes straight to a list of objects found in the graves in Chapter I which he entitles 'The Tomb Register.'

From a visit made to Firka by the reviewer it appears that Mr. Kirwan's methods were not unlike those of the robbers whose activities in past times he occasionally mentions in a deprecating way as having entered the tomb from above. He seems only to have paid attention to the main burial in each case, and, since he only tells us what he found in each tomb, the conclusion is inevitable that his chief object was the recovery of grave goods: whereas grave goods are only of value for the light they throw on the history of the period in which they were buried: and it is certain that more light could have been thrown on dark places in the history of the Sudan if Mr. Kirwan, instead of digging from the top into the largest mounds in three or four cemeteries, had confined himself to the thorough excavation of one cemetery, where the mounds should not have been dug from the top, but from the side. There may have been a number of subsidiary burials in each mound, as is usual in barrows of this size, for all we know from Mr. Kirwan's excavations, and he mentions in Chapter II a disturbed Meroitic cemetery under the mounds that were his chief objective: yet only by working from the side and paying careful attention to stratigraphy could all possible archaeological evidence be obtained. No wonder he is uncertain whether some important objects come from the mound graves or from the Meroitic cemetery below.

In the 'Tomb Register' (Chapter I) no dimensions are given of the objects described, and unless an object is figured on the plates (a considerable proportion certainly are figured), it is impossible to discover its size. And when it is found that the scales given on the plates are not all accurate—for instance on plate XVIII the scale of the scaraboids is not 1 : 1 as stated but 2 : 1—one's confidence in the others is weakened. In any case it is trying to have to work out the actual size of an object from a small drawing when the scale is 1 : 8 or 1 : 10. The possibilities of error are considerable even if the scale is accurate.

The descriptions of the objects are also frequently inaccurate and lacking in clarity. To take a few as they come :—Object No. A 11/29 (Khartoum No. 3204) described as ' Hemispherical bronze bell with iron clapper ' is certainly not a bell but a bronze knob that has been affixed with a large iron nail to some object probably as a handle: neither is it hemispherical, as may be seen from Plate XVI. This blessed word ' hemispherical ' is employed on at least two other occasions, on which it may be seen from reference to the plates (objects A 12/12 and A 14/16) that its use is inaccurate.

Similarly ' circular,' which is defined in the dictionary as ' round in superficies,' is here applied to a bronze lamp (A 14/10), a bronze ink pot (14/25), an iron strainer (A 14/26), and a pottery lamp (A 14/34). A reference to plate VIII. 8 will show that to describe this lamp as circular is misleading ; and that the description of the handle as ' high, curving ' is definitely inaccurate.

On object A 11/31 (Khartoum No. 3175), the corrugations are not S-shaped. They might be described as ' wavy.' (On plate XVII they are drawn too straight).

Objects of faience which have been originally of light blue colour, and even now in some cases retain some trace of their original colour, are described as green, with no further qualification (A 11/63 etc.).

A 11/69 (Khartoum No. 3188), described as a ' debased calcite scaraboid,' is certainly not made of calcite, and is probably opaque yellow glass.

In the descriptions of pottery the epithet ' wheel-made ' occurs rarely. This is misleading, for the bulk of the pottery is wheel-made : and it would have been preferable to indicate clearly in every case whether the object was made on the wheel or by hand.

Item A 12/8 (one spear is registered at Khartoum as 3170) is described as ' two iron spears of identical type.' Attention is not drawn to the important fact that these spears are tanged, whereas other spears found were socketed.

Objects A 12/39 are described as ' two red ware cups with horizontal white painted bands. Type 29 f.' Yet the type figure is not decorated with horizontal bands but with white blobs or commas.

Object A 14/2. The jar in the Khartoum Museum (No. 3242) has not been sealed with putty as described, but with some kind of plaster.

The important silver bowl (A 14/6=Khartoum 3165) in addition to being not hemispherical has not four engraved symbols at intervals below the rim as stated, but only two.

Object A 14/50 (Khartoum No. 3246) is described as a basin, one of the main qualifications of which is that it should be less deep than wide, while a reference to Plate XXV will show that the depth of this jar exceeds its width.

Of object B 4/1 (Khartoum No. 3255) the fact that traces of its having been made in two stages are clear is noted as if this was exceptional, whereas it can be clearly seen in other cups of this kind, *e.g.* B 4/2 (Khartoum No. 3256).

The description of the beads is inadequate, and in some cases inaccurate, as where a quartz pendant (K 33 type 9 = Khartoum 3241) is described as a carnelian bead.

On plates XII and XIII the photographs of scarabs A 11/51a and A 11/51b have been transposed.

In Chapter 2 (' The Archaeology of the Firka region ') a superficial account is given of other ancient sites at Firka, where a ' brief excavation ' at the east end of a small church on the west bank, which revealed practically nothing, the examination of a robbed grave on Firka Island which the author attributes to the Blemmyes, and the ruins of an X-group house are described.

At Kosha, where our author makes the astonishing statement that iron railway lines have been ' twisted and buckled by the heat of the sun,' another X-group cemetery was found, and a short account

is given of the two largest mounds, which had already been robbed before and which were opened by Mr. Kirwan. A list of the objects found is given as in the case of the graves opened at Firka.

The chapter concludes with an account of a short tour made by Mr. Kirwan between Firka and Kerma.

In Chapter 3 the chronology of the tombs at Firka and Kosha is discussed. There is little difficulty about attributing cemetery A to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. (In the course of doing so in discussing a certain amphora Mr. Kirwan suggests that it was imported from Egypt 'with its content of corn wine or oil,' and again with similar amphorae on p. 37. If imported, the contents must have been wine, for no one in their senses would think of transporting corn in a fragile vessel like a pot, when bags of skin and other materials were no doubt available, and if the contents had been oil, they would have left visible traces on the fabric of the pot.)

It seems also reasonable to attribute cemetery B to the period when Christianity was coming to Nubia (late 6th century).

Mr. Kirwan's treatment of the evidence for dating the great mound K1 at Kosha is less easy to follow. While its form admittedly suggests X-group, such evidence as had been left by previous plunderers (the bronze flagon K 1/4, perhaps the spouted bronze cups, the spear K 1/8, and the signet rings) seems to suggest a date in the latter half of the Meroitic period.

Incidentally Mr. Kirwan's reason for stating that the goddess on K 1/25 is of Meroitic type is not clear This type of ring is common in Meroitic times, but I know of no Meroitic goddess to which the figure can be attributed. She seems on the other hand possibly to be a Roman representation of the Egyptian sky goddess Nut, surrounded by stars and with a star on her breast, emerging from a tree as often in Egyptian art, and carrying her symbol the cow of heaven on her wand. What Mr. Kirwan describes as the Maat feather looks more like a cornucopia from which the stars are being shed.

The book concludes with a discussion as to who the X-group people were. Mr. Kirwan does not seem to be very clear himself: and this is not surprising, for more study will have to be given to their remains before all doubt can be removed. It is said that the anatomical remains of the X-group people show such a noticeably greater negroid element than those of the Meroitic people that the X-group people must have been negro invaders from the south. It is easy to agree with Mr. Kirwan that they have been the Nobatae or Noubades of Silko, but it is not so easy to follow his argument that they were therefore Nuba from southern Kordofan. No work on the physical remains of the Meroitic peoples has been published, and until that has been done it is premature to say that the X-group people were more negroid than the Meroitic people, who probably consisted of an aristocracy originally of Mediterranean stock and possessing a large number of negro slaves.

It certainly seems that the predominant strain in the X-group *culture* is Meroitic; and that the boundary between the X-group culture and the Aloa culture was in the vicinity of the Fifth cataract.

The reasons that Mr. Kirwan gives for a close connection between the X-group ware and Aloa ware are not convincing, for he seems to relate wheel-made X-group pottery to hand-made Aloa pottery. Until we know more facts, on which alone it will be possible to reconstruct the history of this period with certainty, I would suggest that perhaps the X-group culture was merely a degenerate continuation after the fall of Meroe c.350 A.D., of that branch of the Meroitic culture which existed on the Dongola reach. The evidence no doubt lies hidden under the mound grave cemeteries of Zuma and Tangasi in the old Napata area.

The mounds at Zuma, high pitched and covered with stone, look so much like degenerate pyramids, that they were recorded by Lepsius as pyramids. It seems likely that they date from immediately after the fall of Meroe, and are the graves of the Napatan branch of the Meroitic royal family who up to that date had been buried in pyramids.

I suggest that X-group mounds and pottery are degenerate Meroitic survivals. The X-group people continued the Meroitic tradition of

suttee burial. With the natural increase in the proportion of negro blood in a mixed population living in a climate more favourable to the negro there seems no need as yet to postulate negro invaders from the south.

Their name Noubades or Nobatae may merely mean Napatans. Moved from the Napata region to the Dodekaschoenus by Diocletian, the centre of gravity of Nobadia probably shifted again gradually back southwards via Faras towards the homeland Napata.

To the volume are appended two dissertations, one on the Blemmyes and the other on the nature of Nubian Christianity. The reason for including the former is presumably the fact that it has been suggested that the X-group people were Blemmyes, although since Quatremère* wrote his "*Memoire sur les Blemmyes*" in 1811 there has been little doubt that the Blemmyes were the ancestors of the modern Beja. The only reason for including the latter seems to be that the end of the X-group period was probably contemporary with the introduction of Christianity to Nubia.

A.J.A.

* Et. Quatremère. *Memoires Geographiques et Historiques sur L'Egypte.* Paris 1811. Vol. II.

VITA DI ROMOLO GESSI.

By Carlo Zaghi.

Milan.

(Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale), 1939—XVII Lire 20.

In a letter from Wau written in 1880 Gessi, then governor of Equatoria, announced to his friend, Manfredo Camperio, the editor of ***Esploratore,*** that he was writing his memoirs. Nine months later he died of fever and exhaustion at Suez and the memoirs were never written. In 1891, using Gessi's papers which had been entrusted to him and with the help of Gessi's only surviving son, Captain Felice Gessi, Camperio wrote a history of Gessi's service in the Sudan entitled ***Sette anni nel Sudan Egiziano.*** In 1892 there appeared a garbled mistranslation in English called *Seven years in the Sudan* of which the less said the better. And so to this day there is no authentic life in English of Gordon's right-hand man in Equatoria and Darfur. His own countrymen were little better served for, beyond one or two fragmentary and superficial studies such as Avelardi's *Romolo Gessi nel Sudan niliaco,* Signor Zaghi's is the first complete biography of Gessi.

It is a satisfying piece of work and entirely free from the modern tendency to turn biography into a nasty mixture of chauvinism, bad history and ballyhoo. The author has no ideological axe to grind and Gessi the man is revealed throughout his pages. For Gessi was a highly-strung character who more than once put himself apparently in the wrong by an injudicious exercise of righteous indignation. For instance on one dark day when the intrigues of capricious officialdom in Khartoum drove him to despair he hit out wildly and for a moment accused Messedaglia, his own colleague in Darfur, of intriguing against him. But these were the defects of a very human man.

And what a man! A fighter from the start he served with the British army in the Crimean war. Fortune next took him to the Danube where he settled for a time as the agent of Lloyd's. In 1858 he was with Garibaldi fighting in the Trentino against the Austrians.

Then back to the Danube where Gordon, who had been appointed to a commission on the Danube in 1871 found him running a sawmill at Sulina, but not before he had been to sea and learnt the craft of the marine handy-man, a knowledge which stood him in such good stead on the Upper Nile. His acquaintance with Gordon in Rumania led by inevitable paths to Gessi's introduction to the Sudan. In 1874 the call came and he went with Gordon to Equatoria. In the short space of six years he made an African career.

The pace was terrific. Under Gordon's orders he founded Dufile, circumnavigated Lake Albert and patched up impossible steamers. A chance circumstance brought about his resignation from the Khedivial service. Back he came as an explorer with Pellegrino Matteucci in a vain attempt to penetrate Abyssinia through the Beni Shangul country. Gordon prevailed on him to return to Government and sent him to fight the slavers in the Bahr El Ghazal. He fought Suleiman and destroyed him. The Government having given him the administration of all Equatoria found fault with him and dismissed him. Signor Zaghi leads us rapidly through those lightning days.

Gessi preserved throughout his adventurous life a keen sense of nationality. For all his polyglot accomplishments—he is said to have had ten languages at the tip of his tongue—he never became a cosmopolitan. Though his father had been British consul at Bucharest and though he owed his early education to the generosity of the British Government, he remained the embodiment of the Italian ideal of the *condottiere*, a fighter, a wanderer, a champion of the oppressed, volatile in anger, firm in friendship, Latin to the core.

Seeing that the book is packed full of references to Gessi's Sudan contemporaries, famous and obscure, it is a pity that there is no index, but the gap is filled by an excellent biographical note of forty-five pages. It is a book which deserves an English and, one might hope, an Arabic translation.

R.L.H.

STORIA DELLA POLITICA INGLESE NEL SUDAN (1882 - 1938)

By Ettore Anchieri.

Milano (Bocca) 1939-XVII Lire 14.

Professor Anchieri has written a text-book which provides the Italian man-in-the-piazza with a panorama of British policy in the modern Sudan. The book should be read with MacMichael's *Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* and, for those actively concerned with the administration of this country, it is recommended as a corrective to complacency.

But no comparison between the two books would be just to either author. *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* is the work of a practical administrator intimately familiar with the country. Professor Anchieri has not this advantage. His little manual is apparently written for Italian home consumption. As he states in his preface his aim has been to trace 'serenely' the British policy of penetration against the framework of the vaster and more complicated field of African colonial expansion. According to him the time has now come to insert the Sudan into its proper place as part of the new political system of East Africa. Writing in December, 1938 he does not presume to anticipate events but limits himself to the remark that the Sudan and the whole valley of the Nile have suddenly become a land route of vast importance leading to the Italian Empire. The role of the Sudan is that of a doormat to Italian East Africa.

The book is summary of the results of British policy in the Sudan, but unfortunately the author cannot rid himself of the ghost of perfidious Albion perpetually attempting to thwart Italian ambitions in Africa. Thus he is inclined to interpret history not as it occurred but in the light of subsequent Italian expansion.

The book is divided into three sections: the history of the Sudan to the fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon; subsequent British policy, political and military, in the Sudan and neighbouring territories;

British economic policy with particular reference to the Gezira scheme and Egyptian reactions. Finally the author suggests alternatives for the evolution of the Sudan and stresses the significance of the recent Italian conquest of Abyssinia, particularly in view of future trade relations between I.E.A. and the Sudan, which was expected to play the role of buyer.

The first part contains a sympathetic study of Gordon's character and achievements, his relations with the British Government and the constant misunderstandings and conflict with Cromer. The author tries to show that by her 'humanitarian' anti-slave campaign, Great Britain was in actuality disguising her subtle political penetration and control of the navigation of the Red Sea and adjacent coasts, which inevitably meant hostility to Egypt. He stresses the heartless neglect and lack of interest shown by the British government and the "leathery" Gladstone, who left Gordon to his fate, while concentrating on the occupation of Suakin, as a means of penetration towards the valley of the Nile.

By way of contrast in the second section he shows how the same government suddenly developed the policy of 'saving' Emin Pasha, Governor of Equatoria, who was in no need of salvation, and this moreover was to be done discreetly, and not officially so that the contradiction of recent policy should not be too evident. Then with the same end in view Britain concentrated on Uganda and East Africa, as part of the general scheme of African expansion, in which Germany, France, Belgium and Italy were to play their part. The peacefullness and discretion of Italy is shown in contrast to the other powers. Britain had considered Italy's position in Africa to be the least dangerous to her own interests, and preferable to France, so she had been allowed to acquire Massawa. She was also exploited as a useful sentinel at Kassala, on the Eritrean frontier, which allowed the Anglo-Egyptians '*i.e.*, the English' to have free play in the Sudan.

Next, in 1899, he considers that the condominium was created purely in the interests of England. This thesis is further developed in the third portion of the book, particularly from the economic angle.

In fact Professor Anchieri is anxious to attribute a consistently Machiavellian outlook to the various and sometimes vague aspects of British policy. This consistency of purpose might well be flattering to our statesmen, but it is certainly not history.

With regard to the future evolution of the condominium, Professor Anchieri foresees incorporation into the British Empire, or the greater participation of Egypt in the government and economic life of the Sudan. He ignores the third possible alternative of a continuation of the *status quo*, until such a time as the Sudanese will be entirely able to govern themselves. To him the development of a native bureaucracy has been merely the English method of distracting the attention of the natives from nationalistic ideas of Egyptian origin to purely regional matters.

The book contains a bibliography stressing the Italian military operations against the Mahdist power. Professor Anchieri is at pains to quote his sources and the absence of an index is not a serious omission in a manual of this kind. But the typographical errors which fill the book are inexcusable. An author owes it to his public to read his proofs.

J.M.S.H.
R.L.H.

A FRAMEWORK FOR AN EMPIRE.

La Costruzione Dell 'Impero: L'Opera Dell 'Italia in A.O.I. Dopo La Conquista Dell 'Etiopia. In *Gli annali dell' Africa Italiana II, Nos.* 3-6. Milan (Mondadori), 1939-40—XVIII-XIX.

Gli Annali dell' Africa is a quarterly record of Italian African affairs published under the auspices of the Ministry of Italian Africa. These four numbers, amounting in all to 1321 pages, are devoted to an account of the constructive work carried out by the Italian

East African government since the conquest of Abyssinia. Regarded from the printer's angle alone they are worthy examples of high quality printing and illustration. They contain hundreds of excellent photographs, maps and diagrams. The Ministry of Italian Africa deserves high credit for the editing of what is not only a work of exposition but of propaganda.

No. 1.

Each of the four numbers noticed here is concerned with particular phases of the administration. The opening number deals with the administrative framework and with the general principles of government in their legal, political and economic aspects. The preface by Signor Attilio Teruzzi, Minister of Italian Africa, starts the series with a fervid eulogy of the Duce as the founder of the Empire and a rousing call to Italians to realize the civilizing mission of Resurgent Rome. There is, of course, a portrait of the Duce and, some pages later, one of the Duke of Aosta, Governor-General of Italian East Africa and Viceroy of Ethiopia. It has not been found necessary to include the King-Emperor in this distinguished iconography.

The creative, revolutionary character of Imperial Fascism it proclaimed throughout this work. Yet at first sight the cadre charts of the Ministry of Italian Africa, corresponding roughly to our Colonial Office, reveals nothing but conservative principles of office organization with the accustomed sectional pyramids of responsibility, a principal assistant at the apex of each, and with the Minister at the top of all. But here and there are new and interesting features. To a British reader perhaps the most striking divergence from the practice of the British Colonial Office is the incorporation in the Ministry in Rome of the mechanism of the Corporative State.

The Governor-General, who derives his authority from, and is responsible to, the Minister, has his position in the hierarchy of government defined by law. He is Commander of the armed forces of the Empire and, with certain limitations, chief of the civil administration.

The provincial governors of whom there are seven (Eritrea, Somalia, Shoa, Amhara, Harar, Galla and Sidama) possess full civil and military powers within their own provinces and under the authority of the Governor-General. They are nominated by Royal decree on the recommendation of the Minister after consultation with the Council of Ministers. No specific time limit is laid down to their term of office. The Governor-General is himself governor of the province of Shoa. For administrative convenience direct correspondence in matters of routine is carried on between the Ministry in Rome and the provincial governors, although the Governor-General is kept *au courant.* Each governor is assisted by a provincial civil secretary with title of Vice-Governor, and a commandant of troops. The former is appointed by Royal decree at the nomination of the Minister.

A pleasing, if minor, adjunct of government are the heraldic emblems of the new empire and of its several provinces reproduced by the cartographical service of the Ministry. The Italians with their mediaeval heraldic heritage have shown a ready genius in the devising of their colonial arms.

Of more than ordinary interest is the statement of Italian racial policy which will be found in the same number. At present this doctrine remains for the most part theory; before long much of it will be embodied in colonial legislation. How much of it will survive the test of experience lies in the lap of the future.*

Italian racial policy aims at the preservation of the biological purity of the governing race. The theory of assimilation is at once rejected as false in essence and dangerous in practice. Equally dangerous is the policy of turning the native people into an agricultural and industrial proletariat, the easy prey of Communist propaganda. The native should be led along the road of his own historic development. There must be an inexorable fight against the creation of a race of half-castes, and arguments based on Darwinian theory in favour of the legal recognition of concubinage with native women are countered by an appeal to the experience of other colonial powers. Penal sanctions

*This review was written before the recent disasters to Italian Colonial Arms. *Ed.*

are enforced against offenders against racial purity. Marriage between Italians and native subjects is forbidden. The recognition, legitimation or adoption by Italians of the children of a mixed union is likewise forbidden. The union of Italians with members of the Hamitic, Semitic or any other non-Aryan race is an offence against racial purity. The grant to Italians and native subjects of separate legal status ensures to each group its *amour propre* for, as Mussolini has said: 'Empires are won by arms but are held by prestige.' Racial confusion undermines the prestige of the dominant race.

Thus the legislator has before him the conception of two legal entities, each governed by its own code of law. On one side are Italian citizens, and comparable foreigners, of pure Aryan race and on the other side the vast mosaic of native races of Italian East Africa and foreigners culturally assimilated to them. This dual conception consciously ignores the Jew whose legal existence is overlooked save that, in his dealings with the natives, he has the protection of the penal code.

In practice, it is true, the problem of the half-caste has not yet received detailed legislative attention, but with a sound sense of realism the Italian legislators recognize the dangers latent in the growth of a half-caste population, intermediate in culture and in loyalties between White and Black. Laws are in preparation under which the half-caste will neither assume the status nor inherit the name of his white progenitor. Segregation of the two peoples, it follows logically, is carried into every phase of existence save labour where the natives are permitted to co-operate with the white workers. There are separate hospitals, cinemas, brothels and transport facilities. The Empire, it would appear, places little value on cultural contacts between the Italians and the subject peoples.

No. 2.

The second number of the series is concerned with the more tangible results gained in the realms of public works and communications. For it is in the civil engineering that the Italians have achieved their most spectacular results. The great arterial motorways which

already, after only four years of occupation, bestride the Empire, are a monumental tribute to the men who built them. Even granted the driving urge of military necessity, the presence of a plentiful supply of skilled Italian labour and the fact that the motherland supplied the funds, the making of these roads recalls the greatness of Rome yet the builders of the Empire declared that the capitalistic motives of a quick financial return played no part in their construction. The enormous effort to improve communication—the roads, the air services, the Massawa—Asmara *teleferica*—all originated in the desire to unify the Empire by strengthening the bonds which hold it together so that, wherever the Italian flag flies, there is Rome—and home. Financial profit will come in its own good time.

No. 3.

The doctor will probably prefer to read the third number of the series, and not only the doctor, for this number includes education, religion, justice, public health, veterinary and scientific research.

The chapter on religion is in effect a justification of Italian policy towards Christian missions. We read that the break which occurred in 1937 between the Abyssinian Coptic church and the Patriarchate of Alexandria was made by the overwhelming desire of the Abyssinian clergy. We live and learn. The new government has built many mosques and churches and has restored others. Naturally the Italian conquest has given great impulse to Roman Catholic missions, not only because Roman Catholicism is the religion of the governing race but because the white personnel of the Roman Catholic missions is almost entirely Italian. The government entrusts to these missions a great deal of the educational work carried out among Italians and natives in the Empire.

When we turn to Protestant missions of which several flourished under the Empire of the Negus, we find merely a passing word about a small Waldensian mission and an equally small Hermansburger mission, a Protestant mission catering for German-speaking foreigners

in the Empire. A discreet silence is maintained as to the disappearance of those Protestant missions which have been liquidated under the new regime.

A chapter on the administration of justice has photographs which drive home to the reader the necessity for the existence of a large and well-equipped white police force in addition to the native gendarmerie. One photograph shows 50,000 police dossiers reposing in the archives. Thanks, we read, to the vigilance of the police, sexual promiscuity between Whites and Blacks with all its sinister consequences in the half-caste peril, has been stopped. A short chapter is devoted to municipal organization and another, slightly longer, to the work of the National Fascist Party in keeping party loyalty and discipline alive in the Empire.

No. 4.

The fourth and last number describes the financial structure of Italian East Africa. The reader will find no reference to the financial cost of this plannned adventure in Fascist imperialism. Other sections in this concluding number concern corporative institutions, industry and commerce, mineral resources and the machinery for local credit and insurance. The number is rounded off by a classified bibiliography of Italian East Africa during 1936-9, the years of construction.

In these four volumes the Italians have built the framework of what might have been an empire. Given the peaceful conditions essential to long-term colonial planning they had an opportunity of carrying into the field of practical government the facility which, as this work has revealed, they have already shewn in the making of laws. They had a fair chance of justifying themselves in the eyes of Africa. Peace was their strongest ally.

But they have chosen war.

J.M.S.H.
R.L.H.

IL SUDAN ANGLO-EGIZIANO.

By Cav. Dott. Francesco Sarubbi, Councillor to the Government of Italian East Africa.

Printed in Addis Ababa by the Azienda Speciale topografia del Governo Generale A.O.I., July 1940.

Dr. Sarubbi paid two visits to the Sudan last winter and left behind him the impression of a pleasant and painstaking seeker after knowledge. His avowed purpose was to assist the evolution in Italian East Africa of an administrative service on British lines. As he says in his preface the book was written for the information of officers on our borders but "now that the tricolour waves once more over Kassala this book appears under happy auspices. May it prove useful to those who will be called upon to administer the newly-acquired territories." We will leave it at that.

The book is therefore a textbook of Sudan administration. The Secretariat system, native policy, local government, justice, education, land tenure and taxation are all covered, though the specialised nature of the work left little space for the important functions of the technical services, in some of which the Italians perhaps consider they have little to learn from us.

The policy and practice of devolution are described with some detail and accuracy, and it is remarked that "The Sudan Government has always acted in the interest of the natives to the detriment of Europeans and even of the potential economic development of the country." It would perhaps be too much to expect this benevolence to be regarded as purely disinterested, and the underlying motive is alleged to be anti-Egyptian. The answer to this might be that nationalism is a two edged weapon, or that sauce for the codominal goose is equally suitable for the codominal gander.

The schism between educated and tribal opinion is noted under Education, although the Doctor's belief that Government authority depended entirely on the support of the tribes must have been rudely shattered by the attitude adopted by the "anti-British intelligentsia" when his countrymen attempted an invasion.

The Financial and Legal Administrations and the system of Land Tenure are described with fair accuracy and without criticism.

There are a few minor errors in the text. 'Bats' is not a variant of *Watawit* but merely an English translation of the Arabic word. The Arabic examination at entry to the service does not determine the grade at which the entrant joins the administrative hierarchy. The Sudan Political Service is not a Berlitz School. It is a bit sweeping (whatever a young married man may think) to write that the Government, with an eye to the climate, unconditionally prefers bachelors. True, it does at the outset but its heart melts with the passing of the years. The leave regulations find the author unduly optimistic; the British official's leave does not begin at Cairo.

There is a cryptic footnote reference to "Carlo Rossini, our consular agent in Khartoum from 1907 till 1911," who "submitted annual reports to the Italian Foreign Office about the economic policy of the Sudan Government."

On the whole however the book contrasts favourably with a great deal that has been written by British observers of African administration whose prejudices for or against "economic development" or "exploitation" are apt to more than outweigh their advantages of language and background.

One hopes that Dr. Sarubbi will be able after the war to find an outlet for his definitely untotalitarian abilities.

R.L.H.

K.D.D.H.

SISTER PUBLICATIONS

I.

The Uganda Journal

List of Contents of Volume 8, *No.* 1 *of the* UGANDA JOURNAL *published in September,* 1940. Subscription 10/- per annum.

Editorial.

Garden Making in Uganda ... ... A. S. THOMAS

Wage Labour and the desire for Wives among the Lango ... ... T. T. STEIGER-HAYLEY

The Death of Bishop Hannington ... H. B. THOMAS, O.B.E.

Notes on the Sudanese Corps in Mexico ... H. B. THOMAS, O.B.E.

Notes.

Lake Mutukula ... ... J. M. WATSON

Correspondence and Book Review.

Communications should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary, Uganda Society, Private Post Bag, Kampala.

II.

Tanganyika Notes and Records

List of Contents of Number 9 published in June, 1940.

Clouds and Cloudscapes... ... ... C. GILLMAN, C.B.E.

Notes on Land Tenure and Land Rights among the Sonjo of Tanganyika ... J. E. S. GRIFFITHS, M.B.E.

The Swahili Life ... ... SAADA SALIM BIN OMARI

The " Ngalawa " of the Kilwa Coast... ... J. C. MORGAN

Preliminary List of some Butterflies taken near Malangali—with Notes ... ... C. WHYBROW

The Sukuma Homestead ... ... H. S. SENIOR

Some Notes on Insects as Food ... ... W. VICTOR HARRIS

Further Notes on Fishing near Tanga ... G. W. HATCHELL

Mkungwe Mountain ... ... C. C. O'Hagen

Water Gipsies of the Malagarasi ... ... C. MACQUARIE, M.B.E.

Note on Livingstone's " Tembe " at Kwihara, Tabora ... ... R. B. RICHARDSON

Book Reviews.

MUSEUMS IN KHARTOUM

ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM. (Closed to the public for the present).
One room in west wing of Gordon College (upper storey).
Entrance free.
Normal hours of admission :—
9-1 every day except Mondays and public holidays.
3-6 Saturdays and Sundays.

KHARTOUM MUSEUM (*Ethnological*).
On river front between Gordon College and River Hospital.
Entrance P.T. 2 (Season ticket, entitling bearer also to admission to Khalifa's House :— P.T. 10). Free to troops in uniform.
Hours of admission :—as for Antiquities Museum.

NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM (BIRDS). (Closed to the public for the present).
One room in west wing of Gordon College (upper storey).
Entrance free.
Normal hours of admission :— as for Antiquities Museum.

KHALIFA'S HOUSE MUSEUM, OMDURMAN.
(Historical—Old Government and Mahdia).
Entrance P.T. 2 (Season ticket :— P.T. 10). Free to troops in uniform.
Official hours of admission as above, but attendant lives on premises and admission can usually be obtained at any time.

The Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology (Mr. A. J. Arkell) whose office is at the Khartoum Museum (Phone 2809) welcomes enquiries about any of the above museums (except Natural History). Enquiries about the Natural History Museum should be addressed to the Curator, Natural History Museum (Mr. H. W. Bedford), Agricultural Research Institute, Wad Medani, or to his representative in Khartoum, the Entomologist, Khartoum North.

There are also small museums at Wadi Halfa, Merowe, and Suakin.