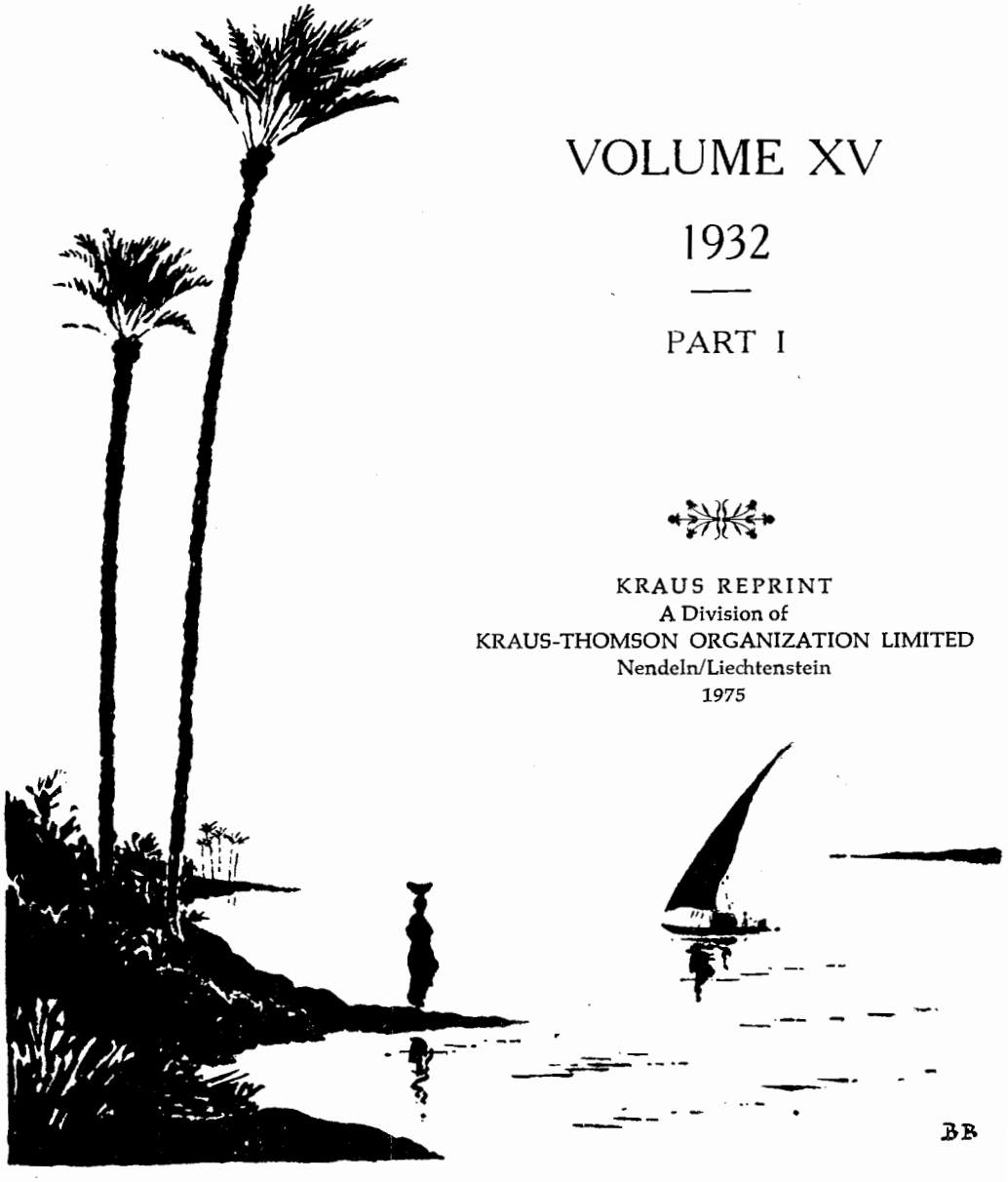
SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS



VOLUME XV

1932

PART I

KRAUS REPRINT
A Division of
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1975

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

FOUNDED 1918.

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Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

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

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

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

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ة) is omitted.

NOTES.

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

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

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

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

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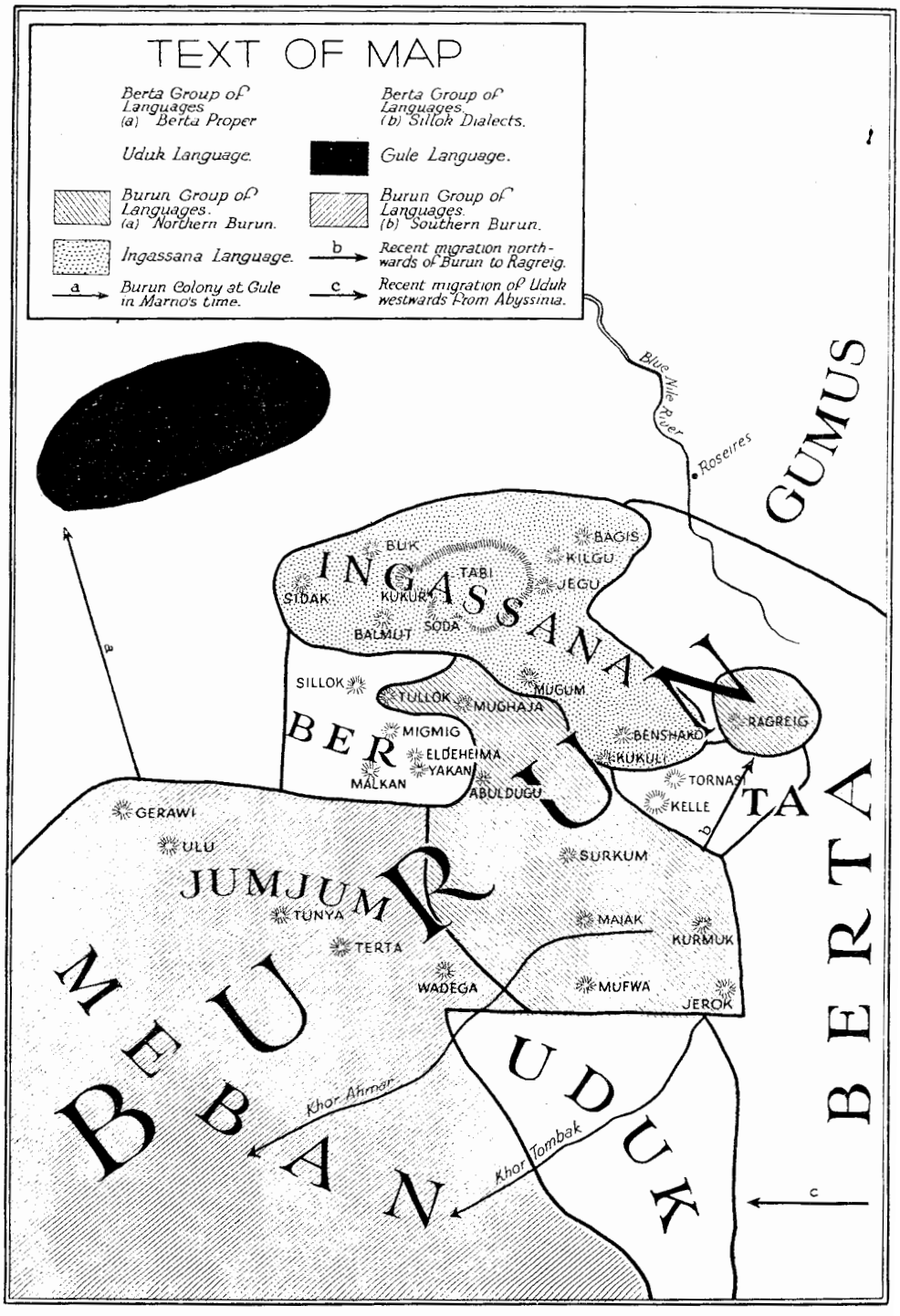
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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XV Part I 1932

ETHNOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN DAR FUNG.*

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

(PLATES I—V.)

THESE ethnological observations were made during a trip in Dar Fung during the winter of 1926. Were our knowledge of the peoples who live between the White and Blue Niles greater, I should consider these notes too slight for record. I made a quick journey round the hills which lie to the south of the Tabi Massif, but my inexperience of the country, as well as of anthropological field work, militated, together with sickness and the short duration of my visit to each hill, against a successful enquiry. Nevertheless, it was possible to make a rough survey of the area by taking down vocabularies in the various languages and dialects spoken on each hill, and by noting here and there a few cultural features of importance. The record of these is liable to a considerable degree of error, and is of very limited value unless a further and deeper investigation is made by those who have an opportunity of getting to know the area better. It is thought, however, that these notes and the conclusions based on them may have some use as a starting point for further enquiry.

Caillaud visited the area to the east of that dealt with in this paper when he accompanied Ismail's expedition in 1821–22. He was preceded by Poncet, and was later followed by Lepsius who reached a place called Sero, to the south of Sennar on the Blue Nile. Ernst Marno in 1870–71 visited the same country as Caillaud (Dar Bertat and Dar Fassoql) along the present Abyssinian boundary, and also the more western hills of the present province of Dar Fung which used to be called Dar el Fungi and Dar el Burum. Neither traveller tells us very much about the customs of the peoples they met on their expeditions. A

* Acknowledgments are made to the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; the Royal Society; and the Trustees of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund.

serious ethnological survey of southern Dar Fung was attempted by Dr. Pirrie between January and March, 1907, but as he died, shortly after his return to England, from illness contracted in Burun country, only a few of his notes were ever published, and those posthumously. Dr. Pirrie travelled from Melut eastwards to Ulu, Malkan, Abuldugu, Koklik, Keili, thence southwards to Kurmuk, then westwards through Korara country to the districts of the southern Burun from which he had started his tour. He thus traversed the whole area visited by myself in 1926.

The people of these hills were, in the main, extremely shy, and I experienced great difficulty in persuading them to come into their villages from the cultivations in which they were living at the time of the year when I visited them. On some occasions it was impossible to establish proper contact with them at all. Arabic is spoken by only one or two persons on each hill, and generally, the vocabularies of informants speaking through its medium proved insufficient for any but the simplest conversations.

I started on December 12th from the Tabi Hills, where I had been spending a few weeks among the Ingassana. A certain amount is already known about the language and customs of the Ingassana. Marno speaks of them and gives a slight vocabulary of their language. Mrs. Seligman has given a much longer list of words, as well as an outline of grammar, in an article in *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*. Professor and Mrs. Seligman wrote a note on Ingassana customs in *Sudan Notes and Records*, and this note has been supplemented by my own paper in the same journal.[1]

I intend later to give a much fuller account of Ingassana culture, so will make only this passing reference to it in the present place.

The first hill which I visited to the south-west of the Tabi Massif is that known as Gebel Sillok. Gebel Sillok is one of the largest of these hills which dot the plain between the White and Blue Niles. Before the Mahdia it had given its protection to several villages perched on its

[1] Ernst Marno. *Reisen im Gebeite des blauen und weissen Nil, im egyptischen Sudan und den angrenzenden Negerländern, in den Jahren* 1869 *bis* 1873, pp. 481–495.

B. Z. Seligman. "Notes on two languages spoken in the Sennar Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, Band ii, Heft iv, 1911-12.

C. G. Seligman. "Note on Jebel Tabi," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII., pp. 111-114, 1924.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard. "A Preliminary Account of the Ingassana Tribe in Fung Province," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. X, pp. 69–83, 1927.

boulders, while a Fuin[1] resident occupied a site at its base. Its prosperity was destroyed by the followers of the Mahdi in common with the whole area in which I journeyed. To-day there is one long straggling village which ambles across the top of the hill. The huts are perched right on the summit and to reach them one must clamber up a steep incline. The old Fuin residence is still represented by a small village at the foot of the hill where reside some of Sheikh Idris's wives and children and retainers, among whom their master makes periodic stays. As he is lord over the whole country, he possesses here also herds of cattle which are tended by herdsmen recruited from the hillsmen of Sillok. Arab caravans pass by frequently, since the hill lies along their route from Mazmum,where they possess their cultivations, to southern pasturage. They can, moreover, rely upon a good supply of water from a large pond at the foot of the hill, and upon the goodwill of the inhabitants. For whilst the Ingassana used to sweep down upon them in the plain and carry off the Arab cattle to their hill fastnesses, and the Meban used to shoot at them with their poisoned arrows, the inhabitants of hills Ulu and Sillok remained generally friendly. The people living on hills Surkum, Abuldugu, and Mughaga, were generally well behaved to these semi-nomad Arabs during the dry season, but were inclined to become troublesome after the rains.

All the huts are built on the top of the hill wherever a flat piece of rock gives sufficient basis for building mud walls on which a conical straw roof is mounted. The walls are made of grey bricks of clay mixed with grass, and their structure is evident at a glance since the interstices are not smoothed over on the outside. The manufacture of these bricks was presumably learnt from the Arabs. A shallow hole is dug in the ground and earth loosened from it with shapened stakes of ebony, called *pēli*, larger ones being wielded by two men, one at the top, standing, and one at the bottom, squatting. This loosened clay is beaten by other workers, for the whole labour is done by a number of persons acting in co-operation, and when the lumps are being broken up water is poured over them. Water is carried by a string of women who move backwards and forwards from the work to the pond. To this clay paste, grass, roughly torn up with the hands, is added, and both are thoroughly mixed

[1] I am going to use the word " Fuin " in these notes as well as the more usual " Fung." I always heard *Fuin* or *Funy* and not *Fung*.

by two or three men treading them. It is then carried a little way from the hole and placed in small wooden rectangles (*pambăga*) and then left to dry for three or four days till heavy consistent bricks, all of the same size, result. Near the huts are granaries and chicken-houses built on to large boulders and looking like anemones on the shells of crustaceans. They build their grinding stones into raised earth tables like those which one sees among the Ingassana. Holes in the rock around the village show where they beat *mudus* bark for tanning. They import this bark from the Tabi hills.

The inhabitants of hill Sillok are generally referred to by everybody in these parts who speaks a little Arabic by the name *Nas Sillok*, but they also come under the all-embracing term *Hameg*. The following are the names by which they refer to neighbouring peoples and the names by which their neighbours refer to them :

They call themselves *Fecăka* (sing. *ulaka*).

They call the Ingassana *Kamănidi* (sing. *Kumănia*).

They call the people on hill Maghaja *Fecamugadja* (sing. *ulamugadja*).

They call the people on hill Abeldugu *Kolo'ari* (sing. *Kolowar*).

They call the people on hill Ulu *Fecaolu* (sing. *Uluolu*).

They call the people on hills Malkan and Yakan *Fecamălga* (sing. *Ulamălga*).

They call the people of hill Bod *Fecabudu* (sing. *Ulabudu*).

They call the people of hill Gule *Fecakomodiyo* (sing. *Ulakomodiyo*).

They call the Arabs *Arkendi* (sing. *Arkèdăn*).

While the Arabs call them *Nas Sillok* the Ingassana and other tribes of this region have their special word to describe the inhabitants of the hill in each of their languages. The people of Sillok refer to hills Tabi, Mughaja, Abuldugu, Ulu, Malkan, Gule and Bod, by the names *Tăbi, Mugadja, Kolo'ari, Olu, Sĭlĭnu, Komodiyo* and *Budu*, respectively.

There is very great variation in physical type, but as I took no measurements I cannot do more than draw attention to the photographs which accompany this paper and remark that, as a rule, the men are tall and strongly built. They display no remarkable distinction in their mode of dress. Young men and women arrange their hair in greasy curls as among the Ingassana, whereas old men cut it short. Both sexes wear a length of *dammur* cloth around their loins. The main difference in ornamentation between the Ingassana and the people dwelling on hill



SILLOK TYPE.



SILLOK TYPE.

Sillok is the absence of a special boy's waist band among the latter, and the girls here wear a leather piece between their legs instead of the *rahat*. This strip of leather is called *kulabigoda*, and it is generally made of goat's skin.

They possess no camels, donkeys, or horses, but they own a few cattle, remnants of large herds which used to graze around their hills before the Mahdia. Their cultivations are at some little distance from the village and lie in the plain beneath, but they are not so far removed from the dwelling houses as is customary at Tabi. They practise tanning, and their womenfolk engage in making baskets from *dom* palm fibre. They appear to have no smiths, and to import all their ironwork from Tabi. Nor does there seem to be clay in the vicinity suitable for the manufacture of pottery since all their pots are imported from the Ingassana at the rate of as much as 10 piastres a *doka*. Their men-folk know how to spin and weave cloth. Their spears, *kolbēdas*, knives and shields, all come from Tabi, the shields being made at Kutholok in the Tabi Hills. They make their own throwing clubs, though they also obtain them from the Ingassana and the Jumjum. One finds two types of throwing club at this hill, the one consisting of a plain curved piece of wood (*mutărĕk*), and the other terminating in a small head (*gabāinya*), but one does not find any terminating in the huge heads so characteristic of Ingassana culture.

The shortness of my stay at Sillok (three days) did not permit more than cursory enquiry into social organisation. Bride-wealth is handed over in the form of labour, a man working for many years on his father-in-law's cultivations, a custom which seems to obtain throughout the entire area between the White and Blue Niles. I had already come across it among the Ingassana, and Sheikh Idris told me that in the days before the Mahdia it was in vogue at hill Gule. At Sillok also we find bride-wealth handed over in the form of stock, etc., but this kind of wealth is small and quantitatively ill-determined in comparison with the labour that a man has to perform for the parents of his bride, and consists of only a few goats, some piastres, and fat, according to the social position of a suitor. When marriage has taken place the husband will spend a year or more in a hut adjacent to that of his father-in-law, afterwards taking his wife to his own home. The custom of mutual whipping has been introduced from the Arabs. All the young men at

marriage feasts flog each other with a whip made of hippopotamus hide in accordance with the well-known and often-described Arab custom, the bridegroom alone abstaining.

The people of Sillok practise mother-in-law avoidance, and this avoidance is apparently extended from a man's mother-in-law proper to the mothers-in-law of his brothers. It was amusing to watch this custom in operation during the process of brick-making which I have described above. Whenever the women were seen approaching from the pond with fresh supplies of water all the male workers, with the exception of two, ran quickly behind some neighbouring bushes and hid there until the women had emptied their water and departed once again towards the pond. All these men had a " mother-in-law " relationship with one or more of the women water-carriers, a situation which can well be understood in so small a community. Owing to the destruction of their villages, and captivity and death of most of the inhabitants of the hill at the hands of the Derwishes, the old rules of exogamy are said to have broken down, and to-day marriage with cousins on either side of the family is permitted, whereas in the past it was forbidden. Possibly Mohammedan usage has also influenced their rules of exogamy though they are still pagans. Property is inherited by a man's son.

I have a short but rather confused note about twins. It is thought that one of them is sure to die because an ancestor has entered the womb of its mother. There are a number of tree stems to be seen, erected near almost every group of houses, sometimes two or three together, and one informant told me that these are put up whenever there are twins. He said that if both twins were to live then they would put up two of these posts, which are called *derga*. He asserted that twins, presumably their spirits, climbed up these posts to see " Allah," and that they do this even when they are grown up. Some of these posts had corn hanging on them, where it was drying for seed. Another informant gave me the impression that these posts had something to do with an ancestor cult. He said that every head of a family had one, but not every man in the community, and that at a harvest ceremony people placed their shields against them, and relatives grouped themselves together near the posts to eat a little bread and drink some beer.

After-births (*nirga*) are buried on the right-hand side of hut doorways.

For burial, a corpse is carried down the hill on his bedstead because there is no soil in which they can dig a grave on the hill itself. They use the niche grave and it is marked outside by two stones, one at either end, a custom probably borrowed from the Arabs. People are buried on their right side facing the south, wrapped in new cloth from head to foot. They do not place anything inside the grave with the corpse. A small child is buried in the hut itself. For some months after death the dead man's son pours water over the grave. Whilst there are many graves below I saw only one on the hill itself, and I was told that this was, in fact, the only grave on the hill, and that it belonged to a big chief of long ago, called Bakit.

The community at Sillok has its special rain-making expert, at present an aged man named Bihega. During the period of the rains he goes down to a pond at the foot of the hill and draws from it a gourdful of water. He pours some of this water into one of his rain holes and he stores the remainder in a gourd on a shelf in his hut. The place of rain-making is in the village and consists of two rock holes, probably at one time used for grinding corn, and an upright stone some three and a half feet in height (*see photograph*). When rain is required he takes the gourd of water from his hut and pours it into one of these two holes, while in the other he kindles a fire and sits down beside it. Here he remains for seven days, accompanied in his vigil from time to time by other experts in magic. He told me that during the seven days and nights at which he remained sitting by the fire he would only wear a goat-skin loin band, and that he would discard the piece of cloth then protecting his head from the sun. Children keep him supplied with food and beer. When I asked him whether he did not get rather cold at nights he replied: "Haven't I got a fire and plenty of beer?" I said to him: "That is true, but the heat must be very trying during the daytime," and he replied: "Well, I don't do anything, I just sit here." At the end of seven days all the people of the village collect near him and he takes some fire from one hole and puts it in the water in the other hole. He then peers into the water and sees the rain coming there, and tells the assembled people what he has seen. He said that he lifts up his hands and calls on "Allah" (*Gianga*) to bring rain (*kwitci*). Finally, he takes some water out of the hole and sprinkles it over the upright stone which he called by the name of *soba*. The old rain-maker himself knew of the *soba* stones at Gule,

but the others who were standing round during my talk with him seemed to be ignorant of them, though they applied the term to the stone around which we were grouped. As far as I could gather the rain-maker will remain sitting by the rock holes until rain actually falls.

There is a village chief (*ʃenēdi*) whose name is Bakik. He says that he once possessed a ceremonial bench such as those which the Ingassana chiefs possess and which they call *dar*, but that it was burnt. He says that it was called *dāri ʃenēdi*, the chief's seat. I was told there was also one at Mughaja called *rego* and that the flat stone associated with the *mek* of Gule is of the same nature. The chief does not move about much, and since Government business means occasionally leaving the hill, it is performed by the *sēgeni*, who appears to have secular functions similar to those of the *sēn* of the Ingassana. When a chief dies and a new one is appointed he is confined for about a month to his hut, though I am not certain whether this takes place before or after he is invested with his new office at a feast, at which he has a red leather *tarbush* placed on his head, and a bull is slaughtered.

The chief has a house of ceremony called *bīlu* in which certain ceremonies take place. This hut was given a new roof every year and a new earth structure when needed. It has now fallen down and there seems some doubt whether another will be built. The only ceremony in connection with it that I could elicit was that unmarried youths went to the hut in the period of the rains and stayed there seven days, and I was told that there was some kind of ritual in which they all sat in the middle of the hut round a fire and without speaking blew on it through their hands. The *bīlu* (for this word appears also to refer to the youths who foregather there) had a dry season hut near a large pond at the bottom of the hill, and they used to sleep on a rock shelf above the pool. It is said that when water was scarce, and the Arabs came to water their camels, they used to drive them away. I think that this dry-season camp was called *alar*.

They appear also to have an office of war chief, called *ʃenēdi weri*, at present held by a man called Hamad.

Passing southwards from hill Sillok I arrived at hill Migmig. Here used to be a flourishing village peopled by the same tribe as that at Sillok, but now the hill is quite depopulated, the village having been destroyed by the Derwishes. A few miles to the south-west of hill



MEBAN TYPE (KODA).



MEBAN TYPE (KODA).

Migmig one arrives at another hill called Delheima, and beyond this, hill Malkan, while slightly eastwards from these is hill Yakan, which I did not visit.[1] On all these three hills live a small remnant of peoples speaking the same language as the people of hill Sillok.

This language is unintelligible to the inhabitants of most other hills between the White and Blue Nile. One man told me that they spoke a language which was understood by the Barāro who live to the east on hill Tornasi, and though this was denied by other persons, my informant was probably right, judging from a comparison between vocabularies taken down on the two hills. However, it shows that, while the two peoples may be of the same linguistic stock, there is to-day no intercourse between them

I took down vocabularies from the hills Sillok, Malkan, and Tornasi, and similarities between the vocabularies of their three dialects or languages, whichever they may be, enable us to group them altogether. I shall consequently refer to them as the Sillok group of dialects, and use this expression to embrace the peoples on hills Sillok, Malkan, Delheima, Yakan, the extinct population of Migmig, and the dwellers at the foot of hills Tornasi and Keili.[2] They form group (*b*) of the Berta group of languages, according to the classification of this paper.

BERTA GROUP OF LANGUAGES.

(*b*) SILLOK GROUP.

English.	*Sillok.*	*Malkan.*	*Tornasi.*
Abdomen	eli	eli	nyeli
Adansonia digitata (*tebeldi*)	ufi	uwă	deng
back	ăra	gŏrūm	ungŏra
Balanites Ægyptiaca (*heglig*)	mŭta	mŭta	mŭta
beard	djegoko	djakoko	andigĭnbŭna
beer	bāgo	bāū	kĭŭma
bird	medje	medje	medje
blood	gyefa	giewa	kefe
boy	nĭelakŏra	nĭela	nyela

[1] Hill Yakan was visited by Marno, but he tells us nothing about its inhabitants. op. cit., p. 273.

[2] I believe that the same dialect is spoken on hills Tornasi and Keili.

English.	*Sillok.*	*Malkan.*	*Tornasi.*
bread (*kisra*)	poda	foda	dŭka
breast	tshŭngi (uwītshi)	iwīdi	unīribŭna
bull	—	—	budu
buttocks	kawāba	(in)gogŏr	angerabŭna
chest	kŭga	kwa	ankwa
chief	fenēdi	fŏnodi	pena
cloth (*dammur*)	mŭgāū	fogŭda	rebu
cow	mŏgo	mo	mo
ear	sigĭ	sĭgĭ	sīti
earth	kŏro	kŏro	kŏro
ebony (*babanus*)	pēbera	fēwera	pēpera
eight	ungertōsi	adŭmlĭlos	tālōdi
elbow	kŭda	kŏdŏ	kakadu
elephant	rongo	rongo	amadi
eye	eri (*pl.* erèti)	erti	inyerti
father	awaba	bāba	—
finger	ngĭena djĭrga	sŏra	ilōdi
fire	ma	ma	ma
five	kumugyĭ kumwugya	āmu	kesèrlōdi
food	ubinyumi	ngam	nyŭma
four	lŭla	lulus	kesèrwa
giraffe	pŭnga	fŏno	ŭnga
girl	aberĭ	āierĭ	aperĭ
goat	la	lāū	lowa
God	Gĭanga	Gyŏnga	Alla (*Ar.*)
gourd	abo	feda	wŭlŭqa
granary	kŭlgŭr	kŭlgura	agŭl
granary (entrance to)	kŭlgerudu	kungurudu	aguluudu
grass	ŭsa	ŏsa	ŭsha
grave	fulu	furda	kwugi
grinding-stone	ulo	ul	pela
Hyphæne thebaica (dome palm)	dŭgara	dŏra	akŏra
hair	gyeka	djŏko	kāing

English.	*Sillok.*	*Malkan.*	*Tornasi.*
hand	cerga cerawāsi	sŏror	ansŏra
head	ola	ola	ola
hen	migi	megi	medje
hoe	legi	kŭdŭma	tŭpŭli
hut	eri	kŏmo	gŭma
hut (entrance to)	erudu	andudu	gŭmautu
hyena	kĭngeli	dāīndju	bungu
iron	bela	bela	legye (?)
jackal	celābi	salāīa	kulaenaelu
knee	kusu	kudu	angusum
knife	kīsum	kĭdŭm	kesa
leg	lu	lu	aludi
leopard	kŏso	kŏdo	lueri
lion	tuke	tiko	tuka
man	fa fakura	wera olēsokŏla	amŭlŏra
meat	o'o	fīē	koko
milk	īri	īri	īri
moon	agwa	agwa	aguwa
nabbak tree	kulmu	āīgoda	gĭnierti
nine	ŭnākēla	atosinalēdi	kesalodiwāti
nose	imanamudi	mudi	amūti
one	lĭgĭdĭ	lēdi	lōdi
ostrich	uri	ură	megienaelu
penis	kurĭ	kuru	anggurabŭna
rain	kwĭca	āro	kwīsa
sandals	suba	sauwādi	sŭfa
sesame (*simsim*)	sa	sāū	sāūwa
seven	djŭmāsi	adŭmodo	kĭŭna
shoulder	bŏre	bŏre	ambŏra
six	gĭlmugeri	ŭtŭmlēdi	kesawāti
sky	āro	fŭrgo	rumbun
snake	mālāga	mālā	māla
spear	weri	wŏro	werda
stick	gumbuga	lŏro	kwŏdīa

English.	*Sillok.*	*Malkan.*	*Tornasi.*
stone	pela	fela	bela
sun	bīdi	bīdi	bītī
tamarind (*ardeb*)	ebo	abu	abu
ten	cārāli	sārāli	yokubu
testicles	turi	tur	anturi
three	ēde	odo	ede
throwing-stick	kŏda	kwoda	kwŏta
tongue	kŭla	kŭla	unkŭla
tree	kāīca	kusa	kāīsha
two	wāsi	wādi	wāti
village	abăh	ōīya	gŭmaelti
water	ci	si	siki
woman	ulèmi	adungela	wera

* * * *

Journeying south-westwards from Malkan one comes to Ulu, a hill which pleased Marno on account of its picturesque situation.

> " A second village lies on the north side on a gentle slope amidst the boulders. The whole neighbourhood pleases with its rough, jagged boulders, partly overgrown with Adansonias, Ardebs, and Euphorbias, as well as dense bush, and with a broad and distant view towards the west over a low-lying, richly wooded country, a magnificent graphic picture. The inhabitants of the hill, like those of Gebel Qarauīd (Gerawi) who come here during the dry season on account of scarcity of water in their own locality, are Hammeg-Fungi and Burum."

There may be some doubt about Marno's meaning when he speaks of Hammeg-Fungi, but I shall reserve a discussion of this point till the end of my paper. At the present day, also, many of the inhabitants of Ulu call themselves Fuin, and they say that their ancestors came originally from Sennar and settled in various outposts in Burun country, subjecting the inhabitants and levying tribute on them. Ulu was said to have been occupied by a branch of the Fuin before the Turkiya and the establishment of the capital of the dynasty at Gule, and possibly represents a colonization from Keili. To-day there is only a small remnant of what was once a flourishing community. A few people who call themselves Fuin are still to be seen living amongst a mixed population

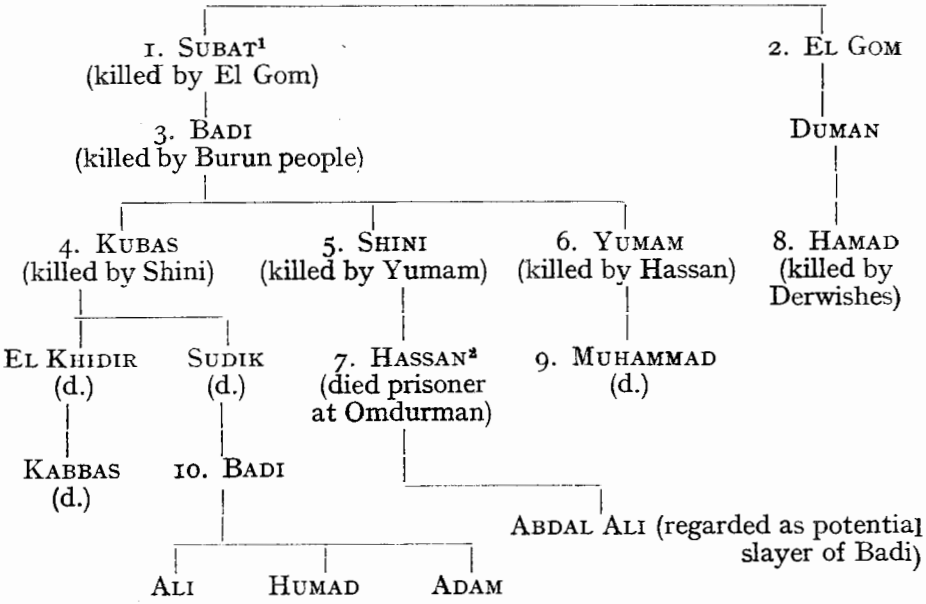
recruited from Burun country and from neighbouring hills. The Mahdia proved fatal to the prosperity of the community, whose inhabitants still point out sadly the old extension of their dwellings. Linguistically the inhabitants of Ulu come into a group of Burun languages, and there can be little doubt that the Fuin as a physical and cultural type, whatever that may have been, and if indeed there ever was a distinct physical and cultural type which can be so labelled, has been absorbed by Burun.

Even before the followers of the Mahdi destroyed their ascendency at Ulu the Fuin aristocracy of the hill was rapidly disappearing through internal strife. My informants told me that the custom of regicide, which they had brought with them from their home on the waters of the Blue Nile, had already considerably diminished their numbers. Later, one of their rulers, called *yetku* in the language of the hill, was killed by the followers of the Mahdi, and another died in captivity at Omdurman. I have a note that after the Mahdia they were again harassed by Dongolawi, whatever this may signify. Possibly it means that they were raided from Abyssinia. At any rate, the custom of regicide ceased during the time of the Mahdi.

The main interest of hill Ulu (where I spent two days) lies in this custom. Though rulers at Ulu seem to have been killed partly for political reasons, their executions occurred with such regularity and in such a traditional manner that we may regard them as being more than the outcome of dynastic intrigue. Probably they point to an established custom which obtained at the hill since its colonization from Sennar, or from some other Fuin community in this area. I was informed that the ruler would be killed by a relative, and only by a relative who had ambitions to occupy the highest office, but that these alone did not constitute a sufficient reason for his murder. It was apparently necessary for the deed to be sanctioned by a family council, since it was regarded less a murder of one individual by another than a joint execution. Consequently, not all rulers were killed, but only those whose conduct was obnoxious to their Fuin relatives. The affair was usually organised and, as far as I could make out, the actual spearing was carried out by a brother of the king by the same father, but of a different mother, though the mother's brother's son and the father's brother's son were also mentioned as performing the deed. I was told that when several brothers united to kill another it was regarded proper

that the eldest of them should succeed him, and that in any case the king should generally be at least of the same grandparents as the relative who killed him.

It was considered likely that the son of the killed king would in his turn kill the slayer of his father. I give below a genealogy of ten rulers of Gebel Ulu showing their descent for five generations from the time when they say that they became a Fuin offshoot from Sennar. In this table the kings are numbered in order of succession, and the manner of their deaths is given in brackets under each name. It can hardly be said that they possess a ruler to-day other than Sheikh Idris of Gule, but Badi is regarded as potential king, and I was told that were the old custom kept up, Abdal Ali, son of Hassan, would be his probable slayer.



The slayer might try and spear the king at night, or might lie in wait for him with a party in the bush, but he would seldom find him alone as the king always went about with an armed body-guard of slaves. He would regularly change his sleeping hut so that no one would know where to find him. He would also change his hut several times during

[1] Said to have come from Sennar.

[2] His other name appears to be Manafana. It is possible that this is the same ruler as the *Mek* Fanamana whom Marno met and who, he says, spoke Arabic to some extent. Is this a title or a proper name? A Dinka whom Lejean met at Kassala told him that Minafan was the Dinka name for Ulu (*Voyage aux Deux Nils* 1865—p. 15).

the night, sleeping only a little while in each hut, and he always took the precaution of keeping armed guards on watch. My informants made a point of mentioning his continual alertness and his fear that he would be slain in his sleep. It was the present head of the Fuin line who told me how little his ancestor dared to sleep at night. " He slept and woke, slept and woke, slept and woke," he said, while another man added how restless the king was at night : " Always on the move, coming and going."

If it had been decided that the king should die he would one night be woken by his armed slaves, who would tell him that there was a party of armed men outside, and he would know that his end had come. He and his slaves fought to the death, and all his slaves were killed with him by his relatives and their retainers. The king was usually killed with a spear. His wives were not slain, but were inherited by a brother of the dead man, though not by his slayer.

I was told that age and sickness were never regarded as reasons for killing a ruler as they are among the Shilluk and Dinka. Nor was he especially protected from the dangers of war, but took part in fighting. It appears that after the murder of a king the new ruler was confined for seven days to his hut, and at the end of that time was brought out and invested with his new powers, the investiture being the occasion of a feast and the slaying of a bull. In the past all leopard skins belonged by right to the king.

There seems little doubt from this account that regicide at Ulu is regarded by the local population as a custom brought by the Fuin from Sennar.

When I summarize the evidences contained in my observations and attempt deductions from them, I shall have occasion to refer to other well authenticated cases of regicide from this area.

It is nevertheless well to note here that we have definite historical accounts of regicide as a custom from Sennar and Fazogli, and that according to the Omda Abdel Gadir Ahmad, who has a wide knowledge of this area, it was once to be found at Fazogli (Fuin aristocracy and Gebelawin (?) people) ; Sennar (Fuin) ; Ulu (Fuin aristocracy and Burun people) ; Keili (Fuin aristocracy and Berta people). In the historical accounts referred to above, we find that the same kind of organised regicide sanctioned by a family council was carried out at

Fazogli and Sennar as at Ulu, and though the execution at Ulu was not carried out by a special official corresponding to the *Sid el Coom* at Sennar, it is possible that the first regicide in my genealogy, a certain El Gom, bears this name as a title.

Apart from this old custom of killing the king at hill Ulu I have little to record about the small and pathetic remnant of its population. They call the Jumjum people *Olga*, the Burun people *Barga*, the Ingassana people *Metābi*, the people of hill Sillok *Dalongi*, the people of hill Abuldugu *Bogoni*, and the people of Surkum by the same name, and they call the people of Kurmuk by the name *Mekormuk*. The Abyssinians they refer to by the term *Makada*.

I have just a few disjointed notes on their customs. A bridegroom works, as is common in this area, for several years on the cultivations of his father-in-law. He also makes a payment of bride-wealth, for which twenty *riyal* was suggested as a suitable amount. At marriage, the bridegroom and the father of the bride both kill an ox. After marriage, the bridegroom remains for about a year in his father-in-law's village. I was told that a man might marry the daughters of his uncles and aunts on both sides of the family. They use the niche grave as a method of burial, and above the grave they place two big stones at either end and stones around it. The corpse is wrapped in cloth and is placed on its right side with its head facing east. They practise the same Arab whipping custom as was mentioned in speaking of hill Sillok. Their soil does not appear to be suitable for the making of pots and they import all the pottery which they require from Wadega, Surkum and Sillok, and even travel as far as the Tabi Massif to buy pots. To-day they possess no *kolbēdas*, and in the past possessed only a few. They told me that they never worked the *trombash*, but always obtained these weapons from the Jumjum. They said that in the past they used to fight the Jumjum and the Meban, but never the people of Sillok who lived too far away.

It is unfortunate that Marno restricts his information about the inhabitants of the Ulu to a single reference to their weapons. He writes :—

> " Besides spears and kulbedas, which are used in Dar Bertat, the natives here make use of bows and arrows as weapons. The bow consists of a cane shoot of about an inch and a half in thickness

and four feet in length, which is cut down at the ends and bent with the tail sinews of monkeys. The arrows are made of light reeds into which are let ebony points poisoned with the milky juice of the Euphorbia venenifica. These arrows are furnished with deep notches, partly in order that the poison may adhere better, partly in order that the brittle wood may break off, either in entrance or in an effort to draw out the arrow, and the point remain firmly stuck, so that by this means the arrow is doubly dangerous."

It was probably from Ulu that the Burun were recruited who, in Marno's time, formed a colony at hill Gule. There were then three villages at Gule, " Helle'l Burum, Helle'l Mek and Helle'l Idris or Helle'l Gaalin, the first two occupied by Hammeg and Burum, the last by the family of the Sheikh, Gaalin, Barabra and Arabs."

There can be little doubt that the main element in the population of Ulu is recruited from the same racial and cultural stock as the Meban (Burun) who live in the south of the hill, a dialect of whose language they speak. These southern or plains Burun, as distinct from the northern or hill Burun, occupy the forest and marsh country in the extreme south of Dar Fung. Pirrie gives their extension as a line from about fifteen miles south of Ulu to lakes Tigli and Worru in a general south-eastern direction. Their country then stretches eastwards and westwards along the Yabus river. Pirrie also pointed out that there are detached colonies of Burun living at hills Wadega (Wadaga), Tunya (Ting-ying), Terta (Tartar), and Funka. He says that these Burun live from two to two and a half days' distance west of the Dinka, three days' distance north of the Nuer and a half a day's distance east of the Korara. Stigand gives two *foci* of Burun concentration, the first, called Miboinka, on the river Chifayuka, and the second, the Shauwa, on the river Yabus. He says that this second group once lived much farther south, just north of the Daga river, but were driven northwards by the Nuer encroachment. The homeland of the Southern Burun, therefore, is enclosed between two parallels 10° 30′ and 9° 30′ N. and parallels 34° and 33° E.

It had been my ambition to extend my tour to include the Southern Burun[1] within its circuit since they are ethnologically-speaking an

[1] The proper name for these people, given to Stigand and myself, is *Meban*, and I shall refer to them by this term.

almost unknown people. Sickness compelled me to abandon the project, however, and I had to be content with a short chat with a few Meban from Koda whom Sheikh Idris had summoned to Ulu during my stay there. My scanty notes will be supplemented from information given by E. Marno, Dr. Pirrie, Capt. J. P. Mostyn, and Major C. H. Stigand. In spite of these accounts our knowledge of the Burun is meagre.[1]

It was Marno who first pointed out that the Burun contrast strikingly from the Nilotic Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka who border them on the west and south.

> "Only the chief and two notables wore short pieces of cloth coloured with red ochre round their loins, and the rest were completely naked. All were of more than medium height with full muscular bodies and with broad shoulders, hips, and developed calves. Consequently, they were quite different in appearance from the Dinka and Nuer who, though equally tall, are narrow chested, long-armed, long-legged, and slender. Their hair was short, woolly and curly, and coloured with red ochre, which was frequently used, as among the Berta, to decorate their bodies. Sheikh Malik attributed their muscular figures to the quantity of beer which they drank and the large amount of pork which they eat, and he described their country to me as fruitful and well cultivated."

Marno's observation is fully borne out by the exact measurements of Dr. Pirrie. Dr. Pirrie's measurements on forty-three male Burun show an average stature of 1,759·4 mm. and a cephalic index of 79·1 cm. The Burun, therefore, are of medium height and mesaticephalic. It is possible that these measurements were made on the northern Burun as well as on the southern Burun, but we can be fairly certain that only Burun of one area or the other were included, since Dr. Pirrie had made a linguistic survey and had marked out the area in which the Burun language was spoken in contrast to the Uduk (Korara) and other languages of this

[1] Ernst Marno. op. cit.
David Waterston. "Report upon the Physical Characters of some of the Nilotic Negroid Tribes."
Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories, pp. 325-376, 1908.
D. J. Vallance. "Notes on the Ethnographical Specimens collected by Dr. A. Martier Pirrie," *id.*, pp. 377-384. 1908.
Captain J. P. Mostyn. "Some Notes on Burun Customs and Beliefs." *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. 4, pp. 209-211. 1921.
C. H. Stigand. "Notes on the Burun." *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. 5, pp. 223-224 1922.



VIEW OF SILLOK VILLAGE.



"SOBA" STONE AT RAIN-MAKING SITE (SILLOK).

area. In Dr. Waterston's account of Dr. Pirrie's expedition the actual place where eleven of these Burun were measured is given as Sahahir, but I have not been able to identify it.

The southern Burun reminded Stigand of the Lugwari, though he considered them to be of rather bigger build. He remarked that they had several customs in common with the Lugwari, such as piercing their ears for the insertion of brass rings, and that their use of arrows and throwing sticks distinguishes them from the Nilotes who are spearsmen He pointed out, on the other hand, that the men go about nude, and smear their bodies with a mixture of ochre and oil.

We know practically nothing about Burun culture. Marno, who did not visit their country, but had the opportunity of seeing a few of them, tells us that they used bows and poisoned arrows exactly like those he had seen at Ulu, that they had barbed spears made by the Burun of the Yabus, who were said to work iron, and that many of them possessed necklaces of blue and red glass beads. He remarked also that they were great tobacco smokers and that their pipes were often two-headed.

We know that while the men go about naked the women wear a small skin covering passed between the legs, and that both sexes remove the two central incisor teeth from the lower jaw, and decorate their hair and bodies with red earth and ashes.

Pirrie said that " there is not a head of cattle in the whole country," but those Burun whom I met at Ulu, whilst making it clear that their economic life was mainly agricultural, nevertheless said that they possessed cattle, goats, pigs and hens, and that they had always possessed them. I gathered from these same men that all their spears and other iron articles are imported, but that their women-folk make pottery.

Their villages appear to be widely separated from each other. I was told that they are circular in shape and comprise from five to twenty huts which are not protected by a palisade. It is probable that a village forms part of a larger social group which is the unit which operates in blood-feuds. As far as I could gather, they have no system of compensation for homicide, and Capt. Mostyn tells us that blood-feuds will continue for years.

We know nothing for certain about the marriage customs of these southern Burun, but I certainly gathered from those whom I met that

they have the same custom of a man working on the cultivations of his future father-in-law for some years prior to his marriage as obtains in other parts of these regions. Probably a certain amount of wealth is also handed over from the bridgeroom's party to the bride's party when the union takes place, for Capt. Mostyn records that a man collects spears, beads, axes, bracelets, pigs and beer to present to the girl's father. If he is approved of by the father he then appears to kidnap the girl in some sort of prescribed manner and to take her to his village. I was told that a man would not live at all in his parents-in-law's village, but would commence married life in his own. It seems also that they do not avoid their mothers-in-law in the marked manner common in this area, but that a man avoids the wife of the brother of his wife until a chicken has been killed and eaten with her. They will not marry any near relative on either side of the family, and wives go to live with the brother of their dead husband. Property is inherited by a man's sons.

Like Messrs Pirrie and Mostyn I was told that a man would be buried in his own hut in a circular shaft. The body is placed on its side, the legs being drawn up so that one elbow rests on the limbs while the hand supports the head. Inside a grave they place a man's broken spear and other possessions. Capt. Mostyn says that they place in the grave the dead man's spears, bow and arrows, iron rings, beads, etc., and that his relatives will keep in repair the hut in which he has been buried until the village changes its site. He remarks that mourners shave their bodies.

It seems certain that the Supreme Being of these southern Burun is associated with the firmament and is probably the sun itself. Capt. Mostyn says that the rain and sun are both considered as gods : " The sun being the bigger god of the two as he appears daily, whilst the rain only comes in the rainy season. The rain god is called Doam."[1]

As one journeys from Ulu eastwards towards the Jumjum villages one crosses the river bed where in Marno's time was situated the dry-season camp of Sheikh Malik Abu Rof, chief of the Arab tribe of Abu Rof, or Rufa'a Arabs as they used sometimes to be called. This tribe had another large dry-season camp at Khor-el-Delēb, and their cultural influence on the negro peoples of Dar Fung has been important enough to merit them a few words in passing. The Abu Rof in Marno's day

[1] This is probably a Nilotic stem, cp. Nuer word " to rain " = *ci nhial dam.*

were easily the most numerous tribe in the Gesira, covering with few exceptions the whole area between the White and Blue Niles. In the rainy season they lived in the neighbourhood of Wad Medineh and Khartoum. When the rains began to fail they moved southwards in the direction of Sennar where they had permanent dwellings at hills Saqadi and Maijeh. As drought became more severe they travelled southwards towards Sero, and after holding their annual market at Haqra they moved first to Masmum, where they also had settlements, and then sought southern pastures on the Khor-el-Delēb and the Burun hills. Besides seeking new pastures they had raids upon the Burun and Dinka as a further objective. When the rains began to set in again they moved north with their camels and herds of cattle like the Dabaina, Schukurieh and Homaran of this latitude.

The influence of Arabic culture on the negroes was consequently limited. Moreover, attack was not all on one side, for as soon as the rains commenced the negroes retaliated by raiding their permanent southern settlements. The Ingassana made predatory raids from the Blue Nile in the east to Gule in the west while, according to Marno, the Dinka spread terror among the peaceable villagers of the southern Gesira. Even in the dry season the Abu Rof and the wild Baggara who took service with them did not have it all their own way, as is shown by the fact that shortly before Marno's arrival a strong force which Malik had sent to raid the Burun had been attacked in crossing a khor and had sustained very heavy losses besides losing 150 camels, many horses, a considerable quantity of weapons and all their ammunition.

* * * *

To the south-east of Gebel Ulu live the Jumjum people at the feet of hills Tunya, Terta and Wadega, and along Khor Jumjum. They say that they came from the west, and Arabs told me that they were of Dinka origin. They claim to be related to the Burun of Ulu and to the south, but not to the people living on hill Sillok, a statement borne out by a comparison of the vocabularies taken down on these hills as well as by their general appearance and culture. As far as I could gather they called themselves *Munpau,* but I feel doubtful whether I really discovered their proper cognomen. They call the people of Ulu *Begu* or *Munulu,* the Burun *Tonko,* the people of Wadega *Munwadgai,* and the Ingassana *Muntabi.* From these names it appears that *Mun*

means "people," so that the word by which they call themselves, *Munpau*, means "the people of Pau."

The Jumjum of Khor Jumjum occupy one straggling village, and there is at least one similar village at Gebel Tunya, and I believe, two or three. Each village consists of homesteads, separated from each other by about a hundred yards, dotted about in the bush amid *Tebeldis* and *Ardebs*. Each homestead consists of from two to three huts, a granary, and huts for the shelter of pigs and goats. These villages were formerly nearer to hill Tunya, but they have been moved farther from its foot to where water is more plentiful.

The women scarify their breasts and back without stereotyped patterns. They pierce noses and ears for inserting pieces of stick and grass. Both sexes smear their heads and bodies with red earth, and sometimes with white ashes also. Men's dress consists generally of a goatskin to which a leather tail is attached at the back. Women's dress is a cotton garment consisting of strips of twisted cotton passed between the legs and round the waist, giving a tail-like effect behind.

Unlike other peoples of this area they have well-made wooden stools. These belong to the women, and were a man to sit on one of them he would have to compensate the owner. The Jumjum also possess long digging sticks with spear-shaped ebony heads of a kind which I have not observed anywhere else in the Sudan, though Mr. Driberg tells me that similar implements are used by the Didinga, and probably by the Beir also.

In pot-making they use a fine yellow clay, lumps of which are ground by a woman in a rock hole with a grinding stone. The resulting powder is then placed in a hole and water added, as well as finely chopped grass. All three ingredients are mixed up until a big lump of clay, ready for moulding, is produced. In making pots women use an old potsherd as a basis and build it up by means of coils (rings) of clay. They smooth inside and outside, after adding several coils, with the convex side of a shell taken from a neighbouring watercourse. Before placing in position each new ring of clay they flatten the top of the pot with thumb and forefinger. The pots stand in the sun for two or three days. Big pots are smoothed with a stone, their bottoms are chopped away, and the cracks due to wind are filled up with the same clay mixture.

It was not possible to make any enquiries into social organisation,

and I put down the following observations in the hope that someone may find them useful as points from which to start enquiry. I gathered that the Jumjum have exogamous clans, some of which are Yilkom, Ginik, Leral, Taugidi, but this is largely conjectural. The levirate is practised, a man marrying the wife of his dead brother. As on other hills in this area a man will work for several years on the cultivations of his future father-in-law, and his relatives will assist him in this labour. Bride-wealth also consists of cows, goats, and spears, but this appears to be of less importance than the labour which a young man is expected to perform. There is some kind of wedding ceremony at which an ox is killed at the entrance to the hut of the bride's mother, but neither of the bride's parents eat of it. There is no kind of temporary matrilocal residence in the homestead of the bride's parents, but a man takes his new wife straightway after marriage to his own home. After-births are buried just outside the hut. Sacrifices of goats are made on the birth of twins, and it used to be considered proper for two male twins to be married on the same day. In the event of the death of a small child it is buried inside the hut.

Boys and girls both have two central incisors (lower ?) removed by a man clever at the work. A boy is expected not to show pain at the operation, and they say that if he does not undergo it he will not find it easy to marry since the girls will laugh at him and call him a dog. I have the following terms for grades of maturity in a note: *Menentole* (small boy), *menden* (boy), *doranyu* (youth, after teeth extraction), *on* (man, after marriage), *dan* (old man), *tultuli* (small girl), *tul* (girl, after teeth extraction), *nianu* (married woman), *tin* (old woman).

While I was at Khor Jumjum a funeral took place. The grave was dug by men using spades consisting of a tree branch as haft, and with the spade end pushed through a fruit of the *dom* palm. The grave was rectangular, almost square. It was dug down to the depth of three or four feet, and then a narrow recess was dug on the east side to a depth of some two feet. A procession brought out the corpse on an *angareeb* led by men and followed by wailing women. The half-brother of the dead man danced in front, while his sister ran to the grave-side threatening to throw herself in and to commit suicide. She was led away wailing by the other women. When they reached the graveside the bedstead was held over the grave, while a man inside

arranged the corpse wrapped in cloth. Over the inner grave he laid a row of stakes and plastered these over with clay. Then they filled in the grave and smoothed the heap with a spade which was afterwards broken in halves, the iron being first taken out, and these two halves were thrown on to the top of the grave with some grass.

A man is buried facing south and his broken spear, hoe and ornaments are placed in the grave. Later, they will place some branches on top of the grave and drive in a few stakes around it. The form of grave described above is said to have been introduced, for in the old days the Jumjum were buried in the same way as the Meban. On the day following a funeral the dead man's relatives kill a goat, or bullock if he has one, near his house and eat it. Porridge is placed near where he used to sleep, and his sister eats it later though it appears that the spirit of the dead man is thought to come and look at it first, if not to partake of it. The dead man sometimes appears to his relatives in a dream, and in this case they will kill an ox near his grave. Some of the meat will be left near his grave overnight and will be eaten in the morning.

I was told that in the past a man guilty of homicide would immediately flee, but after a short exile, during which time five cows or twenty goats would be paid as compensation, he would afterwards return unmolested. Witches are called *ămmu* and are thought to be hereditary, and appear sometimes to have been killed. A man who takes an oath does so by cutting the head off a fowl and putting its head on the end of a spear and sticking it on the roof of the doorway.

The Jumjum at Wadega have a rain-maker called *Mun nial* or *Mun dyong* which appear to mean, respectively, "man of rain" or "man of God." It is quite possible that there are two distinct departmental experts with these names in some parts of Jumjum country, for I was told that at Khor Jumjum there is no *Mun nial* but only a *Mun dyong* whose name is Pĭta. However, at Wadega at present the two names appear to refer to the same man, Uli, who has a subordinate called Tabia, while at Tinya a man and his sister are said to hold these positions. Pĭta of Khor Jumjum and the rain-maker Marik, at Tinya, say that they do not possess any rainstones, but I was told by other people that in fact they do use stones for making rain. In any case, all my remarks about rain-making of the Jumjum are restricted in their reference to that section which lives at Wadega where I spent three days.

Uli told me that his ancestors had always had " rain " and " God " in them. On the death of a rain-maker the office goes to one of his sons, but not of necessity to the eldest one. I have a note, but I do not know its significance, that if the rain-maker has no sons then his sister's son and not his brother will succeed him. The present government Sheikh is the eldest son of the last rain-maker, but is not a *Mun nial.* The reason given to me was that he had not enough sense to be a rain-maker. It is quite possible that this expert is hedged round by some kind of taboos which make it more convenient to put up another man to deal with the Government.

Uli, who was a man of oustanding intelligence, took me first to see his " shrine of God," which was a branched post with some pieces of goatskin on it, the remains of a sacrifice on behalf of some sick man. There was a piece of raised ground in front of the shrine, like a miniature water-shed, on which, so Uli says, the rain never falls, so that if a fire is burning there during a shower of rain it would not be put out. Having expressed wonder at his words I then accompanied him a few yards further to the bottom of the hill where he kept his rainstones in a hole in the rock. These were covered by a potsherd over which some large stones had been laid and comprised about thirty rounded pebbles of various shapes and sizes. They were large rounded pebbles such as one sees on a sea-shore, but I had to estimate their number and proportions very roughly as it was difficult to see into the hole properly and my guide did not seem very anxious that I should finger them. I offered him a large sum of money to be allowed to take one of his pebbles away, pointing out that he had a big collection, but my offer was refused.

When he wants to make rain, he takes these stones from their hole and places them in an old grinding stone and pours water over them and washes them with his hands. Only Uli may touch the stones. Then his assistant, Tabia, takes a hen up to the hole from which the stones have been extracted, puts it in, takes it out again, and finally brings it down to Uli who cuts its throat and also the throat of a goat over the rainstones, so that some of the blood drips on to the stones and into the water in the grinding stone. The stones remain in the open while rain is required, and after the rainy season is over they are replaced in their rock hole.

The rain-maker evidently attains to a degree of sanctity, though to what degree I have not enough information to decide. I was told that

his office was always hereditary, that there was a special ceremony of investiture, that his hut was sanctuary, and that no one would dare to steal anything of his. He also seems to have exercised general functions of a political nature as well as of a religious nature, and may be regarded as politico-religious chief of the type which is common in the Nuba hills.

Even though it is probable that rain-making rites will always comprise some common elements, owing to the functional relationship of rites to the natural process which they are designed to produce, nevertheless, the similarity, even in details, between the technique described above and the mode of making rain recorded by Prof. Seligman among the Nuba, is striking.[1]

It has been noted that the rain-maker is called either *Mun nial* (" man of rain ") or *Mun dyong* (" man of God "). *Dyong*[2] is thought of as living in the sky, though he sometimes comes to earth and is seen by people. Were a man to see him he would be frightened, but would not run away, as he would die if he did so. He just walks on quietly. *Dyong* is like a man, has a beard, is dressed in white, and sits on a horse. He is also thought of as being frequently resident on the top of Gebel Tunya, where no one goes. Some way up the hill is a large stone with a depression in it containing water, and here men go to cure their ailments. The sufferer takes a goat up with him, cuts its throat and lets a little blood flow into the water. He then kneels down and drinks a little of the blood mixed with water. I was told that this stone was called *pöm dyong*—" God's stone."

I took a few measurements of head length and breadth among the Jumjum to determine their cephalic index.

TUNYA.

No.	*Head Length.*	*Head Breadth.*	*Cephalic Index.*
1	19·3	15·6	80·83
2	18·8	14·8	78·72
3	17·5	14·0	80·0
4	18·6	14·4	77·42
5	18·3	14·4	78·69
6	18·6	13·6	73·12
7	18·7	14·2	75·94

Average Cephalic Index = 77·81.

[1] C. G. Seligman. *Art.* " Nuba " in *Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.* Vol. IX. 1917.

[2] Though I have used the word *dyong* for the Jumjum God, and believe this to be the correct word, I find nevertheless that in my manuscript notes I have on a few occasions written *giong*, and once even *guong*. The Nilotic affinities of both this word and *nial* will be noticed.

WADEGA.

No.	*Head Length.*	*Head Breadth.*	*Cephalic Index.*
8	18·3	14·1	77·05
9	19·9	14·3	71·86
10	19·2	14·3	74·48
11	18·9	14·1	74·60
12	18·5	13·2	71·35
13	18·2	13·7	75·27
14	18·9	13·8	73·02
15	17·7	13·2	74·58
16	18·4	13·8	75·00
17	19·0	13·7	72·11

Average Cephalic Index = 73·93.

The average cephalic index for the seventeen males measured is 75·53. In the first group only one man comes within the range of dolichocephaly, while only three in the second group are mesaticephals. Even allowing for a considerable amount of error in my measurements it is difficult to reconcile the strong tendency to dolichocephaly which they show with the measurements of Dr. Pirrie which give a cephalic index for 43 Burun of 79·1; but it must be remembered that there is no means of telling from what places Pirrie drew his subjects, and that among his 11 measurements made at Sahahir, which is more likely to be somewhere in the country of the southern Burun than in the hills of the north, there are three dolichocephals, while the average index is only 76.

The Burun at Ulu, the Meban dwelling some 15 miles to the south at Koda, and the Jumjum, speak dialects of the same language. This opinion is based on lists of words, given beneath, and on statements by the natives themselves that they are able to understand one another, whereas the language of the northern Burun is unintelligible to them. It is probable that this same language was spoken at one time by the colony of Burun at hill Gule. Judging from a list of words compiled by Mr. Chataway among the Burun of the southern plains, which he was kind enough to allow me to see, it is evident that there is another dialect different to that recorded by me for the Burun who live at Koda.

I shall refer to Group (*b*) (southern Burun) of the Burun languages to denote those dialects spoken by the Meban (Burun who live to the south of the Dar Fung hills), the people living at hill Ulu, and the Jumjum people who occupy hills Wadega, Tunya, and Terta, and khor Jumjum, and possibly by the absorbed Burun who once occupied a section of hill Gule.

BURUN GROUP OF LANGUAGES.

(*b*) Southern Burun.

English.	*Ulu.*	*Southern Burun.*	*Jumjum.*
abdomen	kŭnu kŭni	kŭnu	gyinyi
Adansonia dig. (*tebeldi*)	bula bola	bwulu	bwolu
back	ngŭni ngunu	ngōīu	ngeīyo
Balanites æg. (*heglig*)	tāūnu	tōnu	tāūnu
beard	yelu djek	dĭgunu (*Ar.* ?)	ölu djek
beer	mök	mŏyu	māk
bird	din	dĭn (o)	dĭn
blood	yĭmga	yĭmga	yĭmgu
boy	tulŭka kāīcotoli	kotié	mŭnentuli
bread (*kisra*)	um	um	ŭma
breast	tenu tĭno	tĭnu	tenĭ tĭnĭ
bull	—	—	yan
buttocks	wŭnu wŭti	ŭmu	wŭti
chest	gyo : nu gyemi	gyò : nu	yemi gyŏni
chief	yetku	yĭtku	yetko
cloth (*dammur*)	—	burnga	burngu
cow	deng	dĭeng	deng
ear	gyenu gyĭna	gyenyu	gyenyi gyetki
earth	luma	cotu	lŭmu
ebony (*babamus*)	dyŏm	cön	dyŏm
eight	wĭtkenukŭdŭk	wĭtkenanrogo	wongĭo
elbow	untuli tuntulu	tulumu	tuntuli
elephant	len	lĭeng (o)	leny
eye	wŏngu wŭngi	wongu	wongi

English	*Ulu.*	*Southern Burun.*	*Jumjum.*
father	uwe : n ŭba	wĭego	uwek
finger	ga : li ĭntutulĭ	ĭntutoli	ĭntitolĭ
fire	māin	māin	māin
five	kŏdōs	dŏi	doi (k)
food	um	ngami	ŭm
four	kŭngŭn	ngāno	ngŭn
giraffe	ĭyen	yĭen	yĭen
girl	tol	—	tol
goat	del	dĭel	del
God	Dyong	—	Dyŏng
gourd	dŏn	dwŭn	dŭn
granary	tunya	tungo	tōinyo
granary (entrance to)	tōiyătuke	tunyatuke	tōinyotuke
grass	lum	luom	lom
grave	köl	köla	kŭl
grinding-stone	pöm	pöm	pöm
Hyphæne th. (*dom* palm)	duramŭn	kwŭng	duramŭn
hair	gyek	gyēyu	gyek
hand	intu	ĭntu	ĭnti
head	wĭngi wĭnu	winyo	wĭnyi wenyi
hen	ată	akti	atu
hoe	tŭbŭl	alla	kwōĭco
hut	ŭn	ŏnu	ŭn
hut (entrance to)	ŭntuke	ŭntuke	ŭntuke
hyena	īn ēn	ēn	ēn
iron	bĭl	tĭngqon	bil
jackal	wĭo	weo	wĭo
knee	ungu ungi	ongu	ongi
knife	tŭferel	tongtŏli	cĭshŭm
leg	kĭu	telu	telĭ
leopard	gyeltōli kain	kāiny	kāiny

English	*Ulu.*	*Southern Burun.*	*Jumjum.*
lion	gyel	gyel	gyel
man	mĭnban meban ŏn	—	munbān ŏn
meat	yŭngu yĭngă	yŭnggi	yŭngu
milk	āk	āk	āk
moon	pan	pan	pan
Nabbak tree	lŭnk	langen	lang langō
nine	wĭtkenukungŭn	wĭtkenangāno	wongkel
nose	ŏmdoko	omgu	umdeni umdŏni
one	kelo	kĭelo	kelo
ostrich	wera	wöra	oru
penis	duli delu	dŭlu	dŭli
rain	nyal	nyal	nyal
sandals	wāīgo	wenŭn	wāīnu
sesame	nyumga	nyumgu	nyŭmgu
seven	wŭngkel	wĭtkenāīo	ngŭnguk
shoulder	bungu bungi	bwĭu	bwui
sky	pulo	pŏlu	pŏlo
snake	kang	kang	kang
six	kŏdōīnkel	wīnankielo	dōīngel
spear	tŏng	twŏng	tŏng
stick	akia	aca	āīca
stone	gwenun gwīnun pöm	gyenun	pöm
sun	ŭng	ŭngu	ŭng
tamarind (*ardeb*)	en	yen	en
ten	kŏsāī	anginkoda	cai
testicles	ole (ulgu)	ulu	ole
three	kŭduk	drogo	dŭk
throwing-stick	buŏm	buom	bŏm

English.	*Ulu.*	*Southern Burun.*	*Jumjum.*
tongue	lĭmi līmu	lemu	lĭmĭ
tree	gyan	dyan	dyan
two	kĭo	yĭo	yio
village	ban	bān	ban pa
water	piŭk	peigo	pĭek pīk
woman	ĭng	—	ĭng

	Jumjum (*plural*)		*Ulu* (*plural*)	
English.	*Singular.*	*Plural.*	*Singular.*	*Plural.*
house	ŭn	argu	ŭn	örga
man	ŏn	ŏk	ŏn	ŏk
cow	deng	dŭk	deng	dek
stone	pöm	pŭmku	gwīnŭn	gwīnŭng
spear	tŏng	tŏgu	tŏng	tŏnggo
tree	dyan	dyangu	gyan	gyenga
stool	kākĭo	kŭkŭm	—	—
boy	mendĭn	merko	—	—
village	ban	ban	—	—
throwing-stick	bŏm	bŏmko	—	—
eye	wŏngi	wonggi	wŏngu	wŏngga
ear	gyenyi	gyĭdku	—	—
hyena	ēn	iēgo	—	—
snake	kang	kŭgu	—	—
woman	ĭng	māngu	—	—
bird	dĭn	dĭrgu	din	dĭrga
hen	atu	atung	—	—
Tamarind	en	erku	—	—
Nabbak tree	lango	langko	—	—
hoe	kwōĭco	kutŭm	—	—
goat	—	—	del	dēk

While at hill Wadega I paid a quick visit to a people who live a few miles to the south and who are generally known as "Korara." Following the advice of Messrs. J. P. W. Chataway and A. W. M. Disney

I shall refer to these people as Uduk, which they inform me is their correct name. While these people are sometimes spoken of as Burun by Europeans, and legitimately so since "Burun" is a political and not an ethnic title in its historical usage, nevertheless, they have long been known to speak a language distinct from the other languages of these regions. This was pointed out as early as 1907 by the ill-fated Dr. Pirrie whose terminology of linguistic classification I have followed in this paper. I prefer, as he did, to retain the term "Burun" to refer to the two related languages, listed in this paper under Burun Languages, Group (*b*) Southern Burun, Group (*a*) Northern Burun, which are characterized by their Nilotic affinities. Pirrie could see no relationship between the Uduk language and these Burun languages, and my vocabularies fully bear out his contention.[1]

The Uduk live on the Khor Ahmar and Khor Tombak. I know nothing of their culture, but judging from their vocabulary I had little doubt that they had entered their present homeland from Abyssinia, and this opinion is supported by Mr. Chataway's precise information that their original home was five days' journey beyond Arwa on the far side of Galla country.

My single note on their customs consists of a reference to rain-making. I was told that the rain-maker keeps rain-stones in a bag and that when he wants rain he makes a hole in the ground and places the stones in it and pours water over them. The stones are then washed and the blood of a sacrificed ox is added to the water. When rain is no longer desired the stones are covered over in the hole with earth. I gathered that a lactating woman plays a part in this ritual. In an account given to Prof. Seligman by Mr. Chataway a red, a white, and a blue stone are used in Uduk rain-making, and it is perhaps worth noting in this connection that while I was at Kurmuk a donkey boy told me that at Gebel Berta (I do not know to which of the Berta hills he referred) there is a rain-maker called Adikira who makes rain with three stones—blue, red and white.

The Korara have suffered severely from many years of slave-raiding and pillage by Arabs and by the followers of Wad Mahmud, and are to-day a small and weak people.

[1] Dr. Pirrie's vocabularies have never been published, nor have I had an opportunity to read them in manuscript.

UDUK LANGUAGE.

English.	*Uduk.*	*English.*	*Uduk.*
Abdomen	kĭema	gourd	—
Adansonia dig. (*tebeldi*)	gŏte	granary	temĭs
back	apo	granary (entrance to)	—
Balanites æ.(*heglig*)	fube	grass	—
beard	hŭla	grave	duice
beer	ŭsu	grinding-stone	—
bird	di	*Hyphæne th.* (*dom* palm)	—
blood	—		
boy	acigŏt (?)	hair	amur
bread (*kisra*)	ma	hand	met
breast	akwo	head	kup
bull	rŭsĭm	hen	ngwa
buttocks	māmpen	hoe	purĭnge
chest	bŏr	hut	gŭp
chief	tafa	hut (entrance to)	—
cloth (*dammur*)	purnye (?)	hyena	āĭyua
cow	pip	iron	tongkutur
ear	ce	jackal	ma
earth	ecesh	knee	kufalufŭn
ebony	cir	knife	kunggĭl
eight	pekwara	leg	yeri
elbow	penerbi	leopard	atop
elephant	kie	lion	—
eye	e	man	kwot
father	cōm	meat	fum
finger	ufŭm	milk	akwo
fire	ŏt	moon	ape
five	munmet	*Nabbak* tree	perĭngbi
food	fa	nine	pentungun
four	tungun	nose	fus
giraffe	ku	one	tŭli
girl	—	ostrich	ut
goat	nie	penis	yĭss
God	Rum	rain	fōk

English.	*Uduk.*	*English.*	*Uduk.*
sandals	—	Tamarind (*ardeb*)	ufe
sesame	abu		
seven	pesu	ten	ak'umet
shoulder	qufabi	testicles	alūt
six	pede	three	kwāro
sky	mĭss	throwing-stick	kife
snake	tŭsa	tongue	let
spear	me	tree	—
stick	—	two	kŏnĭsu
stone	wōf	village	kĭempa
sun	atendi	water	īde
		woman	bum

From the Jumjum hills I went eastwards to Gebel Maiak which is one of the hills inhabited by what I propose to call the Northern Burun,[1] who also occupy hills Kurmuk, Jerok, Mufwa, Surkum, Abuldugu, Maghaja, and, I believe, Kudul and Ragreig, to which two hills they have migrated from the south in recent times. Most of these hill communities speak distinct dialects, but it is probable that the dialect of any one community is intelligible to all the others, and in this belief I have classed them all together as Burun Languages Group (*a*). It is not always easy to discover whether one dialect is understood by people speaking another, and a casual enquirer can only ask one people whether they comprehend what the others say to them, and form an opinion from the vocabularies which he has taken down. Thus, the people of Mughaja told me that they understood dialects spoken at hills Surkum, Kurmuk, and Maiak, but were unable to follow what was said by the Jumjum and population of Ulu. These Mughaja people claim that the dwellers at hills Abuldugu and Tullok[2] are of the same community as themselves and speak the same dialect.

Though I visited hills Maiak and Kurmuk it was not possible, owing to sickness, to make any sustained enquiry into the mode of life of the Burun, and I shall string out my scanty notes taken at various hills on to one thread.

[1] These are Dr. Pirrie's "Buruns with well modified dialect" which he found on hills "Abul-Dugal, Surkum, Kurmuk, Gerrok, Myak and Muffe."

[2] I am not sure whether Tullok is inhabited throughout the year or whether its occupation is seasonal.



MUGHAJA TYPE.



MUGHAJA TYPE (SAME INDIVIDUAL).

Each hill appears to have been a political unit with its own chiefs and to have been often at feud with its neighbours. I am in some doubt about the names by which the communities refer to themselves and to each other. I have a note that the Burun of Kurmuk call themselves *Tārak* or *Boit*, and call the Jumjum *Berin*, the Uduk *Othan*, the Burun of the southern plains *Tungan*, their kinsmen of hill Mufwa *Mopo*, and the "turks" *Kaickaic*. The people of Mughaja call themselves *Mumŭgadja*, they call the Ingassana *Mamedja*, the people of Abuldugu *Mugumborkōīna*. They refer to hills Maghaja and Abuldugu as *Mugadjă* and *Umborkōīn* respectively.

I know little of their social organization. The custom of a bridegroom working in the gardens of his father-in-law before marriage seems to obtain at each hill, though the length of the periods of service appears to vary in different communities. I was informed at Maiak that a man worked for about four years on the cultivations of his parents-in-law, and also handed over, in addition, a small amount of concrete wealth. If a man dies his brother will take his wife, but he will perform no further labour for her parents, though he will make them presents of a pig, a goat, and some tobacco. A man may not marry the daughter either of his father's brother or of his mother's brother. Some kind of marriage ceremony is said to be held at a water-course during which a mock battle takes place between relatives of the bridegroom and relatives of the bride.

I understood that the people of Kurmuk observe similar customs with regard to labour by a man in the gardens of his parents-in-law, but that while this period of service lasts for only a few months, the amount of bride-wealth is much larger than at Maiak. A newly married man resides in the homestead of his parents-in-law until after the birth of his first child, or, at any rate, for a year or two after marriage. I have a note that at Kurmuk people cicatrize their abdomens but not other parts of their bodies, and that they do not extract teeth. At the same hill it is now the custom to bury a man in a rectangular shaft, but in the past the shape of a grave was round. A dead man is buried in a niche chamber with his broken spear, his knife, his throwing-stick, and his waist skin or cloth. A plain earth mound is erected over the dead. Mr. J. W. Robertson records that at Maghaja "a man is buried with his feet to the east, in his clothes and sandals, with his spears beside

him. At Abu el Dugu he is buried lying on his left side facing east with his feet to the south."

At Mughaja a man works in the cultivations of his father-in-law and will also make him payments of bride-wealth (*det*). If a man dies his wife goes to live with his brother. There is a mock battle at the marriage ceremony between relatives of bride and bridegroom. A man resides for a year or two in the home of his parents-in-law. As a man is said to be forbidden to marry his paternal cousin, but permitted to marry his maternal cousin, it is possible that there is some kind of clan organization. I was told that a new chief was initiated to office by having his hair cut, by being confined to his hut for seven days, and by the slaughter of a bull. There is a boys' house at Mughaja, called *bilu*, doubtless similar to that at hill Sillok, and the youths sleep there from the time they begin to wear clothes till marriage. As I was told at Sillok also, a big fire is made during the rainy season and appears to play some part in the ritual of the boys' hut. A dead man is buried with his spear in a niche grave. The people of Mughaja say that they come from Ulu, which they call *Īyakan*, to their present home, but that they originally lived at a place called Tēko, which I gathered was somewhere in present day Dinka country. A man called Diăp led them from their original homeland to Ulu.

With regard to rain-making I was informed that there is an expert at Kurmuk who possesses five rain-stones which he keeps in a pot in a rock hole, and that he brings them out when rain is required and puts them back again when he wants dry weather. It is said that at Mughaja there are several large stones which the rain-maker beats with a trombash and over which he pours rain-water when he desires rain to fall. There is said to be a large cavity in one of these stones in which rain-water collects. The rain-maker is called Tidăt, and I was told that he threatens and drives back the rainbow (*rungi*), which is believed to be a huge snake, into its water hole.

There can be little doubt that there is an association between the firmament and the idea of a Supreme Being at these hills. The words for God and sun are not the same in their languages as they are in other languages of this area, but it is nevertheless likely that there is an association between the two, and such was the impression I received during my conversation with the people. It is to be noted that Capt. Mostyn

wrote of the Burun of hill Maiak and its vicinity " The sun is the big god, but each *jebel* is believed to have a god of its own who lives in the rocks." The people of Mughaja call God *Djok* and say *Djok nial*, " God is in the firmament."

I believe that the Burun of Maiak and Kurmuk possess a few cattle. There are no smiths at Kurmuk or Mughaja, but smiths are to be found at Abuldugu. The people of Mughaja use earthern neck rests called *tangat*. They import most of their iron implements, pottery and basket-work from the Tabi hills, their spears coming mainly from Bau, and the other articles from Tau.

Measurements of 10 individuals which I made at Maiak give an average height of 1,720 mm., and an average cephalic index of 75·67 mm., the people thus being of medium height, and mesaticephalic.

No.	*Head Length.*	*Head Breadth.*	*Cephalic Index.*	*Stature. mm.*
1	17·5	14·7	84·00	1,663
2	18·0	13·6	75·56	1,800
3	19·3	14·2	73·58	1,735
4	18·7	14·0	74·87	1,618
5	18·3	13·8	75·41	1,828
6	19·0	14·0	73·68	1,715
7	19·1	14·6	76·44	1,790
8	19·0	14·0	73·68	1,730
9	19·2	13·8	71·88	1,655
10	18·3	14·2	77·60	1,665

Average cephalic index ... 75·67

Average stature ... ... 1,720 mm.

The following dialects were taken down at hills Mughaja, Maiak and Kurmuk. They are dialects of Burun Languages, Group (*a*) (Northern Burun) :

BURUN LANGUAGES.

GROUP (*a*) (NORTHERN BURUN.

English.	*Mughaja.*	*Maiak.*	*Kurmuk*
Abdomen	bulu	buli	buli
Adansonia dig. (*tebeldi*)	bunduk	—	bulŭn
back	ngŭdu	ngŭdi	ngŭdi

English.	*Mughaja.*	*Maiak.*	*Kurmuk.*
Balanites æg. (*heglig*)	töwŭt	—	öwŭt
beard	dĭgŭndu (*Ar.* ?)	bedi	wīli
beer	mo	mö	mo
bird	dēnŭt	denŭt	dēnat
blood	remŭt	rēmŭt	lāgi
boy	tūl	ĭnyek	tol
bread (*kisra*)	um	du'un	dubel
breast	tingu	tineti	zŏdi
bull	gudŭn	gudun	—
buttocks	ŭmudjugu	tongmati	dŏli
chest	gumŭtu	gyedi	zŏdi
chief	ret	ret	ret
cloth (*dammur*)	pura puri	fura	—
cow	deng	deng	deng
ear	ītĭgu	īdi	ĭdu
earth	tutŭn	tūt	tutel
ebony (*babanus*)	temperŏk	—	sŭnkur
eight	bīdīa	—	sŭndök
elbow	kurkundu kŏrmatu	kŭmi	kur
elephant	lec	—	le
eye	wŏnggu ngienggu (pl.)	wŭngi	wunggu
father	ba	baba	baba
finger	enatuli	gālatōli	gālis
fire	māic	māit	māit
five	adōic	—	nŭdōs
food	ŭmbĭdi umbĭ	du'un	umi
four	ngŭn	—	ngŭn
giraffe	leolbŭra	—	lelbŭr
girl	kŭmul	kŭmul	mĭnam ŭruk
goat	del	del	del
God	Djok	Dyok	Dyŏk
gourd	go	—	tukul

English.	*Mughaja.*	*Maiak.*	*Kurmuk.*
granary	teobut	—	tebut
granary (entrance to)	teobŭttugi	—	tebŭttuke
grass	lum	—	lum
grave	tutŭn (earth ?) puit	tūt	ōīn
grinding-stone	pöm	pöm	pöm
Hyphæne th. (*dom* palm)	durma	—	bŭrsi
hair	riegu	ri	bush wīlu
hand	enŭgu enŭtu	gālŭti	gālŭti
head	wudu	wŭdi	wŭdu
hen	ākŭn	ākŭn	ākan
hoe	furīk lē	lē	kwŏrta
hut	öt	—	ŭt
hut (entrance to)	ötitok	—	uttuke
hyena	bumu	bungu	bumu
iron	bĭlut	bil	nĭer
jackal	dŭlto dulti	—	wĭowŭt
knee	unggu	ungŭni	um
knife	nier	shema	nĭer
leg	keru	telwŏngi	kīru
leopard	kāīc	gel	gelīs
lion	gyeldonga	gel	geldong
man	munasō	ŏr	mŭnaŏn
meat	rĭngit	kŏkŏk	kŏkŏk
milk	āk	āk	āk
moon	pāī	pāīc	pāī fāī
nine	wŭngakēla	—	wongedun
nose	kĭwŭndo	umŭni	umu
one	akel	—	nukel
ostrich	udu	—	kutugut
penis	edu	edi	edi

English.	*Mughaja.*	*Maiak.*	*Kurmuk.*
rain	kut	kut	kut
sandals	wŭrŭt wŭt	werŭt	wer
sesame	yomŭn	mumŭn	yumŭn
seven	ngŭntungkel	—	ngŭngtugei
shoulder	bugu	bŏre	dŏgi
six	derguk	—	dōgu
sky	nial	koliredi	ĭyal
snake	kak	kak	kak
spear	tŏng	tŏng	tŏng
stick	kŏlĭk	kolĭk	kodĭ
stone	gurĭt	gurit	gurĭt
sun	ŭng	ŭng	ŭng
tamarind (*ardeb*)	ei	—	ēi
ten	cāī	—	asāī
testicles	ulu	ulĭ	ulĭlu
three	adŭk	—	ngŭdŭk
throwing-stick	buŏm	buŏm	buŏm
tongue	lebu	lebĭ	ŭmulĭs
tree	yat	—	yat
two	areo	—	nŭre
village	pau	—	pwa onfa
water	pi	—	pi fi
woman	mĭnēga	mĭnamurŭk	ĭng

I append two short vocabularies. The first was taken down from a man believed to have been a Burun of Kurmuk. It is, however, difficult to understand the position at Kurmuk since this list of words differs from the one given overleaf to a greater extent than can be accounted for by individual pronunciation or the inaccuracy of the recorder. Moreover, a vocabulary taken down at the same hill by Mr. Chataway which he allowed me to see is so different from my own that it is apparent that there must be dialectical differences on the same hill unless, as is possible, my informants came from neighbouring hills such as Jerok and Mufwa.

The second vocabulary was, I believe, taken down from a man of Ragreig, but I was not certain of this at the time, and am even less confident about it now.

English.	*Kurmuk.*	*Ragreig.*
abdomen	bulu	teri
breast	tinitu	tinĭti
bull	gudel	—
chest	zolu	keremi
chief	ret	rĭt
cow	deng	deng
ear	ītigu	ītĭgi
earth	tutŭn	niekŏr
eye	niengu	wongi
finger	kurkunu	—
fire	mās	māīt
God	Zok	Ŭng Wādi
hair	re	ri
hand	gālŭtu	gēlŭti
head	wudu	wĭdi
hoe	kwŏta	kwater
hyena	bungu	alākan
knee	unggu	ungi
leg	moelu	teli
leopard	gyel	ngau
milk	āk	āk
moon	pāī	fāī
nose	umbunu	imbuni
rain	kut	kut
shoulder	bŏrŭtu	fatuki
sky	pölĭt	rumbun
snake	kāk	kāk
spear	tŏng	tŏng
sun	ŭng	ŭng wādi
throwing-stick	buom	buom
tongue	lebĭtu	lebĭ

MUGHAJA (PLURAL).

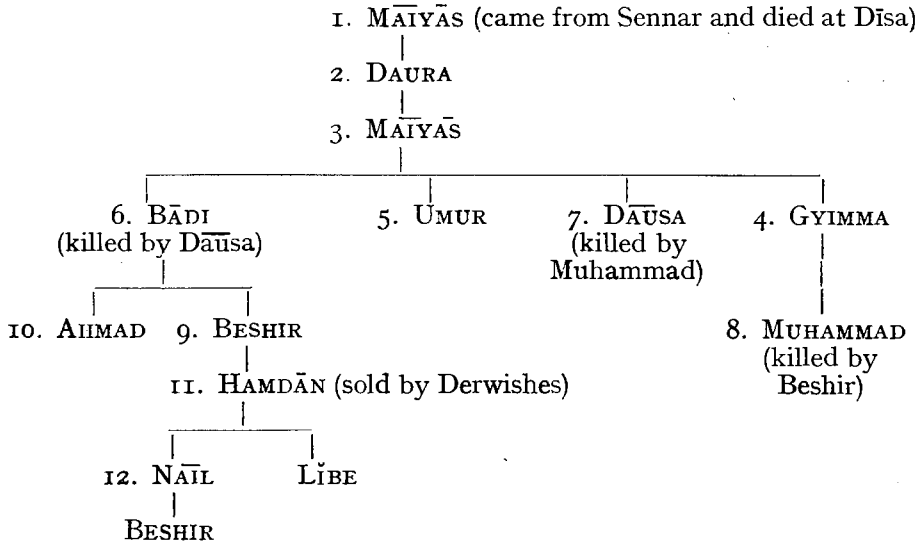
English	*Singular.*	*Plural.*
house	ert	erdi
spear	tŏng	tŏng
cow	deng	dŭg
stone	gurĭt	gura
throwing-stick	buŏm	buŏmi
eye	wŏngu	ngēng
ear	ĭtĭgu	ĭtĭgu
bird	dēnŭt	dēdi
man	munaŏwa (?)	mukaŏwĭna
woman	mĭnēga	mekamŭna
boy	tul	tuli
girl	kŭmul	kŭmu
hen	ākun	ūku
hoe	lē	lē
snake	kāk	kang
Tamarind	ei	eadŭk

At Kurmuk one finds oneself on the edges of Berta country. The Berta stretch along the Abyssinian border, on both sides of it, from the Khor Yabus to Roseires on the Blue Nile. This is a rough estimate, since I do not know their exact area of distribution. Little is known about their customs, though Caillaud and Marno give some scattered information. It appears probable that they all speak one language. This is what I was told by natives of this region, but at the same time there must be a number of dialects. Caillaud tells us: "Leur language diffère souvent d'une montagne a l'autre, et ces differences deviennent plus sensibles en raison de l'eloignement des lieux; car les diverses peuplades ne communiquent point entre elles." Caillaud's statement is borne out by a comparison between his own vocabulary collected from the Berta of Qamâmyl, Marno's vocabulary, and the list of words which I took down from a man who said that he was a Berta of the Dul section. These vocabularies are given at the end of this section and are listed under the title of Berta Group of Languages (*a*).

The only country occupied by Berta which I visited was hills Kele and Tornasi. Kele was the seat of a Fuin aristocracy, and here, as at Ulu, they told me that in past times the Fuin king was put to death

in a traditional manner. My informant declared that the king was often killed with a spear outside his hut, but that his execution would first of all be agreed upon by his Fuin relatives, and that it was carried out more or less publicly, in the presence of, and with the consent of, everybody. Another informant said that the man who was to kill the king should be of the same grandparents as the king himself, and that he would go by night and lay in wait for the king to leave his hut to visit one of his wives, or leave the hut of one wife to enter the hut of another, and take the opportunity of killing him. Presumably, the killer lay in wait with a large party, since my informant said that the king's slaves would certainly show fight. The same man told me that the killer might creep into the king's hut and kill him with a spear as he lay asleep, and afterwards place a cloth over his face. On the whole, the account of king-killing given me at Kele is similar to that given at Ulu.

I took down the following genealogical table of the kings at Kele. When it is known, the manner in which each met his death is given in brackets after the royal names. Probably kings were not always killed, but only when they proved unsatisfactory to their Fuin relatives, as I was told was the case at Ulu. I had no opportunity of checking this genealogy, nor the facts related to me about kingship at Kele, since I spent only one evening at the hill.



The order of the Keili kings given by Mr. Chataway[1] is practically the same as that given in my list save for differences of spelling. King Ahmad (No. 10 on the list) is not mentioned by him. He spells Dausa (No. 7 on the list) as Dowra, and it is possible that I have made an error in reading my original notes and have transcribed Dausa instead of Daura. He makes Beshir a son of Guma'a (Gyimma) and not of Bādi. According to Mr. Chataway, Māiyas founded the Keili kingdom at Disa. His son Daura moved the seat of government to Ragreig, and Daura's son, Māiyas, moved it to Keili. A genealogy given by Mr. A. E. Robinson in the *American Anthropologist* (Vol. xxxi, pp. 255-6) is fragmentary and shows wide divergence from those of Mr. Chataway and myself.

Traditional regicide was common in this area. Besides the Fuin aristocracies at Ulu and Kele we have records of the practice from other places, where people calling themselves Fuin formed a dominant element in the local populations. Thus there is the famous passage in Bruce describing the custom at the Fuin headquarters at Sennar: "It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people that the king ascends his throne under the admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the state that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood."[2]

Among my donkey boys at Kurmuk was a man from Fazoghli who told me that in olden days it was habitual for the king of the hill to be put to death, and I heard that the same custom prevailed at hills Fadāsi and Guba. The man from Fazoghli said that the people came together and informed the king that they did not want him any longer, and he thereupon strangled himself with a length of cloth or rope. This bears out what Sir James Frazer has written on the authority of Lepsius: "In Fazoql, a district in the valley of the Blue Nile, to the west of Abyssinia, it was customary, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, to hang a king who was no longer beloved. His relatives and

[1] J. D. P. Chataway. "Notes on the History of the Fung." *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1930, p. 258

[2] James Bruce of Kinnaird: "*Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile.*" 2nd Ed. 1804. Bk., viii., p. 372.

ministers assembled round him, and announced that as he no longer pleased the men, the women, the asses, the oxen, and the fowls of the country, it was better he should die. Once on a time, when a king was unwilling to take the hint, his own wife and mother urged him so strongly not to disgrace himself by disregarding the custom, that he submitted to his fate and was strung up in the usual way. In some tribes of Fazoql the king had to administer justice daily under a certain tree. If from sickness or any other cause he was unable to discharge this duty for three whole days, he was hanged on the tree in a noose, which contained two razors so arranged that when the noose was drawn tight by the weight of the king's body they cut his throat."[1]

At Tornasi I was told, possibly in reference to the Fuin aristocracy at Kele, since these hills adjoin one another, that on one day every year a dog is killed with a stick opposite the king's hut and is eaten. The dog is tied with a length of rope, and when the king is brought out on his chair the dog is marched backwards and forwards in front of him seven times and is then clubbed to death and removed, the man who killed it afterwards saluting the king with the title of *maingil*. This ceremony takes place after the harvest. I gathered that the unfortunate dog was afterwards eaten, though whether the peoples of these hills eat dogs habitually I was unable to ascertain. I was not aware at the time that I was listening to a recital of a custom given in *The Golden Bough* on the authority of Lepsius, Russegger, Brun Rollet, and Marno: "At Fazolglou an annual festival, which partook of the nature of a saturnalia, was preceded by a formal trial of the king in front of his house. The judges were the chief men of the country. The king sat on his royal stool during the trial surrounded by armed men, who were ready to carry out a sentence of death. A little way off a jackal and a dog were tied to a post. The conduct of the king during his year of office was discussed, complaints were heard, and if the verdict was unfavourable the king was executed and his successor chosen from among the members of his family. But if the monarch was acquitted, the people at once paid their homage to him afresh, and the dog or the jackal was killed in his stead. This custom lasted down to the year 1837 or 1838, when king Yassin

[1] Dr. Richard Lepsius: *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai*, trans. by L. and J. B. Horner. Henry G. Bohn, M.DCCC.LIII., pp. 202-204. Sir J. G Frazer: *The Golden Bough*, 1911, pt. iii., p. 16.

was thus condemned and executed. His nephew Assusa was compelled under threats of death to succeed him in the office. Afterwards it would seem that the death of the dog was regularly accepted as a substitute for the death of the king. At least, this may be inferred from a later account of the Fazoql practice which runs thus: 'The meaning of another of their customs is quite obscure. At a certain time of the year they have a kind of carnival, when everyone does what he likes best. Four ministers of the king then bear him on an anqareb out of his house to an open space of ground; a dog is fastened by a long cord to one of the feet of the anqareb. The whole population collects round the place, streaming in on every side. Then they throw darts and stones at the dog, till he is killed, after which the king is again borne into his house.'" There can be no doubt that the custom casually mentioned to me at Tornasi is the same as the one which took place at Fazoql. Whether it should be thought of as a Berta custom or whether it occurs only in those places where there is a Fuin aristocracy, and must be considered as a custom of the mysterious Fuin, cannot be settled on our present knowledge

It is with some misgivings that I append the statements of a man called Liti, whom I met at hill Ulu, and of donkey boys recruited at Kurmuk, about the killing of rain-makers in this region. If their statements are correct they are of great ethnological importance. Liti said that at hill Fazingir (Abanzingir) when the local rain-maker became old or ill he was buried alive. The description which he gave is very similar to that which Prof. Seligman has given in his account of Dinka religion. As I had no opportunity of making enquiries *in situ* I had to rely for slight corroboration on the statements of one of my donkey-boys who came from the neighbourhood of Kurmuk and claimed to know the Berta well. He said that his information applied to hills Fazingir, Fazoghli, and Murmus. It is important to note that he gave the information of his own accord without any assistance or prompting from me beyond the initial question. He said that the rain-maker when he becomes old and decrepit and has a son to succeed him in his office will tell the people to dig a grave. A bull is killed and a large quantity of beer is drunk, the rain-maker himself partaking of this feast. Afterwards

he designates his son as his successor and goes and lies down in the open grave. His tomb is a niche-grave and my informant said that after the earth was filled in it might take a long time for the rain-maker to die. He gave quite a circumstantial account of the proceeding, explaining that the rain-maker took with him into the grave a bowl of beer and a gourdful of snuff. He told me that if the rain-maker did not die in this manner that the rain would cease to fall, that the crops would fail, and that the cattle would die. He added, on my question, that the rain-maker on these hills did not use rain-stones, but that a goat and a hen are sacrificed in the "place of custom" on rain-making occasions.

It seems almost incredible that the man was not recording a Dinka custom,[1] but if he was right about its provenance in the Berta hills it would lead one irresistibly to the conclusion, borne out by the rest of the data of this paper, that the Dinka have had very considerable cultural influence in southern Dar Fung as far west as the Abyssinian hills, and that this influence has come from settlements as well as from raiding.

One of my donkey-boys told me that the rain-maker was also buried alive among the Gumus people, though I have no further evidence in support of his casual remark. These Gumus inhabit a number of hills to the east of 35° long., and between 11 and 12° lat., *e.g.*, hills Barmandi, El Kili, Famaka, Belshongol, and Guba. For some years they have been coming over the border into the Sudan in small numbers, to Roseires, Gallabat, etc. I saw a small colony of them at Roseires. Printed on the map as Gimz, and known officially as Gumz, and popularly as Gumzawi, I think that they call themselves Gumus. All members of the small community which I saw speak Arabic and profess Islam. Their dress, furniture, and household utensils, are the same as one will see in any Arabic-speaking village in this area. They are mainly agricultural, possessing a few cows, goats, sheep, dogs, and chicken. Their language does not appear to resemble those spoken on any of the hills which I visited during my trip in Dar Fung and is omitted from this paper.

[1] Lepsius records that old people were buried alive in this area. op. cit., p. 202. A Dinka told Lejean that the Burun bury old men alive. op. cit., p. 15.

BERTA GROUP OF LANGUAGES (*a*).

English.	*Berta (Dul)*	*Berta (after Marno).*	*Berta (after Caillaud).*[1]
Abdomen	iyu	—	io
Adansonia digitata (*tebeldi*)	ufa	—	—
back	gundi	—	coudy
Balanites Ægyptiaca (*heglig*)	kaha	—	—
beard	digin (*Ar.* ?)	—	bouss
beer	shura	—	—
bird	mĭse	mĭse	—
blood	ofŭt	gāfa	kafar
boy	gŭdi	gedde	—
bread (*kisra*)	dura (*Ar.* ?)	daga	—
breast	ĭr	ĭrr	herre
bull	bŭdŏ	dagn (ochse)	—
buttocks	ĭng	—	—
chest	bĭshi	—	—
chief	agur	—	—
cloth (*dammur*)	or	orr	—
cow	tŭng	—	ranagalai
ear	ile	ile	ilai
earth	saqa	saga	saka (or) zaka
ebony (*babanus*)	tārī	—	—
eight	temanya (*Ar.*)	siggone	—
elbow	kŏngkolong	—	—
elephant	un	un	madegai
eye	are	are	—
father	aba	bubo	paba
finger	māshu	—	—
fire	mo	mu	mo
five	asing	assing	moukouchou
food	tinting	tinga (essen)	nangaly (manger)
four	sŏgŏn	schogo	manamo
giraffe	kĭlĭng	—	—

[1] La langue des Negres de Qamâmyl, dans le Pays de Bertat.

English	*Berta (Dul)*	*Berta (after Marno).*	*Berta (after Caillaud).*
girl	mushŭng	muschang	—
goat	mĭe	mia	—
God	mabagĭdĭkŭtang	—	—
gourd	abŭdi	—	—
granary	luba	—	—
granary (entrance to)	lubaĭndu	—	—
grass	nĭeri	—	gniera
grave	dĭrsa	—	tirche (or) anmouchero
grinding-stone	beli	—	—
Hyphæne thebaica (*dom* palm)	gŏra	—	—
hair	bush	busch	pouche
hand	tŭba	taba	raba
head	alu	hia	koulou (or) alou
hen	mŭse	misa	mitsa
hoe	bāĭli	—	—
hut	shuli	schuli	chouly
hut (entrance to)	shulindu	—	—
hyena	bungu	—	—
iron	dun	dogn	—
jackal	atŭmŭn	—	—
knee	gushu	—	kouchou
knife	hāĭngĭr	hangir (*Ar.* ?)	kaly
leg	kŏlŏ	—	kolare
leopard	nŭgura	—	—
lion	burĭt	—	—
man	—	ide	meloko
meat	u'un	—	ohon
milk	err	irr	hier
moon	zĭgi	undu	chigue
Nabbak tree	ŏt	—	—
nine	asaraonĭng	sussube	orfoudy
nose	amu	—	kara
one	duguni	dogoni	moudoukou

English.	*Berta (Dul).*	*Berta (after Marno).*	*Berta (after Caillaud).*
ostrich	mĭsumburu	—	minsinnerou
penis	gure	—	—
rain	rŏ	ri	—
sandals	cafa	—	chafa
sesame	uwa	—	—
seven	āro	āri	rapmore
shoulder	dongo	—	konge
six	iyāga	yagā	—
sky	rumbun	—	boubony
snake	urĭa	—	kouke (or) oria
spear	ber	birr	pe
stick	hŏdĭa	hodio	kagou
stone	bele	belle	bela
sun	munzu	morso	mondzo (or) mondso
Tamarind (*ardeb*)	mŭlŭt	—	melai
ten	yŭkubu	jukŭbu	roumanay
testicles	turi	—	agoisar
three	zitigini	sittigini	more
throwing-stick	bang	—	—
tongue	kŭla	hala	—
tree	sīsī'a	angole (sisia, holz)	engoule
two	koleni	golongoni	mokole
village	shuli (hut ?)	adar	keza
water	feri	firi	fie
woman	nĭngă	—	naguinchelou

From hill Tornasi I went to hill Kukuli, the southernmost outpost of the Ingassana. I then went to hill Mugum, which is also inhabited by Ingassana, and from there back again to the Tabi massif which I reached on Jan. 7th. When I finally left the Tabi hills for the White Nile I had an opportunity of spending a couple of days at Gule. Since Professor and Mrs. Seligman had already collected ethnological information from this hill in 1910, I spent my time collecting primitive stone implements. As the boxes containing these flakes were afterwards lost

I must content myself with recording that I found them at hills Gule, Sillok, Ulu, Ahmar, and Kukur.

The people of Gule speak a common language with those of hills San and Roro. It has already been thrice recorded, by Lejean and Marno, who call it the Fungi language, and again Mrs. Seligman, in the works referred to earlier in this paper. It is given again here, because when phoneticians are not writing down vocabularies there is some advantage in having all written badly by the same hand, because it comprises the same words as the other vocabularies given in this paper, and because the vocabularies of Lejean, Marno, and Mrs. Seligman, are not easily accessible.

GULE LANGUAGE.

English.	*Gule.*	*English.*	*Gule*
Abdomen	abūn	elephant	gŭl
Adansonia dig. (*tebeldi*)	kāīī	eye	yan
		father	bŭrnŏ
back	iyān	finger	adŏtunun
Balanites æ. (*heglig*)	sŏk	fire	kăs
beard	tĭkŭn	five	dubuit
beer	asur	food	kŭmŭs
bird	ădādămĭt	four	dĭkasabĭt
blood	wāīdjo	giraffe	lē
boy	adāt	girl	wādūs
bread (*kisra*)	bŭs	goat	me
breast	kŭkāīan	God	Gyŏk
bull	nārē	gourd	dēnī
buttocks	ĭnŭn	granary	tōīn
chest	ciān	granary (entrance to)	yātōīn
chief	ĭtĭba		
cloth (*dammur*)	bīt	grass	ĭĕ
cow	ĭb	grave	suk
ear	ĭgŭn	grinding-stone	āīī
earth	du	*Hyphæne th.* (*dom* palm	—
ebony	—		
eight	debēdĭk	hair	ĭf
elbow	—	hand	mĭt'ŭn

English.	*Gule.*	*English.*	*Gule*
head	gŭdĭn	rain	rūs
hen	sŏgōrŏt	sandals	bāīt
hoe	kuter	sesame	ŭf
hut	edĭn	seven	delāso
hut (entrance to)	yeedin	shoulder	gŭdībēn
hyena	kārang	six	gelōdin
iron	ffl	sky	aguĭt
jackal	—	snake	bŭmba
knee	kukŭn	spear	kŏsang
knife	aderŭng	stick	lūs
leg	sumŭn	stone	ŏf
leopard	adŏr	sun	tā
lion	adŏr	Tamarind	afet
man	gărăwaĭg	ten	derkabu
meat	fum	testicles	fādān
milk	tis	three	dĭnamu
moon	aiyus	throwing-stick	bĭlĭgen
Nabbak tree	sĭŭk	tongue	ŏdāīān
nine	dĕmadĭdĭn	tree	wŏt
nose	fufŭn	two	dussĭk
one	dĕdin	village	ŭsmakŏro
ostrich	akudul	water	āī
penis	fŏdun	woman	gĕrīm

CONCLUSIONS.

The reader will have observed that the data presented in this paper is slight. Its main contribution to the ethnology of the Eastern Sudan lies in marking the outlines of linguistic distribution in Southern Dar Fung. I cannot claim to have been the first to have made this contribution, since it is evident that Dr. Pirrie had recorded in 1907 vocabularies similar to those which I collected in 1926, though these have never been published. The linguistic divisions given below must be thought of as preliminary, and, to some extent, as arbitrary, classifications. Small vocabularies, unsupported by any grammatical data, are often insufficient to decide whether a tongue shall be classed as a language or as a dialect, *e.g.*, whether the tongue spoken on hill Tornasi is a dialect of the Sillok group or should be regarded as a distinct language.

It is not even possible to determine with confidence whether two languages are related or whether they merely possess in common a number of words which they have mutually borrowed from one another or from a third source, *e.g.*, whether the Sillok group are related to the Berta group or not. My classification, therefore, is an *ad hoc* one which awaits revision.

(1) *Ingassana Language.*—Vocabularies may be consulted in the aforementioned writings of E. Marno and Mrs. B. Z. Seligman. The language is spoken on the Tabi massif and on the outlying hills Agadi, Bagis, Kilgu, Buk, Sidak, Bulmut, Mugum, and Kukuli.

(2) *Berta Group of Languages.*—(*a*) Berta group of dialects spoken along both sides of the Abyssinian border from the river Yabus to Roseires. (*b*) Sillok group of dialects spoken on hills Sillok, Yakan, Malkan, Deheima, Kele, Tornasi, and by the extinct population on hill Migmig.

(3) *Uduk Language.*—Unrelated to other languages of this area. It probably comprises a number of dialects.

(4) *Gule Language.*—Spoken on hills Gule, San, and Roro. Unrelated to other languages of this area.

(5) *Burun Group of Languages.*—(*a*) Northern Burun language, which comprises dialects spoken on hills Maiak, Surkum, Jerok, Mufwa, Kurmuk, Kudul, Ragreig, Abuldugu, Mughaja, and Tullok. (*b*) Southern Burun language spoken by Meban (Burun of southern plains), by the dwellers on hills Ulu and Gerawi (probably by the absorbed element of Burun at hill Gule), and by the Jumjum at hills Tunya, Terta, Wadega, and along khor Jumjum.

These linguistic areas are shown on the accompanying sketch map.

A casual glance at the vocabularies given in this paper reveals their Nilotic affinities.[1] Such words as *mo* (beer), *din* (bird), *remut* blood), *ret* (chief), *wongu* (eye), *mac* (fire), *deng* (cow), *pöm* (stone), *bil* (iron), *lango* (*Nabbak* tree), *kut* (rain), *nial* (sky), *pi* (water), etc., leave no doubt at all of their Nilotic origin. It is difficult, however,

[1] Pirrie remarked that the Burun languages were clearly related to Nuer, more closely akin to Nuer than to Dinka. Stigand was also struck by the similarity of Burun vocabulary to Nuer and Dinka. Brun Rollet considered the Nuer and Gule languages so much akin that he postulated a northern homeland of the Nuer. Westermann has later drawn attention to the number of Shilluk stems in the Gule tongue. Lejean classifies the people of Abuldugu as Shilluk. op. cit. p. 122.

to establish the nature of the relation of these Dar Fung tongues to the Nilotic languages of the Sudan. Dr. A. N. Tucker made an analysis of my vocabularies under the headings of *Nilotic borrowings*, by which he means those words which appear to have been taken over from Nilotic languages with little or no alteration in their phonetic structure, and *Nilotic stems*, by which he means words that have undoubtedly sprung from the same parent stems as their Nilotic equivalents, though this may not mean that the Dar Fung words have branched off from a Nilotic stem since they may both have sprung independently from a single parent source. On the other hand, these words may be Nilotic words which have undergone sound change in their transition into the Dar Fung tongues. Dr. Tucker's analysis gives the following results :

	Number of words examined.	*Nilotic borrowings.*	*Nilotic stems.*	*Percentage of Nilotic borrowings and stems.*
Southern Burun Language—				
Meban	75	15	39	72 %
Jumjum ...	89	21	38	66 %
Ulu	89	17	41	64 %
Northern Burun Language—				
Mughaja ...	89	21	34	61 %
Ragreig[1] ...	29	5	15	66 %
Kurmuk ...	87	19	30	56 %
Maiak	63	11	24	55 %

In all the other Dar Fung languages the percentages vary from zero to 25 per cent. Thus, Dr. Tucker has worked out the following percentages on my vocabularies : Sillck 12%, Malkan 11%, Tornasi 10%, Berta (Dul) 12%, Gule 11%.

A further analysis was made to determine the relative proximity of these Nilotic stems to the various Nilotic languages of the Sudan, and showed Nuer 47%, Shilluk 46%, and Dinka 45%. It is important to notice that Dr. Tucker was utilizing a vocabulary from the Rek Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal for purposes of comparison, because had he been able to use a vocabulary of some Dinka tribe less distant from Dar Fung,

[1] Seems to show evidence of Hamitic suffixes in its Nilotic stems.

the Dinka percentage might have been much higher in relation to the Nuer and Shilluk percentages than is shown by the above figures. The vocabularies also show 35% of Bari stems, Bari being classed not as a Nilotic language, but as a Nilo-Hamitic tongue. Of the 68 Nilotic affinities in the Dar Fung languages Dr. Tucker further points out that eight words are found in Nuer only, while twenty-six words are not found in Nuer, six words are found in Shilluk only, while twenty-seven words are not found in Shilluk, five words are found in Dinka only, while twenty-nine are not found in Dinka, and six words are found in Bari only, while 37 are not found in Bari.

The only grammatical data which I collected are a few plurals of nouns in dialects spoken by the Jumjum, at Ulu, and at Maghaja. Dr. Tucker considers that these tend to show that, while in many of the "Nilotic" elements of their vocabularies they prefer their own plural formation, nevertheless, several words show typical Nilotic plurals, particularly at Maghaja. I have given only a summary of the detailed analysis which Dr. Tucker generously made from my vocabularies. I hope that he will present his conclusions more fully elsewhere, as they are of such a nature that only a competent linguist can expect to explain and evaluate them.

The Nilotic character of many of these Dar Fung languages raises an important and, at present, owing to the scantiness of our data, an insoluble problem. How are we to account for these Nilotic words and stems? The physical characters of the peoples of this area are not typically Nilotic. On the contrary, they show far greater affinity to the peoples of Dar Nuba. Their cultures also show no certain signs of relationship with Nilotic culture. Here again there is a greater similarity with the peoples of Dar Nuba (one may mention the keeping of pigs, the predominance of agriculture in economic life, secular and spiritual chiefs, mode of regulating marriage, probable absence of a clan system, use of stones in rain-making ritual, etc.). The grammatical evidence is insufficient to say whether the Burun languages have borrowed extensively from Nilotic languages or whether they should themselves be classed as Nilotic tongues. It appears to me, however, that at least the vocabularies give us basis for an hypothesis of strong and prolonged contact between the Burun and Nilotic nations. They can hardly be supposed to have been in contact with the Bari, so that one must conclude

that the six non-Nilotic Bari words have been derived independently from some parent source, which Dr Tucker suggests is probably Hamitic. On the other hand, the overwhelming Nilotic character of the vocabularies accords well with what we know of the history of this area. Dinka influence is adequately accounted for by their position on the east bank of the White Nile from where they raided freely as far as the Blue Nile,[1] and by their original position north of the Sobat, from which they were dispersed or absorbed by the Jekany Nuer during last century, and where they were still located by early European travellers Present-day Jekany country has many Dinka place names. Nuer influence is accounted for by contact with the Meban, which must have been going on for at least half a century along the northern borders of the eastern Jekany. Stigand says that a section of the Meban moved northwards on account of this pressure. It is important to bear in mind that there is a noticeably larger percentage of Nilotic words to be found among the southern Burun than among the northern Burun, while among the peoples still farther north the percentage of Nilotic words is negligible. The most northern sections of Burun-speaking peoples on hills Ragreig and Kudul appear to have migrated there from Maiak or another southern hill in recent times. If Dinka and Nuer pressure came from the south it accounts for the lessening of its influence on the languages of Dar Fung the farther north we proceed. It accounts also for its failure to register a vigorous influence on the Ingassana language owing to its inaccessibility and northern position, and on the Gule language owing to its great distance from the south. I would suggest the possibility that Sillok and its surrounding hills were peopled from Tornasi after the main period of Dinka pressure. There seems good reason to suppose that the chief Nilotic influence has been Dinka even if its preponderance is not shown in the vocabularies. We know that the Dinka raided widely throughout these regions. There is also some evidence that the Dinka custom of killing their rain-makers exists in Berta country. The people of Mughaja speak as though they came from Dinka country, and I was told by Arabs that the Jumjum are Dinka who have settled in the

[1] In addition to the evidence of Dinka raiding in Dar Fung previously cited, there is the testimony of Hadji Abd el Hamid Bey (C.-L. Du Couret), who claims to have reached the Sobat as early as 1840. He writes of the Dinka : " Nombreux, intrépides et guerriers, quelquefois cruels, ils sont fort redoutés de leurs voisons du *Bouroum* et du *Bertat*, avec lesquels ils sont souvent en guerre pour leur imposer le droit du plus fort." (*Voyage au Pays des Niam-Niams*, p. 73. Paris, 1854.) See also Lejean's evidence on this point. op. cit. p. 112.

country. Mr. J. W. Robertson speaks of " Dinka rulers " at Abuldugu and Mughaja in the notes he kindly added to my manuscript. Any reconstruction must needs be very hypothetical in our present ignorance, but, personally, I am prepared to accept not only Dinka raiding, but also Dinka settlements and miscegenation in these southern hills. What little evidence we possess seems to point to that conclusion and nothing, to my mind, points clearly against it.

There remains the question of Shilluk influence. Both Mr. Chataway and Mr. Nalder[1] in their recent papers in this Journal speak as though Fung = Shilluk were an accepted anthropological theory. I doubt whether any anthropologist has ever held this view. Prof. Westermann has published opinions which most nearly approximate to it, but he has never committed himself to saying that the Fung are, or were, Shilluk, but considers that there is sufficient evidence to determine that the Shilluk have been present in Dar Fung in sufficient force to make it possible that they formed an element in the Fung aristocracy.[2] I find many of his arguments convincing, though I am not prepared to accept all of them. I consider that the problem is correctly stated as follows : at the present day and during historical times *Funy* or *Fung* is a term which has denoted aristocracies ruling in various places in Dar Fung and with their headquarters at Sennar. They do not all speak the same language and I agree with Messrs. Nalder and Chataway that it is highly unlikely that this political term can be made to refer to any one race or culture. The problem of " who are the Fung; what is their origin; and what are their racial and cultural stems"? is not one which is likely to be settled with unanimity, since it is not subject to the ordinary methods of scientific enquiry. Any solution will of necessity rest on a basis of probability, and the strength of its foundations will depend largely upon the amount of data which is collected about the cultures of the various peoples occupying Dar Fung at the present time.

Westermann set about collecting what data was available, and on the strength of it suggested that the Shilluk have been for some centuries in close contact with the population of Dar Fung. The evidence upon which he relied was perfectly sound; the traditions of the Shilluk themselves, the traditions of the people of Sennar as recorded in Bruce's

[1] J. P. W. Chataway. op. cit. L. F. Nalder, C.M.G., C.I.E., C.B.E. " Fung Origins." *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1931.

[2] Diedrich Westermann: *The Shilluk People*. Berlin, 1912, pp. liii-lvii

well-known passage about " a black nation, hitherto unknown, inhabiting the western banks of the Bahr el Abiad (White Nile) in about lat. 13°, made a descent in a multitude of canoes or boats upon the Arab provinces. . . This race of negroes is in its own country called Shillook. . . ." [1]; the statement of A.E.S.[2] to the effect that King Baadi Abu Dign (1635–1671) took a large number of Shilluk slaves and quartered them out in villages near Sennar; the statement of Hartmann that: " Between 1499 and 1530 the Christian state of Aloa (Alwa) succumbed under the invasion of the Funj, who broke forth from the south of Sennar, and whose military force consisted partly of Shilluks," and that " The Shilluks are relatives of the Funj, whose intimate allies they were during the conquest of Sennar during the 16th century." Westermann also adduced linguistic evidence of a three-fold nature. In the first place he considers, and I am inclined to agree with him, that there is evidence for believing that the word *fuin* is a Nilotic word, namely, in the Shilluk word for " stranger " (*bwony*), in the word by which the Nuer refer to the Abyssinians (*funy*), and in the word *bunj*, meaning " Arab " in the language of Gule (which contains a number of Nilotic stems), and in the fact that Bruce gives the singular and plural forms as *fungo* and *fungi* (which is a pure Shilluk grammatical form). I may add from memory that the Southern Burun refer to the Abyssinians as *buingon*. In the second place, Westermann points out that at hill Gule the language spoken by the people includes a number of Shilluk stems. Westermann, following Marno, certainly has no authority for calling this language " Fung," but his conclusions are none the less valid for showing Shilluk influence in the area under discussion. In the third place, Westermann draws attention to the fact that a large number of villages in Bertat and Fazoql are prefixed with *fa* which is the characteristic prefix of Shilluk villages, but I am far from accepting his conclusion, on such slender evidence, that " it seems evident that these villages are originally settlements of the Shilluks who emigrated into these regions." [3]

The evidence of the vocabularies which I collected in Dar Fung lends great probability to the contention that the Shilluk have exercised wide

[1] op. cit. Bk., viii., pp. 370-371.

[2] "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," edited by Count Gleichen, 1905, p. 229.

[3] I have had some correspondence with Prof. Westermann on this point. He permits me to say that he has not altered his opinion and points out the manner in which we trace foreign influence by place endings in other countries, e.g. *dorf* in South Russia, *ta* in Liberia, *chester* in England, *ow* in N.E. Germany, etc.

cultural influence in this area and, in consequence, that they have at one time or another invaded it. The percentage of Shilluk stems and borrowings is quite as high as the Dinka and Nuer percentages, and a number of definitely Shilluk words, not found in either Dinka or Nuer, occur in some of the Dar Fung languages and can only be accounted for by contact between the inhabitants of these hills and the Shilluk. On the whole, Shilluk, in contrast to Dinka and Nuer, linguistic influence seems to be more definite in the northern Burun hills than among the southern Burun, though our evidence is very slender on this point. The suggestion is that the Shilluk overran Dar Fung from the lower reaches of the White Nile, or possibly, as Bruce's account supposes, down the Blue Nile, rather than from the Sobat area.

The theory that the Shilluk overran Sennar cannot be lightly dismissed by reflections, however justified they may be, on Bruce's honesty and reliability[1] since it does not rest on his record alone. Several other travellers to the Sudan have recorded the same tradition, and it is still current to-day among merchants at Omdurman and along the White Nile.[2] These traditions are supported by the linguistic evidences brought forward by Westermann and added to by the vocabularies of this Paper. If it can be proved beyond all doubt by further research in these regions that the Shilluk overran Dar Fung, it will then be time to discuss more fully their relation to the Fung aristocracies.

Even if the Shilluk have had a cultural influence in Dar Fung, which can hardly be doubted, and even if they have contributed to the Fung dynasties of this area, which is more problematical, there is no reason to suppose that the Shilluk custom of " king-killing " is necessarily related through common origin or by borrowing to the Fung custom of " king-killing." There is no reason why the two customs should not have developed independently, since a traditional mode of regicide is common enough in Africa. Nevertheless, Nilotic influence in Dar Fung appears strong enough for one to say that an historical relationship between the various modes of Nilotic chief-killing as practised

[1] Thus, Caillaud, op. cit., and Nalder, op. cit.

[2] I have already mentioned some of these writers. Hadji Abd el Hamid Bey, whose credentials, it is true, are not good, records that he learnt on the White Nile in 1840 " *Les Schéllouks* sont les mêmes qui, au quinzième siècles, envahirent le *Sénnar*, et y prirent le nom de *Gamgi* " (op. cit., p. 79). He may have got this idea from Bruce. I am indebted for a note on this tradition as it is found to-day among merchants on the White Nile to Yuzbashi Talib Ismail. Lejean also records Shilluk conquest of Sennar. op. cit. p. 117.

in different manners by Shilluk, Anuak, and Dinka, and the Fung custom of " king-killing " is not out of the question.

I cannot agree with Mr. Chataway that there is no trace of " king-killing " (*i.e.*, regicide sanctioned by tradition and not merely by precedent, the outcome of regulated legal procedure and not merely of dynastic intrigue, carried out in a prescribed manner and not by haphazard murder) in this area outside Bruce's account. On the contrary, the passages quoted above from *The Golden Bough* on the authority of Lepsius, Russegger, Brun Rollet, and Marno show that such a custom undoubtedly existed at Fazogli up till 1838. The information which I collected at Ulu, Keili and Tornasi show that the custom was not confined to Fazogli, and it was probably common to every Fung aristocracy in this area. It may, indeed, be practised in districts where there is no aristocracy calling itself Fung. Our knowledge of Berta customs is insufficient to decide on this point.

There are several objections which will be urged against regarding " king-killing " as a custom practised among those who call themselves Fung. In the first place I shall be told that whilst it may be quite true that rulers were frequently assassinated by their relatives, or through the instigation of relatives or ministers, this only shows that kings were killed and not that there was a custom of " king-killing." This is a type of controversy in which I should prefer not to engage. There are a number of accounts in which local tradition has been recorded in this area and they all point to socially sanctioned regicide. It will be urged in the second place that, whilst it is true that Bruce records local tradition to the effect that kings could be put to death in a traditional manner, nevertheless, there are no actual records of kings being put to death in this manner at Sennar. The cases cited by Bruce may be " political executions of defeated or dangerous rivals," as Mr. Nalder says, but they may all the same have derived their sanction from tradition and do not necessarily invalidate Bruce's account. Our ignorance about the two hundred years of monarchy at Sennar may well be responsible for lack of positive evidence. We know that the king was an object of ritual and not merely a political officer. Caillaud tells us how : " Le roi, durant son regne, cultive et ensemence un champ entier de sa main : ce travail lui vaut le surnom d'*homme de champs*,"[1] and Poncet describes how

[1] Caillaud. op. cit., p. 28. *See also* Bruce op. cit., Bk. viii, p. 381. He says that for this reason the kings are called *Baady*—countryman or peasant.

he appeared in public veiled with a silk gauze of several colours.[1] We also know that kings on their accession tried to massacre any possible rivals. Though Mr. Chataway casts doubt on this later assertion by Bruce, it finds confirmation in a detailed description by Poncet[2] and there is a hint of similar practices at Fazogli in a remark by Brun-Rollet.[3]

In the third place it will be pointed out that even if rulers were killed in a prescribed manner backed by tradition at certain places in Dar Fung this does not show it to be a Fung custom. This objection has little to commend it. If there was never a Fung race, nor a Fung language nor a Fung culture, but a number of aristocracies of different racial composition, speaking different languages, and with different cultures, it is not easy to speak of a Fung custom. Nevertheless, " king-killing " was a custom practised by a number of aristocratic communities which called themselves Fuin or Fung.

The two statements of Bruce which have been called in question, that the Fung used to kill their kings and that the Fung were Shilluk in origin, gain rather than lose in weight when tested by the data of this paper. The historical traditions of " king-killing " among the Fung receive further support from the declarations of people at Ulu and Keili. The traditions which relate the Fung closely to the Shilluk lose nothing from a linguistic survey of the area which brings out clearly evidences of Shilluk culture.

[1] M. Poncet, M.D. *A Voyage to Æthiopia.* London. 1709. (Trans. from the French), p. 22.

[2] " When the king of Sennar happens to die, the great Council meets, and by a barbarous and detestable custom orders the throats to be cut of all the brothers of that Prince who is to ascend the throne." Poncet then gives two well-known examples of princes who escaped this massacre. op. cit., p. 28. *Also* Bruce op. cit., Bk. viii, p. 378; Bk. v, p. 489; Bk. iv, p. 11.

[3] " Les rois prevoyants savaient toujours se debarrasser de leurs ennemis avant le jour de ce jugement populaire." *Le Nil Blanc et Le Soudan*, by M. Brun Rollet, Paris, 1855, p. 249.

BARI STUDIES.

By A. C. Beaton.

(PLATES VI—XI.)

NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION.

ŋ is pronounced like the middle " ng " of singing.
ö is pronounced like the vowel sound in " work " (without the trilled " r ").
'b, 'd, 'y are glottal letters.
'b as in 'bolot is often dropped, making 'olot.
'd is a mixture of d and l.
'y often approximates to j.

I.—OCCASIONAL SONGS FROM THE NYEMBARA COUNTRY.

THE Nyembara of the Central District, Mongalla Province, are a small section of the larger unit, the Bari-speaking tribes, and live some eighty to one hundred miles north-west of Juba, bordering on the Moru of Amadi at the crossing of the River Pini or Tappari. Although of the same speech, they are not racially related to the Bari, who, of the same stock as the Masai, poured victoriously into the Nile valley and imposed their language and culture on this probably indigenous tribe.

It was in the early rains of 1931 that I first heard a song from this region. I was leaving the Nyembara for the Fajelu country to their east, and the Fajelu sub-chief Iga Lako was beguiling the featureless road with his talk. The rains, the locusts and the taxes had been rejoiced or lamented over, and the prickly problem of grain and famine had been skirted, when the conversation flagged. It was at this moment that I asked Iga Lako why he wore two narrow strips of goatskin sewn one round each ankle. " To make me active in the dance and to fix all the maidens' eyes upon me," was the reply ; whereupon the old man, despite his fifty summers, capered in antic fashion down the road, chanting one of the songs of his village.

The following are a selection of Nyembara songs divided under the headings of " funeral," " hunting " and " drinking." These are, however, not absolute divisions, for although it is unlikely that a drinking song

would be sung at a burial, there is no reason why a funeral song should not be performed at a drink party. Nor must it be imagined that the words as written represent the song as sung. The performance resembles that of " rounds " or " glees " combined to a minor extent with a system of strophe and antistrophe ; and the song itself or its component parts may be repeated at will or rearranged in a different order, according to the whim of the leader. The songs have rhythm, since they are sung to the beat of half-a-dozen or so differently pitched drums ; there is also a tune, plain-song rather than melody, and a metre, the mysteries of which it is difficult to fathom.

The language of the songs, although generically Bari, is in dialect. I have, however, reduced it as far as possible to the purer Bari tongue. The translations are free renderings, which represent as nearly as possible the inner meaning that the songs have for the singers apart from the actual words sung.

I.—FUNERAL SONGS.

Kölisi lo yolo ko ŋutu atwan.
Songs that are sung when a man has died.

(1) Ko Köni i kwe.
Nguajik kiyaŋ gwigwine gwigwi
Adi jojo 'bolot 'doka murula.
Yi meara kaŋo.
Baka ! ŋa 'dija kiko lo tu ko Wöri Dayi ?
Yi meara kaŋo.
Kaŋa ! lo nyilo kata i 'baŋ ni,
Yakulo, sareta 'bura !
Monye gwalaggu katelok kwe ke.
Kene kirut, le.
Marate ! na 'dumba nan ko 'bunit lo Bari ?
Nguajik kiyaŋ ŋuti ko 'Yila yu kukayik ti pele.
'Demeja döru ko luluwet
Döru doka Katingoro.
Lupunök gwigwine gwigwi
Adi jojo 'bolot doka murula.
Baka ! ŋa 'dija kiko lo tu ko Wöri Dayi ?

Over Köni's grave
All our sons lament the famine,
Crying that the corn is ended,
We must go afar to find it.
We are driven to the forest
Like the goats that eat its grasses.
Baka ! who has closed the pathway
To the land of Wöri Dayi ?
We are driven to the forest
Like the goats that eat its grasses.
Warriors, who are present with us,
Set your ranks in battle order.
All our little ones have perished.
We have met with grave misfortune.
O my brother ! who bewitched us
With the witchery of the Bari ?
All our sons resort to 'Yila
Questing for his words of wisdom.
They go weeping to the grassland
In the place called Katingoro.
They go weeping to their building.
All the children are lamenting
Crying that the food is ended,
We must fare afield to find it.
Baka ! who has closed the pathway
To the land of Wöri Dayi ?

Baka is an old hero of the Nyembara.

Wöri Dayi is a Moru chief on the Nyembara-Amadi borders to whom the people wish to go to buy corn. Traditionally, however, they cannot do this, as their chief's death has left them as defenceless as a flock of goats.

Witchery of the Bari. To these tribes death comes from three sources, first, " ko Nun " = from God, a shadowy being, whose dealings with man were succinctly described by Chief Jada Lualla : " We are all God's sheep and when he thinks he will kill a sheep, he does so." The second source is " kana " = accident ; in such a manner died a second of this same chief's people, by falling out of a tree while collecting honey. The

third cause of death is witchcraft. In this case witchcraft from the Bari is suspected, for Köni Bilal was not an old man and died of an illness lasting some months. Such an illness ending in death is usually ascribed to magic. The abhorrence with which the Nyembara regard witchcraft was brought out strongly in a Native Court case at Mendopolo in December, 1931, when the court sentenced a suspected witch-doctor to a heavy term of imprisonment.

'*Yila* is an old hero and famous fighter. On a chief's death the thoughts of a people naturally turn to war, as in pre-government days, it would be such an occasion that their enemies would seize to attack them. (*Vide* Songs on the Death of Yokwe, Nos. 6 and 20.)

(2)

Yi rem börik kak a loia,
Kulya ti Gela gwon lor lele.
Wöri Jambu 'biya ko lira ti kare.
'Duöt lo puripuri woŋ kwaje.

If we string and shoot our arrows,
Then our rulers will reprove us,
Wöri Jambu is gone from us,
Whom the river-flies have bitten.
Stallèd is the bull but restive,
That he bellows in the evening.

This song again refers to warfare consequent on a chief's death with, however, the reminder that there is now a government.

Wöri Jambu was Chief Köni Bilal's mother, and died of sleeping sickness. The grandmother is always treated with veneration and when she dies, her spirit is thought to enter into the body of the wagtail, which is supposed to explain why this bird jauntily hops in and out of the houses of men.

The bull. There are now no bulls in the Nyembara country, which in the rains is infested with tsetse fly. The bull is regarded as scenting the danger of an attack and charging defiantly round the enclosure.

(3)

Köni lopeŋ lo gwine ko likin nanyit na.
Yi Ködyö mekindya Lutöwiri,
Kare lo Bura Ködili.
Lai meyuta bot.
Iŋgilisi lo ratani kak na.

Köni is it whom we weep for,
Köni, who has parted from us.
Let us drive the goats to water,
To the river Lutöwiri,
To the river of the Bura,
To the river called Ködili.
Lai shall drive them back to stall them,
For the English rule our country.

The people are here expressing their pleasure at the fact that, under settled government, they can still drive their goats to and from water without fear of attacks from their enemies, even though their chief has died.

Lai was a great fighter.

(4)

Yokoleta kaŋo, ŋa rogga kwe na Nyöki ?
Duma lo wiri ko waran na kak.
Yokoleta kaŋo, nyo piga ko baranya.
Kak na Sa'yi tini ada, Wöri Dara ?
Nguro, lo 'de 'depe mugun arabat kase kak ni,
Nyo to 'yu mugun ko rijo ?
Nyo tu Dupi ?
Nyo weŋga mere i kutuk na Lu 'diyö ?
Yi rem börik, le.
Kak na gwon arabat lokoloŋ.
Kak gwoloŋ ko lodok, kak na Jöndi.
A yi möndu paruki ko kimaŋ.

Let the goats go from their stable.
Who will to the grave of Nyöki ?
Set his foot upon it weeping ?
All the oxen low at daybreak.
Let the goats out. Count those gathered,
Count the goats and sheep that linger.
Fares the land of Sa 'yi sadly ?
Fares it sadly, Wöri Dara ?
Why is Kubira so angry
That he ponders self-destruction ?

That he wanders to the Dupi ?
That he heads toward the mountain
There to learn Lu'diyö's language ?
Shall we all then fall to fighting ?
For our country now has fallen ;
It is hedged about with troubles.
Sadly fares the land of Jöndi.
We await the fire that burns us.

Nyöki was a great chief.

Kubira, although not mentioned by name in the original, is the " ŋuro " of line 5, who has attempted suicide. He represents the youth of the village who, seeing their country in decline, feel the urge to restore its prestige by battle. His strange conduct is due to the fact that under the government he cannot indulge in his primitive desires. After the failure of his attempted *felo-de-se,* he wanders off to the Moru, who are represented by the names Dupi and Lu'diyö.

II.—HUNTING SONGS.

Kölisi lo yolo ko gworoŋ a peŋa.
Songs that are sung when a wild beast has been killed.

(1)

'Demejo reremoju gworoŋ.
Mimien parik dio
Daŋ lo ŋuro likaŋ.

'Demejo has been out hunting.
Deeply wounded is the quarry
From the bow our hunter carries

'Demejo is the name of a village.

(2)

Isāka lo roggi a lore 'deŋ,
Lo roggi ko jijima ti lobögu na waran.
A kulo 'bolot kaŋ 'belaki do, Wani.
Nan takin do kutuk naggo na Gela.
Po, Lipunja, Köji nikaŋ na Nganya na Bodongoro.
Bulökömin lo 'dure toreja pirit nikaŋ.
Joŋgi nye i gwo 'dan ko Mödir lotor.

Isaka hurried down the road.
  Isaka narrow-waisted;
Isaka picked his mincing steps,
  Isaka when he hasted.
Now have you seen Isaka take
  The gait of a hyena,
That scuttles off at break of day,
  For fear a man has seen her.
This corn is threshed and poured in jars,
  O Wani, you have told us
To labour at this hated task
  Lest foreigners may scold us.
They sent Isaka to our land
  To harry men with orders;
But come, Lipunja, to our aid,
  And cast him from our borders.
Lipunja, take the scourge away,
  Our hate we can't dissemble.
Set him before the Governor's face
  And may the rascal tremble.

Isāka (*Isaac*), referred to in the original as Bulökömin, is the Chief's and Native Court Clerk at Mendopolo, and is usually to be seen walking about (rather daintily) in a pair of dancing pumps! This lampoon is the result of an altercation between Isaac and the author, who had the worst of it, and, while retaliating with other weapons, the composer has not only satirized the object of his dislike in particular, but also the failings of the whole tribe of Chiefs' Clerks in general.

Jijima is the local form of the Arabic word for shoes (*vide* also Bulökömin and Mödir).

Lubögu na waran, literally "the female hyena of the morning." A fuller form of "waran" is "ko waran na Kak." The Bari have many quaint expressions for telling the time, *e.g.*, "Kosira na sukuri," at the song of the chicken, about 4 a.m., and "Ko murut na Kurit," at the neck of the giraffe, about 4 p.m.

Kölisi lo gwowa ko wuri a peŋa.

Songs that are danced to when a wild pig has been killed

(3) Likin nikaŋ gwe a rube,
Joŋgi kutuk ko Lo'du nyu,
Losima, ŋuro lo Nyökö.
Jubiyat kulo wöwöki paran.
Yi tu rem börik.
Gor lo mimien pele.
Loke daŋ lio gogo,
Walla lo Wayet, do nyo kör ŋutu
I dera na miyan.
Kulya kekena tumalaŋ
Na kutuk ti ŋuajik kiyaŋ.
Pirit nikaŋ lojuge.
Waka, gor lose, Dandi.

Death descended on our country
From the flitting of the Spirit ;
Take these words and call for Lo'du,
Losima, O son of Nyökö.
Rats are running in the sunlight.
Let us rally to the battle,
For we yearn upon this battle.
String my bow and string it strongly.
Why, O Walla, are you angry
At the cooking for the Spirit ?
Mumbled words our children utter,
Mumbled words and dark their meaning.
We are pressed like cheese in presses.
We will fight our foes, O Dandi.

The cooking for the Spirit. The ancestor-worship of the Bari-speaking tribes includes a ritual for the discovery of the " responsible spirit " (*vide* " The Death of Yokwe ") and a ritual for warding off " evil spirits."

Rube is an evil spirit (*vide* " Songs on the Death of Yokwe, No. 16 ") and its visitation is averted as follows :—

A buffalo skin is cooked over a fire and then cut into small pieces, one of which is cast on to each path leading to the village, thus effectually closing it to the " Terror that walks by night." The efficacy of animal skins in another direction has been mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Cheese in presses. The literal translation reads "Our place Bamboo." The Nyembara use a small length of hollowed bamboo to hold the milk; they insert a rudimentary piston of wood and hair into the open end and exert pressure on it to turn the milk into cheese. Since the Moru, apostrophised in the person of Dandi, are crowding in on the Nyembara and squeezing them like cheeses, the Nyembara threaten to go to war.

(4)

Mönik lo ba juŋgu ko 'dö'duö,
Teŋ lo gwalo.
Luböri, juŋgu tina malu.
Teŋ na mokot, mönik wurö adi rio.
Gela ti Rejaf,
Ta diwundyö kak na Bura lilikin.
Nyokwe Kwelensuk,
A do yiyiŋ kutuk na Gela.
Kara, Kumanda, jine meje.
Yi ŋuti Ruba,
A yi ŋuti Siki ko Mar likaŋ.

Lowing are my idle oxen,
My small oxen. O Luböri,
You should stay a child for ever.
"O my father, sell a bullock,
"Sell a bull to buy me anklets,
"Sell the dappled bull to buy them."
Strangers from Rejaf are instant
On destroying Bura's country.
Do you hear this foreign chatter,
Nyokwe, Daughter of Kwelensuk?
You, Kumanda, grind the ochre.
We return to live at Ruba,
We go back to find the judges,
And our leader is among us.

Teng na mokot, literally "ox of leg" *i.e.*, an ox sold to buy anklets.

Bura's country is that of the Nyembara, while *Rejaf* stands for the Bari.

The *Mar* or *Mör* is a leader, but of what exactly is unknown. Among the Mandari it is a term of honour applied to the great Rain Chief, Fitia

Lugör. Here the Mar is plainly the leader of a migration, and the root may be connected with the word " mör," meaning " to fight."

III.—DRINKING SONGS.

Kulo a kölisi lo yolo ko ŋutu a meran.
These are songs that are sung when a man is drunk.

(1)

Mayati narwö kele,
Nye nyo po nyösu na 'bolot.
A yi riŋa tina,
A yi gwo ya.
Yi ŋuti 'bogga na bego
Luköwa, ŋine ŋi,
Kine beleti, kine 'deya ko naggò.
Koloŋ na nyo 'doro ?
Kwön jame lo kutuk lo wuwula.

Have you seen the black-toothed locust
Come to eat our grain. No hoeing
Will avail us. We are ruined.
We must dig for roots and eat them.
Up and dig red roots, Luköwa,
Dig red roots with aching fingers.
See, the sun is near to setting,
It is useless to talk further.

(2)

Jame lose, Simba.
Nan kondya mugun nyo ?
Gango 'duŋgö könin lonyit ko wale.
Gu'be weŋga pajo i diŋit ko Moru.
Wöri Morgan, nan lo jutu madaŋ.
Nan weŋgi Logwek.

Do you hear them talking, Simba ?
How can I display my passion ?
Gango's hand is gashed with daggers.
Gu'be wandered to the dwellings,
To the dwellings of the Moru.
I am lame and walk but slowly.
I will hobble thus to Logwek.

The singer laments his failure to impress the ladies of his choice. Gango, displaying his bravery by gashing his hand, made off with the first. Gu'be, a second, married in the Moru country. Will the third, Simba, also refuse him ?

Logwek is the hill at Rejaf.

(3)

Lomanga lo Kiden ! Nan a moro.
" Wani Moru a lo bot pele "
Na ŋuro ko morju na ŋutu,
" Nan ködyö 'dewundya Kurunduŋduŋ "
Nguajik kine Sereŋ, ŋuajik kine ŋa logon deden ?
Nye nagon Jege.
Nguro mor nan kana.
Legi a mor nan a mer yawa kana.

O Lomanga, son of Kiden !
Why am I the butt of insult ?
" Wani Moru is pot-bellied."
Why so sharp her tongue with insult ?
" I shall pluck bush-fruits from hunger."
All these maidens now at Sereŋ,
All these maidens, who can know them ?
Jege's tongue is sharp with insult,
But her slanders are most wicked.
Has the beer then quite destroyed her
That she utters idle slanders ?

Wani Moru is lamenting to his friend, Lomanga, the biting insults of Jege. First, she casts aspersions on his personal appearance, " Wani Moru is pot-bellied," and then on his social standing, " I shall pluck bush-fruits from hunger " (if I marry you, because you are so idle that we should be poor and without food). He consoles himself with this thought that Jege was drunk when she said this.

(4)

Nyina na kirut, nyina na kirut dio we,
'Do'ya linyiki Wani lo Wallo lo Morgan lo.
Ko nan kaje lo den, a nan luŋuro nanyo ?
Mokot lio ! Waranda lo Walla,
'Bain, Wani.

Do 'do'yi nyo nyiṅa ŋuro likaŋ.
'Bain, Kalobu.
Nu ŋuro nasu Mariga nagon na wuli.

Why this crying, why this crying ?
" Wani takes the wives of others "
It is slander falsely uttered.
I was told, but still I called her
By my life ! 'tis false Karanda.
By my life ! 'tis false, O Wani.
Why should Wani steal our women ?
By my life ! 'tis false, Kaluba.
If he steals the girl Mariga,
She is theirs, the girl Mariga,
She, whose laughter has no ending.

I was told. The point of this line is : " Although I knew the slander and the girl whose name was connected with it, yet all the same I addressed her, which shows that I am convinced of Wani's innocence."

Mariga has a reputation not quite so stainless, but any way, she is a girl from another village, and it is not a question of adultery with a " girl of our own "—" ŋina ŋuro nikaŋ."

Wani lo Walla. Walla lo Wayet (*vide* also " Hunting Songs, II," 3) also called Walla Bundukia, because he was the first to receive a rifle, when the Lado Enclave was under Belgian rule, is a sub-chief of the Nyembara and brother of the Lipunja invoked in " Hunting Songs, II, 2.

Mokot lio ! is a mild expletive. The fuller form is : " Mokot lio adi pirr a welet adi woo kak," which means " May my leg snap and the marrow drip to the ground (if I lie)."

(5)

Gora, do 'du'duköji i meleseno yu
I diŋit ko Mondu ?
Kapulet net kaje 'duŋöji ya ?
Ko do ko yiŋga kulya ti mörö, Wöri Pongo.
Nyigo lo tajo kunu kulya
Adi yawa mörö na kekena tuparan lo yawa.
Ko gor lo Milènyilo kölökö a körube.
Ko ŋuro likaŋ lo nyo tu da ?
Weŋga Malangoro ko Kuteŋ.

Why, O Gora, why resort you
To the dwellings of the Mondu ?
Was your navel-string not severed
In our country ? Wöri Pongo,
Do you hear the talk of battle,
Hear the Nyigö talk of battle,
Saying beer has caused this battle,
Caused this battle and this quarrel ?
And the fight that Mile' wageth
Leaves the village full of widows.
Whither goes our son, O whither ?
To the hills of Malangoro,
Kuteŋ leads him to the mountains.

These songs are of various ages. Some are traditional, invoking heroes who are now almost mythical ; for instance, part at any rate of the first Funeral Song I, 1, in which Baka is called upon. Others, though of great age, have recent events interpolated ; for example, Funeral Song I, 3, where Köni is the chief, who died in 1931, while Lai is an old hero of a date probably before the rule of the English, which is mentioned in the last line. Last are the obviously recent ones exemplified by Hunting Songs II, 2.

There are definite characteristics of humour and grandeur, and although the tattered clothing now worn by the majority of these people makes the singers appear a rather motley collection, the performance of a burial service round the grave of a recently interred chief, by the fitful light of a wood fire, still retains something of its old vigour and impressiveness.

" Köni is it whom we weep for,
Köni who has parted from us."

II.—THE DANCING AT NGANGALA.

One afternoon in February 1932, I was sitting in the rest-house at Ngaŋala, when the women of the village passed by carrying on their heads the bundles of thatching grass that they had been cutting that day in the bush. Waving to them, I greeted them in their own fashion with the

hope that they had both " slept and awakened well," whereupon they all suddenly burst out singing. I followed them down the road, trying to catch the song, and as I drew near they all dumped their bundles by the road-side and surrounding me and their leader, an aged crone who frisked about the circle, they sang to the accompaniment of hand clapping.

This is what I heard.

Mapötis matat welet do kak
Mamur matat welet na kiteŋ
Ado ti nan welet na kiteŋ
Mapötis matat welet do kak
Mapötis likaŋ welet na kiteŋ
Mapötis likaŋ welet na baggara
Matat likaŋ welet do kak
Matat likaŋ welet do ni.

Master ! like the fat of cattle !
Fat of kine that drippeth earthwards !
Give me fat, good fat of the cattle.
Like the fat of kine, our Master,
Like the fat of goodly cattle,
Like the fat of kine well-nurtured.
Master ! fat that drippeth earthwards.
Master ! fat that drippeth round us.

Noticing my perplexity, the Chief Modi lo Merio told me that the women had adopted a method allegoric, yet sincere, of expressing their pleasure at seeing me. I said to them " Go, and may smoke always ascend from your house," whereat they picked up their bundles and dispersed to their enclosures, with the song growing fainter in the distance,

" Master ! fat that drippeth round us."

Meantime, I had noticed the prevalence of a spirit of more than usual activity, for the chief and his retinue wore an air of expectancy, and the young men, instead of lying prone in the shade or clustering round us to hear what the " Master " had to say, were to be seen burnishing their armlets, and painting their bodies.

To my question as to what this betokened, the chief replied that they were holding a commemoration service for their Rain Chief, who had died a year ago. As darkness fell, first one and then another emerged in

feathered head-dress and leg bells, and the horns began to sound from behind the hill, quickly followed by the beat of the drums, which proclaimed the opening of the dance.

As I arrived, the old women, crouching under the wall of an enclosure, had already worked themselves up into frenzies of grief and were lamenting the departed with tears streaming down their cheeks, while a few male relatives danced slowly round the grave marked only by a circle of small branches stuck in the ground leaning inwards. Gradually the tears ceased to flow, and as more dancers arrived the songs changed character, and in one case, at any rate, became hilarious.

The four hundred inhabitants of Ngaŋala, situated as they are at the junction of the Mongalla-Torit and Juba-Torit roads at the foot of the Luluba Hills, lie on the most western marches of the Oxoriok and the most easterly confines of the Bari. Their ancestor Burdiaŋ lo Kobeke is reputed to have come, by God's will (ko Ngun), from a hill near Ilaŋari called Kajobo, and to have settled at Ngaŋala because he found it good. Of a bellicose nature, he conducted a series of wars against all the surrounding villages, except Ilaŋari.

The village Ngaŋala, as it lay, was likely to be a buffer between Bari and Oxoriok, hence its name which means " the people who look quickly from side to side and all around them thinking : ' Nga ? Nga ? Nga ? Who ? Who ? Who ? ' (is going to attack us next ?) "

Although their origin appears to be Oxoriok, they claim to be of Bari stock and speak pure Bari, unlike the Oxoriok of Iria, some of whom do not understand the Bari tongue. With a knowledge of both the Bari and the Oxoriok tongues, they carry this bilingualism into their singing, so that half their songs are purely in the speech of the Oxoriok, while a number of the remainder are a mixture of the two languages. The following are the Bari songs I heard sung round the grave of the Rain-Chief, Wani Roat.

(1)

Gelatat 'du'duki kaŋ ni,
Yi a rem börik,
Yi a rem börik ko goro.

Now the stranger is among us.
Let us all now spear our bodies.
Let us spear them in our sorrow.

This refers to the advent of the English government, which the Oxoriok feared would be as harsh as the regime of the slave raiders, not, indeed, without some initial reason, as the fractious nature of the people in the Ngaŋala-Iria Pass drew upon them a number of punitive patrols.

(2)

Ngutu likaŋ duma kulyari
Adi yi mömörö ko jörön
Ngilo ŋutu duma a kulyani
Köpuret na 'beron amulu mere.

Our great chief himself has told us,
We must fight with other peoples,
Saying once the smoke ascended,
Eddying round the peaks of mountains.

This great chief was Gogulian, the son of Togulusak of the Locak grade; his claim to greatness was his large stores of food, which he frequently drew upon to regale the tribe, especially just before a battle.

The other villages with whom the battles are fought are Oxoriok, notably Ngulere, the neighbours of Ngaŋala.

The significance of smoke is that of large numbers and therefore warlike strength. Its use in a greeting is mentioned at the beginning of this article.

The mountains are those called Karokuduk.

(3)

Nan koju mönundyö lo po kaŋo.
Yaŋ Ngote nio!
Nguro lo Legi,
Laŋet na Kuji.

Long, yes, long ago I waited,
Waited for a wooer's coming,
Waited, mother, for a suitor,
From the clan of the Pirisa.

This song is an example of the pregnancy to be found in many of the expressions in Bari songs.

Translated literally, it runs " I of old wait, the (man) come outside, Mother, Mother mine, the son of some one, the clan of Kuji! "

Lo po Kango refers to the exogamous nature of the clan system. The lady awaited a husband from outside her clan.

Nguro lo Legi. For sometime both before and after marriage it is inauspicious for an affianced bride to call her husband by his own name. " Son of some one " is the usual term of address adopted.

Langet na Kuji. Kuji is not as might be expected the name of the clan. The meaning is " The clan of which Kuji is a member, *i.e.*, the Pirisa." Kuji is an ancestor, Rain Chief and monyejur, of Ngaŋala. He was the great grandson of the Bordiaŋ mentioned above as the traditional founder of Ngaŋala.

(4)

Ta wöki nyo geleŋ geleŋ
Debe lo Lucak lo likaŋ
Lu Ngaŋala lo 'ƀeron.

Why disperse ye in disorder
From the arrows of the Lucak,
Of our Lucak, who inherit
Ngaŋala of ancient prowess ?

So often was this short song repeated, and with such fervour was it sung, that it might almost be regarded as the national anthem of Ngaŋala. It refers to the fighting, often bitter, between Ngaŋala and the first truly Oxoriok village, Ngulere. The people of Ngaŋala, here called Lucak are hurling taunts at the backs of their fleeing enemies. Ngaŋala was not, however, always victorious.

(5)

Ko ta yiŋga kulya ti Bari
Koka ririmwe,
Nyermuk, kulya ti Juba.
Adi, Yokwe ŋuro lo Wani,
Ko do yiŋga kulya ti Bari,
Koka ririmwe.
Yi ti wudd-yö,
Yi gwon ni böŋö,
Nyermuk, kulya ti Juba.
Adi, Yokwe ŋuro lò Wani,
Yukwe nanu, Jele lo Mogo ?
Yi, Logondya, köji a inot.

Monye Lujuŋ,
Ko ta yiŋga kulya ti bari
Koka ririmwe

If you hear the Bari chatter
Koka will be taken from us.
Nyermuk, list not words from Juba ;
If, o Yokwe son of Wani,
If you list the Bari talking,
Koka will be stolen from us.
We depart not ; Bari speeches,
Nyermuk, have no meaning for us.
When, o Yokwe son of Wani,
Are the cows loosed from their stalling ?
Jele, son of Mogo, tell us ;
We, Logondya, are your village.
Sire of Lujuŋ, if you listen
To the talking of the Bari,
Koka will be stolen from us.

Koka is a river near Ngaŋala.

Lado Nyermuk was a man of repute who presided over the feasts, and in whose honour food was cooked after battles.

Yokwe lo Wani was also a great man.

Jele, son of Mogo, is also father of *Lujung*, a man of repute, rich in cattle and therefore husband of many wives.

Here, the people of Ngaŋala who claim to be Bari are plainly at loggerheads with those of that tribe living towards the Nile The river Bari are here regarded as a spineless and timorous crowd as opposed to the Bari-Oxoriok people of Ngaŋala. The point of the song (sung by the old men as an exhortation to the young) is : " If you young men consort with the Bari who live about Juba, you will become weak like them, and then our enemies will take possession of our country."

This success by their enemies is allegorically expressed in the line,

" Koka will be stolen from us."

Again, there is pregnancy of meaning in these words, because Koka is the stream from which Ngaŋala has always drunk. Its loss, therefore, represents not a minor reverse, but complete defeat.

(6)

Nguta terakindya riŋga
Molu ko yumbo kata.
Merok kaŋ kilo popo
Paran de ariok mariŋ.
Ju lele löri nikaŋ.
Kak gwe a Koloŋ
Ju lele löri nikaŋ.
Legi ! ko joŋ tuparan mömörö
Ariogu diŋö nikaŋ, Koloŋoka.

Foes are coming to the contest.
Let them fight with us to-morrow.
Let our foes come out against us.
Early will the fence be broken.
Let our drummers to their drumming.
Fiercely beats the sun upon us.
Let our drummers beat their measures
Legi ! Keep the cattle stabled,
For to-day we go to battle.
We will take their village near your,
Near your village, Koloŋoka.

This song refers to one of many contests with the village of Ngulere, here called Koloŋoka.

The spirit of the second line is that of the slang English phrase : " We'll show 'em."

The people of Ngaŋala obviously anticipate victory, as the tone of the whole song is of challenge.

(7)

Ngilu lo lalet ko tulutut
Galaki nan lele lalet.
Ilolor ko tulutut
Galaki nan lele lalet
Ramadaŋ, Köji na Lado.

Since orchitis has destroyed him,
Search me out another husband ;
Fell orchitis is upon him
Search me out another husband,
Ramadaŋ, o Clan of Lado !

Lado's other name was Monoja Liŋö, and he received the last name Liŋö because all his cows had downward growing horns.

This song is a woman's song, and such was the vivacity of its rendering that the *raison d'être* of the dance was dropping into the background; Wani Roat was forgotten and the general atmosphere of the dance was becoming more care-free.

(8)

Yi, monye Roŋga, Lado Lisi,
Yi rerem merok kaŋ;
Yi kilo möndu wilo.
Jajama wöidyo!
Jame lu jama kaŋo yu.
Nan, Pirisa, nan ti den.
Nan lo yiŋga waya nio!
Momoren nikaŋ! Go'bile.
Monye Roŋga, yi rerem merok kaŋ.

Sire of Roŋga, Lado Lisi,
We will smite our foes and kill them,
When the crescent moon is with us
We will smite them, and around us
Will be heard the cries of sorrow.
Pirisa, our foes are plotting;
What is this they plot against us?
I but hear the talk of fighting,
Fighting with us, o Go'bile,
Sire of Roŋga, Lado Lisi
We will smite them and will kill them.

Rongga, also called Lado Loriŋa, was once regarded as master of the hills of Ngaŋala. He had a second name, Lado Lisi, bestowed on him because he ate but little food.

Go'bile is the name of the hills at Ilaŋari, whence, according to legend, the ancestor of Ngaŋala sprang.

(9)

Mönik lo köidyö lo doto ko rujö
Limbora doto ko woŋun.
Ta puri nyo ko walia?
Mariŋ nikaŋ na Lucak.

Birkwak wowoŋun luluŋgu gworoŋ ŋutu i mariŋ kaŋo.
A ta ko rem ko Iro.
Lows the bull of great Köidyö
Lows while sleeping. Sleeps Limbora,
Sleeps but bellows. Why this arming
In our village, Lucak's village ?
Birkwak lows, and lowing tells us
In the bush there prowls a leopard,
Prowls a leopard round our village.
Let us fight, for Iro calls us.

Limbora and *Birkwak* are names of bulls. They are regarded as scenting the coming attack (*vide supra* Funeral Songs, I, 2).

Leopard. The Bari refer to a cattle thief as a " wild beast out in the bush." By a natural transition the leopard here represents the enemies of Ngaŋala.

Iro is the name of a bull whose lowing calls the people to battle.

To the singers there would be an easy transition from Iro or Birkwak to their owners, who would naturally be leaders in the village.

In the course of the dance, one, Logumba Fitia, walked slowly round the dancers and spectators sprinkling on all present a mixture of water and sesame oil. This ritual is supposed to be efficacious in two ways. It first prevents a dancer or spectator falling sick from any unexorcised contamination that may hover about the grave (for a similar taint, *vide* " Death of Yokwe "). It also ensures that while the dance lasts, no one will have the misfortune to be struck by the spears of the men, which in the general mêlée, are often brandished or lunged dangerously near the naked bodies of other participators in the dance.

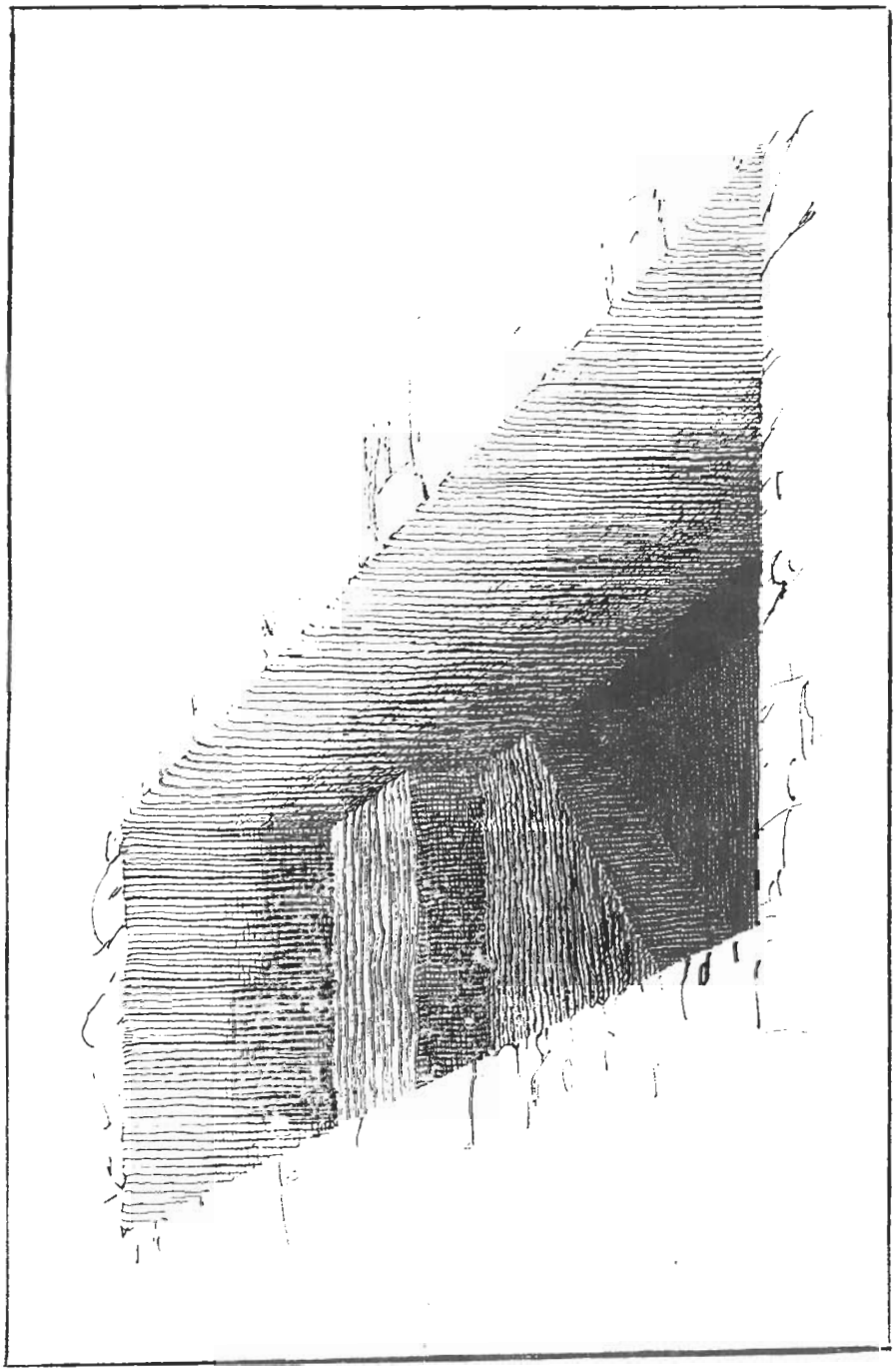
These people, be they Bari or Oxoriok, have retained the ancient splendours of their dance. The fighting men, armed with spears, are arrayed in their feathers and ornaments ; their bodies glisten with fat and sweat ; the drummers beat on without tiring ; the earth literally shakes from the stamp of feet to the drum beats ; their bells jingle ; the spears clash ; the dust hangs in clouds above the dance ground, illumined by the flicker of a wood fire ; and, re-echoing from the surrounding ring of mountains, the deep sonorous voices of the men, shot through with the shrill cries of the women, chant and re-chant in honour of

" Ngaŋala of ancient prowess "

III.—THE DEATH OF A BARI RAIN-MAKER.

In May and June, 1930, after promising early showers, the rain failed over most of the Bari country to the south of Juba, along the east bank of the Nile, at a crucial moment for the success of the crops. The people were naturally worried at the failure of even their most powerful rain chief, Pitia Lugör, to intercede successfully for rain, and feeling ran so high that Pitia Lugör and his neighbour, Yokwe Kerri, also a minor rain-maker, swore an oath about the rain. As Pitia Lugör accused Yokwe Kerri of " willing sun," and thus nullifying Pitia's invocation to the rain clouds, the latter adjured all present to witness the slow spread of starvation among his people if the charge were correct, while Pitia retorted that if he spoke untruly his own people should feel the pinch of famine. The crops failed and hunger gripped all the Bari. Although Yokwe's people did not escape, it was generally admitted that Pitia's land about Shindurru had shown worse signs of sterility. The shortage was so severe that whole villages went off to work as volunteers on the new Juba Nimule road, and the aged and unfit asked to be allowed to go up to Kajo-kaji to buy grain. They bought enough to tide them over to the 1931 crop, and settled down to await the rain.

Meantime, Yokwe Kerri fell so dangerously ill that in March his family despaired of his life. This led to the departure of his first wife to the Fajelu country, where a medicine man of some repute was consulted at Loka who, hearing that Pitia Lugör was suspected, through chagrin, doubtless, at having his words belied, advised the following rite. In the sick man's house a number of stones were collected and all but one given the name of one of Yokwe Kerri's ancestors, because the spirits of departed ancestors bring evil on a family if slighted by lack of attention, while the one stone was called after Pitia Lugör, because he was suspected of being the cause of the illness. Inside the circle of stones four hens were in turn killed by the son of the first wife, while the remaining relatives looked anxiously on. Four times the decapitated body of the fowl ran round the stones in its death agonies, and four times the lifeless corpse fell bleeding over the stone of Pitia Lugör. Thus were their suspicions confirmed, but any retaliation by Yokwe's people was frustrated for the moment. when, on the top of his illness, came the disaster of Yokwe's death.



Sketch No. 1. *Kindly made by Mrs. L. F. Nalder.*

The next day, 6th April, 1931, on arriving at Shindurru to review the Native Court, Capt. R. C. Cooke received this letter (slightly emended) from the dead man's eldest son :

" DEAR SIR,

" Your servant Yokwe Kerri has now died and we are in sorrow now ; all our people are in sorrow and now we are in sorrowful case. No one should pay anything in this Lokiko (Native Court), anyone that belongs to Yokwe, as we want his money here to buy flags, that we may put on his tomb. We want eight flags, two red, four white and two black. We want them now please, and if you want to come and see, you may come ; he is not yet buried till to-morrow.

" Your servant,

" YOSEPA YOKWE."

We officially expressed our regret before the Lokiko, and as we intended to go and condole with the relatives, we offered to take the other chiefs with us, but before departing we received a second letter :

" DEAR SIR,

" Many thanks to you. Your servant is now in bed dead. We do not want the chiefs to come here, only you at four o'clock, you and your brother (Mr. A. C. Beaton) ; and so we do not want all chiefs, because of rain, as my father was Rain-maker ; that is why we do not want them, because they will take our rain. That is the case.

" Your servant,

" YOSEPA YOKWE."

That evening we went to the village and spoke with the mourning relatives, some of whom, though not distraught with grief, were moving slowly about the enclosure, and from time to time approaching the place outside the chief's house, where his " 'dupi " (serfs) were already engaged in digging the grave, a labour which was to last through the night.

The grave was of a special type reserved for rain-makers, chiefs and influential freemen. Cut some 8 feet long, east to west, 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet wide, and some 6 feet deep at the deepest point, it descended from the west in two steps, the first 2 feet 6 inches deep and about the same in width, parallel to the end, the second transverse, widening on

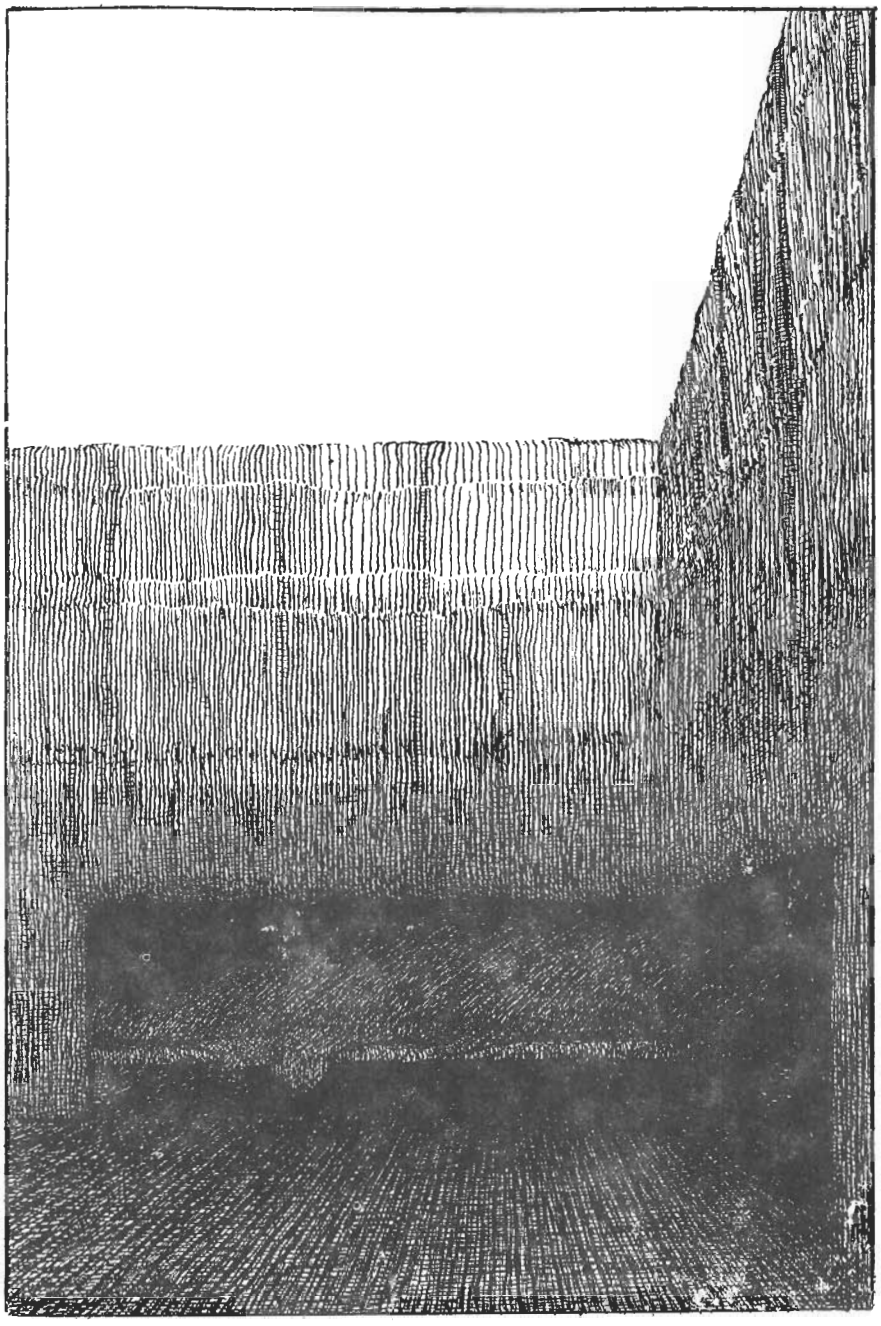
the descender's right to 4 feet and bringing him half a turn to the left facing the north-east corner, where, some 4 feet below the surface, the interment chamber proper was cut laterally and frontally into the north side and east end of the excavation. To this recess, some 6 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet high the corpse is consigned recumbent on a native bed (*vide* sketches 1 and 2 and diagram 1).

We were bidden to attend next morning about 8 a.m. for the burial, but whether there were rites which the relatives wished to perform unobserved, or whether they started earlier by mistake, we did not actually see the consignment of the corpse to the earth. There are, at any rate, preliminary rites, which are performed in secret as soon as *rigor mortis* has set in, and at which it appears only close relatives are present. The chief's son is our authority for this ceremonial, which he willingly described, and on which he readily answered our questions.

After a death the house is closed to all except close kin. The hair shaved from the corpse so that " he may go clean," is put in a calabash near the bed, on which the body, anointed with oil by those sons and mothers-in-law present, is laid after being clothed and sewn up in two blankets. The first-born son and the son of the first wife (if these two are different), together with one goat, sleep with the dead for one night, while the rest sleep outside and the " 'dupi " dig the grave. Early in the morning the wives go off to the stream, where they bathe and are shaved by an old woman chosen by the dead man's brother, while the other female relatives about the enclosure are cutting off the beads with which they ornament their hair.[1]

After the women have gone, the sons and brothers, who are also shorn, carry out the bed with the calabash, and set it by the graveside, where those female relatives who have not been present at the previous unction, now anoint the dead over his clothes. The sons also take ground and burnt semin, unmixed with oil or water, and smear it down their father's back over the clothes as far as the waist, and then down their own naked chests, after which they and the mothers-in-law touch on the head the small son of a " 'dupiet," who has been chosen to watch over the grave, " so that he may be the new chief's serf, as his father

[1] " For an ordinary burial two days may elapse before the shaving. Meantime, they pour ashes on their heads, while not even the women do any work, but all are provided with food by friends."—Father Spagnola, Roman Catholic Mission.



Sketch No. 2. *Kindly made by Mrs. L. F. Nalder.*

was the serf of Yokwe." This boy must remain on or near the grave for four days.

The sons now return to the hut and are not allowed out until the earth is being cast into the grave. On their way they must be careful not to tread on grass or they will surely catch guinea-worm. In connection with this grass taboo, it is interesting to note that, when later we went to inspect Yokwe's rainstones, while the earth was still being filled in, the rain-serf averted " the death of our eyes " by snapping a blade of grass, and describing a downwards and outwards quarter circle with each hand from the centre of our foreheads to our chins, and a complete semi-circle over the head of each of us with his right hand, blowing the while.[1]

The goat, with the calabash of hairs, is next taken off into the bush by the eldest sister of the dead, where the defiling hairs and calabash are thrown away, and whence the goat returns to the house for one more night, after which it takes part in future rain ceremonies.[2]

The bed and corpse are now consigned to their last resting-place in the underground recess. The corpse is on its right side with the head towards the door of the house, as he usually lies in this position during his lifetime watching his wife cook, and also so that his spirit, which must have a habitat, can find its way back into the house. If a woman, the corpse would lie on its left side.[3]

Father Spagnola, of the Roman Catholic Mission, kindly tells us that the " 'dupiet " now usually descends into the grave and remains there on watch, until the decomposing body opens in final decay, when he ascends and proclaims the rain-maker dead. This precaution is probably to avoid burying the rain-maker alive, but Father Spagnola was inclined to agree with our very tentative theory that it may be a humane survival of an old custom of burying the serf with his master.[4] On this occasion, however, Yokwe, who was a large man, was earthed

[1] " If a girl at her initiation breaks any rule, the evil is averted by a woman who, with a blazing handful of grass, describes a circle round the offender's head."—Father Spagnola, Roman Catholic Mission.

[2] " The rainstones are anointed with a mixture made of the urine of this goat and the green half-digested herbage taken from the intestines of a second sacrificial goat."—*Ibid.*

[3] " Bari custom forbids both male and female to sleep feet towards the door."—*Ibid.*

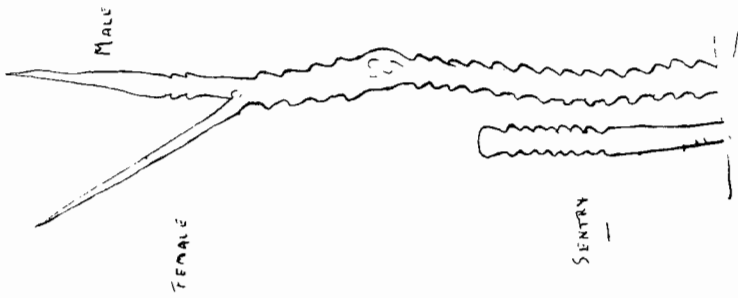
[4] " I was once told (with what truth I do not know) that in olden days two serfs were buried with the Rain Chief to serve him after death, one with the Chief's small native carved chair (*si'det*), and the other with his pipe, but nowadays fear of the Government prevents this."—*Ibid.*

in at once, as the odour was, after only twenty-four hours, already unbearable. It was at this point that we arrived and the remaining ritual is what we actually saw.

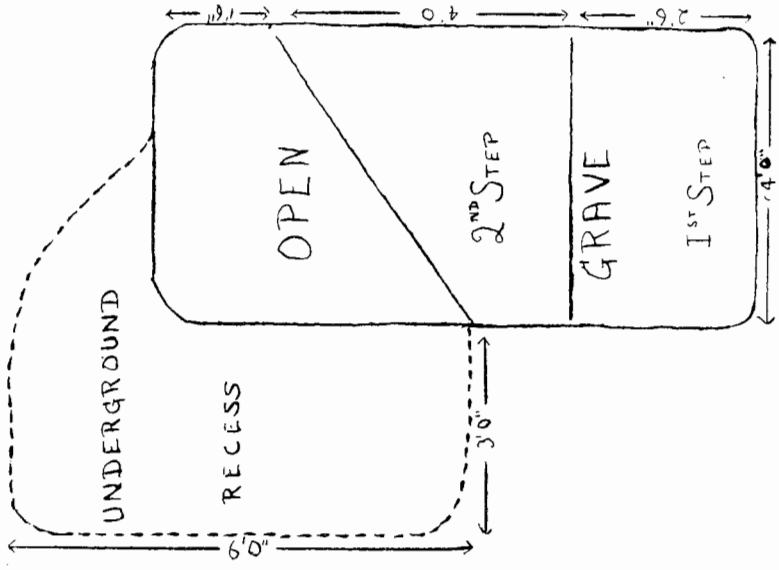
Large slabs of stone, thick stakes, and sacking are used to block up the mouth of the cavity, so that no earth shall fall on him. Mud is plastered over these and the earth is then thrown in and stamped or beaten down, while the onlookers, including the sons who have now left the house, give advice to the workers and also to the Mokongo (sub-chief) and chief serf, who are now engaged in raising the grave stakes (*vide* diagram 2 and photographs 1 and 3). These are carved wooden stakes brought from the grave of Yokwe's father down by the river, and will remain on his tomb until required for his son's burial. The right-hand prong of the taller stake is called the male, the other is the female, and the smaller stake is the sentry. At first, the planters of the stakes had put them in wrong, but, finally, it was agreed on that the correct position was with the female prong pointing in the same direction as the corpse was facing.

Two small baskets of the excavated earth, one from each side of the grave, together with all sticks, stones and hoe-handles used in the burial, are carried off into the bush in the direction in which the corpse faces, and thrown away, after the earth has been heaped into a mound over the grave. This, as Father Spagnola tells us, is to remove and lose in the trackless bush the contamination (mu'du), which might otherwise kill all present. The iron hoe-heads are, however, too valuable to be wasted, but are, nevertheless, carried away with the handles, so that a pretence of throwing them away may be made. On their return the "'dupi" run quickly to the grave and wash their bodies over it, so as not to take anything away on their persons and so bring defilement on the village, while the drummers erect their drums by the grave stakes and beat the opening bars of the burial dance. The head "'dupiet" stands on the grave surveying the mourners, who cluster in a vociferous throng around him, and then run in circles around the enclosure, the men brandishing their spears and the women their sticks.

The first-born son, armed with his father's rain and judgment stick (*vide* diagram 3 and photograph 4) and accompanied by his brothers and sisters mount the tomb and chant the first mournful numbers, to collect into one place all the inhabitants of the enclosure, round whom a sacrificial



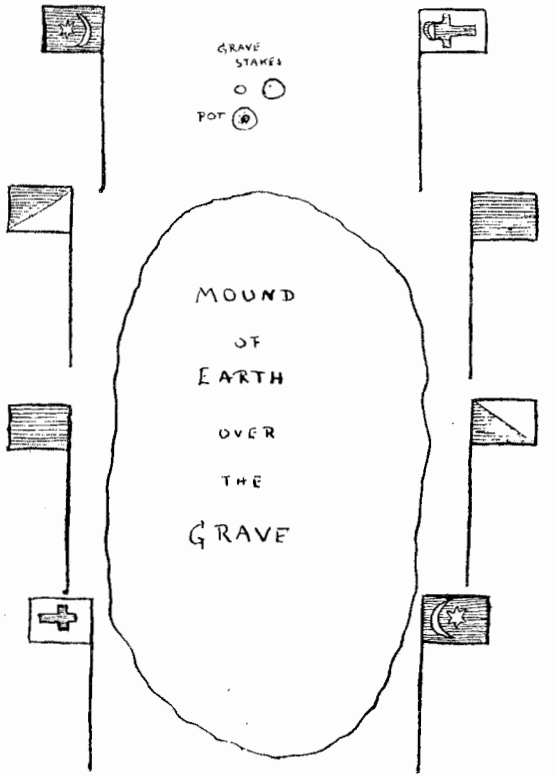
THE GRAVE STAKES ON YOKWE KERRI'S GRAVE.
Diagram No. 2.



GROUND PLAN OF YOKWE KERRI'S GRAVE.
Diagram No. 1.



YOKWE KERRI'S RAIN AND JUDGMENT STICK.
Scale 1″=1′
Diagram No. 3.



THE POSITION OF THE FLAGS OVER THE GRAVE.
(Each flag is fixed to a bamboo pole, 8′ 0″—10′ 0″ high.)
Diagram No. 4.

ram is led and then taken away to a distance into the bush and eaten by the serfs who dug the grave. This is a signal for the return of the wives from their shaving.

While the chief male and female " 'dupi " remain on the grave, the sons and daughters run round the enclosure up to the death-bed hut of Yokwe, where they spear the door to display their anger at their father's death and to ward off the illness that carried him off.[1] The funereal dirges start :

" Where is he missing ?
He is missing from his home.
O Son of Kerri!
Your illness is yet to be known."

This continues for four days, while the small son of the " 'dupiet," asleep amid the clangour of nocturnal wailing, or huddled in a blanket in the cold morning air, or cowering under the nearby eaves from the showers, sits sentinel over the rain, until, after a month's vigil, he is to enter into the servitude of a new master carrying the rain gift with him.

We left the bereaved to their dead.

We returned after four days to see the erection of the flags—the tokens of a great man. As the black ones mentioned in Yosepa's letter were not obtainable, two plain red ones, two half red and white diagonally, two with a white crescent and star on a red background, one with a red cross on a white ground, and one bearing a very rough resemblance to a man in red on a white ground, were erected round the tomb, where they remain until they drop (*vide* diagram 4). Father Spagnola adds that all things placed on a tomb, whether mats, pots or cooking-stones, are left untouched until they fall away in natural decay. A goat is now sacrificed over the tomb near an empty pot set at the foot of the grave stakes, after which it is cooked and eaten by all present. Signs of grief are still apparent in the cropped heads and ash-smeared bodies of the women and the sad demeanour of the men.

Two measures of beer are brought out of the dead man's house, where it has been brewed. From the first the small pot at the grave head is nearly filled and the rest is poured as a libation to Yokwe over

[1] " The women sometimes seize a bundle of grass from the roof of the hut and angrily throw it down as a sign that the owner is gone and the house useless. To do this to the house of a living man is a terrible curse."—Father Spagnola, Roman Catholic Mission.

his grave. The second measure provides a generous draught for the son of Yokwe's sister, a libation over the grave to Yokwe, the amount needed to fill up the small pot, and a libation poured over the stakes to Yokwe's father. The small boy kneels down and drinks from the pot without raising it; he then raises it and drinks deeply from it, while the nephew drinks from the second measure. The beer is now open for all to drink, but the sons are not allowed to partake.

The dance is resumed until the distant relatives and friends bring their offerings of goats and cattle; these are killed and eaten and made good as far as possible by the bereft family. Before this, no extraneous mourner is allowed near. Yokwe's enclosure contained only his wives, sisters and brothers, and the only strangers at his funeral were his sub-chiefs and ourselves. At this point the " 'dupi " visit all the grain stores and throw out a portion of the corn; the sons may then, after eating dry cooked semin, take the remainder as food. To take it before this ceremony is to bring starvation on the family. In a month's time, when most of the funeral feasts are over, a new Rain Chief will be chosen. This is a short period of waiting, but as the rains have already broken, the choice of a new chief is a matter of some urgency.

The next month will see many sympathisers arrive, many sacrifices made, and many hymns improvised in the honour of Yokwe:

" O daughters of Yokwe!
What shall we do now?
His place is large, but he is gone
And we are small and weak.
What shall we do now?
For there is none left to rule his kingdom as he.
We are in deep sorrow.
O Son of Kerri!
Your death brings death on all.
We are lost in deep sorrow."



1. FILLING IN THE GRAVE.
Taken by Captain Cooke.



2. 'DUPI WASHING OVER THE GRAVE.
Taken by Captain Cooke



3. THE GRAVE STAKES.
Taken by Captain Cooke.



4. THE DIRGES (NOTE THE RAINSTICK).
Taken by Captain Cooke.

APPENDIX.

Songs of Death.

These songs were sung at the death of Chief Yokwe Kerri. The English translation as given is not literal, as such a rendering would not only be barely intelligible in English, but would also miss the inner meaning that the words themselves have for the Bari hearer. I have therefore tried to catch the spirit of each song, in order to avoid the addition of too voluminous footnotes. Father Spagnola has kindly helped in explaining some of the more difficult phrases and allusions in the originals

(1) How came bereavement to his house?
How came forlorn-ness?
The sire of Kerri lies buried.
We are lost in a wilderness of grief.

(2) O Children of Yokwe!
Whither go ye weeping?
To the land of strangers,
Even to the mountains.
O children of Kerri's son!
Who now shall hear our words of praise?
Ever will we sing of you to Löpu,
Sing evermore at festivals.'

(3) O Son of Kerri! whence came your death?
Whence came it?
Whence came the fatal stroke?
Gone is he, yea, withered like the grass.
Yokwe is gone from us
As water that dries in the sand.

(4) O Löpu! Revered One!
Our vessel is broken, Yokwe is dead.
Would you had died of a man's contriving,
On him would we requite your death, o Yokwe!
Death for a death, a just requital.

(5) O Löpu ! Revered One !
Who shall guard our cattle ?
Our young men's cattle, who shall guard them ?
Grief fills our hearts, o Child from Subör !
For Yokwe, grief for the son of Wolyan,
Grief for our Lord, o Child from Subör.

(6) Stay, o stay !
Who shall inherit this kingdom ?
Who shall inherit this greatness ?
Yokwe's foes are hard upon us.

(7) Mead he made for us,
Mead he gave us,
Mead in the home of the son of Wolyan.
I hear a cry, o Revered One !
A cry from the lips of his daughters :
" The young grass waves in all our country,
Our enemies are on our borders,
Drive them from our happy country."

(8) Come dire death and fell disaster,
Sporting with the son of Kerri,
Sporting with the son of Yokwe,
Who is helpless in their clutches.

(9) Forget not, o forget not !
Life is but a borrowing from death.
The memory of our lord brings pain into our hearts.
Remember in the distant future,
Remember him, o Land of Subör.

(10) Laugh and be merry, ye people,
All of you laugh and rejoice,
Rescue has come for the Scourger is dead.

(This song may represent the thoughts of Yokwe's enemies, or may be a bitter railing against death, that could not discriminate between a Yokwe and a Scourger.)

(11) Dead is he, dead.
Is there vengeance for your death,
O Yokwe, for this death of yours?
Who of your house brought death on you.

(12) Lominyo! where is your father?
Bereft is his house and deserted.
Lominyo! where is your sire?
Empty the realm of its ruler.
Death has devoured our father,
Devoured the father of Löpu.
Cold is our lord in his death,
Dead is the father of Löpu.

(13) Our leader, our ruler has fallen.
Who shall succeed to his rule?
Did your eye, o Löpu, bewitch him?'
Can the father of Kerri reply?

(To accuse Löpu, Yokwe's brother or son, of possessing the evil eye, is an allegoric way of expressing the singers' ignorance of the cause of Yokwe's death.)

(14) The tree of our councils is lonely.
For Yokwe is gone.
We are lost in a desert of sorrow.
We mourn with the weeping of women.

(15) Work slowly, work slowly,
O Rain Serf of Yokwe!
Dig slowly his grave.
Beware of the ants in the antheap,
Beware of the ants in the ground.

(16) The night-flitting spirit has envied our Chief.
We heard it not,
The spirit that envied our Son of Wolyan.
Let this quarrel wax hot and wax quickly
Cry slowly, o Subek, cry slowly.
We wait till the time of grass-burning
To return to the home that we knew.
We, your sons, all your sons, o Loringa,
Will follow the path that you show.

(17) Death has mown down the wealthy,
O Löpu! Let them rejoice,
Who gibe at your father.
Let men be merry and laugh.
Where will they laugh, all the strangers?
Quickly came death on my father.

(18) Your sons, o Loringa, will battle.
O Son of Nyoka, Son of Kerri?
Whither can you flee?
This noble cries: "I will punish."
This youth says: "I will scourge."
They will dig out your body,
And visit their rage on your corpse.
O Son of Kerri!
Whither can you flee?

(The enemies of Yokwe are accusing him of bad decisions, which they will visit on his dead body.)

(19) They laugh, but say, "We are weeping."
They laugh, o Revered One, his foes.
And the people of Loku are dying.

(20) O Lominyo! Haughty in spirit,
His enemies prance on his grave.
Our enemies march on our borders,
Besetting our land with their war cry,
Investing our southernmost confines.
Like the ox that is killed in the village,
Why, Yokwe, o why were you slain?
We will fight and will drive off the hostile,
We will harry their headlong retreat.

I append three of these songs in the original with literal translation for purposes of comparison.

No. 3. Nguro lo Kerri, twan gala gala;
Twan inot gwon da?
Likin da?
Likin ko dōru;
Yokwe lo ajeleta ko lodwe kanyit ti kisuk.

Son of Kerri, death is being looked for;
(*i.e.*, We do not know how you died.)
Your death is how?
You were lost how?'
You were lost like grass.
Yokwe has slipped down like cow's urine.

No. 6. Garani garani!
Do molu lo ruddi ŋina yöbu
Do molu lo ruddi temejikan,
Könyi lo Matiyu.

Stay! Are you the one who will inherit this part of the bush?
Are you the one who will inherit this greatness?
O! Könyi son of Matiyu.

(This Könyi is an imaginary person, who embodies the feelings of the enemies of Yokwe Kerri's people. These foes, seeing the people without their chief, are awaiting their chance to step in and seize the kingdom. This, of course, is impossible under the Government, but this song reflects the defenceless state of the primitive community when the chief has died.)

No. 8. Twan, dio! twan na gwon a mule,
Biryö biryö ko ŋuro lo matat, wöri Kerri,
Gubara murut mu'diŋ.

Death yes, death which is fierce,
Is playing with the son of the chief, the son of Kerri,
Throwing his neck outside.

(This is a "wrestling metaphor" describing the victim of a successful hold with his head falling backwards.)

[NOTE.—In the foregoing article, the two sketches were kindly done by Mrs. L. F. Nalder, and the photographs taken by Captain R. C. Cooke, M.C.]

THE ENTRY OF RELAPSING FEVER INTO THE SUDAN.

By Lieut.-Col. G. K. Maurice, D.S.O., M.C.

(PLATES XII—XV.)

PREFACE.

I have entitled this article " The *entry* of Relapsing Fever into the Sudan," because I have written chiefly of my personal experiences, which were confined to the detection of the disease, and to the subsequent six months.

It may seem that I have belittled the efforts of others. I have tried to show (inadequately, I fear) that others bore the heat and burden of the epidemic by carrying out what became monotonous routine, and that my successors entered on their tasks when the early enthusiasm had waned.

It may appear also from what I have written that the epidemic was the sole factor in raising the Fur from his pristine indifference. Relapsing fever was for him little more than an initiation into medicine. But it paved the way to further medical development ; indeed, compelled it. It was left, finally, to the enthusiasm of Capt. T. W. Davidson, R.A.M.C., to develop the potentialities of the situation to its utmost.

IN 1926 relapsing fever killed ten thousand of the population of Darfur in the space of six months.

The disease was imported from the war areas to the West Coast, where it became epidemic and spread uninterruptedly across Africa, until it was arrested some 60 miles west of Fasher. It is caused by the inoculation into the blood stream of a spirochæte, which, when seen under a high-power microscope, resembles a fine spiral thread. It enters the blood through the bite of lice and ticks, and, some say, also of bed bugs. The common carrier in Central Africa is a blind tick: Ornithodorus moubata. This tick lives by day in the crannies and crevices of huts, whence it sallies forth at night in search of blood. It possesses the peculiarity of being able to live unfed for five years, and once infected with the spirochæte can transmit infection to its offspring at least unto the third generation. Lice, which are the carriers of the

disease in North Africa and Europe, can also transmit infection to their offspring.

The disease is characterised by alternating periods of high fever lasting five or six days and periods of no fever when the patient feels comparatively well. In its more acute form, and especially when it attacks a debilitated population, hæmorrhages may occur from nose, lung or bowel. There is often intense jaundice, and the patient may die within the first six days or even within twenty-four hours. Injections of "606" and similar preparations given in the febrile period act like a charm, and one injection is often enough to effect a cure.

The first recorded cases which I can trace in the Sudan occurred in 1913, one at Halfa and one at Khartoum. During the war, in 1916, 112 cases of Egyptian origin were detected at and around Halfa, and in the eight succeeding years some fifty cases were reported mostly from Atbara. The disease was louse-borne, mild in type, and resulted in five deaths only.

In 1925, six cases of the tick-borne variety were found in Mongalla Province on the Uganda frontier. Ornithodorus moubata was found in four rest houses north of Nimule, but in no others. These rest houses were burnt. This tick is widely distributed in Uganda, and several thousand tick-borne cases of relapsing fever are treated there annually. The timely destruction of the tick on its entry into the Sudan has left this country free from the tick-borne disease ever since.

It can be seen then that, until 1926, the disease had not established itself in the Sudan, nor had it, at any rate under British administration, assumed epidemic form. And I do not think that, at that time, anyone in the Sudan had ever seen an epidemic of relapsing fever.

It is, however, a very old disease, and has wrought in ancient times probably more havoc in the British Isles than any other disease with the exception of typhus. There were some among those dealing with the epidemic in Darfur who asserted that folk so verminous deserved their fate. The conditions in which our ancestors lived, the effects of louse-borne epidemics, which devastated all classes of the community in Great Britain and Ireland up to comparatively recent times, and the state of our prisons even in the 18th century is worth a glance as an antidote to a complacency sometimes displayed by those of us who are brought into close contact with primitive peoples.

In Europe both typhus and relapsing fever are carried by the louse.[1] Although it is not until about the year 1500 that typhus can be identified without question from the descriptions by contemporary writers of its clinical features; and not until 1741 that relapsing fever has emerged differentiated, it is possible that the two diseases ran concurrently in most of the great famine fever epidemics of 1087, 1196, 1258, 1315 and so on. Famine, due to failure of crops, can be traced in nearly all these epidemics, if we exclude plague, a different disease borne by the fleas of rats.

It should be noticed that before the 18th century no section of the community escaped these louse-borne diseases, but towards the close and during the 19th century, the wealthier people escaped, except those, who, by their calling, doctors, clergymen and relief workers, were thrown into direct contact with the disease; and the families of these escaped. Up to the middle of the 18th century the whole population, rich and poor, prince and peasant, soldier and sailor, the pillars of the Church, the high dignitaries of the law, the members of the great universities from which we recruit our administrative staff in the Sudan—all were lousy.

A contemporary writer states that in the English Court at the time of Queen Elizabeth it was possible to keep free of lice, but that after the accession of James and the advent of the Scottish lords to Court, infestation with lice was unavoidable. Pepys writes that in 1663 the queen contracted typhus. He notes, too, nits (lice eggs) on his new periwig. Burns wrote a poem: "To a louse seen on a lady's bonnet in church." Armies in the field suffered greater casualties from lice than from the enemy. Typhus was a normal scourge of the navy.

The leading prelate of England at the time of Henry II was more lousy than any African I have seen, dead or alive. In the words of Colonel MacArthur: "Thomas à Becket was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral on the evening of December 29th—January 4th by our calendar. The body lay in the cathedral all night, and next day, after some debate, it was decided to remove the clothing in preparation for burial. The dead archbishop was clad in an extraordinary accumulation of garments. Outermost there was a large brown mantle, next, a white surplice, underneath this, a fur coat of lamb's-wool, then a woollen pelisse,

[1] Colonel W. P. MacArthur.—*Old-time Typhus in Britain.*

then another woollen pelisse, below this, the black-cowled robe of the Benedictine Order, then a shirt, and finally, next the body, a tight-fitting suit of coarse horsehair covered on the outside with linen, the first of its kind seen in England. The innumerable vermin which infested the dead prelate were stimulated to such activity by the cold, that this hair garment, in the words of a chronicler, ' boiled over with them like water in a simmering cauldron,' and the onlookers ' burst into alternate fits of weeping and laughter between the sorrow of having lost such a head and the joy of having found such a Saint.' "

Fortunately for us, we found the Fur in 1926 less lousy and more simply clad.

The Black Assizes, of which there were many, notably those of Cambridge 1522, Oxford 1577, Exeter 1589, Taunton 1730, and the Old Bailey 1750, were so called, because lice, falling from prisoners suffering from " gaol fever " (typhus and relapsing fever) fastened with disastrous results on judge, alderman, jury and spectators, without distinction, and these being themselves lousy infected their families. We hold up our hands in horror at the conditions which prevailed in Omdurman prison during the reign of the Khalifa, but I can find nothing recorded which can compare with the state of our own prisons even so late as the end of 18th century. (John Howard's " State of Our Prisons in England and Wales.")

Although few were interested in the fate of prisoners, deaths among judges, sheriffs and the public brought into contact with them, stimulated research, but it was not until 1907 that the louse was proved to be the carrier of European relapsing fever, nor until 1909 of typhus. The spirochæte of European relapsing fever was first detected in 1868, while that of the African (tick borne) variety was discovered in 1904.

In 1926, the Province of Darfur had been under British administration for only ten years. I was posted as Senior Medical Officer there early in the year after four years of the sleeping sickness epidemic in southern Bahr-el-Ghazal. The medical staff consisted of the senior medical officer based on Fasher with a Syrian medical officer in charge of Fasher hospital ; a second Syrian at Nyala, 120 miles south, and a third at Geneina, 200 miles to the west. Two military tumergis staffed Kebkebia between Fasher and Geneina, and two the fort of Zalingei between Geneina and Nyala. Roads in the province were poor, but it

was just possible in the dry season to do the round by car: Fasher—Geneina—Zalingei—Nyala—Fasher. A Fasher merchant had just begun to run two cars between Fasher and El Obeid. Except for these there was only camel transport between Nahud and Fasher.

With so meagre a staff, the medical administration of a province as large as France, with scanty communicating roads, was necessarily backward, and the civil administration, especially in Zalingei District, where rain hampered travel for four months in the year, was similarly handicapped. Although a few of the more sophisticated persons of Zalingei and Kebkebia screwed themselves up to the pitch of occasionally asking for treatment from the tumergis in the forts, the average Fur, whose range extended over the whole of Zalingei District and a large part of Kuttum, Kebkebia and Nyala Districts looked on the medical authorities and their works with profound suspicion.

It was in early June, 1926, that I first heard of any sickness among the Fur. I was passing through Zalingei district by car. The District Commissioner told me that an outbreak of sickness had been reported in a village some three miles off the Nyala road. He furnished me with a guide and together we walked from the nearest point on the road to the village. Our reception was definitely unfriendly; any knowledge of sickness or deaths was denied. In those days I did not know enough to inspect the village graveyard for fresh graves, and I returned to the car satisfied that the rumour was but another false alarm so commonly met with by doctors. The rains broke while I was on this tour and I was confined to Fasher until the autumn.

Early in August among the routine reports from Khartoum I received notification that relapsing fever had spread into Wadai district of French Equatorial Africa from Lake Tchad. I thought little of this, but warned the medical officer at Geneina to look out for the disease and to search for and send me specimens of lice, ticks and bed bugs, and to search particularly for O. moubata. I suppose long residence on the frontiers of the Belgian Congo and Uganda where the tick-borne disease is widespread prejudiced me in assuming the tick the carrier. Looking back now it seems to me obvious that I should have suspected first of all the louse. However, I knew nothing at this time of the disease having spread across Africa.

Towards the end of August, District Commissioner Nyala, in a private letter to the Governor stated that he had heard from travellers that there was an outbreak of sickness on the French border. On September 6th, a letter dated August 30th, was received by Governor, Darfur, from Assistant District Commissioner, Kubbe, in Nyala District, enclosing a report from his cook, who was a West African. The report said that some people from Lake Tchad area had passed through Kubbe fifteen days previously and had informed this cook, on his enquiring about his own country, that there was a great sickness round Lake Tchad from which many had died and that the symptoms were headache, stomach-ache, vomiting, diarrhœa, and much fever.

I told the Governor that I feared relapsing fever was spreading into the Sudan, and asked him to wire all District Commissioners to institute local enquiry and report any outbreak of sickness to enable me to investigate and determine the nature of the disease. I also drew up and circulated to District Commissioners a non-technical description of relapsing fever, and of how it is carried.

On September 10th, the following report was received from Major Evans, District Commissioner, Kuttum :

> " Ahmedai relates : ' About ten months ago there appeared at the village of Shaw Fugu in Dar Kerne nine enormous birds—white, ten diraas from wing to wing. Eight went on, and the villagers killed the ninth and ate it. All the people of the village who ate it died. There was a woman of Nummo (one of Ahmedai's villages) there, and she brought the head to Ahmedai. It was the length of Ahmedai's forearm from the tip of the jaw, and the distance between the ends of the jaws was a few inches less.
>
> The people who buried the dead got the disease, and it has spread all over the Dar.'
>
> The normal duration of the disease is about 30 days ; if the patient can vomit blood and pass blood he usually recovers; but violent exertion after the 30 days will bring it on again.
>
> Ahmedai reckons that over a hundred men have died of it in Dar Fia, and about four hundred are lying ill now. It has only been raging for a month and a half in Dar Fia. In Dar Kerne he reckons that over four hundred have died.

A short time ago, a man appeared in the villages of Birket Saira and warned the people to give up drinking and lewd games and to take to prayer. He also forbade gatherings for funerals.

Shaib Abdel Gadir Abida of Dar Furok relates:

'A woman named Fatma bint Adam Agam who was ill with fever had a vision four days ago. Two very tall men appeared to her with staves in their hands and asked her what was the matter with her. She told them fever, and they said that the whole Dar had become infidel, and drank and committed adultery. Even now a plague was about to descend on them from the west and had already got close. But if the people gave up their evil ways and took to prayer and sacrifice, God would spare them.' The people of Furok are, in consequence, praying a great deal and have given up drinking.

The disease referred to has now appeared in Dar Sereif and there are a great many people ill. Few details available yet. The patients appear to have no sores, the disease seems to be a lung or chest one, bleeding at the nostrils is a symptom."

Here was something definite. Ahmedai was Shartai of the Fur in Kebkebia District. Dar Kerne is in N.W. Zalingei District, east of Dar Masalit which was reported free from disease. The birds were clearly pelicans, presumably from Lake Tchad, but what they were doing in waterless Darfur was a mystery. And if the disease was relapsing fever from French territory, how had it jumped Dar Masalit, or could pelicans convey infected ticks or lice? The symptoms, as reported, might be those of many acute diseases. And yet there was the vague suggestion of relapse in the report, and the remote association with Lake Tchad. I told the Governor I suspected the disease was relapsing fever in a very acute form, and made haste to go and investigate.

I first wired to Khartoum for a large supply of "914" (Novarsenobillon) and syringes in case my suspicions proved correct. Before my preparations were complete reports of outbreaks poured in from elsewhere. On September 12th, Nyala reported fifty deaths at Kas on the Zalingei border of that district, and on 13th a fresh outbreak further south. On 14th, outbreaks were reported in Zalingei District. Dar Masalit was still reported clear. The prominence given in the reports of these outbreaks to black vomit, blood in the stools and jaundice, together with the high mortality, made me suspicious of yellow fever,

I wired medical officer, Nyala, to go to Kas and investigate, while on 15th I went myself to Kebkebia to meet Major Evans.

With Major Evans I visited two villages, which had been reported infected, 16 miles north of Kebkebia. I was naturally impatient to discover the nature of an illness which was killing people by hundreds, and was vexed when the sheikh of the village denied any knowledge of any sickness or deaths in his village. A visit to the village graveyard, however, revealed many fresh graves. Some convalescents were then produced. They showed extreme emaciation and debility, but their temperatures were sub-normal and blood smears revealed nothing diagnostic. We demanded to be shown cases with fever still on them, and were shown into a tukl where was a man squatting on the floor beating a drum as though his life depended on it. He was clearly out of his mind. I did not examine him, but insisted that the sheikh should show us someone suffering from the new disease and not the village idiot. I heard, subsequently, that this man died a few days later, and I have little doubt he was suffering from relapsing fever, but I blame myself but little for the failure to diagnose the first case of relapsing fever shown me in the Sudan when it exhibited symptoms of so unclassical a character.

The next case was an elderly woman. She was moribund, lying inside her tukl, which was very dark and from which she had not stirred for fourteen days. The examination was carried out with difficulty. She had definite signs of pneumonia in one lung and a very large spleen. A blood smear revealed nothing. A healthy looking young woman with a temperature of 103° showed typical malaria parasites. It being then the end of the rains many people were suffering from malaria, and the distinction from the milder cases of relapsing fever could only be made microscopically.

No cases showing the signs described in the reports were found. The signs of pneumonia found in the moribund patient, the statement that cases usually died in the first six days or recovered, and the very rapid pulses in the debilitated convalescents made me think that possibly the epidemic was influenza. The only thing to do was to find a typical case. We summoned Ahmedai, took camel, and went south towards the Zalingei boundary to the village of Nummo, which we reached on the 20th. With Ahmedai as an ally everything was easier. I made blood

slides from a number of people running high temperatures, and took them to the shade of a tree in the bed of the adjoining wadi, where examination revealed the spirochæte of relapsing fever.

I was relieved to have clinched the diagnosis, especially since a report had reached me from the medical officer investigating at Kas, saying that the disease was undoubtedly yellow fever.[1] The distance from my camp to Fasher, the nearest telegraph, was about 120 miles, but we bade our mounted policemen risk a foundered horse and take to Fasher with all speed my telegram reporting the finding of the spirochæte. By September 23rd Khartoum was informed. Although it was only five days from the time I had left Fasher to the finding of the spirochæte, and only ten since the first authentic report of an epidemic in the Sudan had been received, impatience at impotence facing hundreds of deaths over thousands of square miles had extended the period for me to an eternity.

The position was now simplified; we knew what the disease was; we knew a drug which would cure it; and we knew the carrier was either louse or tick, possibly aided by bed bugs.

Nummo was a village of some 400 people including children—a big Fur village. We re-entered it, gave injections of "914" to the sick, and then proceeded to investigate its fauna. Every man, woman and child was lousy, heads and clothing. During the search lice fell to the ground and wandered aimlessly about the floors of the tukls. Ticks of various kinds were found, but we failed to obtain a specimen of Ornithodorus moubata. The number of bed bugs was extraordinary. I recollect one native bedstead left out in the noon-day sun. I thought, at first, that the undersides of the horizontal supports joining the legs were lined with snakeskin, but the pattern was formed of bed bugs, sheltering from the vertical rays, and overlapping like fishes' scales. Cattle, goats and sheep were stabled in the village; the whole village stank; flies swarmed. I disapproved of the Fur, but at that time I was unread in the habits of the mediæval English and their prelates.

How could such a village be purged of possible carriers? Ornithodorus moubata, though we had not found him, probably lurked in the

[1] The doctor at Kas was not equipped with a microscope and could only judge from signs and symptoms.

innumerable crannies of the tukls; lice roamed the floors, and the bed bugs, so it seemed to me, could not fail to carry direct infection by their bites, even if, in the true sense, they were not carriers of the disease. We had been told that whole villages had been wiped out; that in others the residue had deserted their villages and taken to the wadis. I could see but one remedy—fire. Ahmedai, when we explained how the disease was carried, was all in favour of burning the village. We let the people carry away their household utensils which could not harbour vermin, and then we fired the village. One thing caused us to hesitate. Every Fur hut has inside it an earthenware grain store, which occupies nearly a third of the hut. It is situated in the centre and extends from floor to roof. All the grain of the household is stored in this, and the harvest was already partly garnered. But Ahmedai assured us that, by closing the mouth of the granary with mud, the grain would come to no harm, except that it would lose its fertility as seed. This proved correct, and both then and thereafter, before firing a village, we waited until all the granaries had been sealed.

The people accepted the situation with philosophy. There seemed, indeed, not even an underlying current of resentment. What they thought of it all, I cannot say. I recollect asking the old sheikh of a village we were about to burn, after Ahmedai had left us, what he thought the attitude of the people would be if we fired the village. He replied that in Zubeir's time they were not consulted. Keyed up to abnormal endeavour by the feeling that the lives of a population depended on one's efforts, it was disconcerting to be classified with the greatest slave raider of all time.

The people, bereft of their homes, settled down to all appearance contentedly enough in temporary shelters on the banks of the wadi. The newly burnt village presented a dreary sight, the grain stores alone standing like tombstones in a giants' cemetery.

It was fortunate that treatment with "914" acted like a charm; it counteracted our prophylactic atrocities. Later in the epidemic, when we had discarded burning, I was accompanied from village to village by the local Omda's band. At first, of course, since we were always moving on, the effect of treatment could not be observed. One incident, however, impressed itself on me and exemplified well both the sudden onset and virulence of the disease and the dramatic effect of treatment. It was in

the evening of our first day at Nummo. Dusk had just fallen when a child of about twelve years old was carried into our camp in the wadi. He was unconscious and his forehead was cut. He had been herding goats back to the village when the new disease descended on him and he had fallen unconscious to the ground, cutting his head in the fall. I took a blood smear; gave an injection of "914" by the light of a candle, and next morning the child set out to herd goats, and wondered how he had cut his head. The blood smear, examined later, showed spirochætes. That same evening, an old woman was similarly struck down. I had to husband my supply of "914," since that for which I had telegraphed had not arrived. I gave no injection; the next morning she was dead.

After similar treatment to some other villages in the south of Kebkebia District, I decided we must go to Zalingei, which appeared to be the centre of the epidemic, and start a campaign there. I had been able to hold up[1] two Syrian medical officers on their way to El Fasher for leave, which increased the staff at my disposal. One of them was to meet me at Zalingei.

The finding of the spirochæte had, in the first flush of achievement, seemed to reduce the problem to comparative simplicity, but a fiery crusade over 20,000 square miles, no matter how logically advocated, gave one pause. Had the disease been tick-borne, there was no alternative to fire but, whereas in the first glare of the epidemic I had been dazzled by a tick prejudice, the louse was looming daily larger on my horizon. And if the louse was carrier, how long would Fasher, Kordofan and the Gezira remain free unless we took steps immediately to keep them so?

The more I pondered the louse problem the more difficult did it seem. Lice inhabit the hairs of the head and the body clothing. Head lice were not difficult to deal with, though we could not shave the heads of the women. Even if we sterilised the clothing, re-infestation from the huts was bound to occur. And how sterilise the clothing of a population which possessed but one suit apiece, and who regarded exposure of their naked bodies as a disgrace? And what sterilising apparatus could be carried round Darfur? Moreover, all pilgrims from the west passed through Darfur. To the north was waterless desert; south in Bahr-el-Ghazal the frontier was closed for sleeping sickness reasons. The stream of pilgrims

[1] Mulazim Awal Theodore Belsky and Mulazim Awal George Habib, who cheerfully forewent leave and did invaluable service.

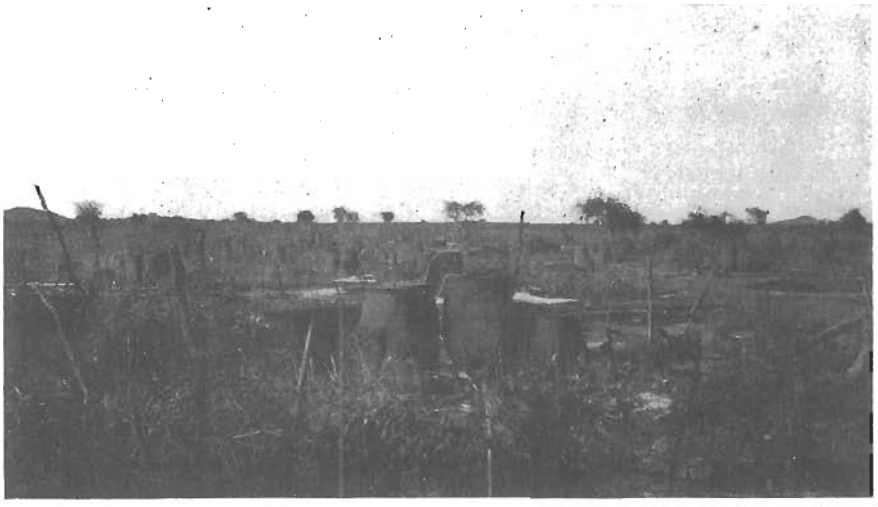
could not be held up indefinitely, though, as a temporary expedient, we had nominally closed the frontier. One thing I felt would clinch the nature of the carrier. If, after ten or twelve days, the people of villages which had been burnt continued to contract the disease, then the louse must be the offender, for all the ticks would be dead.

In Zalingei the news was worse than ever. According to reports the whole district was infected, and six thousand people had died. Since the louse was suspect, two courses of action were clearly essential. Firstly, the people must be deloused, and their villages, if not burnt, temporarily evacuated. We devised a delousing plan, and I left the Syrian medical officer to carry on. Secondly, I must get back to Fasher to arrange that lice should not be carried east.

I reached Fasher on October 4th, wired a summary of the situation to Khartoum and asked for more staff and cars. I amplified my telegram in a written report, which stated that the disease could only be eradicated by a definite campaign and that, without one, the disease would probably spread indefinitely east. Already the whole of Zalingei District, north Nyala, southern Kebkebia and southern Dar Masalit were infected, and Zalingei was full of northern nomad Arabs, whose livelihood depended on grazing and grain from there. If the Arabs became infected, the risk of eastward spread was much increased.

I spent many hours with the Governor devising delousing schemes. Extracts from the Governor's report to Civil Secretary, dated October 23rd, summarise the situation at this time :—

> " I beg to forward a summary report on the various administrative measures taken to deal with the relapsing fever outbreak.
>
> " Owing to the fact that the disease appeared during the rains, no definite information was received of the early outbreaks.
>
> " Communications were bad and the villagers for a long time considered it a virulent form of malaria which would ultimately disappear with the rainy season. It was not till towards the end of September that the native reports led to the suspicion that a serious epidemic was in being. The disease was finally diagnosed by S.M.O. as relapsing fever early in October (actually September 21st).
>
> " There were three possible vectors of which the Ornithodorus moubata tick, the common vector, was one; and as the latter possesses



A BURNT VILLAGE.



DELOUSING.

habits of living in the wood structure of tukls, orders were issued that infected villages should be completely burnt. This order was carried out in the majority of cases and the villagers instructed to rebuild on new sites.

" Recent reports have shown that relapsing fever continues in the new villages thus built, which leads to the supposition that the louse and bed bug[1] are probably the vectors, and not the tick, though certain cases point to the latter from the clinical symptoms. It was decided, therefore, to test this possibility by only burning side walls of tukls, angarebs, and odds and ends likely to harbour lice and bed bugs. The villagers having carried out these operations, are being ordered to evacuate the village for fourteen days and spend their time in a thorough delousing campaign.

" Outside infected districts a variety of prophylactic measures are being taken, of which the following are the most important :—

(1) At our request the French have forbidden movement across the international frontier except along routes designated by us.

(2) The routes along which it is proposed to allow movement to the east are only two, *viz.*

Adre-Geneina { (*a*) Fasher, Um Keddada, Nahud.
(*b*) Zalingei, Nyala, Muglad.

(3) Delousing stations have been put in force at the following places :—

Geneina, Zalingei, Nyala, Kuttum, El Fasher, Um Keddada and Om.

The latter station is situated at the mouth of the Kawra Pass and cannot be avoided by traffic moving east along the Geneina-Fasher road.

Geneina, besides being a delousing station, will also act as a quarantine station for arrivals from French territory, all arrivals being examined over a period of ten days, during which two delousing operations will be carried out.

[1] Bed bugs are not normally regarded by the medical profession as more than possibly an auxiliary factor in the spread of relapsing fever, but, at that time, I was considering a theory that the extreme virulence of the epidemic might be accounted for by direct inoculation by the bites of the abnormally large number of bed bugs.

(4) Each delousing station will issue a health clearance ticket bearing the station's seal.

(5) Notices have been published that the Kordofan authorities will turn back all persons not in possession of clearance tickets from either Fasher, Nyala, Kuttum or Um Keddada.

(6) A " Fatwa " drawn up by the Mufti of Darfur in conjunction with the Kadi of Darfur, in which a state of cleanliness is enjoined on all true believers as being in conformity with all Koranic precepts has been published broadcast and read in all mosques.

Omdas, sheikhs and other responsible persons have been summoned to various merakiz headquarters, and the nature of the disease and means of prevention, etc., carefully explained to them.

(7) All military units, police, warders, prisoners and harimat are paraded weekly for inspection.

(8) All rest houses have been burnt west of Fasher.

" Each merkaz town has been instructed to carry out its own delousing scheme."

The report ends by asking for a British sanitary inspector to superintend delousing.

When these measures had been instituted, I breathed more freely, and prepared to return to the scene of the epidemic. I felt that he would be a lucky louse who reached El Obeid.

Dr. MacDowell arrived on October 20th, and was despatched to Dar Masalit. Khartoum was worrying me at this time for a definite answer to whether the disease was louse or tick borne, the very question which was puzzling me. It was, however, becoming increasingly obvious that it was louse borne. The lice smears which I had sent to Khartoum had either miscarried or had been inconclusive; I had no resources for animal inoculation, and no time for laboratory work. I therefore urged that a pathologist be sent up, whereupon Dr. Riding was despatched from the Wellcome Research Laboratories in Khartoum.

For some days I waited for him in Fasher, but, fearing that he was embedded in the sand on the Nahud-Fasher road, I set out for Zalingei via Nyala. The road from Nyala to Zalingei had not been opened for motors since the rains, and this caused me to take five days and four nights

to travel it. Normally, the motor road would round the loops of the dry beds of the large wadis, but at this time there was but a camel track to follow, and this, of course, went straight. My transport was two Ford tourers. To cross a wadi, it was necessary to unload all baggage, cut grass with knives and make a bridge of grass across the sandy bed, often 150 yards in breadth. Then we pushed the empty cars across ; then carried the baggage. Often in a mile or less the loop had to be recrossed.

It happened that Dr. Riding reached Fasher the day after I had left. He followed my tracks and caught me at Zalingei. He had had to abandon one car ; the driver of the other, to whom that kind of country was new, frequently wept and said the road was impossible ; but Dr. Riding, who was also new and able to speak but little Arabic, pointed firmly to the tracks in front.

After abandoning one car, he had been forced to use the luggage carrier for his box of fifty white rats, which he had brought for inoculation from Khartoum. Forty-nine of these were killed by gasses from the exhaust, and he arrived with only one. Since, by this time, Zalingei town and the surrounding villages had been cleared of the disease, I sent him on to Geneina with a note to Lt.-Col. Grigg, D.S.O., M.C., the Resident there.

Research was facilitated by Dr. Riding's cook contracting relapsing fever on the way. But the old white rat, who had survived the perils of the journey, after inoculation, escaped down a hole in Grigg's house, to the consternation of that officer, distinguished though he had been in the face of human enemies.

Undefeated by the loss of his rat, Dr. Riding nursed lice for days and nights in test tubes, kept warm against his body and, in due course, detected from among these lice the spirochæte, and thereby the carrier of the disease.

The delousing system which we had evolved consisted of building two delousing booths of grass matting, each capable of holding ten persons, one for men, one for women. All Fur householders possess one or more large earthenware burmas. About a dozen of them were filled with water and placed on stones over wood fires outside the booths. The people undressed in the booths and handed out their clothing which was conveyed on poles to the boiling water ; there immersed for a minute, wrung out and handed back to the owners, who redressed and made room for

other ten. The clothing had to be put on wet, but quickly dried in the sun and wind.

The women liked grease on their heads which made delousing easier, for a mixture of fat and paraffin killed the lice and suffocated the young on hatching. Leather charms and ornaments harboured louse eggs, and these we treated in the same way as the heads, since boiling water spoiled them.

We built isolation hospitals outside the villages similar to the delousing booths. The trouble was that the people, after delousing, became reinfected in their huts. We therefore deloused daily for ten days.

It was wearisome work trying to rid a backward and scattered people of their vermin. Extracts from private letters which I wrote to the Governor during November give some idea of our activities.

> " My idea is to mop up the country bit by bit. I am doing the north-east omodias of Zalingei District first. I reckon it will take six weeks. I want to free the Kebkebia and Fasher borders first, but, from what I hear, the disease is already in Fasher District south-east of Kebkebia."
>
> * * * *
>
> " Cavendish (District Commissioner, Zalingei) is a day ahead of me building rakubas (booths). I have been delousing all the morning. It takes two hours to delouse a village of 12 men, 26 women and 36 children, doing no more than dip their clothes, charms, necklaces, etc.
>
> " Boiling clothes daily for ten days more or less gets rid of the necessity of evacuating the village for ten days ; and I find that when the people evacuate their villages they do not boil their clothes for lack of privacy. I sent word about this to MacDowell, Evans and Fiddes, but left it to their discretion what to do about it. We can, however, be quite sure that Evans will leave no louse unturned."
>
> * * * *
>
> " I had hoped it might be possible to get each family to delouse in its own house under the village sheikh's supervision, with a policeman to aid him, but it was no good. When I went back on my tracks I found all the people lousy and no attempt at delousing done. The villages are very small and scattered and, moreover, one cannot delouse in the late afternoons because the clothes do not



DELOUSING.



DELOUSING.

dry. It is just like sleeping sickness over again; the whole thing overcoming the backwardness of the people.

"They regard being deloused as rather a joke, but do not like it. What I feared might cause trouble, but is a never failing source of merriment, is the delousing of the women's *kanafis*.

"So far I have only done eleven infected villages in eight days, and have found sixty cases and 153 deaths. I struck five uninfected villages with no cases to date. I do not know what we shall do when the north wind sets in. It will be bitterly cold for the deloused."

* * * *

"Relapsing fever seems to me a much easier proposition than sleeping sickness, except that here I see no way of checking reinfection from the French reservoir. I doubt if we can clear up Darfur, any way, under a year, and more likely two. What we want is a big delousing staff, far bigger than can be obtained from qualified doctors. Delousing *must*, however, be done by a trained staff and cannot be left to sheikhs and omdas."

I went back to Fasher on December 16th. The last few weeks had taught me much and I was able to give the Governor a fairly accurate account of the situation and the alternative methods of meeting it.

The situation was this :—

The epidemic occupied the whole of Zalingei District and overflowed into Kebkebia and Nyala Districts. The staff consisted of myself, Dr. MacDowell and three Syrian medical officers. Dr. Riding who had been sent up to determine the carrier of the disease, was to return to Khartoum.

Epidemic conditions had been quickly controlled in the comparatively limited areas outside Zalingei District, but fresh outbreaks continued to occur, which required the retention of a Syrian medical officer in both Nyala and Kebkebia Districts.

Dar Masalit, west of Zalingei District, had become infected, but, since the people of that Dar automatically isolated infected villages, and thereby escaped widespread infection, Dr. MacDowell, who had been working there, had been sent south on a reconnaissance of the western Zalingei border.

A Syrian doctor had been left in Zalingei town to attend to outbreaks in and around it, and I had been quartering the north-eastern omodias of Zalingei District to test the effects of delousing.

I had found that the disease commonly swept through a village and infected a half or a third of the population, with a case mortality of about seventy per cent., after which its virulence abated. Within five days of the boiling of all the clothing of a village, all the villagers were again lousy. When the clothing of the villagers was boiled daily for ten consecutive days, and when cases were isolated as they occurred, infection was stamped out of a highly infected village. Close supervision was essential, since the Fur, being backward, concealed their sick, hid clothing, pulled down their isolation booths, received visitors from infected villages, and only obeyed instructions through fear of detection.

It was clearly impossible, with so limited a staff, to give close supervision to some 16,000 square miles of infected territory. A normal day's programme entailed mounting the camels before dawn to reach an infected village at breakfast time. Having deloused and given injections, one mounted a donkey and rode four or five miles to a village on the flank of the general line of march, and again deloused. On return, one sometimes had time to visit a village on the other flank, before moving on again by camel in the evening.

Seldom could one deal with more than three villages in a day, and of these two might consist of no more than six or seven huts with, perhaps, only one person sick in each village.

A qualified doctor was unnecessary for performing these duties. It is true that at that time no tumergis in the province could give injections. I tried to teach them with disastrous results, for, on my return to villages to which I had sent them to give injections, I found the sick in agony, their arms swollen, and any faith, which they might have had in treatment, destroyed.

The danger, I feared, was a gradual spread eastward village by village, rather than infection of Kordofan or the Gezira by pilgrims and travellers. Our chain of delousing stations would probably prevent this, even if the Arab population became infected. Although the Arabs were very lousy and although they could not be kept out of Zalingei District, which is the granary of Darfur, I had hopes that their lice would remain uninfected, since they had shown a far greater appreciation

of the necessity of avoiding contact with infected villages and persons than had the Fur. Moreover, I had found the disease so easily eradicated where any system of delousing could be adequately controlled (as in Kebkebia and Zalingei towns, which had muawins) that I doubted if there was much to fear from the entry of the disease into the closely administered Blue Nile Province. I even advised the Governor to discontinue the periodic delousing of the inhabitants of Fasher town.

It was clear, too, that we need worry no more about infection of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, which hitherto had caused anxiety. Since the disease was definitely louse-borne, a province whose inhabitants were almost entirely naked could not be seriously affected.

All we needed, then, was a big delousing staff, a staff to give injections, and the division of the infected region into areas small enough to be systematically deloused. The staff need not be medical. Major Evans was destroying vermin, and saving life by injections with conspicuous success. He had ridden his camels one morning some five and twenty miles to ask me to teach him to give injections. I did so during the afternoon, and at evening he rode off armed with a syringe and the knowledge to use it.

The ideal would be to put a delousing and injecting staff in every infected omodia, but more than fifty omodias were infected, and it was improbable that staff could be found in such numbers. There were countless objections to putting police in charge of any area, and I felt that each must be supervised by a doctor, a district commissioner or a muawin. Enough of these could probably be found to occupy the eastern edge of the infected area, making an unbroken line from north to south which could move slowly westward exterminating lice as it went.

If, for lack of staff, this westward march could not be accomplished, the alternative was to muster the available staff along the eastern edge of the epidemic with no other objective than the arrest of eastward spread. This would mean leaving Zalingei District to its fate, a course which seemed unjustifiable in the Sudan with its considerable resources. News had already reached us from French territory that the cattle there were wandering unattended, so few were the survivors of the epidemic.

I also told the Governor we needed cars and roads, and that, although a properly organised campaign would be costly, increased contact of white man and Fur, and education of the Fur in the value of medicine,

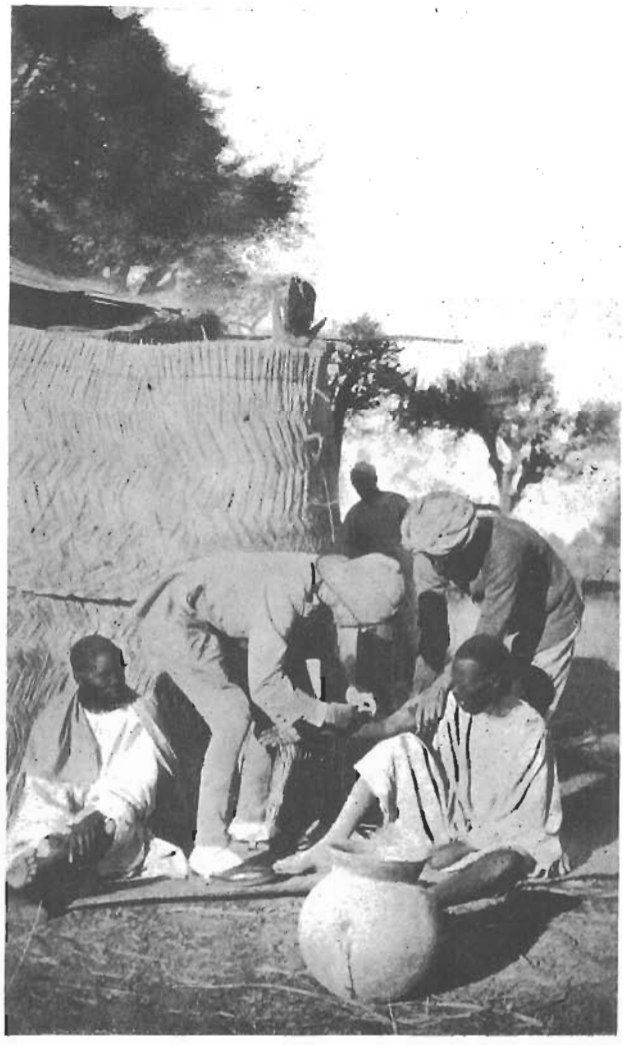
should eventually prove an administrative asset, in the same way that the confidence of the Azande had been gained through sleeping sickness measures. At the conclusion of this discussion with the Governor on December 17th I sent the following telegram to Khartoum :

> * * * Relapsing fever situation very serious and cannot be controlled without great increase staff approximately 12 medical officers and thirty tumergis or substitutes for these. Six thousand deaths Zalingei District in six months. Have definitely established fact that disease can be stamped out in limited areas sufficiently supervised. Estimate one year sufficient arrest epidemic if staff available. Eastern spread temporarily controlled but fear cannot continue so indefinitely with big reservoir in Zalingei. Various alternatives are open. Consider you should come at once Fasher discuss fully alternatives with self and Governor in order lay definite suggestions before Finance.* * *

On December 26th, the Principal Medical Officer, S.D.F., and the Director, Sudan Medical Service reached Fasher, and the following day we three met the Governor and some of his staff to discuss alternative courses.

It was decided to organise ten medical units. Three of these units would be under the direction of British medical inspectors, assisted for administrative purposes by muawins. Four Syrian medical officers, one native dispensary hakim, and one British sanitary inspector, assisted by district commissioners, would take charge of six units, while a reserve unit, with a Syrian medical officer in charge based on Fasher, would be available to leave at short notice to deal with any outbreak east of the Zalingei border. Each unit would consist of the responsible officer and ten tumergis, as soon as these became available, or more, if they proved insufficient. Twelve motor-cars were to be put at our disposal. I, myself, as Senior Medical Officer Darfur, was deputed to direct operations.

For a time I remained in Fasher to organise these units and was most ably assisted by Yuzbashi Yusef Eff. Salaama. I was glad of a change, for delousing and injecting recalcitrant Fur can become monotonous. There was no monotony during the next six weeks in Fasher, but the work was sometimes irksome. The Governor was sick and required my frequent and personal attention. We sorted out the riff-raff of Fasher, instructed the best of it in delousing and injecting, and called the finished article a tumergi. Reports of fresh outbreaks poured in and the small



GIVING INJECTIONS.

staff at first available had to be moved to deal with them. As the staff grew, we in Fasher were flooded with endless demands for equipment—instruments, transport, donkeys, saddlery, drugs, pencils, paper, and for innumerable other articles, all of which had to be produced and distributed. Since roads were few and motor transport scanty, distribution was usually carried out by hired camel, though the weight of the articles might be but a few pounds. Letters seemed to arrive hourly asking this and that; it seemed that every official in Fasher required his personal servant to be deloused at a particular hour. Some Arabs in the south became infected, which created alarm both in Khartoum and Fasher. It was decided, only after much discussion and correspondence with Khartoum, to hold the annual horse shows among the Baggara Arabs in the south, and that I should attend to speak evil of the louse. To add to the confusion, a Fiki arose and marched with his following on Zalingei town, and this caused the withdrawal of part of the staff into Zalingei until the Fiki was killed and his following dispersed.

By early February, 1927, most of the qualified medical staff had reached Fasher and had been distributed, together with fifty-nine tumergis capable of giving injections. By the middle of February I had visited most of the occupied area, where order seemed to have emerged from the apparent chaos. Major Evans had formed an additional unit of his own and was dealing with a severe outbreak on the north-east slopes of Gebel Marra where he had given 130 injections in two days—no mean achievement among the scattered people of those precipitous hills.

By the middle of March we were making progress. Nyala and Kebkebia districts were practically freed from the disease. A concentration of staff on the east and west slopes of Gebel Marra, and the closure of markets on that mountain, to which people come from all parts to buy pepper, wheat and other commodities peculiar to it, had reduced the disease to the extent of permitting the staff to move westward on to the plain.

In western Zalingei, either because the residue from the huge mortality there possessed a natural resistance to the disease, or because they had learned from us that destruction of lice brought safety, the disease had become sporadic.

At the end of March the Principal Medical Officer required me in Khartoum, and I handed over my duties to Captain W. I. Fitzgerald Powell.

I left him a thankless task. In the early days of the epidemic enthusiasm ran high ; the novelty was now wearing off, with a consequent reaction. None the less, progress was maintained.

With the advent of the rains travel became impossible, and many of the staff were withdrawn. The people scattered to their cultivations after the sowing, whereby the congestion in the villages was relieved, and the incidence of the disease diminished.

In October 1927 efforts were renewed. Outbreaks were so quickly and effectively controlled that the delousing stations for eastbound travellers were abolished. Outbreaks here and there continued during 1928 and subsequent years with progressive infrequency, until in 1931 there were but two.

The abolition of the delousing stations on the eastward route allowed the disease to penetrate to the Gezira, and parts of Darfur even became re-infected from there. But in the Gezira the people are accessible and under control ; therefore the disease was quickly eradicated, as experience had led us to expect.

Relapsing fever will probably continue to show itself from time to time in the Sudan, but it is no longer the serious menace that it was. Early information of outbreaks is obtained from among the fourteen dispensaries dotted about Darfur. The people have gained confidence and come from far for treatment. In 1931, 32,261 out-patients and 707 in-patients were treated in Zalingei dispensary.

The old pestilences of Britain bear contrast with modern epidemics in Africa.

In 1488 the Black Death killed half the people of England. In the words of a contemporary—" The sheep and the cattle strayed through the fields and corn, and there were none left who could drive them." But the Black Death initiated the end of serfdom in England.

In 1926 relapsing fever killed nearly a quarter of the Fur population of the Sudan ; in French Equatorial Africa the cattle wandered unattended. But relapsing fever initiated the Fur into modern medicine. It taught them to recognise one benefit from Government : they no longer rot, hopeless, from disease. They account us better than Zubeir. Fikis have ceased from troubling ; medicine counsels peace.

NOTES ON THE CAMEL IN THE EASTERN SUDAN.

By P. B. E. Acland.

(PLATES XVI—XXIII.)

IN spite of the rapid development of mechanical transport there are still many districts where the camel is and will long remain a necessity. Owing, however, to their less universal employment it is more difficult than ever before for the newcomer to pick up useful information.

My own experience has been confined to the Butana District of Kassala Province only, but since the Butana contains widely different types of country and of camels, the hints contained in these notes may be of general interest.

(1) THE CHOICE OF CAMELS AND THE VARIOUS TYPES.

There are two main divisions of camels: (1) The thoroughbred of which there are two breeds, the Annafi and the Bishari, although a cross between the two is also so classed. (2) The Arabi camel, which varies widely in type according to the locality in which it is bred.

Riding camels may be divided into four classes: Bishari, Annafi, a cross-bred of the two, or a half-bred, *i.e.*, a camel with one thoroughbred and one Arabi parent.

No one, in the Eastern Sudan at any rate, would think of buying a purely Arabi camel either for himself or for police to ride.

I do not recommend the purchase of a female rider. Though often smooth they generally have not the same stamina as the male and are a nuisance in the rutting season or if they get in foal.

Broadly speaking, the Bishari is found among the northern tribes and the Annafi among the southern.

The most famous breeds of Bishari are probably the "Kileiwau" and "Ba nagir," both owned by the Bisharin tribe themselves; but good stock can be found amongst nearly all the northern tribes, as, for

example, the Amarar. Abdel Azim Bey of the Ababda was also a very noted breeder.

The pure-bred Annafi was to be found with the Rufaʿa, Nas Abu Rof, but I believe that now few are left among them. The Sherif Yusif el Hindi is said to own and breed very good stock. In the Butana, Omara Abu Sin, the ancestor of the Aulad Kircha of Geleita, had a justly famous breed whose descendants have in the past two years supplied a large proportion of winners, and placed camels in the long races at Abu Deleig and Khashm el Girba.

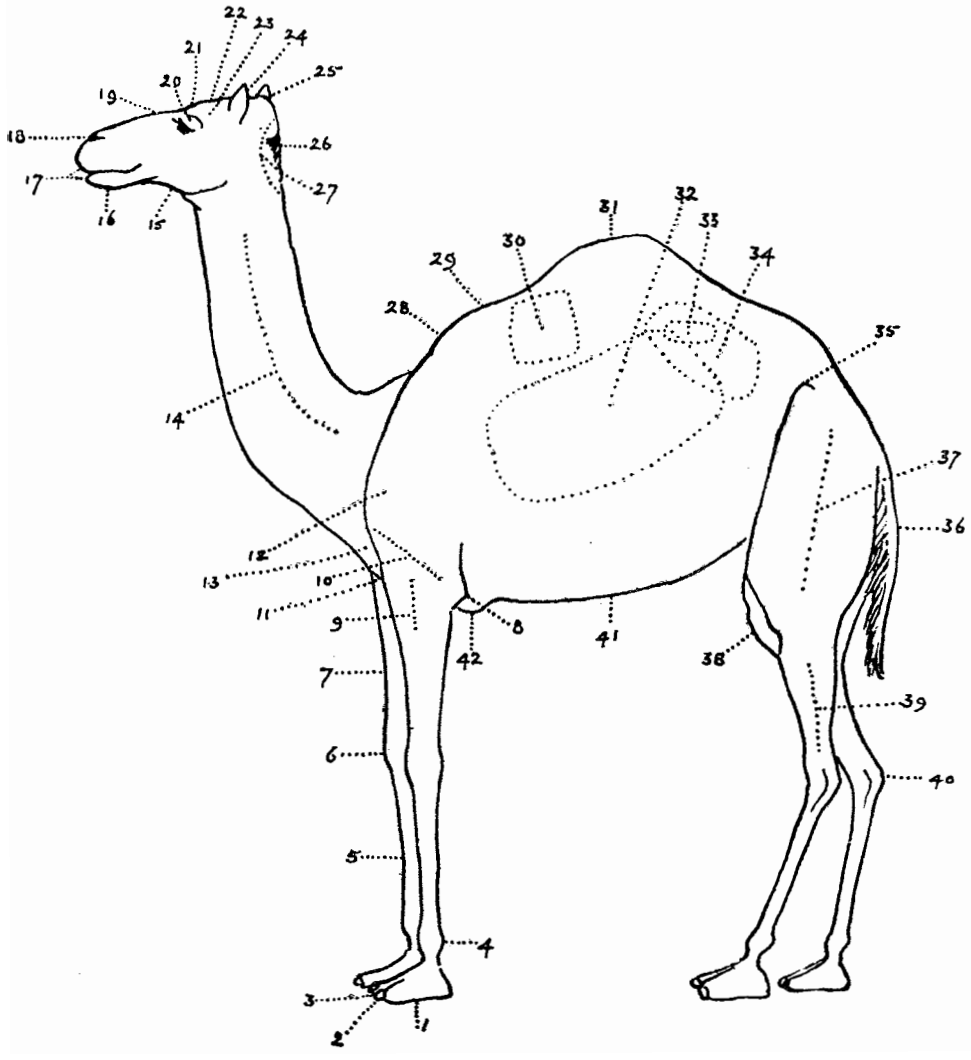
The characteristics of the pure Bishari are endurance and smoothness in riding. They are in general more stockily built than the Annafi and will carry heavier weights. For that reason they are nearly always chosen for government service.

The Annafi is generally tall and leggy and, unlike the Bishari, will quickly fail on insufficient feeding, though the further north he is bred the hardier he becomes. He is, however, generally faster than the Bishari, though rougher in riding, and is thought to be more handsome by the Arabs on account of his long narrow head and upstanding ears. Further, owing to the large size of his feet he finds it easier to negotiate cracked cotton soil, and for this reason is more popular in the south.

A cross-bred between the two very often produces a fine type of camel. Personally, I would not advise an Englishman to buy a riding camel which had not some Bishari blood in him, owing to the lack of weight-carrying and staying properties of the Annafi ; and a thorough-bred is nearly always preferable to a half-bred. It may not be out of place here to note that the Arab admires and would choose for himself a camel differing widely from the type preferred by the British Veterinary Officer who is buying for the police and army. The reasons are not far to seek. The Arab likes to travel light and fast ; the army and police camels are generally very heavily laden for riding camels, and move slowly.

In choosing baggage camels, the first point to be considered is whether they are required to walk or trot ; and in the Butana, I have no hesitation in saying that the latter is desirable. I believe that in Kordofan walking baggage camels are always used, and that they can pick up grazing as they go along. This is very seldom possible in the Butana, nor is it always possible to find good grazing at the mid-day or night halts. For the heavy walking baggage camel plenty of time

The Points of the Camel



to graze is necessary, and this may therefore mean very slow progress, whereas a light trotting baggage camel can, if necessary, subsist perfectly happily on a grain ration only for a considerable period.

Baggage camels will be either Arabi or half-bred, *i.e.*, a camel with one thoroughbred parent. The Arabi may be subdivided into several types, the large heavy, slow camel typical of the Lahawin, the big-boned, stocky, red Reshaidi type, and a light type found among the northern tribes.

The first are solely walking camels, but with sufficient grazing can carry very heavy weights up to 600 lbs., and in exceptional cases considerably more. The owner of the camel which won in this class in the 1929 Animal Show at Khashm el Girba told me that his camel would happily carry two ardebs of dura of 480 lbs. each from Mafaza to Khashm el Girba, a distance of 140 miles, and I can well believe it.

The Reshaidi camel will make an excellent either walking or trotting baggage camel, but a good one is very difficult to obtain and a high price has to be paid. The lighter type of Arabi will also often make a good trotting baggage camel, but on the whole I would recommend some percentage at any rate of thoroughbred blood.

Of course, it is necessary to carry a lighter load per camel with trotting camels than with walkers, and I should put 250 lbs. plus a man, or 400 lbs. without a man as the maximum.

(2) POINTS OF A CAMEL.

Whether choosing a riding or a baggage camel the following points should be noted :

(*a*) CONFORMATION.

The head and neck should be well set on and in proportion with the rest of the animal, the ears pricked, the forelegs straight and showing plenty of muscle on the forearms, the toes turned neither out nor in, the chest deep and wide, and the boss small and firm allowing the foreleg plenty of room to swing past it, the withers not too high and the backbone showing an even curve, the hump firm and not leaning over to one side, the body compact and well ribbed up, the flanks well covered and muscular, and the rump not falling away too sharply, the hocks not too curved and not " cow-hocked."

The majority of the above points are obvious, but one or two need remark :

The withers.—It has been my experience that a camel with high withers is apt to be rough and at the same time less likely to be a weight carrier. High withers are rather a characteristic of the Annafi. A straight backbone is also a sign of weakness.

The hump.—A large hump generally means that the camel is in good health, but the opposite is not necessarily true. Many camels never grow a large hump, and the Arabi camel nearly always shows a larger one than the thoroughbred. An outsize hump is a definite disadvantage as it adds to the difficulty of fitting the saddle.

The hump consists of fatty tissues and, to some extent, forms a food reserve on which the camel can call when underfed. A really large hump generally means that he has not been working for some time and is fat and not in hard condition. It is therefore not an advantage if he is immediately required for hard work.

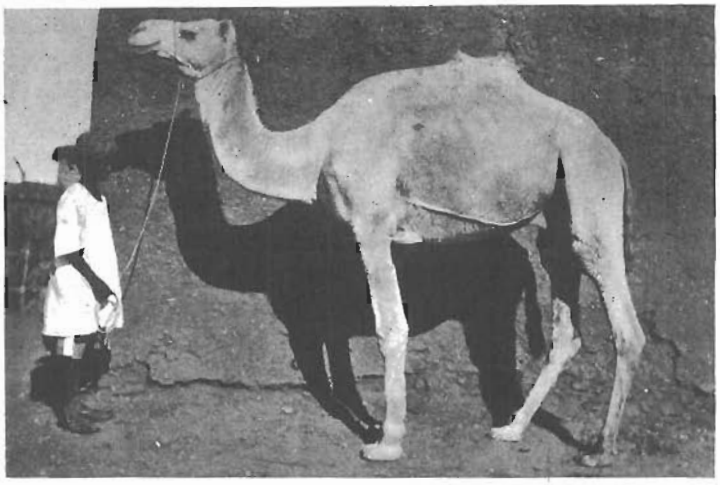
(*b*) AGEING THE CAMEL.

Camels under 6 years of age should not be bought if required for immediate use. The age of the camel is told by the incisors and tushes in the lower jaw.

At 2 months the camel cuts his six temporary teeth. At 1 year they are well up and in use. At first, the teeth overlap, but by 2 years they are quite separate and show signs of wear.

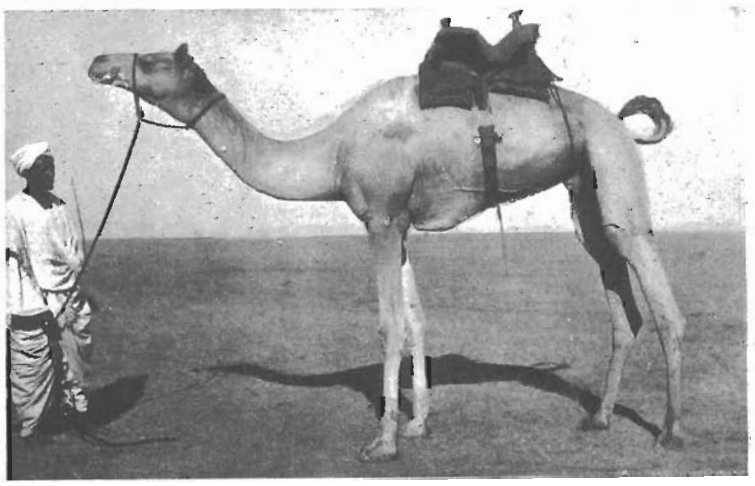
At 3 years they are more worn, and at 4 are often broken and discoloured, though I have seen a number of camels of 4 to 5 whose milk teeth were still in quite good condition. At about $4\frac{1}{2}$ the central pair of permanent incisors are cut, and at 5 they are well up. At $5\frac{1}{2}$ and $6\frac{1}{2}$ another pair of teeth appear in each year, and at $7\frac{1}{2}$ two tushes, one on each side, appear in the lower jaw and at 8 they are fully up. The camel is now "aged," and it is difficult subsequently to tell his exact age; but a very fair check can be made with practice by seeing the wear and shape of the incisors, which get rounder, generally stand up straighter from the jaw, and wear down as the camel gets older. The camel's working life usually ends at about 16 years, but he may carry on a few years longer.

(A) RIDING CAMELS.



1. A thoroughbred Bishari. He is said to be half Keleiwau and half Banagir. He shows plenty of bone and strength and has a beautifully shaped back. He is perhaps a little heavy in front, but otherwise is difficult to fault.

Compare general shape, and in particular that of the head and ears with the Annafi.



2. A thoroughbred Annafi. This picture was taken just after the finish of a race. He is tall and leggy and high in the withers, but is regarded by the Arabs as a very well-shaped camel of his type. Note the shape of head and large upstanding ears, so different from the Bishari. He is " run up " owing to his training for racing; but not as much as the majority of well-trained camels.

(*c*) EXAMINATION FOR PURCHASE.

First look over the camel generally, as he is standing up, to see if he is of the right make and shape and in good condition. A camel in bad condition should not be bought unless the cause is definitely known.

Note any marks of firing, which on the legs and round the joints should nearly always lead to immediate rejection.

A camel is often fired on the chest behind the point of the elbow for what the natives call *khasila*. This is generally some form of shoulder lameness. If the fire marks are simple dots and the camel is quite sound he need not be rejected; but if there are signs that he has been fired more than once, or if the marks are in the shape of crosses, it is safer not to buy him, as he will have been badly lame at some time or other. Fire marks on the front of the chest for *haddad* (a form of simple shoulder stiffness) are no defect in themselves.

Stand straight behind him and make him lie down—as he does so, watch to see that his hind quarters do not shiver and that he shows no great reluctance to go down in front. If he does not wish to put his boss on the ground, or if when sitting he leans over to one side, he probably has a wound or bruise in the boss.

When he is lying down, age him, and then examine his head and eyes. If the nostril is torn it may mean that he is a "runaway." Fire marks across the nose mean he has had difficulty in breathing, and it is better to reject him. The eyes should be bright and clear, and a white spot in either should lead to rejection. Flick the finger before each eye to see if he is blind, but be careful neither to touch the eyelash nor to allow a shadow to come before the eye.

Then examine his withers, hump and back for bruises, sores and old wounds.

Firing over the withers should lead to rejection; scars of old wounds, provided the scar tissue is flat and can be worked loosely up and down with the surrounding skin, are not necessarily a great detraction. Always handle the withers and back, as wounds may be hidden by hair, artificial or natural. Old wounds, swellings or firemarks on the short ribs should generally lead to rejection. Once a wound has been caused here it will nearly always come up again: though, if the camel is to be used purely for riding and with a native saddle, this is not such a serious defect, as the back bid should not come down as far as the short rib.

Make the camel get up and note whether he does so with any effort. If you are not sure put two men on his back and then see whether he can get up easily.

Now examine him carefully from front to back and up and down each leg.

If you have not been able to notice while he was getting down or up, examine the soles of his feet which should not appear worn or definitely cracked.

Examine the pads on fore and hind legs and the boss for wounds or bruises.

Note whether there are signs of rubbing on the inside of the forearm from the boss and along the side of the chest from the elbow. Examine the hocks for signs of rubbing and for enlarged bony prominences on the inside. These defects should lead to rejection.

Examine the inside of the fetlocks, front and back, for signs of brushing. This may be caused by a stumble or too close hobbling, but if there are any signs, watch the camel carefully when he is moving.

Examine the armpit for loose pads or rolls of skin. Any considerable amount should lead to his rejection.

Take care that the sheath of the penis and testicles are not swollen or injured in any way.

When examining the camel do not get too close to his hind legs, as he can kick both forwards and sideways.

Next have the camel walked and trotted away, towards and past you. It is better that he should be ridden than led, as the man leading him will nearly always get in your line of vision.

The camel should have a long easy stride, whether walking or trotting ; and his legs should move straight backwards and forwards. A camel who " dishes " or moves so close that either leg appears to cross the other should not be bought.

Note whether he goes close in front or behind and whether there is plenty of room between the boss and inside of the forearm. Any jerky action of the fore or hind limb should result in rejection.

Watch for any sign of lameness. Note whether he is smooth or rough. The owner will nearly always have watered him just before as it will make him appear to be in better condition and considerably smoother than when he is thirsty.

Finally, remember that the Arab is as clever as a horse coper in concealing defects and in showing off his camel to the best advantage, that any defect which shows when the camel is in good condition will become much worse when he loses condition through work; and that if you have rejected a number of really inferior camels your eye may be put out, and you may purchase a very mediocre animal because it looked good in comparison to the others.

(3) OUTFIT.

(*a*) RIDING.

A well-made native riding saddle (*makhlufa*) with *tafas* stuffed with wool, as opposed to *bedids*, is infinitely preferable to the government article. It is easier to saddle, can be more readily adjusted to different camels or to the changing condition of one camel, is cooler, lighter and more sightly and, most important of all, will be understood by the camel-man. Other fittings required with a riding saddle are front strap, girth, back strap and withers pad. The camel is guided with a leather head rope, and for appearance only a head collar with brass fittings is sometimes used.

Another type of saddle is the Hadendoa *kur*, which differs from the *makhlufa* in that the back pommel and tree are tilted forward and the front edges of the back tree inwards; and the two trees are connected by a bar on either side. Looked at sideways, the seat is flat rather than concave. It has the advantage of strength and is easy to fit to curiously shaped camels, but is uncomfortable to ride owing to the shape of the seat and direction of the back pommel. A modified form which resembles the *makhlufa* in all save the connecting bar is known in the Butana as *Kur el Deleigab*. When saddling the camel with a native *makhlufa* the *tafas* are first placed on the camel's back; the forward *tafa* on the withers just in front of the hump and the back *tafa* resting on the back part of the hump. The saddle is then placed over the *tafas*, which are lifted up into the angle of the trees. If this is not done the tree of the saddle will rest on the *tafa* at its points only and will very likely break when weight is put on it. The saddle is then girthed up.

The main points in fitting the saddle are: (1) The saddle itself and its trees must be of a size suitable to the camel; (2) the bearing surface of the *tafas* should be as large and as evenly distributed as possible; (3) the pads must be filled so that they neither pinch the camel nor lie

loosely inside the saddle trees ; (4) pressure should be avoided on the point of the withers, the backbone, and the points of the short ribs.

The Hadendoa *kur* is saddled in a similar manner, but as the forward edges of the back tree point slightly inwards, the rest of the tree does not bear upon the pad, which soon wears out from the continued pressure on one spot.

The back pad of the Government saddle and of the baggage saddle rests further back ; otherwise the methods of saddling are the same.

(*b*) BAGGAGE.

The *hawia* (baggage saddle) consists of a front and back tree joined on either side by a single bar. In my opinion, it is best to fit the *hawia* with four separate pads one on either side, front and back, the inner side of the pad should be made of canvas, the outer side of leather. These pads are stuffed with grass. The proper fitting of the baggage saddle is of the utmost importance, particularly during and just after the rains when the camel rapidly changes shape ; and lack of attention will cause most disastrous results. For this reason spare grass should always be carried and the pads frequently emptied and repacked to prevent them becoming hard and nobbly. It is, of course, equally important to restuff the *makhlufa*.

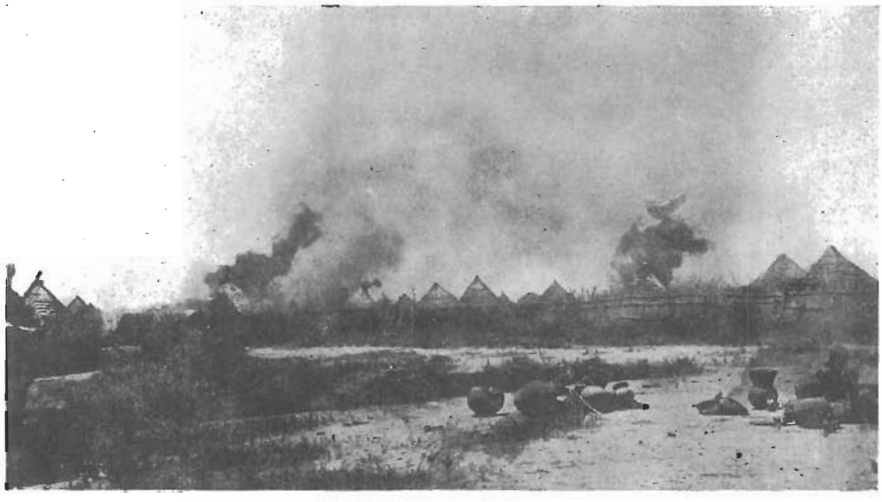
This type of *bid* is used in all government saddles. I do not think that it is good for the riding saddle, and I do not agree with the established method of filling the *bids* so tightly that there will be pressure on the top of the withers and behind the hump at the place where the left and right *bid* join. I think it much better that there should be no pressure at all on these points, and that the *bids* be fitted so that they do not join at the top.

A wide high arch is necessary on the *hawia* so that there may be no chance of the tree coming into contact with the withers or hump.

In some types of native baggage saddles the four pads described consist purely of grass without any covering and the disadvantage is that they are apt to be harder and to have a rougher surface. In another type there are two long grass pads on each side going the whole length of the saddle from front to back. If well fitted, this type is probably less likely to cause a sore back than any other, as the bearing surface is larger. On the other hand, it is heavy and hot and is only suited to a walking baggage camel.

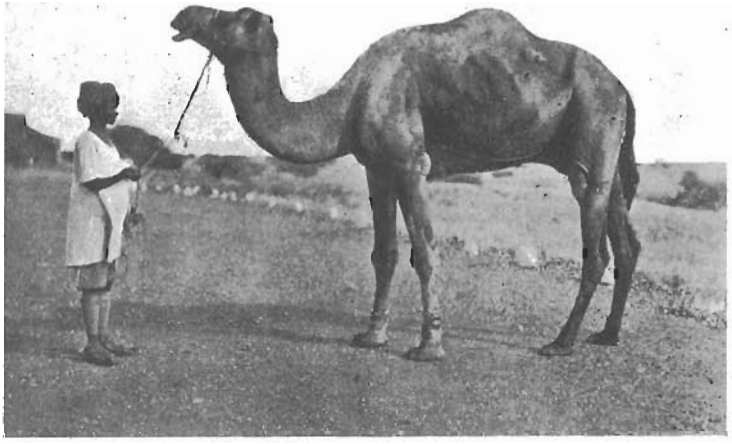


FOOTHILLS OF JEBEL MARRA.

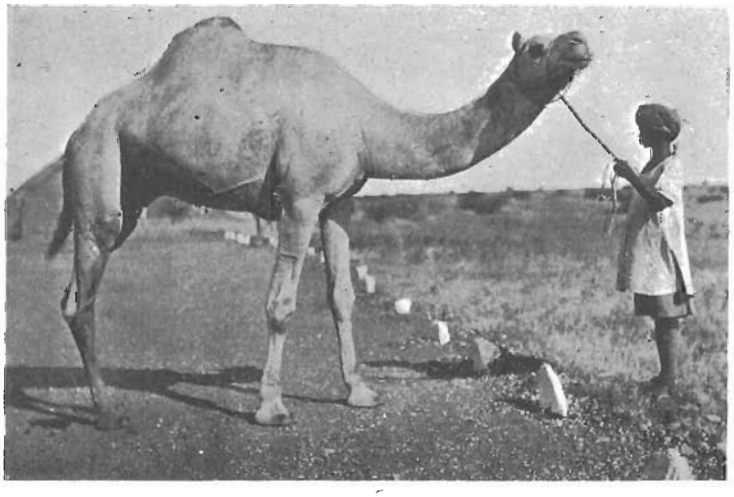


BURNING AN INFECTED VILLAGE.

(B) HAMLA CAMELS.



1. The Resheidi type. Note the size of bone, strength and general compactness and stocky build. He has a nice even back with plenty of room behind the hump for fitting the hawia. Camels of this type are usually red in colour when pure bred.



2. A half-bred Annafi Arabi. He is longer in the leg than the Resheidi, but shows plenty of bone, strength and depth through the heart. He is perhaps a little high in the withers and short behind the hump.

The best types of grass for filling a *hawia* are *ashameik* and *hamaria* and after them *dis* and *halfa*.

The *hawia* should be fitted with a leather girth and a leather front strap (*lebeb*). The *mahgaba* (back strap) is not really necessary except in hilly country as the tendency for a *hawia* is to slip back rather than forward.

Everyone must decide for himself how he will distribute his loads, but the following is a reasonable arrangement :—

CAMEL NO. 1.

Cook and two cook boxes. The cook boxes must be made of fairly strong wood, and a useful size is 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. There should be a few divisions in the inside in three-ply wood to enable bottles, etc., to be carried without breaking.

CAMEL NO. 2.

Lunch box balanced by chair, table and bedstead and ridden by sufragi. I recommend roorkee chair, X pattern table and X pattern bedstead. The Abyssinian table is a very awkward article to load on a camel, as is the ordinary deck chair. It is well worth buying a simply fitted lunch box made of three-ply wood, which will contain all necessary enamel or aluminium crockery, teapot, cutlery, etc., with a few divisions for bottles and stores such as tea, sugar and biscuits. A box 22 in. by 12 in. by 10 in. is sufficient. A canvas kit-bag should be provided for the chair, table, etc. The lunch box, if canvas covered, should be wrapped round with a piece of sacking or hide before being roped up.

CAMEL NO. 3.

On one side Wolseley valise, wrapped in cowskin to avoid rubbing, containing bedding. This may be balanced by oddments, such as basin with leather cover, candlestick box, etc., and, if necessary, a box carrying extra stores or clothes, though I have found that the best method for carrying the latter is in *jurabs*. A *jurab* is a native saddle-bag slung on the tree of the riding saddle. It is preferable to the *khurg*, as the latter, resting over the seat itself, is likely to strain it.

CAMEL NO. 4.

Tent, in two loads. Each half should be wrapped in a cowskin.

CAMEL NO. 5.

Water. Two ten-gallon fantasses (galvanised-iron water tanks). The native water-skins are lighter and keep the water cooler, but need continual looking after and also treatment with native tar, which makes the water taste.

CAMEL NO. 6.

Grain. It is very much more satisfactory to buy two leather bags (*quraf*), each to carry about 7 keilas (220 lbs.) at full capacity, than to carry the grain in sacks which continually wear out and spill.

If the bags are completely full the camel will be rather overloaded for the first day; but this should not matter as his load will lighten daily.

On a short trek not everything mentioned above will be necessary. The important point in rearranging the loads is that each half should balance, otherwise the load will not sit properly, and sore backs will result.

It is useful to carry two wooden tripods (*sebia*) on which small articles can be hung at the halts.

Drinking water for immediate use should be carried in canvas bottles (*zamzamia*).

All servants show a tendency to decorate the camel with miscellaneous objects, jugs, baskets, etc. This tendency should be combated or the camels will look like Christmas trees.

The weights of the various loads, including the saddle (15–25 lbs.), but excluding the man, will be approximately:

Camel No. 1.—Cook boxes: 200 lbs.
Camel No. 2.—Lunch box, etc.: 100 lbs.
Camel No. 3.—Valise, etc.: 150–200 lbs.
Camel No. 4.—Tent: Varies with the size of the tent—the so-called 120-pounder means a total load of 160 lbs.
Camel No. 5—Water tanks, full: 290 lbs.
Camel No. 6—Grain bags at full capacity: 460 lbs.

For roping up the loads it is best to buy 1½-in. European rope, and not use native ropes which quickly wear out.

The fantasses and grain bags each require one rope only of approximately 10 metres length. Each half of the other loads will require one rope of 7 metres length.

Each camel must also be provided with a head rope of 3 metres length and two sets of hobbles (knee and front legs). The latter wear out quickly and should be made by the camelman from *zaaf* (palm fronds).

But far more important than all the foregoing, is the choice of the camelman, and the best method of obtaining a suitable man is to ask the chief of the district to provide one, rather than to employ a well recommended Englishman's camelman who has no previous knowledge of the locality.

But even the best of camelman needs looking after, and it is necessary to train him to note any minor deficiences in kit, or ailments in the camels. It appears to be an ingrained characteristic of the Arab nature to take no notice of a defect in beast or appurtenances until they are almost past cure or repair.

The camelman should himself restuff, as necessary, all the saddle pads, and should be able to do all minor repairs to the baggage and saddlery.

(4) FEED AND WATERING AND CARE OF CAMELS.

The camel is a ruminant, and for that reason the text books lay down that he must have bulk in his food and sufficient time for grazing. It is stated that six hours daily is necessary: even if it were desirable, on trek this is practically impossible, because except in the very coldest weather camels will not graze in the middle of the day, *i.e.*, between 11 o'clock and 2 p.m., and later in the summer. Anyhow, with a sufficient grain ration much less grazing is necessary.

It is a fallacy to say that camels must always have bulk. The thoroughbred in training for a race is given grain only, and never more than 15 rotls (lbs.) daily. The readiness with which camels with a thoroughbred strain adapt themselves to this form of diet is doubtless because their ancestors have been fed on grain for countless generations.

Conversely, however, the heavy Arabi camel, whose ancestors have fed on nothing but trees and grasses, does need bulk; and walking baggage camels can do on grazing alone if it is sufficient. For trotting baggage camels I consider grain essential. Grain must be taken as including not merely dura but also, when ripe, certain grain-bearing grasses, *i.e.*, *siha*. By far the best type of grain is Feterita dura.

The camel should be given a little salt, either daily with his grain or with his water each watering day. If a daily grain ration is not feasible, it is best to give it on marching days only and cancel it whenever a complete day's rest can be given for grazing

Opinions differ as to the value of tree grazing, but on the whole, it is more valuable than all except the best grasses, though the camel will need a longer time to get his fill; but the locality where the particular camel is bred will make a considerable difference; for the camel of the north is naturally a tree-grazer, and the camel of the south a grass grazer.

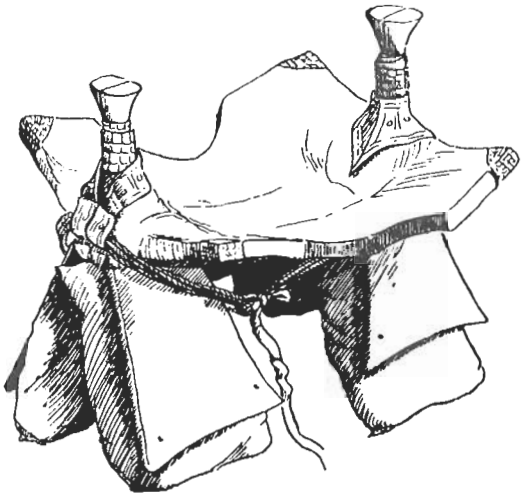
The only time when the trotting camel, even if working, should not be given grain is when he is grazing on the lush and green grass of the rains, as he will not digest the two together. Although camels will put on flesh rapidly during the rains, it produces fat rather than muscle, and therefore they are liable to lose condition quickly if working hard, and particular care must then be taken to avoid sore backs. Further, at the end of the rains when the grass dries, the grain ration should be increased only gradually. To put him immediately on to a full ration is waste of grain and may be harmful to the camel.

It is difficult to lay down an exact scale of grain rations as conditions and individual camels differ widely.

A walking hamla will not, as a rule, need a regular grain ration. If grazing is good it is sufficient to give the trotting camels 10 rotls of grain every watering day, while not working. I recommend this system because it is possible to check the amount of grain which they actually receive. It is true that a small daily ration would probably be of more value to them, but then it would either be necessary to bring them in from grazing daily, or to allow the camelman to take the grain out with him to their grazing ground, which is apt to be somewhat unsatisfactory; if grazing is poor they must have a daily ration of at least 5 rotls.

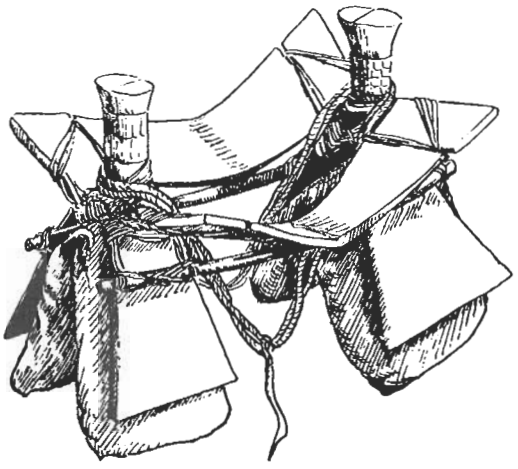
While on trek, they should receive 5 to 10 rotls a day according to the amount of grazing they can get. On the latter ration they can carry on for days or even weeks without undue fatigue or loss of condition, even with very meagre grazing.

The riding camel should be given besides grazing at least 5 rotls of grain daily when not working, and 8 to 10 or more while working. But grazing is no necessity for the thoroughbred if he is given 10 to 15 rotls of grain daily according to his capacity.



(1) MAKHLUFA.

It is fitted with "*tafas*," which are not attached to the saddle in any way. The seat is covered in leather, and is usually made of *higlig*. The best trees are made of *Sunt*.



(2) KUR EL DELEIGAB.

Note the wooden bar running on either side under the seat from the front to the back. This adds considerably to the strength of the saddle, and is particularly desirable if the saddle is to carry any amount of luggage as well as a man. The seat is the same as that of the makhlufa, but in this instance has no leather covering.

I differentiate between the grain ration of the riding camel and of the trotting baggage camel, because the riding camel may be called upon to travel fast for considerable distances at short notice, whereas the trotting baggage camel will hardly ever have to go at more than 5 miles per hour and for fixed distances.

There are two definite disadvantages to grain feeding: (1) the camel needs to be more frequently watered, and (2) he will suffer severely if made to travel during the heat of the day in the summer. These disadvantages are, however, more than compensated for by the speed and endurance gained.

To summarise the position: At one end of the scale there is the thoroughbred racer fed on grain and grain alone; and at the other, the heavy Arabi eating only grass and trees.

In the former it is speed alone that counts; in the latter his ability to plod along under heavy loads.

As the particular camel approximates to either type so must his diet vary.

In the Butana and neighbourhood the most valuable grazing in the rains are the convolvuli, *tabar* and *hantut*, particularly the latter which, when first eaten, has a slightly purgative effect. During the winter by far the best grazing is *siha*, which is said by the Arabs to be almost equal to grain in nutritive value. The next in value is the *humra* or dried stems of *tabar* or *hantut*, but this is very brittle and rapidly disappears. *ghabash*, the generic term for dried grass, practically hay, is good when neither of the already mentioned are available. In the Butana, the most common types of *ghabash* are *dumbelab*, *gau* and *haskanit*. The two latter are armed with spears which blow away in the winter. They are valuable during the summer and early rains before the new grass has come up, as rain does not spoil them quickly. The coarse grass, such as *naal* and *mahareib*, are useless for grazing except that the fresh young shoots of the former are said to kill the ticks on a camel which grazes on it for three days.

In regard to tree grazing, *selim*, *sayal*, *samr*, *heglig*, *sidr*, and in particular the first two, give good nutriment. In the dry season *kitr* is useful, for its pods only. But in the rains the young shoots of this bush have a valuable tonic effect. *Hekabit* is poisonous, especially to grain fed camels, and *dura* and *adār* which have failed to ripen owing to insufficient water, are also poisonous while they are withering.

A herd of grazing camels will frequently do from eight to ten days without water in the winter and in the summer generally four or five days. For the ordinary camel in work, particularly if he receives a grain ration, four days without water is the practical maximum, and the general custom is to water the camels every fourth day in the winter and every third day in the summer. According to native opinion, irregular watering is distinctly bad for the camels, but on trek it is not always possible to water them on the correct day.

If it can be foretold that water will not be available on the right day, the best arrangement is to let them drink again on the day following their last watering day.

The camel, when watered, entirely fills his stomach and sometimes looks like a bloated water-skin on four legs. When he is in this condition it is definitely bad for him to be ridden far or fast. When possible, on trek he should be watered after the morning's work and should be given a rest in the afternoon. His bloated condition is naturally accentuated if the number of days between watering are increased. For this reason there is little advantage in the Butana, where the water is fairly frequent, in unnecessarily increasing the days between water. Further, the camel, when thirsty, will not feed properly.

I do not think there is any particular value in grooming a camel like a horse. His coat should, however, be kept reasonably clean, and it is sufficient to brush him over every three or four days and to give him an occasional bath on his watering day. On trek he should be encouraged to roll at the end of a journey if the ground is suitable, as this promotes circulation and a healthy condition of the skin. But care should be taken, before re-saddling, to brush out any dirt or thorns which may have been picked up. He should always be kept free of ticks, and when he grazes in an area where ticks are numerous, the parts of his body most liable to be attacked should be treated with *gutran* (native tar). *Gutran* should not be used on trek, as it will sting a camel which is heated by exercise. The camel is apt to urinate down his hind legs. If the skin becomes coated with dirt from this cause, sores may result.

(5) TREKKING.

The camel, like any other animal, requires training and exercise. Too often "fat and fit" are regarded as synonymous. It is useless to

feed up a camel, give him no exercise, and then expect him to do a long hard trek. Yet it is a most common experience for an Englishman to see his well-liking, grain-eating camels fail, while those of the hired Arab continue happily to carry the heaviest loads. The latter are probably in what he would call poor condition and neither as well bred nor so well shaped, nor so well fed. The reason must be that the Englishman's camels are not fit. If the Englishman were to dismiss from his mind the idea that the camel was "a ship of the desert" and to regard him as an ordinary animal, he would get more satisfactory results and there would be fewer complaints about his perversity.

After the rains, if the camels have not been working, they and their backs will have become soft, therefore, unless the trek can be so arranged that there will only be very easy going for the first week, it is essential to get them into condition beforehand. To do so, they should first of all be given walking exercise with no loads except saddles and riders. After a few days they should be given easy trotting exercise, and after two or three more days they should be loaded lightly and given more trotting exercise for a couple of hours daily. A good test as to whether a camel is reasonably fit, is to trot him for an hour in the cool part of the day and then to see if he has sweated at all under his saddle.

After trek it will do a camel no harm to rest for fifteen days with only such exercise as is necessary to take him to his grazing or watering and back; but after this period he should again start a course of regular exercise and, if a riding camel, he should have at least two good trotting exercises a week.

Of course, if the camel has really lost condition from a long trek, as opposed to losing superfluous fat, he may need a longer period of rest and recuperation.

Methods of trekking must be largely governed by the object in view, but the following points should be kept in mind:

(1) It is better for the camel to go for a long distance and then have a complete rest, than it is to go on for day after day over moderate distances, *i.e.*, if 175 miles had to be covered it would be better to do 35 miles a day for five days, followed by two days rest, than to do 25 miles a day for seven days. This refers to riding camels and trotting baggage camels.

(2) Trekking should be avoided during the heat of the day, and it is infinitely preferable to do a long journey in the morning and a short one in the afternoon, than to halve the distance.

(3) From the camel's point of view the earlier the morning journey starts the better, but when the loads are put on in the dark, care must be taken that nothing is forgotten and that the loads and saddles are properly arranged. If an early start is made and there is a long distance ahead, it is well worth stopping for half an hour just after sunrise without unloading, to give the camels a little grazing. In the summer the morning journey should end at 8.30 a.m. at the latest, and in the winter at 9.30. On a cloudy day in the rains it will do the camels no harm to march till a later hour, in order to complete the day's journey during the morning. This is advisable, as the usual time for rain to fall is in the afternoon.

(4) Whenever possible the afternoon journey should end before sunset. The camel grazes better just before and after sunset than at any other time, and also a very quick drop occurs in the temperature. If the camels have been sweating there is a distinct danger of sore backs.

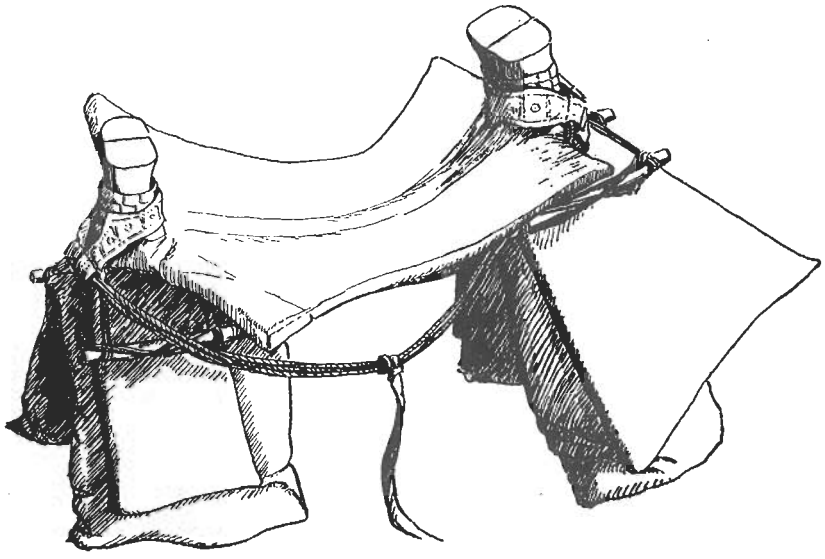
(5) If there is a good moon and the going is good, trekking for as much as half the night is the best way of covering the distance, especially during the summer.

(6) As a general rule, seven hours travelling daily is as much as should be done. In this time, trotting baggage camels should be able to cover 35 miles over good going.

(7) If a forced march has to be made in the hot weather it is best for the animals to do three stages during the twenty-four hours, namely, from 3 a.m. to 8.30 a.m., from 4 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. and from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. The camels should be given their grain ration at 7 p.m. At an average of 5 m.p.h. this will mean a day's journey of 50 miles.

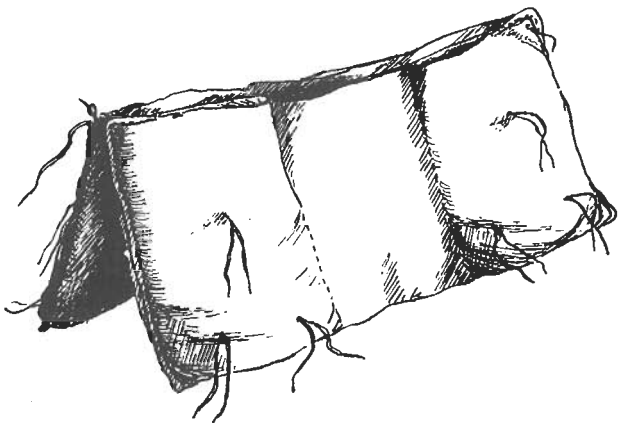
(8) The riding camels tend to outpace the baggage. Whether the latter are sent on ahead or follow after depends on circumstances. In any case, a reliable man should be put in charge.

The ordinary travelling speed of a native on his riding camel is not much under 7 m.p.h. For a lightly loaded thoroughbred this is the



(3) KUR EL HADENDOWA.

Note the different shape of the seat and of the back tree. This is the strongest and hardest wearing type of saddle, but is also the most uncomfortable to ride.



(4) BEDID.

In the example shown the front and back pads are joined by a strip of leather so that little air can reach the camel's back. Another better type of *bedid* consists of four separate pads. On the riding saddle both types are usually held in position by the three pairs of leather tags. This necessitates boring holes through the saddle trees, which are thereby weakened. Adjustment is made more difficult and the saddle must fit the camel more accurately than is the case with *tafas*.

least tiring speed both for animal and rider. In this connection it is worth mentioning one or two instances of the remarkable distances which can be covered by thoroughbred camels.

Sheikh Awad el Kerim Ahmed Abu Sin, the grandfather of the present Nazir of the Shukria, required the presence of a witness. His messenger left Rera at early dawn and rode to the Atbara at Zelleg. He was then informed that the witness was at Abu Gimbil. He went there, found him, and got back to Rera with him about an hour after sunset on the same day. The distance covered cannot have been less than 160 miles. This camel, called El Nai, belonged to Hardello Abu Sin, father of the present Sheikh Khut, and the journey is vouched for by creditable eye-witnesses, who add that the camel ate his full ration of grain the same evening.

Three days was the time allowed for the Khalifa's camel post from Omdurman to Kassala, a distance of 255 miles, and this was sometimes done by one camel.

The following instance I can vouch for myself. A Sheikh Khut had forgotten to bring his robe of honour for the 1927 Khashm el Girba tribal gathering. At 9 a.m. he asked me whether it would be needed. I replied in the affirmative. His son was sent to Rera, 100 miles away, and was back with the robe on the following evening.

The farthest distance I myself have ridden in the day is 70 miles over rather poor going. My camel was not unduly tired and did 25 miles the next day.

(6) HINTS ON RIDING.

Riding a camel is as much an art as riding a horse, and I am doubtful whether an Englishman can become an expert.

The basic principles are, however, fairly simple :—

(*a*) Sit still in the saddle and give to the swing of the camel's movement instead of bumping.

(*b*) Do not let the head-rope dangle loosely, but keep a feel of the head with it.

(*c*) To make the camel go faster, move the weight of the body forward, press on withers with shins and feet and tighten the head-rope.

(*d*) Do not get into the habit of continually tapping the camel with the foot or he will not be able to distinguish this aid when you wish him to go faster.

(*e*) When the camel is moving really fast keep a tight hold of the head-rope and shift the weight of the body forward from the seat to the under part of the thighs.

(7) TRAINING CAMELS FOR RACING.

A detailed discussion of this subject would be out of place in this Note. The following are the main points :—

(*a*) Training should start about three months before the races. During training grain is the only ration and grazing is not allowed.

(*b*) For the first month the camel's ration is 15 rotls and he is given light exercise daily. From then till fifteen days before the race, his work is gradually increased and his ration slightly reduced. For the last fifteen days he is given light work only, and during the last week some trainers still further reduce his ration.

(*c*) He is watered every third day, and is made to run thirsty on the third or even the fourth day after his last watering.

(*d*) He is usually given doses of *samn* (clarified butter) once a week for three weeks during the early part of his training. The stuff is poured down his nostrils and is said to harden his feet and improve his condition generally.

(8) VETERINARY NOTES.

Native ideas on veterinary first aid merit considerable attention. Although some of their methods are the outcome of sheer superstition, yet a number, being the result of many generations of close observation, are of proved value. The conditions of nomad life compel rough and ready methods of treatment which kill or cure quickly. The Veterinary Officer, on the other hand, has ample means for prolonged antiseptic treatment and, since his patients are mainly government animals, no need to hurry. So it is not surprising that modern veterinary methods have acquired but little prestige among the natives, whose respect for our judgment is further lowered by our simplicity in buying camels at considerably above their market value, and by our rejection of good animals owing to our inability to distinguish essential defects from minor faults. The two great exceptions to this general criticism are Naganol and Rinderpest Serum which have won their way by their obvious efficiency.

(*a*) SORES AND BRUISES.

Treatment of sores and bruises caused by the saddle varies according to their position. A swelling on the lower part of the withers, if taken in the early stages, can generally be cured by a simple application of cold water. On trek the best result seems to be obtained if cold water is applied just before saddling up. At the end of a journey the swelling will be found to have moved down below the saddle pad. If the swelling is on the point of the withers, or on the back of the hump, or on the short ribs, the saddle must not be allowed to press on it. In the early stages, the best treatment is massage with cold water. If pus has formed, the swelling must be cut open and kept clean with antiseptic.

A useful native method is to treat such swellings with an application of *samn* at about 9 a.m. The camel is then turned out to graze and a mild form of blister results. If cold water has failed and it is necessary to work a camel which has a bruise or wound under the saddle pads, a piece must be cut out of the pad, or another pad fitted, so that the place is free from pressure. This method is only a *faute de mieux*, and has given rise to the proverb : " The hollow pad cures and causes a wound."

The causes of bruises and wounds under the saddle will be one of the following :—

(1) Malformation of the camel.
(2) Old scar tissue.
(3) Badly fitting saddle. If the saddle is too narrow or too short the camel will be pinched.
(4) Insufficiently filled or hard and nobbly pads.
(5) Unbalanced or slipped loads.
(6) Careless riding. In this connection I have always tried to possess one really rough, hard-backed camel. The cook and sufragi, generally Berberin, often know as little and always care less than yourself about their mount. I have found that a few hours on the penitentiary beast is worth more than an equal time spent in exhortation.

(*b*) LAMENESS.

Lameness is usually confined to shoulders and feet. The former generally reacts to rest, and if necessary, blistering. The latter is due to sore or bruised soles or to dislocated bones. The only remedy for a bruised

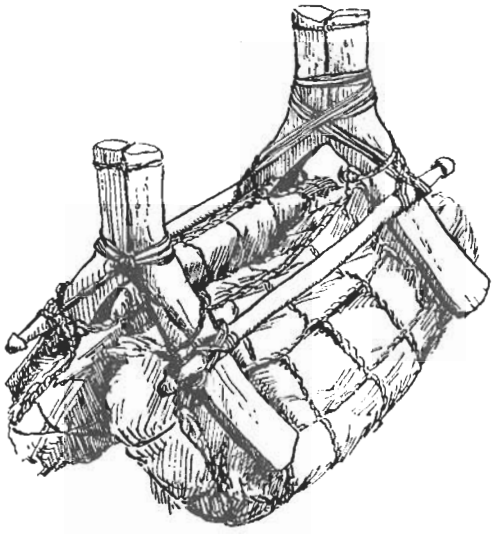
foot is rest. If the sole is worn through, rubbing with onion or other astringent is of some value. A dislocated bone must be put back into position and the swelling treated with cold water compresses. If the swelling persists, a blister should be tried, and in the last resort, firing. The natives recognise two forms of shoulder lameness, *haddad*, at the front, and *khasila*, at the back, and fire for both. They also recognise another form of foot lameness, which they call *harra*. They do not know the cause, but it is a swelling of the foot which apparently starts internally at its base The sole becomes heated and looks as if it has been stung. The treatment, which I have found effective, is to scald the foot in nearly boiling water.

(*c*) FLY "TRYPANOSAMIASIS."

This disease is caused by the sting of various flies, in particular by the *tair el aghbash* and *seroot*. The Arabs say that other flies will carry the disease from one infected animal to another and that the breath or saliva of an infected camel is also infectious. The main symptoms are debility and loss of condition, though if the camel is not worked and has good grazing, he may keep his condition for a considerable period. As soon as he is put into work he will fail rapidly. The mercuro-chloride test provides a certain diagnosis and the Naganol injection an almost certain cure. Before the discovery of Naganol, all infected government animals were destroyed, and the estimated loss among infected herds was 50 per cent. The natives know of no cure, but they regard various types of rock salt as of some value. They segregate infected animals for a period of three years, after which they appear to be immune. Nagas becoming pregnant during this period always miscarry. Flies which carry the disease only appear during the rains and keep to places where trees or high grass abound.

(*d*) MANGE.

Mange first appears on the soft parts of the body such as the flanks, groin and armpits. It can be recognised by the dry scaly feel of the skin if rubbed between the fingers. An infected camel should always be isolated. The hair should be cut away on a large area round the infected parts, which should then be treated with an oily dressing. The natives use *gutran* (tar) made from sesame oil or *handal* (colocynth). Cooper's Sheep Dip is also useful.



(5) HAWIA (BAGGAGE SADDLE).



(6) HAWIA (BAGGAGE SADDLE).

The former is shown with two grass pads each running the whole length of the saddle from front to back. The grass is kept in position by a rope network. The latter has four *bedids*. They are kept in position by a leather loop at the top, and are easily detachable. Compare the shape of the trees (usually *higlig*) with those of the riding saddle.

(*e*) CONTAGIOUS NECROSIS OF THE SKIN (*Na'eit*).

The first symptom is a painful swelling, usually on the neck, withers or quarters. The hair soon drops out, and a hard dry scab is formed which slowly separates from the surrounding tissue. When the scab comes away, the ulcer will not heal up, but will continue to spread outwards. The scab should be removed as soon as possible, and the whole area treated with strong antiseptic. The camel should be isolated.

(*f*) CONSTIPATION.

A dose of from 1 to 2 lbs. of Epsom Salts is usually effective.

(*g*) DIARRHŒA.

All camels become relaxed during the early part of the rains. No importance need be attached to this. If at other times the camel suffers from chronic diarrhœa, he should be given a dose of ½ lb. of Epsom Salts to remove the cause, followed by an astringent. A useful mixture is ½ oz. chlorodyne, ½ oz. turpentine and a pint of sesame oil.

(*h*) COLIC.

A dose of 2 lbs. of Epsom Salts is probably the best and simplest method of treatment. If pain is violent, ½ to ¾ oz. of chlorodyne may be given three times daily. A usual treatment is to gallop the camel for a mile or two which generally induces the animal to purge freely. I have found this method effective when the complaint was caused by too much grain. There is a disease called by the natives ***ghudda.*** This is often merely severe colic. But they often use the same word for Tympanitis (distention of the rumen with gas) and for Anthrax. The latter is also termed *ghudda abu niheid* or *anaba*.

(*i*) HABBUB.

This word is used by natives to describe ills for which they cannot otherwise account. They recognise, however, various types for which they have different treatments.

(1) Stomachic. The camel becomes "run up" and loses condition generally. He is usually constipated and off his feed. The treatment is to soak 5 lbs. of sesame in water for a night. In the morning the water is poured off and the sesame ground into a soft mash. Water is again added with a little *gerdaga* (salt earth) or *atrun* (rock salt), and the camel is made to drink the mixture. The treatment is continued for three days,

and the camel is watered on the fifth. The treatment is then repeated. Alternatively, he can be given the ground sesame only, slightly warmed and made into a dough. Seven handfuls are forced down his throat daily for three days. Both these methods are effective. A third treatment is to give the camel plenty of cow's milk, which undoubtedly benefits him whether he is ill or not. A fourth method must not be omitted. It is to kill a hare and leave the body in a pot till it rots. The bones are then detached and a little water added to the putrid meat, which the unfortunate animal is then compelled to swallow.

(2) Lameness which tends to change from leg to leg. This is probably rheumatism. Half a pound of *samn* is poured down the camel's nostrils for three days weekly until a cure results. If no improvement is noticed after forty days the camel is fired.

(3) Ulcers on the chest or just above the hock. These are known as *el habis* and *arus* respectively. The ulcers should be lanced and kept clean, and will soon disappear.

(4) Headache. The symptoms are a continual shaking of the head and flopping of the ears. Here, again, *samn* is poured down the nostrils, though some authorities prescribe ½ lb. of goat's urine to which a few dashes of milk are added.

(*j*) KHILFA.

This is the term used for the second growth of grasses. The natives say that the *khilfa*, particularly of the convolvuli, *tabar* and *hantut*, causes redworms (strongyles) in the intestines, which kill the camel in the following summer. A cure is sometimes effected if the camel grazes on *seri* in the autumn. It cannot be the natural second growth which promotes these worms, but the disease is so universally attributed to this cause that there must be some substratum of truth in their observation. It may be that the second growth provides a suitable host for the growth of the strongyle which has passed out in the droppings of the herd which grazed off the first crop.

(*k*) RAMAD.

This term is used for the exhaustion which follows over-riding a camel in the heat of the day. The treatment is rest and shade and a diet of cow's milk and dura soaked in water.

(*l*) WRY NECK.

A camel sometimes develops this complaint for no apparent reason. The cause, though not definitely known, is probably nervous. The native remedy of firing is often effective, but the trouble may reappear. Captain Going, S.V.I., Kassala, has told me that he has occasionally worked a cure by blistering on the convex side of the curve.

(*m*) RUTTING.

The majority of male camels over eight years old will rut during the rains if they are in good condition. They are then apt to be most dangerous. When ridden, the ordinary head-rope should be discarded for either a *hasaka* or *sarima*. The feature of the former is two iron bars which, when tied under the jaw, prevent the camel from opening his mouth wide; the latter is a native-made muzzle. A stout stick should always be carried by the rider. When the camel is in this state he takes very little food and, therefore, loses his condition. There is no certain method of prevention short of castration, but a hard, fast ride in heavy going will often calm his excitement. The application of *gutran* on the top of the head, or a brew made from a full pound of coffee beans, has some sedative effect.

(*n*) LOSS OF CONDITION.

While a camel quickly recovers from a temporary strain, yet no animal suffers more from a long period of overwork. Rest and plenty of nourishing food are the only remedies. His grain ration should be increased, but every care must be taken not to pass the limit of his digestive powers. Cow's milk, acacia pods, dura stalks are all excellent foods, but nothing is better than *siha*.

(*o*) FIRING.

This is the time-honoured native treatment for the majority of complaints. Though sometimes brutal, stupid and ineffective, it is often the best method at his disposal. It is his sole form of antiseptic treatment. In every camel district a number of real experts will be found who are capable of effecting surprising cures when orthodox methods have failed.

GLOSSARY.

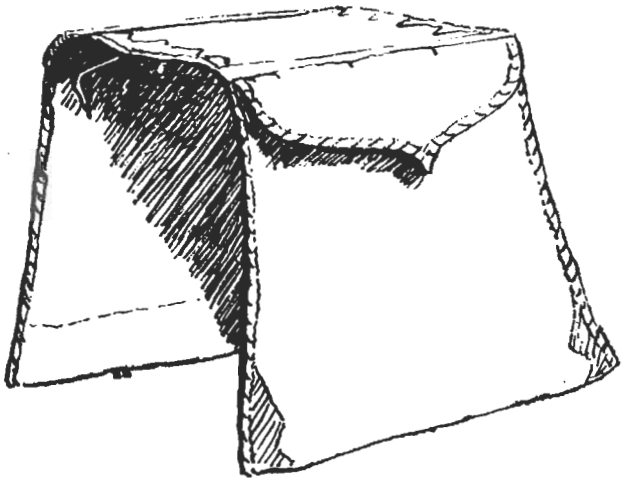
NOTES.

(1) The following contains the more common terms in use among the Shukria and the Lahawin. Where a word is used by the latter exclusively (L) will be found before it.

(2) I have adopted the transliteration given in the Sudan Almanac as used by the *Sudan Notes and Records*.

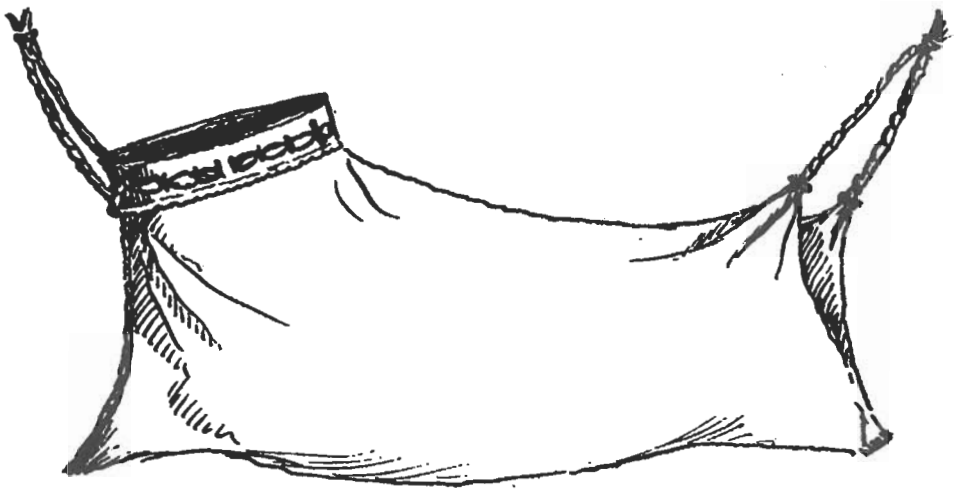
(3) Broken plurals are given in brackets.

ENGLISH.	TRANSLITERATION.
General Terms.	
Camel...	*jemel* (*jumāl*).
Female camel	*nāqa* (*nīāq.*)
Riding camel	*jemel makẖlūfa, jemel rakūb.*
Baggage camel	*jemel ḥamla, jemel sẖeil.*
The baggage train	*el ḥamla.*
A load	*ḥiml, sẖeil, rāḥla.*
Camelman (hired)	*jammāli* (*jammāla*).
Camelman (owner of herdsman) ...	*abbāli* (*abbāla*).
Hired herdsman	*rā'ī* (*ra'āia* or *rawā'īā*). *keri* (*keriān*).
Camel troops	*hajjāna.*
Camels (coll.)	*ibl.*
Herd	*murāḥ* (*muraḥāt*).
Herd without milch nagas	*deshr, 'azīb.*
Herd of milch nagas	*kẖallūf.*
Just taken	*laqaḥat, 'asẖarat.*
Under 2 months in foal	*ḥasabat, sẖawalat.*
Over 2 months in foal	*dārra* (*durrar*).
Just foaled	*laqaḥa.*
Not in foal	*kẖalūj, kẖalli.*
Thought to be in foal and found not to be	*hayifat.*
In milk with small foal	*sẖā'ila.*
Towards the end of the milk period	*kẖalfa.*
In milk with dead foal	*marri.*
Stallion	*faḥl, jemel 'arūdh.*
To cover	*'aradh, qafas.*



(7) KHURG (SADDLE BAGS).

They are laid across the seat of the saddle, and if filled are apt to break the seat, as their weight rests on the outer edges.



(8) JURAB (SADDLE BAG).

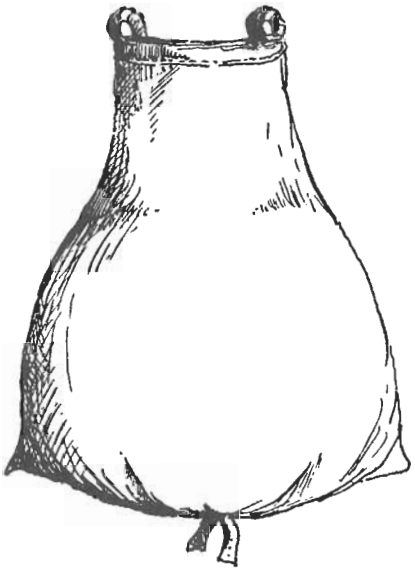
The best are made from gazelle skin. They are slung on the front and back pommel, and are therefore preferable to the khurg.

ENGLISH.	TRANSLITERATION.
General Terms.	
On heat	*maisira.*
One teat tied up	*maṣrūra.*
All teats tied up	*makammaṧa.*
Trained	*ṭā'i'.*
Untrained	*maḥawwal.*
Untrained (badly trained)	*ṣa'b.*
Rogue	*'urḏhi.*
Not ridden for a long time... ...	*matrūf.*
A working camel which has been turned out with the herd	*mu'affi.*
Have the yearling foal taken away	*fedarat.*
The camels have moved out at the beginning of the rains to search for green grain and water ...	*ṧōqarat, ṧoqāra.*
Camels with a herdsman far from their master	*bayit.*
Tied neck and neck	*maqrūn.*
Tied by the jaw	*muḥannak.*
Hind legs hobbled at the hocks ...	*muḥakkar.*
Roped front and back so that he can be thrown	*muḥajjaz.*
Train for a race	*naṧṧal.*
Make to lie down	*barrak, nawwaḵh.*
Saddle	*ṧidd.*
Load	*ṧayil, ḥammal.*
Call for foal	*razamat, ḥannat.*
Ages.	
0 to 1 years	*hawār.*
1 ,, 2 ,, ...	*mafrūd.*
2 ,, 3 ,, ...	*wad lebūn.*
3 ,, 4 ,, ...	*ḥiqq.*
4 ,, 5 ,, ...	*jada'.*
5 ,, 6 ,, ...	*tani.*
6 ,, 7 ,, ...	*rabā'.*
7 ,, 8 ,, ...	*sadīs.*
Rising 8 years	*awal sheqq, awal ṭa'n, awal baḡhaz.*

ENGLISH.	TRANSLITERATION.
Ages.	
8 to 9 years	*nā'ib.*
9 „ 10 „	*nā'ib sena.*
10 „ 11 „	*nā'ib sanatein.*
and so on	
Young camel 1 to 4	*ḥāshi* (f. *ḥāshia*) (*ḥisha*).
Young trained camel	*qa'ūd* (*qi'dān*).
Young trained naga	*mureibīt, muqeida'a.*
Trained naga	*murbeit.*
Full-grown camel	*ba'īr* (*abā'ar*).
Attributes.	
Throughbred...	*ḥurr, aṣhab.*
Half-bred	*mujcnnis.*
A good mover	*washīk.*
A good traveller	*mashai, khuttār.*
Fast	*jerāi, serī'.*
Strong	*lāzim.*
Slow and heavy	*taqīl, jemel maran.*
Smooth	*wahīt, ḍahru bārid.*
Rough	*ḍahru ḥārr.*
Long-paced	*khubbu wāsi'*
Short-paced	*bā'u dhayiq.*
Stocky	*marbū'.*
Short	*quṣair, qalīl.*
Tall	*tawīl, sūḥ.*
Full of food	*bedīn.*
Run up light from lack of food ...	*dhāmir.*
Defects and Diseases.	
Stumble	*'itr.*
Slip	*inzalaq.*
Run out (racing)	*kasar, shaqq.*
Buck	*taras, maraḥ.*
Jib	*ḥaran.*
Want driving	*maran, radakh.*
Turn over the foot	*rena'.*
Shiver in hindquarters in the act of sitting down	*razzaz.*

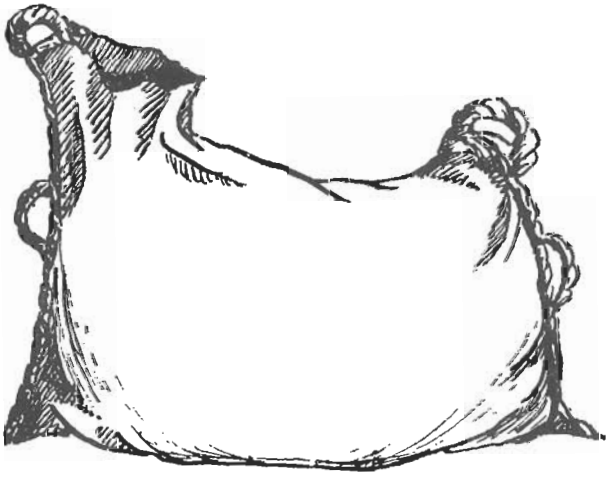
ENGLISH.	TRANSLITERATION.
Defects and Diseases.	
Sweat	*waghar, 'araq.*
Be tired	*feter.*
Be exhausted	*baṭal.*
Be lame	*'araj, dhala'.*
Be shoulder lame	*ithaddad.*
Rub (hocks, elbow, etc.)	*ḥakk.*
Shy	*khazz.*
Run away	*sharad.*
Bolt	*jafal.*
Blow out soft palate	*hadar.*
Bleat	*ragha.*
Have diarrhœa	*inkharaq.*
Refuse to eat	*kashar.*
Dishing	*lowwata.*
Having jerky movement of fore or hind leg (like string-halt)... ...	*aṭraq.*
Narrow-chested	*aṭbaq.*
Cow-hocked	*irwak, asja'.*
Crossing hind feet in trotting ...	*asakk.*
Having turned-in toes	*akraf.*
Barren	*'āqir.*
Rutting	*ha'ij* (adj.) *hiyāj* (noun).
Bruise	*lahada.*
Ulcer	*khurāq.*
Swelling of foot	*ḥārra.*
Soreness of foot	*ḥafāia* (noun) *hafīān* (adj.).
Fly (*Trypanosomiasis*)	*juffār.*
Mange	*jereb.*
A disease ?	*ghudda.*
(*No English equivalent, see Veterinary Notes.*)	
Ditto	*habbūb.*
Contagious ulcer	*na'eit.*
Lameness at back of shoulder ...	*khasīla.*
Loose skin in armpit	*waraq.*

ENGLISH.	TRANSLITERATION.
Paces.	
Walk	*ṭaraqa.*
Amble	*herkala.*
Slow trot	*kurbata khafīfa.*
Fast trot	*kurbata shedida (ḥārra).*
Run	*jeri.*
Gallop	*qerab.*
Saddlery.	
Riding saddle	*makhlūfa (makhālīf).*
Hadendoa riding saddle	*kūr (akwār).*
Baggage saddle	*ḥawīa (ḥawāiya).*
Saddle tree	*nāṣla (nawāṣil).*
Pommel	*rās (ru'ūs).*
Seat	*jālis (jawālis).*
Girth	*ghurda (ghurd).*
Front strap	*lebab (libāb).*
Back strap	*maḥqaba (maḥāqib).*
Pad on withers	*ferāya.*
Pad under trees	*ṭāfa (ṭowaf).*
Pad under trees different type ...	*bedīd (bedāid).*
Loop to which girth is tied ...	*dāir dawāir.*
Strap at end of girth to tie it to the loop	*kerāb, muqbiḍ, qishāt.*
Head-rope	*rasn (rusān).*
Head collar	*ḥasaka.*
Head collar different type to prevent biting	*ṣarīma (ṣarāim).*
Nose rope	*zumām (zumāmāt).*
Sheepskin	*furwa (ferau).*
Hobbles	*qeid.*
Knee hobble	*'uqāl ('uql).*
Canvas water bottle	*zamzamia (zamāzim)*
Water skin	*qirba (qirb).*
Small water skin	*si'n (su'ūn).*
Large water skin	*saqa (saqawa).*
Saddle-bag	*jurāb (jurbān) khurj.*



(9) QIRFA (GRAIN BAG).

They are generally made from cowhide, and can be had in any size required.



(10) SAGA (WATER SKIN).

Also made from cowhide. To be kept in good condition, it has to be treated with gutran. It rubs into holes quickly when used with trotting camels.

The *Qirba* (smaller water skin) is shaped like the *jurab*.

The *Si'n* is merely a smaller edition of the *qirba*.

ENGLISH.	TRANSLITERATION.
Saddlery.	
Hair bag	*mukhlāya (mikhāli).*
Grain bag	*qirfa (qirāf).*
Tripod	*sebia.*
Watering Terms.	
To go to water	*warad.*
To water	*saqa.*
To water a second time	*ḥawwash.*
To go up from water	*sadar.*
The watering day or the number of days between watering	*dhimi.*
1st day from water	*ghib ghūāb.*
2nd day from water	*ribi' ruābi'.*
3rd day from water	*khimis khuāmis.*
4th day from water	*sidis suādis.*
5th day from water	*sibi' suābi'.*
6th day from water	*timin tuāmin.*
7th day from water	*tisi' tuāsi'.*
8th day from water	*'ishir 'uāshir.*

Note.—(1) The Lahawin, in general, use none of these terms except *ghuāb* and *ruābi'*, after that they merely say, three days from water, six days from water, as the case may be.

(2) If a camel misses one day and then waters he is said to have *warad bil ghib.* If he is watered on the 4th day, *i.e.*, been away from water for three days, he is said to have *warad bil khimis*, and so on.

Travelling.	
A stage	*shidda.*
Long morning stage	*dhaḥwa.*
Afternoon stage	*dhuhrīa.*
To spend mid-day halt	*qayyal.*
To spend the night	*bayyat.*
To travel by night	*sira.*

ENGLISH.	TRANSLITERATION.
Colours.	
White...	*abyaḍh.*
Light pinkish fawn	*aṣfar.*
Olive-grey fawn	*aḳhḍhar.*
Reddish brown	*aḥmar.*
Very dark grey, nearly black ...	*azraq.*
Nearly white, with a tinge of *akhdhar*	*arbad*
Dirty white	*aghbash.*
Dirty white, hair on tail and hump *azraq*	*ashqar.*
Between *aqhbash* and *akhdar* ...	*ḥūrī.*
Ahmar above, shading to white on stomach and legs	*aḥau.*
Deep *asfar*	*adbas.*
Deep *akhdhar*	*ḥumri.*
No. *Parts of the Body (see illustration).*	
1 Foot	*khuff.*
2 Toenail	*minsim.*
3 Cleft between toes	*muqardan.*
4 Fetlock	*rasagh.*
5 Shin	*nadeib, sāq.*
6 Knee	*rukba.*
7 Forearm	*dhirā'.*
8 Elbow pad	*kū'.*
9 Part of upper arm	*munkib.*
10 Forearm muscle	*qaṣīr.*
11 Chest	*nahd.*
12 Shoulder	*katf, maḥāra.*
13 Junction of neck and body ...	*labab.*
14 Neck	*raqaba, khabīra.*
15 Lower part of jaw	*ḥalqūm.*
16 Jaw	*ḥanak.*
17 Lips	*shalālīf*, sg. *shallūfa.*
18 Nostrils	*nakhrein*, sg. *nakhra.*
19 Bridge of nose	*khunā'.*

No.	ENGLISH. *Parts of the Body (see illustration).*	TRANSLITERATION.
20	Eyebrow	*ḥājib.*
21	Brow	*jifn.*
22	Forehead	*sanqūr.*
23	Hollow behind eye	*kūnā.*
24	Ear	*adān.*
25	Point at back of head... ...	*fākhūra.*
26	Sweat gland	*dōma.*
27	Back of upper neck	*fiqeira.*
28	Front of withers	*sakāsīk.*
29	Withers	*ghārib.*
30	Place of forward pad	*sirra.*
31	Hump	*sinkīt, sināb.*
32	Ribs	*dhulū'.*
33	Short ribs	*dhulū' quṣeira.*
34	Area round short ribs	*bau.*
35	Hip bone	*makhṛūqa.*
36	Tail	*danab.*
37	Flank	*wirk.*
38	Back pad (stifle)	*tufna.*
39	Between stifle and hock (tibia)	*būhāl.*
40	Hock	*'arqūb.*
41	Stomach	*baṭn.*
42	Boss	*zūr.*

NOTES.

Origin of the Dagu.

THE linguistic researches of MacDiarmid (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIV) open up a new aspect of the problem of Dagu origins. Hillelson (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII, p. 71) was brought to the conclusion that as far as we can tell they have occupied their present seats in the West ever since the beginning of recorded history. Their present settlements range from Tegale to Wadai, and though their traditions bring them from the East (*e.g.*, Gebel Gedir) it was in Darfur that they first attained power during the 15th century. From the rise of the Tungur until the present day their main strength has lain in Dar Sila, whence the Kordofan colony almost certainly took its origin.

From a comparison of the word list given by MacMichael (Arabs, p. 76) with those of MacDiarmid (loc. cit., p. 156) and Macintosh (*ibid*, p. 176) it would appear to the layman that the Kordofan dialect is more closely allied to Darfur than to Dar Sila. The Sila speech can hardly have developed its idiosyncrasies after their departure, for they came across a bare four generations back, long after the original Sila migration. The presumption, therefore, is that they found in or about their new settlement of Dar el Kabira a sufficiently numerous body of people speaking " old Dagu " for them to drop their Sila accretions and revert to the speech of Darfur. The Shatt, Nigmi, and other Dagu speaking hillmen enumerated by MacDiarmid would be the survivors of this body. Clearly they have not acquired their present dialect from a hundred years distant association with Dar el Kabira.

Now tradition tells that when the Atawa Baggara came east from Wadai, towards the end of the 18th century, they found the whole of the river country from Kafia Kingi across to Lake Abyad in the hands of the Shatt and the Dagu. They were ruled by a king called Deinga, whose capital was on the site of the Humr tribal showground at Muglad. Curiously enough, Deinga is said to have been a Beigawi.[1] The Humr defeated

[1] It was at just this time that a Beigawi princess was giving birth to the future Sultan Muhammed Fadl. Incidentally, is there an authentic chronology of the Fur Sultans ? Macintosh (loc. cit) dates the death of Suleiman Solong as 1715. I had previously supposed that 1637 was the accepted date.

Deinga and drove a wedge between the Shatt of Kadugli and the Shatt of the river.

If, therefore, the Dar el Kabira emigrants (possibly a belated relief force) arrived at this time or soon afterwards, they must have found a considerable remnant of Deinga's people in the neighbourhood.

There must still be a certain amount of information to be picked up among the various tribes concerned, in Darfur, Bahr el Ghazal, and Kordofan. In Tegale, for example, the meks claimed authority over all southern Kordofan during the 17th century. MacMichael mentions Dagu and Beigo settlements near Tegale (one apparently called " Dar Kabir ") and refers to the Darfurian customs reported by Bruce among the Tegulawi prisoners at Sennar.

It seems to be just possible that the Dagu-Beigo conglomeration were the southernmost representatives of Hillelson's " Group B " Nuba, and took their origin in the river country, between the Nuba proper and the Fertit, absorbing elements of both and acquiring varied and contradictory traditions of their origin in the course of their comings and goings about this area.

K. D. D. HENDERSON

CORRECTION.

In Vol. XIV, Pt. I, p. 93, penultimate paragraph, " Bedeiria " is a slip for " Bedayat."

Archæology in the Fung Province.

I WAS interested to read Prof. Seligman's letter in Part I of Vol. XIV of your Journal, commenting on Mr. Chataway's article and my note on archæology in the Fung Province in the preceding issue. Prof. Seligman refers particularly to the agate bead No. 17 of Plate IV (facing p. 266 of Vol. XIII) of my note, and the following further observations on this type of bead may be of interest.

I have seen several examples of this type of bead in the Sudan, and I agree with Prof. Seligman that their appearance often suggests considerable age. On the other hand, I do not know of an example which has been

dug up on any ancient site in the Sudan, nor does the material of which the beads are made occur in the country, so that no definite evidence of an ancient origin for the beads is forthcoming.

Some time ago I discussed the question with Mr. G. W. Grabham, and he found several illuminating references to agate beads in a book in his library. Having forgotten the title of this work, I recently wrote to Mr. Grabham, and he has been kind enough to send me the following references. They are from a treatise entitled "Precious Stones," by Max Bauer,[1] and all refer to agate.

> Page 515. "Brazil. The principal localities are situated in the Brazilian state, Rio Grande do Sul. The material was discovered in 1827 by a native of Oberstein, and large quantities are sent to Oberstein, where they are worked."
>
> Page 517. "India. The best known deposits are at Ratanpur, whence, for more than 2,000 years, the lapidaries of Broach have obtained their supplies of rough carnelian, agate, etc. There are various other places. Some of the stone is sent to Cambay and some to Europe, principally to Oberstein, and the rest to China. The only lapidary works of importance at present are at Cambay. Articles are finished according to European, Indian, and Arabian tastes, and together with rough are exported to these countries."
>
> Page 518. "Applications of Agate. Since the year 1850, there has sprung up with Central Africa a peculiar trade in charms of brown and black agate, the so-called 'olives.' These objects have the form of cylinders ½ to 3 inches long. They are pierced in the direction of their length and must display a white central band. In the middle 'sixties several hundred thousand thalers' worth of these charms were manufactured at Oberstein and exported to the Sudan . . . The demand reached its height in 1866, after which it fell off, and is now very small."

These references suggest that the agate beads found in recent times in the Sudan have been imported either from India or, more probably, from Oberstein. The fact that natives of the present day know nothing of the origin of the beads is a doubtful argument in favour of an ancient origin, for who amongst them is likely to remember the imports of seventy

[1] Translated with additions by L. J. Spencer and published, 1904, by Griffin.

years ago, having regard to the condition of the country in the latter part of the last century ?

Four of the beads mentioned by Mr. H. L. Beck (*Antiquaries Journal*, April, 1930) come from the Sudan and are thus covered by the foregoing remarks. It is true that one of them was found at Sanam by Prof. Griffith, but it is admitted that this might have been dropped on the site at a late date. Of the others mentioned by Mr. Beck, and which come from such widely separated localities as Algeria, Jerusalem, Ireland, France, Germany and Ur, some are undoubtedly ancient. I suggest, however, that the resemblance between some of these and those now found in the Sudan is evidence rather of the persistence of the *type* of bead than of a wide contemporaneous distribution in ancient times.

Mr. Beck states that the large number of agate beads which came on to the market in London some twenty years ago, and alleged to have been found in Somerset, were brought to a dealer by an Austrian, and this fact may not be without significance in view of the large scale manufacture of such beads at Oberstein.

F. ADDISON.

REVIEWS.

The Birds of Tropical West Africa.
By D. A Bannerman, M.B.E., M.B.O.U.

Published by the Crown Agents for the Colonies. Vol. II. Price 22s. 6d.

THE second volume of this excellent work fully maintains the high standard set by the first, and is of even more general interest to African ornithologists. The majority of the species described occur in one form or another right across the continent, and over 60 per cent. of them have been recorded from the Sudan. Some, *e.g.*, the Waders, are winter visitors to East as well as West Africa, while others, such as the Sandgrouse and Bustards, are found (with slightly differing geographical races) over most of the northern part of the Ethiopian region.

The main families dealt with in the present volume are the Rails, Bustards, Stone Curlews, all the Charadriiformes, including Waders, Plovers, Coursers, Pratincoles, etc., the Gulls and Terns, the Sandgrouse, the Pigeons and Doves, and the Parrots. The illustrations and notes on field identification are in most cases excellent, though the coloured plates of the two large Bustards (b. arabs stieberi and N. cafra dehami), in spite of accuracy of detail, are perhaps the least successful in suggesting the birds as seen in the field. Nevertheless, any ornithologist who is armed with this book should be able to identify without difficulty six out of the seven species of Sudan Bustards, all five species of Sandgrouse, all the Pigeons and Doves (which differ but slightly from the West African races) and all the Palæarctic Waders which visit Africa in the winter. Of the last-named Mr. Roland Green's sketches are particularly good, though that of the Redshank (which is not by him) certainly does not give the impression of a " graceful bird " such as is described in the text.

The Sandgrouse are illustrated with coloured plates of " exustus " (the Singed Sandgrouse) and " quadricinctus," and with black-and-white figures of the rest. With regard to Mr. Bannerman's remarks in the text, any resident of the Sudan can, of course, confirm that the Singed and Spotted (or Senegal) Sandgrouse—" P. exustus " and " P. senegallus "

—often drink side by side in the mornings, but that the former species is much the commoner. The Crowned Sandgrouse (P. coronatus)—which is confined to the northern Sudan—also drinks in the morning, whereas Lichtenstein's and the Four-Banded (P. quadricinctus) usually drink well after sunset. The last-named is, generally speaking, a bird of the thicker bush country and not of the desert.

With regard to classification, Mr. Bannerman adopts Dr. P. R Lowe's super-order Telmatomorphæ, covering the Gruiformes (Cranes, Bustards, etc.) and the Charadriiformes (Waders, Plovers, etc.). In general the nomenclature follows that of the *Systema Avium Ethiopicarum* ; but it seems a pity to add to the already long list of genera by separating the Greenshank and Marsh Sandpiper under the generic name of " Glottis " in place of the familiar " Tringa." It is a relief to find that the old name " exustus " has replaced " senegalensis " for the Singed Sandgrouse, thus avoiding the very awkward juxtaposition of " senegalensis " and " senegallus " for two species of the same genus ; and the grouping of all the species in the genus " Pterocles " (thus eliminating " Eremialector " and Bowen's " Nyctiperdix ") is a welcome simplification. The volume, like its predecessor, is very well produced, and is furnished with adequate indices and with an up-to-date map of the Gold Coast.

J. F. M.

Catalogue of Sudan Birds.

Based on the Collection in the Sudan Government Museum (Natural History).

By W. Wedgwood Bowen,

Asst. Curator of Birds, Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia ; formerly Deputy Curator, Sudan Government Museum (Natural History).

Part II—Alaudidæ to Fringillidæ.

Sudan Government Museum (Natural History) Publication No. 2, August, 1931. Price P.T.20 (4/–).

THIS small volume, issued more than five years after the publication of Part I, completes the list of Sudan birds which, as Mr. Bowen says in his Introduction, he began to make in 1922. It was a work involving much labour and a careful examination of all the skins and mounted specimens of birds in the Sudan Government museum ; but

it has resulted in a list which will be indispensable to any ornithologist working in the Sudan in future, and especially to anyone who attempts the compilation of a handbook of Sudan birds.

Part II of the Catalogue deals with the Passerine families, and brings the total number of species (as distinct from sub-species or races) up to exactly 700—of which the Passerines account for very nearly half. The same arrangement is followed as in Part I, but it must be admitted that some of Mr. Bowen's keys (*e.g.*, that of the Turdidæ) are bewildering in their complexity, and cannot be of much use in identifying anything except a museum specimen. And occasional small omissions in printing (*e.g.*, on page 90, "P. griseus" shown twice without distinguishing mark of sex) do not help to make things clearer. Another fault from which the work suffers is the over-elaboration of sub-species and races, which Mr. Bowen seems only too ready to multiply. Logically, in order to ensure accurate identification, he should include in his keys an indication of how the sub-species differ from the types; but considering what a small proportion of the total number of skins in the Sudan Government collection have been sent to the British Museum (Natural History) for determination, their correct assignment to various races would still seem to be somewhat problematical. The list of Sudan type-localities given by Mr. Bowen in an appendix is, however, undoubtedly useful.

But no detailed criticism can really detract from the value of the Catalogue as a whole, and Sudan ornithologists owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Bowen for completing the work, as he himself says, in his spare time. The actual printing and publication was largely made possible by the generous assistance of Rear-Admiral Lynes, who has himself contributed so much to our knowledge of the birds of the Sudan.

J. F. M.

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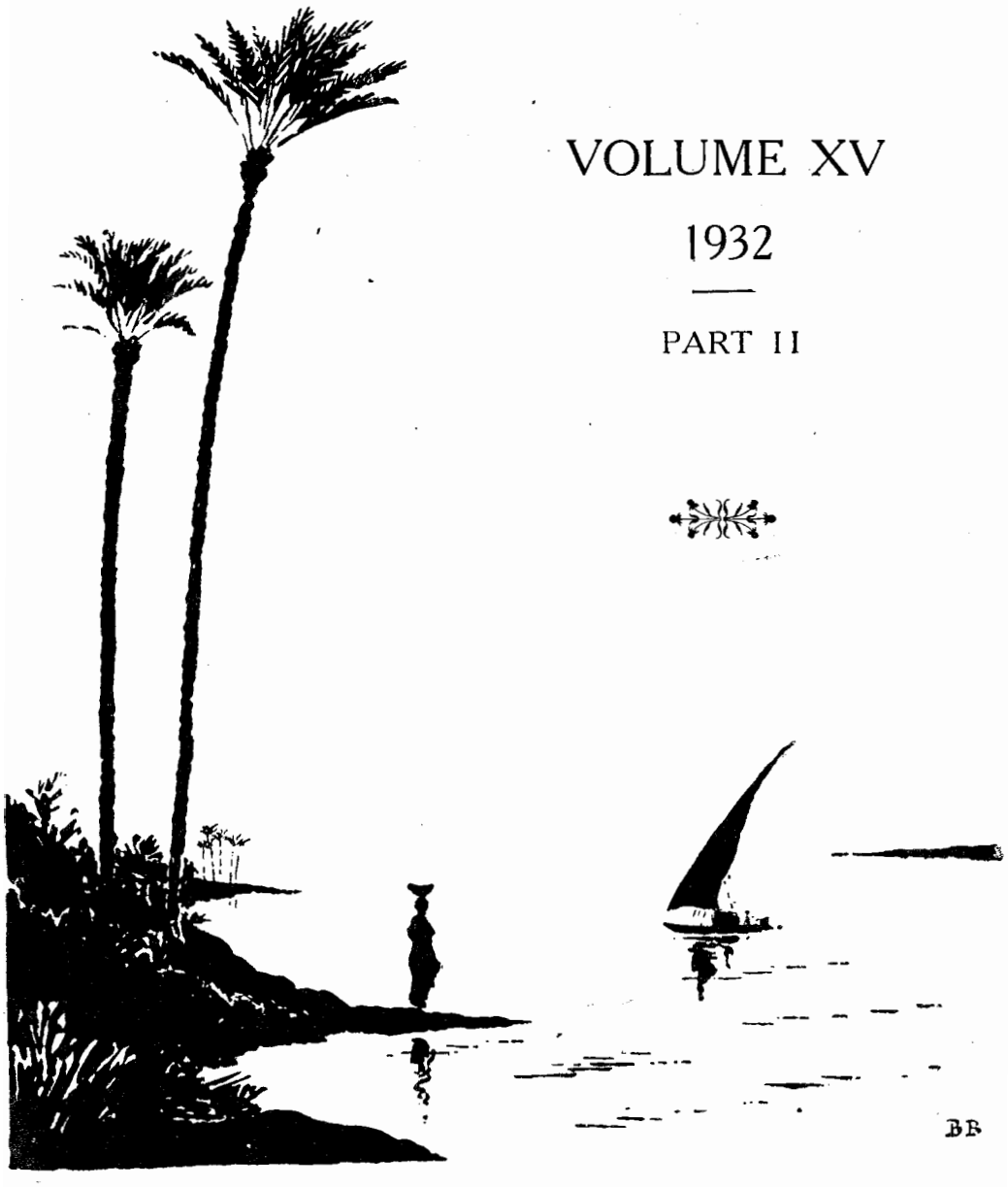
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VOLUME XV

1932

PART II

14

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The annual subscription, including cost of two numbers post free, is 50 P.T., or 10/6, and is payable in advance. Payment should be made by cheque drawn on the Khartoum branch of the National Bank of Egypt or Barclays Bank, Ltd., or by postal order, made payable to " The Treasurer, *Sudan Notes and Records*, or order."

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Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

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

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

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

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ة) is omitted.

NOTES.

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

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

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

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XV. Part II. 1932

THE NUBA PROPER OF SOUTHERN KORDOFAN.

By D. Hawkesworth.

PREFACE.

These Notes are not intended to be complete. I have attempted to give some concise information on certain subjects, a knowledge of which I believe to be essential if the native administration of the Nuba is to be successful.

Distinct discrepancies are to be found in the various Nuba dialects. Where Nuba words occur in these pages, I have used the dialect of the tribe about which I happen to be writing at the time.

The term "Nuba" is used with reference to the Nuba Proper only (see Chap. I); it does not refer to the other pagan tribes who inhabit the Nuba Mountains.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER

1. The Nuba Proper of Southern Kordofan.
2. The Ancestral Spirits and the Deity.
3. Kujurs and Kings.
4. Circumcision.
5. Betrothal and Marriage.
6. Dissolution of the Betrothal Contract and Divorce.
7. Inheritance and Land Tenure.
8. The Status of Women.
9. Death and the Hereafter.
10. The Administration of Law and Justice.

C. Meinhof, who is admittedly one of the greatest authorities on African glossology, divided the languages spoken by the inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains into three district groups, which he named Nubian, Sudanic, and Prefix.[1]

[1] *Eine Studienfahrt Nach Kordofan.* Hamburg, 1910.

S. Hillelson, in his recent article on Nuba Origins in the *Sudan Notes and Records*, writes :—

> " Recent Arabs and Europeans applied the name " Nuba " to the negroid Hillmen of Kordofan. This led to an unfortunate confusion, in so far as the impression was created that the negroes thus designated by a common name are more or less homogeneous people. The linguistic evidence suggests that there are three distinct stocks :—
>
> (1) Speakers of Hill Nubian ;
> (2) Speakers of Sudanic languages ; and
> (3) Speakers of Prefix languages ;
>
> and it is only in reference to the first group that the name ' Nuba ' is historically justified ; in the case of the other two, it is a misnomer."[1]

These Notes are confined to those hills which come under the first group.

Meinhof was handicapped by the shortness of his tour, with the result that his lists are incomplete and, in part, redundant, *e.g.*, in his first list he records Karko, Shifr and Dulman : Karko is, in actual fact, a group of hills which includes Shifr and Dulman.

Using Meinhof's list as a basis, and after some four and a half year's study of the languages, customs, and physical and racial characteristics of the inhabitants of the Kordofan hills, the present writer submits the following enlarged and amended list of those hills which come under the heading " Nuba " :—

Dair.
Dilling.
Kudr.
Habila.
Karko Group (includes Dulman, Kundukr, Kundikeira, Kasha and Shifr).
Ghulfan Group (includes the Murong Hills).
Kadero Group.
Wali Group (includes W. Baboi, W. Kurum and W. Aru Saida).
Abu Ginuk.
El Tabbag.
El Hagarat (includes Kubja, Shanshan, Bosha, Seiga, Bobai and Abu Garein).

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIII, p. 144.

Fanda.
Kunit (also known as Kujjuria).
Debri.
Nyimang Group?
Mandal Group?

All the above, with the exception of Nyimang, Mandal, and the Afitti of J. Daier, speak the same language with variations. This language bears a marked resemblance to that of the Danagla of the Northern Sudan. The languages of Nyimang, Mandal, and the Afitti of Daier are also identical, and their right to be included in the above list was questioned by Meinhof, and still remains a moot point.

A glance at the map reveals that these hills are confined to a limited belt in the northern sphere of the Kordofan hill country, stretching from the " Hagarat " of Dar Missiria on the west, to the Kadero Group on the east, while J. Debri, which lies on the Dilling-Kadugli road, is the most southerly hill.

THE ANCESTRAL SPIRITS AND THE DEITY.

The Rev. P. D. Kauczor, who was a missionary at Dilling for some years, writes :

> " The worship of the ancestor prevails so exclusively that it seems to overshadow completely the concept of a deity, and in no Nuba tribe is there any form of worship addressed directly to God, except in so far as Muslim influence is felt."

This veneration, almost amounting to worship, of the Ancestral Spirit is the basis of Nuba religion, and explains the characteristics of the race in general—their exceptional tribal patriotism, their reluctance to leave the abode of their ancestors, their reverence of the dead and of the elders of the tribe, their fervid desire for children, and so forth. Curse a Nuba and he may forgive you, curse his ancestor and you become his enemy for ever.

The Nuba conception of a deity is extremely vague. In the Dilling language he is known as *bil ipti*, *i.e.*, God the Creator, and in the Nyimang language as *abidé'*. His abode is in heaven, from where the original ancestors are supposed to have descended.

All communications are addressed, not to God, but to the Ancestral Spirit, and are usually supported with gifts. They are always made through the medium of the Kujurs, who, for lack of a more suitable

term, may be described as the tribal priests. The Nuba has no form of prayer.

It is believed that all sins are punished in this world and that such punishment emanates from the Ancestral Spirit. If a man dies while still young, it is said that the Ancestral Spirit has killed him, having found him guilty of some transgression of the tribal traditions.

If a man's wife remains sterile, he goes to the Kujur to enquire from him in what way he has injured the *urin jar*, *i.e.*, the things of the Ancestral Spirit.

The following is an interesting case in point :

A certain Dillingawi had been married for four years and had not been gifted with a child. He recently went to consult a kujur who was an expert on such matters. He was informed that he had been so punished because, at the time of his marriage, he had quarrelled with his wife's brother. He was advised to present a sheep to the brother, and a sheep, a ring, and a silk handkerchief to the Great Kujur. He did so, but up to the time of writing, the anger of the Ancestral Spirit has not been appeased.

Thus, to quote Kauczor once again :

> "Each Nuba tribe sees in its ancestor, to whom it owes its existence as a tribe, the tribal god who directs the fate of his descendants and sends all blessings and all calamities which befall the people and the individual, even death, which comes as a punishment for transgressing the ordinances of patriarchal tradition."

In addition to the spirit of the original ancestor there are numerous lesser spirits belonging to the various family groups. It is believed that these spirits may act together in council, the Great Spirit acting as chief over them. The lesser spirits are generally experts of some particular branch of culture, *e.g.*, one may be an expert on rain, another on grain or cattle, and a third on trees and goats.

KUJURS AND KINGS.

Lord Avebury, Sir Alfred Lyall, and others have explained the fundamental difference between religion and magic. The priest is the servant of whatever god or gods he worships ; he supplicates with tribute in his hand. The magician acts as a master ; he aims to control by his magic both natural and supernatural agencies. In other words, religion seeks to propitiate the powers that be, and magic seeks to control them.

Though some kujurs occasionally practise thaumaturgy, they are essentially tribal priests, and herein lies the distinct difference between them and the witch-doctors and the rainmakers of other African tribes. They are, in fact, the mediums or mouthpieces of the Ancestral Spirits which are supposed to seize hold of them on certain occasions.

During a recent trance of a kujur in the Mandal hills, the first words spoken were to the effect that the speaker was in a strange country. The kujur started to run away in a manner which did credit to his age, and had to be held back by the people. It was afterwards explained that some years ago, the tribe had been forced to move from its original abode, and whenever the Ancestral Spirit seized upon the kujur, he always attempted to return to the former home of the tribe.

Last year a certain kujur, Kortikeilla Irka of Kunit, was brought before a Native Court on the charge of murder. On investigation, it was found that a native of Wali, wishing to kill a member of his tribe, had purchased a special root from the said kujur for the sum of 120 piastres. The kujur had assured him of the magical powers of the root, and told him to place it in the victim's house. The native of Wali did so, and the victim died three days later. The Native Court found the kujur guilty of abetment of murder, and sent him to the district headquarters for trial. This is one of the few instances of Nuba thaumaturgy known to the present writer.

When a kujur falls into a trance, he is said to *kujjur*. The trances are brought on by starvation, alcohol, and concentration of will power. On such occasions, the kujur behaves as one possessed with a devil, frothing at the mouth, and often hurling himself on the ground ; he remains ignorant of what he is saying, and a listener is always appointed to listen to the words spoken.

In the Nuba languages, the names for kujur and for the Ancestral Spirit are the same (*uri*, in the Dilling language, and *kuni* in the Nyimang tongue) and their persons are regarded as highly sacred. They always eat alone and in privacy. No one, other than a fellow kujur or the father of twins, may share their seat, and anyone greeting them should bare the left shoulder to receive the kujur's blessing. It is interesting to note that this sacredness does not extend to the kujur's family.

Every kujur has a special house in his enclosure, which is known as the house of the Ancestral Spirit, and in which are kept the numerous

spears and other paraphernalia of the kujur. In the majority of the hills, these houses may be distinguished by ostrich eggs, covered with splotches of paint, which are erected on the apex of the hut.

The kujurs themselves wear a number of metal bracelets and rings, which are the insignia of their office, and carry some form of stick or axe adorned with brass wire or some other kind of metal.

When a kujur dies, he enjoys the unique honour of being buried in his house, and all his offspring, male and female, married and unmarried, must remain celibate for a period of either one or two years. The daughter of a certain kujur Shilma of Ghulfan, who died in 1926, neglected to observe this custom, and in accordance with native belief she died. It was held by a Native Court that her husband, who had seduced her, was not entitled to the return of the bride price, for which he could claim in the normal course of events.

A kujur's office cannot be said to be hereditary; the Ancestral Spirit may seize upon any person in the clan, but it often happens, especially among the lesser kujurs of the family groups, that the spirit seizes upon the offspring of the deceased kujur, provided the said offspring are considered worthy of the office.

It sometimes happens that the spirit forsakes one kujur, and seizes upon another. A case recently occurred in the Nitl clan of the Nyimang group where the Ancestral Spirit left a certain kujur Shabo (who was said to have become too " arabicised ") and seized upon his nephew Kunega Dahiya. Shabo admitted that the spirit had left him, but refused to give up the kujur's spears. The clan were in a quandary because none but the kujur could touch the spears. The case was eventually referred to the Nyimang tribal court, which ordered Shabo to hand over the weapons.

Amongst most Nuba tribes, the Great Kujur is the patriarchal head, exercising both spiritual and secular powers. Exceptions to this are to be found among the Dilling Nuba, the Afitti of G. Daier, and the Nyimang, Karko and Kalero Groups, where the office of king exists in addition to that of kujur.[1] Since there appear to be discrepancies in regard to the

[1] Since writing the above, I have discovered that the people of Subai, a small tribe of Dilling-speaking Nuba who occupy some hills to the north of Mandal, also had a king at one time, but the office has not been filled for two generations. It is said that the beat of the royal drums and the sounds of wailing can often be heard in certain caves of the mountain. The bracelets of office are now in the possession of Abu Sulub Mansour, the grandson of the last king. The appointment appears to have been in the hands of the Tumam Arabs.

stations and functions of these various kings, it is proposed to investigate each one separately.

The king, or *shirra* as he is called, of the Nyimang hills is the tribal patriarch, and reigns supreme. The following story, which is firmly believed by the tribe, tells how the king obtained his power, and gives an interesting side-light into Nuba belief.

" Many generations ago, Wiji, the ancestor of the Miriamo clan, descended from heaven and alighted and settled upon Gebel Urum (a rocky hill near the village of Nitl). He brought with him his family, cattle, sheep, and goats and his dog Foidel. They found the Fui clan living on the earth nearby, and much to Wiji's astonishment, this clan had never heard of nor seen fire, and ate their meat raw. He therefore sent his dog Foidel back to heaven with instructions to bring fire to the earth. On arriving at heaven, Foidel met a woman making beer over a fire. He waited until she retired into her house, and then, seizing a glowing ember from the fire with his tail, he dashed off to earth.

" When the theft was discovered, God (*abidé'*) became exceedingly angry, and sent forth lightning (*turungai*) to overtake the dog and kill him. Foidel, however, managed to reach the earth, and hiding part of the fire in a cave, appeased the wrath of *abidé'* by putting out the glowing ember.

" Thus fire came to earth and the people were enabled to cook their food. Shortly afterwards a quarrel arose in the Miriamo family, and fighting ensued. All were killed with the exception of one pregnant woman called Ideené', who hid in a pig house. From afar, Mas'oud, Chief of the Fui clan, saw the fire glowing on Gebel Urum, the like of which he had never seen. He despatched his son Beri to investigate. Beri climbed the hill and found the fire and Ideené', the pregnant woman, and he took both back to his father. A few days later, Ideené' gave birth to a son who appeared forth from her knee. This child was called Oula, and in two months he reached the state of manhood.

" After her convalescence, Ideené' made some beer, and offered it to the Chief Mas'oud. The Chief was at first afraid and refused, but later, being attracted by the odour, he called his sons and ordered them to draw their swords and drink. He instructed them to kill the woman on the spot if they found that the beer was poison. They drank and found that the drink was very good. As a result Ideené' and her son Oula found

favour in the eyes of Mas'oud, and Oula became as a son to him. Both Beri and Oula married, and worked together with the cattle, and there was peace in the land.

" Some years later, Mas'oud, who had become an old man, felt that his life was fast drawing to a close. He therefore told Beri, his son, to come to him that night, and he would bequeath to him the magic ring which brought the rain. Oula, who was standing nearby, overheard this conversation, and when night appeared, he went to the chamber of the old chief, and imitating the voice of Beri, said ' Father, here am I,' and the chief gave him the ring. Later Beri appeared, and when it was found that the magic ring had been stolen by Oula, the old chief passed in sorrow to his grave."

Oula is supposed to have become the first king or *shirra* of the Nyimang hills, and the office was made hereditary by patrilineal descent. The following is the genealogical tree from the time of Oula until the present day :—

Oula
|
Kunar
|
Dime'
|
Nimma
|
Amr
|
Boua
|
Sowera
|
Kurmetti
|
Waja
|
Toilna
|
Sabah
|
Rowiga
|
Agabna (hanged after the 1917–18 patrol)
|
Ahmed

The Dilling tribe is divided up into two exogamous groups: the *Uri turé*[1] or people of the Great Kujur, and the *Shil iri*, who recognise a king (*shil*) and some twenty subordinate kujurs.

The Great Kujur is the supreme head, and the king definitely takes a subordinate position under him.

When a king dies, his silver bracelet and his ring, the insignia of his office, are put in a new earthen bowl and stored in the house of his senior wife. The funeral ceremony is supervised by one of the Kujur's *ginadi* (whose status and functions will be explained later). The corpse is washed and shaved, and the drums are beaten as a signal for the wailings to commence. If anyone starts to mourn before the drums have been beaten, it is believed that the king's offspring will die. Like the kujurs, the king is privileged to be buried in his house. The corpse is laid on a bed of fine sand, with a pillow made of mud, and the opening of the grave is closed up with a large stone.

After burial, the earthen bowl containing the king's insignia is taken by a slave to the Great Kujur's hut, where it is sunk into the ground until only the rim of the opening remains above the surface.

The appointment of *shil* is hereditary by matrilineal line, and takes place at the time of the *ungur*, the feast of the first sowing, which is held during the months of April or May. He remains in the Great Kujur's house until the early rains, when he is initiated into his new office. A new house is built for him, and amidst the assembly of the people, a red scarf is tied round his neck, and the Great Kujur, taking hold of one end, leads him to his new abode. A male sheep is sacrificed outside the enclosure of the new house, and a ewe lamb inside the enclosure. The tripe of the ewe lamb is put into a new bowl containing the insignia of the *shil* and some water, and the *shil* is anointed from head to foot with the contents of the bowl. He is then washed and the *gindi* decorates him with the insignia of his office.

After this ceremony the *shil* remains in his house for a whole year with a small boy and an old woman to wait upon him. His family may not join him, nor must he come in contact with the outside world. On completion of the year a new piece of bedding is brought to him, and a woman from another tribe is secretly cajoled into sleeping with him for one night. After this his family returns to him and he may lead a normal existence.

[1] *Uri turé* literally means "The ancient (or original) Ancestral Spirit."

The functions and powers of the Dilling *shil* are not clear. He possesses a magic ring which may bring disease or death on anyone who disregards the law and customs of the tribe. A Nuba who swears on this ring will always speak the truth.

The *shil* is also entitled to the heavy fines inflicted on those found guilty of murder, but it would appear that the temporal power, that is to say, the power of settling disputes and other judicial functions lies rather in the hands of the *ginadi* under the presidency of the Great Kujur.

At the present time there are some eleven *ginadi* in the Dilling tribe, seven from the *uri turé* section and four from the *shil iri*. Their name in the Dilling tongue is *kejat* (plural *kēni*), but the Arabic term *gindi* (plural *ginadi*) is often used, and affords a useful commonal term when dealing with the Nuba as a whole.

The *ginadi* are treated with as much respect as the Great Kujur himself. Their badge of office consists of certain beads and a black ostrich feather attached to the neck by a piece of wire.[1] They carry sticks with large knobs made of *Liko* wood. Their powers are excessive, and extend to punishing the Great Kujur himself. If the rain is late in falling, or the work of the Great Kujur is unsatisfactory in some other respect, the *ginadi* assemble together by the pond which lies at the base of the Great Kujur's hill, and proceed to the Kujur's hut. On arrival, they seize hold of the Kujur's throne (*kute*) and threaten the owner with the curse of death unless he mends his ways and produces a specified fine.

When promulgating a general order, the *ginadi* ascend the hill and, in a loud voice, proclaim what they wish done, and woe unto him who speaks or makes a noise during the proclamation.

Each clan is represented by a *gindi*, and the office is hereditary by patrilineal line. The appointment takes place at the time of the feast of first sowing (*ungur*).[2] For seven days they live a life of isolation in the house of the Great Kujur, being allowed neither to wash nor to have any contact with the outside world. On the eighth day they are anointed with fresh cold water, and are allowed to return to their homes, but they cannot cut their hair until the first rains have fallen. On all official

[1] Their Court House consists of a simple *rakuba*, made of the branches of the *tundung* tree (any other material is forbidden), and is situated at the base of the Great Kujur's hill in Dilling.

[2] One clan, known as Shā'mun, is always represented by a woman, who must be a widow (*timneri*).

occasions the wearing of trousers or any form of head-dress is forbidden. Gindi Gadar Hurshanga neglected to conform with this regulation, and is now a leper.

As far as I know this system of *ginadi* only exists in Dilling, Kudr and the Mandal Hills. Ghulfan have one *gindi* and Kunit have two, but these officials appear to act merely as the " viziers " of their respective kujurs.

The present writer has not had the opportunity of investigating the functions of the *shil* of the Kadero hills, but he is credibly informed that they are very similar to those of the *shil* of Dilling.

In the Karko hills, the *shil* is essentially the " Father of the people," and reigns supreme, all kujurs taking a subordinate position under him. Succession is hereditary by patrilineal line. On the death of a *shil* his successor is appointed, but he cannot wear the bracelet of office for some seven or eight years. During this long period of time, no one can either be circumcised or married.

The ceremony of putting on the silver bracelet is followed later by the ceremony of donning the white cap (*tagia*). The period between these two ceremonies varies according to the wealth of the *shil*, but sufficient warning is always given before the latter ceremony takes place, because once the white cap has been donned, marriage and circumcision are again forbidden for a period of four years. Every three or four years the *shil's* house is repaired. It is an occasion of great feasting, and the *shil* is loaded with presents of grain and milk.

Kauczor, in his article on the Afitti of Gebel Daier[1], writes that the Afitti king has no special title, but that his power is excessive in that he appoints and looks after the tribal priestesses, and may summon the whole tribe by drum beat for the purpose of announcing his will.

There is evidence to suggest that these so-called kings of the Nuba are of comparatively recent institution, and derive their origin from those Nuba who acted as intermediaries when the Nuba came in practical contact with the Arab tribes of the north.

Dilling tradition reveals that the first Dilling *shil* was appointed by the Ghodiat Arabs, and for many years afterwards, whenever a new *shil* was appointed, he visited the Ghodiat and had his head shaved by them.

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VI, p. 7.

The Nuba are a wild, unsophisticated race who go about naked. In their own words, until quite recent times, any stranger who appeared wearing a *tagia* was regarded as a " sultan " ; this suggests a likely origin for the Karko ceremony of donning the white cap. Finally, if the Nyimang anecdote is true, the present king owes his position and authority to usurpation of his ancestor.

It remains to describe the functions of the kujurs.

Kujurs may be divided up into two categories—the great kujurs who are seized with the spirit of the original ancestor of the tribe, and the lesser kujurs belonging to the various family groups who are generally experts in some particular branch of culture.

Except in the case of certain of the kings already mentioned, the great kujurs are the patriarchal heads of the tribes, exercising both spiritual and secular powers. They are entitled to all slaves and plunder captured in war, and are held responsible for the care of widows and orphans, for which they receive either certain death duties or a portion of the bride price paid in all marriages. They also receive a small levy on the tribal crops. The bride price paid for female orphans is appropriated by them, and they are responsible for paying the bride price due from male orphans who have no family head to supply their wants.

In Fanda, no one can marry without the permission of the kujur.

The kujur is asked to consult the Ancestral Spirit on all matters of importance. He receives tribute on behalf of the Spirit and performs certain ceremonies at birth, marriage, death, and on other significant occasions when the ancestral blessing is desired, such as the building of a new house or the purchase of a horse.

Generally—though it is not so in every case—the great kujur has the power of bringing rain vested in him.

In Dilling the great kujur is only responsible for the early rains. Each individual of the tribe brings a small bowl of grain, and the great kujur sows a portion in a small plot next his hut. A lamb and a white cock are slaughtered, and their blood, mixed with beer, is sprinkled on the plot. If the sown grain comes up well, the people start to sow immediately; if the result is poor, the date of sowing is postponed.

Once the rain has come the responsibility of the great kujur ends, and a lesser kujur named *Erba* is held responsible for seeing that the rains are continual and sufficient.

The office of kujur is not confined to the male sex. The Great Kujuria of Kunit is one of the most revered and feared chiefs in the district. On the death of Kujuria Hamra B. Gamal in 1926, the whole village moved to a new site, and as is the custom in Dilling, her successor was not appointed until four years had elapsed. During this period a small girl from another tribe (Mandal) was brought to live in the deceased kujuria's house and to wear her various insignia of office.

There appear to be no definite rules of succession except that the successor must be a married woman with children and of the household of the deceased kujuria.

On appointment, the kujuria's husband runs away, leaving the children in the custody of the mother. It is believed that anyone who has intercourse with the kujuria will die. Hamra Bint Gamal gave birth to two children from two Missiri Arabs, both of whom are now said to be dead.

The Great Kujuria of Kunit is one of the most famous rainmakers in the district. Her influence extends as far as the Hagarat hills of Western Kordofan and her own tribe slaughter no less than eight bulls to her *uri* each year.

When the time for making rain approaches, she enters the house of the *uri* and kills a full grown chicken, and hangs the corpse on a post stuck into the ground. Then she takes a small chicken, and facing south, slaughters it with a knife. This corpse she puts with a special ring, some native beer, and a hoe under her throne (*kute'*). Finally, seizing the throne with both her hands four times, she falls into a trance, calling upon the Ancestral Spirit to bring rain, and one of her two *ginadi* sits at the entrance of the hut to listen to the words which the *uri* puts into her mouth.

Among primitive tribes, it is often found that the office of chief is unknown. Each clan may have its own family head, all of whom are responsible for their own particular clans and acknowledging the suzerainty of no one. This was possibly the case in the Ghulfan, Fanda and Kudr hills until outside influence evolved the status of chieftainship.

The great kujurs or chiefs of these tribes are known as *aree nil ongul iran*, which means " Masters (or owners) of the path of the Arabs." Their ancestral spirits consider themselves to be the hereditary heirs of the Arabs, and any wealth accrued from the Arabs becomes the kujurs' by hereditary right. By " Arabs " is meant all foreigners. Any property of foreigners found, seized, or earned, is taken direct to the great kujur who

divides the spoil as he wills. The emoluments earned by the so-called chiefs appointed by the European administrator who first came in contact with these tribes, were, and are still, regarded as the property of the great kujur. The kujurs of the rain, the cattle, the crops, or the kujurs of war, all take a subordinate position under him, and if any is negligent in his respective duties, the great kujur gathers together the elders of the tribe, and demands from the culprit an explanation for his neglect.

So great has become the power of these chiefs that other kujurs have adopted the title, the Great Kujuria of Kunit being a typical example.

At the time of writing, I have just returned from a visit to one of these Nuba potentates. Too old even to walk, I found him reclining on a couch, smoking a long Nuba pipe. He was wearing a khaki shirt, a pair of army sandals, and a tarboosh, seemingly as old as the wearer, perched on the top of his head. He had a pair of trousers, but finding them an uncomfortable and unnecessary garment, he preferred to use them as a pillow on which to rest his head—a weird and incongruous figure, but the revered and feared chief of a large African tribe.

CIRCUMCISION.

Kauczor writes :—

> "Circumcision is nowadays practised at Dilling on both sexes in accordance with Arab custom, but it is stated that the circumcision of boys goes back to very ancient times : the operation was performed by the kujur at the approach of puberty in a very painful manner, *viz.*, on a stone by means of an ebony axe."[1]

With the notable exception of Wali, male circumcision is in fact the Nuba initiation ceremony into manhood. Dilling and Mandal have now conformed with the Arab custom in this respect, but in other tribes the operation is performed long after the males have reached the age of puberty.

Wali are the only tribe of the Nuba proper who practise no form of male circumcision.

Until comparatively recent times no warrior of Nyimang could be circumcised until he had killed a man from another tribe. The people of Nyimang now deny this, but there appears to be sufficient evidence

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

to show that such a custom actually did exist until little more than a generation ago.

In Nyimang the operation is performed between the festival of the first green fruits and the festival of the new grain. Each clan has its own expert. The patient is anointed as it were with four cowrie shells which are sprinkled over him, and the foreskin is cut off with a sharp razor. Each appoints a small girl to staunch the bleeding and to dress the wound with oil.

Afterwards the patients retire to a special hut built on top of the mountain, away from the village, where they remain in seclusion for some three weeks. Each is waited upon by four " viziers," two boys and two girls, all under the age of puberty. Their return to the village is celebrated with the usual dancing and feasting.

After the circumcision and until the rains, the youths wear special collars and anklets made from the skins of wild beasts, usually of gazelle and monkeys, and they take a prominent part in the various village dances.

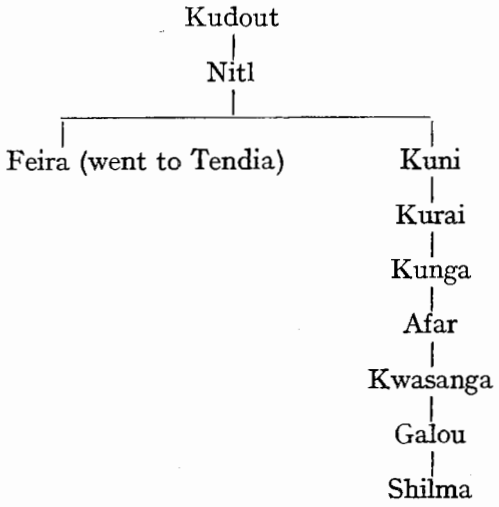
Premature sexual intercourse is believed to enfeeble and detract from the physique, and in Nyimang no one is supposed to have intercourse until he has been circumcised. That this rule is sometimes broken is shown by the following custom which is practised by the Subian clan. In the event of a girl becoming pregnant from an uncircumcised man, a special ceremony is performed which involves a dance by the guilty pair and the usual drinking of beer. It is fervently hoped that the offspring will die, it being firmly believed that death will take its toll either of the child or its father.

Among the other tribes of the Nuba (Wali excepted) marriage is forbidden before circumcision, but there is no taboo on sexual intercourse. In Ghulfan, the newly circumcised youths adorn themselves with the beads, bracelets, and other paraphernalia of the women ; in other respects the actual ceremonies differ little from that of Nyimang.

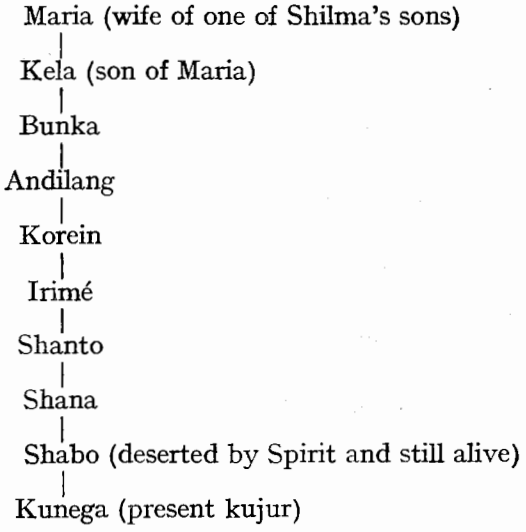
In spite of their marked ancestral characteristics, the Nuba are amazingly ignorant of their past history, which makes it practically impossible to estimate the antiquity of their various customs. Nyimang are the only tribe I have found who can trace either their ancestors or the line of the great kujurs farther back than ten generations.

A certain Kujur Shilma of G. Nitl is said to have introduced male circumcision into the Nyimang tribe, having found the custom to be

endemic among his Nuba neighbours. At the present time no Nyimang village can start to circumcise before the people of G. Nitl. The following genealogical tree gives one a rough idea as to the date of Kujur Shilma's reign.



The *Kuni* or Ancestral Spirit of Shilma seized upon the following :—



Except in the Nyimang tribe who practise no form of female circumcision, clitoridectomy exists as an indigenous pagan custom among the Nuba proper. Whether this custom dates from time immemorial or whether

it originated from contact with the Arab is a moot point. There is no doubt that it has existed for many generations, and the same custom has been discovered among other pagan tribes in Africa, *e.g.*, in Kenya. The Nuba operation differs from the Pharaonic and Sunna forms of the Arabs ; it involves the cutting off of the clitoris only (not the labia), and no sewing up is afterwards done.

Among the Dilling, Kudur, Karko, Ghulfan, Debri and Kadero tribes the operation is performed during the last weeks of pregnancy. This is apt to be dangerous, because at such a time the wound tends to become septic. In Wali, Fanda and Kunit, the operation takes place prior to defloration, and in Mandal before, or at, the approach of puberty.

It is worthy of note that while there is a specific word for circumcision (*biré*) in the Dilling tongue, the Nyimang and Mandal language express the meaning by the words *shell 'kiru*, meaning the cutting off of the foreskin, and by *singan 'kiru*, meaning the cutting off of the clitoris.

As will be seen in a later chapter, clitoridectomy is regarded as a pagan rite, and the final marriage ceremony cannot take place until the operation has been performed.

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE.

The average Nuba begins his courting about the age of twenty. It is difficult to discover what particular charms stir his fancy, because he generally becomes engaged to a girl who is still in the state of childhood.

Among the Dilling clan, there appears to be no definite betrothal ceremony. The man sends two old women to approach the girl's parents. If the father consents, the village is informed of the engagement.

Sexual intercourse is permitted when the girl reaches the age of puberty. The man visits the girl at night, taking with him a new bed, composed of a straw mat tied with six strings. He is accompanied by a male friend of his own age, and the girl invites a female friend. These two friends are witnesses to the occasion, and each unties one of the six strings of the bedding, the betrothed pair untying the remainder. The women anoint the arms of the men, and although defloration is not permitted during this first night, the man is allowed to sleep with his fiancée.

After this ceremony, the pair, to all intents and purposes, live as man and wife, except that the woman cannot proceed to the man's house and take up her household duties there. The man builds a small hut in the

precincts of his in-law's house. He may not partake of food and drink there, but he is permitted to visit and spend the night with his betrothed whenever he wishes. This period, which often lasts several years, is regarded as essentially pre-marital, and if the relations between the pair prove unsatisfactory, they may be broken off by either party without detriment. The " bride price " is fixed at this time.

The term " bride price " is used for lack of a more suitable word. It does not imply that the husband purchases his wife and that after the bride price has been paid she becomes the property of her husband. There is no idea of buying and selling in the transaction. The woman belongs to the husband not after the bride price has been paid, but after the final marriage ceremony has been performed. The bride price is rather in the nature of an insurance or compensation—an insurance for the stability of the marriage and a compensation to the woman's group for the loss of a member.

The bridegroom's father is responsible for paying the price, or if he has not the wherewithal, the head of the family (*i.e.*, the father's eldest brother) must do so. It is paid to the bride's father, or, if he is not alive, to his heir or heirs. No one else has a right to this property.

In olden times, it appears that there were two fixed amounts of bride price. For a bride of royal blood, or a bride belonging to the family of the great kujur, twelve head of cattle were paid. In all other cases, nine were sufficient. In addition, the bride's father must receive eight goats for the marriage rites, and the bride's mother is presented with a certain amount of sesame oil and grain. Finally, it is incumbent on the would-be bridegroom to work for his future in-laws in their cultivations. It is of paramount importance that the suitor wins the approval of the girl's parents, for it is only with their consent that the marriage can take place. The more he works for them the more he is appreciated.

There is no limit to the time of payment of the bride price. Provided the bride has given birth to a child, the parents often consent to the marriage, even though only two head of cattle have been paid. If the husband dies before the whole of the bride price has been paid, his heirs are responsible to pay off the remainder of the debt.

The more one studies the intricate customs of the Nuba, the more one admires their perfection. Take, for example, the period of marriage on probation. A critic may ask what means of prevention is made against

the unscrupulous man who, instead of binding himself with the bond of marriage, prefers to flit from flower to flower by refusing to consummate the marriage with any one woman. The Nuba in his wisdom, has provided against this in three ways. First, the consent of the girl's parents is essential, and an unscrupulous man would not find this consent forthcoming. Secondly, there is the rendering of service, which must continue each year until the marriage. Finally, it is ordained by native custom that any of the cattle which have been given as bride price must be replaced in the event of death unless the final marriage ceremonies have been completed. In a country where cattle disease is rampant, this last stipulation is a heavy onus.

There are two stages to the final marriage ceremony, the *kolutingé*, when the bride first enters the house of the bridegroom, and the *kaminutingé*, when she first prepares and partakes of food therein.

The bride is adorned in front with a public apron of beads (*shwolé*) and with a narrow cloth apron behind (*twingiti*), both being kept in place by a girdle made from the roots of the *Um Mushbak* tree. When, as is often the case, the girl's parents refuse to surrender her, the bridegroom collects some women from the village who lie in wait and strike the bride with the cloth apron. Once the cloth apron has struck her, she cannot return to her parents' home, and has no alternative but to proceed to the house of the bridegroom. The bridal pair enter the house together, led by the best man or the equivalent thereof. The bridegroom sends some food to be hung up in the house of the kujur, and the bride spends her first night in the house of her betrothed. The week following is spent by the bridegroom and his male friends in eating and drinking.

The bride may not cook or partake of the food of the house until the *kaminutingé* ceremony, which takes place some three weeks later. This is the bride's day, and she invites all her friends, including her mother who brings with her the necessary household cooking utensils. The bride cooks a small dish of food, which is solemnly tasted by all present, and the rest of the day is spent in dancing and feasting. The marriage has at last been consummated and the bridal pair have been joined together till death parts them, it being ordained by custom that divorce is impossible after the *kolutingé* ceremony.

It is not necessary for the great kujur or the king to pay court to their respective betrothed. If either meets a maiden to his liking, he merely

touches her with his stick or whip. This is an indication that he wishes to marry her, and the maiden comes to him forthwith, the necessary bride price being paid to her parents in the usual way.

The marriage customs of Kudr are similar to Dilling, except that the final marriage ceremony is known as *shōl*. *Shōl* is a form of mud made from a certain kind of red soil. The bride is taken to a sacred rock at the base of the hill, and the women paint her with the red mud on the upper forearms and on the back. Similar marks are then made on the sacred rock.

The Ghulfan Nuba have a special ceremony when a girl reaches the age of puberty. She is heavily adorned with beads and a special long leather girdle (*be*), decked with cowrie beads and small discs made from the shells of ostrich eggs, and is taken to the house of the kujur to receive his blessing. After this ceremony her father makes her a special bed from the wood of the *hameida* tree, and she is secluded in her mother's house for seven days, no one being allowed to see her.

The marriage ceremonies are similar to those of Dilling, except that the unfortunate bride is subjected to a series of painful operations. When she has been pregnant some five months, each of her ears is adorned with some ten or twelve large brass rings. The operation is said to be extremely painful, the ears swelling up to an enormous size. No sooner has she recovered from this operation than the whole of her body is cicatrized, one side one week, and the other side the next. The cicatrization (*kelé*) is effected by cutting patterns on the skin with a razor. The wounds are allowed to heal naturally, forming plain scars which are slightly depressed.

Circumcision takes place in the last weeks of pregnancy. When the wound has healed the bride wears some bells and a pubic apron made from a portion of the *be* mentioned above.

After the child has been born, the sequence of events follows as in Dilling, *i.e.*, the wearing of the *twingiti*, the entering of the bridegroom's house, and the ceremony of cooking food therein.

Ghulfan have a strange custom in connection with the marriage of a sterile woman. If, after some six or seven years' intercourse, the woman has not given birth, and the man still wishes to marry her, she is dressed in the long girdle (*be*) mentioned above, and, escorted by the old men of the tribe loaded with presents of spears, axes, hoes, etc., and the young

warriors armed with sticks, she proceeds on a tour to receive the blessings of the kujurs of the neighbouring clans. In each village a fight ensues between the young warriors. Sticks are the only weapons permitted, but death is not an infrequent result of these affrays. The deceased are considered as having died in war and are buried with due ceremonial.

On her return, the woman is circumcised and married, and is in the future known as *ulambirar*. The word is derived from *ula* meaning the small house in which the man consorts with his betrothed before marriage, and *biré* meaning circumcision.

Women *ulambirar* and the parents of twins enjoy the same status as kujurs. They wear the same insignia, and are greeted and treated with similar respect and reverence.

While the *ulambirar* custom is only to be found in Ghulfan and Debri, the sacred status attached to the parents of twins is endemic to the Nuba Proper as a whole. Like kujurs, the parents of twins have to spend a long period in abstemious seclusion. The severity of these rites varies among the different tribes. In Ghulfan, the parents must remain celibate for two years. For the first one and a half years they are separated, and each remains in seclusion. Milk and all meat except that of cattle, goats, and gazelle are forbidden to them ; when the man proceeds to his cultivation, he may only take with him his axe and hoe (knives, spears and rifles being forbidden), and he cannot mingle with his fellow beings. He may not shave or cut his hair, and only his mother or some other old woman of the household is permitted to prepare and cook his food ; for a period of three years from the birth of the twins he may not marry a new wife.

The twins themselves are treated and regarded as normal beings, except that they must be circumcised and married on the same day. This is probably due to the fact that all rites are celebrated in strict sequence according to age, *e.g.*, a man or woman cannot be circumcised or married prior to his or her elder brother or elder sister.

An interesting variation in the marriage customs is found in the Karko hills. When a girl is approaching the age of puberty, the suitor sends two elders to treat with her father. If the latter does not disapprove, the suitor is allowed to send some cattle to the enclosure of the girl's parents. Generally, this privilege is granted to more than one suitor, and the father, wishing possibly to advertise the popularity of his offspring,

takes some time to select the husband. When he has eventually made his choice, he does not inform the fortunate suitor direct, but merely returns the cattle belonging to the rejected ones.

On an appointed day about a week later, the chosen suitor collects his brothers and male friends, and stations them in groups of two at intervals between his house and that of the girl. At a given signal, the father and the brothers of the girl invite the latter to step outside on some pretext. Once outside the house, she is seized by the nearest couple of the suitor's friends and is passed down the line until she reaches the suitor's house. On being seized, the girl screeches, and her mother appears to see what is the matter. A sham fight ensues between the girl's family and the suitor's friends, the former pretending to try and rescue the girl.

The girl, two male friends of the suitor (known as " viziers ") and the suitor himself, all enter the latter's house, where the kujur anoints the betrothed pair with oil and shaves them on the temple. The girl is then stripped of her beads and other decorations and remains in the house two days with her suitor and the two viziers.

The two days are occupied in feasting and dancing, and on the third day the girl is taken to her grandfather's house, escorted by her suitor's family and friends, loaded with presents of grain. After receiving her grandfather's blessing, she returns to her mother's house.

After seven days of feasting and dancing a pig is slaughtered and defloration takes place. For the period of one week the girl wears a girdle of cowrie shells, and on the eighth day the bridegroom slaughters a number of goats according to the number of his deceased ancestors, after which the woman is adorned with a girdle of coloured beads (known as *sheteh*) and may proceed to the house of her bridegroom. Unlike Dilling, the marriage is not regarded as consummated until the woman has been circumcised. The operation takes place in the late months of pregnancy, and is performed by the women-folk of the bridegroom's family.

If a man wishes to consummate marriage with a sterile woman, the operation is arranged by the woman's parents, who return all the bride price paid, with the exception of one cow.

In the Fanda hills spiritual assistance is employed to decide all marriages. When a girl has reached the age of marriage, the suitor, after consultation with the father, visits the kujur of the clan to which the girl happens to belong. Generally, four or five visits are necessary, and each

time the suitor brings a present of a hoe or a spear, while other rejected or would-be suitors anxiously await outside to hear the result. Eventually the kujur falls into a trance, and the Ancestral Spirit utters the decision. Once the Ancestral Spirit has spoken, no one can gainsay or retract from the decision. The chosen suitor hands over the bride price to the father who surrenders a portion to the kujur, and the girl is taken to the bridegroom's house where she is circumcised by the women-folk of the household. Next day she returns to her mother's house and she is adorned with a girdle of string (*ukur*) which she wears till the wound has healed. Defloration then takes place, and the girl exchanges the girdle of string for a girdle of cowrie beads (*gelle'*).

The final marriage ceremony is held about a year later. A bull is slaughtered to the father of the bride, a pig to each of his wives, and a goat to the various deceased ancestors, who often number thirty or more. The woman may then proceed to the house of her husband, and divorce is impossible.

The mark of a married woman is a girdle made of long thin strips of leather woven together, known as *kuli*. It appears that this adornment may be worn before the final marriage ceremony, and is generally donned when the woman becomes pregnant.

The marriage customs of Kunit are similar to those of Fanda, except that the former do not, as a rule, employ spiritual assistance in arranging the various marriages.

A more radical variation is to be found among the marriage customs of Wali.

As in Fanda and Kunit, clitoridectomy is performed prior to defloration, but unlike the customs of all other Nuba, intercourse during the betrothal period takes place not in the precincts of the girl's household, but in a small hut built in the enclosure belonging to the man's family. The girl visits her betrothed each night as soon as darkness falls, and returns to her parents in the early hours of the morning. During the day she is confined and secluded in the house of her parents. This seclusion lasts until she has given birth to a child.

After birth she is entitled to wear the *buru* which is the Wali equivalent to the Dilling *twingiti*. The final marriage ceremony is known as *tora*, and combines the entering of the bridegroom's house and the cooking of food therein.

After the clitoridectomy ceremony, the man is entitled to wear four small brass ear-rings. This adornment is only discarded in the event of the husband becoming the father of twins.

In the Nyimang hills there is no female circumcision and no concubinage period before the marriage proper. Defloration does not take place until the final marriage ceremony has been celebrated. Divorce is also permissible. In these important aspects, Nyimang marriage custom differs from that of the remainder of the Nuba proper.

The suitor sends a man to treat with the girl's father. If approval is forthcoming, the betrothal is acknowledged by a definite ceremony known as *tingukudu* (from *ting* meaning a bowl, and *kudu* meaning a goat) in which some five or six goats, the gift of the suitor, are slaughtered to celebrate the occasion.

For the marriage ceremony, known as *urgulukudu* (*urgul* meaning the arch over the entrance to the enclosure of a house) five, six or eight goats are slaughtered, according to the number of the deceased ancestors. The bride herself is presented with a *berdikeilli*, a waist-band of blue beads, which is the mark of a married woman.

Nyimang law suits claiming bride price are most complicated. The total bride price due generally amounts to twelve or fourteen head of cattle, but the whole of this sum is not paid until bride price has been received from the female offspring of the marriage. That is to say, the bride's parents do not press for the whole of the bride price until the female offspring of the bride have reached the age of puberty, and bride price has been received in respect of them. If there are no female offspring, the claim generally lapses. There appear to be no fixed rules as to how much of the bride price should be paid on the marriage of the bride, and how much can stand over until the female offspring of the marriage are married. It all depends on the wealth of the family concerned.

Although Mandal speak the same language as Nyimang, their marriage customs are more akin to those of Dilling. There is no definite betrothal ceremony. Defloration takes place when the girl reaches the age of puberty, the man building a small house (*korshu wil*) in the enclosure of his in-law's abode.

The final ceremony (*ker ula qwoh*), which is the equivalent to the Dilling *kolutinge'*, generally does not take place until the bride has given birth to at least one child. The bride and bridegroom sit on a warrior's

stick made from the *nabaq* tree at the entrance of the latter's house, and the best man puts a millet stalk into some porridge and allows each to taste the same four times if the first born is a girl or five times if a boy. Both are then led into the house and for some two weeks their friends are entertained with feasting and dancing. The man is allowed to partake of food in his house after the entertainment is over, but for a whole year the woman must feed with her parents. Any premature disregard of this rule is for some reason considered as a disgrace.

As in Nyimang, the amount of bride price to be paid depends on the number of female offspring. If any girls are born before the final marriage ceremony, the division of the bride price expected to be received for them in the event of their marriage is decided before the bride is finally handed over to her husband.

After the marriage ceremony, the wife is entitled to wear *kitibudu*, which is the equivalent to the Dilling *twingiti*.

To avoid a multiplicity of detail, I have intentionally omitted to mention the many and varied modes of hair-dressing as practised by the women of the different tribes. Speaking generally, the hair is allowed to grow long after marriage, and is shaped rather like the bottom half of a cottage loaf.

The head is shaved as a sign of mourning, and, in certain tribes, some ten weeks after child-birth.

In Dilling, the women of the *uri turé* and the *shil iri* clans may be distinguished one from the other by their special modes of dressing the hair.

Polygyny is practised by all the tribes. There is no limit to the number of wives, but the average man can rarely afford more than two. Each wife has her own household and the husband's attention to them is regulated by custom.

Exogamy is endemic, the social group being the clan. In the Dilling tribe, the clans are divided into two phratries or moieties, the *uri turi*, or people of the great kujur, and the *shil iri*, or people of the king. By phratry, I mean an exogamous division of a tribe which is sub-divided into clans. Endogamy is not recognised.

The marriage table of affinities is similar to our own, other than the exceptions provided by exogamy, *e.g.*, ortho-cousins cannot intermarry.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE BETROTHAL CONTRACT AND DIVORCE.

Sagar, in his article on Nuba Custom (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. V), states that the right of divorce is recognised by the Dilling Nuba, though in some hills it is denied to the female sex. In the opinion of the present writer, he is probably confusing the betrothal period (which is, in fact, a permitted concubinage probationary to marriage) with the marriage proper.

As has been stated, after the final marriage ceremony, divorce is impossible for either party. It is true that in recent years this custom has not been strictly adhered to among certain tribes, but all agree that such is the traditional law, and no true Nuba would dare to contravene it.

The Dilling betrothal period is purely an agreement between the prospective husband and the girl's parents, and it can be dissolved by either party at will. On dissolution of the agreement, the jilted suitor is entitled to all cattle he has paid to the girl's parents provided that they are still in the possession of the parents. If the cattle have increased in numbers since the time of handing over, he may take the offspring. He is also entitled to claim damages incurred by the contract; this includes presents he has given to the girl but does not include work performed by him either in cultivation or in building.

If, however, the cattle have died, or if the girl's parents have alienated them to another, as is more often the case, the jilted suitor cannot claim their value until a new suitor appears and makes good their loss. It is incumbent upon the new suitor not only to pay the usual bride price, but also the *shōtingeri* (Arabic: *taftaf*), that is to say, the presents and other expenses incurred by the original suitor. This is one of the weak points in Nuba custom; first, because it is practically impossible to estimate with accuracy the value of the *taftaf*, as sufficient proof is never forthcoming, and secondly, because over a number of years the amount due becomes so excessive that no new suitor is capable of paying it. It is also unfortunate for the original suitor—especially if he himself has not dissolved the contract—who has to wait, sometimes indefinitely, for his bride price and *taftaf*. On the other hand, the arrangement acts as an impetus on the would-be husbands not to postpone the final marriage ceremony too long.

It is important to note that the jilted suitor puts in his claim against the girl's parents, and they claim from the new suitor. To suggest that

the original suitor claims from the new suitor direct is wisely regarded as highly irregular.

Any children born during the betrothal period are regarded as the gift of God, and are treated as such. On dissolution of the contract, the children remain with the mother, and the new suitor is entitled to them. The bride price due is not increased in such cases.

When a married woman dies childless, the widower is entitled to the return of his bride price. Such an instance rarely arises because the final marriage ceremony is generally not performed until the birth of at least one child. If a woman dies childless during the betrothal period, the man may claim both the bride price and *taftaf*.

When there are any children either during the betrothal period or after the marriage, they belong to the father, and he cannot reclaim the bride price. If the children are very young it is the custom for the parents of the deceased mother to loan a cow to supply milk for the children.

When a man dies, his younger brother may take unto himself the deceased brother's wife or wives if he so wishes, and he *is responsible for the upkeep of the deceased's family, if any.*

If he has no desire to take the woman himself, he must look out for a suitable man who is willing to do so. In any case, however, the woman is *timneri* (Arabic: *mara burma*), that is to say, she is still regarded as the wife of the deceased and must continue to live in the deceased's house, and any children she bears in the future are looked upon as the children of the deceased.

No bride price or other payment is made on the occasion of these secondary unions.

Nyimang again provides the exception which proves the rule. Divorce is permissible in these hills, probably because there is no concubinage period, or marriage on probation before the marriage proper.

The privilege of divorce is denied to the female sex. If there are no children, the husband may claim his bride price and *taftaf* from his divorced wife's parents, though the latter is only claimed in exceptional cases. Rules as to the repayment of the bride price are similar to those which have already been recorded in the case of a dissolution of the betrothal contract among the Dilling Nuba. If there are children, they belong to the father, who receives them in lieu of his bride price and any other claim he may have had on his divorced wife's parents.

INHERITANCE AND LAND TENURE.

> "Society in primitive times was not what it is assumed to be at present, a collection of individuals. In fact, and in the view of the men who composed it, it was an aggregation of families."[1]

This generalisation of Maine's is particularly applicable to such tribes as the Nuba, where ancestralism is the basis of the tribal constitutions and religion. In order clearly to understand Nuba custom in regard to inheritance and the ownership of property, it must be remembered that the unit of Nuba society is the family and not the individual.

The rules of inheritance among the Nuba proper are further complicated by the fact that in some clans the transmission of moveable property is patrilineal and in others matrilineal.[2] Immoveable, or real property, on the other hand, is always inherited patrilineally.

The transmission of moveable property is matrilineal in the following groups of hills: Karko, Ghulfan, Fanda, El Hagarat, Abu Ginuk, Debri, Wali, and some of the Kadero group. In all other hills the transmission is patrilineal.

By matrilineal inheritance, a man inherits the moveable property of his maternal uncle. If, on death, the deceased's sister has no male offspring, her husband inherits the property. If the sister's husband is also deceased, his nearest male relative succeeds.

Where the descent is patrilineal, the property is invested in the male who becomes head of the family in the place of the deceased, that is to say, the deceased's eldest son, or if he has no male offspring, his eldest surviving brother.

The power of the paterfamilias is extreme, and is analogous to the *patria potestas* of Roman times. All the distribution of the family property is vested in him, and he may marry his offspring to whom he wishes. According to Nuba belief, if a girl marries without the consent of her father either she or her offspring will die. Native Courts, in the exercise of their powers (*jus publicum*), are careful not to interfere with this power of the family head.

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[1] Maine's *Ancient Law*, p. 134.

[2] Sagar, in his "Notes on the History, Religion and Customs of the Nuba," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. V, appears not to have grasped this important distinction, and has attempted to combine the two modes of inheritance with somewhat misleading results.

No woman can inherit property. Her status in Nuba society will be discussed later.

The Nuba does not regard land as a form of real estate in itself, but rather as a medium which can be utilised for certain purposes, such as building, cultivation, hunting, grazing, the cutting of timber, the collection of honey, etc.

Generally speaking, the boundaries between tribes have been made by right of conquest, and are defined by definite geographical boundary marks, either in the form of a river bed or a chain of hills. Within these boundaries the system of land tenure is correlated with the political organisation of the community, that is to say, it is vested in the various families. Any member of the tribe may apply to the tribal authorities to clean a piece of land for cultivation, and having obtained permission and cleaned it, the land belongs to his family and heirs for ever.

No land thus owned can be sold or alienated. The paterfamilias enjoys many prerogative rights, but he is also tied by obligations to the family of which he is the trustee. He holds the land in trust for a corporation aggregate, consisting of the living family, its heirs to be, and its ancestors. Land may be loaned to a friend or guest for the purposes of cultivation or building, but it remains the property of the family who may exercise their rights at any time. To suggest payment for such a usufruct would be regarded as an insult.

The various cultivations and building sites are defined by stone boundary marks, and all growth within these boundaries such as seeds, trees, plants, etc., are the property of the owners.

The Nuba are primarily an agricultural people, and agricultural rights are given first consideration. For example, the onus is on the cattle owner to see that his animals do not enter the cultivation and not on the cultivator to build a fence round his cultivation.

Land, other than building sites and land cleaned for cultivation, is held in common by the community, and the members of the community enjoy equal rights over the same, be they pastural, hunting or otherwise.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN.

In Nuba custom, a woman has no legal individuality. She is merely a *res*. She marries, not whom she wills, but whom she is bidden to marry by her parents, and after her marriage she becomes the property of her

husband. In no circumstances has she any legal right either to property or to her children.

Yet, in spite of this dismal legal status, the lot of the average Nuba woman is a happy one, and her influence in the affairs of the village cannot be ignored. She is not debarred from any religious or social functions, and may enter the kujur's hut and other holy places in the same way as men. Many become powerful kujurias, the great kujuria of Kunit being an outstanding example. One of the powerful *ginadi* of Dilling must always be a woman, who acts as the representative of her sex in the affairs of state and in judicial matters.

In Kunit, the influence of the women appears to be greater than among other tribes, especially during the harvest festival (*Kujunel*), which lasts some two months. During this time, special dances are held in which only women and kujûrs are allowed to partake. As the dance proceeds, the music increases in speed, until the dancers work themselves into a frenzy, and many fall into trances, hurling themselves either upon the ground or into the nearest thorn bush, where they lie bleeding, shaking and frothing at the mouth. The Ancestral Spirit is said to have seized hold of them, and the elder women beat them with branches of thorn bushes until the spirit leaves them. When the spirit emerges, the victim leaps up with a loud cry of joy and joins in the dance once more.

Such seizures are regarded as an honour and very lucky. The recipients are forbidden sexual intercourse for some two to three months.

Throughout the dance the performers act like maniacs. If they are given the raw meat of any animal (other than dogs or pigs), they will eat it on the spot like wild beasts, tearing at the flesh with their hands. They have also the power of imposing fines on any member of the male population.

One still hears of young girls being married by force to old men, because the latter can afford to pay a larger bride price than the younger men, but public opinion is slowly turning against such practices, and, provided a girl is a good daughter, her wishes are generally taken into consideration when her marriage is being decided. Matters in this respect have been further improved by the government who have cut down and limited the amount of bride price.

Cruelty to the human being is amazingly rare among the Nuba. It is only condoned by public opinion if the behaviour of the individual

merits it. In the case of marital infidelity, though the woman may be chastised by her husband, it is rather the man who is regarded as the guilty party. When a case of adultery is tried by a Native Court, only the man receives punishment; the woman is merely handed back to her husband.

No woman who has reached the age of puberty may eat chicken. To infer that a woman has partaken of this form of food is regarded as the worst form of insult. This is the only food taboo known to the present writer, who has been unable to discover its origin.

The fact that widows may be inherited, *i.e.*, taken to wife by the next of kin, does not indicate a low social status of women generally, any more than does the payment of a bride price. Primitive communities rarely recognise an independent status of women as widows, and the Nuba is no exception to the rule. Though a widow may be inherited, she is still regarded as the wife of her deceased husband, and she may continue to bear children to his name under the guardianship of the heir.

One of the most pleasing characteristics of ancestral worship, is the reverence and respect paid to old age. It is also interesting to note that a woman's bride price does not deplete either on account of age or through loss of virginity.

Women eat apart from the men, and are responsible for all household duties, such as cooking, carrying of water, and collecting of firewood. They are expected to help in the cultivation, but all the more strenuous work, such as the building of houses and the cleaning of new ground for cultivation is reserved for the men.

The enfranchisement of women is rapidly increasing year by year, and is viewed with grave concern by the elders of the tribe who believe that the movement has the support of the Government. How Nuba custom will readjust itself to meet this radical change will provide an interesting study of constitutional evolution.

DEATH AND THE HEREAFTER.

Accurate accounts of beliefs concerning the dead are always difficult to obtain, and many contradictory ones may be held at the same time. It is proposed, therefore, to record only those beliefs which are definitely endemic to one or more of the various tribes.

Sagar writes that the Nuba believe that there are two worlds, namely *twai* and *twala*, the former being the world in which we now dwell, the latter the world to come. *Twala* is a land of Utopia where people appear in the flesh and in the form of young men and women ; the men live with their wives of this world and inherit whatever property they may have amassed before death.

The present writer has been unable to trace any evidence of Nuba belief either in reincarnation or in another world. *Twai* and *twala* are two prepositions meaning respectively above and below, and do not appear to have any other interpretation.

There is a universal belief that some part of man survives the death of the body. This part is best called the spirit, and includes the concepts of both soul and ghost. As will be seen later, most of the tribes believe that man has more than one spirit, and that after death each shares a different fate.

In Karko and Fanda, the current belief is that man has three distinct spirits, and they are named the *Dushur* (or *Undilan*), the *Urkar* and the *Kabkab*.

After death the *Dushur* departs to the place of the dead, which is said to be a certain hill in the direction of Ghulfan and Um Heitan. The spirit takes the form of the deceased and is altogether a terrifying spectacle. Most people—other than kujurs—who have had the misfortune to see these ghosts are usually smitten with a severe illness as a result.

The *Urkar* goes to some part of the uninhabited country, and is generally to be found in the vicinity of tebeldi trees. It is invisible, but makes a sound similar to the howl of the wind or the bark of a dog, and is even more frightening than the *Dushur*. Men and animals alike flee in terror at its approach, and death is often the sequence of such a meeting.

The *Kabkab* remains in the ancestral home, and performs the duty of guardian over the living members of the family. It is concerned with the well-being of those still alive, and has the power of punishing any who transgress the traditional customs.

As the living are still dependent upon the dead, so the dead are dependent upon the living. Those who have died, though spirits only, still require water and food, and for these they are dependent upon the living. Great is the misfortune of those who die childless, for they will remain for ever hungry and thirsty. It has been seen that on marriage

and during the various other ceremonies, goats and other animals are slaughtered to the deceased ancestors. Similar sacrifices are made if any misfortune occurs, such as the birth of a stillborn child. Dilling have a special kujur of the dead whose duty it is to water those who have died; while in Ghulfan, Debri and some of the Kadero hills, a ceremony (*Ikan Irté*, Arabic: *Sibr el Nar*) is held annually to ensure that the dead are not in want.

It is this dependence of the dead upon the living which explains the African's strong attachment to his land :—

> " To understand the firm attachment of the people to their land, one needs to hear the pagan African's lament for the piteous condition to which the spirits of the dead have been reduced by the enforced emigration of their subjects and children."[1]

On occasions these spirits are capable of seizing upon their female descendants, or upon the special kujur of the dead. What then is the difference between these particular spirits and the *uri* of the kujurs? (*See* Chapter II.) It would appear that the *uri* are the spirits of the original ancestors who were not born of woman, but came down direct from God. They are the natural chiefs of the tribe, and their power over their descendants is infinite.

It is somewhat extraordinary that though God dwells in the heavens above and the original ancestors descended from Him, yet there is no current Nuba belief that the spirits proceed heavenwards after death.

As a proof that man has three spirits, the people of Karko and Fanda maintain that a man throws three shadows at night time. More than once has the present writer searched in vain for these shadows round the camp fire, much to the chagrin of the Nuba ancients. The solution is probably to be found in the fact that usually the light of a camp fire either throws a shadow some three times the size of a person standing near it, or else a penumbra, that is to say, a partial shadow on the exterior of the perfect shadow (*i.e.*, on the principle of the eclipse of the moon). The first suggestion is probably the more feasible, inasmuch as the Nuba state that the three shadows are one on top of the other, first the *Dushur*, the *Urkar* in the middle, and the *Kabkab* below.

The people of Wali call *Dushur, Kuting'elli*; the *Urkar, Pasha*; and the *Kabkab, Do'*. They believe that the *Pasha* is always on a man's right

[1] *The Golden Stool*, p. 202.

side and the *Do'* on his left, and that both are only visible to kujurs and not to ordinary mortals.

The people of the Dilling, Ghulfan, Debri, and Kaderu hills believe that man has two spirits only, the *Dushur* or *Undilan*, and the *Duweh*, which is the equivalent to the *Do'* and the *Kabkab*. *Duweh* is the usual word for a shadow, and it is possible that the original name for this spirit has been lost.

It is not polite nor wise to suggest to the natives of Nyimang and Mandal that they will turn into *Undilan* after death. They will indignantly refute the inference, and declare that such a transformation is endemic to the Dilling-speaking Nuba only. They believe that man has one spirit only—the *Gessin*—which is equivalent to the *Kabkab*, *Do'* and *Duweh* of the other tribes. Only the offspring of a man who has intermarried with a Dilling-speaking Nuba are in danger of becoming *Undilan*, a term which has a highly derogative meaning in these hills.

Premature death is not attributed to natural causes alone ; it is the outcome of some sin committed either by the person who has died, or by someone closely connected with him. The Ancestral Spirit has inflicted the punishment either by natural or supernatural means, and such deaths are bitterly mourned.

On the other hand, the deaths of those who have reached a ripe old age, and especially of those who have been blessed with many children, are occasions of great rejoicings and much dancing.

Each family shares the same grave. A shaft some four or five feet in depth is dug, and horizontal to the base, a roomy chamber, capable of holding several corpses, is excavated. The entrance to this chamber is just large enough to enable one man to crawl through. The corpse is lowered into the grave feet first, and is laid in the chamber lying on its right side like one asleep. The chamber entrance is then blocked with an earthenware bowl, cemented up with mud, and the shaft is filled up with earth, forming a small mound over the grave site.

Nuba funeral ceremonies are many and various ; even among one tribe one finds variations according to the social status, sex, wealth or manner of death of the deceased. It is proposed, therefore, to describe one of these ceremonies only, to wit, the funeral of a Dilling Nuba who died recently from natural causes ; it is probably one of the most interesting, and was attended by the present writer.

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Before burial, cotton was stuffed into the ears of the deceased's wife and his eldest and youngest offspring, and they were made to touch or lie in contact with the shroud which covered the corpse, while some old women blew into the ears of each. The cotton was then extracted, and fresh cotton was inserted into the ears of the deceased, and the same old women once again performed the blowing ceremony. This rite is believed to be a necessary preventive against deafness.

The body was then carried to the place of burial, and put into the grave as described above. After filling in the shaft, the men retired some distance, while the elderly women stripped the widow naked on the grave site, and wrapped about her two pieces of cloth which had previously been torn from the shroud of the deceased. One piece was put in front and the other behind, both being kept in place by a girdle.

Another woman relative then stepped forward, and with a trowel took up the air over the grave, thus supposing to take up the spirit of the deceased. Holding the trowel close to her bosom, she proceeded slowly to the dead man's house, followed by the widow and the other mourners.

On reaching the house, the place where the deceased had been accustomed to sleep was boarded over with four or five pieces of doleib and dom palm wood, and the trowel and other personal belongings were carefully placed thereon.

Three days later, the kujur of the dead was summoned to water the deceased, after which ceremony the boards of the doleib and dom palm wood were thrown away into the nearest cave.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LAW AND JUSTICE.

In all communities, there is some form of regulating authority which takes cognizance of the breaches of custom, and attempts to preserve law and order. Among primitive tribes, this authority may be slight and often informal, but it is always to be found in some form or other. The power of the Nuba family head has already been mentioned, and in this chapter it is proposed to concentrate rather on the political institutions of the tribe, or, in other words, on the *jus publicum* as opposed to the *patria potestas*.

Three definite stages can be traced on the evolution of Nuba political constitutions.

Originally most, if not all, tribes had no tribal head and each clan had its own kujur. These kujurs might become experts in some particular branch of culture, but each was the chief of his own clan and acknowledged no higher suzerainty.

The tribal head was probably a secondary stage, the appointment arising from the possession of some power which raised the owner to a level higher than the other kujurs. In this connection, it is significant that practically all the great kujurs of the various tribes are either kujurs of the rain or kujurs *area nil ongil iran.*[1]

The kujur is essentially a priest, and custom ordains that for certain periods he must live a life of seclusion. As the constitution evolved, it became necessary to devolve certain of the temporal functions into the hands of others who could act as the representatives of the great kujur. Those tribes who possess kings or ginadi may be said to have reached this third stage. It is emphasized that the offices of king and gindi are as sacred and divine as the office of kujur, and that the change was merely one of delegation of powers and did not involve the separation of the temporal and spiritual functions.

To gauge how far, if at all, these kujurs and chiefs were controlled and advised by a council of the tribal elders, provides a more difficult problem.

During the first stage, when there were no tribal chiefs, it appears that the regulation of public life was vested in a council of the various kujurs and other elders of the tribe. The authority of this council was highly informal and only met in cases of emergency, but there is no doubt that such a council did exist.

In Kunit and Dilling, the appointment of the great kujuria and the great kujur cannot take place until four years after the decease of the predecessor. In Wali, the ancestral spirits always miss a generation, seizing upon one of the grandsons of the previous deceased kujur. During these interregna, the administration is delegated to a council similar to the one mentioned above.

The system of ginadi is a natural sequence of the council administration. It has been shown that the power of the Dilling ginadi extends to punishing the great kujur himself if the necessity arises. In the Mandal hills the ginadi number between eighty and a hundred, and

[1] *See* chapter on " Kings and Kujurs."

include several kujurs. The chief gindi is regarded as the administrative head of the tribe and wears a special ring as his badge of office. In the seat of council, a large stone is reserved for the Ancestral Spirit, a lesser one for the chief gindi, and still smaller ones for the other ginadi.

It is evident, therefore, that the system of a tribal council is not alien to the Nuba, and inasmuch as the council is in part composed of kujurs endowed with spiritual powers, it is capable of exercising not a little influence in the affairs of the state.

Some of the Nuba tribes have not progressed beyond the first stage and have as yet no recognised tribal chiefs; even the authority of the tribal council has scarcely matured, and only shows itself in times of emergency. It is, therefore, of interest to investigate the means by which compliance with the social norms of conduct is secured.

Any infringement of the social standards tends to bring unpleasant consequences to the individual concerned, either in the form of social scorn, contempt or even ostracism. Among primitive tribes who are essentially communistic, and to whom communication with the outside world is generally barred, sanctions of this nature are particularly potent.

The observance of other norms is secured by what may be called ritual sanctions, any infringement being followed automatically by evil results without any direct interference on the part of the community, unless the offender purifies himself by expiation, confession or the performance of some sacrifice or other rite. It has already been noted that if an individual is stricken with disease or dies a premature death, it is said that he must have violated the *urin jar* (" the things of the Ancestral Spirit ") in some manner.

Add to these sanctions the supernatural powers of the kujurs and the power of the family head, and it will be seen that the necessity of the judicial sanctions of a tribal council scarcely arises until an alien government appears and demands redress and reparation in all inter-tribal quarrels and disputes.

Theft and murder are the cardinal sins of the Nuba code and, until recent times, both were of rare occurrence in the Nuba villages. Unfortunately, to steal from an individual who is not a member of the tribe, or connected with the tribe by a bond of brotherhood, is regarded,

not as a crime, but rather in the nature of a virtue. The same applies to the murder of a stranger.

If a theft occurred in a Nuba village, the kujur gathered the inhabitants together and publicly cursed the thief, who, in terror of his life, returned the stolen property by stealth.

Murder was punished with exile. It is universally believed that if the murderer drinks of the same water as the relatives of the deceased, he will be stricken with disease or death. Similar consequences are said to ensue if the deceased's mother invokes a curse by pointing one of her breasts at the murderer.

The period of exile appears to vary from two to seven years, after which the murderer undergoes a purification ceremony and is allowed to return.

In the Dilling tribe, the expiation is arranged by the king. The families of the murderer and the deceased assemble, and each member in turn is anointed with sesame oil and a mixture of native beer and the blood of a sterile cow. After this purification ceremony, all drink together; a fine amounting to some seven head of cattle is collected from the family of the murderer's mother and is handed over to the king who appropriates it. The murderer may then return to his tribe without fear of contamination.

A somewhat similar ceremony is held in the Mandal hills. Both families gather on either side of a dry river bed; a female sheep is slaughtered, and all trample on the corpse until it becomes buried in the sand. The remainder of the ceremony is similar to that of Dilling, except that the fine is collected from the murderer's family and is handed over as compensation to the relatives of the deceased.

Mandal are the only Nuba tribe who render compensation in the case of murder, and they only do so after the purification ceremony has taken place. Among all other tribes any compensation from the murderer's family is refused as having "blood on it."

This fear of receiving compensation applies also to cases involving bodily hurt. The following case which was recently tried by the Dilling court is a typical example:

A Dilling woman, in a fit of jealousy, bit the hand of a certain Fellata woman who had married a Dilling Nuba. The wound festered and the hand was rendered useless. Being a Fellata by birth, the victim claimed

compensation. The court refused her request on the ground that they could not hold themselves responsible for the evil results which would inevitably ensue in the event of her receiving property with "blood on it."

A few years ago, a native of Kunit, accused of murder, escaped from the police escort and took to the hills. The Government offered a reward of four pounds to anyone who captured the escaped prisoner, dead or alive. A worthy sub-chief of Kunit eventually found him in a cave and called upon him to surrender. He refused, and the chief shot him in the back while he was attempting to escape. Not wishing to hurt the feelings of the District Commissioner the chief formally accepted the reward of four pounds, but, later, distributed the money among the poor of another tribe; although the prisoner had completely recovered from his wound the chief feared to appropriate the reward.

This fear of receiving compensation for bodily hurt, which is in direct antithesis to Arab custom, is endemic to the Nuba as a whole.

In the rare event of an individual murdering one of his own blood, the tribe take no judicial action, believing that such a hideous crime is outside the sphere of their jurisdiction, and that the perpetrator will receive his just desert from the supernatural powers direct. The following example which recently occurred in the Murong hills is the only case in point known to the present writer.

A woman gave birth to a child and died a few hours afterwards. The child was deformed in the head, and since there was no woman to suckle it the deceased's brother buried it alive with the mother. The case, which was unprecedented, was viewed with horror by the elders of the tribe, but in accordance with their custom they refused to take any direct action in the matter.

Except in cases of kujurs' wives, adultery is not a sin. It is man's own affair to look after his wife, not God's. Such cases were usually settled by private combat, and only the more sophisticated tribes later instituted a fine in place of this mode of redress.

With the outstanding exception of Nyimang pre-marital chastity is not enjoined upon either sex. It is not considered a disgrace if a girl loses her virginity illicitly, but such cases seldom arise since girls usually become engaged early and are permitted intercourse with their respective betrothed as soon as they reach the age of puberty.

In the Nyimang tribe pre-marital chastity is enjoined upon the female sex. Yet, other than the ritual sanctions, no steps appear to be taken by the community to ensure the compliance with this custom. As soon as the crops have been gathered in and until about the month of March the cattle are put into enclosures on the cultivation areas, and the young men and girls are left in charge of them. They build small houses in the enclosures and sleep together, irrespective of sex. During this period none of the cattle may be removed. If a man wishes to marry or to pay a debt he must wait to do so until the special ceremony is held at the end of the prescribed period. At this ceremony (*qweel*) everyone receives a blessing at the hands of the kujur, and any individual who has committed an offence is believed to reap his or her desert, either in the form of disease or death.

The following case which was heard by the Nyimang court illustrates the stringency of Nyimang custom in this respect :

A girl complained that while she was sleeping in the cattle enclosure a male friend had rendered her " unclean " by caressing her breasts with his hand. She requested that the accused should perform the customary purification ceremony which involved the sacrifice of a small goat at the place where the offence had taken place, and the girl's body being anointed four times with the intestines. The court granted the request, and the accused appealed on the ground that if he had committed the offence complained of he had done so while he was asleep and unconscious.

In conclusion, I would emphasize the vital part played by Nuba religion. Their reverence for, and their belief in, the supernatural powers of their Ancestral Spirits supply the strength of the government institutions for the maintenance of law and order, their profound respect for private property, and the sanctity of marriage and human life. Ignore or undermine these religious beliefs and the whole social structure collapses.

Secure in the mountain strongholds of the ancestors the Nuba religion has withstood the strain of more than one invasion. To-day, a more potent enemy, disguised in the cloak of peace and prosperity, is threatening its security. Ancestral gods are immobile, they are rooted to the soil which contains their sacred shrines and which is hallowed by the presence of the dead ; they have no powers over those individuals who emigrate to other lands. Expedited by excessive enlistments in

the Sudan Defence Force, the Northern Sudan has changed from a no man's land into an El Dorado. Arrayed in clothes and fearing no more the superstitions of their youth these emigrants return and look with scorn upon the naked kujurs and other elders of the tribes.

"With one hand you give us peace and prosperity, with the other you take away our sons and our religion." I echo this lament of the Nuba elders in fear lest the time may come when :

"Desolate and forlorn,
We hunger against hope for that lost heritage."

FUNG ORIGINS.

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

(PLATES I—XIII.)

THERE have recently appeared in *Sudan Notes and Records* two very interesting articles (by Mr. Chataway in Vol. XIII, p. 247, and Mr. Nalder, Vol. XIV, p. 61), which attempt to prove that the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Fung is in the highest degree improbable. The following is written in defence of the older theory.

In order to get the best chance of solving what Mr. Nalder calls this minor mystery of African history, it is necessary to get as clear an idea as possible of conditions in the Gezira at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

That the centuries that preceded it were ones of retrogression and decay is indicated by the fact that no records survive, and that such historical evidence as there is, is most meagre.

Civilisation no doubt first came to the Gezira from Egypt, and later via Napata. Navigable waterways were in early days man's best lines of communication; and once the cataract at the Shabluka was passed, there was nothing to prevent a boat reaching the cataract at Roseires.

By 750 B.C. a fully developed Ethiopian kingdom had emerged into view with the seat of government at Napata.[1] This state was a reproduction of the Ammonite theocracy at Thebes. The state God was Ammon. His control was even more absolute than at Thebes, and eventually even the king was obliged to abdicate at the God's demand, who then installed another ruler. The king bore Pharaonic titles, and other state designations remained Egyptian for a long time.

Professor Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. II, p. 65, has pointed out that Sir Henry Wellcome's excavations at Jebel Moya have shown that the last century or so of the occupation of Jebel Moya was that in which lived Tirhaqa and Tanutamon down to about the time of Aspalta, *i.e.*, *c.* 700–570 B.C., and that the village had direct trade communication with Napata.

This kingdom of Ethiopia founded a school of Egyptian craftsmen at Napata (especially for building and decorating the great temple of Ammon at Jebel Barkal), on which basis rested the whole history of the

[1] Breasted. *History of Egypt*, p. 538.

culture of Ethiopia.[1] The subsequent history of this culture was one of comparatively rapid deterioration and decline, as the Egyptians resident in the country died and were not replaced.[2] Professor Reisner considers that down to about 300 B.C. the kingdom of Napata ruled the whole of Ethiopia as far as the swamps of the White Nile.[3] The power of this kingdom was founded on the exploitation of the control of the trade routes between Egypt and the south, and the roads to the gold mines.

About 300 B.C. power moved from Napata, the capital of Northern Ethiopia, to Meroe, the capital of Southern Ethiopia, owing partly to the exhaustion of the gold mines of the northern desert. The Meroitic kingdom was culturally and politically merely a continuation of the kingdom of Napata, all her civilisation being derived from Egypt.

There is some reason for believing that Sennar, destined later to become the capital of the Fung, was a settlement under the kingdom of Meroe, if not earlier. The name Sennar, which is not reasonably explicable in any known modern language, means "rain storm" or "tempest" in ancient Egyptian.[4] A little reflection will show what a suitable name this is for any colony from rainless Egypt, Napata or Meroe, situate as it is just within the zone of regular rainfall. No doubt its importance was that it lay on the direct and easiest route to the gold and slave-producing country now known as Beni Shangul.

It is probable that the numerous large *hafirs* that dot the Gezira west and south of Sennar date from the Meroitic period also, for besides being distinctive of Meroitic culture, they point to a period of greater prosperity than appears to have occurred since then.

The close of the kingdom of Meroe is obscure. Professor Reisner suggests that the inscription of the king of Axum indicates that the Axumite Abyssinians conquered Meroitic Ethiopia about 350 B.C. The northern provinces had already been seized by the Blemmyes and Nobadæ, and the wealth of Meroe had already declined to such an extent that Professor Reisner remarks that no great force of arms can have been necessary to overthrow it.[5] (Note this is the first appearance of Abyssinia on the scene of the history of the Gezira.)

[1] Professor Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. V, pp. 173 and ff.
[2] Breasted. p. 560.
[3] Nero's expedition also reached the Sudd. Budge. *History of Ethiopia*, Vol. II, pp. 170–2 and 348.
[4] Budge. *First Steps in Egyptian*, p. 53.
[5] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. V, p. 191.

But Hillelson, quoting Herr Zyhlarz, on p. 139 of *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIII, has shown that it is highly probable that this was only a predatory raid on the part of the Axumite king, who found the "B Group" negroid Nubians had just invaded the Gezira, and having given the Meroitic kingdom its *coup de grâce* had remained in possession.

MacMichael[1] points out that whenever Christianity did come to Aloa, probably about the end of the sixth century, it did not come from Abyssinia, but from Alexandria. He notes that in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. there seems to have been bickering between Abyssinia and the Nubian kingdom of Dongola, but there is no evidence that Abyssinia exercised any lasting control in the valley of the Nile.

Ibn Selim (*fl.* 975–996) describes Aloa as independent of the kingdom of Dongola, and Soba, the capital of Aloa, as a town of good buildings, large monasteries, churches rich in gold, and gardens. He notes that there was at Soba a Moslem quarter, and that Aloa was richer than Dongola, having more soldiers and horses. He states that Soba obtained its bishops from Alexandria, and describes the Kasa (presumably connected with Kush and Meroe) as a tribe inhabiting the Gezira south of Aloa.

Christianity, as the worship of Ammon before it, seems to have been very largely a state religion, for Ibn Selim notes that the people of Aloa mostly sacrificed to God in the form of the sun, moon or stars,[2] while others merely worshipped the sun or fire or trees or animals; and Crowfoot[3] has shown that Christianity was adopted without revolutionising the life of the Sudan. He also[3] records the finding of the ruins of a church as far south as Jebel Segadi in Sennar district; and Chataway has shown that the influence of Christian Soba stretched up the Blue Nile as far as Roseires.

Crowfoot has also pointed out[3] that the fact that very little painted or wheel-made pottery has been found on late sites in Berber and on the Blue Nile indicates that there was an early decline in the culture of Aloa, and he attributes the reason for this earlier decline and longer survival of Christianity in the south to the fact that Soba was further from the good and evil of Egypt than Dongola.

[1] *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Vol. I, p. 47.

[2] Note. *Sba* = "star" in ancient Egyptian, and *Alu* is the Bull, the constellation Taurus, in Sumerian. Has this any significance? *Hastings Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 2, p. 888. For a connection between the constellation Taurus and Osiris, see *Osiris*, by H. P. Cooke, pp. 20–23.

[3] "Christian Nubia," *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, Vol. XIII, p. 141 and ff.

By 1323 the Christian kingdom of Dongola had to all intents and purposes ceased to exist. The Arabs (mainly Guhayna) were pouring into the Sudan from Egypt and rapidly overrunning it as far as Abyssinia and Darfur. To quote Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), "the kings of the Nuba attempted to repulse them, but they failed; then they won them over by giving them their daughters in marriage. Thus was the kingdom disintegrated, and it passed to certain of the sons of Guhayna on account of their mothers, according to the custom of the infidels as to the succession of the sister or the sister's son. So their kingdom fell to pieces and the Arabs of Guhayna took possession of it. But their rule showed none of the marks of statesmanship, because of the inherent weakness of a system which is opposed to discipline and the subordination of one to another. Consequently, they are still divided up into parties, and there is no vestige of authority in their land, but they remain nomads following the rainfall like the Arabs of Arabia. There is no vestige of authority in their land since the result of the commingling and blending that has taken place has merely been to exchange the old ways for the ways of the Bedouin Arab." I do not think this means that the pre-Arab sedentaries gave up their old mode of life and took to being nomads, but that the Arabs did not give up being nomads or their petty feuds, and so there was no stable government in the land.

We hear nothing of Aloa, and might imagine that it, too, had fallen to the Arabs, but apparently it survived for more than a century cut off from its northern neighbour, and still nominally Christian, but unable to obtain priests and teachers. A vivid picture is given in Francis Alvarez, who wrote in 1520–1527[1] of Aloa's last despairing attempt to obtain priests from Abyssinia, and the Prester John's refusal to send them.

There seems, thus, to be little evidence for Chataway's assertion of an age-long connection between Abyssinia and the villages of the Blue Nile—a predatory raid in 350 B.C. and a refusal by the king of Abyssinia at the end of the fifteenth century A.D. to send priests to Aloa. The age-long connection is rather with Egypt, the community of interests and cultures is that of the valley of the Nile. Chataway was perhaps in part confused by the fact that Beni Shangul was included in Abyssinia by the boundary commission of 1902, although its historical and

[1] Quoted by Hillelson in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIII, p. 147.

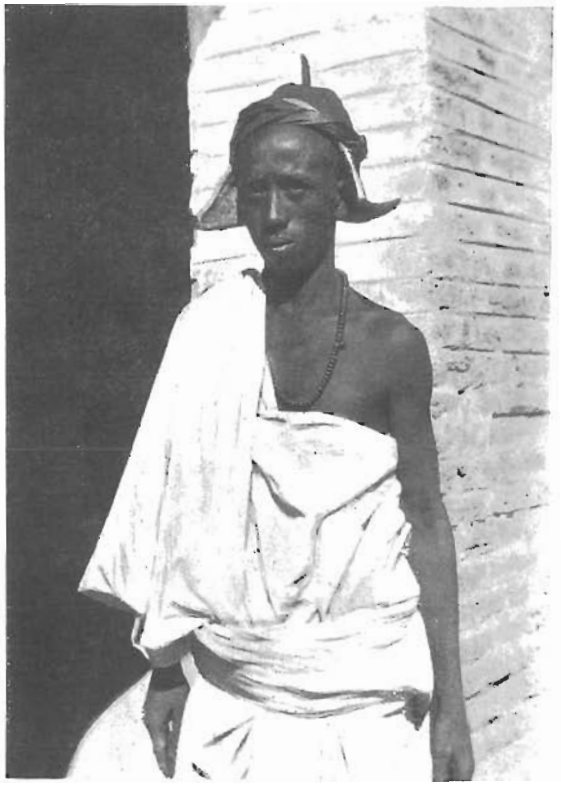


FIG. 1.

A Ya'qubabi muqaddam, one of the followers of Sheikh Ya'qub wad Hajju Abdelgadir el Masi', wearing the *taqia um qerein*, and girded for appearing in the presence of the Khalifa (Sheikh Ya'qub), according to the custom said to have been adopted from the Fung.

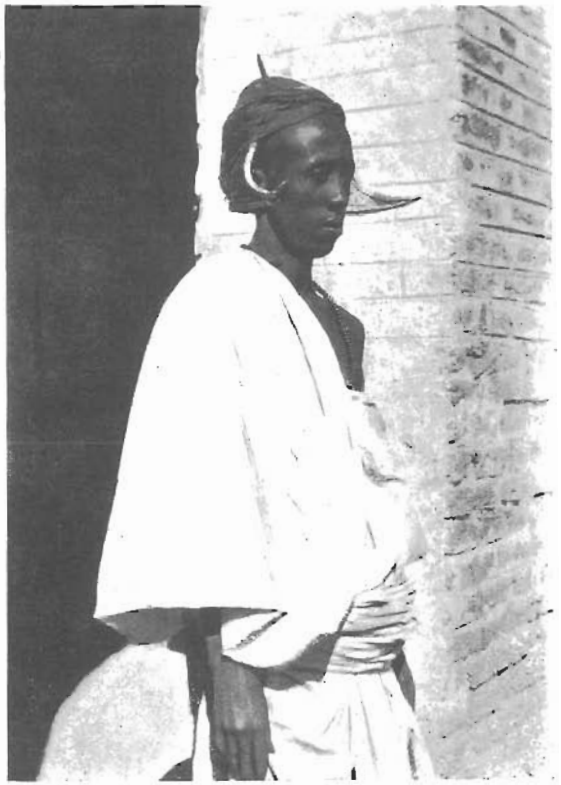


FIG. 2.

ANOTHER VIEW OF FIG. 1.

ethnological associations are practically wholly with the Sudan and not with Abyssinia. Beni Shangul was undoubtedly first exploited by ancient Egypt as a source of gold and slaves, as Chataway recognises. Its inhabitants are all Berta and similar races, and none of them Abyssinian, and it is geographically part of the basin of the Nile, the real natural boundary between the Sudan and Abyssinia being the edge of the highlands farther east.

It would seem that Chataway has little better reason for believing the assertion of an Abyssinian king (who, after all, would not be a disinterested witness) made in a letter *c.* 1600, if indeed such a letter exists. I have not been able to trace it. Chataway appears, possibly, to refer to the letter from Tecla Haimanout to Bady wad Unsa, written in 1706, about the detention in Sennar of M. du Roule, in which he requests Bady to "pay regard to the ancient friendship which has always subsisted between our predecessors since the time of the king of Sedgid and the king of Kim[1] to the present day." On this letter Bruce[2] comments: "The kingdom of Sennaar . . . was but a modern one, and recently established by conquest over the Arabs. Therefore the kingdoms of Sedgid and of Kim were, before that conquest, places whence this black nation came that had established their sovereignty at Sennaar by conquest, from which therefore I again infer, there never was any war, conquest, or tribute between Abyssinia and that state." I agree with Bruce that there is no assertion of Sennar's vassalage here, if this is the letter to which Chataway refers. This is rather the language used by one sovereign state to another, and it is not overlordship, but long-standing friendly relations that are claimed.

Nalder, too, considers that there are indications that the Fung in early days were regarded as tributary to Abyssinia; but MacMichael[3] is more cautious: "The Abyssinians no doubt considered Sennar, or at least that portion of the kingdom that was bounded by Abyssinia, as theoretically a subject state."

The probability is that the Arabs and Beja nomads were really the cause of this confusion. Then, as now, they no doubt wandered

[1] Kim, I suggest, may be ancient Egypt, which was known as Khem; see, for example, Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III, p. 198; though the king of Sedgid looks like Melik Segued or Susenyos, who made war on Sennar in 1617.

[2] *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, Vol. IV, p. 3 (all references to Bruce in this article are to the Second Edition).

[3] loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 411.

about the uninhabited lands on the frontier, and endeavoured, by playing off one power against the other, to avoid paying tribute to either. Bruce hints as much[1]: "The Arabs, who fed their flocks near the frontiers of the two countries, were often plundered by the kings of Abyssinia making descents into Atbara; but this was never reckoned a violation of peace between the two sovereigns. On the contrary, as the motive of the Arabs for coming south into the frontiers of Abyssinia was to keep themselves independent and out of reach of Sennar, when the king of Abyssinia fell upon them there he was understood to do that monarch service by driving them farther down within his reach. The Baharnagash has been always at war with them; they are tributary to him for eating his grass and drinking his water, and nothing he ever does to them gives any trouble or inquietude to Sennar."

This is also indicated in the conversation alleged to have taken place between Susenyos and the Queen of the Shepherds from Mandera, recorded by Bruce,[2] in which Susenyos does not claim that Sennar was his vassal, but that the Shepherds were his vassals, and that he intended to maintain his ancient rights over them, which he considered the Fung had usurped.

No doubt Abyssinia was jealous of the Fung kings, and at various times would have liked to make them her vassals by force or guile; but since there is no evidence that she ever did so I do not think Chataway is justified in concluding that Bady Sid el Qum in his quarrel with Susenyos was apparently throwing off a vassalage. Once more I will quote Bruce[3], and let the reader judge for himself:

> "Abd-el-cader son of Ounsa was the ninth prince of the race of Funge then reigning: a weak and ill-inclined man, but with whom Socinios had hitherto lived in friendship, and in a late treaty had sent him as a present a nagareet, or kettledrum, richly ornamented with gold, with a gold chain to hang it by. Abd-el-cader, on his part, returned to Socinios a trained falcon, of an excellent kind, very much esteemed among the Arabs. Soon after this Abd-el-cader was deposed by his brother Adelan son of Ounsa, and fled to Tchelga, under the protection of the king of Abyssinia, who allowed him an

[1] loc. cit., Vol. IV, p. 4.
[2] loc. cit., Vol. III, pp. 318 and 319.
[3] loc. cit., Vol. III, p. 312.

honourable maintenance: a custom always observed in such cases in the East by princes towards their unfortunate neighbours.

"Baady son of Abd-el-cader, an active and violent young prince, although he deposed his uncle Adelan, took this protection of his father in bad part. It was likewise suggested to him that the present sent by Socinios, a nagareet or kettledrum, imported that Socinios considered him as his vassal, the drum being the sign of investiture sent by the king to anyone of his subjects whom he appoints to govern a province, and that the return of the falcon was likely to be considered as the acknowledgment of a vassal to his superior. Baady, upon his succession to the throne, was resolved to rectify this too great respect shown on the part of his father by an affront he resolved to offer. With this view he sent to Socinios two old blind and lame horses."

It would seem rather that the Fung were only regarded as tributary to Abyssinia in the vainglorious imagination of certain Abyssinian monarchs. Neither does it seem certain that the Fung custom of girding, to which Nalder appeals, is the same as the Abyssinian one. The latter is undoubtedly exactly as described by Nalder (*see* Bruce, Vol. V, p. 161, "uncovered to the waist, in token of humility"), but was this the Fung custom? The Ya'qubab also have a custom of girding in the presence of a superior (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1) in which only the left shoulder is exposed and over the other the tob is passed from back to front before being tucked into that part which is tied round the waist. As Nalder notes, the Ya'qubab definitely copied this from the Fung, as they did the *kukur* and *tagia um gerein*; and I am informed by the Fung mek Hasan Adlan of Singa that, as far as he knows, the Fung method was the same as the Ya'qubab method and not as the Abyssinian.

There is also a similar custom of girding in the presence of a superior in Northern Darfur, but I forget the details. But even if the Fung and Abyssinian methods of girding were exactly similar, why should not the custom have come to both peoples from some common source such as ancient Egypt?

Nalder also mentions the use of the title Arbab in Abyssinia as well as among the Fung. I am informed by Mr. Hillelson that this title is an Arabic one, the plural of *rabb*, comparable to the Central Arabian use of *shuyukh* for "great sheikh," although previously I had thought

it might be connected with the ancient Egyptian *erpa* (" prince ") with which it seems exactly to correspond, for among the Fung and their subjects Arbab did mean " prince," being properly applied only to the relatives of the mek and, by extension, to the relatives of the mangils. But in any case, its existence in Abyssinia should not carry much weight in our present argument, for it may easily have come to both Abyssinia and the Fung from a common source.

It would seem that the main evidence in support of the theory of an Abyssinian or Upper Blue Nile origin of the Fung is their own tradition that they are related to the Prophet through an Omaiyad, who came to the Sudan via Abyssinia, and marrying the daughter of a Sudanese king founded the line from which, about 800 years later, sprang Amara Dunkas and his descendants.

But if during the last four centuries the origin of Amara Dunkas should have been so lost in oblivion that it is open to argument whether he came to Sennar from the north or from the south, from the Upper Blue Nile or the White Nile, can much reliance be placed on the tradition of the same people as to an event which is supposed to have happened twice as long a time before Amara Dunkas as has elapsed since his date ?

The traditions, moreover, of all non-Arab Moslems are notably unreliable, because on becoming Moslem they immediately claim Arab descent, in view of the importance attributed by that religion to relationship to the Prophet. As a good example, I might quote the present sultan of Dar Masalit, who can have no Arab blood in him, and yet who seriously claims that he is descended from the Beni Qoreish and produces a complete genealogy in support of his claim.

There is, I maintain, no external evidence to support the Omaiyad tradition ; and here the question of the alliance between Amara Dunkas and Abdallah Ǧammāʿ is of great importance, as Nalder points out. Of course, the Arabs in the sixteenth century were no more tolerant in their attitude to *ʿabīd* than they are to-day, and the fact that the Fung dynasty was known all over the Sudan as the *sultana zerqa* seems to render it unlikely at the start that any Arab blood was recognised in their veins when they acquired that name. In fact, far from that alliance proving that the Fung royal family must have had an Arab ancestor in their dim past, and so probably have entered the Sudan via Abyssinia, I do not

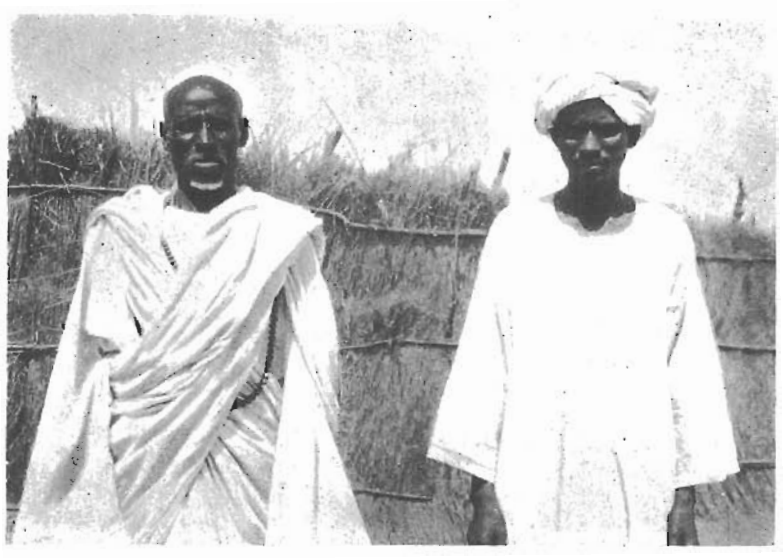


FIG. 1.
Mek Hamza Redwan and his son, who are the last survivors of the original Hamaj of Jebel Moya, and so of those "ancient and native princes" said by Bruce to have been conquered and converted by Abdelgadir, the second (or third) Fung king. (*See page* 212.)
Mez Hamza's great-grandfather Gahani was mek in 1821.



FIG. 2.
A GROUP OF FUNG KIRA AT EWEISAB IN SENNAR DISTRICT.

believe that there ever was such a voluntary alliance as the Fung Chronicle (MacMichael MS. D7) alleges.

It has hitherto been generally held that this Fung Chronicle is our most original, and so most reliable, source for Fung history, but according to the present Ya'qubabi Omda of Sabil in Sennar district it was written by his father Zobeir wad Abdelgadir (who was also known as Zobeir wad Dawwa after his mother).

On the authorship of this Chronicle, MacMichael[1] quotes Jackson[2] as saying that all the copies he had seen "seem to be derived from the account put together by Abdel Dafaa, and an abstract of this, with a few alterations and additions, made by Zobeir wad Dawwa." The source of Jackson's opinion was Naoum Bey Shoucair,[3] who states at the end of his account of the Fung that his information was taken "from the history of the kings of the Fung by Abdeldāfi' and Zobeir wad Dawwa, which seemed to be an abstract made by wad Dawwa from the history of Abdeldāfi' "with a few notes added." As noted by MacMichael, though the reference should be Vol. II, Part IV (Introduction), p. 72, Naoum Bey also at the beginning of his account of the Fung speaks of Sheikh Abdeldāfi' as the author of the Fung Chronicle without mentioning Zobeir. MacMichael, however, makes it quite clear that there is every reason *pace* Naoum Bey to conclude from internal evidence that the Chronicle is the work of a single author, and he a Ya'qubabi of Sennar, a follower of the Sammania tariqa, and much in touch with Turkish officials (all of which fits in with Zobeir wad Abdelgadir, who naturally "spoke with exaggerated respect of Sheikh Abdelgadir wad Zayn" his father, and "indulged in gross adulation of Gaafir Muzhar Pasha," who made him President of the Court of Appeal in Khartoum), who compiled the history about 1872 with one or more Fung king lists as a basis and the Tabaqat wad Deifallah for occasional reference and quotation.

A study of the Fung Chronicle will show that when one deducts the bare king list, the account of Soba in pre-Fung days (which at the outset appears to give the Chronicle an air of antiquity and so authority, but which MacMichael has shown is taken via Maqrizi from Ibn Selim), the extracts from Tabaqat wad Deifallah, and the account subsequent

[1] loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 354–8.
[2] *Tooth of Fire*, p. iii.
[3] *The Ancient History of the Sudan* (Vol. II of his work), p. 96.

to the rise of the Hamaj in 1761, there is little left that concerns the first two centuries that could have come from any real history written by Ibrahim Abdeldāfi' in 1820. And even if part of the Chronicle did come from that source, it must be remembered that no native historian is likely to be concerned with historical accuracy all the time, and that Ibrahim Abdeldāfi' was a Ǧamu'i, and so not specially interested in the Fung.

Actually for the period between 1504 and 1650, after extracting all that obviously comes from the other sources mentioned above, we have nothing left but the story of the alliance of Amara Dunkas with the Abdallabi, the scattering of the Nuba after the Fung-Abdallab succession, the reforms of king Dakīn, and the revolt of Sheikh Agīb in the reign of king Adlan wad Aya.

The scattering of the Nuba is an obvious piece of padding that would have come naturally to Zobeir, being based on the distribution of the Hamaj or Nuba in 1870.

The account of the reforms of king Dakīn is probably merely an expansion of an alternative reading *sahib el 'adl* for the nickname *sahib el 'āda* given to this king in the king list quoted by Naoum Bey[1] from Caillaud, and in MS. BA.[2]

The next king about whom the Fung Chronicle gives any detail is Bady Abu Dign (1642–1677), but its first statement, that he was " a man of bravery and generosity and high purpose. He raided the White Nile and engaged its inhabitants, who are called Shilluk," sounds more like flattery of some Turkish official of 1870, for it is exactly what many of them were doing at the time Zobeir wrote the Chronicle, than a piece of accurate historical information. The Chronicle adds no details to this bare statement, but proceeds to an account of Bady's raid on Tegale. Anyone in 1870 raiding Tegale would have raided some slaves off the Shilluk *en route* as a matter of course.

It is comparatively immaterial to my present purpose to consider whether this raid on Tegale is historical or not; but the Chronicle's next statement that it was Bady Abu Dign who built the five-storied palace at Sennar is demonstrably inaccurate. Bady Abu Dign died in 1677, and if he had built the palace of which Caillaud in 1821 gives an

[1] loc. cit., p. 7.
[2] MacMichael, loc. cit., II, p. 36. *See* also p. 49 below.

illustration and describes as "built of four (*sic*) stories in red brick . . . dominating the town . . . already beginning to fall into ruins," how could Poncet in 1699 have described it as "a confused heap of buildings without Symmetry or Beauty"? As late as 1772, Bruce[1] describes it as "all of one storey, built of clay," so that if it was built by a Bady, it was almost certainly built by that Bady VI wad Tabl II, who alone of the kings after 1772 reigned long enough to have undertaken such a work, and who was deposed by the Turks in 1821. Anyone with experience of Sudan buildings will realise that the damage shown in Caillaud's picture might easily have occurred to such a pretentious building, which was probably constructed with mud mortar only, if neglected for only one Sennar rains.

My object in going into this detail has been to try to indicate that there is every reason to doubt the accuracy of the Fung Chronicle for the first two centuries of the Fung sultanate, if there is external evidence to support those doubts and also to call to mind what has already been pointed out by MacMichael, that the Fung Chronicle is considerably later in date than Bruce's "Travels"; added to which is the fact that prima facie, being composed by a native writer, it is far less likely to be historically accurate than Bruce, where their accounts of the same events differ.

The Fung Chronicle is our only authority for the apparently impossible story of how Amara Dunkas and the Gawasma Arabs under Abdallah Ǧammā' made an alliance, collected at Jebel Moya, and from that base overthrew the Nuba kings of Soba and Gerri. (Is there any evidence that there ever was a Nuba king of Gerri? though later Gerri was of importance because it was the seat of the Abdallabi Mangil.) Why the Fung should have allied with the Arabs is not clear in this account; or why their combined force should have chosen Jebel Moya as a base? Natural as this rallying place might have been for the Rufa'a of Mālik Abu Rōf in 1870, Jebel Moya, despite its name, has no water supply sufficient for such a gathering as we must presume, and all its wells are up in the hills, and so in 1500 must have been in possession of the enemy, the "Hamaj," for we find Bruce[2] in 1772 stating that both Jebel Moya and Jebel Segadi were each then still "governed by the descendant

[1] loc. cit., Vol. VI, p. 352.
[2] loc. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 385–6.

of their ancient and native princes, who long resisted all the power of the Arabs . . . They continued to be Pagans till the conquest of the Funge. Bloody and unnatural sacrifices were said to have been in use in these mountainous states, with horrid . . . cruelty, till Abd-el-cader" (son of Amara Dunkas) about 1554 besieged Moya and Segadi and forced the princes to surrender.

Not only must Jebel Moya have been an unsuitable place for such a gathering, but as Nalder has pointed out, a voluntary alliance between the black Fung and the Arab chieftain Abdallah Ǧammā', in which he accepted what is acknowledged by everyone to have been not even an equal, but a distinctly inferior position, is highly improbable; unless, as I now suggest, Bruce was right when he stated that the Arabs were first defeated in war by those blacks; when, being strangers in the land to which they were powerfully attracted by such good grazing, as would seem to them El Dorado after the deserts they had passed on their way from Egypt, when for the sake of their flocks and herds (*see* Ibn Khaldun, already quoted—they were disunited tribes and sections of tribes each, as to-day, interested first of all in their own animals and combining only for self-defence), they would quite naturally have bowed to *force majeure* and pocketed their pride of race in order to gain grazing and security by accepting a practical independence under their own viceroy, the Abdallabi Mangil. The latter obviously had powers of life and death over the Arabs, and he, in order to keep in the good books of the Fung, merely had to collect all the Arabs' tribute punctually.

(Further, if, as we shall see later, it suited the Fung to adopt Islam and, consequently, to claim relationship to the Prophet, what more natural than that their Arab viceroy should have obtained seniority over the other viceroys ?)

This theory that the Arabs were defeated in war by the Fung is borne out by a tradition that I have heard several times in Sennar district, that the Arabs were in occupation of the country before the Fung and were worsted by them in war. I have been unable to trace any tradition to the contrary of a voluntary alliance between the Fung and the Abdallabi that is not obviously inspired by the Fung Chronicle.

Bruce, moreover, definitely states[1]: "In the year 1504 a black nation hitherto unknown, inhabiting the western banks of the Bahr el

[1] loc. cit., Vol. VI, p. 370.

TWO OF THE LAST OF THE FUNG ROYAL FAMILY.



FIG. 1.

MEK HASAN ADLAN OF SINGA.

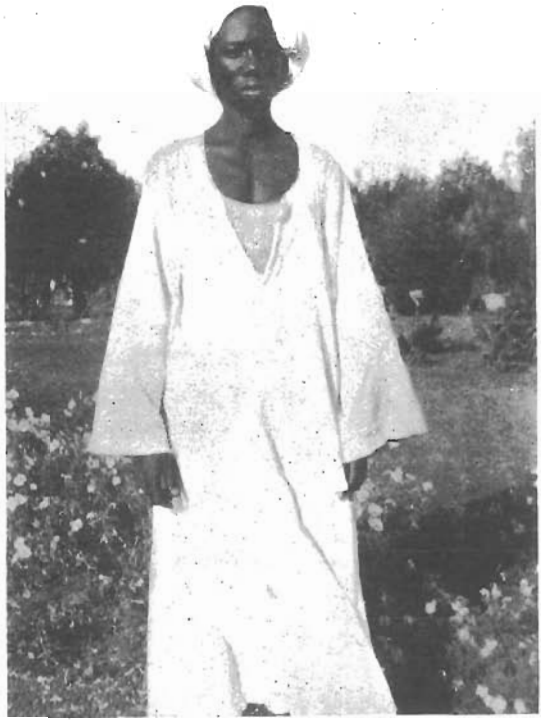


FIG. 2.

MOHAMED WAD ABDALLAH.

One of the grandsons of the late Mek Omar wad Nasir, of Abu Geili in Sennar district.

Abiad about latitude 13°, made a descent in a multitude of canoes or boats upon the Arab provinces, and in a battle near Herbagi they defeated Wad Ageeb, and forced him to capitulation, by which the Arabs were to pay their conquerors, in the beginning, one half of their stock, and every subsequent year one-half of the increase . . . Upon this condition the Arabs were to enjoy their former possessions unmolested, and Wad Ageeb his place and dignity, that he might always be ready to use coercion in favour of the conquerors, in case any of the distant Arabs refused payment; and he became as it were their lieutenant. This race of negroes is in their own country called Shillook."

If the Fung were a band of Shilluk adventurers who found the kingdom of Aloa on its last legs, with its country overrun by Arab tribes, who grazed their animals at will on the cultivations of the old sedentary inhabitants of the country, it would not have been difficult for this new Shilluk dynasty to have identified itself with the interests of its subjects, with whom it was more closely related by race and culture. By taking advantage of their subjects' exasperation against the Arabs, who may quite easily have reduced them to the verge of starvation, they may very well have adopted that device commonly used by conquerors for diverting the attention of the conquered from their defeat, and forging the link of a common interest between conquerors and conquered, namely, that of undertaking operations against a common foe.

If the Fung were thus a new dynasty of Shilluk origin that reanimated the defunct kingdom of Aloa, and soon after their accession for some reason or other adopted Islam, it is easy to imagine how the legend of the Omaiyad ancestor of the Fung may have arisen. Why should it not have been the fabrication of the fertile brain of that shadowy figure El Samarqandi, who was probably an adventurous fiki who came via Egypt to the Guhayna, and obtained from them by king Amara, was employed by him to prove that black was white or, at any rate, had a white ancestor. One can imagine El Samarqandi questioning the Shilluk on their legends and traditions, their ancestors and history, until he had formed the Arabic name of Amriyyun (*see* MSS. BA, A2 and D6) from Amāra, the Arabic form he gave to Omaro or Umakra, the name both of the second man according to Shilluk legend,[1] and of the founder of their

[1] Westermann. loc. cit., pp. xii and 156. See, however, note 99 for another possible explanation of the name Amara Dunkas.

dynasty on the Blue Nile, and one can imagine his choosing the Beni Omaiya for their ancestors, because of the similarity of their name to that of Omoi, the brother of Nyikang, the legendary ancestor of the White Nile Shilluk, who together started on their wanderings that settled the Shilluk on the White Nile and the Fung at Sennar. Perhaps Omoi was an historical person who left Nyikang settled on the Upper White Nile, whence some of them pushed on up the Blue Nile. If so, one can easily imagine El Samarqandi relating his name to the Beni Omaiya, some of whom certainly did take refuge in the Sudan. The reason for the name Amriyyun obviously bothered the old pedigree writers. While BA and A2 say they are the descendants of Suliman ibn Abdelmalik el Amawi, others insert another ancestor to account for the name, which is otherwise inexplicable; thus A11 inserts one Omar as the father of Suliman and son of Abdelmalik, while D6 says they were descended from Amr the son of Suliman Abdelmalik.

This new Shilluk dynasty would soon have found that they required a name to distinguish themselves from the Shilluk of the White Nile and their own subjects. If they adopted Islam, it is quite natural that they should have called themselves by their own name for Moslems, which was also a synonym for Arabs or strangers.

Westermann[1] states: "Fung or Fun is probably identical with the Shilluk word *bwon* (= stranger), for in Shilluk and Nubian the letters 'b' and 'f' are interchangeable. In Nuer the word for stranger sounds like *fon*. In the Fung language (there is, however, no Fung language. Presumably it was originally Shilluk, but Westermann no doubt means Hamaj of Gule) Bunj equals Arab, *i.e.*, stranger."

One might compare the case of another branch of the Shilluk who adopted the (Dinka) name of Jur (= stranger).[2]

Mr. Nalder says it is difficult to see how, if the Fung were Shilluk, they could have become Moslems by the time of the alliance between Amara Dunkas and the Abdallab. He agrees, however, that they were always only a small aristocracy who imposed their rule on alien subject populations; and by my present theory their first subjects were the inhabitants of the old-established kingdom of Aloa, which had been for some time subject to the influence of Islam. We have already noticed

[1] *The Shilluk People*, p. lii.
[2] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIV, p. 50.

in Ibn Selim that there was a Moslem quarter in the capital of that kingdom five centuries before Amara Dunkas ; and that there is a tradition in Sennar district that the Arabs were in occupation of the country before the Fung

Crowfoot[1] has pointed out that the Arab invasion, the tide of which grew much stronger after the fall of the Christian kingdom of Dongola two hundred years before Amara, created a medium more favourable to Islam than to other religions.

And Naoum Bey, quoted by Jackson,[2] has given a very plausible explanation of the circumstances of the conversion of the Fung. " Thirteen years after the founding of the dynasty, Amara was brought into relationship with a foreign power. Selim, sultan of Turkey, having defeated the Egyptian army outside Cairo in 1517, began to turn his attention to the South. Amara, hearing of an expedition that Selim had sent to Suakin, Massowa, and Abyssinia, feared an invasion, and sent to Cairo, pointing out that he and his followers were Arabs and true Mohammedans " (the two terms would then have been synonymous to a Shilluk) " and that there was no ground for a religious war. The letter that he sent was accompanied by a series of genealogical tables (said to be extant still in Constantinople, and to contain some non-Islamic names), drawn up by an Imam of Sennar called El Samarqandi, proving that the Fungs were of Arab origin. The recipient acknowledged the claim of the Fungs, with the result that their rule was recognised as far north as the third cataract." There seem to be traditions of a clash between the Fung and the troops of Selim in this area ; and there is said to be an island near Old Dongola called Banganarti (Mahass for the " Island of the Fung ") to this day, and there are people who claim to be Fung still living in the vicinity.[3]

It is interesting to note the following quotations from Bruce that help to confirm this theory :

(1) " Funge, that is, Shangalla converted to Islamism."[4]

(2) " They were soon converted to Mohammedanism for the sake of trading with Cairo, and took the name of Funge, which they interpret sometimes lords or conquerors, and at other times

[1] " Christian Nubia " loc. cit. (*Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, Vol. XIII.)
[2] *Tooth of Fire*, p. 22.
[3] *See* also MacMichael, loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 6 and 7.
[4] loc. cit., Vol. VII, p. 89 — *Murray's Life and Writings of James Bruce*, p. 416.

free citizens,[1] (*i.e.*, Arabs or Moslems, as opposed to *'abid* (slaves —blacks).

Let us now examine what evidence there is for definitely connecting the Fung with the Shilluk of the White Nile.

The statement in Bruce that the Fung were of Shilluk origin is confirmed by Werne, a German officer who accompanied the Turkish army on an expedition to Kassala in 1840, and who states[2] that the Fung " still possess their old pride of race and country, and do not wish to be looked on as genuine Arabs . . . According to their own tale, the Fungh descend from races of inhabitants of the Defafonj of the lands of the Dinka and Shilluk, where yet their forefathers' race may be found." There is no reason to believe Werne was merely echoing Bruce. In fact, there is no evidence in the book quoted that he had ever read Bruce. His informant was obviously Dafallah wad Mohamed Adlan Dafallah, who was a descendant of the Hamaj wazir Mohamed Abu Likeilik.

It is very significant that the tradition of the Hamaj, the descendants of the people who were inhabiting the Gezira before the Fung conquest, and who, therefore, of all people are likely to know the truth about the Fung, should be that the Fung were Shilluk. This is confirmed by Mr. J. W. Robertson, D.C. Roseires, who informs me that he recently discussed the origin of the Fung with a number of Hamaj elders at Gule, and that they were all positive the Fung were Shilluk.

Werne[2] records that " there is a hill of that name (Defafonj), an extinct volcano, in the land of the Dinka about 11° N. lat., that he had ascended."

Petherick[3] also describes a hill on the White Nile about 11° N. lat., which he says was called Jebel Tefan in his day (1862). I suggest that this must be the hill now known as Jebel Ahmed Agha, south of Gelhak ; and that it is one and the same hill which has become Jebel Tiafam in the account given me by the Omda of Abu Geili, as being one of the places where the Fung settled on their way from the Hejaz via Abyssinia, and also has become Jebels Teifa and Fam in another version of the same legend recorded by Nalder.

[1] loc. cit., Vol. VI, p. 371.
[2] *African Wanderings*, p. 78.
[3] *Travels in Central Africa*, Vol. 1, p. 96.

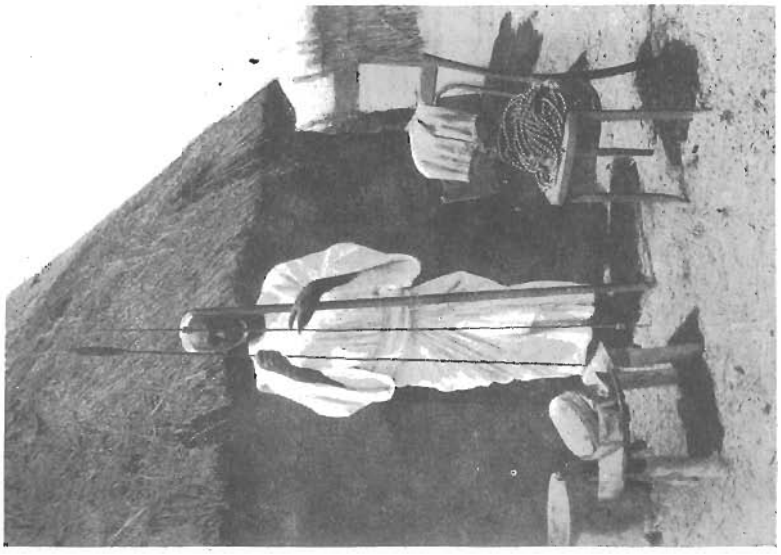


FIG. 2.

Sheikh Mohamed Tom wad Zobeir Abdelgadir, the Ya'qubabi Omda of Sabil, with the relics of Sheikh Musa Abu Qussa, of whom he is the Khalifa.

These relics include the kukur (the two middle legs are missing), the taqia, wooden shoes, two iron spears, wooden staff and immense rosary.



FIG. 1.

A Fung Kira man, showing the peculiar cut on the shoulder, which it is suggested resembles a *kukur*, possibly has a hieroglyphic origin, and is the reason for the name Kitfawi frequently used among this branch of the Fung.

It is, further, of significance that in BA, the oldest part, which seems to have been written or copied by a Rikabi about the time of the foundation of the Fung kingdom, makes Hasan el Hilali, himself the son of a black concubine, marry a woman called Lula, and become the ancestor of the Shilluk, Dinka, and Kira (a branch of the Fung of whom there are survivors to-day at Eweisab in Sennar district, but who may possibly be of some non-Fung origin, enslaved by the Fung). There is an obviously later part tacked on to this MS., apparently after 1821, which gives the usual descent of the Fung (Amriyyun) from the Beni Omaiya.

MS. B1, which comes from the same sources as BA, though emanating from Dongola in the 17th or 18th century, definitely gives Hasan el Hilali as the ancestor of the Fung (sections Kira, Kiran, Karanku, Aywa, Ounsab, and Audunab). Unless, therefore, one is prepared to believe with these MSS. that the Shilluk and Dinka are Beni Omaiya (Guhayna), one may, I think, call the original author of this pedigree as a witness that the Fung and Shilluk have a common ancestor.

We may perhaps notice in passing that we appear to have here a clue to the solution of the mystery of Lul or Lulu mentioned by Mr. Nalder. The oldest known mention is the inscription on the Fung drum[1] which dates from the time of Bady wad Nol (1733–1766) and says that Amara Dunkas came from Lūl. Can this be Lŭl, one of the divisions of the Shilluk country on the White Nile[2]? In any case, the mention in BA of Lula as ancestress of the Shilluk, Dinka, Kira section of the Fung, and incidentally Ulu el Ghaya, is significant; for MacMichael comments that all her descendants seem to be negro tribes from the upper reaches of the White Nile, and we would appear to have some indication that Lul or Lula was an old name for that part of the world.[3]

D6, which appears to be derived from El Samarqandi, indicates that possibly that worthy is responsible for the confusion between Lul and Ulu, one of the Hamaj districts of the southern district of the Fung Province. If so, he probably altered Lul to Ulu, as being more or less on the route from Abyssinia. (The reference to the *gindis* of Lulu in the Fung Chronicle may be inspired by a similar misunderstanding of the

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. IV, p. 211.
[2] Westermann. *Shilluk People*, p. 127.
[3] For Shilluk on the Lol River north of Wau, see *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIV, p. 51.

inscription on the Fung drum, which actually says that the old line, and not that of Nol, came from Lul). There was, in any case, bound to be confusion between Lul and Ulu after the Shilluk origin of the Fung had been forgotten.

The Fung Kira of Sennar district admit a Shilluk connection, though they, too, drag in the Beni Omaiya, and the version given me by them recently at Eweisab was that they were descended from Ahmed Kir, the son of Suliman el Amawi, whose mother was the daughter of Kir, the Shilluk king of Jebel Kir, which they can only locate vaguely as " in the south."

May there not, too, be some significance in the version mentioned by Nalder of the Fung's presumably legendary journey from Abyssinia, in which their route is said to have taken them from the Abyssinian foothills *across to the White Nile.*

We have now reviewed a number of clues, none of which may be convincing in itself, but the combined effect of which is a body of evidence, which if not strong, is, at any rate, I suggest, stronger than that in support of the Abyssinian or upper Blue Nile origin of the Fung.

But Bruce is our trump card. From our discussion of the Fung Chronicle it will have been seen that Bruce is our oldest, and largely for that reason alone, our best authority on the origins of the Fung. He was admittedly writing 250 years or more after the foundation of the Fung kingdom, but what is specially important is that he is our only authority who was writing when the days when the Fung kings really ruled were still fresh in the memories of men, and before the Egyptian occupation, which seems to have increased the prestige of the Mohammedan Arab in the Gezira at the expense of the pagan black, who was then looked on as a natural slave. It is clear from Bruce's work that in his day Islam was of little importance in Sennar. Though the *mek* and some of the Fung pretended to be Moslems, the majority of his subjects were openly pagans; and if a pedigree proving one's descent from the Prophet was useful as a diplomatic document, it was not necessary to prove one was a gentleman. Hence, Bruce could say, in 1772, that " Slavery in Sennaar is the only true nobility."[1] Anyone who has served in the Sudan will realise that slavery means " being black " as opposed to Arab; " slave " being in Arabic, Bruce's medium

[1] loc. cit., Vol. VI, p. 372.



FIG. 1.

Kukur said to have been made by Tajeldin el Bahari *c.* A.D. 1530, and now with Sheikh Mohamed Tom el Zobeir at Sabil in Sennar district, the Khalita of the Ya'qubabi Sheikh Musa Abu Qussa. (*See* Plate IV, Fig. 2.)



FIG. 2.

Kukur said to have been made by Sheikh Marzuq wad Ya'qub *c.* A.D. 1640. This kukur and the wooden shoes also shown are part of the insignia of the Khalifa of Sheikh Marzuq, and are now with Sheikh Hamdan Abdelgadir at Hujjaj in Sennar district.

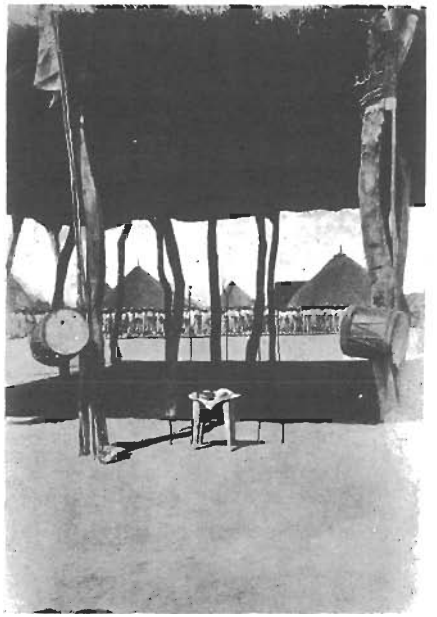


FIG. 3.

The kukur shown in Plate V, Fig. 2, the iron "shaibas," and other relics, at the east end of the large rakuba that forms the mosque at Hujjaj (*see* Plate XI, Fig. 2). Ya'qubab relics are only brought out during festivals.

Note the Zikr in progress.

of conversation, a synonym for black, *i.e.*, in 1772, the only true nobility was still to be descended from the original Shilluk conquerors.

Neither Chataway nor Nalder have been fair to Bruce. One feels that they can only have read his "Travels" in an abridged edition. Why else should they be trying to reintroduce that old fashion of disparaging him which had quite gone out, and to which Wilkinson[1] refers in the following: "The name of Bruce ought not to be passed by without a tribute to the injured memory of one whose zeal was rewarded with reproach and disbelief. How easy is the part of a sceptic! What a slight effort, yet what an air of superiority and appearance of learning attend the expression of a doubt! Bruce had been provokingly enterprising. Many of his readers were incredulous, because he had done what they, in the plenitude of their wisdom, conceived impossible; and many of those most violent in their censures had neither sufficient experience nor knowledge of the subject to hazard an opinion. Envy prompted some, and fashion more, to speak of Bruce's narrative as a tale of wonder or a pure invention, and those who had never read his work fearlessly pronounced a censure to which others were known to assent. But it is gratifying to find that more mature investigations of the present day have vindicated the character of this distinguished traveller . . . and his veracity."

Why, for instance, does Chataway suppose that Bruce wrote down all his information uncritically from Ahmed Sid el Qom? There is no reason for believing that the statement that the person who commands at Fazogli is not a Fung, but the original native prince, was made by Ahmed Sid el Qom, as one will see if one peruses the context.[2] Neither is there any reason for believing that when at Sennar, Bruce "could not freely seek the truth, which any way, would have been difficult to find in such an atmosphere of intrigue and propaganda." Intrigue and propaganda would not have been concerned with events that had happened over 250 years previously; and we may quote Bruce himself to the contrary: "I often conversed . . . in great freedom . . . and from them I learned many particulars."[3]

[1] *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 436.

[2] loc. cit., Vol. VI, p. 391. *See also* Vol. VII, p. 9. Actually, despite the claim of the present Mek of Fazogli to be a Fung, there seems reason to believe that the Meks of Fazogli may have been Berta like their subjects. The names on the list of the kings of Fazogli in Caillaud do not seem to be Fung names.

[3] Vol. VI, p. 373.

Admittedly Bruce was careless at times and made frequent mistakes over details. The one quoted by Nalder[1] was a peculiarly easy one to make in view of the various shades of meaning of *akhu* in Arabic, and the fact that Bruce had never met Mohamed Abu Likeilik. For all that, he was an experienced traveller who, before his attempt to trace the Nile to its source, had, as a consul, explored Algeria and Tunis. He was adequately fluent in Arabic and he was obviously interested in the origin of the Fung, and spent a large part of his enforced detention at Sennar in questioning natives on this subject. The quotations from his Journal given by Nalder hardly give a fair impression. Actually, the first quotation given as one extract is a combination of two extracts. "The Fung were originally Shankala or Hamidge"[2] is a note made by him at Teawa (near Gedaref) on March 23rd, before he ever reached Sennar, "and are, as they are called, Funge, that is, Shangalla converted to Islamism," was written immediately on his arrival at Sennar at the end of April. It is of interest to continue this quotation: "Funge, that is, Shangalla converted to Islamism, of the country whence those Shangalla came who drove out the Arabs under Wad Ageeb. Of these, the government is composed. The common Shilook, or troops of the king, are mostly pagans even yet."

In June, however, we find Bruce writing:[3] "The *mek* of Sennaar pretends to be descended from the noble Arab tribe, Beni Ommai: but his woolly hair, and black flat features, show him to be a Shangalla; the particular name Shilook. These inhabit the large islands in the river El Aice . The name of Shankala, given to the true blacks in Abyssinia, is not known in the kingdom of Sennaar, though in features and complexion they are the same people. The river El Aice is twice as broad as the Nile and very deep in all the course of it. Before it joins the Nile are many islands, in these dwell the Shilook, who rob in barks up the whole of it. The other blacks come from Guba, Nuba, and Fazuclo, three southern provinces which depend on Sennaar." Had Nalder read this last extract, how could he have continued to "wonder whether in this case Bruce was not misled by the superficial resemblance between Shangalla, in whom he was very interested, and Shilluk"?

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIV, p. 62.
[2] *Murray's Life and Writings of James Bruce*, p. 413. *Travels*, Vol. VII, p. 89.
[3] *Murray's Life and Writings of James Bruce*, pp. 417 and 418. *Travels*, Vol. VII pp. 90 and 91.

Had he still wondered, he might have read on, where, on August 2nd, 1772, Bruce writes[1]: "The Shillook are very numerous. There are three principal islands." (Aba, Musran and Belli.[2]) "These are scarcely a day's journey above the river El Aice. They leave these islands in the rainy time, and repair to them in the dry season: and then they ravage and plunder all the neighbourhood. There are several other islands farther up. Their towns are on the west side of the river, and very numerous." (There are many old sites on the west bank of the White Nile between Kosti and Kaka.)

A further entry,[3] which space prevents me from quoting, shows how, by July 20th, 1772, Bruce had gradually arrived while at Sennar at a very fair understanding of the distribution of the black races south and west of Sennar, which he was unable to visit. He had indeed made one considerable mistake in thinking the Kordofan Jebels Dair and Tegale were a continuous range of mountains stretching from Fazogli to the Nuba mountains, in which rose the White Nile—but he had got the relative positions of Darfur, Kordofan, the Shilluk on the White Nile, and the Hamaj stretching from well inside the present western frontier of Abyssinia, including all the Berta country, and across beyond Gule to the White Nile, administered from Fazogli.

To the extracts from his journals already quoted, we may add the following from his book:

"As I was perfectly disguised, having for many years worn the dress of the Arabs, I was under no constraint, but walked through the town in all directions, accompanied by any of those different nations I could induce to walk with me; and as I constantly spoke Arabic, was taken for a Bedowe by all sorts of people."[4]

"This is all that I could ever learn from this people; and it required great patience and prudence in making the interrogations, and separating truth from falsehood; for many of them (as is invariably the case with barbarians), if they once divine the reason of your inquiry, will say whatever they think will please you."[5]

"I soon saw it was in vain to endeavour to learn anything from Guebra Christos: he answered in the affirmative to every enquiry:

[1] *Murray's Life and Writings of James Bruce*, p. 419. *Travels*, Vol. VII, p. 92.
[2] *See* Map, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIII, p. 148.
[3] Murray. loc. cit., p. 420. Vol. VII, p. 93.
[4] loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 91.
[5] loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 410.

when I asked if it was blue, it was blue : and if black, it was black : it was round and square and oblong just as I put my question."[1]

These quotations show Bruce's method of enquiry, the only possible method under his circumstances of arriving at the truth, that of questioning anyone he could, and accepting that answer only as correct that he had obtained from more than one source, and of getting his informer to compare the peoples under discussion with any other peoples known to them both. Hence his frequent mention of the Shangalla whom he had already met in Abyssinia in his notes on the history and peoples of the kingdom of Sennar.

If Bruce's statement that the Fung were of Shilluk origin is correct—and Nalder has shown that this is the only likely alternative to the theory that they came from the Upper Blue Nile—it fits in very well with all that is known of the previous and subsequent history of the Gezira and the Shilluk.

Westermann[2] has pointed out the likelihood that the Fung were the northernmost wave of a great movement of Shilluk and allied peoples, by showing that taking 13½ years as the average duration of the reign of an African ruler, the date of the foundation of the White Nile Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang falls in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. There seems no reason to doubt 1504, the date given by Bruce for the foundation of the Fung kingdom.[3] The coincidence of the foundation of the two kingdoms is, therefore, remarkable.

At this time the Shilluk inhabited both banks of the White Nile as far north as Kawa, and perhaps farther north ; consequently, it seems not unlikely that some of them should have pushed on up the Blue Nile, especially as they had only just arrived on the White Nile, and were still in a state of upheaval. In 1842 the Shilluk still inhabited the islands of the White Nile as far north as El Dueim.[4] Petherick[5] records that in 1853 the Shilluk raided as far north as Wad Shelai, though their most northern village was Kaka, as to-day. By 1862[6] Kaka was in ruins as a result of systematic slave-raiding.

[1] loc. cit., Vol. V, p. 172.
[2] loc. cit., pp. 52–57.
[3] MacMichael. loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 432–4.
[4] MacMichael. loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 49.
[5] *Egypt, the Sudan and Central Africa*, pp. 342–351.
[6] Petherick. *Travels in Central Africa*, Vol. I, p. 96.

From my own experience in the southern district of the White Nile Province I know that there is an old site in Arusa Island at Kosti said be an old Shilluk one, and that as one goes south from Kosti such sites get more and more frequent, especially on the west bank. The Arabs of the district have faint memories of prolonged hostilities with the Shilluk, who were in occupation of the river, from which they were only displaced with difficulty.

If, then, the Shilluk dominion on the White Nile is now only a shadow of what it was a hundred years ago, and if all the Shilluk on the Lower White Nile, who would be the ones in direct touch with Sennar, have been wiped out by rival Arabs and Turkish slavers, is it surprising that the Shilluk of the Upper White Nile to-day should have forgotten that the Fung were Shilluk like themselves, especially when they had changed their name and religion four centuries earlier, it being further remembered that the Shilluk seem to have no written records whatever ?

In addition to the extract quoted above from Bruce's journal of August 2nd, 1772, to the effect that the Shilluk in the summer occupied Aba, Musran and Belli Islands, Bruce makes the further significant statement[1] :

" There are three principal Governments in the kingdom of Sennaar. The first is El Aice, the capital of that country from which the Shilook came . . . with incredible fleets (of boats like canoes) their invasion was made when they undertook the conquest of the Arabs, who had not the smallest warning of the attempt . . . *It must be a relation of the mek of Sennaar that commands at El Aice* : and he is never suffered to leave that post to come to Sennaar." (The other governments were Kordofan and Fazogli.)

El Ais (or Allais, see D7[2]) is said to have been the place where stands the village of Kawa to-day. Its name is obviously an arabicised form of the Shilluk word *laich*, meaning " wide " or " broad," which is the distinctive feature of the White Nile at this point. Browne[3] gave the following description from conversations with Gellaba about 1798 : " Hellet Allais is situated on the west of the river. The river ' Bahr el Abiad ' is here of such breadth that the features of a person standing on the

[1] loc. cit., Vol. VI, p. 390.
[2] MacMichael. loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 366, foot-notes 3 and 4.
[3] *Travels in Africa*, pp. 452–3.

other side cannot be distinguished, but the human voice is heard . . . On the eastern side of the river is Shilluk . . . within sight . . . a town of idolaters, built with clay . . . The people of the Shilluk have the dominion of the river, and take toll."

The fact that it had to be a relative of the *mek* of Sennar that had to command at Allais, when the usual Fung custom was to employ a native viceroy to govern non-Fung races, seems to indicate that Allais was the home of the Shilluk before they founded the Fung kingdom; and the presumption is that they left some of their number behind there, who would only submit to a relative of their royal house.

Hitherto, as Nalder admits, the Fung institutions of *mangil* and *kukur* have remained unexplained; but I suggest that the Shilluk theory of Fung origins offers a possible explanation.

Palmer[1] has noted the striking comparison between the title *mangil* and the modern Tuareg title for tribal chief, *amanokel*.

He is no doubt right in deriving, as he does in the same article, Manbali, the name of the largest church at Soba, from Ammon, the god with the ram's head and horns, whose worship, as we have noted, was the state religion of Napata and Meroe. At Soba has been found the remains of an old temple dedicated to Ammon, in which was the stone ram taken to Khartoum by Gordon. That this temple was later turned into a Christian church is indicated by the Coptic cross cut on some of its pillars, though it continued to be called after Ammon.

Palmer is also no doubt right in associating the Fung horned head-dress (*taqia um qerein*) with the ram's horns of Ammon. MacMichael[2] has already compared the Fung tagia with the turban and two horns worn by Jausar of Bujaras, the capital of the district between Assuan and Korosko in the 13th century; and Professor Griffith[3] in his account of the Oxford excavations in Nubia has recorded the discovery of wall paintings in Christian churches—the Rivergate church at Faras and the church of Abdelgadir, both in Halfa Province—which represent the eparch or ruler of the Nobadæ, whose capital was at Pachoras (Faras,), wearing a head-dress with horns, on which Professor Griffith comments: " The kings of Sennar inherited a portion of the Christian empire of Nubia,

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XII, p. 257.
[2] loc. cit., Vol. I, pp. 177 and 249.
[3] *Annals of Archæology*, Vol. XIII, p. 77 and Plate lxi; and Vol. XV, p. 70 and Plate xxxii.

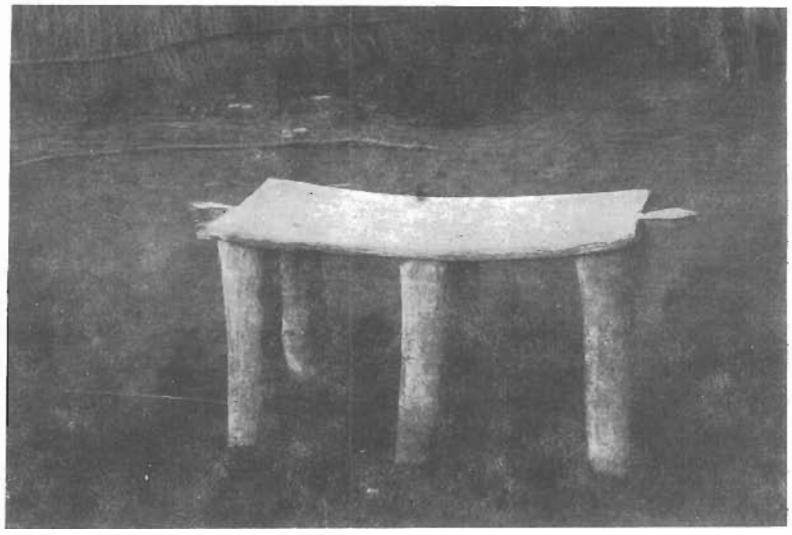


FIG. 1.

Kukur said to have been made by Sheikh Mohammed Tom wad Bannaga *c.* A.D. 1800, and now kept by Zein el Abdin Hajju of Sennar district.

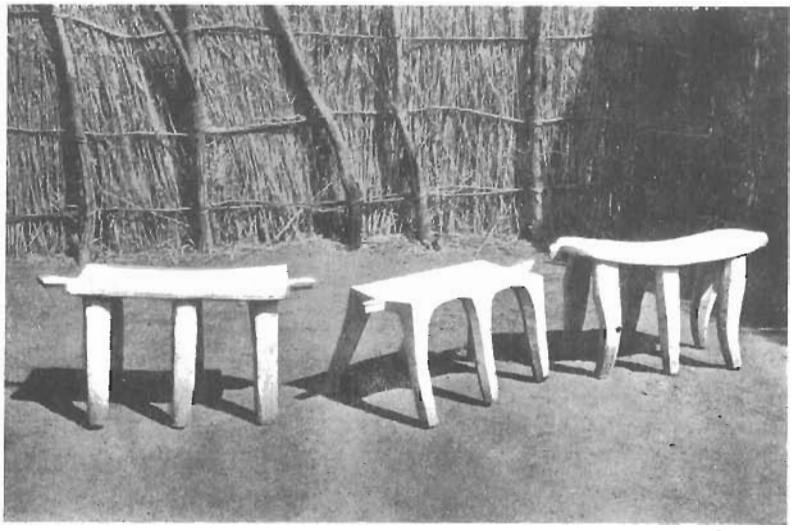


FIG. 2.

Three kukurs made by the late Sheikh Hajju Abdelgadir el Masi', and now with his son and Khalifa Sheikh Ya'qub Hajju at Amarat el Sheikh Hajju in Sennar district.

NOTE.—Sheikh Ya'qub was recently made Khalifa of Sheikh Mohammed Tom Bannaga and of his father Sheikh Hajju; though Zein el Abdin Hajju claimed to be the Khalifa of Mohammed Tom Bannaga and has managed to retain his kukur. (*See* Plate VI, Fig. 1.)

and the Christian kings inherited from Meroe. It seems probable that the horns of the Christian kings are to be derived from the ram's horns (of Ammon and other gods) seen in the head-dress of Meroitic rulers, as in those of their Ethiopian and Egyptian predecessors."

In the temple which was built by Amenophis III (*c.* 1415–1380 B.C.) at Soleib in Nubia, Ammon is represented as a king having the royal head-band, but " around his ears the twisted horns peculiar to Ammon in Nubia . . . and upon his head a small crest bearing the moon's crescent and disc, as worn by the ancient lunar deities, Thoth of Shemu, and Khonsu of Thebes."[1]

In both paintings of the eparch of the Nobadæ above-mentioned, he is shown wearing, in addition to the horns, a crescent moon supported by a slight stem springing from the crown of his head.

Now the Ya'qubab *taqia um qerein* (*see* Plate I, Figs. 1 and 2) which is worn by the muqaddams of that tariqa on festivals and is admittedly copied from the Fung *meks* apparently preserves the stem that supported the crescent, although the crescent itself has not survived; and, further, the curve of its ear flaps or horns is exactly that of the ram's horns of Ammon, as represented in Meroitic temples.[2]

But Ammon himself, though his name might be preserved in Manbali at Soba as long as that building survived, would presumably have been forgotten by A.D. 1500, and it is doubtful whether the title *mangil*, which we first hear of then, is connected with him, though that is by no means impossible.

It should be noted, too, that *mangil* was not a title of the Fung *mek* of Sennar or of the lesser Fung rulers of Allais, Keili, Fadasi, etc., as one would have expected it to be if it was associated with Ammon, but it was the title given by the Fung to the heads of conquered non-Fung peoples, if they were of sufficient importance, who after their defeat were reinstated by the Fung as their viceroys. *Mangil* certainly came to be a title of great honour, and one that was much coveted, but I suggest that under the circumstances the title *mangil* is possibly a Shilluk one meaning " captive (or slave) of the Shilluk "—*Mano-Chol* (*see* Westermann's vocabulary); and if this is correct, it would appear to give a

[1] Hastings. *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.* Article *Heroes and Hero-gods (Egyptian)*, Vol. VI, p. 647.

[2] See Crowfoot, *Island of Meroe*, Plates xviii, xxi and xxiii, for representations of Ammon at Naga.

reasonable explanation of the alternative and apparently later form, *mangiluk*, when the Choli were coming to be known as the Shilluk, *i.e.*, *Mano-Shilluk*.[1] In apparent support of this theory it is interesting to read in Bruce that Jebel Moya and Segadi were still, in 1772, governed by the descendants of their ancient and native princes, who had been forced to surrender in 1554 by Abdelgadir son of Amara Dunkas. " Having fastened a chain of gold to each of their ears, he exposed them in the public market place at Sennaar in that situation and sold them to the highest bidder, at the vile price of something like a farthing each. After this degradation, being circumcised . . . they were restored each to their government as slaves of Sennaar, upon very easy conditions of tribute, and have been faithful ever since."[2]

Here at least, I suggest, we have a reasonable explanation of that peculiar Fung institution, the *mangil*. He was the vassal, the slave, of the Shilluk.

The *mangil* on his appointment was crowned with the horned headdress, which we have seen must have been inherited from Soba, and seated on the throne called *kukur*, in imitation of the Fung *mek's* own coronation ceremony. We have the authority of Professor Griffith[3] that the name of this throne is not to be explained by ancient Egyptian ; though I would point out that the hieroglyphic for " ḳ " is  , which is apparently a throne exactly like the Fung *kukur* ; and further, that the Fung Kira of Eweisab near Sennar (who are the descendants of El Gindi Kitfawi, Rahma Yunis (who was the *amin* of king Bady wad Nol, *c.* 1761 (*see* Appendix), and Zein Harun, the *amin* of king Bady Abu Shilukh, who was killed by that king for intriguing with Abu Likeilik) have till recently used a mark strongly reminiscent of this hieroglyphic on the shoulder of their men (*see* Plate IV, Fig. 1), and that this mark was used, I am told by the king's *amin* or *wazir* as his signature on documents. (*See* Appendix for a translation of such a document, where the lower half of this mark survives in the original ; and my informant, one of the Fung Kira, said he had seen the whole mark with his own eyes, though the original document is now frayed.) These Fung Kira (*see* page 217 above) seem

[1] Or *Mane* in Shilluk can mean " a junction " (of two rivers), so could not a similar word mean " ally," and Mangil " the ally of the Shilluk " ? If we are on the right track here, perhaps Manofana, the title of the Hamaj chiefs of Sillak and Ulu, is on a similar analogy Mano-Fun " the slave (or ally) of the Fung."

[2] loc. cit., Vol. VI., p. 386.

[3] op. cit., Vol. XIII, p. 78.

to be a family of *wazirs*, and the sign of the throne was presumably the symbol of their authority, and the name Kira was perhaps derived from it. If they were not really Fung, but older inhabitants of a negroid origin, the survival of the hieroglyphic from the kingdom of Aloa is all the more intelligible. The name Kitfawi which occurs occasionally in this family presumably means " the man with the mark on his shoulder " (*katf*).

Palmer (loc. cit.) is almost certainly right in associating the word *kukur* with the old and widely used root *kur*, *kar*, *ker* or *kir*, denoting greatness or authority (this is presumably also the root in *kursi* and even our English " chair ") ; but some of his other alleged associations appear too fanciful. Here again, need we go further than the Shilluk, in whose language Westermann gives *ka* = " place " and *kur* = " authority," so *kakur* = " the place of authority " ?

There seems to be little doubt that both the chair and the stool that have become common articles of furniture, even among some Sudan tribes, were originally the prerogative of the great, and often only of the king, and so a sign of authority. The stool was the father of the throne and the chair.

There has hitherto been some doubt as to what the *kukur* might be like. Jackson[1] mentions having been told that the *kukur* was forty feet high, and reached by steps, but there are reasons for believing that this was a latter-day flight of the imagination. I have not seen the *kukur* of a Fung *mek* or *mangil*, and according to the Fung Mek Hasan Adlan of Singa, the only one which survives to-day is the one that is kept in a cave at Keili in the south of the Fung Province and which was used in the recent ceremony at Gule (*see* page 231).

There are, however, several *kukurs* preserved as signs of their authority by the various Ya'qubab khalifas in Sennar district to-day, who all admit that their ancestors copied them from the Fung *meks*, whose ceremonial they aped. These are all wooden stools, between 18 inches and two feet high, with typical slightly curved seats.

The oldest is probably that now kept by Mohammed Tom Zobeir, the present Omda of Sabil, with other ancient relics (*see* Plate IV, Fig. 2), as the insignia that show that he is the khalifa of Musa Abu Qussa wad Ya'qub, the eponymous ancestor of the Ya'qubab, and disciple of the famous

[1] loc. cit., p. 95n.

Tajeldin el Bahari (*floruit c.* 1530), who is said to have made this *kukur*, which is certainly very old. It has been damaged by white ants and repaired with tin. In Plate IV, Fig. 2 the two middle legs are not shown, as they had fallen off. It has really six legs (Plate V, Fig. 1), and is about 18 inches high.

The next oldest Ya'qubab *kukur* is probably that of Sheikh Hamdan Abdelgadir, the khalifa of Sheikh Marzuq (the brother of Musa Abu Qussa), by whom it is said to have been made (*i.e.*, *c.* 1640). This one is about two feet high and has only four legs. (Plate V, Fig. 2.)

A third *kukur* is that now kept by Zein el Abdin Hajju, and is said to have been made by Sheikh Mohamed Tom wad Bannaga (*c.* 1780–1820), who converted the Ya'qubab to the Sammania tariqa. This one has six legs (Plate VI, Fig 1). Three other *kukurs*, each with six legs, and similar to that of Mohamed Tom Bannaga, were made by the late Sheikh Hajju Abdelgadir el Masi', and are now kept by his son and khalifa Sheikh Ya'qub (Plate VI, Fig. 2).

The design of these *kukurs* is distinctly reminiscent of the ancient Egyptian stool depicted by Breasted.[1] Three stools of the same design (Nos. 2472–4 in the catalogue) are on view in the British Museum and come from Thebes, the home of Ammon. Presumably lack of skill in carpentry omitted the struts to support the legs and added the third pair of legs instead.

The general nature of the Ya'qubab *kukurs* should convince us that the Fung *kukur* was a similar low stool.

Mek Hasan, indeed, states that the *kukur* of the Fung *meks* of Sennar was just like the *kukurs* of Sheikh Hajju (Plate VI, Fig. 2), and that these were copied by Sheikh Hajju from the *kukur* that was kept by Mek Tajeldin, who was killed by the dervishes at the fall of Sennar, when his *kukur* was taken to Omdurman, where it disappeared. According to Mek Hasan, the Keili *kukur* is also very similar, being about the same size and also having six legs. He says it was originally made at Sennar and presented by the *mek* to the *mek* of Keili. It is said now to be damaged by white ants and generally dilapidated.

Among the Shilluk, according to Westermann[2], the only stool is the " place of authority " on which the Shilluk king is seated at his installation,

[1] loc. cit., fig. 134.
[2] loc. cit., p. xxxiii.

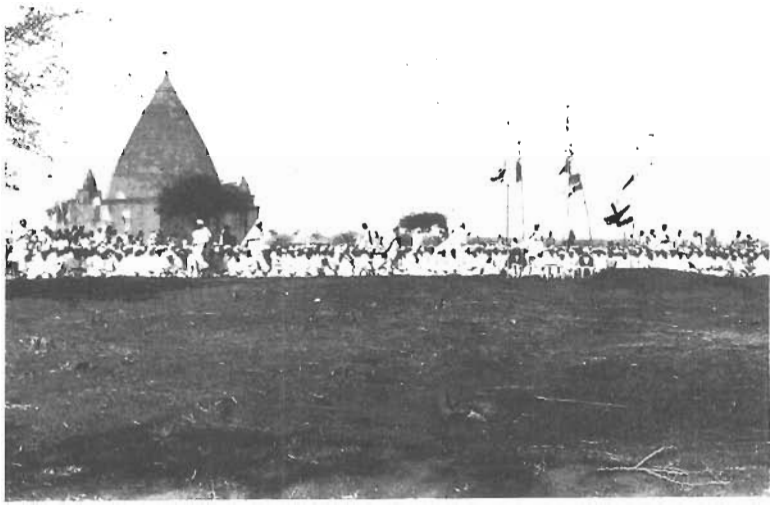


FIG. 1.

The kukurs shown in Plate VI, Fig. 2, and other relics at prayers held at Kurban Bairam by Sheikh Ya'qub wad Hajju Adbelgadir, near the gubba of Sheikh Mohammed Tom Bannaga. This gubba was rebuilt at Sheikh Hajju's expense since the reoccupation, incidentally by the man who built the Mahdi's tomb at Omdurman. Sheikh Hajju himself is now buried in it.



FIG. 2.

A CLOSER VIEW OF THE RELICS SHOWN IN PLATE VII, FIG. 1.
(Note the iron "shaibas.")

the people having no chairs or stools in common use. Major G. W. Titherington, D.C. Kodok, however, informs me that there is an ordinary Shilluk stool called *kwom*, which is about 18 inches long by 12 inches high and carved out of one piece of wood; and I am further indebted to Dr. A. N. Tucker for the information that the *kwom* is confined to the households of chiefs or influential men. Dr. Tucker describes it exactly as the picture of a Shilluk stool given by Petherick[1], which the latter states was only used by the king "on judgment or reception days." So that it would appear probable that the stool (*kwom*), while originally a prerogative of the *ret* alone, has recently come to be used in the houses of chiefs and other important people.

The following account of the Shilluk king's installation is given by Seligman[2]: "There was an interregnum after the Shilluk king's death. An effigy of Nyakang was then brought to Fashoda from a shrine at Akurwa near the northern limit of the Shilluk country. The messengers also brought with them a four-legged stool, said to have belonged to Nyakang, and the central act of the installation of the new king was the placing of the effigy of Nyakang upon the stool for a short time, the king seating himself in its place immediately the effigy was withdrawn. It would seem that this part of the ceremony can have no other purpose than the transmission of the spirit of Nyakang to the new king."

Mr. P. Munro[3], in another account of the installation of the Shilluk king, describes the stool as a squat one with four squat legs, which is just how one might describe the Ya'qubab *kukur*, which, we have seen, the Fung *kukur* is said exactly to have resembled.

There being thus every indication that the Fung *kukur* and the Shilluk stool were exactly similar, may there not be some significance in the fact that, in reply to a request for a description of Nyikang's stool, Major Titherington said that he could only say that it was said to have a head and eyes and to be larger than the ordinary *kwom*. The present *ret* told him he had never seen it! but that two such stools had been lost by the Shilluk. One called Nyakukko was stolen from Wau (twenty

[1] *Travels in Central Africa*, Vol. II, p. 4. Two other similar stools are shown in Plate IX, Fig. 1, of this article: right, a stool made at Jebel Moya by a wandering Homrawi from S.W. Kordofan: and left, a Fertit Banda stool from Kafia Kingi. See also Seligman's article on Shilluk in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 458.

[2] *Races of Africa* (Home University Series), p. 179. Apparently quoting from Hofmayr, Die Shilluk.

[3] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, p. 145.

miles north of Malakal) by a Fung, before the Shilluk finally drove them out, and the other, called Jalli, was captured from Fanikang by one Keili who fought the Shilluk in the time of the Fung sultanate. It is suggestive that the first stool should be said to have been stolen by a Fung, " before the Shilluk finally drove them out," and that Keili should be where the last Fung *kukur* is to be found to-day. In fact, I suggest that just as it was profane in the days of Herodotus to speak of the mysteries of Osiris, so it is among the Shilluk still, and that the Shilluk *ret*, while refusing to speak of the stool of Nyikang, was being as obliging as possible, and at the same time putting his questioner off on to the Fung *kukurs* of Keili and presumably of Sennar, by pretending that they were the original stools of Nyikang that had been stolen. Nya, meaning " daughter " in Shilluk, is there possibly some connection with *kukur* in the name Nyakukko? Could Jalli be the same as Jaali, and so Hamaj, the Hamaj being the *nās el 'āda* at Keili, and so keepers of the *kukur* there? If there is anything in this suggestion, we have the Shilluk king himself as a witness of a connection between his people and the Fung. In any case, I suggest that possibly that curious Fung official, the Sīd el qōm, may have been originally the " Sid el kwom," the keeper of the *kwom* or throne on which the king was installed, which was also called the *kukur* or place of authority. Bruce described the Sid el qōm as follows[1]: " It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people that the king ascends his throne under an admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves, upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the state that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family, who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el coom, master of the king's household, or servants, but has no vote in deposing him, nor is any guilt imputed to him, however many of his sovereigns he thus regularly murders."

As the Fung gave up speaking Shilluk and took to Arabic (to which one could find a parallel in our own history), the Arabic word *qōm* would naturally replace the Shilluk word *kwom*, and thus the title would come to be explained as " master of the household," though it would appear that this is not exactly what the Sid el qōm was.

[1] Vol. VI, p. 372.

If he were, however, the keeper of the stool, and so presumably an important functionary in the installation ceremony, he might quite naturally become the official regicide, who would be instrumental in removing the ageing monarch, and so make way for the next occupant of the stool.

If the founders of the Fung kingdom were Shilluk, as the evidence seems to indicate, it is easy to see how they might have imported with them the idea of the sacred stool on which the king was installed. When they adopted Islam, the image of Nyikang (or some earlier god—I suggest Osiris) would have had to go, but nothing is more natural than that the stool, inoffensive in itself to Islam, should have been retained.

I see no reason to doubt Bruce's assertion that the Fung king ascended the throne on the admission that he might be lawfully put to death by his people. Such had been the custom at Meroe till Ergamenes had been strong enough to put an end to it. It is unlikely that it was practised in Christian Aloa ; but it continued to be the custom among the Shilluk until at any rate last century. So that it would not be surprising if this custom or traditions of it were brought to Sennar by the Shilluk. It is not a valid reason for doubting the truth of Bruce's assertion, that no Fung kings were actually put to death under these circumstances, for naturally after the Fung had adopted Islam, one would not expect to find such a glaringly pagan custom continued, although the threat of it, the reminder at his installation that he could lawfully be put to death by his subjects, might have been preserved as a constitutional check on the king.[1]

Mek Hasan Adlan gave me the following account of the ceremony (*el 'āda*) which took place at Gule recently on the installation of Mohammed wad Idris wad Regab as *mangil* of the Hamaj in his father's stead.

Soon after sunrise all the chiefs of the Hamaj and members of the *mangil's* family stood in a line before the *kukur*, which had been specially brought from Keili, and among them was the *mangil*-elect, in no way

[1] I am indebted to Mr. A. W. M. Disney, till recently A.D.C. Kurmuk, for pointing out that the custom did continue until recently in the Fung kingdom of Fazogli. *See* Fraser's *Golden Bough* (abridged edition), p. 266 : " In some tribes of Fazoql the king had to administer justice daily under a certain tree. If from sickness or any other cause he was unable to discharge this duty for three whole days he was hanged on the tree.

distinguished from the others by dress or other position.[1] Then came the *nās el 'āda* (whom one might apparently describe as the hereditary guardians of the mysteries), and taking the *mangil*-elect, they seated him on the *kukur*.

The *nās el 'āda* at Gule live at Hillet el Mek, and had a *kukur* of their own until it was destroyed in the Mahdia by Ahmed Fadīl. They seem to be representatives of an older line of Hamaj than are the present *mangil's* family.

When the *mangil*-elect was seated on the *kukur*, all the men present, including the Fung *mek*, girded themselves in Fung fashion (as shown in Plate I, Fig. 1). The Fung *mek* alone retained his head-dress. All the other men bared their heads and, led by the *mek*, they came forward and each in turn addressed the seated man as *mangil*. Anyone whose loyalty was in doubt was at the same time sworn on the Koran as *sāmi' wa tābi'*. After the men, all the women came forward, relatives first, and likewise bareheaded, and each in turn they greeted the *mangil* as *sīdy*.

The new *mangil* remained seated on the *kukur* all day, without any food, while this went on, and his subjects gave displays on horse or camel, and firearms were repeatedly discharged. Then, in the late afternoon, just before sunset (the exact moment is apparently easily recognisable—is it when the sun's disc touches the horizon ?) the *nās el 'āda* rushed forward and lifted the *mangil* off the *kukur*. The first of them to touch him receives a wagia of gold. They then carried him to a new hut which had been specially built. This hut is divided into two partitions by a grass mat. In the inner room there was already awaiting him a nubile slave girl, who must be a virgin. With her was a young slave boy, who had not yet reached puberty, whose duty is that of attendant. Having placed the *mangil* in the outer room the *nās el 'āda* retired.

To this hut the new *mangil* was now confined for forty days " as in the Sudanese wedding." He is, however, allowed to come out and speak to his friends after sunset, provided any star at all is visible. The girl may only go out of the hut to relieve nature, and then only at night. During the day the slave boy fetches their food for them. This may only

[1] Compare Moret : *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, p. 343 : " Nowhere did the oracle of Ammon take part in the acts of Government more regularly than at Napata, with these Ethiopian kings. The choice of the king was determined, not by heredity, but by the intervention of the jointed statue of Ammon, who 'apprehended' among the 'Royal brothers' marching past him the candidate preferred by the priests.'



Sheikh Ya'qub wad Hajju Abdelgadir el Masi', wearing the insignia of Sheikh Mohammed Tom wad Bannaga. Note the taqia, wooden shoes, large seal ring, large rosary, and the kukur in the background.

be cooked by the *mangil's* mother or sister. During his confinement the *mangil* is said to get very fat, for a sheep is slaughtered for them every day.

At the end of the forty days there was another parade and ceremony, but the *kukur* was no longer in evidence. The *mangil* reclined on an angarib outside the hut and received the congratulations of his people. He was now regarded as fully *mangil*, and was conducted to his proper residence.

If the girl is found to be with child at the end of the forty days she is the *mangil's* concubine for life. If she is not with child, and she has found his favour, she may still remain his concubine. Otherwise, she is given by the *mangil* in marriage to one of the chiefs, but she is no longer a slave.

Mek Hasan stated that the ceremony at the appointment of the Fung *mek* was exactly the same, except that it was performed by all the *nās el 'āda* of the kingdom, those from Abu Geili, Gule, and Keili, who were all originally Hamaj, and who all came to Sennar for the purpose. The *mek* kept his own *kukur* at Sennar.

He said that king Dakīn wad Nail, the grandson of Amara Dunkas, was known as *Sāhib el 'āda* because it was he who first introduced the custom. If he is right, this would appear to mean that although among their own tribe on the White Nile, the Shilluk kings were appointed with similar rites (that I shall try to show have an Osirian origin), and thus the three first successors of Amara Dunkas were presumably appointed by the Shilluk invaders themselves, Dakīn was the first of the Fung kings to obtain the co-operation of the indigenous Hamaj guardians of similar rites. By Dakīn's time, any original enthusiasm there may have been for Islam would have had time to cool, and to the primitive minds of the Shilluk in their new kingdom on the Blue Nile, their kingship would be all the more surely established if, as it were, the blessing of the genius of the land were obtained by the rites of installation being performed by the native guardians of the mysteries, that had presumably been inherited from ancient Egypt by the Hamaj as well as by the Shilluk.

The fact that the first *mangil* was appointed by Amara Dunkas, while the Hamaj do not appear to have taken part in the installation ceremonies until king Dakīn, would appear to be an argument against the Fung having adopted the institution of the *mangil* from the Hamaj.

Incidentally, the fact that the Fung *mek* was thus consecrated by the Hamaj ancestral religious rites is sufficient to explain the retention

of the Fung *mek* as a figure-head by the Hamaj Mohammed Abu Likeilik when he became the virtual ruler of the Fung kingdom.

For if Hamaj and Shilluk alike had long held the same Osirian doctrine of the divinity of the king, who incorporated the fertility and well-being of his people in a magic way, superstition would have prevented them from acting contrary to their innate fear of the old rites, although nominally they had become Mohammedans. Incidentally, too, this Fung view of the nature of their king is, as Nalder recognises, an argument against the Omaiyad theory, being very foreign to all Arab conceptions.

We have noticed indications that many of the customs of the kingdom of Aloa were inherited from ancient Egypt, and that a good reason for doubting the assertion of the late and consequently unreliable Fung Chronicle, that the pre-Fung inhabitants of the Gezira were extirpated, is the fact that it would have been contrary to their well-known liberality to conquered races, which, too, was a lesson in statecraft that had been learnt from ancient Egypt. "Under Thotmes III (1447 B.C.) the city kings were allowed to rule their little states with great freedom, as long as they paid the annual tribute with promptness and regularity . . . a system of foreign government as yet in its infancy."[1]

The tradition widely held in the Gezira to-day that the Fung were an army that brought no women with them, but took wives from the people of the country, provides further support for this view.

Palmer[2] has shown reason for believing that the Anaj were the earlier Hamitic stratum throughout the Sahara and eastern half of the Sudan who called themselves An (Am) or Ana (Ama). It seems to me probable that Hamaj is in origin the same name as that of the Anaj, by whom it was bequeathed to the races that arose from their fusion with the pre-Hamitic negroes; and so the name came later to be used in a general way (comparable to the use of the term "Fellata" to-day) to indicate the various mixed natives of the Gezira before the coming of the Arabs and Fung.[3]

[1] Breasted, loc. cit., p. 323.
[2] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. IX, p. 71.
[3] Such a use of the term Hamaj by the Arabs of Bornu and Chad to indicate the indigenous Kanembu is quoted by MacMichael (Vol. I, p. 275) from Carbou. In a similar way the Birgid (who are undoubtedly of Nubian and so presumably Anaj origin) are classified by their neighbours near El Obeid with the Tomam and Tumbab, who are negroid tribes with pretensions to a Nubian-Jaali connection, as of "Hamaj or Nuba" descent. (MacMichael Vol. I, p. 78.)

In any case, whatever its origin, Hamaj (or Nuba) was undoubtedly the term used by the Fung for the races they found in the Gezira.

The account of the installation of the *mangil* given by Mek Hasan appears not only to demand as a corollary that the Hamaj were not extirpated by the Fung, but that they found them using customs which we have seen were not only very similar to those in vogue among the Shilluk, but which Mek Hasan himself compared to the Sudanese wedding, the rites at which have been shown by Crowfoot[1] to have their origin in the rites of Osiris.

There are various other Fung institutions, such as the horned head-dress, the custom of cultivation by the king in person, and the royal salutation, which can be traced back to ancient Egypt, and so, because they are not to be found among the Shilluk of the upper White Nile, were presumably adopted by them from Aloa, thus further corroborating the theory that the inhabitants of the Gezira were not extirpated, but absorbed.

Nalder, in his *Fung Province Notes* records that the Fung brand was the *noggāra wa asaiya* ♀ which was put on their slaves' shoulders as well as their beasts.

There would appear, however, to be little doubt that this brand is really in origin the hieroglyphic *ankh* ☥, the sign of life, which is always depicted in the hands of gods and kings in ancient Egypt, and which was later adopted by the Christian Church as the *crux ansata*. The explanation *noggāra wa asaiya* would be a typically Arab one introduced after the adoption of Islam. The Fung Mek Hasan Adlan of Singa, however, uses the brand OI which he calls the *noggāra wa asaiya*, and he says that ♀ is the mark still rarely used on their shoulders by certain of the Hamaj of Keili. If he is correct, it would be comparable to the mark used by the Fung Kira of Sennar district (*see* Plate IV, Fig. 1), who probably were not really Fung but pre-Fung, for they were wazirs, and there are traces of a tradition that the Fung *mek's* wazir had always to be one of the pre-Fung natives of the country.

It would seem that these two marks are of hieroglyphic origin and survivals from ancient Egypt.

The Fung documents, by which the wazir conferred a gift of land (usually on a holy man, for, as in Egypt, the common people owned no

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. V, pp. 1–28.

land, but it was all the property of the king), and the *mek* confirmed the gift, had their counterpart in Egypt, where all lands presented by the Pharaoh were conveyed by royal decree, recorded " in the king's writings " at the vizier's office.[1] The actual forms of the Fung and ancient Egyptian decrees are strikingly similar, and the similarity must be due to more than a mere coincidence. Compare Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I, pp. 312 to 314, with the translation of the pair of Fung documents given as an appendix to this article.

The two following customs appear to connect the Fung definitely with the Shilluk as well as with Aloa and Egypt.

Jackson[2] quotes from Naoum Bey[3] that the *mangil* when visiting the *mek* would use the salutation " *Tawīl el 'umr* if he was an Arab, and adds that a non-Arab *mangil* would use the salutation " *Gar mol.*" His explanation of this phrase is unlikely, but Westermann's Shilluk vocabulary gives *ga* = " a number," *gir* = " many," and *mol* = " morning," so that it would appear that *ga(r) mol* = " many mornings " might be the Shilluk counterpart of the Arabic " *Tawīl el 'umr*," which was itself the equivalent of " life, health and prosperity," the usual salutation for the Pharaoh in ancient Egypt.

MacMichael[4] has pointed out that the Fung custom recorded by Bruce of the king himself cultivating personally had its counterpart in ancient Egypt. The actual quotation from Bruce[5] is : " Once in his reign the king is obliged, with his own hand, to plough and sow a piece of land. From this operation he is called Baady, the countryman or peasant ; it is a name common to the whole race of kings . . . though they have generally another name peculiar to each person, and this, not attended to, has occasioned confusion in the narrative given by strangers writing concerning them." Bruce may be wrong in thinking Bady was a title, for his own king list gives but three kings called by that name, and none of them by any other personal name ; but the derivation given of this favourite Fung royal name seems to be the correct one, for if we turn again to Westermann's Shilluk vocabulary,

[1] Breasted, loc. cit., p. 82.
[2] *Tooth of Fire*, pp. 92–3.
[3] *Ancient History of the Sudan*, p. 100.
[4] loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 117.
[5] loc. cit., Vol. VI, p. 381.



FIG. 1.

(1) FERTIT BANDA STOOL FROM KAFIA KINGI. (*Left.*)
(2) STOOL MADE AT JEBEL MOYA BY A HOMRAWI FROM WESTERN KORDOFAN. (*Right.*)



FIG. 2.

Ya'qubab Shrine at Humr in Sennar district, in which are buried Sheikh Ya'qub wad Bannaga el Darir (*c.* A.D. 1560–1600), and his sons, Musa Abu Qussa and Marzuq.

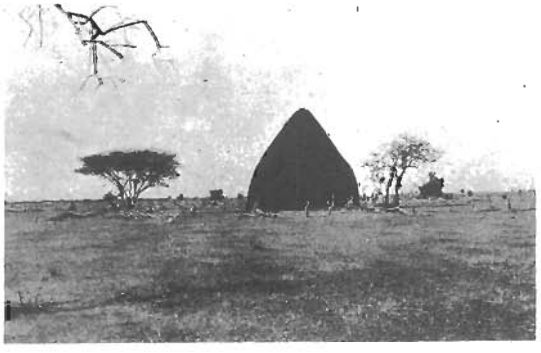


FIG. 3.

Gubba of the Ya'qubab Sheikh Hajju Abu Gerin (*c.* A.D. 1610–1650), grandson of Bannaga el Darir.

remembering that " b " and " f " are interchangeable in that language, we find " *feido*, to plant, raise, grow, educate."[1]

If further evidence still is required, I think it may be found to-day preserved by religious conservatism in practices of the peculiarly religious-minded Ya'qubab of Sennar district, who, there is every reason to believe, are descendants of the mixed dark race who have inhabited the Gezira since the days of Napata at least. Call them Hamaj, or Jaaliin, if you prefer, for they use the Jaaliin face cuts, but I have no doubt that those who derive the name Jaaliin from *ju'al*, the black beetle (*see* MacMichael D6), are nearer the mark than those who would have them descended from the Beni Qoreish, unless it be the same section of that tribe that sired the royal family of Masalit !

The Ya'qubab owe their unity to their allegiance to a line of holy men who are sprung from Bannaga el Darīr (*c.* 1500–1570), the son of Musa Abu Dign, who is said to have been one of the first Mohammedan holy men who came from Dongola preaching Islam in this part of the world at the beginning of the 16th century ; although they take their name from Bannaga's eldest son, Ya'qub.

The Ya'qubab seem to be peculiarly closely connected with the Fung. There is a tradition related in the Tabaqat wad Deifallah that the mother of Bannaga el Darīr, their founder, was a Sudanese woman, who also bore Sandal el 'Aāj,[2] a great man among the Fung, and that Bannaga himself was, before his conversion by Tajeldin el Bahari, an official (*okaz*) of Mek Nail wad Amara Dunkas. From this tradition it would appear probable that the Ya'qubab are really natives of the district, who were first converted by Tajeldin el Bahāri or, possibly, Musa Abu Dign before him.

The appearance of the Ya'qubab on the scene of history was thus practically contemporary with the rise of the Fung kingdom.[3] The

[1] While on the subject of Fung kings' names, I may mention that another favourite name, Ounsa (cp. Ounsab above) seems to be an Egyptian name. *See* Breasted, p. 128. As early as the fifth dynasty there was a Pharaoh called Unis, who was interested in the South, for his name is inscribed at the frontier of the first cataract with the epithet " lord of countries."

[2] *See* D2, where Sandal el 'Aāj is said to be the king whose daughter was married by Suliman Abdelmalik of the Beni Omaiya, who thus is supposed to have founded the royal line of the Fung.

[3] There are still three Fung villages in the Ya'qubab area in Sennar district, and until 1927 one of the two omdas in this area was a Kira Fung. The late Sheikh Hajju Abdel Gadir el Māsi' was related to this omda through his mother, who on her mother's side was a granddaughter of Mek Tabl II ; he was also married to a sister of the omda.

Ya'qubab fikis were undoubtedly the foremost exponents of Islam in the kingdom of Sennar.[1] Their superior knowledge of the new and intolerant religion would compel the Fung king to respect them, and they, to their own ends, did not hesitate to ape the pomp and ceremony of the court at Sennar. The Tabaqat wad Deifallah[2] contains several examples of similar behaviour by other holy men, of whom, *par excellence*, was Hasan wad Hasūna, who wore the horned cap and kept a mounted force of 500 slaves with officers called Sid el qom, Gindi, and Okaz. So, as we have seen, did the Ya'qubab fikis adopt the horned cap, the *kukur*, and the Fung ceremonial "girding."

We have seen from Ibn Selim that about A.D. 980 the tribes of the Gezira mostly worshipped God in the form of the sun, moon, or stars, while others knew not God, and worshipped the sun, or fire, or trees, or animals; and we have quoted Crowfoot in support of a similar view. There is no reason to think that the beliefs and superstitions of the country people in the Gezira had altered at all by the time the Mohammedan holy men came among them preaching Islam, unless the people themselves were extirpated and replaced by a different race at the time of the Fung conquest; and we have seen that there is no reason to think that they were.

It is certain that in the fifteen centuries or so that elapsed between the establishment of Napata and the conversion of the Sudan to a form of Christianity, there was ample time for some of the beliefs and superstitions of ancient Egypt to become firmly established among the people of the Gezira, who appear to have during that time passed through an era of prosperity never equalled since. Crowfoot[3] has indicated several survivals, such as the Osirification of the bridegroom at the Sudanese wedding.

It is well known that in ancient Egypt the worship of Osiris appealed to the common people more than did the various state cults. In the Sudan, before the coming of Christianity, the state cult was that of Ammon, but it is certain that belief in Osiris must have been widespread among all but the least civilised tribes. It is only possible just to mention here that besides personifying the grain, which is unfruitful except it fall into the ground and die, Osiris was also the sungod who descended

[1] This is how branches of them came to be established as far south as Weirket and Garabīn and Beni Shangul.

[2] See *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VI, p. 229.

[3] *Christian Nubia*, loc. cit., and *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. V, pp. 1–28.

into his grave in the west every night,[1] and his worship no doubt aimed at helping the sun through the perils and dangers of the night[2] to a successful birth next morning as Horus, the son of the dead sun.

Of course, as a god, Osiris was a king, and with him there came naturally always to be associated his sister-wife Isis, without whom the son Horus could not be produced.

Thus by an obvious association of ideas, the individual at death became identified with Osiris, who became the King of the Dead who lived in the west beyond the sunset.[3]

Naturally, the grave of Osiris, or the shrine where he was alleged to have been buried (for he was believed once to have been a king on earth), and so by association the graves of any great men who, by reason of their power or sanctity, might be believed to have attained identification with Osiris, were greatly revered, and became goals of pilgrimage.

It will be of interest to try to indicate traces of Osiris worship among the Ya'qubab to-day (since they were closely associated with the Fung), and also among the Shilluk, as, if I succeed, it should help to show that the Shilluk theory of Fung origins is to that extent the less inherently improbable.

Human nature is neither infallible nor proof against flattery. One can, therefore, easily understand how the first lone Moslem holy men coming and settling among the country people of the Gezira, most of whom would at first be incapable of understanding the new doctrine, set up as workers of miracles, and stopped at nothing to increase their own influence, though Mr. Hillelson[4] has pointed out that, on the whole, they used that influence for good. If then a fiki's disciples began to attribute to him the old ideas with which they were acquainted, and at his death buried him in a kind of Osiris shrine to which they had been accustomed, need we be surprised at his son and successor failing to correct them, for he would find that the greater his people's reverence for his dead father, the greater his own influence over them. Hence, all the possible outward forms of Osiris worship would be adopted to

[1] Compare Arabic *asr* for "late afternoon."

[2] Herodotus II, *c.* 62, gives a description of one form of this worship, when all through Egypt on the night of the Feast of Lamps, the people kept lamps burning in the open air.

[3] This must be why the corpses in pre-Christian burials in the Northern Sudan, as in pre-dynastic Egypt, were usually buried facing west. Compare Chataway, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIII, pp. 259 and 260.

[4] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VI, p. 207.

the service of Islam, as no doubt they had been to the service of Christianity centuries before ; and I suggest that in their gubbas (*see* Plate IX, Figs. 2 and 3, and Plate X, Figs. 1 and 2), their very large rakūbas as mosques (*see* Plate XI, Figs. 1 and 2), and possibly in the fact that they make a special point of praying at fixed hours all through the night, we see the outward forms of the old Osiris worship preserved by the Ya'qubab to-day.

The burial places of the leading Ya'qubab holy men have, from the sixteenth century to the present day, been shrines to which the greatest reverence is paid and pilgrimage made. There are many such shrines scattered throughout the Ya'qubab and surrounding country. A typical shrine consists of a conical red-brick gubba, or a tukl, raised over the dead man's grave ; very often the gubba contains the grave of one or more of the dead man's successors (khalifa) as well. An area round the gubba is always railed off by a wooden fence (*ker*).

In the large rakūba, with its sixteen or more shaibas for pillars, that forms the invariable Ya'qubab mosque, we have, no doubt, a case of reversion to ancestral type. As the magnificent Egyptian temple in stone evolved from the rakūba, so when the imported civilisation degenerated, stone was given up, and the rakūba appeared again ; but the lofty Ya'qubab rakūba is no ordinary rakūba. Its height and its many pillars and its three or four flag staves at the east end unmistakably recall the Egyptian temple.

The sacred fire (*tugāba*), not peculiar to the Ya'qubab, that is seen in the foreground in Plate XI, Fig. 1, and now has to be kept burning from sunset to *salat el 'isha*, may once have had to be kept burning all night. It is now, no doubt, explained as symbolic of keeping alight the flame of religion, though it has the material uses of providing light and warmth for the disciples at their nightly study ; but it has almost certainly an older origin, and I see no reason why it should not be connected with the idea of helping Osiris, as the set sun, by sympathetic magic to regain his light next morning, as in the Feast of Lamps,* and as is still done in the Sudan at an eclipse. Such, too, is perhaps the original object of the custom of holding services at fixed hours throughout the night.

Osiris was nearly always represented enthroned, and the stool (*kukur*) is in origin the throne. The khalifa or earthly representative of a holy man is not himself a saint by virtue of his office or descent, but only

* See Note [2] on p. 239.



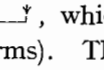
FIG. 1.
Gubba of the Ya'qubab Sheikh Abdelgadir, son of Sheikh Hajju Abu Gerin (*see* Plate IX, Fig. 3) at Um Gizaza.



FIG. 2.
Ya'qubab Shrine at Jebel Moya, in which is buried Sheikh Marzuq wad Zein, great grandson of Sheikh Hajju Abu Gerin, and his son Zein.

the carrier of a tradition, and the virtue and power inherent in him are those of the dead saint.[1] A Ya'qubabi may still, however, to-day, become in his own lifetime a saint, as did the late Sheikh Hajju Abdel Gadir el Māsi', who died last year. Thus, he made a kukur of his own (Plate VI. Fig. 2). The kukur is the chief outward sign of the khalifa's authority, and the main feature of the ceremony of his appointment is his being seated on the kukur of the holy man whose khalifa he is to become. The khalifa afterwards keeps the kukur and other insignia of his khalifaship. These insignia vary, but they usually include iron spears, the origin and object of which are unknown to present-day Ya'qubab, but which are probably in some way associated with Osiris. Iron was originally associated with Set, the mortal enemy of Osiris,[2] but at the ceremony of the " opening of the mouth," the mouth of the deceased was touched by two iron instruments, one of which was made of the iron which came forth from Set (this transferred to the deceased the power of the Eye of Horus), and the other gave the deceased power to overthrow all his enemies and evil.[3]

Probably the iron shaibas or sceptres (Plate V, Fig. 3., Plate VII, Fig. 2, and Plate XII), which are also Ya'qubab insignia, have a similar origin.

The insignia of Musa Abu Qussa (Plate IV, Fig 2) include two of these iron spears, one of which is like an ordinary spear, and the other is of the pointed type designed for piercing chain armour and is very similar to one used in Northern Darfur in connection with rain rites.[4] On the four faces of this Ya'qubab spear,[5] which has a square cross-section, is the " seal of Solomon," and also on two of the faces is a sword with a pronounced handguard, making it reminiscent of a cross, and on the third face is  , which is undoubtedly the hieroglyphic *ka*,[6] (a pair of upraised arms). The *ka* in ancient Egypt was a mysterious conception, approximating to the *mana* of uncivilized man, a concentration of life, strength, nourishment, intelligence and magic. Separated from

[1] Hillelson in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VI, p. 218.
[2] Hence, probably, the reason why iron workers are so despised in the Sudan.
[3] Budge, *Osiris*, Vol. I, p. 162. *See also* Tabaqat wad Deifallah, where Khogali ibn Abdelrahman is said to have miraculously removed a sandbank with a rod of iron.
[4] See *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII, pp. 138–9.
[5] *Compare* Tabaqat wad Deifallah, where Dafallah wad Mohamed Abu Idris was brought by Mohammed wad Daud el Agharr the stools and flags and the jibba and kufiya of Habiballah el Agami, also the spear of Abdallah el Araki, called Umm Kraysha, on which were engraved the names, and which had been deposited with him by Dafallah's fathers.
[6] *See*, for example, Moret: *The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation*, pp. 357–360.

the *ka*, the body was liable to destruction and death. The king only, as a god, possessed his *ka* on earth and was " the *ka* among men."[1]

The " seal of Solomon " was worn on the head-dress of the eparch of Nubia (*see above*), and was probably the distinguishing " Christian " mark on the head-dress that was otherwise that of Ammon.[2]

I have no first-hand knowledge of the Shilluk, but in reading the accounts of them already referred to, I have been frequently struck by the existence of many ideas in their culture that also existed in ancient Egypt. We have seen that there is some reason for believing that the authority of Napata extended as far as the Sudd. So that it will not be surprising if there are traces of Osiris worship to be found among the Shilluk, and other ideas of similar origin, which we have seen reason for believing they would have found also among the people of Aloa.

I know that it is unfashionable nowadays to attribute similar customs when found in different parts of the world to cultural inheritance or anything but parallel evolution, but, despite the experts, I suggest that the stool of the Shilluk king is the throne of Osiris. When it is remembered that north of the Sudd there is no geographical obstacle to the spread of the influence of Egypt up the White Nile, I think this is a more likely explanation than that the one stool found among the Shilluk people should have happened both to be invented by them and to have been the centre of ceremonies which I hope to show are too similar to those of Osiris for the coincidence to be purely fortuitous. And if the experts hold that the basis of Osiris worship is a common African religion of much greater age than the first dynasties of Egypt, I am not in a position to argue with them, and their thesis is good enough for my present theory, which is that the Shilluk would have found many customs and institutions

[1] Hence, perhaps, the origin of horns as the emblem of royalty, for the hieroglyph in some degree resembles a pair of horns, and with a suitable determinative, the phallus, *Ka* writes the name of the Bull, which symbolises " generation " ; and hence the favourite title of the Pharaoh, " Mighty Bull." This, if the Shilluk origin of the Fung is correct, may possibly be the explanation of the second name (? a title) of Amara Dunkas, for, from Westermann's vocabulary in Shilluk " dean kech " would mean " Mighty Cow." There is, however, another possible explanation. Dankŭj is the name for small Shilluk settlements on the White Nile. Dankŭj may have been the name of the first Fung king. This would have been very naturally translated into Arabic by El Samarqandi as Amara.

It is, in any case, easy to see how the hieroglyph *Ka* naturally became adopted as the royal brand. *Compare* the *kayra*,  , the similar brand of the Sultans of Darfur, for which *see* MacMichael, Vol. I, p. 95, the name for which, I suggest, either means the *Ka* of *Ra*, or is connected with the root *kur* mentioned above.

[2] *Compare* Hasan the Geographer (ed. Robert Brown, London, 1896, Vol. III, p. 836) : " Nubia . . . having lost the light of the gospel, they had embraced a corrupt form of Judaism and Islam, and their spiritual condition was most wretched."

in the kingdom of Aloa that would not have been so strange to them as might be imagined.

Note, for instance, the representation of the erection of the Zed at the Sed feast by king Amenophis III given by Moret[1] and his description: "The king himself, aided by a few officers of his court, pulls at the ropes to set up the Zed, which, we must suppose, previously lay on its side like dead Osiris. The scene takes place in the presence of the queen, the royal daughters, and the women of the harem of Ammon. Underneath the royal personages are gesticulating figures, described as the inhabitants of Pe and the inhabitants of Dep—that is, the people of Buto, the old capital of Horus. All these people are fighting and belabouring each other with fists and sticks. Some fly routed, others come to grips; some are shouting 'I have taken Horus Kha-m-maat' (Amenophis III), and others answer 'Hold him fast' or 'Don't resist.'" Note also the people in the picture apparently dancing and the bulls being driven up for sacrifice.

See also in Budge[2] the description of the Osiris play that was performed annually at Abydos. The central act was the "*coming forth*" of Osiris from the temple after his death and the departure of his body to the tomb. "Many of the men in the crowd were armed with sticks and staves, and some of them pressed forward towards the procession with a view to helping the god, whilst others strove to prevent them. Thus a sham fight took place . . . This fight was, of course, intended to represent the great battle which took place in prehistoric times between Set and Osiris, when Osiris was killed."

Then turn to Mr. Munro's account of the installation of the king of the Shilluk.[3] "A large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dag aloft in the centre . . . the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing . . . appeared the ret's army, a great crowd of warriors . . . Nyakang accepts one cow, one bull, and five spears from the ret's party . . . some seventy or eighty of the ret's wives came dancing towards Nyakang's army . . . The two armies then meet. Nyakang and his followers immediately put to flight the ret's army with whips,[4] and the ret is captured by Nyakang . . . the ret is

[1] loc. cit., p. 133.
[2] *Osiris*, Vol. II, p. 6.
[3] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, p. 145.
[4] For the association between Osiris and the whip, *see* Crowfoot, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. V, p. 27.

enthroned on the stool . . . Three days later the ret *leaves the palace* with a large crowd . . . *Nyakang also left his shrine* accompanied with a great company of people. Then there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks . . . The ret's people ran away."

A slightly different account is given by Seligman[1]: "These two or three chiefs go and fetch Nyakang and the sacred stool from Akurwa. There is a shallow khor, which is the scene of a sham fight between the Akurwa men bringing the effigy and the folk waiting with the newly elected ret, in which the former are victorious. No reason could be given for this 'old custom.' The ret then proceeds at once to Kodok and is installed on the sacred stool. Near him stand[2] two of his paternal aunts and two of his sisters."

That the otherwise unaccountably common elements in these ceremonies have one and the same origin seems highly probable. It must be remembered that the Shilluk king was being installed at the beginning of his reign, and that by Shilluk custom he would be killed ceremonially when he began to show signs of lacking virility; while in ancient Egypt the Sed festival or jubilee, with its repetition of the coronation rites, was no doubt a ceremony intended magically to renew the virility of the king, a substitute for the barbarous custom of the ritual murder of the ageing sovereign, which presumably was the fate of the kings in early Egypt, as it was of the kings of Meroe, up till the reign of Ergamenes, the contemporary of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. In the Sed festival the king was identified with Osiris; he was magically rejuvenated, as Osiris the dead king had been reanimated and possessed of sufficient virility to beget Horus. Similarly, at the installation of the ret, Nyikang is Osiris, coming forth from his tomb to reign, and the ret who takes Nyikang's place on the stool, by that symbolical act, becomes Osiris the King, and thus the fertility of the crops naturally depend on him, for Osiris is the corn god, and if he shows lack of virility, obviously he is ceasing to be possessed by Osiris, and he must be removed and a substitute found.

If one reads the account by Seligman of the royal Shilluk graves that become shrines,[3] one cannot fail to notice the striking similarity between these shrines and those of the Ya'qubab already described.

[1] *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Art. "Shilluk."
[2] *Compare* any representation of Osiris seated on his throne with Isis (and sometimes Nepthys) standing behind.
[3] Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Laboratory, Vol. B, p. 216.



FIG. 1.

Ya'qubab Mosque at Amarat Sheikh Hajju in Sennar district, showing in the foreground the mound of ashes from the tugāba, or fire kept burning at night by the pupils of the local fiki. The view is taken looking south-east.

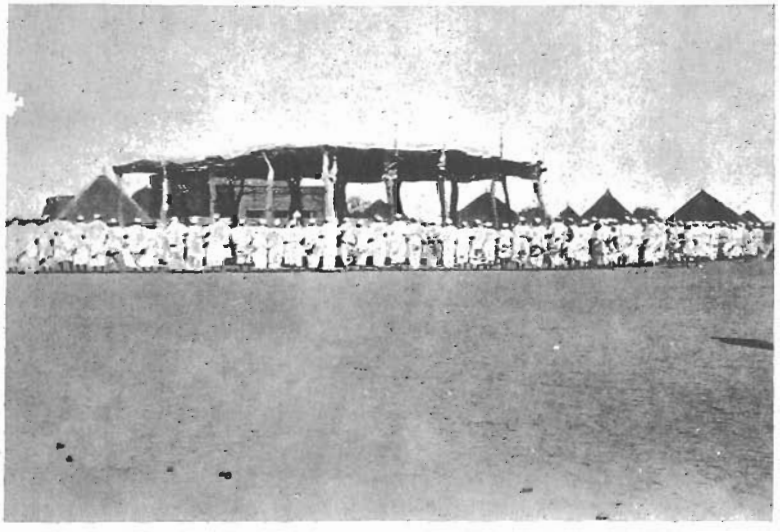


FIG. 2.

Ya'qubab Mosque at Hujjaj in Sennar district during a " zikr " held at Kurban Bairam. The relics that are brought out and placed in the mosque during festivals are shown in Plate V, Fig. 3. Note the flags at the East end of the mosque.

A typical Shilluk shrine is said to consist of two tukls, especially neatly thatched, with a good fence round them. Sometimes a shrine consists of only one tukl, which may stand apart from a village (as in usual Ya'qubab practice). These graves are known by the special name of *kengo*. The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always contain certain sacred spears. The Akurwa shrine contains the stool of Nyakang. At a rain-making ceremony a bullock is slain with one of the sacred spears, the king praying for rain, and holding the spear pointed upwards.[1]

It also occurs to me as not unlikely that the Shilluk titles *ret* and *ororo* have their connection with ancient Egypt. Ret (which Westermann considers connected with the Nuer "*arti*"="God") would appear possibly to be the same as Re or Ra, the sun god with whom the Pharaoh had been identified up to about 1600 B.C.,[2] when it became rather a fusion of Ammon-Ra, with Ammon as the predominant partner. If so, this might perhaps point to the Shilluk having come into contact with the culture of ancient Egypt before 1600 B.C.

As to the *ororo*, I suggest that they, a mysterious Shilluk class,[3] who apparently played a leading part in killing the Shilluk king and setting his successor on the stool, and who are said to be descendants of the brother of Oshalo, the third Shilluk king, who once might have become king himself, are possibly connected with the ancient Egyptian "*ur*" (plural "*uru*" or "*urau*")="nobleman," "chief," or "great one."

If it is agreed that some Shilluk customs may have their origin in Osiris worship, it may be of interest to point out the following similarities which may be more than coincidences.

Osiris was a corn god, and I have shown why I think the Shilluk and Ya'qubab shrines are connected with Osiris. At the Shilluk harvest festival, ears of ripening dura are brought and thrust into the thatch of the shrine tukl, then later ground and made into porridge and poured on the threshold of Nyikang's special hut. Till then the new crop may not be eaten.[4]

See above. Compare *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII, pp. 138–9.

[2] *Compare* Budge, *History of Ethiopia*, Vol. I, p. 626: "Heremheb, last king of the 18th Dynasty was addressed as 'Ra of the nine nations who fight with the bow. Thy name is mighty in the land of Kesh, thy bellowings are in their houses.'"

[3] *See* Munro, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, p. 150, and Seligman, "The Cult of Nyakang," in the Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Laboratory, Vol. B, p. 216.

[4] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang," loc. cit.

Can the Shilluk names of dura, *wajal fa dimo* and *wajal nenaro* be connected with Osiris ? Are *Wajal, Wishal, Oshalo, Osiris* all the same name ?

King Wishal was, by one old Kawahla tradition, said to be connected with Eilafun, the king of the Sudan who was defeated and slain by the first Kawahla to reach the Nile. Is this an allegorical account of the defeat of people holding Osirian beliefs by Moslems ? This king Wishal looks as if he might be the king Teoghawal, given in one account as the king of the Sudan whose daughter was married by Suliman Abdelmalik of the Beni Omaiya and who thus became the ancestor of the Fung.[1]

Oshalo is the third legendary Shilluk king, who was credited with semi-divine powers as was Nyikang, the first king. But he may easily be older than Nyikang.

Omaro Wakolo, the second Shilluk, is said to have lived long before Nyikang. In one account he is given as the son of the first Shilluk man Kola (O-Kola), a literal explanation, though one would have expected the first Shilluk to have been called Shola or Chola, and not Kola. Is Omaro the same as Oshalo ?

Note also the section of the Shilluk known as the Kwa Okel, who are said to be the original inhabitants of the country before the coming of Nyikang. They build the house of Nyikang for the installation of the Shilluk king (compare the Hamaj mangil's hut—both examples of the Osirian shrine ?), and they give the king at his coronation a small girl, called *nya kwer* (the girl of the authorities).[2] This girl remains with the king throughout the installation ceremony, and possibly originally represented Isis, the king at this ceremony magically becoming Osiris. She is, anyhow, comparable to the girl with whom the new mangil is confined, at his installation.

In conclusion, it may be of interest to summarise the implications involved by this interpretation of the Fung origins.

The Fung were not a tribe, but some adventurous invaders, the northern-most wave of a great Shilluk upheaval on the White Nile, that reached the Blue Nile, just when the Arabs were beginning to overrun the kingdom of Aloa, of which the sphere of influence stretched at least as far south as Roseires. These Shilluk provided a new dynasty for

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XIII, p. 257.
[2] Munro, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, p. 149.

Aloa, and having much in common with its inhabitants, due to a common inheritance from ancient Egypt, they led them against the Arabs, whom they defeated in battle and forced to pay tribute. Since it was a time when Islam was in the ascendant, and possibly owing to threat of invasion by Selim, they then became Moslems and so, naturally, invented a pedigree claiming descent from the Prophet, and pretended that their ancestor had come from the Hejaz via Abyssinia. Being in a minority, and perhaps bringing no women with them, they soon forgot the Shilluk language and adopted Arabic, which was, no doubt, already beginning to spread among their subjects.

It is uncertain who destroyed the town of Soba, perhaps it was the Arabs, perhaps it was the Shilluk, and perhaps it just fell into ruin from neglect. Amara may have found that Soba was not sufficiently central ; he may have found he was unpleasantly close to his powerful " slave," the Abdallabi at Gerri ; it may have been fear of Selim I and his Bosnian mercenaries ; or it may have been that the Shilluk, being pastoral cattle owners from the south, found the barren country round Soba uncongenial. What is certain is that headquarters were moved with no great delay to Sennar. It is unlikely that an invading force taking over and absorbing an old-established kingdom would have set to and built a new town, and the name Sennar itself appears to indicate otherwise. Excavation, however, alone will decide, if too much of the old site has not already been eaten away by the river.

After consolidating the kingdom from Sennar, with a relative established at Laich (El Ais = Kawa) as governor of their Shilluk relatives on the lower White Nile, the Fung kings seem gradually to have extended their dominion south up the Blue Nile as far as the Abyssinian highlands beyond Beni Shangul and Fadasi,[1] and, later, east, to include the Beni Amer, and west as far as the Nuba Mountains and the frontiers of Darfur.

[1] Mr. Chataway (loc. cit.) has shown how the headquarters of the Fung *mek* of Keili were gradually moved south from Disa, where it was first established, to Ragreig, and finally to Keili ; whereas, we should have expected a move in the opposite direction, if they had come from Abyssinia.

APPENDIX.

A pair of documents from the reign of King Bady wad Nol, granting an area of land in the region of Hujjaj in Sennar district to the Ya'qubabi sheikh Ya'qub wad Mohamed Zein.

Document I.

Has no seal, but at the top the edge is frayed and there is the mark



which apparently was :



(*Translation.*)

A Deed of Gift

and royal covenant of Sennar the well guarded (*el Mahrusa*) and populous —May God increase her glory for her rulers.

The ruler to-day is the chief of the knights, the bravest of the brave, the preserver of peace (*sanduq el aman*), he who is well known for wealth and generosity, and who has a covenant with the Almighty, Sheikh Rahma son of the late Sheikh Yunis, Amin el Sultan, God be with him and protect him wherever he goes, and may all the chapters and verses of the Koran do likewise. Amen.

Whereas Sheikh Rahma son of Sheikh Yunis has approved to Sheikh Ya'qub a *dar* in the land of Um Marahik, as a gift before God, seeking His blessing for the next world, for the day in which neither wealth nor children will profit, but only the pure heart with which a man approaches God.

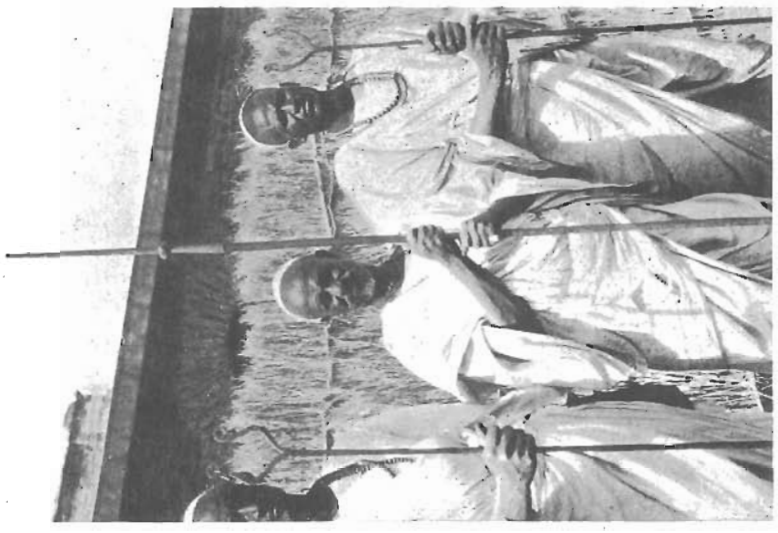
The boundaries on the four sides are :

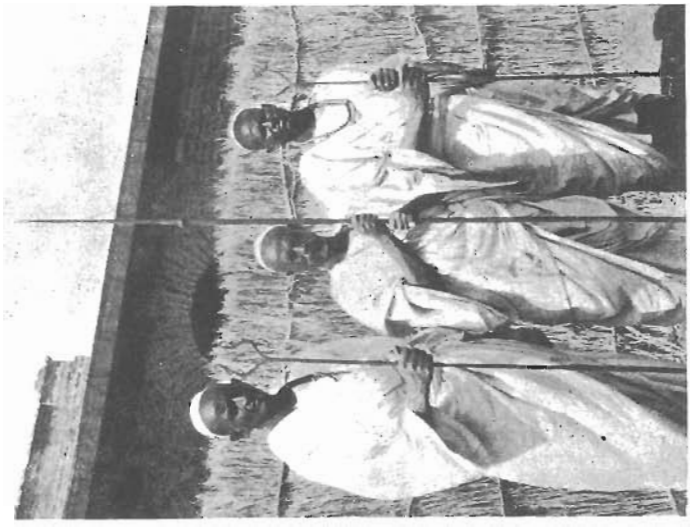
On the East, the *tundub* tree and Hantola *hafir.*

On the South, Azaz Garura and Wad Bellal *hafir*

On the West, Um Marahik,

going North to the Um Talha path, and turning East, returning to the *tundub* tree, and coming to an end on the land of Sheikh Ya'qub which he bought.





An iron spear and two iron shaibas, part of the relics of Sheikh Marzuq wad Ya'qub, now with his Khalifa Sheikh Hamdan Abdelgadir at Hujjaj in Sennar district.

A messenger of Sheikh Rahma son of Yunis (marked out the *dar*) without anyone resisting him or saying him nay, and Hamad wad Kheiyar, overseer of the *dar*, was present.

His brother Beshir was present as witness
and Kitfawi his brother
and Warit ,,
and Harun ,,
and Nasr ,,
and Mansur ,,
and the Arbab Masud
and Ali Nueir
and the Arbab Mohamed wad Mohamed Duweiw
and Ali his son
and Medowi, Mugaddam of the Escort
and Tahir el Ghadawi
and Hasan, Escort of the Sheikh (Rahma)
and Sheikh Zaid of the guard (*el harrās*)
and Mustafa Sudani
and Said el Maragna
and Ismail brother of Sheikh Rahma
and Angata his brother
and Shawal his brother
and Ramadan
and Ali his son
and Sabun
and Kow(k)ab
and Abdel Ati
and el Arbab Ibrahim wad Bedowi,
and he who wrote these letters was Mohamed son of fiki Ahmed, clerk and witness.

The morning of Thursday, the 23rd of Dhu el Hijja, 1146 A.H.

Document II.

Is headed by the seal of " Melik Bady wad Melik Nol."

(*Translation.*)

Sultanic deed and royal covenant from his presence, the sultan of Islam and of every word of peace, destroyer of all evil people and thieves, king of the kings of land and sea, ruler of the affairs of all mankind, builder of many guest houses, suppressor of thefts and oppression, victorious in all he undertakes, granting to Moslems all his protection

and bounty, chosen by Allah to rule over mankind, the protected of God, our governor, the sultan the son of the sultan, the brave king, the warrior, sultan Bady son of late sultan Nol, may God increase the days of his justice and prolong the days of his happiness, through our Prophet and his companions. Amen.

To all who see this covenant, and who understand its contents,

Whereas the sultan, the victorious one, has completed and signed the deed of Sheikh Rahma the son of Sheikh Yunis, as to the gift to Sheikh Ya'qub the son of Sheikh Mohamed Zein of an estate (*dar*) in the land of Um Marahik, a gift before God, and in the hope of salvation on the day of Resurrection,

Be it known that the boundaries in the covenant of Sheikh Rahma on the four sides are :

On the East, the *tundub* tree and Hantola *hafir*,

On the South, Azaz Garura and wad Bellal *hafir*,

On the West, Um Marahik,

the boundary going North to the Um Talha path, and then East to the *tundub* tree, coming to an end on the land of Sheikh Ya'qub, which he bought.

Let no one approach this land, or resist him, or oppose him in the way, and let no one pick up any rope lying on it, and let no one drink water from it.

It shall be free of all other claims and complaints.

Beware, beware of all disobedience (to this order). He who disobeys will have only himself to blame.

There were present as witnesses
Sheikh Rahma the son of Sheikh Yunis
The Gindi Yunis
Sheikh Ismail, maternal uncle of the king (Melik)
The Arbab Aidu, grandfather of the king
Sheikh Sha el din Derwish, Sheikh el Bahr
Sheikh Hamad, sheikh of Garabin
Sheikh Mohamed, Groom of the Carpet (*muqaddam el sigada*)
The Kadi Ibrahim
El Katib Abdellatif
and Amar Abu Nega
and this deed was drawn up by Mohammed Abdel Ghani.

The first of el Muharram, 1147 A.H.



THE HEAD OF THE IRON SPEAR SHOWN IN PLATE IV, FIG. 2.
Note the apparent hieroglyph "ka," and the inscription *iḏ̲ha g̲ā'a naṣru 'llāhi* (opening words of *Surat el Nasr* in the Koran).

EXCAVATIONS OF THE HARVARD-BOSTON EXPEDITION IN HALFA PROVINCE, 1930-1931.

By N. F. Wheeler.

(PLATES XIV—XVI.)

DURING February and March, 1931, the Harvard-Boston Expedition in Halfa Province have excavated the Egyptian Middle Kingdom fort of Shalfak at Sarras. This fort is about ten miles north of the island of Uronarti, and about thirty-five miles south of Wady Halfa, on the left bank of the Nile.

The fort is much smaller than those at Semna and Uronarti, the interior area being only some 66 square metres, and the rooms inside the fort numbering 83; there are a further four rooms outside the fort. The overall length of the fortifications is 210 metres, the width including the river stairs 205 metres, and the floor level above the Nile at the time of excavation 59 metres.

Like the other Nile forts in this area, Shalfak is built on a rocky height overlooking the river. The main fort is roughly rectangular, but, as at Semna and Uronarti, additional wings run out to the west, east and north, along ridges of rock which require covering protection. The north wing is very similar to that at Uronarti, running out to a distance of 115 metres from the north gate of the fort.

The river stairway descends by a winding and precipitous route on the east side of the fort down to the river, making use of a tongue of rock which runs out into the water at this point. Along the remainder of the east side of the fort the cliff descends very steeply, in some places vertical and even overhanging. As a result of this formation there is little remaining of the actual stairway itself, only the foundations and the rubble underpinning are still in position. A stone-built "quay" at the foot of the stairway resembles that found in a similar position at Uronarti.

The construction of the fort itself resembles that in the other forts hitherto excavated in this area. It is of mud-brick throughout, in horizontal courses, reinforced by a considerable quantity of timber. The bricks average 33×16×11 cms. The timber consists of tree trunks, of about the thickness of one brick course, and from which the bark

has not been stripped. In that part which shows the most regular arrangement the timber is laid horizontally through the main wall of the fort, from the inner face to the outer, a distance of 7.5 metres, in courses separated by four courses of brick (*i.e.*, 45 cms.).

The outside of the main walls on the west and south, where the approach is steep but possible, presents a continuous series of rectangular buttresses added to the outer face of the walls, but not bonded thereto. Timber is used vertically, as corner posts, in these buttresses, as in some of the buildings within the fort, to form the corners where a sharp angle of mud-brick would be liable to wear away rapidly. The jambs and sills of doorways are also of timber, except in the case of one room, where sandstone was used.

Inside the fort there are seven blocks of buildings, separated by streets. Block 1, comprising rooms 1 to 9, forms a large building at the south end of the fort; block 2, rooms 27–32, 37, 40–41, includes two stairways leading up; blocks 4, 5, 6 are smaller blocks in the western part of the fort; block 3, comprising rooms 21–23, 34, 35; block 4, comprising rooms 10–14, 16, 18, 20, 24; block 5, comprising rooms 39, 42–46; and block 6, comprising rooms 36, 47–50; block 7 is a large block of eight three-room compartments, rooms 52–83, and fills the north part of the fort.

A street, "Wall Street," follows round the whole fort inside the main wall, and was probably crossed by a bridge from the stairway east of room 41. South Cross Street separates block 1 from blocks 2, 3, and 4; Middle Street separates blocks 3 and 4 from blocks 5 and 6; North Cross Street separates blocks 2, 5 and 6 from block 7. Middle Street, running north and south, separates block 2 from blocks 3 and 5; and Street No. 26, also running north and south, separates blocks 3 and 5 from blocks 4 and 6.

Block 1.—Rooms 7, 8, 9 have a doorway on the floor level and contain a sandstone column base (in room 9), which room also has a sandstone basin in the north-east corner with a dedicatory inscription round the rim. This appears to be some sort of chapel.

Bonded with it on the west, rooms 1–6 appear to form the cellar of a building, of the same plan, with its floor at the roof level of the cellar and probably about the roof level of the rooms 7–9. These cellar rooms, 1–6, have intermediate doorways, but no outside door whatever

on the level of the street floor. The walls are preserved to a height of about 1½ metres, and the outer walls are 1½ metres thick.

Doors from rooms 1, 3 and 5 lead northwards into rooms 2, 4 and 6 respectively; and rooms 2, 4 and 6 are inter-connected by doorways. It is obvious that the only entrance could have been from the floor above, probably over rooms 2, 3 or 6, by means of a stairway or ladder, or by a trapdoor through which persons could have been lowered on ropes. There was no apparent light or ventilation. Such cellars could have been used as a prison or as storerooms. As to the upper storey it may be presumed that it had the same outline and room plan as the lower. The form is clearly adapted to storage purposes, and a storeroom with a floor at this height would most probably have served for arms and munitions for the men guarding the ramparts.

The chapel or small temple, rooms 7, 8 and 9, was probably attached to this block as a matter of convenience and is not internally connected with this large storage place.

Block 2.—This block is the next in size and importance. From the arrangements of its rooms and the fact that two stairways go up from it (one probably to the roof of the block and one to the ramparts), it would appear to have been an administrative building.

From the stairway which leads up at the north end of the corridor in this block, which rises 1½ metres in half its maximum possible length, is deduced the probable roof height for block 2 of three metres. Block 1, rooms 1–6, certainly had a storey resting on this three-metres level, with a probable height also of three metres, giving a total height of about six metres. It is obvious that access to the second storey of block 1 (rooms 1–6) could easily have been obtained from the above-mentioned stairway through the second storey of block 2.

The east side of block 2 is bounded by massive wall, 3½ metres thick, with access from the ante-room of block 2 to a stairway running up to the north within the wall itself. This long stairway almost certainly led to the ramparts. Using the same method of estimation as in the first stairway, we get a probable height of the ramparts of nine metres above the floor level of the fort. It may be presumed that access to this stairway at the first floor level of blocks 1 and 2 would have been necessary to permit a garrison and officers to reach the ramparts from this floor without descending to the ground floor. It is probable

that by this doorway at first-floor level the munitions were brought to the ramparts from block 1.

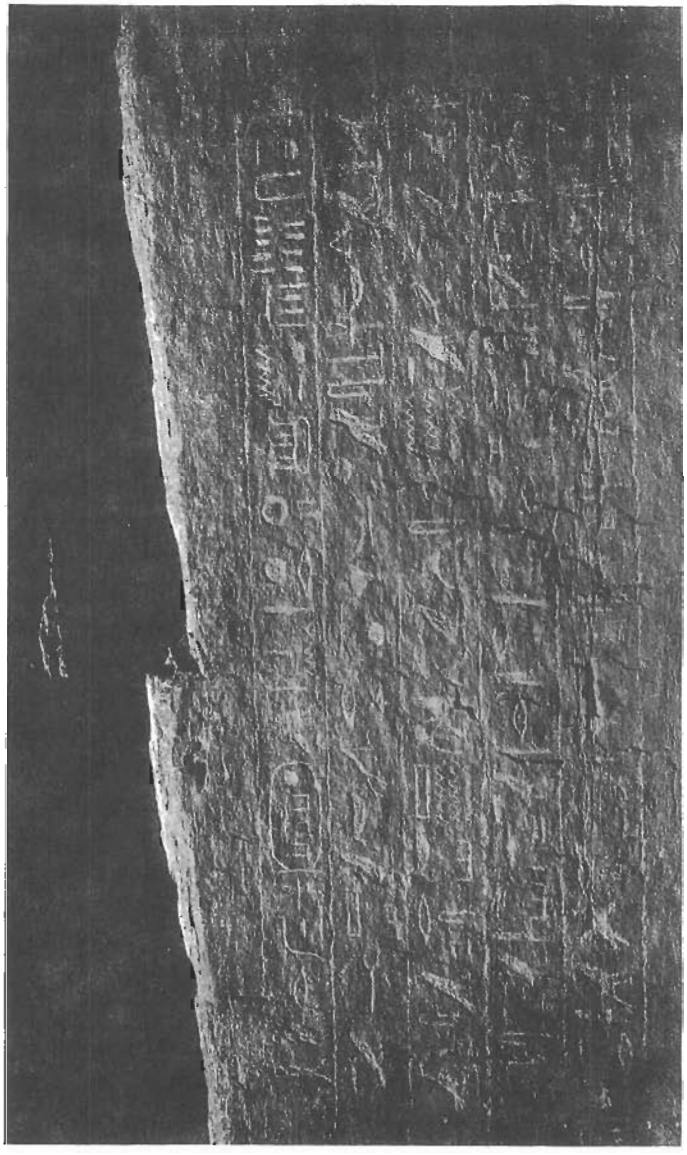
Blocks 3–6.—These rooms were probably officers' quarters, administrative offices and shops ; but the exact purpose of each block is difficult to determine.

Block 7.—This block clearly formed the barracks proper for the men, with its eight three-room apartments. These quarters give us some idea of the size of the garrison. The outer room of each apartment may be presumed to be the living court where cooking and eating took place, and may not have been roofed. The two inner rooms are probably sleeping quarters where the men also kept their personal belongings in chests or sacks. Such a room would accommodate from two to five men, or from four to ten for each apartment. Thus the eight apartments comprising the whole block would indicate a total of from thirty-two to eighty men.

Doorways of the Fort.—The main entrance was on the south, as at Uronarti, being a plain entrance doorway blocked by two heavy wooden doors, of which the sills remain. Outside this a massive addition adds a gate-room and a second narrow entrance, of similar form to that at Semna.

This external building was built on a steep slope (down to the south), which continues southwards steeply but irregularly to the level of the plain on the west, and, bearing to the east, descends steeply to the river itself. The gateway could thus have been approached up this slope from the plain or from the water, and, in fact, during the excavations, our boat landing was made so as to use this route.

The north gateway, the water-gate, was also a plain, straight gateway with two wooden doors, and gave access to the Outer Wall Street. This street runs east and west along the outer face of the north wall of the fort, and turns at its western end to the north and at its eastern end to the south. To the north the street continues to the northern extremity of the rock ridge on which the fort is built, and to which same point the north wing of the fort was thrown out. To the south the street follows the outside of the east wall of the fort as far as the east wing, where it turns east and stops only at the sharp drop in the cliff over the river. From this point the winding river stairs descend.



The river stairs, which, owing partly to the steep and rugged character of their route, and partly to the actions of the elements, have left but little trace beyond their upper stages, descend to the water level. The steps were, in places, of rough stone slabs supported by rubble underpinning, in other places apparently of mud-brick of which little trace remains. No trace was found of side walls or of the roof, but the presence of both at Semna and Uronarti for at least a part of their river stairs would seem to indicate a possibility of the same thing at Shalfak.

Outside the north gateway of the fort, in the angle formed by the north wall of the fort and the north wing, are the remains of some roughly built rooms, very much weathered, in one of which is a sunk basin in the floor with four stone channels leading into it from the four points of the compass.

Water Supply.—The water supply was brought by hand from the river up the river stairs, probably in jars and skins. It was undoubtedly stored in large water jars in the various office buildings and apartments. The large sandstone basin in room 9 appears to have been a water basin.

It may be assumed that in the men's quarters a large jar stood on a wooden or rubble stand in a corner of the outer room of each apartment; and similar jars, no doubt, in blocks 2–6. Water was necessary for drinking and cooking purposes, for ceremonial washing and for ordinary washing and laundry purposes. In all probability the garrison descended to the river for the latter.

There were two tank-like receptacles, one in the north-south street between blocks 5 and 6, the other in the room outside the north gate of the fort (mentioned above). Unlike the similar tanks found in the Uronarti fort and in the palace on that island, these receptacles have no outlets, that in the exterior room having, in fact, obvious inlet channels.

It is possible that the ramparts of Uronarti were originally visible from the tops of the Shalfak walls—in fact, it is almost certain—but a careful search to-day by telescope from the highest remaining point of Shalfak fails to reveal them. There is high land and a bend in the Nile between the two forts. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to assume that the two garrisons were originally within visual signalling touch of one another, as were the group comprising Semna South, Semna East, Semna West, and Uronarti.

Two further sites, much destroyed and rebuilt, the one on the island of Askuta five miles north, the other on the left bank of the Nile at Murshid ten miles north of Shalfak, would appear to carry the continuous line of visual signalling almost down to the forts on the Second Cataract.

The buildings within the Shalfak fort are built in blocks, separated by streets. These streets are mostly paved with irregular stone slabs of granitic rock, but in some cases a single strip of burnt brick tiles serves the purpose of " duck-boards " down the centre of the street.

The walls of the rooms vary in the heights to which they are preserved; the highest being four metres and the lowest—in the exterior rooms—being worn down to the rock level.

Work was commenced on 20th February at the south gateway of the fort, the walls of which were preserved to a height of eight metres, and the whole interior of the fort was excavated by the 15th March; by the 16th the exterior rooms were finished. The outsides of the fort walls were excavated concurrently with the rooms inside. Work was begun on the cemetery on 16th March, and by the 21st it was finished.

To the west of the fort lies a wide sandy plain 350 metres across from east to west. In a preliminary search for the site of the cemetery, graves were found at the eastern side of this plain, just at the foot of the fort hill, and again at the western edge of the plain. It appeared at first that the cemetery might very well cover a large area, but in actual fact it was confined generally to the two sites first investigated.

The graves were shallow and in sand without any mud-brick construction. In some cases there were remains of wooden coffins, though the usual traces were only of the white plaster which had originally covered the wood. Only a few of the graves contained anything beyond the skeletons, and most of those had pottery alone. At the foot of the fort hill were found two rock-cut tombs containing five and two bodies respectively, and no objects.

Having circulated a request for news from the villages of anything of archæological interest known in the neighbourhood, an inscription was reported from Uronarti. The man who sent this report had made a sufficiently good " copy " on a piece of paper to show that there was a dated inscription with a royal name—rather a remarkable achievement for one of the local natives.



The inscription was found to be a five-line record on the face of a stone-built " quay " at Uronarti, at the foot of the long stairway from fort to river, mentioning a visit of Senwesert III on the return from his 19th year campaign in " miserable Kush." Apparently the waters of the previous high Nile, after our excavation of the quay a year ago, had washed away sand, mud and boulders from this area and uncovered the inscribed stone. This stone we have removed on behalf of the Sudan Government to prevent its destruction by subsequent river and weather action, and I understand it is to be exhibited at Khartoum.

The stone is of very hard, laminated biotite-gneiss, and the inscription only very slightly incised. The signs in the first three lines are well and regularly made, considering the material in use, but the lower two lines are more irregular and apparently more worn, doubtless due to the nature of the rock and to the annual submergence under the Nile waters, which at this point are moving rapidly through a narrow channel.

The expedition of the 19th year of Senwesert III is mentioned in the Sisatet stele from Abydos (*see* " Kerma II," p. 547).

The inscription is dated " year 19, month 4, of the Akhet season, day 2, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakawra " ; which date in this year fell about 15th–18th March, *i.e.*, with the Nile low and still falling.

THE INSCRIPTION.

The photographs show the inscription itself and the position of the inscribed stone in the face of the quay. The line drawing is composed from the original stone with the aid of a tracing of a photograph.

TRANSLITERATION.

Line 1.—ḥ3.t sp 19 ibd 4 n 3(ḫ.t ḫrw 2 (ḫr ḥm n nšw.t bjtj (H'-k3.w-R' 'n(ḫ ḏ.t r nḥḥ

Line 2.—wḏ3 nb 'n(ḫ wḏ3 šnb m (ḫd ḥr š.(ḫr.t K3š ḫsj.t

Line 3.—iw.tw r gm.t mw r š.3wd (?) 13 šmwk r š3š3

Line 4.—r p3 i tr.w ṯs nb r mjt.t (?) ir.t ir šw ṯs-?? iw-f ḳšn

Line 5.—nn is (?) r š.3wd (?) r š3š3 ḥr-f n p3 i tr.w

NOTES.

Lines 1 *and* 2.—In these lines the inscription and the meaning are quite clear.

Line 3.—The " d " of " š.3wd " is not certain. If, as Sethe is sure, this is the reading, he suggests a scribal error in writing " 3w " for " iw." Though " iwd " is in the Berlin Dictionary the causative " š.iwd " = is not.

If, however, the doubtful sign is a " t," then the verb must be " š.3wj," the causative of " 3wj," both in the Berlin Dictionary.

In any case, the general meaning is clearly " to pass by," " to get beyond," " to continue past," or something similar.

For the name " 13šmwk," *cf.* Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. I, para. 510.

The verb " š3š3 " clearly refers to " hauling," " towing," " poling," or in some other way man-handling the boats through the cataracts.

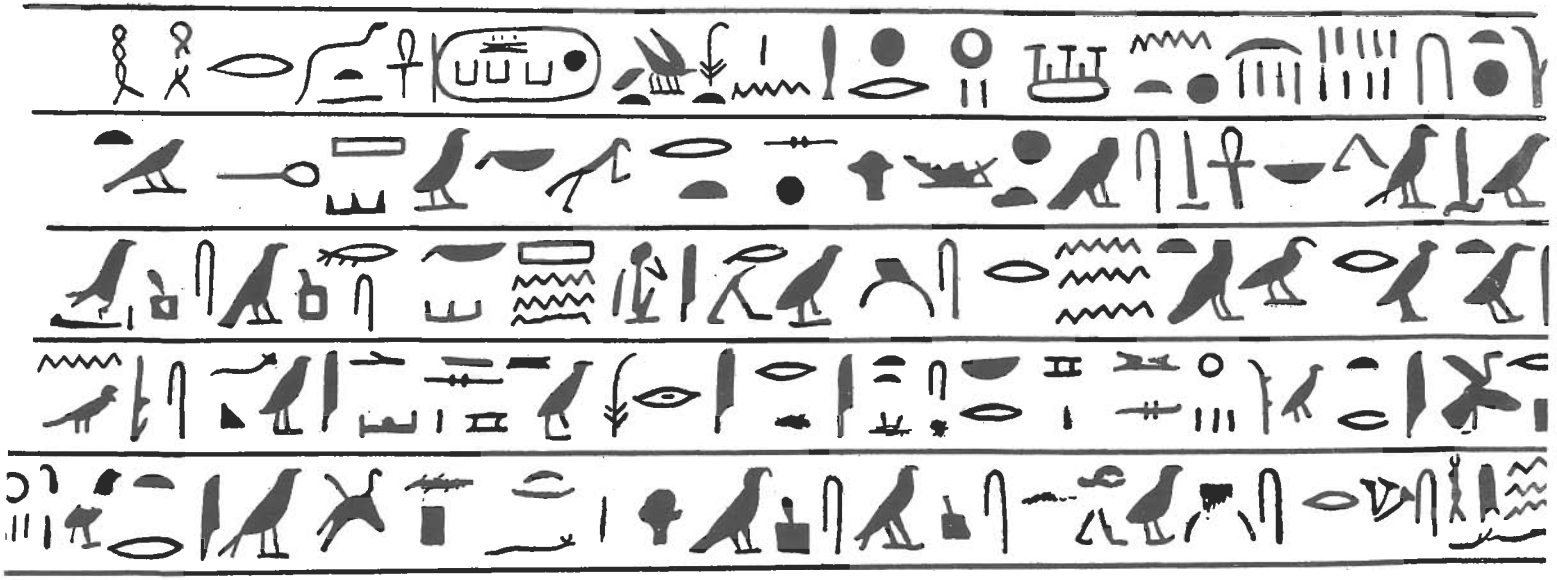
Line 4.—The word " ṯs," though not in that part of the Berlin Dictionary published up to date, seems to mean a " shoal " or " shallow."

We have Sethe's agreement with the reading of " mjt.t " after " ṯs nb r."

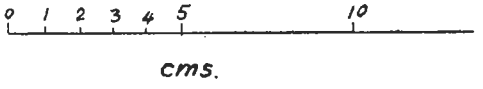
In the word " ṯs-??," the " ṯs " seems certain ; but whether the following signs form with " ṯs " a place-name or follow " ṯs " as a name is not clear. The sign over the " mountain " sign is illegible.

Line 5.—Of the reading of the first group of signs as " nn is " Sethe is positive. Of the various visual possibilities (" nn is-f r," " n n-f is r," " nn nj is r," and " nn is r ") the latter appears to be the reading we have to adopt.

The sign under the " n "s, which was at first taken for an " f," might very well be a surface irregularity of the rock ; and the sign under the " is " is read as the " abstract " sign.



Facsimile by N. Wheeler.



For " š.3wd? " see note to line 3. It is reasonable to conceive of " š.3wd r š3š3 " as a technical expression connected with the cataract haulage of boats.

The sign preceding " p3 itr.w " is almost certainly an " n " rather than an " r."

TRANSLATION.

" Year 19, month 4, Akhet season, day 2, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakawra (Senwesert III), ' Living for ever to eternity.' The lord (*i.e.*, the King) proceeded, ' Living, healthy and well,' in going north from overthrowing ' miserable Kush.'

" One was for finding (navigable) water for getting past (?) Yashemuk, in order to haul (the boats) in accordance with the season ; every shoal likewise. As for (? the shoal of) ???, it was bad ; not was it easy to get through by hauling (the boats) upon it, on account of the season."

SOUTHERN SUDAN GAME AND ITS HABITAT.

By Captain R. C. R. Whalley.

IN the Southern Sudan between the Ethiopian, Kenya Colony and Sudan administered areas there is a vast tract of country entirely uninhabited except during the rains, when members of the Taposan, Turkana and Ethiopian tribes drive their herds of stock into this area, as they have done since time immemorial, for grazing purposes. In official circles this immense uninhabited area is known as the Ilembi or Ilemi Triangle.

The Ilembi triangle has an east and west southern base, and the apex of the triangle is situated to the north of the Boma Plateau in the Upper Nile Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The two sides of the triangle from the northern apex are bordered on the east by high ranges of mountains in Ethiopia, and on the west by large masses of solid rock mountains, some on the fringe of and others actually inside the Sudan administered areas. The area enclosed by the triangle has a few rocky masses of mountains, but for the greater part consists of vast tracts of cotton soil which, in places, is covered with dense kitr bush, or, to use a more commonly known expression, " wait-a-bit thorn." The Ilembi triangle has been very little travelled by man, and very little is known of this uninhabited country which in the dry weather is a desert and in the rains is a cotton-soil morass.

It is of interest to know that the rivers, on the Ethiopian side, flow generally, north-west, whereas from the Sudan the rivers flow north-east. The rivers all spill their waters into a vast swampy area which may be considered the south-eastern limits of the huge Sudd area of the Sudan. Perhaps it may be of general interest to mention a few of the more important rivers by name: the Akobo, Kuron, Beshir or Mentone ya Ndege, all of which have their sources in the Ethiopian mountain ranges, and they carry enormous volumes of water during the rains. The Sudan rivers which help to feed the swampy area, to mention a few of the more important ones, are the Lokalyan, Zingetta, Kideppo and Kinetti, all of which have their sources in the Kenya, Uganda or Sudan masses of mountains.

During a year of heavy rain the volume of water contributed to the Sudd area must be considerable, as all the rivers spill their flood waters into the swampy area, of which extremely little is known. At the southern base of the Ilembi triangle, which can be considered an east and west line through the north end of Lake Rudolf, there would appear to be a different catchment area, not yet exactly known, as the waters at a certain limit flow into Lake Rudolf and the Lotogippi swamp. Looking at the country, with the knowledge that beaches some 500 feet higher than the present level of Lake Rudolf have been found, it is thought that the overflow waters of Rudolf at one time did flow to the north and the Nile through the so-called Ilembi triangle. At a point north-east of Sanderson's Gulf, which is now completely dry, there appears to be a valley or depression through which the overflow waters did flow, and the presence of mud and other fish in the now high and dry rock pool at Mokunda tends to bear out that the whole of the plain area of the Ilembi triangle, at one time, was under water. Whether the Ilembi triangle has been filled up with silt and cotton soil due to the rain erosion of the surrounding mountains or not is open to argument and debate, but as all the rivers mentioned carry large quantities of silt when they are in flood, it is thought that perhaps river silt has been deposited over the whole of this area.

During the dry weather, which may be considered as from the beginning of November to the middle of March, the whole of the area enclosed by the sides is almost waterless, except for a few water holes and rock pools in the rocky hills. At this time of year it can be aptly called desert, and the only inhabitants are game which live along the river banks; the river beds are all dry, but a certain amount of water is obtainable by digging in the sand as the game does. Away from the rivers there is no grass, and kitr bush is the only thing that breaks the monotony of bare and barren cotton soil. The only water obtainable for humans, apart from digging in river beds, is held in the fissures in the rocks in some of the masses of hills, some of the rock pools dry out very rapidly, whereas others give a permanent small supply in that some last over the dry weather and are so-called permanent; others are of considerable size and never dry out. Some do not appear to change their level no matter how many humans or animals water at them, and they, therefore, must be supplied from some underground source.

During the rains most of the area is covered by a coarse type of grass, and some of this grass appears to survive the dry weather heat, due to either seeding itself or having a very deep root system. Some areas are covered with a small type of yellow-flowering rock plant of which the animals are particularly fond, and there are many other varieties of luscious and nutritious grasses and plants—the wild convolvulus being very common—even though there appears to be little or no grazing the game keeps in good condition throughout the dry weather. After very heavy rain the soil becomes very muddy and sticky, but the cloven-hoofed game only sinks into the mud to about the toe of its hoofs, and they very rapidly tread down a very hard game trail; but for even lightly laden pack animals, such as mules and donkeys, it is to all intents and purposes quite impassable. After one shower of rain it was impossible to move from camp for five days as the mud was over the ankles and well up to the knees of the donkeys and mules unladen. The game, however, being mostly cloven-hoofed, moved about the country without any apparent difficulty, and on examination of their tracks they did not appear to have sunk in to very much farther than their fetlocks. One river bed which was perfectly dry, just the rain turned into a raging torrent about six to eight feet deep, and it eventually overflowed its banks, flooding the whole countryside. The game did not mind this at all, as they merely swam across the torrent and found dry ground and good grazing elsewhere.

Game was present in its thousands, in many varieties, which will be detailed later, and to give an illustration, lest the writer be suspected of exaggeration, one day an attempt was made to estimate the numbers of game by counting them passing a tree. They passed at the average rate of twenty to thirty a minute on one game trail and the procession passed the camp unceasingly and solidly for four and a half hours. The game that passed was composed of tiang, giraffe, lesser eland, oryx beisa, and Grant's and Mongalla gazelle, and a few zebra. The giraffe and zebra, generally speaking, were the leaders of the various parties and batches of game. Shortly after the attempt at estimating the numbers a trek across some twenty miles of bare and barren cotton soil had to be made. Not a bush nor a blade of grass was visible except for an occasional stunted kitr bush. The game trails were met with at varying intervals of not less than a quarter to half a mile, and never

was the interval more than a mile. All the game trails were leading in a southerly direction and towards Moru Agippi, Lake Rudolf and the Lotogippi Swamp, and game was met with on all the trails in almost the same numbers as were seen passing the camp. At one point on the march the horizon was measured with a prismatic compass and ninety degrees could not be seen as it was black with tiang and other game, but the tiang exceeded in numbers. The number of game was quite impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy, but if the count of game passing the tree is taken as a basis of calculation, and numerous parallel trails, it will be seen that it is no exaggeration to state that game was present in its thousands, and not hundreds. The game did not appear to stop to graze, but kept on the move the whole time, and at least one hundred game trails must have been met with, possibly more. In the dry weather the place where the game was seen is subject to bad mirages, and it was most amusing to see things that appeared like chimney stacks of an English industrial town approaching, and these things eventually turned out to be giraffe. In one case 200 to 300 tiang looked exactly like infantry advancing through a smoke or gas screen. The common waterbuck and teitel were conspicuous by their absence, although they are fairly common on the mountain foothills. There were large numbers of lions, and they were to be heard at every point of the compass roaring during the night. There were, of course, other types of carnivorous animals such as hyena, jackal, leopards and cats that were following these huge herds of game. Mrs. Gray's waterbuck was seen in small numbers with one or two good buck in the herd of some 30 to 50 animals.

It was asserted by natives who had travelled through this area that game was to be seen as thick as the blades of grass in a field, but the writer did not credit their statement until it had been seen with his own eyes. On several occasions the game was seen as thick and numerically as large as a swarm of locusts, particularly at the time when the horizon was measured with a prismatic compass. Several Sudan officials have seen game in large numbers in a similar way near Moru Agippi and Lolimi, and it is thought that some of them will credit this very interesting experience.

The fact that all the game trails had a southerly direction leads to the belief that there is a definite migration of game from the Sudd

area to the south after the rains have commenced and when the swampy areas start to fill up with the flood waters which are carried by the rivers from the mountainous areas. Some of the Swahili and Ethiopian elephant poachers have been questioned about this, and they assert that these huge herds of game migrate south in about May or June, and it is presumed that the game moves south to obtain drier standings and good, young, and fresh grass in the southern base of the Ilembi triangle, as water and good grazing is abundant at this time of year. It is assumed that this movement of the game coincides with the movement of the Ethiopian, Taposan and Turkana cattle-owning tribes from the north, north-east and west of Lake Rudolf. These tribes have taken their herds into the southern base of the Ilembi triangle since time immemorial.

There is a counter-migration of game back to the Sudd area in about October or November when the southern area starts to dry up to assume its truly desert character, and it is then also that the Ethiopian and Turkana cattle-owning tribes retire east along the shores of Lake Rudolf and the Omo and Kibish rivers, and it is thought that these movements are more or less simultaneous. These migrations are common knowledge among the negro tribes and poachers, and it is thought that this information may be of value to those who are interested in game, its movements, customs and habitat.

At one point the writer was forced to camp for five or six days, due to the quagmire of cotton-soil mud, and herds composed of one or two hundred tiang, zebra, giraffe and lesser eland, etc., came to look at the camp at a distance of about a hundred yards. The game displayed no fear, agitation nor trepidation—it can be termed more correctly intense interest. It was only after clapping hands very loudly that the game disappeared into the kitr bush. The above camp was visited by four herds of Nile lechwe (Mrs. Gray's waterbuck), and each herd numbered between fifty and a hundred with eight or ten good bucks. These animals displayed interest also, and it was only when approached to within about fifty yards that they showed fear and disappeared into the bush. On several occasions Mrs. Gray's, Grant's and Mongalla gazelle were seen grazing quite peacefully among the mules and donkeys, and it was only when they were approached very close that the animals took fright and ran away, and then immediately turned about to see

what was after them at about fifty yards or so. It can be realised what a great joy it was to see the game in such a tame and unfrightened state, and it is thought that there are not many places in Africa, at the present day, where such a state among game exists.

It may be of interest to know that the Ethiopians call the Nile lechwe the Lotilla Fiil, and they only know this beautiful creature as the inhabitant of the northern apex of the triangle at a place or area called Lotilla. They call it a goat and they say it resembles a goat in appearance, habits, customs, and the noise it makes when alarmed. The male is a beautiful creature, and it is most pleasing to see the young bucks in various stages of their colouring when contrasted with the nice, sleek and fawnish colouring of the does.

In the Ilembi triangle and the mountain ranges on its borders there is the following game to be seen, and the writer has seen all those mentioned, and possibly there are many others which have not been seen yet : Common bushbuck, harnessed and giant bushbuck, klipspringer, elephant, giraffe, lesser eland, greater and lesser kudu, Mongalla and Grant's gazelle, duiker of three varieties, oribi, reedbuck, oryx beisa, hippopotamus, black rhinoceros, zebra, buffalo of two varieties, roan antelope, teitel (congoni) and tiang (topi) hartebeeste, Mrs. Gray's and common waterbuck, crocodile, mountain nyala, and bongo in the Ethiopian mountains, apart from all the carnivorous animals such as lions, leopard, jackal (both common and silver), cheetah, hyena, and several varieties of cats. Lions are very numerous, and they caused the writer no little anxiety as to the safety of the pack animals.

It is quite possible that there are many rarer types of game that the writer has not seen ; but the Ilembi triangle, at the time of the migrations, is a zoologist's paradise, as the game is so very tame and unfrightened. There is one thing to be borne in mind, and it is that the game can be seen only by doing a trek on foot, as no motor-cars can get through the country at the time of the migration, and it is doubtful whether motor roads will be constructed for some considerable time to come.

Since writing the above the writer was fortunate enough to see a migration of Nile lechwe, and they were almost as numerous as the herds of tiang seen some two months earlier. On this occasion the Nile lechwe passed close to the camp through mud, with the greatest

of ease, which unladen donkeys were unable to cross. Once again these animals showed no fear or nervousness, and it was possible to approach to within 30 to 50 yards before they took to their heels. The Nile lechwe were following the same route as the tiang, and the procession passed the camp for two successive days. The Nile lechwe, however, trekked along in single file, and once again it was quite impossible to estimate the number of animals seen, but there were undoubtedly thousands, and among them were large numbers of Mongalla gazelle and only an occasional tiang. Among these huge herds of Nile lechwe, although it will hardly be credited, one fully grown albino male Nile lechwe was seen leading the herd, and in the middle of the line there was a half-grown female which was also an albino.

Several herds of giraffe were seen in the vicinity of Gebel Kombo or Lothagum, and one herd was seen of a hundred, or, to be more accurate in this case, the number was ninety-seven, as the herd was counted by several others at the same time as the writer made his count.

NOTES.

Description of the Bordein and the Telahawieh, 1884-1885.

THE steamers were small wooden boats of about the size of Thames "Penny Steamers." They were fitted and rendered bullet-proof in much the same way. At the bow a small space was left for the cable, then came a rude turret of baulks of wood fastened together and built up from the deck so as to give a gun platform to fire over the bulwarks. The turret was not round, but splay-shaped to fit the bows. It was open at top. In this turret there was one gun firing right ahead through a porthole. Each steamer was armed with two nine-pounder brass howitzers. At the foot of the turret was the cooking place, where, all day long, slave girls were at work. Behind this was the hatchway of the fore-hold and a gangway on each side for landing; then the foremast, on which a bullet-proof crow's-nest, a sort of iron drum, had been rigged; next followed, on both sides, small, dirty cabins at either end of the paddle boxes, and between the paddle boxes the midships turret—a square box, built like the one in the bow of baulks of wood.

The floor of the turret was just high enough to enable the one gun in it to fire over the top of the paddle boxes. It had a porthole on each side and was reached from the after part of the ship by a ladder which led to a small square hole through which one passed. From the ports one could get out on to the top of the paddle boxes; thus, anyone going to the turret in action was unpleasantly exposed.

After the turret came the funnel of the boiler, partly above deck, but protected by logs of wood placed over it. Then came the hatchway of the main hold, and just behind it a saloon or deck house of wood, divided into two rooms and having a narrow passage running round it.

On the top of the saloon a place had been prepared for infantry, by making walls of boiler-plate iron, except at the entrance. The wheel was on the top of this deckhouse, and particular care had been taken to protect the helmsmen as much as possible. Behind the deckhouse was a little open space in the stern, with a hatchway leading to a small hold.

Round the sides of the ship the bulwarks and deckhouse were protected by sheets of boiler-plate iron fixed to wooden stanchions, except

where the cabins and paddle boxes came. The plates were just high enough to enable a man to fire over them, and along the top of the stanchions ran a wooden beam sufficiently raised above the plates to leave a long loophole. Unfortunately, it was broken in several places, especially at the stern where some sheets had disappeared; it also left about a foot of the upper portion of the deckhouse quite exposed.

In the fore hold were the gun and some of the rifle ammunition, with an enormous quantity of durra and loot, besides wood for the steamer.

In the main hold were rifle ammunition, firewood, sacks of durra, loot of all kinds, women and babies, and a herd of goats for milk.

In the after hold were the loot and property of the Commandant. The filth was something indescribable, and the stench which rose up from the holds overpowering.

In consequence of General Gordon's request, all Egyptians had been removed, and the crews and native troops were entirely composed of blacks and Shaigias.

On the " Bordein " besides the crew :

Sir Charles Wilson.
Capt. R. F. T. Gascoine.
10 N.C.O.'s and men 35th Regiment (Royal Sussex).
1 Petty Officer.
Mohammed Ibrahim (Interpreter).
Private Sutton, R.E. (servant to Sir C. Wilson).
Khashm el Mus Bey (Admiral of Gordon's steamers).
110 Sudanese troops.

On the " Telahawieh " besides the crew :

Capt. L. J. Trafford 35th Regiment.
Lieut. Stuart Wortley, with his servant and a rifleman
1 Artificer R.N.
Abdel Hamid Bey (Commandant).
10 N.C.O.'s and men 35th Regiment.
80 Sudanese troops.

She had in tow a nuggar laden with durra and about 50 additional Sudanese soldiers.

Each of the steamers flew two Egyptian flags, one on the foremast and one on the stern.

At 8 a.m. on the morning of 24th January, 1885, Sir Charles Wilson started for Khartoum.

About 11 a.m. on 28th January, 1885, the first view of Khartoum was obtained, still some miles off. Neither of the steamers that General Gordon had retained came out to co-operate, and Khartoum itself fired heavily on Sir C. Wilson's steamers. The order was given to put about and run down stream.

At about 4 p.m. on 28th January, after having been continuously engaged for four hours, the steamers got clear of the enemies' batteries.

At 4.30 p.m. on 29th January the "Telahawieh" struck heavily on a sunken rock opposite Gebel Royan and became a total wreck.

On 31st January at about 3.30 p.m. the "Bordein" struck heavily on a sunken rock west of Mernat Island and also became a total wreck.

On 4th February Lord Charles Beresford having repaired the damage done to the boiler of the "Safia" by Dervish gunfire off Wad Habashi, rescued Sir Charles Wilson's party, which arrived safely at Gubab at 5.45 p.m. the same day.

[NOTE.—The above description, written in the handwriting of the late Brigadier-General Sir H. W. Jackson, K.B.E., C.B., was found amongst his papers at Merowe.]

Roman Coins at Sennar.

WHEN I was walking round the site of the Fung and Turkish city at Old Sennar recently with the Governor, Mr. R. V. Bardsley, O.B.E., just on the north side of the ruined red-brick mosque, he picked up a small bronze or copper coin, which I at once recognised as a Roman one. I sent it to the Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum and he (Mr. J. Allan) replied: "I am sorry I cannot identify the coin exactly. It is, however, undoubtedly a Roman coin of about 350 A.D., such as were found at Howara. It is impossible to be certain of the emperor without the legend, as the portraits look very much alike at this period."

The coin varies from ·50 to ·56 of an inch in diameter, and appears to be similar to the type of Egyptian feudal currency of the fifth century A.D. which consisted of cast pieces copied on a reduced scale from the

Imperial coins which circulated in Egypt, and is described by Mr. J. G. Milne in *Ancient Egypt*, 1926, pp. 5–9, and 1931, pp. 73 and 74.

In itself, of course, it proves nothing ; and I could find no other coins like it on the surface, though I looked about the site several times, and found several pieces of metal that probably had once been coins, but are now quite unrecognisable.

It would be interesting to know how it came there. At any rate, it does not contradict my theory that Sennar was not founded, as has hitherto been accepted, in 1504 A.D., but was originally an outpost of ancient Egypt on the trade route to Beni Shangul ; though probably the oldest part of the site has been destroyed by the river, erosion of the river bank at this point being most severe.

A. J. ARKELL.

A Possible Relic of Christianity in Darfur.

IN earlier numbers of *Sudan Notes and Records* there are several notes describing ceremonies which appear to embody relics of Christian practices. These relics consist largely in making the sign of the cross or in going through motions reminiscent of Christian baptismal rites. There are also described certain offerings made on stones, and these have been supposed to have been ancient pagan customs.

The point to which I wish to draw attention is that in a number of these ceremonies milk, *dihn* and fat are used for making the sign of the cross or for smearing the rock or other object concerned. Three or four years ago I heard my friend, Mr. J. Omer Cooper, describe his experiences on a collecting trip to Abyssinia with Dr. H. Scott. He described a number of Christian ceremonies which he had seen and in which the smearing of prodigious quantities of butter on certain stones, and, if I remember rightly, in some cases on trees, played an important part. It struck me when reading the articles mentioned above, that the use of butter or related substances for such purposes in Abyssinia and in Darfur, in the latter country in rites foreign to the present religion, and in some cases actually in making a cruciform sign, might be more than a coincidence. Previous writers naturally have stressed the occurrence of the sign of the cross, but it is worth while putting forward the suggestion that ceremonial offerings of milk and butter on stones or other revered objects may have been widespread amongst the old African Christians,

and may not have been derived from the pagan aborigines. If evidence were forthcoming to support this suggestion, it would help in our understanding of the former extent of Christianity in Africa, for the cross is such a simple sign to make, that its occurrence alone cannot be taken as evidence of much value.

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A. P. G. Michelmore.

The Mberidi and Mbegumba.

My paper on " The Mberidi and Mbegumba of the Bahr-el-Ghazal " (*Sudan Notes and Records*. Vol. XIV, 1931) was sent in typo-script to the Governor of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, who passed it on to Father Santandrea of the Congregation of Verona. Father Santandrea made a number of criticisms of my paper, but these arrived too late for me to insert them in the text. However, Dr. Tucker made use of his manu-script when writing his article on " The tribal confusion around Wau " (*Sudan Notes and Records*. Vol. XIV, 1931) and I understand that Father Santandrea himself will publish his views on the same subject in a near issue of this journal. I wish, therefore, to mention only one or two of Father Santandrea's criticisms and to make some corrections in my paper which I had hoped to insert in " proof."

Father Santandrea takes exception to the tribal nomenclature which I have used in my paper, but the differences between us are on the surface since we appear to agree on the linguistic and cultural relationships of the peoples of the western Bahr-el-Ghazal and on the history of the area during the last century. There are no well-supported rules about tribal names, and in speaking of the Mberidi and Mbegumba I have deliberately adopted titles not used by these tribes when speaking of themselves on the grounds that it is better to use names already introduced into literature unless there are good reasons to change them. I will not on this occasion give an account of what, in my opinion, constitute good reasons.

M. J. W. introduced the terms Mberidi and Mbegumba into literature to refer to two peoples of different history, language and culture, who formerly masqueraded under the name of Belanda as though they formed a homogeneous group, and I have followed him in this usage. Actually M. J. W. in his note (*Sudan Notes and Records.* Vol. VI, 1923) spoke of Amberidi and Ambegumba, but the " a " prefix is so clearly borrowed from Zande speech that I thought there would be no objection to dropping it. Likewise I used the term Basiri, since this title is found in the writings of a number of French and Belgian scholars.

We all agree that Bor is the correct title for Mberidi (Amberidi, Mberodi, Mverodi), though they appear to form a distinct political and historic unit among the Bor. Father Santandrea writes that M. J. W.'s Kamum is undoubtedly a misnomer and that they should be spoken of as Kunam (" People of the River "). Instead of Mbegumba (Ambegumba, Mvegumba, Gumba, Gamba), Father Santandrea and Dr. Tucker prefer Bviri and Biri respectively (I wrote Veri in my article). For Basiri (Shere, Sheri, Sere), Father Santandrea and Dr. Tucker write Sere and Seri respectively. Before a final nomenclature for these tribes is decided on, it will be well to await Father Santandrea's article and the results of Dr. Tucker's present research in the north-western Bahr-el-Ghazal.

A few obvious Zande words were left unmarked in my Basiri vocabulary, and Father Santandrea has supplied the correct terms :—

	Zande.	*Basiri.*
Open-wove basket	baga	kere.
Lion	bahu	siringini.
Hyena	zege	mbu.

It is possible that other Zande words have crept in as well, but it is difficult to be sure as both languages belong to the same wide linguistic group (*e.g.*, *gbe*, buffalo ; *Mbali*, God, in Basiri. Father Santandrea noticed two misprints in the Ndogo vocabulary of Father Ribero : " drum " should be *qwo* and " nose " should be *ṅo*.

Other corrections are : page 35, line 19, *tara* is a " root " in Zande, though here it probably means stalks of grass ; page 32, line 16, for *vuru* read *vura* ; page 34, line 10, delete the second *sa* ; page 43, insert 14·12 for average head breadth of the Bongo, and 18·93 for their average head length.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

June, 26th 1932.

REVIEWS.

AFRICA VIEW.

By JULIAN HUXLEY.

(Chatto & Windus, 1931, 15s.)

A NOTICE of this book, so long after its publication, might at first sight appear out of time ; but its interest and importance for all in the southern Sudan, whether missionaries or officials, is so great that no excuse seems needed for calling attention to it, even at this late date.

There are few commoner topics in any gathering in the South than the growing sophistication of the native, his increasing adoption of clothes, the value of education, the effects of missionary work, in other words the effect on the African of contact with a more advanced and alien civilisation. Such is the subject of Professor Huxley's book, and though he is dealing primarily with Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, the countries which he visited at the request of the Colonial Office to advise on certain aspects of native education, their problems are ours, and for giving us a background and clearing our ideas his book will be invaluable.

His subsidiary chapters on such subjects as the tsetse fly, medical work, African pre-history, wild life and game sanctuaries, the Rift valleys, are fascinating enough and generally have a direct bearing on the Sudan ; but it is in his treatment of indirect rule, the education of the African, Missions and African life, that his immediate importance for us lies. His clear-cut picture of what is being thought and done elsewhere in these matters will help us to co-ordinate our efforts here. For whereas in the north the development of indirect rule is aided by a fund of common experience resulting in a co-ordinating theory, in the south there is far less common experience or knowledge of what is being done by others, and experiments are largely individualistic. This book will provide a touchstone by which they may be tested. His angle of approach is a new one. We are accustomed to think of educationalists or administrators writing on such subjects ; but he writes as a scientist and biologist. His conclusions may not be acceptable to all ; but they are so clearly inspired by the desire for truth and are so free from spite or malice, and define the issues with such attention that they are bound to command respect.

He puts the question bluntly, " What are we in Africa for ? Have we any clear idea, as a nation, of what we think or hope the country will be like in fifty or a hundred years' time ? " He sees in this, our time, the crucial moment. " The period since the War has been characterised by a new spirit in African affairs—the desire to find and lay down principles of native policy, which shall be acceptable to the general conscience of civilisation and shall promote both the development of African material resources and that of the African peoples towards a fuller life. The exact issue is not yet decided ; but we can safely prophesy that the history books of the future will record as one of the special characteristics of the present half-century, the fact that it fixed the broad lines along which the destines of Africa were to develop." " . . . . Its destiny is still fluid, the lines of its human future not yet laid down. It is the one continent which is not yet set in its ways."

It is a commonplace of conversation to deplore the passing of the picturesque savage in his simplicity, nakedness and barbarity, and contemplation of the machine-made uniformity of Europe makes it hard not to sympathise with this attitude. But Professor Huxley emphasises the impracticability of maintaining the *status quo*, of keeping the primitive African unchanged, a museum-piece in a glass case. " . . . . the mere presence of the white man in Africa makes it impossible for the primitive condition of things to continue—every motor car, every Mission, every packet of cigarettes or yard of cotton print, every book to be read, every black man who can write, these and a thousand other things are altering the conditions in which and the ideas by which African natives live." Taking these things so for granted as we do, it is difficult for us to realise how intense is their impact on the African mind and African society, how " to the primitive African all this is new, startlingly and often menacingly new. It is a violent invasion of his mental country. His atmosphere has been unreflective, unprogressive, local, both in time and space. The true idea of science, whether as spirit of free enquiry or as controller of nature for man's use, is alien to his thought. He has no history . . . . Reading and writing can still appeal to him in full freshness as a magic key to new realms and powers."

It is for education, missionary effort and the administrations to bridge the gulf for the African, " without dislocation of soul," and in these

chapters Professor Huxley outlines suggestions as to how they can co-operate to that great end. He is no opponent of Missions, and if he finds some things to criticise, his criticism is patently honest and sincere, and he finds as much and more to praise. His plea that the missionary, " who sets out to re-mould the immemorial life of whole peoples," should submit himself to a definite training for so responsible a task is strange only in that it should be necessary.

To many, the most discouraging aspect of Mission work is the disunion of Christianity itself, which is splitting Africa into numberless cults and creeds and introducing new intolerances and hatreds as virulant as those it seeks to eliminate, as Uganda, the scene of the last religious civil war, bears witness. For many, though this is not so stated by Professor Huxley, this is the main, the fatal, objection to Mission work at all, particularly when the education of the native is entrusted entirely to their charge. The author here can give but little help ; he may deplore the fact but can suggest no remedy. For even if, as he observes, there is a growing tendency within some of the bodies to emphasise the ethical as against the dogmatic side of their religion, this by no means implies mutual tolerance between the creeds, and secular education would seem the sole, if partial, remedy unless the Government can mobilise and make use of that potential non-sectarian missionary energy to the waste of which Professor Huxley calls attention.

On the educational side, Professor Huxley discusses the objects which African education should have in view and what should be the core of the curriculum which would best attain them. He finally elects for biology, which at first sight may seem strange. But as he shows, all science and art can be carried in its train, and what subject more likely to combat, not only the physical diseases which decimate the African, but also his inability to connect cause and effect and its deplorable consequence of witchcraft.

He closes a stimulating book by answering his own question and giving a sketch of Africa as it might become under wise guidance.

It will be seen from the foregoing how closely the arguments apply to the southern Sudan. In some respects this country is more fortunate than those with which he is primarily dealing. It is nearer primitive

conditions, it has moved less far, the problem is, therefore, less complicated. The great difficulties of white settlement are absent. Our problems are similar for the reason that the economic position is less advanced. But here lies a difficulty. In a sentence already quoted, Professor Huxley couples material with cultural development as the object of our endeavour. But what if the country itself be incapable of material development on any scale ? The southern Sudan has probably the longest, and so the most expensive, lines of communication in Africa. For this reason its grain markets must apparently remain limited and local. Cotton is so far the only money crop which holds out possibilities, but its cultivation is so far sporadic and its future by no means assured. Education, in Professor Huxley's sense, is not merely a mechanical device for providing clerical labour, but a means for the enjoyment of a better and fuller life. But the question here obtrudes itself, which he unfortunately does not discuss, to what extent the degree of a culture which a country can support is conditioned by its material potentialities. Until a fuller life is available it cannot be enjoyed, and it may be that in reality the economic expansion of the south is the prior problem.

L. F. N.

NOTES AND QUERIES IN ANTHROPOLOGY.

(5th Edition, 1929. Published by the Royal Anthropological Institute. Price to members, 4s. 6d. ; to non-members, 6s. 5d. ; post free.)

THIS handy volume is intended less for the expert than, to quote from the preface, " for the use of those who have had no special training in anthropology or who may not have had the opportunity to read widely " ; and its object is " to enable all those who have special opportunities for research to make the most of them, and to ensure that inquiries are made with some attempt at scientific method so as to be of use to themselves and to students at home."

It should fulfil this purpose admirably. The various sub-headings begin with explanation of and definition of terms and then go on to indicate the possible variants and ramifications of each idea. It should be an easy matter, with its aid, for the amateur to prepare for himself a

framework which will serve to give an accurate outline of the customs and beliefs of the tribes with which he is dealing, and to follow up in detail any subject of particular interest. There is also a valuable chapter on method.

The anthropology of large tracts of the southern Sudan is still almost untouched, and every District Commissioner and every missionary has unlimited opportunity for research. For all such this book will be a valuable addition to their library. Those who have never tried it will find that anthropology will provide, not only a fascinating hobby, but a fertile source of conversation along the road or in the rest-house.

L. F. N.

PEOPLE OF THE BOOK.

By MAJOR A. J. POTT, D.C.M.

(Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Ltd., London and Edinburgh, 1932. 5s. net.)

GENERAL Sir Reginald Wingate has contributed a foreword to this volume, from which the following may fitly be quoted in this place :—

" In the Foreword I wrote a year or so ago to ' The Story of Fergie Bey,' I said that it was my set purpose ' to call special attention to the wonderful record of a peculiarly useful life . . . to be studied, examined and indeed, if possible, to become an inspiration to old and young alike.' During the seventeen years I was privileged to govern the Sudan, I added that the great majority of officers, officials and others who assisted me in my task were imbued with that self-same spirit of loyal devotion to duty and of uncomplaining cheerfulness under the trying conditions of climate, hardship and loneliness. It was to those men working, so to speak, in the outposts of Empire, that I desired to pay a tribute of warm appreciation of their splendid services and of their loyal co-operation. The story of their lives in those remote regions shows, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the great spirit of courage and adventure, which had made our Empire, is still vigorous ; and in mourning the loss of such men as Vere Fergusson, Chauncey Stigand, and others ' who sleep where they fell,' I little thought I should be asked once more to comment on another

fine life which had fallen by the way—not, indeed, in such tragic circumstances, but as a result of that arduous service which in peace and war takes so heavy a toll on the lives of men who cheerfully and unflinchingly bear 'the White Man's burden' in the great cause of civilisation and progress.

"Such a man was the writer of the following 'sketches' of *Sudan Life and Service*

"This collection of the late Major Pott's sketches, most of which have previously appeared in Blackwood's Magazine, the National Review and the Army Quarterly Review, will no doubt appeal to a large circle of readers in the Sudan, and to others interested in that country. Fact and fiction are combined to form a record of native life in war and peace, and of the white man's reaction to the African scene."