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# Sudan Notes and Records.

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VOL. XXVIII, 1947.

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(A reprint of Vol. 1, Part 1, is issued as a supplement to this Volume).

# SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

VOLUME XXVIII

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# SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

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\* \* \*

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# Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

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

|                                                      |                |               |
|------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| ا { at beginning of<br>word omit, hamza<br>elsewhere | 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 ġ                                             | ش sh           | ل l           |
| ح ḥ                                                  | ص ṣ            | م m           |
| خ kh                                                 | ض ḍ            | ن n           |
| د d                                                  | ط ṭ            | ه h           |
|                                                      | ظ ḏ            | و w           |
|                                                      | ع ʿ            | ي y           |

## VOWELS.

|       |    |            |   |
|-------|----|------------|---|
| fatḥa | a, | lengthened | ā |
| kasra | i, | „          | ī |
| ḍamma | u, | „          | ū |

## DIPHTHONGS.

|    |                     |
|----|---------------------|
| اي | —ai (as in aisle).  |
| او | —au (as in mauser). |

The *J* of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ت) 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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## EDITORIAL NOTES.

World conditions remain difficult, and *Sudan Notes and Records* is not alone in still having to compete with difficulties. Mr. Hurcomb, of Messrs. McCorquodale & Co. (Sudan) Ltd., whose personal interest has contributed in no small way to the production of numbers of which we know the worth, despite what had to be contended with before they saw the light of day, has at last had to admit defeat. Increased work for government and labour troubles have not been offset by the new machinery that has reached Messrs. McCorquodale in Khartoum, and we have gratefully had to have recourse once more to the parent firm in England, who have done good work for us in the past and who, as these notes are written, hope to have Vol. 28 in subscribers' hands before the end of 1947. If that occurs, we shall at last be on the right leg, and our hope will be to return to the production of two parts in 1948. This year we are compelled to resort once more to a double number.

\* \* \*

It is with considerable satisfaction that we announce the decision of our Committee to reprint early numbers that are out of print and to issue them to subscribers as free supplements ; and we start this year with Part I of Volume I.

\* \* \*

For some time the costs of printing have been rising, and *Sudan Notes and Records* has been costing more to produce than subscribers pay for it. We shall not put up the price unless we have to, because we want more Sudanese readers, and we fear that, just when they are beginning to increase, a rise in price would be likely to check that increase. But we may be forced either to increase our price or to decrease our size, and we should like subscribers' opinions as to which course they would prefer us to take, if we have to make the choice. In the meanwhile, we record our gratitude to the Sudan Government for the subsidy which has enabled us to carry on without raising our price, and would remind readers that though we owe much to the Government, we are not a government publication. At the same time, we would suggest to each subscriber that it is to everyone's benefit to try to find new subscribers. We are refraining from any advertising campaign ourselves until such times as we can feel confident of appearing regularly. But

the more subscribers, obviously, the sounder our finances and the less need for us to raise our price, and, more than that, the more people interested in the country in which they live and work.

\* \* \*

This brings us back to the text on which we feel bound to preach in season and out of season. A real knowledge of the Sudan and its inhabitants is essential both to the Sudanese and to foreign residents, without whose help the Sudanese cannot hope to rise once more to the world power they once were, and about which we are privileged to produce two articles by well-known archæologists in this number. Without such knowledge, plans and projects cannot bear good fruit. *Sudan Notes and Records* is proud of the part it is playing in spreading knowledge of the Sudan; but the one institution that can spread that knowledge more than any other, pleasantly and effectively, through the eye, would be a proper museum, and for that reason it is with great regret that we have learned that the Sudan Government, although including large sums for education in its Development Budget for the next five years, has not found it possible to allot any of that money to a museum. There is a hope that provision may be made in the Development Budget for the second five years, and we would ask all readers to lose no opportunity of working for such a desirable end.

\* \* \*

In the meanwhile, we are happy to record growth in the Sudan's Antiquities Service. A second post of Antiquities Officer (Sudanese) has been created and filled, as has also a post which it is intended shall one day develop into that of Assistant Curator of the museum. The Antiquities Service has also now its own mason, who has started work at Musawwarat es Sufra underpinning walls about to collapse. Much work awaits him, for the life of many ancient monuments can be prolonged by intelligent repair.

\* \* \*

Increasing demand for space at Gordon College is leading to the closing of all rooms there previously allotted to the natural history and antiquities collections. Temporary accommodation is being provided in the grounds of the Khartoum Museum, and the bird, reptile and small mammal collections are already on view there. A re-arrangement of the Khartoum Museum building itself is proposed for this winter,

to enable it to house the antiquities previously exhibited at Gordon College. It is intended to stage a skeleton exhibit in which each room will represent a main period in the history of the Sudan, and will contain a few striking archæological exhibits from that period and a few ethnological objects deriving from or illustrative of that period. This should indicate how the Sudan's history could be put across in a proper museum, but for lack of space most of the antiquities and ethnological collections will have to remain in store until there is such a museum.

\* \* \*

The Flinders Petrie library has arrived safely at Khartoum from Jerusalem, and is housed in a temporary building at the Khartoum Museum, where it is of great use to the Commissioner for Archæology and his staff and to the new Research Fellow in Archæology at Gordon College and his students. We extend a warm welcome to Mr. Oliver Myers, who is filling this last post, and whom we expect to take this opportunity to extend his researches into the relations between the Nile Valley and the country to the west of it in ancient times.

\* \* \*

At the end of its first year the Philosophical Society of the Sudan can look back on a number of successful meetings held regularly at Khartoum. Printing difficulties have prevented its giving good value to its members in out-stations, but one address given to the Society appears in this number, and another will appear shortly in our contemporary, *Antiquity*.

\* \* \*

We are pleased to print contributions by three Sudanese in this number, and appeal to other Sudanese readers to send us articles or short notes on any subject that is an addition to knowledge about their country.

# SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

Vol. XXVIII

1947

## OUTLINE OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE SUDAN

PART V. THE KINGDOM OF KUSH AT NAPATA AND MEROE

(750 B.C. to A.D. 350)

By Dows Dunham<sup>1</sup>

In continuation of the "Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan"  
by G. A. Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*

- I. The Early Trading Caravans. Vol. I, pp. 3-15.
- II. The Egyptian Occupation of Ethiopia during the Middle Empire. Vol. I, pp. 57-79.
- III. The Egyptianization of Ethiopia. Vol. I, pp. 217-237.
- IV. The First Kingdom of Ethiopia, its Conquest of Egypt, and its Development into a Kingdom of the Sudan (1100-250 B.C.). Vol. II, pp. 35-67.

Professor Reisner had projected a fifth in his series of articles in this Journal which would have brought his Outline of History down to the fall of Meroë, and would have embodied the evidence obtained from his excavation of the royal cemeteries adjacent to that city. The present article is designed to complete his project, and to suggest certain modifications in his already published account, which detailed study of the full body of his excavation records have made necessary. And the first change I propose is the abandoning of the term "Ethiopia" as applied to the northern Sudan. "Ethiopia" was used by classical writers somewhat loosely to designate north-east Africa south of Egypt, including the territory under discussion. To-day its use in this sense is confusing, for it is very generally applied to the Kingdom of Abyssinia—is in fact the official designation of that country. The ancient Egyptians never used

<sup>1</sup> This paper is the substance of an address given to the Philosophical Society of the Sudan at Khartoum on Dec. 21, 1946.

the word, and I suggest that we should do well to adopt their practice and call the northern Sudan "Kush."

The sites we shall consider are the royal cemeteries of Napata and Meroë, five in all. At Napata (the modern Kareima—Merowe area on the Dongola reach) there are two: El Kurruw on the west bank of the Nile, some nine miles below Jebel Barkal; and Nuri on the east bank, about five miles upstream. At Meroë (the modern Begarawiyeh north of Shendi) there are three, all east of the ancient city of that name. The South Cemetery lies on a rocky hill about two and a half miles east of the city. The North Cemetery extends along a ridge a few hundred yards from the South Cemetery. The great West Cemetery is situated in the plain only about one mile east of Meroë. I shall have to mention two other sites incidentally: the great Temple of Amon of Napata at Jebel Barkal, and the Barkal Pyramids, which lie in two small groups south-west of and near that dominating rock.

The period to be covered runs from 750 B.C. to A.D. 350, some 1,100 years, and during this time there were 65 generations of the rulers of Kush, including both the Meroitic and Napatan periods, and many of their names are still unknown. I shall refer to them by the number of the generation to which they belong and shall only use names for the more important kings.<sup>2</sup>

The Middle Kingdom tombs found at Kerma<sup>3</sup> showed certain peculiarities in the native burial customs of the northern Sudan about 2,000 B.C. These were first the use of a circular gravel mound as a superstructure; second, burial of the dead in a natural sleeping posture on a bed, not in a coffin; and third, the practice of killing servants and wives to be buried in the tomb with their master—called sati-burial.

At El Kurruw, the earliest cemetery in our series, we found the tombs of five generations of ancestors of the Napatan kings, and the oldest of these were circular mounds. Unfortunately they had been so heavily plundered that the method of burial could not be ascertained, but of the kings of Napata for the first six generations four are known to have been buried on beds, the evidence for the other two is inconclusive, and all their queens were so buried. Thus we have reappearing two of the three

<sup>2</sup> For the complete list, with dates, see Reisner, "The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: a Chronological Outline," in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, IX, pp. 34-77. The list is also published in abridged form by F. Addison, *Guide to the Museum of Antiquities, Gordon College, Khartoum*, 1934, pp. 13 and 15.

<sup>3</sup> See II in this series.

characteristics of Sudanese burial customs found at Kerma. I may add parenthetically that the third, sati-burial, crops up again in late tombs of the Meroitic period. I stress this matter, because there has been some controversy as to the race of the rulers of Napata and Meroë, and I cite the similarity in burial customs as evidence in favour of those who claim that they were of local Sudanese origin, however much their indigenous culture may have been overlaid with a rather thick veneer of Egyptian civilisation.

The first of the Napatan kings, Kashta (1), captured Thebes, and his successor Piankhy (2) completed the conquest of Egypt and founded the 25th Dynasty. The third and fourth generations were represented by Shabaka and Shabataka, both buried with their predecessors in pyramid tombs at El Kurruw. Tirhaqa (5) fought the Assyrians in Egypt, but returned to be the first builder of a tomb in the new cemetery at Nuri. His successor Tanutaman (6), after he had been expelled from Egypt, thus becoming the last king of the 25th Dynasty, was buried in the last of the royal tombs at El Kurruw. With the seventh generation the Napatan royal family adopted Nuri as their cemetery, and a long series of kings' and queens' pyramids was built there, the last tomb on the site being that of Nastasen (26). These men called themselves kings of Egypt, as indeed did the later kings of Meroë until the end, but it was clearly a meaningless boast and without substance. Both in the size of their tombs, the quality of their construction, and the richness of their equipment the early rulers buried at Nuri show little, if any, falling off in wealth and power, but there is a marked deterioration in the later tombs. One fact is, however, quite striking and significant. Taking all the Napatan kings and queens from the first to the twelfth generation, we find that they had an average of well over four queens per reign. But for the remaining fourteen kings buried at Nuri we find only nineteen queens, an average of less than one and a half per king. The king of the twelfth generation was Malenaqan, who died about 538 B.C. It seems improbable that his successors married substantially fewer wives than their forebears, but if not, where are they buried?

Let us turn now to Meroë. The South Cemetery begins with graves on top of the hill, which go back as far as the reign of Piankhy (2). The cemetery grew down the eastern slopes with tombs which, in type of structure and content, parallel the burials at El Kurruw and Nuri. The site ends with the pyramids of the three kings of generations 28 to 30

together with the tombs of their queens. The cemetery now contained no further suitable space for the erection of a large royal pyramid, and the kings of Meroë had to find a new place of burial.

This they did at the North Cemetery, which contains only the tombs of rulers : kings, reigning queens, and a few crown princes. It grew from south to north along the ridge and then back again along its eastern slope, and the cemetery covers the period from the 31st to the 65th generation, that is, to the end of the Meroitic Kingdom. Although the earlier tombs are large and well built, the later ones are small and miserably poor in quality. It is obvious that the period of prosperity and power did not extend very much beyond the reign of Netekaman (44), which ended in A.D. 15.

The West Cemetery is by far the largest of all the royal sites, for it contains some 795 tombs, although none are those of kings. Further, it covers the full range of both Napatan and Meroitic history with burials all the way from generations 2 to 65. The earliest tombs lie on a low knoll at the western edge of the cemetery and cover generations 2 to 12. Then comes a series of some twenty large and well-placed tombs which, by comparison of their types with those found at Nuri, fall within generations 10 to 26. Whether they were mastabas or pyramids it is now impossible to say, for the superstructures have been too much denuded, but I believe they are the tombs of the queens whom we failed to find at Nuri. After this the cemetery extended on out into the plain to the east with tombs of very varying size and form, but including a number of queens' pyramids, and covering the same range of dates as the North Cemetery.

Among the early burials in both the South and West Cemeteries covering generations 2 to 10 or 12 there are distinguished two very different types. First there are the bed-burials. In them the body lay on its side in a sleeping position on a wooden bed or *angareeb*, and it showed no signs of mummification. These graves were remarkably rich in furniture, which corresponded in style with what was found in the royal tombs at El Kurruw and the earlier ones at Nuri. Scattered among these bed-burials were graves of a different type which I call pit-burials. These graves were narrow; the body lay extended on the back in a wooden coffin which was sometimes of anthropoid form, and frequently the body had been covered with a bead-net in which had been worked a face, broad collar, winged scarab, and the four Canopic figures, all in the

traditional late Egyptian manner. These pit-graves were extremely poor in furniture, but where objects were found in them they were of the same types and date as those from the bed-burials. Clearly the two forms of burial are contemporary with each other. Also it seems quite certain that the bed-burials contained people of Kushite tradition who were on the whole wealthy, while the pit-burials contained people of Egyptian tradition who were relatively poor.

One further point must be taken up before we can attempt an historical reconstruction. We have at Meroë the South and West Cemeteries which are contemporary with each other from generations 2 to 30. The West Cemetery is the larger and lies close to the city. The South Cemetery is rather isolated and is the place chosen by the immediate successors of the Nuri kings for their pyramids. I believe that the only reasonable explanation of these facts is that there were two separate groups of people living at Meroë in the Napatan period, both with the same culture but nonetheless differentiated in some way. I suggest that the West Cemetery was the traditional burial place of the local aristocracy of Meroë, and that the South Cemetery was the burial place of their cousins of Napata, sent originally to this provincial city as administrators and representatives of the central government.

On the basis of the facts we have considered I shall now attempt a brief review of what I believe to be the history of Kush from the beginning of the 25th Dynasty to A.D. 350.

---

We start with the focus of interest at Napata. This great centre for the worship of Amon-Ra had been subjected to the influence of Egyptian religious culture ever since the 18th Dynasty, and to Egyptian governmental control, under the Viceroys of Kush, throughout the imperial period. Political control had undoubtedly been relaxed during the 21st Dynasty, and by the end of the 22nd Dynasty, Kush had become actually, if not nominally, independent. While the religious beliefs of the local ruling class were in most respects Egyptian, their local origin is reflected in their custom of using a bed for the burial of their dead rather than mummification in a coffin. Living with and working for these local rulers, however, was a considerable group of real Egyptians: priests of the Amon-cult, artists and artisans, scribes, and petty officials. The economic basis of power lay in the control of the trade along the river

highway to Egypt; the traffic in gold from the mines in the eastern desert, the trade in cattle, hides, slaves, ostrich feathers, ebony, ivory and the many other products of the south which Egypt imported from the Sudan. In the Napatan district itself agriculture, while adequate for local needs, could hardly have formed the basis for an extensive and profitable export trade, for the region lies north of the rain belt, and land cultivable by irrigation from the Nile was limited. A secondary centre, Meroë, lay further south, within the area of annual summer rains. While less advantageously placed than Napata for the control of trade with Egypt, it was more favourable for cattle raising and was closer to the sources of wealth in the central and southern Sudan. But more important than these factors was the extensive iron smelting industry, of which the great slag heaps in the immediate vicinity of the city of Meroë still give evidence. That this industry should have been established at Meroë is due not so much to the existence there of suitable iron ore (for much of that is also found at Napata) but to the plentiful supply of timber for fuel, not to be obtained in the more arid country further north<sup>4</sup>. I envisage Meroë at the beginning of our story as a city perhaps as large as Napata: a provincial centre of major importance subservient to the capital and controlled by people of the same stock, whether governors appointed by the ruling family at Napata or nominally independent cousins of the same racial origin.

Kashta (1), the first of the Kushites whose name has survived, conquered Thebes and forced the adoption of his daughter Amenirdis by the high-priestess of Amon at Karnak. His successor Piankhy (2) conquered the whole of Egypt and founded the 25th Dynasty. The kings of this family ruled Egypt but were buried at Napata, all except Tirhaqa (5) in the ancestral cemetery at El Kurruw. Although Tanutaman (6), last of the dynasty, was driven out of Egypt by the Assyrians, the family continued to rule Kush and to be buried at Napata for another three hundred and fifty years, calling themselves still Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, and laying claim to a sovereignty which they could no longer exercise. As a result of their intimate contact with Egypt during their rule over that country the kings of Napata, beginning perhaps with

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<sup>4</sup> The date at which the smelting of iron began to be practised at Meroë has not been definitely fixed. If the occurrence of this metal in tombs may be taken as any indication however, the industry would appear to have been in fairly active operation soon after 600 B.C.

Tirhaqa, dropped their local custom of bed-burial, and somewhat later the practice was abandoned by the lesser members of the ruling class and entirely disappeared.<sup>5</sup>

(With loss of control over Egypt and the resultant falling off in the lucrative trade with that country, the economic basis of prosperity began to shift and the city of Meroë assumed growing importance. Tirhaqa (5) seems to have erected at least one building there even during the height of his Egyptian adventure. Four generations later the name of Anlaman (9) occurs frequently on inscriptions at Meroë, as do also those of his immediate successors Aspalta (10), Amtalqa (11), and Malenaqan (12), and Garstang reports royal residential buildings there of this period. I have already called attention to the sudden change in the incidence of queens' tombs at Nuri with the reign of Malenaqan, and to the existence of tombs at Meroë which appear to fill the gap. It is, I believe, clear that the kings of Kush, fairly soon after they had lost control over Egypt, began to make Meroë their habitual residence. Very probably the centre of administration followed economic pressure, and Meroë became the political capital of the country at this time. But Napata, the traditional centre of Amon-worship, remained the religious capital long after the government had moved to a more convenient place. When he died the king, according to custom, was buried in the royal cemetery at Nuri, and so at first were his queens. With the successors of Malenaqan, however, this practice was modified and only certain of the royal women were transported to Napata to lie beside the king.

Reisner has named the period between the close of the 25th Dynasty and the death of Nastasen (26) the Napatan Kingdom, because these kings had their tombs at Nuri and he assumed that Napata was the seat of government. I believe this assumption to be incorrect and that we are not justified in making so clear-cut a distinction between two kingdoms. While there was undoubtedly a shift of the capital from Napata to Meroë, I am convinced that the change was gradual, and that in everything but the burial place of the king and the observances of the Amon-cult it took place much earlier than was formerly supposed. The ruling class was divided into two clans or families, one with headquarters at Napata and the other living at Meroë. They were closely related and shared a common culture. The Napatan group was the dominant one during the early

<sup>5</sup> The practice appears again shortly after the fall of Meroë, when burials on angareebbs are recorded by Prof. Garstang in mounds near the city. See J. Garstang, *Meroë, the City of the Ethiopians*, Pl. XXXVIII, 1; XL, 2.

period, and from it sprang the kings buried at El Kurruw and Nuri. The cemetery or cemeteries at Napata in which the lesser members of the family were buried have not yet been identified.<sup>6</sup> During this early period the Meroitic group were not royal and they were buried in unpretentious graves in the West Cemetery close to the city. At the same time there resided at Meroë a considerable group of people of the Napatan family, representatives of the politically dominant group, many of them no doubt holding positions of authority in this provincial city on behalf of the central government. They buried their dead in the isolated South Cemetery. When the growing economic importance of Meroë induced the kings to spend an increasing part of their time there, and eventually to govern from that city, they doubtless began also to marry women from the Meroitic aristocracy in addition to wives from their own Napatan clan. The burial of such queens in the West Cemetery would be a perfectly natural procedure: the queens of Napatan origin, however, would continue to lie at Nuri with their husbands. If, as I believe, the South Cemetery was that of the Napatan residents at Meroë, it would be the logical place for kings of the Napatan clan to build their tombs once the tradition of burial at Nuri had lost its compelling force. On this assumption I suggest that the three kings buried in the South Cemetery were Napatan, and if there was ever a definite shift in power from one clan to the other, it must rather have come with the 31st generation which founded the North Cemetery as a burial ground for kings, but placed its queens and lesser royalties in the old West Cemetery of the Meroitic clan.

There are subsidiary factors which appear to support the two-family or rival clan theory I have put forward. At Jebel Barkal there are two groups of pyramids. In the largest pyramid of the older group (Barkal IX) Reisner places a nameless king (27) who, he thinks, intervened between Nastasen (26) and Arikakaman (28), first king buried at Meroë South. Since there was no room at Nuri for further royal pyramid construction after Nastasen<sup>7</sup>, the earlier Barkal group may well represent a king of the Napatan clan, and a few of his descendants, who refused to give up the old burial tradition and set up a short-lived kingdom at Napata in

<sup>6</sup> But it is probable that they remain to be found, possibly at Sanam, where Prof. Griffith excavated a cemetery on the edge of modern Merowe clearly of the early Napatan period, but revealing primarily Egyptian burial practices. See *Oxford Excavations in Nubia: The Cemetery at Sanam*; in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, X, pp. 73-171, Pls. XI-LXVI.

<sup>7</sup> Owing to the unsuitable quality of the underlying rock in the areas remaining vacant, which precluded excavation of the necessary subterranean chambers.

rivalry with the branch of the family represented by Arikakaman and his successors. The second group at Barkal Reisner assigned to a line of local rulers of Napata who reigned there independently of the main line at Meroë during the 1st Century B.C., and who were finally wiped out by the Roman invasion in which Petronius captured Napata in the year 23. Such a situation might easily have arisen from an internal quarrel in the royal family and an attempt, momentarily successful, to revive the old Napatan tradition, very probably with the connivance of the priesthood of Amon of Napata.

The final elimination of Napata as a rival to Meroë appears to have been a real service rendered unwittingly by the Roman invaders. In any case the greatest flowering of Meroitic art followed hard on the heels of Petronius' attack. Netekaman (44) and his queen Amantari reigned for thirty years from B.C. 15 and produced some of the finest monuments in the Sudan. The splendid Lion Temple at Naga is an outstanding example, and I believe that we owe the two fallen colossi at Argo to the same enterprising couple. The Meroitic Kingdom survived for another three centuries, but its later history is one of slow but steady decline, a depressing story of waning power and failing craftsmanship. The end came with the destruction of Meroë by Aizana of Axum about A.D. 350, and although Meroitic culture of a degenerate kind unquestionably survived, and is reflected in the later mound burials at Meroë excavated by Professor Garstang, this story must end with the fall of the independent kingdom.

### KINGDOM OF KUSH

NAPATAN PERIOD: 750-538 B.C.

1st Phase ... King Kashta (1) to King Tanutaman (6).

750-653 B.C.

Conquest and loss of Egypt, ruled as the 25th Dynasty.

Kings rule over Napata and Meroë.

Royal residence and seat of government at Napata

Burial of kings and queens at Napata (El Kurruw and Nuri).

Meroë a provincial city.

2nd Phase ... King Atlanersa (7) to King Malenaqan (12).

653-538 B.C.

Kings rule over Napata and Meroë.

Principal royal residence and seat of government at Napata.

Secondary royal residence and provincial government at Meroë.

Burial of kings and queens at Napata (Nuri).

**MEROITIC PERIOD: 538 B.C.-A.D. 350.**

1st Phase ... King Nalma'aya (13) to King Nastasen (26).

538-308 B.C.

Kings rule over Napata and Meroë.

Royal residence and seat of government at Meroë.

Centre of Amon-worship still at Napata, but Amon Temple at Meroë built by 400 B.C. or earlier.

Kings and queens of Napatan stock buried at Napata (Nuri).

Queens of Meroitic stock buried at Meroë (West Cemetery).

King (27) buried at Barkal.

2nd Phase ... King Arikakaman (28) to King Kaltaly (30).

300-255 B.C.

Concentration of power at Meroë.

Napata retains importance only for its ancient sanctuary of Amon.

Burial of kings and queens in Napatan family cemetery at Meroë (South Cemetery).

3rd Phase ... King (31) to King Netekaman (44).

255 B.C.-A.D. 15.

Flowering of Meroitic culture: great building period.

Kings buried at Meroë (North Cemetery).

Queens and others buried at Meroë (West Cemetery).

Revolt of Napatan clan and short-lived division of kingdom with second group of pyramids at Barkal. Invasion of Napata by Petronius (23 B.C.) does not seriously affect Meroë.

4th Phase ... King Sherakarêr (45) to King (65).

A.D. 15-350.

Period of slow decline and degeneration.

Kings buried at Meroë (North Cemetery).

Queens and others buried at Meroë (West Cemetery).

Destruction of Meroë by Aizana of Axum (c. 350 A.D.).

## SOME ANCIENT RECORDS OF KORDOFAN

By G. A. Wainwright

So far as our evidence goes to-day the Ethiopian empire lay primarily on the eastern side of the Nile. Of the two capitals themselves Meroë was situated there and the earlier one, Napata, was on the same bank of the river. Moreover, from early days Ethiopian influence, and for all we know its rule, extended at least as far as Gebel Moiya in the Gezirah about as far south as is el-Obeid. Here have been found scarabs and small plaques bearing the cartouches of Ethiopian and Egyptian kings ranging from about 700 B.C. to the Ptolemaic period, *i.e.*, 330-30 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Further to the south a somewhat later settlement, of mid-Meroitic period, existed at Begawi on the Blue Nile some fifty miles or so north of Roseires on the Abyssinian border and not far from Fazoqli.<sup>2</sup> Not very far from Gebel Moiya a Meroitic cemetery dating to the turn of our era has been discovered on the east bank of the Blue Nile at the Makwar Dam near Sennar, and on the other bank of the river a grave of the fourth or fifth centuries A.D., when Meroë was breaking, or had broken, up.<sup>3</sup> A Roman coin of about A.D. 350 was found at Old Sennar.<sup>4</sup> Soba, on the Blue Nile about 14 miles south-east of Khartum, was a Meroitic centre,<sup>5</sup> as was Gebel Geili about ninety miles due east of Khartum<sup>6</sup>. At Khartum itself some pots have been dug up which are possibly of Meroitic date<sup>7</sup>.

All the foregoing are to the east of the White Nile, but what of Kordofan on the west? It is hardly likely that this was quite unknown

<sup>1</sup> Wellcome, in *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1912, p. 617.

<sup>2</sup> Addison, in *S.N. & R.*, xiii, p. 266 and Pls. i, iv. Could the gold of Fazoqli have been an attraction? Comparatively soon after this, *i.e.* from the sixth century A.D., we have accounts of the immense quantity of gold produced in the valley of the River Tumat (Wainwright in *Man*, 1942, pp. 52-58. See Long in *Man*, 1944, p. 104, for the correction of my calculation of the months in which Cosmas was there, and Arkell in *Man*, 1944, pp. 30, 31, for more detailed information about the gold-washings. He gives the valuable information that Cosmas' word *tanchara* for the gold nuggets "like little lupins" still survives in the Berta language of Fazoqli as *sancharu*. It is the name of a bean which looks like a nugget of gold. Roseires, which is about sixty miles north of Fazoqli, is one of the markets today for the gold.

<sup>3</sup> Addison in *S.N. & R.*, xviii, p. 292 and Pls. v, vi and p. 293 and Pl. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Arkell in *S.N. & R.*, xv, pp. 271, 272.

<sup>5</sup> Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, i (bound with Crowfoot, *The Island of Meroë*), pp. 51-53.

<sup>6</sup> Crowfoot, *The Island of Meroë*, pp. 24-27, and Griffith, p. 53. Mr. Crowfoot's map, Pl. i, shows other sites in the district, some of them still further to the east.

<sup>7</sup> Addison in *S.N. & R.*, xiv, p. 197, and Pl. xv. (Several Meroitic graves were found during the 1944-45 excavations at Khartum, see *S.N. & R.*, xxvi, pp. 182 and 331.—ED.)

to, and unaffected by, a civilized centralized power which extended so far southwards on the east from at least as early as the time of the great kings of the seventh century B.C. As a matter of fact it is proposed to show here that even southern Kordofan was known to these very kings, though the influence of Napata and Meroë does not seem to have been as great out west as it was in the east. Their relations with their western neighbours seem to have been almost entirely warlike all down the centuries.

The earliest information that we get about Kordofan takes us up as far south as the Bahr el-Ghazal, and is that given us by Herodotus about the Deserters. But before it is possible to consider this it must be established that it was southern Kordofan in which they were living, for it has generally been supposed that they were the Sembridae, hence that it was on the east of the Nile that they were given land. Herodotus' information is as follows.<sup>8</sup> In Bk. ii, 30, he says that making a journey by water (πλῆον) from this city (Meroë) you come to the Deserters. This implies that they lived near the river, and, while it does not cut out the Blue Nile, it rather implies the White Nile, for this is a steady and placid stream and very suitable for traffic, whereas the Blue Nile is only navigable for four months of the year.<sup>9</sup> Aristocreon, as quoted by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi., xxxv, 191, also knows that they were living primarily on the west of the Nile. Describing the Libyan, i.e. the western, side of the river, he reports "another town, Aesar, belonging to the Egyptians who fled from Psammetichus" and adds that "opposite (contra), on the Arabian side, Diaron is a town of theirs." Aristocreon's date is unfortunately not certain, but he would probably have been writing rather before 200 B.C.<sup>10</sup> Apparently they were moving eastward,

<sup>8</sup> As the paragraphs have to be discussed piecemeal they are set out here *in extenso*, so that the reader may form his own judgment of their value. (Ch. 30.) "Making a journey by water from this city (Meroë) you come to the country of the Deserters in a space of time equal to that which you took in coming from Elephantine to the capital of the Ethiopians..... When they arrived in Ethiopia these men offered their services to the king of the Ethiopians, who made them the following recompense. He bade them dispossess certain Ethiopians with whom he was at feud and occupy their land. By the settlement of these men among the Ethiopians the Ethiopians became more civilized and learned the manners of the Egyptians. (Ch. 31.) Now for a voyage and land journey of four months the Nile is known, in addition to that part of the stream which is in Egypt. For upon computation, so many months are known to be spent by a person who travels from Elephantine to the Deserters. The river flows from the west, and the sun's setting. Beyond this no one has any clear knowledge (οαφέως) to declare, for the rest of the country is desert by reason of the excessive heat."

<sup>9</sup> Page in *S.N. & R.*, ii, p. 299.

<sup>10</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. *Aristocreon*, and cf. *op. cit.*, s.v. *Chrysippos*, col. 2502, no. 14.

for, adding a quotation from another author, Bion, whose date is quite unknown, Pliny says that they have two other towns, one on an island in the Nile and another in Arabia, i.e., to the east of the Nile. He does not speak of the Sembritae here, but only much later, where in fact he distinguishes them from the Deserters, as will be shown immediately.

So far all is clear, and the Deserters' country was reached by sailing up a river which is more probably the White Nile rather than the Blue Nile. They are mentioned among the peoples on the west of the Nile where they had a town, appended to which is the information that they also had a town on the east of the river.

It should be noted that the Sembritae do not enter into the question, and it has just been remarked that Pliny actually distinguishes them very clearly from the Deserters. In this same §191 he quotes Bion once more, this time as saying that the chief city of the inhabitants of Aesar (i.e. the Deserters) is named Sembobitis and is situated on an island. Then in §193, quoting Bion again, Pliny says "After Sembobitis, in the direction of Meroë, the whole distance being twenty days' journey, on the first island reached [there is] a town of the Semberritae, governed by a queen."

It is impossible to separate the Deserters and the Semberritae (Sembritae) more clearly. Yet for some reason or another, probably through confusion between the two islands and the similarity of the two names Sembobitis and Semberritae (Sembritae), another writer, Eratosthenes, states categorically that the Sembritae were the Deserters. As quoted by Strabo (xvi, iv, 8) he is describing the African shores of the Red Sea and says "The country deep in the interior is called Tenessis. It is occupied by those Egyptians who took refuge from the government of Psammetichus. They are surnamed Sembritae as being strangers.<sup>11</sup> They are governed by a queen, to whom also Meroë, an island in the Nile near these places, is subject. Above this, at no great distance, is another

<sup>11</sup> E. Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, p. 19, finds himself unable to accept the Sembritae as Herodotus' Deserters, and considers the word to be the south-western Arabian name Shamar. Certainly there was much Arabian influence in the Nile countries from early days onwards. In this connection it should be noted that there was an early king of Abyssinia who is known from his inscription in Greek, where his name is written Sembrouthes. Of course, he is much later than Eratosthenes' time, for he would have been reigning about the end of the second or in the third century A.D., but is hardly likely to have been the Ella-Shamara of the king-lists, E. Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, iv, pp. 3, 4, Inscr. iii.

island in the river, a settlement occupied by the same fugitives." Quoting Eratosthenes once more, Strabo says (xvii, i, 2) "there is another island above Meroë, occupied by the fugitive Egyptians, who revolted in the time of Psammetichus, and are called Sembritae or foreigners." Eratosthenes, therefore, is quite definite in his belief that the Deserters were the Sembritae and that they lived somewhere to the south of Meroë towards the Red Sea.<sup>12</sup> He was writing about 245 B.C. and ought to have had good information. He had been appointed librarian at Alexandria by Ptolemy III,<sup>13</sup> the king who so greatly extended the elephant hunts down the Red Sea and penetrated inland at least as far as Aksum.<sup>14</sup> But still, all the same, he has clearly gone wrong here, for he is neither in accord with Aristocreon, nor with Bion, nor yet with the much earlier and equally definite information which Herodotus gives about the country of the Deserters, to the consideration of which we now come.

Herodotus' information proves that they lived on the west of the Nile as Aristocreon places them, and it also proves that their country reached as far south as the Bahr el-Ghazal. In Bk. ii, 29, he says that he had gone up to Elephantiné (Aswan) making his own enquiries as far as that and then had made enquiries about the Nile beyond that town "to the farthest distance (*μακρότατον*, a geographical term.)" The result was that having described the journey to Meroë, he says in ch. 30 "Making a journey by water from this city you come to the Deserters in a space of time equal to that which you took in coming from Elephantiné (Aswan) to the capital of the Ethiopians." Hence, they were living a very long way south of Meroë. Now, for what it is worth, it is remarkable that a journey up the White Nile from that city of not very much greater mileage than that of Meroë from Elephantiné by the direct desert route (not round by the Nile, though that is what Herodotus uses in his computa-

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<sup>12</sup> However, he is rather vague about the position of their queen, for he seems to suppose that Meroë was subject to them, whereas it must have been that they were subject to Meroë.

<sup>13</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Eratosthenes*, col. 360.

<sup>14</sup> Wainwright in *Man*, 1940, p. 165. A block of stone with his name was discovered at Aksum (J. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (1790, 4<sup>o</sup>), iii, p. 132. The plates facing pp. 417, 418 of vol. i show a *cippus* of Horus which was also found at Aksum, and would date to the same period.)

tion)<sup>15</sup> brings the traveller to Taufiqia. Moreover, while the actual mileages are not unlike, each of the two parts of the journey proves to take very much the same number of days as the other. Thus, Hoskins took twenty-three days in travelling from Aswan to Meroë by the desert route, stopping one day at el-Makharif.<sup>16</sup> Burckhardt travelled through

<sup>15</sup> It seems possible to account for Herodotus' belief that the Deserters lived two months beyond Meroë in the following way. What he probably did not appreciate is that there are two ways of going to Meroë; one round by the Nile, and the other direct, straight across the desert, and that his enquiries had produced information about both of them.

He says in Ch. 29 that, after a boat journey of 4 days from Elephantine (Aswan) you must disembark and travel alongside the Nile for 40 days, and then take ship again for a 12 days' voyage on to Meroë. Though we do not know how far the 40 days' journey took the traveller, the experiences of modern travellers show that length of time to be a reasonable estimate. Thus, Burckhardt travelled by the side of the river from Aswan to Wady Halfa in 11 days (J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, pp. 4, 41). From Wady Halfa Waddington and Hanbury followed the Nile reaching Gebel Barkal (Napata) in 33 days (G. Waddington and B. Hanbury, *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, pp. 2, 122, 125). Thus, the journey alongside the Nile took these travellers 44 days, and Herodotus' informant travelled 44 days to an unnamed place before completing his journey by the 12 days' sail on to Meroë. The exactitude of this equivalence is, of course, pure chance, and cannot be pressed, but it does show that Herodotus' information about the journey round by the Nile was derived from good sources.

The next stage, according to Herodotus, was a 12 days' sail up to Meroë, which added to the 44 makes 56 days for the whole journey. This again shows Herodotus' information to have been good, for Timosthenes, Ptolemy ii's admiral, estimated the journey from Syene (Aswan) to Meroë to take 60 days (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, xxix (xxxv), 183).

So far, then, Herodotus' information is evidently correct, whence it becomes likely that the rest is also. This is discussed in the text, where the journey from Meroë to the Deserters is shown to be just about the same length as that from Elephantine (Aswan) to Meroë, not, however, round by the Nile, but this time by the direct route, straight across the desert.

Pretty clearly Herodotus had heard of both routes, but was led astray as to the distance through failing to distinguish between them. Some 500 years later it was this same difficulty of the two routes which caused Pliny so much trouble (vi, xxxv, 183, 184), because his various authorities gave such very different mileages. Nero's centurions followed the Nile and reported the journey from Aswan to Meroë to be one of 945 miles, whereas Eratosthenes estimated it at 625 miles and Artemidorus as 600 miles. Six hundred Roman miles equal 551 English ones, which appears to be just about, or rather more than, the distance going by the desert route from Korosko. In the same way, in modern times, Bruce was led into condemning the centurions' distance, because he is thinking of the direct desert route which he followed, whereas they went round by the Nile (J. Bruce, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 543). In the first century A.D. Josephus knew that the desert route was much more direct than that round by the Nile. In his imaginary invasion of Ethiopia he makes Moses take the Ethiopians by surprise by coming upon them before they expected him. He was able to do this because 'he did not march by the river, but by land' (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Bk. ii, ch. x, §§244, 247, Margoliouth's edn., p. 48).

<sup>16</sup> G. A. Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia*, pp. 9-65. Hoskins did not sail from Aswan to Korosko, but went by camel. However, camels going at about two and a half miles an hour, which is as fast as a man can keep up, would probably average as good progress as a boat sailing against the stream. In fact, on one voyage up to Korosko it took two days to accomplish eight miles, both the wind and current being contrary at that spot (C. D. Warner, *My Winter on the Nile*, ii, p. 19). Herodotus says that, after having made the land journey, you take boat once more. It is an interesting commentary on this that Hoskins took boat at el-Makharif (Berber) for the last part of the journey to Meroë. This, however, was not a journey of twelve days, but of two days and a night.

the desert from Daraw to Berber in twenty-two days,<sup>17</sup> and, going in the opposite direction, Bruce left el-Hassa a little north of the junction of the Atbara and reached Aswan in eighteen days.<sup>18</sup> Hence, something like twenty days or a little more would be an average journey across the desert from Aswan to Meroë. It, therefore, becomes of interest that Sir Samuel Baker sailing from Khartum, not from Meroë, arrived at the mouth of the Sobat (Taufiqia) on the fifteenth day,<sup>19</sup> and of course from Meroë it would have taken longer, especially as the Sixth Cataract would have to be passed. The Deserters' country, therefore, ought to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Taufiqia.

It is a striking fact that here at Taufiqia the Nile takes a right-angled turn to the west and is continued westward by the Bahr el-Ghazal and the Bahr el-Arab.<sup>20</sup> Surely then, Herodotus was not romancing or relying on some literary speculations<sup>21</sup> as has sometimes been too readily supposed,<sup>22</sup> but had actually been informed of this turn when he goes on to say that in the land of the Deserters "The river flows from the west and from the sun's setting. Beyond this no one has any clear knowledge (*σαφές*) to declare." Thus, Herodotus' statements about the position of the country of the Deserters are clear, and he puts these people in the southern parts of Kordofan not far from the Bahr el-Ghazal. On two other occasions he speaks of the Nile as coming from the west. In ch. 22 he refutes the theory that the Nile owes its waters to melted snow by saying "for this river flows from Libya through the middle of Ethiopia and discharges itself into Egypt." In ch. 33 he decides that the Nasamonians' west to east flowing river must be the Nile saying "for the Nile flows from Libya, and intersects it in the middle."

<sup>17</sup> Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 208. Daraw is ten hours north of Aswan, p. 165.

<sup>18</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.*, iv., pp. 549, 601.

<sup>19</sup> Sir S. W. Baker, *The Albert N'yanza, Great Basin of the Nile* (1866), i, pp. 33, 46. He left Khartum on Dec. 20, and arrived at the Sobat on Jan. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Until the nineteenth century these rivers were taken to be the upper course of the White Nile. Thus, for example, at the end of the eighteenth century a native of Darfur informed Ledyard that the Nile rose in his country (Appendix to Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, p. lvi). About the same time Browne was informed that near a place called Donga on the confines of Bornu there were a great number of springs which united to form the Bahr el-Abiad, i.e. the White Nile (W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria* (1799), p. 473, and cf. his map facing p. 180.

<sup>21</sup> As one should in enquiring about the unknown, Herodotus goes on in Chs. 32, and 33 to collect other people's views and observations in order to check the information which he had gathered himself. He here tells what the Nasamonians had reported and what the Cyrenaeans had to say.

<sup>22</sup> As for instance in the notes to this passage in H. Stern, *Herodotus ; How and Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus*.

Thus, two of Herodotus' statements agree in fixing the Deserters' country on the Bahr el-Ghazal, and Pliny gives another scrap of information pointing in the same direction. In his passage to which reference has already been made Pliny places "the town, Aesar, belonging to the Egyptians who fled from Psammetichus" at seventeen days' journey from Meroë.<sup>23</sup> Hence, it becomes worthy of note that as has just been seen Sir Samuel Baker, though sailing from Khartum, not Meroë, arrived at the mouth of the Sobat River on the fifteenth day, for that is where Taufiqia is situated.

Thus, among many vague and often inaccurate and conflicting statements it is possible to find a number which agree among themselves in according with geographical fact. Besides that, they all agree in pointing to southern Kordofan where the Nile turns west as the country of the Deserters. They are: that in their country the Nile flows from the west to the east; that this is as far from Meroë as Meroë is from Elephantiné (Aswan); and that it is seventeen days distant from Meroë.

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<sup>23</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, xxx (xxxv), 191, says 'Aristocreon reports that on the Libyan side five days' journey from Meroë, is the town of Tolles, and 12 days' beyond it is another town, Aesar, belonging to the Egyptians who fled from Psammetichus (they are said to have been living there for three hundred years), and that the town of Diaron on the Arabian side opposite (contra) belongs to them.' From Pliny's wording Diaron was apparently as far south as Aesar, and it is accepted as the town Daro which the king of Aksum, 'Ezana, conquered about A.D. 350. He says 'And I came to the Kasu when I fought them and made prisoners at the junction of the Rivers Seda and Takkaze (Nile and Atbara). And on the day after my arrival I sent into the field the Mahaza troops and the Hara troops, and *damawa* (?) and *falha* (!) and *sera* (?) up the Seda [against ?] the towns of masonry and of grass: their towns of masonry are called Alwa 1, Daro 1' (E. Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, iv, Inscr. xi, p. 34, ll. 28-32). In the fourth century B.C., 'il-t, which is no doubt the same name as Alwa, was the name of a district (H. Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, pp. 14, 15, ll. 16, 24, where it is grouped with other countries, not towns). In the same way in Arab times, 'Alwah, as it was then spelt, was the name, not of a town as 'Ezana gives it, but of the southern Nubian kingdom stretching southward from Kabushia (Meroë) and its capital was at Soba some 14 miles south-south-east from Khartum (Kirwan in *J.E.A.*, xxi, pp. 61, 62). 'Ezana's troops, therefore, would have penetrated south of Khartum, even if Alwa were only Soba, and as in due course they reached the town of Daro, it, and therefore Aesar, would have been well to the south. This is what is implied by the distances given by Aristocreon. In the second century A.D. Ptolemy also names Aesar and Daron (C. Müller, *Geographia Cl. Ptolemaei*, p. 774, Bk. iv, §7), but he does not know Alwa. His list reads, Meroë, Sacolche, Eser, Daron Village, the junction of the River Nile with the River Astapus (i.e. the Blue Nile with the main stream), the junction of the Rivers Astaboras and Astapus (i.e. the Atbara and the main stream of the Nile). He lists the towns first of all going southwards and then, turning northwards, he treats of the rivers naming the more southerly first. Why does he differentiate Daron from the other places by calling it a *komē*, 'an unwall'd village, a country town, as opposed to a fortified city'? Unfortunately none of this comes to much. About all that can be gained is that Aesar and Daron were the most southerly towns known to the classical writers, and Daro at any rate, to 'Ezana.

Besides this Herodotus has another remark which is probably in agreement with his placing of the Deserters on the west of the Nile. He says in ch. 30 that the king of Ethiopia "bade them (the Deserters) dispossess certain Ethiopians with whom he was at feud, and occupy their land." It has already been shown that the Ethiopian empire seems to have been mainly on the east of the river and that there it stretched far up into Sennar. As the authority of the king was well established on the east, people with whom he was at feud would not have been so likely to have been living there as on the west of the river. It will be seen in the following paragraphs that in the succeeding centuries we hear of wars which almost certainly took place in the south-west and again that the people to the west were not subject to the Ethiopians.

In fact trouble with the various peoples of the west was age-old and a permanent state of affairs. About 2575 B.C. Herkhuf "found the chief of Yam going to the land of Temeh to smite Temeh as far as the western corner of heaven."<sup>24</sup> While the land of Yam cannot be absolutely identified, it was clearly in the neighbourhood of the Second Cataract, and Temeh was the country of the southern Libyans. Later on, in the Middle Egyptian Kingdom, say 2000 B.C., the C-Group people invaded and settled in Nubia, coming, as it seems, from the south-west.<sup>25</sup> Much later again, about 920 B.C., the ancestors of the great kings of Napata came from the west and were successful in invading and conquering the Nile Valley.<sup>26</sup> In fact the state of feud between the Nile-dwellers and the inhabitants of the western desert lasted on long after this. About the turn of our era Strabo records (xvii, ii, §3) "And since the Libyans hold the land on the western side of the Nile and the Ethiopians that on the opposite side, it comes to pass that they take turns in dominating the islands and the river-land, one of the two being driven out and

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<sup>24</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, i, §335.

<sup>25</sup> W. Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter*, pp. 54, ff. Pottery very like theirs has been found in the Wady Hawar, and similarities can be observed in that of the modern Nuba in southern Kordofan, p. 57. Newbold found quantities of this C-Group-like pottery at Gebel Tageru between the Wadys Hawar and Melik, and nearly 400 miles west-north-west of Khartum, Newbold in *S.N. and R.*, vii (Pt. i), Pls. i, ii, iii. This does away with the view held by Firth and Junker that they came from the south-east, down the Blue Nile or Atbara.

<sup>26</sup> Reisner in *Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin*, xix, p. 26. Piankhy's queen was 'the great chieftainness of the Temehu,' i.e. the southern Libyans, p. 28. This is additional to the archaeological evidence. (The western origin of the kings of Napata is now in doubt.—Ed.)

yielding place to those who have proved stronger." Three hundred and fifty years later it was this eastward movement of the westerners, and this time definitely from Kordofan, that brought about the final destruction of the Meroitic kingdom at the hands of 'Ezana king of Aksum. He calls them the Noba,<sup>27</sup> i.e. Nubæ. Yet again, on the ruins of the Meroitic world there supervened, in the north at least, a barbarous civilization, which, for the present until more is known about it, we call the X-Group. It lasted from the latter part of the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D.,<sup>28</sup> and evidently originated out in the southern Sahara. This is shown by the similarity of some of the X-Group pottery to what is now called "Saharan" pottery, which is found all over the southern Sahara at least as far as west as Timbuctoo.<sup>29</sup>

Hence, quite apart from Herodotus' precise statement after careful enquiries and Pliny's distance, this other remark that the king of Ethiopia was "at feud" with the people makes it likely that the Deserters were settled in southern Kordofan. But still, after all, it is not so much the Deserters themselves with whom we are here concerned, but with the westward turn of the Nile and that it was already known in the seventh century B.C., when these people fled from Psametik I (663-609 B.C.), and was still known in the fifth century when Herodotus was making his enquiries.

During the next hundred years after Herodotus had heard of the Bahr-el-Ghazal the swamps of that region had become sufficiently well-known for knowledge of them to have percolated through to Greece. Aristotle, who was writing at Athens in the years 335-323 B.C., speaks of

<sup>27</sup> E. Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, iv., pp. 33-34, Inscr. xi. For the Nubæ themselves, and their not being subject to the Ethiopians, see *infra*.

<sup>28</sup> Emery and Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*, pp. 398, 399; Kirwan, *Firha*, p. 34.

<sup>29</sup> Conditions under which this pottery was first found in the Nile Valley led to the supposition that it was of Old Kingdom date (Myers in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxiv, pp. 130, ff.; Id., *Cemeteries of Armant*, i, pp. 267 ff.). Since then, however, it has been found at Amarah under conditions which show it to have been necessarily later than the Nineteenth Dynasty (Fairman in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxv, p. 143). Further than that, one informant tells the present writer that from what he has seen elsewhere it looks to him as if it were of post-Pharaonic and indeed of X-Group, date. For finds of 'Saharan' pottery in the southern oases see Mr. Myers' reports in Bagnold, Myers, Peel and Winkler, *An Expedition to the Gif Kebir and 'Uweinat*, 1938, in *The Geographical Journal*, xciii, pp. 287 ff. (But if C-Group pottery came from the west, and pottery in the same tradition is still made in the Nuba Mts., it is no proof of the western origin of the X-Group if some of their pottery is also in the same tradition.—Ed.)



and from apparently another country in the same campaign

10,000 oxen

130 bulls (p.43).

From the Tsarané, a tribe whose position is as yet unknown, 'Ezana captured

31,957 cattle

827 beasts of burden (p. 29).

These are large numbers, but they sink into insignificance in comparison with those recorded by Nastasen as the results of three of his campaigns.<sup>33</sup> They are :—

209,659 cattle

505,349 goats and sheep

203,216 „

603,107 „ „

203,146 „

33,050 „ „

Numbers so vast as these entirely dwarf anything recorded from the east of the Nile, with which they are not comparable. They do on the contrary suggest the boundless expanses of Kordofan away to the west of the Nile. Still to-day this is a great cattle country, and away to the south towards the swamps live the Baqqara, whose name merely means "the Cattle-men." Round about the Sobat River (Taufiqia) immense herds of cattle used to swarm throughout the Shilluk country.<sup>34</sup> Hence, the comparative numbers quoted above make it unlikely that we shall be wrong in considering those three campaigns of Nastasen as having taken place out there in Kordofan away to the west and south-west of Napata and the Nile.

Some fifty years or so after Nastasen's campaigns Eratosthenes says (Strabo, xvii, i, 2) that about the middle of the third century B.C. the inhabitants of the country west of the Nile "are not subject to the Ethiopians."<sup>35</sup> These people were living opposite Meroë and to the north of it, and they were Nubæ. Now, southern Kordofan is the place where the descendants of the Nubæ, the modern Nuba, still live, and it is the reservoir whence the Nubæ overflowed, finally as far as the Khargah Oasis northwards, and, to the east, the Meroitic lands as far as the Atbara River.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Schäfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>34</sup> See, for instance, Sir S. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>35</sup> The passage reads, 'but the parts on the left side of the course of the Nile, in Libya, are inhabited by Nubæ, a large tribe who, beginning at Meroë, extend as far as the bends of the river, and are not subject to the Ethiopians but are divided into several separate kingdoms.'

<sup>36</sup> Hillelson in *S.N. & R.*, xiii, pp. 137 ff. He gives his conclusions on p. 144.

The swamps were evidently still well-known to the Meroites in the first century A.D. At this time Nero (A.D. 54-68) had sent two centurions to discover the sources of the Nile. The essence of the report which they made on their return is given by Seneca in his *Quaestiones Naturales*, vi, 8, §§ 3-5,<sup>37</sup> who says "I myself have heard the two centurions, whom Nero Cæsar (devoted as he is to various virtues and chiefly to truth) had sent to investigate the sources of the Nile, telling that they had accomplished a long journey, and after having been given assistance by the king of Ethiopia and letters of recommendation to the neighbouring kings (commendatique proximis regibus) they had penetrated to the more remote regions: 'We came indeed' they said 'to immense swamps, the end of which neither the natives knew nor is it possible for anyone to hope to know: the vegetation is so enveloped in waters and the waters are not passable either on foot or by boat because the muddy and blocked-up swamp will not bear one unless it is small and able to hold [only] one man. There' he said 'we saw two rocks from which fell down the prodigious force of the river.'" The centurions, therefore, had clearly reached the Bahr el-Ghazal, for with the exception of the two rocks<sup>38</sup> their description of the immense swamps is that of eye-witnesses. They had evidently seen the small *ambach* canoes, carrying

<sup>37</sup> L. Ann Senecæ, *Opera*, (edn. Teubner) ii, p. 278.

<sup>38</sup> No one has ever been able to understand the two rocks which Seneca understood the centurions to say that they had seen in the Bahr el-Ghazal. Certainly there are none on the northern edge of the swamps. They themselves say that no one could hope to know the extent of the *sudd*, so they could not have passed through it and have reached the 'Rejaf Rocks,' some 350 miles further up the river from Taufiqia and beyond the swamps. Still less could they have been the Fola Rapids as Budge suggests (*A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia*, i, p. 100), for they are still further away. One cannot but think that there must be some confusion with the cataract that some eighty years earlier (in 23 B.C.) Petronius had reported as being at Stadissis 'where the Nile casting itself down, takes away with its crashing the hearing of the neighbouring people' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi., xxix (xxxv), 181), presumably the Fourth Cataract, and even that, including the noise, was an old-established wonder. A generation before Petronius, Cicero had already in 54-51 B.C. said that 'that tribe, which lives near the place where the Nile rushes down from very high mountains to the falls called Catadupa (the Down-thud), is deprived of the sense of hearing because of the greatness of the noise' (*Somnium Scipionis* in *De Re Publica*, vi, 18 (5) (ed. Teubner, p. 130)). By using the name Catadupa Cicero shows that he is referring to the First Cataract at Aswan, for that is the one to which this name was given (cf. Hdts, ii, 17; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v, ix (10) 54; vi, xxix (xxxv) 178). It will be noticed that Cicero even talks of the 'very high mountains' which Petronius did not. No doubt all these ideas are based on the knowledge that there were cataracts and that they were obstructed with rocks, combined with the story of the two hills, Crophi and Mophi, at Elephantiné whence the Nile rose, as Herodotus (ii, 28) understood the priest to say.

(Will someone who knows the Sobat river well say whether the centurions' description could not apply to that river, up which it is possible to navigate as far as some rocks? See *S.N.R.*, xxviii, p. 30.—EDITOR.)

one or two men or up to three, such as those with which the inhabitants get about the swamps to-day.<sup>39</sup> Also they were right in speaking of the swamps as "immense," for the *sudd* region is now known to cover an area of more than 35,000 square miles.<sup>40</sup> Sir William Garstin says of them "the country becomes more and more hopeless-looking. . . . It must, however, be saturated and resemble a sponge in the rainy season. There cannot be more than a very shallow film of water over these plains."<sup>41</sup>

Thus, Kordofan was not a *terra incognita*, but the world had heard reports of it even to its southern boundary at the Bahr el-Ghazal. The knowledge must have come to the Greeks and Romans through the people of Napata and Meroë, and their knowledge would no doubt have been obtained from the nomad tribes. But they were evidently not dependent on this alone, for they continually had relations with the inhabitants even though these were mostly warlike. In the seventh century the king of Ethiopia was "at feud" with the south-westerners, and again about 300 B.C. Nastasen had victorious campaigns which were evidently out there. Some fifty years or more after this we hear that the Nubæ of Kordofan were "not subject to the Ethiopians." In the first century A.D. the king of Meroë knew the tribes of the territory between him and the Bahr el-Ghazal, and was able to give Nero's centurions letters of recommendation to the sheikhs. The tribesmen themselves must have been attracted to the great capitals from time to time, when they were not in a state of active war.

This intercourse, even though generally warlike, must have carried Ethiopian influence out to the west, even though it would probably not have been as strong as on the east of the river. Although next to no excavation has been carried on in Kordofan and that only in the northern part, occasional scraps of material evidence already attest the existence of this influence. East of Bir Natrun, which lies three to four days north of the Wady Hawar,<sup>42</sup> an iron axe-head of late Egyptian, Napatan

<sup>39</sup> James Hornell, *Water Transport*, pp. 46-51 and Pl. vi for ancient Egyptian papyrus canoes, and pp. 51-55 and Pl. vii for modern African ones; O. Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, §4 in *Harvard African Studies*, i, pp. 219-232, and Pls. gives yet other information and pictures.

<sup>40</sup> Christy in *S.N. and R.*, iv, p. 174.

<sup>41</sup> *Despatch from His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Cairo, inclosing a Report by Sir William Garstin, G.C.M.G. upon the Basin of the Upper Nile* (Egypt, No. 2, 1904), p. 108, and Pls. xxxiv, xxxv. For the condition of the rivers, see Page in *S.N. and R.*, ii, pp. 295-298. Among others, R. Gessi Pasha, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, ch. xli, gives a good account of the awful difficulties of navigating the Bahr el-Ghazal. Good photographs of the swamps will be found in The Duke of Mecklenburg, *From the Congo to the Niger and the Nile*, i, figs. 220, 221.

<sup>42</sup> Kennedy Shaw in *S.N. and R.*, xii, p. 70.

and Meroitic type has been found, as Mr. Arkell kindly informs the present writer. Stone implements and pottery have been found at two or three places in the Wady Hawar itself, indicating a permanent or semi-permanent population in earlier times.<sup>43</sup> A quantity of burnt-brick buildings, including a pyramid, is reported at Abu Sofian north-west of the Wady el-Melik and some three hundred miles due west of Khartum. There were also two pieces of iron slag.<sup>44</sup> Mr. Grabham has seen at the head of the Wady el-Melik extensive Meroitic remains, including sandstone columns.<sup>45</sup> A large, ancient, and poverty-stricken occupation site was investigated by Prof. Seligman at Faragab about twenty miles east-north-east of Bara. So far as the finds suggest anything, they seem to suggest an echo of Meroitic influences.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Id., *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>44</sup> Newbold in *S.N. and R.*, vii (Pt. 1), p. 79, and Pl. viii and map.

<sup>45</sup> Myers in *The Geographical Journal*, xciii, p. 289.

<sup>46</sup> Seligman in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool), vii, pp. 107-114 and quoted in his and Mrs. Seligman's *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 8. Bara itself is some forty miles or so due north of el-Obeid. The desert had also been inhabited far away to the north at some time or other. One burial of indeterminate ancient date is reported from the Grassy Valley, some 200 miles out west of the Selima Oasis, and another at Camp 49 to the south-east of the Valley, W. B. K. Shaw in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxii, pp. 47 ff. and map.

(There are also the ruins at Zankor, where a Napatan type arrowhead has been found. See *S.N. & R.*, xxiii, p. 193 and Pl.—ED.)

## AN EXPEDITION IN CENTRAL AFRICA BY THREE DUTCH LADIES

EXTRACTED AND TRANSLATED FROM "PLANTAE TINNEANAE"

By Beatrice H. Tothill

*Plantæ Tinneanæ* or *Plantes Tinneennes* (its alternative French title) is a volume, published in Vienna in 1867, less than an inch thick but about two feet high and eighteen inches wide. Of the thickness rather more than half is taken up by 27 plates, black and white reproductions of detailed drawings, on sheets thicker than parchment, of plants collected on the Tinnean Expedition. Of the preceding text, 54 pages are used for Latin descriptions and comments in French and Latin on 77 such species. That part of the book, though valuable to the systematist and of great scientific merit, is of somewhat less interest to the general reader, and it is from 14 pages of introductory and general matter than I have made a fairly literal translation, which is offered to those who may not have access to this rare and handsome volume or patience to read it in the original French or Latin. Though the pages are very large there are margins of three or four inches, and the printing is in double columns with a Latin version on the left and a French version on the right, and there are some blank sections and a few tinted insets. There are also some half-dozen dedicative and title pages, on one of which is a small inset of Madame Tinne, to whose memory the book is dedicated by her children, Mr. John A. Tinne and Mlle. Alexandrine Tinne. The fine, rather strong and intelligent features and expression, hair parted and dressed at the sides with small flowers or flower-like ornaments, dark frock relieved by white lacy material and a brooch, suggest a modest matron but great lady, worthy as mother to such children and friend to "Sophie Frederique Matilde, Queen of the Netherlands," "Widow of Frederic Tinne and elder daughter of Theod. Fred. Baron Van Capellen, Dutch Vice-Admiral."

Of the insets in the text three are small, of crocodiles on the banks of the Nile, papyrus growing in it, and a village, probably Egyptian, on its edge, accompanied by appropriate quotations from Pliny or Lucan. The fourth and larger one is of greater interest, as it is obviously a somewhat stylized representation, in predominating bronze and green tones, of the dragon tree (*Dracæna Ombet*), and associated candelabra euphorbias and other plants, growing among the rocks and mountainous hills of Erkowit. This is a somewhat surprising inclusion, as there is no suggestion

that the Tinnes visited that part of the country, but in looking up the comments on *Dracæna* in the technical part of the book one finds that M. de Heuglin, who accompanied them to the Bahr-el-Ghazal, had made an excursion inland from Suakin when on his way to or from Abyssinia, had made a drawing and some notes of the dragon tree, from which Kotschy and Peyritsch compiled a description of the species, and bestowed the botanical name still applied to it, as it was previously unknown to science.

On the paper covering the heavy cardboard of the cover there is another large picture showing a view from a river, probably the Bahr-el-Ghazal, showing water-lilies, papyrus and ambatch in the foreground with palms, euphorbia, tebeldi or baobab, and other trees studding the grasslands on which animals are feeding near some huts in the background.

That Dr. Kotschy became responsible for the publication of the collections and notes obtained by the expedition was most fortunate. Having made two visits to the Sudan some thirty years earlier, and having been thwarted in his botanical pursuits on the second occasion, not only was he more interested in its flora than almost anyone but he already knew more about it and had read and assimilated what he could gather from any and every other source. Hence his account summarizes what was known to the outside world of the day of the vegetation of the southern Sudan. My own rather meagre knowledge of African flora enables me to know what he is talking about most of the time, but he leaves me a few puzzles, which I hope someone else can solve, such as the identity of the "celebrated gambo" tree and that of the "lotta" and of the plant purported by his Arab guide to grow on the banks of the Keilak river, on a single leaf of which a man could lie as on a piece of cloth.

The book as a whole is a treatise on the botanical results of the Tinnean Expedition, and the personalities concerned receive less attention than we might wish, though that of Mlle. Tinne, in particular, is rather more than suggested. Though a plant, which she found and called "violet bush" because of the scent of the flowers, is figured and described in most minute detail and named *Tinnea æthiopica* in her honour, her own appearance, perhaps happily, is left to our imagination, which can make of her a fit figure for the local tradition of her which still survives, I believe, among some residents both European and African. The Tinne name is also preserved in some specific names as well as the generic one mentioned, such as *Cucumis tinneanus*, *Gardenia tinneæ* and *Crinum*

*tinneanum*; and as the Queen of Holland was included in the dedication of the book one new plant was called *Lonchocarpus Sophiae* in her honour.

I have translated the first preface (or foreword) by Mr. John A. Tinne, and all but a few paragraphs of the main preface and all the introduction by Th. Kotschy. If the other accounts referred to in a footnote could be secured for local archives they might add to our knowledge of the Sudan<sup>1</sup>.

### FOREWORD

"In 1856 and again in 1858 Madame Henriette Louise Marie Tinne had visited Egypt in company with her daughter Alexandrine. Central Africa was the objective of a third journey which these ladies undertook in 1861, accompanied this time by Mlle. Adrienne de Capellen, the sister of Madame Tinne. During their stay in Khartoum in January, 1863, they made the acquaintance of M. Theodore de Heuglin and Dr. Steudner, explorers and distinguished naturalists, and as they were able to induce them to take part in their expedition to the Bahr-el-Ghazal that journey had results as valuable to the geographer as to the zoologist and the botanist; the knowledge of the flora of Africa was extended, and the gardens and herbaria of Europe were enriched by the discovery and introduction of many plants extremely interesting in themselves and entirely new to science. These were collected chiefly in the areas watered by the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the great western tributary of the White Nile, between 9° and 10° North Latitude and 27° and 32° East Longitude (Meridian of Greenwich).

"Seeds and sufficiently well prepared dried specimens, accompanied by notes on the localities in which they were found, were sent for the most part to Dr. Theodore Kotschy, of Vienna, a distinguished botanist, who undertook to determine and classify them, to make drawings and descriptions of them, and to supervise publication of the same.

"The title *Plantes Tinneennes* has been proposed for a volume containing, on 27 plates, a selection of 33 of the more interesting species out of the whole collection, of which 24 were previously unknown species.

<sup>1</sup> One may see a more detailed account and maps of the Bahr-el-Ghazal in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Chester*, Vol. XVI. "Geographical Notes of an Expedition in Central Africa by Three Dutch Ladies," by John A. Tinne, Esq. (Liverpool, 1864). See also *Le Journal Geographique du Dr. A. Peterman*, livr. suppl. Nr. 15 (Gotha, 1865) and the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* by V. A. Malte-Brun et Lejean, January 1862, November 1863, April and November 1865 (Paris).

" It is homage rendered to the memory of my excellent and beloved mother who, having been always passionately fond of trees and flowers, never left off describing to me, in her very vivid and picturesque letters, the joy and interest which she felt in each of her discoveries in a wild and almost unexplored country so far from her native land.

" I wish to express my profound obligation to her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands, who knew my mother so well and esteemed her so much, for according permission to my sister and myself to use her august name in the dedication of this work.

" I regret keenly that it is no longer possible to pay my debt of gratitude to Monsieur the Dr. Kotschy, who took such very great pains in the production of this work and who particularly exercised the utmost solicitude that the plates be made as perfect as possible. His untimely death occurred on July 13th, 1866, and the unhappy state of things in Germany during the past summer has interfered with the publication of this treatise. I may, however, thank M. the Doctor of Medicine Peyritsch, who had put his skill as phytographer at the disposal of Dr. Kotschy, and who, after the death of his friend, was anxious to carry to completion the work which we submit with respect to the judgment of learned botanists."

Briarley, Aigburth,  
Liverpool, July 1867.

JOHN A. TINNE

#### PREFACE

After a long quotation from Cicero on the innate desire of humanity for knowledge of all sorts, after remarks on the necessity of selecting some small portion of the realm of knowledge for individual effort if its sum total is to be increased, and after praise for certain of the ancients, as Herodotus, Pythagoras, Plato and Democritus, and of Marco Polo in the middle ages, in extending our knowledge of the earth, Kotschy continues :—

" Who can bring to mind the names of all those who, in our own times, animated by the desire of knowledge, have visited the most distant regions and there met a most sad death, although their fate had no power to deter others who were animated by a like passion ! Though this be true, a great part of the world is still very little known, and sacrifices are still necessary on the part of travellers ; it is still necessary to brave many perils, if large portions of the globe are to become well known. Of all

regions there is not one more difficult of access than the interior of Africa. The insalubrity of the climate often causes the death of those foreign to it, the swampy areas engender a malignant fever which few are able to resist. Not to mention the thousand other dangers to which those are exposed, who visit regions occupied by barbarous and cruel peoples, remind yourselves of the deadly wind which prevails in the immense deserts of these regions.

"Certainly the danger is not less for those who visit these regions than for such as risk their lives in battle. They must have a soul strongly steeled who, for the love of knowledge, do not hesitate to expose themselves to such perils, nor flinch before the fate of those who have preceded them in Africa. If it is true that those who have not feared to imperil their lives in the exploration of this continent particularly deserve praise and a gracious remembrance on our part, how much more should our hearts be moved to learn that women and young girls, deprived of all the comforts and amenities to which they are accustomed, have not hesitated, for the good of humanity and a knowledge of these regions, not only to sacrifice their money, which others use for luxury and self-indulgence, but even to face a like death. A courage so heroic, so great a desire to learn and to render service to mankind, these are things which command our admiration and respect.

"I count myself happy to be able to express, in the name of those interested in liberal studies and the progress of humanity, the sentiment of deep respect and veneration which I feel for these three illustrious Dutch ladies. They not only devoted their large incomes to the noble object of increasing the extent of our knowledge, but they did not flinch from the peril of death itself. It is this which I have wanted to show in these few words before beginning an account of their journey and the description of the very remarkable plants collected in the regions they visited. I would undertake this task entrusted to me with much more pleasure if my heart were not a prey to a keen sadness. Indeed two of these celebrated ladies have paid with their lives for their keen desire of learning. This is a glory they did not seek but which, alas! they achieved.

"The principal object of this journey was a desire to learn about the Ethiopians, those inhabitants of the banks of the Nile whence it has been the custom, up to the present, to take slaves. They wished to contribute as far as they could to the abolition of a traffic so shameful and already

prohibited by laws. Moreover a keen love of science and new knowledge counted not a little in the motives which involved them in their perilous enterprise.

" They left their homeland in the month of July, 1861 from La Haye, and reached Egypt and from there the town of Khartoum at the junction of the White and Blue Niles. They there hired a steamboat with three other smaller boats. Thanks to these arrangements they were able to secure an escort of a handful of soldiers and to ascend the branch of the Nile called the White Nile. They reached the Sobat, a river from the east which flows into that arm of the Nile we just mentioned. They ascended the Sobat as far as the rocks, which impede the current of that river, allowed navigation. The men composing their guard dared not set foot on shore to visit the natives, but Mlle. Tinne, mounted on a horse, was not afraid to present herself to the multitude of Ethiopians. Her gracious presence and kindness and the report of her wealth caused the people to believe that this young woman was the daughter of the Emperor of the Turks come to relieve their miseries. It was with difficulty that she could prevent herself being proclaimed a queen despite all the opposition she showed to such an idea. This young generous-hearted girl fulfilled all the functions of a captain; she hunted out the boats suspected of complicity in the slave traffic and gave chase to them.

" The journey proceeded to Lake No, and ascending the stream of Kir or Kidi they reached Gondokoro. Full of enthusiasm our voyagers visited the people thereabouts and climbed Mount Biliniang. But soon a malignant fever forced them to turn back and go to Khartoum. The gravity of this evil, however, did not prevent them, after recuperating, from undertaking a fresh journey with an escort of 200 soldiers towards the source of the river Bahr-el-Ghazal, a tributary of the Nile.

" During the time of preparation for this journey, M. Theodore de Heuglin and Dr. Steudner happened to arrive in Khartoum. These travellers, as learned as they were audacious, were returning from Abyssinia whither they had been sent at the expense of all Germany to try to get news of Dr. Vogel, of whom all trace had been lost since he had penetrated into the interior of Africa. As Madame Tinne desired to contribute to the full extent of her means to the advancement of knowledge she offered these naturalists the opportunity of joining her expedition.

" They then reascended the White Nile to Lake No and turned westward into the river Bahr-el-Ghazal. They went up this river to the lake

of Req. At its port called Meshra 'er Req they disembarked on the 10th of March. But there, as the journey was to be continued overland and the amount of baggage to be taken vast, it necessitated a larger number of porters than there were available. So de Heuglin and Steudner set out on March 23rd towards the west in order to mark out a route for the other travellers and to procure the necessary porters. On April 2nd they crossed the Jur and reached the village of Wau. There Dr. Steudner, whose health had been undermined by the insalubrity of the climate, fell gravely ill, and he died on the 10th of April. M. de Heuglin, when he had rendered the last honours to his unfortunate and much regretted companion, went on to Bongo, where he hired 120 porters and came to Meshra' again on the 24th of April. They then sent on a large part of their equipment to Dembo and set out on the way to the district of the Ethiopians—Dor. The bank of the river of Kasongo or Dembo, being somewhat elevated, seemed suitable for passing there, in inactivity, the rainy season. While some huts were being constructed near the village of Kulanga, Madame Tinne, that lady of distinction by all accounts, died on the 20th of July 1863, near Bongo, in the blockhouse of the merchant Biselli (Zeriba-Biselli), a very unhealthy place. Several other members of the expedition had previously suffered the same fate.

" This sad loss of a beloved mother prevented the projected journey into the country of the Niam Niam, and Mlle. Tinne, that soul of firmness, though bowed under a weight of grief, made all the arrangements for returning to Khartoum. But, oh cruel destiny, having reached that place, she saw death take the beloved sister of her mother, Mlle. Van Capellen.

" Alas ! that so many victims were thus sacrificed in the pursuit of so fine an objective. It is in our power only to testify of the dead our respect for their noble efforts. All that we can do is to affirm that neither time nor forgetfulness can efface their memory.

" Her surviving children dedicate to their beloved mother this little treatise in witness of their love and filial piety, that future generations may repeat her name and think of her glory with the respect due her.

THEODORE KOTSCHY

Doctor of Philosophy.

## INTRODUCTION

" Seventy years ago the notable English traveller, W. G. Browne, learned in Darfur that to the south of that kingdom there was a district traversed by numerous rivers bearing the name Ronga. When, some

thirty years since, I accompanied M. de Russeger, of whose merits in the reconnaissance of the Nile the learned world is aware, in order to explore with him the mountainous region in the south of Kordofan inhabited by negroes of the Nubian tribes, the military detachment charged with our protection was entrusted to the command of the old sheikh, Mahmoud Abu Aasha, as being the most capable person to guide us in our enterprise. This chief of a tribe of the Baggara had previously visited the country of Humr Baggara just beyond that in the south. When, in the month of May 1837 at  $11^{\circ}$  North Latitude and  $28^{\circ}$  of Longitude east of the meridian of Paris, we reached the most southerly point of our expeditions on the southern slopes of the Tira hills and were forced to turn back on account of shortness of supplies and the approach of the rainy season, Mahmoud told us, in Arabic which I could understand, that only four days journey to the south of Tira there was a river which the Baggara called the Keilak. The quantity of water which it contained at that season was insignificant and its pools were full of crocodiles and hippopotamus; but during the high water of the rainy season it changed its character and became a large stream which flowed into the White Nile. On its banks grew plants on a single leaf of which a man could stretch out as on a rug (*tapis*). Far, far beyond the Keilak was to be found the Bahr-el-Ghazal, which was known by name only, as the tribes of the Baggara seldom went as far as that river with their large herds. Our compatriot M. Pallme, in the year 1839 when staying in Kordofan on commercial affairs, heard, from a Takruri and a negro, that to the south of Darfur in the district of Ronga there was a great river which flowed from there towards the country of the Baggara, then across the country of the Jaenky<sup>2</sup> (Diankin of M. de Heuglin) and the Shilluk and towards Khartoum, and that this river was none other than the River of Gazelles. This assertion, afterwards ignored, is confirmed by the following account as making the first mention of the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

"After our journeys to the east and west of the White Nile, when the country further south became better known and trade with the Shilluk had begun to prosper, it was possible to penetrate further south by the river route. About that time, Mohamed Ali, the regenerator of Egypt, though he had reached very advanced years, undertook the difficult journey to the gold mines of Fazughli. On seeing the White Nile at Khartoum, he gave an order to dispatch some men to go up to

<sup>2</sup> Jangei = Dinka. Ed.

the source of that river. Two expeditions, which had to overcome immense difficulties, got as far as  $4^{\circ}$  N. latitude to the home of the Bari negroes on the Kir. Pliny had in his day received news of this Kir from elephant hunters. On the banks of it today we find the Schir, the Medin, and the Eliab, whom that erudite naturalist of ancient Rome knew under the names of Syrbotæ, Medimni and Alabi, and when he mentioned Hipporees<sup>3</sup> 'who are black but daub their bodies with red ochre' he painted in few words a picture of the Bari living near Gondokoro.

"The second of the expeditions sent by Mohamed Ali succeeded in finding the river Bahr-el-Ghazal to the west of Lake No. This river, called Nam-aith by the natives, had been indicated on maps for some thirty years under the name Bahr-adda. Thanks to his prudent conduct and kindly treatment of the indigenous tribes the venerable Vicar-apostolic, Mgr. Knoblecher, opened to traders of the white races the route to the interior of the country of the Shilluk, noted for their bravery. Kordofan had also begun to be astir by reason of her commerce with areas to the west. Although Darfur was absolutely closed to the entry of Europeans, the trader Brun-Rollet tried from 1836 onwards to establish relations with Wadai, by means of the western tributary of the White Nile, the Nam-aith, avoiding Darfur by so doing. Through these early efforts they penetrated across the marshy areas about Lake No as far west as Req and the isle of Kyt. The first consignments from the basin of this river showed that the vegetation was different from that of the Upper Nile. The immense marshes covered with sedges alternate with shallow lakes abounding in fish, through which they used to go at night in dugout canoes with torches to attract the fish. In February at the time of low water the Nam-aith has, along its banks covered with tall grasses and sedges, a great deal of mud intermingled with aquatic plants which often caused the interruption of navigation. The lakes and ponds which are met with in these immense marshes are looked upon as valued domains, much as farming country and vineyards are with us, because they furnish an abundance of fish and lotus (*Nelumbium* ?) seeds which form a great part of the nourishment of these fishermen.

"The seeds of the lotus are gathered towards the end of May. They are somewhat dried by exposure to air and then packed in baskets in which they are carried inland where, during the rains, they are used

<sup>3</sup> For a better reading, see the Loeb edition of Pliny, which makes it the Mesagches who used red ochre.—ED.

instead of maize. In areas occupied by the Jur, the Rol and other tribes, are found trees valuable for the fruits they bear such as, among others, the butter tree of which they collect the nuts and extract an oil which is kept in bottles. It is an attractive tree, rather comparable with a medium-sized sycamore fig. Another useful tree, is the *lotta* of which the fruits are distinctly sweet and offer some resemblance to dates. There occurs also a wild vine with a greyish, somewhat astringent berry. The Jur cultivate *Hibiscus cannabinus* which affords them a fibre comparable with hemp.

" Dar Banda situated to the southwest of the Bahr-el-Ghazal is somewhat cut up by stagnant or running water. There grows, they say, to a height of 30-40 ells (*aunes*) the celebrated *gambo* straight as a fir. It is a tree of which much use could be made. Its seeds are like those of the birch and are much esteemed in Kordofan and Cairo; they have the reputation of being a powerful stomachic and are used to adulterate coffee.

" Five years after Rollet, the Marquis Antinori, French ornithologist, who travelled on the River of Gazelles, published some drawings of the vegetation on its banks, which he made at the time of his visit to seek birds there.

" The navigation of the narrow channels is rendered very difficult because of branches of the ambatch (*Herminiera elaphroxylon* Guill. et Perr.), the trunk of which grows to a diameter of 3-4 inches and a height of 12-15 feet. It is covered with fine closely set leaves. In openings through it one sees at a distance groves of spiny trees such as *Euphorbia Kolqual* (*E. candelabrum*) with candelabra-like branches; the *Cissus quadrangularis* which interlaces in a thousand ways with nearby plants; the *Nymphaea ampla* (*N. capensis* Thunb.), on the great leaves of which, spreading like a green cloth on the surface of the water, the charming *Rallus abyssinicus* and the beautiful *Parra africana* run easily and swiftly. The vicinity of Meshra' er Req is picturesquely environed by forests running from north to south. The ground rises towards the west, but towards the east falls away in a gentle slope, becomes marshy, and reveals a wide horizon free from trees. Numerous herds are tended on these prairies, and, where they become submerged, innumerable flocks of wading and water birds are to be seen.

" The forests are formed chiefly of acacias and mimosas mixed with large tamarinds, sycamore figs and some *Ficus elastica* (*Urostigma*). One

finds, too, the *terter*, a tree similar to *Sterculia platanifolia* (*St. tomentosa*) mixed with various species of *Urostigma* and a great crescentiaceus tree, the *Kigelia æthiopica* from which the fragrant flowers and cucumber-like fruits depend on long cordlike branches. The Euphorbias rising to a height of '4 toises' (about 25 feet) form an edge to the forest, and in its shade one sees *Dalbergia melanoxylon* or scented ebony, *Strychnos innocua*, *Cassia pendula* with its beautiful pendant yellow flowers, and *Carissa edulis*, diffusing a very sweet perfume, with small berries with a flavour rather like those of the juniper, which are eaten with relish by the blacks.

"The country of the Jur is perhaps the best of all those of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. It is all wooded with butter trees and furnished with numerous water courses. It offers a great advantage to the inhabitants by its soil being somewhat elevated, ferruginous and very fertile. It is to this circumstance that the natives owe their good health, their industry and, I believe I may say also, their good character. The Jur devote themselves to the cultivation of *dura* (*Sorghum vulgare*), beans (*Lablab vulgare*), sesame, groundnuts (*Arachis hypogea*) and the edible tubers of certain *Dioscorea*. In May they get a butter from the nuts of the butter tree (Rols.).

"As to the surrounding lands of the Niam Niam, M. Antiori was able to ascertain that the magnificent doleb palm (*Borassus æthiopicus*) occurs there in great quantity along with *Ficus elastica* and the sycamore fig, the *babanus* which one must not confuse with the American ebony, *Sterculia tomentosa*, various species of acacia, of cassia and of bamboos, huge reeds the stems of which attain a diameter of two inches. The *dura* that the Jur cultivate is in small quantity and of poor quality, and on account of its bitterness is not used in bread making—these natives only use it to make a sort of fermented beer, the *merissa*.

"Lejean in his role of geographer made a successful visit to all parts of the Bahr-el-Ghazal between the 23rd of February and the 12th of April, 1861, and has drawn it on his maps: According to his account both borders are covered with papyrus, but especially with the aquatic tree called ambatch, the beauty of which is enhanced in the flowering season, which is to say in February and March, by flowers of brilliant yellow.

"But it is only by the Tinnean expedition that the vegetation of the Bahr-el-Ghazal has been more especially brought to the knowledge of botanists, by the sketches made by M. de Heuglin during the journey as

well as by the collection of plants which he found there. The determination and description of these plants shows us that it has a flora which is distinct from that of other tributaries of the Nile, that it contains a number of species that are common to the flora of the west coast of Africa, that a portion of the plants found on its borders, or those of its western affluents about Bongo, have not been found, up to now, anywhere else.

" With the exception of plates 1, 3, 7, 8b, 10, 13a, 14, 15 and 25 our figures represent 29 new species with which science has been enriched by the Tinnean Expedition. There is found in the collection a new genus, which to honour the Tinne family is called by us *Tinnea aethiopica*. It was found by Mlle. Alexandrine Tinne and called by her 'anguste violette.' From seeds which she sent to her brother, Monsieur John Tinne, flowers were obtained in his greenhouses at Aigburth near the city of Liverpool, England, which we have been able to examine in a fresh condition. Captains Speke and Grant found this same species during their expedition to discover the sources of the Nile; some of their specimens are to be found in the Herbarium of the Royal Kew Gardens. The well-known botanist, Dr. Thomson, who prepared a description of this interesting plant almost at the same time as we did, has very graciously yielded and ceded to us the precedence in the nomenclature of this plant, for which we are very much obliged to him. The other 41 species are already known botanically. There were in addition some fragments, seeds, and fruits which it was possible to determine specifically, and in those instances we have cited the names of the plants without giving them an ordinal number. Besides the 29 species recognized as new to science we ought to indicate as new to the Nile valley the following species, *Culcasia scandens*, *Calamus secundiflorus*, *Elæis guineensis*, *Lissochilus arenarius*, and *purpuratus*, *Landolphia florida*, *Morelia senegalensis*, *Urena lobata*, *Cochlospermum tinctorium*, *Voandzeia subterranea*, *Parkia biglobosa*; these eleven species all occur in areas on the west coast of Africa. In regard to the identity which exists between the flora of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and that of other parts of the Nile valley, our collection, though relatively poor, shows that one meets in both areas the following species, *Hæmanthus multiflorus*, *Eulophia guineensis*, *Salvadora persica*, *Blumea perrottetiana*, *Nelsonia foetida*, *Kigelia pinnata*, *Anona senegalensis*, *Urena lobata*, *Syzygium guineense*, *Indigofera aspera*, *Arachis hypogea*, *Herminiera elaphroxylon*, *Dolichos angustifolia*, *Voandzeia subterranea*, *Cassia occidentalis*, *Mimosa asperata*.

"The greater part of the known species which we have enumerated have been found in Abyssinia ; we make exception of the following :—*Ipomea asarifolia*, *Urena lobata*, *Jussiaea fluitans*, *Indigofera aspera*, *Herminiera elaphroxylon*, *Dolichos angustifolia*, *Parkia biglobosa*, *Arachis hypogæa*, *Voandzeia subterranea*. Hitherto the existence of these ten species in Abyssinia has not been established. If we consider the probable richness of the Bahr-el-Ghazal flora in addition to what we have shown and what we shall say further on, we lack the courage to make further comparisons on the basis of the collection at our disposal. We shall confine ourselves to resuming the exposition of facts gathered by the Tinnean Expedition relating to the vegetative products of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, in order to give an idea, poor though it may be, of the aspect of the areas adjacent to our river.

"To the south of the isles of the Shilluk covered with thick forests of *Acacia arabica* which supplies the indestructible timber known under the name of *sunt* and transported as far as lower Egypt for building boats, one finds the first large tamarinds covered with thick foliage of light green, the sycamore fig and *Cratæva adansonii*, trees which make a pleasant change in the aspect of the country, if one considers that previously it was mostly various acacias with fine pinnate foliage which were presented to the eye of the botanist. Among predominant shrubs we notice *Zizyphus spina-christi* and *Mærua oblongifolia* with scant foliage and green bark, both of which surpass the *heglig* (*Balanites ægyptiaca*) in spininess. On the banks of the rivers the wild sugar-cane (*Saccharum ischænum*) grows to a height of 10 feet (*deux toises*). Near Mount Dinka (Njemati) occur the first thickets of *ambatch*, which become more and more numerous as one proceeds southwards, and are associated with *Pistia* and *Nymphaea* floating on the water around them ; near Kaka Hill a floating fern, *Ceratopteris thalictroides* joins their company. At the mouth of the Sobat vast areas of the water are covered with numerous sedges and there, around the species mentioned above, one finds *Azolla nilotica* of remarkable dimensions. This remarkable rhizosperm is figured on the last plate of this treatise, and my learned friend, Professor Mettenius, has been good enough to undertake the description of it for me. On the banks a species of *Commelina* grows in abundance and extends long rooting branches far out on the water. Over the bushes in the vicinity climbs a cucurbitaceous plant, indicated as a new genus under the name of *Blastania fimbristipula*. The western shores, inhabited by Shilluk

blacks, have fine groves of the *dom* palm (*Cucifera thebaica*) and tall acacias, in the shade of which the inhabitants have built numerous villages. The eastern side, on the contrary, is a sea of sedges and grasses with islands which are alike invaded by the same grass-like plants.

" It was on the 5th of February that the expedition entered the mouth of the Bahr-el-Ghazal passing through tall grasses, clumps of papyrus and thickets of ambatch ; higher up in the River of Gazelles the vegetation is less luxuriant ; there one no longer encounters floating islands, and the *Pistias*, *Ipomeas*, and *Neptunias* have disappeared. But near the Tira hills, in the country of the Nubians  $1\frac{1}{2}$  degrees further south, trees of *Euphorbia candelabrum* (' *shigar el sim*,' or 'poison tree,' of the Arabs) are found in the marshes in the dry season, although at Tira further west in the month of May 1837, we only found them, without flower, on rocky slopes of hills. Going on from the estuary of the Bahr-el-Ghazal the country is made up of marshy forests of the acacias *kuk* and *kakamut*, tamarinds, naucleas, and trees of *Zizyphus* and *Cordia* intermixed with areas of grasses and sedges 10-12 feet high and the ' *herbe de steppes* ' (*Andropogon giganteus*). Nymphaeas and lotus (*Nelumbium*) cover with their great leaves the edges of the sheet of water, and intermingled with them are some bladderworts (*Utricularia*) with flowers of red and yellow. The remainder of the banks are often covered with a thick even growth of capers, climbing *Cissus*, and *Euphorbia candelabrum*. The stream further southwest between Bahr Jur and Meshra' er Req is more widely bordered by marshes covered with rushes and clumps of *ambatch*, behind which trees of *Kigelia pinnata* grow up like walls.

" On the 2nd of March they reached Meshra' er Req, where rushes and clumps of herbage invade the edge of the river ; shallow parts were clothed with lotus and blue waterlilies. Here and there were wooded areas, where many kinds of acacias and the tamarind grew, and in the shade of which fine flowers flourished.

" A brief survey of the banks of the Nile reveals the great variation in soil and plants to be met with there. Between Khartoum and El Eis the banks are generally rather high. In parts they are sandy and in others we see that they are formed of layers of stone mixed with gravel. The neighbouring tree savannah is studded with isolated acacias, which in places form thicker groves. A little further south where the gradient is very slight the White Nile widens out considerably. Its bed is filled

with numerous marshy islands, where *Acacia arabica* forms nearly impenetrable forests.

" Still further south near the mouths of the Sobat and of the Bahr-el-Ghazal the borders of the river and the low islands offer great scope for the growth of reeds and sedges. There begin the floating islands, formed very often of *Pistias*, which at times cover the whole surface of the river. Along the firm ground on the contrary, one notices long ranks of *dom* palms and particularly of *doleb* palms. It is there also that tamarinds begin to come in and the acacias *kuk* and *kakamut* and the *terter*, (*Urostigma populifolium*), etc.

" The lower and middle reaches of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Bahr-el-Jebel are bordered by a veritable sea of reeds and sedges in which one finds not a tree ; then the marshy forests of *Cratæva adansonii*, *Euphorbia candelabrum* and *Cordia mixya* begin in association with tamarind, acacias *kuk* and many others.

" Between the two rivers mentioned one finds, in places, more elevated ground deeply cut by the beds of streams. These areas show a characteristic sign of tropical forest and savannah in the presence of many sorts of figs with a large quantity of milky latex (' *caoutchouc* ').

#### JOURNEY FROM THE LAKE OF REQ TO BONGO

" The first day, going southward towards Morah, one crossed a treeless plain covered with grasses, in part very dry at this season, and then tree savannah on which the grass had been burnt. The very large trees there were mostly clad in a fine robe of greenery. Camp was made under a magnificent *Kigelia pinnata*, the red flowers of which hung down in long festoons resembling creepers. This shady tree surrounded by sycamore figs made a small isolated grove near a place that was named Agoi. On leaving it the savannah was more barren of vegetation ; however, the little village Auen was picturesquely sited in the shade of old sycamores and towards the west at a little distance a large number of *doleb* palms could be seen with aromatic fruits just beginning to ripen. In the tall grasses monkeys of considerable size made their home. The village of Aquonati was built in the midst of fine *doleb* palms, to which figs often clung and in the course of time by means of the growth of aerial roots surrounded the stems in a sheathing layer, so that the palm seemed to be growing out of the fig tree, though its roots were really deeply bedded in the earth. The ferruginous soil of the tree savannah that the travellers

then crossed supported a large number of plants including trees which appeared here for the first time. Among these we may mention an *Erythrina* in blossom, which had a trunk resembling a *Stapelia*, some wild arachnides, a useful tuberous twining plant (*Dioscorea*) and many more.

" The 1st of April they reached the banks of the Bahr Jur of which the bed was about 300 paces wide and had an almost perpendicular verge 15 to 18 feet high edged with grasses. Along the western side stretched a grove of *Nauclea* (*Platanocarpus*) behind which were noticed wild dates and some tall isolated trunks of *doleb* palms.

" The first day marked by a very sad and overwhelming event was the 10th of April, when the death of Dr. Steudner, the botanist of the expedition, occurred. It was at Wau that he was carried off by a violent onset of fever. It was precisely at the moment most favourable for botanical collection at the beginning of the rainy season that the company was reduced by so great a loss. Instead of the important collection which a skilful botanist could have made, on inspection it proved to be a small collection prepared in a somewhat improvised manner after Dr. Steudner's death. Besides the 74 species of these collections we had some seeds and fruits sent by the Tinnean Expedition.

" As by enchantment the first heavy rains have covered the soil with a veritable carpet of lovely flowers ; with a few exceptions the trees have acquired lovely foliage and the savannah grasses have begun to grow. On leaving Meshra' er Req the *mimosæ* begin to disappear one after another. At that station only one kind of considerable size, probably belonging to this group, was seen. It was covered with a rich and ample foliage similar to that of the tamarind. Its pods were long, somewhat rounded on a side view and arranged in fascicles. The seeds were embedded in a mealy substance of sweetish taste which served the natives as food. They likewise eat great quantities of the pulp of tamarind pods. Among other trees one was noticed, already known from the country of the Boghas and from Abyssinia, with sweet yellow fruits comparable to a plum. Biselli, an elephant hunter and ivory merchant, showed the travellers various products of the country, in particular a kind of eleusine called ' *telobon* ' in Arabic, and a very small haricot bean cultivated on the edges of the Kasonga.

" The neighbourhood of Zeriba Biselli is cut towards the east by deep ravines which carry off the rain water ; everywhere one sees clumps

of shrubs mixed with tall grasses and a small number of trees of moderate height. Here and there *dukhn* is cultivated. On leaving the River Jur one sees the *doleb* palm reappearing and also magnificent amaryllides striped with blue and with red, which become numerous particularly about Whoni and Tschelga; a *Hæmanthus* with flower heads the colour of blood and the size of one's fist, a very beautiful yellow hypoxid with somewhat woolly leaves (*Curculigo firma*), some large sterculias and ebonies with yellow flowers which had been found earlier on the Jur.

"The 25th of May the natives of Jur and Jeny were already very busy planting *dura* and *dukhn*; at the same time they were gathering a great number of groundnuts, which grew at a depth of only a few inches in the light soil. It seemed that more than six months were necessary for maturing these grains here; the two kinds which they cultivated sometimes attained a height of more than 15 feet. Irrigation is unknown, but it is claimed that the rains continue sometimes for five months. The Jur natives cultivate a small quantity of sesame, of beans, and *Hibiscus esculentus*.

"According to the natives of Meshra' er Req, to which M. de Heuglin returned on the 1st of May, the *Herminiera*, which is called ambatch, takes five years to develop its large main roots, which are horizontal and always placed under the surface of the water and covered with very numerous capillary rootlets, and its conical trunk which often attains a height of 20-25 feet. During the following five year period the trunks gradually rot away and a new period of growth begins. If this is true, it was in about the ninth year of the vegetative cycle that our travellers encountered it. The numerous grass fires in the dry season often spread to the ambatch and attack the dry trunks, which have rather unpicturesquely fallen about, and sometimes in this way finally become a serious menace to the boats of the inhabitants of Meshra'.

"Towards the 20th of July the rains increase and with them the level of the rivers. Moreover at this time the wooded parts are transformed into a delightful park. A spring-time verdure appears on the trees and on the numerous creepers with which they are draped, and on the tufted herbage carpeting the soil among which spring the multi-coloured clumps of *Hæmanthus*, *Crinum* and various liliaceous plants, orchids, aroids, milkweeds and a great number of other herbs. The fields sown by the negroes with sesame, tobacco, beans, *dukhn*, maize and so forth show an admirable richness and beauty.

" The negroes say that to the south-west in the country of the Mafio one finds much wild coffee and other curious fruits which do not occur at Jur, although the forests of that country offer an equal abundance of edible fruits, some of very pleasant flavour, and roots of *dioscorea*, and potatoes, and potherbs, and salads.

" The number of oil-bearing plants is very considerable. There is for instance a palm of great size with petioles three inches thick, which bears small yellow fruits comparable with dates ; one does not eat the fruits, but they yield, say the inhabitants, an excellent oil. If from the land of the Mafio one proceeds south by south-west towards the river of Sena one reaches the region of rattans (*Calamus secundiflorus*, *khezeran* in Arabic) and that of a huge banana the fruits of which exceed a foot in length ; one also finds there the *raham* (or pineapple), fruit of an ananacee, of very agreeable taste.

" It is at the end of April and in May that seeds are sown at Bongo ; from these plantings in the middle of July they gather an abundance of beans ; almost simultaneously numerous cucumbers mature and a little later maize and the *ankoleb* (*Holcus saccharatus*) ; they have also two sorts of marrows, one of which attains very considerable dimensions. Tobacco and sesame mature at the end of August and in September. The *dura*, *dukhn* and tobacco do not reach maturity until after the end of the rainy season, which occurs about mid-September. The groundnuts (*Arachis hypogea* and *Voandzeia subterranea*) are collected at two different times, at the beginning of September and again in April and May. It seems that they cultivate two sorts of tobacco and also two sorts of leguminous forage crops (' lupins '). All these plants were found in a spontaneous state before the arrival of traders from Khartoum. One frequently met with wild cotton, the castor oil plant of which, however, no use was made, and the *Abelmoschus esculentus*. The quantity of edible fruits supplied by trees and of roots which were eaten was innumerable. The minimum temperature of the month of August was 17° Reaumur and the maximum 28° Reaumur. In conditions so favourable some of the local grasses grew to a height of twelve feet, and one of the commonest of them, an *Advena*, nourished myriads of wild bees.

" At the beginning of October the tall savannah grasses begin to turn yellow and are generally loaded with ripe seeds, armed with long pointed awns, which stick to the clothing and are hardly less troublesome than the famous *hasikanit* (*Cenchrus echinatus*) of Kordofan.

" Besides the *bāmia* the country yielded towards the end of the rainy season four or five kinds of potatoes. Their tubers were often very large, some shaped like turnips had a thickness of four inches and a length of one and a half feet. All the tubers are prepared like ordinary potatoes and taste much like them. The seeds of *Arachis* and *Voandzeia* yield a delicious oil. The butter tree is of great importance in this area ; it grows principally on the west side of the White Nile, on the Jur, and the Kasonga, in the country of the Niam Niam and further to south-west ; it is generally distributed as far as the Niger.

" These items of information, few though they be, let us appreciate the richness and resources of these areas of which we have drawn a rapid sketch. We believe we have a right to hope that when civilization has made its way to these parts, now so inhospitable, commerce will find there numerous things of value to feed its exchanges, and eventually draw the inhabitants from the state of brutishness and barbarity in which we now see them sunk. The field for development is immense ; let hardy pioneers go there, and civilization will celebrate another triumph !

" In closing I would say that the plants which have served as basis for the present work were collected and pressed during the Tinnean expedition, in part by Alexandrine Tinne, in part by M. de Heuglin. Botanists will ever be grateful to M. de Heuglin for the services which he rendered to science after the death of the indefatigable and ill-fated Steudner, in collecting plants in the vicinity of Bongo as well as on the Bahr-el-Ghazal. This little collection presents for the first time an idea of the rich vegetation of these areas, and shows the great differences between the vegetation of the lands of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and those of the White Nile. M. de Heuglin despatched from Khartoum a package of plant specimens with some butterflies and beetles, and in a letter to Professor Francois Unger, asked him to arrange for getting the plants described and afterwards for placing them in the Imperial Herbarium of the Court of Vienna. Having been assigned the task of making the descriptions, I wrote to M. de Heuglin to ask him to let me have further details of the material of which I was to prepare publication. He very obligingly acceded to my request and during a visit to Vienna gave me as complete a verbal account of the plants as was possible for a naturalist untrained in botany.

" Having ascertained, in the course of my work, that there were a large number of beautiful new species and even some new genera among

them, I proposed to M. Tinne the making of a publication dealing with them and, to help him to decide to co-operate, submitted to him drawings of some of the plants which I had prepared, which effectively persuaded him to my opinion.

" In setting myself to prepare the work, of which publication had been entrusted to me, I had the good fortune to secure the assistance of my friend Dr. Peyritsch. Having seen the drawing of *Morelia senegalensis* which, as a sample of drawings for the proposed publication I had previously sent to M. John A. Tinne, he was so satisfied with it that he promised to give me his co-operation in the publication I had undertaken to make ; his help has been of so great importance that I deem it but an act of justice to join his name with mine in the authorship of this work.

TH. KOTSCHY.

## **Additional Note on the Death of Mlle. Tinne**

EXTRACTED AND TRANSLATED FROM G. NACHTIGAL'S ACCOUNT IN  
" SAHARA UND SUDAN "

By Beatrice H. Tothill

*Sahara und Sudan* in three volumes by Dr. Gustav Nachtigal gives a detailed account of the author's travels in Africa between 1869 and 1875, through Fezzan, Tibesti, Bornu, Borku, Kanem, Bagirmi, Wadai and Darfur. It was in Tripolis in 1869 that he made Mlle. Tinne's acquaintance, and later at Murzuq he came to know her very well. From there he made a journey to Tibesti, while she started to the Tuareg country, en route to which she was murdered for her riches. When they parted they expected to return to Murzuq and combine forces for the journey to Bornu. I give a short account of his more detailed story as it involves Mlle. Tinne.

This gives Nachtigal's first impressions of Mlle. Tinne when he met her in Tripolis.

" Our most interesting acquaintance was without doubt Fraulein Alexandrine Petronella Francina Tinne, born at The Hague on October 17th, 1834, who had already become very well known through her command of an expedition to the Upper Nile. This lady had tried in vain to penetrate towards the south from the borders of Algeria into the Tuareg country, and shortly before my own arrival had come to Tripolis with a numerous retinue in order to travel towards Fezzan and beyond. A lady who had already given an account of herself in firmness of purpose in so many severe tests and struggles, already accumulated so much experience, and who, despite painful losses, sustained by reason of her wide travels . . . with remarkable tenacity to a firmly held purpose and fresh courage, was again setting out on a chosen path of adventure—such a lady filled me at first only with awe and respect. My Tripolitanian encounter with her did little to modify this feeling. To one who had followed her adventurous career on lines which none but men had otherwise attempted, her aristocratic seemingly cold features and distinguished reserved bearing, when he had anticipated a somewhat emancipated nature, may disappoint in pleasure on a slight and superficial acquaintance. . . .

" Her party consisted of two Dutch seamen, Kes Oostmans and Ary Jacobse, some personal negro servants from the Upper Nile, Algerian women, Arabs from Tunis and Algeria, freed negro slaves who hoped to make their way back to their homes under her care, and Adolf Krausse, a young German who had run away from his gymnasium at home in his enthusiasm for Africa and reached the fateful continent at Tripolis. The town was full of rumours of her wealth and she had already been given the name of " Bint el Re " or king's daughter, and it was this which contributed to her tragic end."

Mlle. Tinne went on to the Fezzan capital Murzuq, where Nachtigal met her again to discuss further plans. Both wished to go to Bornu at the end of the summer and both wished to undertake a shorter journey first. Nachtigal wished to visit Tibesti despite warnings of the dangers of travelling in that district. Mlle. Tinne had cherished the same idea but was dissuaded from attempting it and, instead, began arrangements for visiting the Tuareg country. In May both travellers contracted fever, and as Mlle. Tinne was beginning to recover from it she developed appendicitis and became dangerously ill, and only began to recuperate after sixteen days, thanks partly to Nachtigal's advice about suitable diet and the use of narcotics to ease her pain and help her to sleep. As soon as she was well enough she went on with her travel arrangements.

While in Tripolis they had talked with Ali Riza, the Governor General there, who had told them that he had no influence at all beyond his own frontiers, with the single exception that if either of them wished to visit the Tuareg country, he could help them through a friend of his who was the Ichnuchen, Asgar, in Ghat. Accordingly Mlle. Tinne wrote suitable letters and had a friendly, even obliging, reply from this old chief saying that he would himself be visiting W. Ladshal during the summer and offering to accompany her. On the day that Nachtigal was to start for Tibesti she proposed to begin a short journey to Wadi-el-Gharbi, where she was to meet this Ichnuchen and draw up a travel agreement with him. On the evening of June 5th Nachtigal accompanied her through the west gate of the town to the camp which her people had made outside the walls and, very pleased that she was to be able to arrange a journey under such seemingly safe conditions, took leave of her " with very warm farewells, since during the common sojourn in Murzuq I had learned to value the heart and mind of this lady very highly." Next day Nachtigal left for Tibesti, and heard no more of her until he

was returning again through Fezzan, when a fugitive brought to his camp "the shocking news of the slaying of my comrade Alexandrine Tinne through the shameless treachery of the Tuaregs."

Nachtigal returned to Murzuq on October 8th, 1869, and during the following weeks spent much time and trouble trying to ascertain the course of events between the time he left her and Mlle. Tinne's death, talking to as many eye witnesses as possible, and questioning them separately, until he thought he had a clear picture of what happened. This is the story, much abbreviated, that he was able to piece together.

After the lady had light-heartedly parted from him at Murzuq, she started without delay for Wadi-el-Gharbi and met the Tuareg chief as arranged. He was not yet ready to proceed to Ghat as further business was occupying him in the Fezzan, so he turned her over to one Murabid Hadj Ahmed Bu Slah, a Tuareg who lived in Wadi-el-Gharbi, who had instructions to return with her to Murzuq, to assist her in her preparations there and then conduct her as far as Ghat. He assured her that she would be "as safe in the hands of this brave man as in his own."

While they were in Murzuq again getting a caravan organized Mlle. Tinne was visited by eight Tuaregs of the Ichnuchen's following, one Hadj es Scheik, his sister's son, who alleged that they were also to give her any possible assistance and suggested travelling westwards with her. They treated her with great politeness as a distinguished stranger who would shortly be visiting their country, and she was well pleased with the prospect of such travel companions. These Tuaregs left Murzuq at the same time as her caravan, and remained in sight of it day and night despite the fact that they were travelling light and could have made much better time than Mlle. Tinne's caravan, which was inconveniently large and made slow progress by short stages. She had hired twenty seven camels from the Arabs of Wadi Schijati with a tribesman to look after each, as the ones she was buying from Tripolis for the journey to Bornu had not yet arrived.

On August 1st they were about to set out from Wadi Aberschuldsh. Early in the morning they had begun to break camp. Some of the camels were already laden. Nearby was the women's camp. The light nimble Tuaregs stood leaning on their lances awaiting the start. Both the Netherlands were ready, their camels laden, with their fire-arms hanging from their saddles, and they were going to and fro helping and giving orders. Then began "doubtless by pre-arrangement" a dispute between

two of the Arab camel drivers over the loading of their animals. Kes Oostmans, who was near, interfered in their altercations endeavouring to restore peace. "This attitude must have given the conspirators the occasion they were seeking for carrying out their scandalous plan." The quarrellers turned upon the Netherlander, and protested against his interference. Invective flew back and forth, the vehemence increased and violence seemed near. Then the Tuareg, Hadj es Scheik, sprang suddenly among the quarrellers with raised lance and thrust it through the young Hollander with the words "Why do you meddle in the dispute of Mohamedans?" Kes Oostmans fell dead to the ground, and therewith was brought about the scene of confusion at which the plotters aimed. . . . Ary Jacobse, shocked by the murderous attack on his comrade, leapt on his camel to ride to his aid, but before he could reach his side he was struck to the ground by a sword cut on the back of his head and then stabbed with a lance. All this happened in the twinkling of an eye and in no time the whole camp was the scene of the greatest dismay and consternation. Women rushed from their tents screaming and wringing their hands; the slaves thought their last hour had come; the guilty and the guiltless shouted and blustered and crowded around together. The wild tumult which naturally drew Mlle. Tinne from her tent subsided somewhat at the sound of her commanding voice, and then suddenly the poor defenceless lady at whose life it was all aimed, found herself in the thick of the fray surrounded by angry Arabs, cowardly or conniving servants and violent Tuaregs."

"It was an Arab who was the first to raise his hand against the defenceless lady . . . with a blow from sharp weapons on her neck and shoulder, but he did not fell her to the ground. There came a blow on the forearm from a slave of Hadj es Scheik before she collapsed from loss of blood. She lost consciousness mercifully soon and was dying by mid-day."

The negro servants were sent off into the still standing tents, while the murderers and robbers divided the contents of the chests and bales of luggage. They were later allowed camels and waterskins for their return to Murzuq, and lost no time in seeking the safety of its walls, "more relieved at their own escapes than grieved for the loss of their kind mistress," who was lying with gaping wounds and even stripped of most of her clothing. The Arabs and Tuaregs hastily dispersed in various directions, leaving the less valuable articles strewn about on the sands.

The rest of the story concerns the rather inept attempts of the Fezzan and Tripolis authorities, aided by the Dutch Consul-General in Tripolis, to find the guilty and try them. After many months delay, while Nachtigal was absent in Bornu, the case was tried in Tripolis, and on his return he learned that the Tuaregs had managed to put all the blame on the Arab camel drivers, and implicated a local official in Murzuq, who had been particularly helpful to him, as instigator. This in no way agreed with his own view of the case, which was that the Tuaregs had plotted the whole affair for the sake of money and other valuables, and used the Arabs as accessories in the plot.

## FRANK MILLER LUPTON

By E. Macro.

By the year 1854 the "Agamemnon," the first armour-plated warship, had been launched; the first steamship had crossed the Atlantic, Stephenson had built his first railway engine, and railway shares had boomed and dropped by over seventy million pounds. Livingstone was in the midst of his first great journey. Lander and Clapperton had travelled through Nigeria, crossed the Niger and had reached Kano and Sokoto. It was the age of machinery and exploration, of inventors and adventurers.

Early in 1854 one such adventurer was to be born. In the village of Ilford in Essex, a certain Mrs. Lupton, the wife of a local merchant, gave birth to her first son, whom she called Frank Miller. Frank Lupton was brought up in Ilford with his younger brother Malcolm, who was born a few years later. At the age of 24 Lupton entered the Mercantile Marine and became first officer of a steamship plying between Suakin, then the port of the Sudan, and Jedda on the Arabian coast.

In 1879 while ashore at Suakin he joined a camel caravan and rode through the mountains and across the desert to Berber. A month later he was in the Palace in Khartoum and had persuaded Colonel Gordon, the Governor-General, to employ him in his service, and asked him, if possible, if he could go to central Africa. Gordon sent him up the White Nile in charge of a number of river steamers, which he was sending to relieve Emin Pasha, a Prussian, then aged 48, who had succeeded Gordon as Governor of the Equatorial Province<sup>1</sup> in 1879.

It took Lupton nearly two years to cut his way through the *sudd*, but he eventually arrived at Lado, after enduring great hardship. Emin, not wishing to be relieved, stayed in his province against Gordon's orders, and Lupton became his deputy and was placed in charge of the Latuka District. There, with his headquarters at Tarangole, he spent some months holding his own against the Lango and Didinga on the slopes of the Imatong Mountains. Vita Hasan<sup>2</sup> the traveller met Lupton at Lado in January, 1881, when he was staying with Emin and Nur Mohammed Bey.

<sup>1</sup> Roughly coterminous with the old Mongalla Province but extending southwards into the present Uganda Protectorate.

<sup>2</sup> A Tunisian Jew of Alexandria, apothecary of Lado and friend of Junker.

Later in the same year Rauf Pasha, who had been appointed Governor-General on Gordon's resignation in 1880, appointed him Governor of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, in succession to Gessi Pasha, an Italian. Gessi had been Gordon's right-hand man in Equatoria, but had resigned office and made his way back via Khartoum to Suez, where he died two days after his arrival in the French hospital. In July, 1881, Lupton, whose place under Emin was taken by Marcopoli Bey (an incompetent administrator), went to Khartoum to receive instructions from Rauf Pasha.

On 19th December, Emin, on arriving at Lado, received news from Lupton at Khartoum of the Mahdi at Aba Island. By Christmas, 1881, Lupton had returned from Khartoum and taken up his post at Deim Suliman<sup>3</sup> in the Bahr-el-Ghazal with Satti Effendi, a rascally Egyptian, as his sub-mudir or deputy Governor. His province he had divided into eight districts: Liffi,<sup>4</sup> Bakko,<sup>5</sup> Dembo,<sup>6</sup> Kawaki,<sup>7</sup> Biselli,<sup>8</sup> Sabi,<sup>9</sup> Jur Kurshukali<sup>10</sup> and Jur Ghattas,<sup>11</sup> and each had a garrison of about 300 men.

On his return from Khartoum he had brought with him a very beautiful young native girl from Shendi by the name of Zēnūba, who had been brought up as a servant girl in the house of Rosset, formerly German Consul at Khartoum. She had gone to El Fasher with him when he was appointed Governor of Darfur. On his death she left El Fasher and joined Lupton. In 1882, a daughter was born to Zēnūba at Meshra-er-Req, and Lupton named her Fānna.

On his arrival at Deim Suliman from Khartoum, Lupton Bey, as he now was, was ordered to send nearly all his regular troops to Khartoum; he armed a large number of his irregulars with 900 Remington rifles. These irregulars, who were mostly Dinka, were friendly towards the Mahdist cause. He would have been far wiser to have armed the Azande, who, although cannibals, would have been very good soldiers.

<sup>3</sup> Now Deim Zubeir.

<sup>4</sup> The present Raga District.

<sup>5</sup> Approximately 20 miles west-north-west of Deim Zubeir.

<sup>6</sup> Approximately on Lat. 8° 24' and Long. 27° 24'.

<sup>7</sup> (Adlan), 35 miles south-east of Deim Zubeir.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly the present Limbo.

<sup>9</sup> Area between present Jebel Gangua and Jebel Yarra.

<sup>10</sup> Area south-west of Yabulu.

<sup>11</sup> The present Tonj.

In August, 1882, Lupton was at Tel Gauna Post in the Liffi district. Sheikh Jango, a Mahdist, attacked some Bashi-Bazouks at Liffi and the rest of the inhabitants submitted. Lupton proceeded to the scene with six hundred men, but found Jango had fled. Lupton then returned to Deim Suliman and from there proceeded to Meshra-er-Req and defeated some of the Janghe tribe<sup>12</sup> who had attacked his troops. Sheikh Jango returned to Tel Gauna, but was defeated by Lupton with a force of two thousand men. During this period Emin Pasha in the far south had received no news from Lupton.

Major Mahmoud Effendi Abdallah, Lupton's Officer Commanding troops, who had been carrying on a vigorous campaign against the Shat tribe<sup>13</sup>, returned to Lupton at Dembo on January 27th, 1883, in a very bad state of health.

On February 1st Sheikh Jango again attacked the Liffi district, and was dispersed by Ruffai Agha, one of Lupton's chiefs. He then ordered Ruffai Agha to attack the Janghe. Ruffai proceeded to a place near Dembo, where he entrenched himself for some months; but in September, after the Mahdists had collected a sufficient number of men, they attacked Ruffai and massacred him and nearly all his men.

During this period Lupton was harassed by constant requests for reinforcements from Slatin Bey, Governor of Darfur, with which of course the unfortunate Lupton Bey could not comply. Lupton in turn had sent many urgent requests for food and reinforcements to Emin without success. Lupton had written to Emin from Dembo on February 11th, telling him of more desertions of his men. Writing to Dr. Junker on April 2nd, 1883, Lupton warned him of the unsettled state of the country; he then had 2,000 armed men and was daily expecting attack. He sent 400 men to Rol in the south to join forces with those at Ayak,<sup>14</sup> whom Emin had sent north. He received a large amount of cattle as booty as a result of the ensuing campaign, but, by giving Emin's troops 17,000 rounds of ammunition he had considerably weakened his own stocks.

The tribes around Jebel Telkanna were one of the first bodies to join the Mahdist forces; they returned with Madibbo Bey to set fire to the Dinka country.

Lupton, who was in the west, hurried to the spot and fought two successful engagements, but in the meantime Satti had been surrounded

<sup>12</sup> Dinka.

<sup>13</sup> Tribe occupying the low-lying country between Gogrial and Chak-Chak.

<sup>14</sup> Village 35 miles north of Mvolo on the River Naam. Possibly the present Aru.

at Meshra-er-Req. Lupton should have gone to his relief, but probably thought the retention of his services would not warrant it.

In June, 1883, Lupton was beginning to feel how hopeless his position was, but he kept going as best he could, although surrounded by treachery on all sides. He had lost all his best troops in the recent fighting and had asked Emin for ammunition and percussion caps, which Emin could not or would not supply.

In August, Lupton marched from Jur Ghattas to Meshra-er-Req to unload stores from the "Ismailia" which had been sent from Khartoum. He sent Satti Effendi to Khartoum on the returning steamer to ask for more help, but Satti never returned and afterwards went over to the Mahdi. Lupton returned from Meshra-er-Req to Deim Suliman in September, 1883, just before Ruffai's defeat, and called on the tribes to deliver up the ammunition which they had captured. Their subsequent attack, which he repulsed, caused them some loss. He again returned to Deim Suliman, as he was now running short of ammunition and had only four companies of Bashi-Bazouks and a number of Bazingers. When Lupton was at Gunda<sup>45</sup> in August, 1883, he knew that the Mahdists were in company with the Gellaba, and were intent on attacking Deim Suliman during the dry season. He tells Emin that slaves were bought and sold for ammunition ". . . three packets will buy a small boy, and a Remington rifle five girls. . . ."

In January, 1884, he wrote to Emin telling him of Hick's annihilation at Shekan and Slatin's surrender of Darfur, and that he had sent Satti to Khartoum in the "Ismailia."

The Emir Karamallah, whose forces were now closing in on Deim Suliman, had sent letters to Lupton calling on him to surrender. Lupton then had 1,200 regulars, four guns and four rocket tubes; he held a conference with his officers to exhort them to put up a powerful resistance, but they declared quite openly that they had no intention of resisting. Thus all Lupton's successful engagements, his continuous energy in marching hundreds of miles through desert and swamp at the head of his men, and his outstanding bravery were of no avail; he was alone now entirely in his wish to resist. He was forced to sign a paper handing over his province to Karamallah.

His last letters to Emin show perhaps better than anything his feelings at the end of his term of office.

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<sup>45</sup> The present Yabolu.

Deim Suliman,  
12th April, 1884.

Dear Emin,

The Mahdi's Army is now encamped six hours' march from here. Two dervishes have arrived here and want me to hand over the mudiria to them. I will fight to the last. I have put my guns in a strong fort, and if they succeed in capturing the mudiria, I will, I hope, from my fort, be able to turn them out again. They will come to you at once if I lose the day, so look out. Perhaps this is my last letter to you. My position is desperate, as my own men have gone over to them (the enemy) in numbers. I am known now by the name of Abdallah. I win the day or die, so good bye.

My kind regards to Doctor Junker.

If steamers come to you, write to my friends and let them know I die game.

Yours truly,  
F. Lupton.

Deim Suliman,  
20th April, 1884.

Dear Emin Bey,

Most of my people have joined the Mahdi's force, and the Nazir of Bucho and Nazir of Liffi with all their men have gone over, also the people from Gudju<sup>16</sup> have gone over with the Government grain. I don't know where it will end. I have sent Wazy Uller Effendi to the Mahdi's camp. I hardly know if I am Lupton Bey or the Emir Abdallah. I will write to you as soon as Wazy Uller returns. The enemy are armed with Remingtons and have four or five companies of regular troops with them and some 8,000 or 10,000 Orban and Jillaban, but I will give you their correct strength as soon as I am sure about the matter. I don't think it is under the above number. Slatin wrote me two lines, he only said 'I send this man Hadji Mustapha Kismulla to you.' He (Slatin) is now the Emir Abd-el-Kader.

Yours truly,  
F. Lupton.

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<sup>16</sup> Twenty miles west of Tonj.

Deim Suliman,  
26th April, 1884.

Dear Emin,

It's all up with me here. Everyone has joined the Mahdi, and his army takes charge of the mudiria the day after to-morrow. What I have passed through these last few days no one knows. I am perfectly alone.

The man who brings you this will give you all particulars. I hear that an army was never so totally defeated as was that of General Hicks. Out of 16,000 only 52 men are alive, and they are nearly all wounded. Look out you; some 8,000 to 10,000 men are coming to you well armed.

Hoping we shall meet.

Yours truly,

F. Lupton.

Emin's attitude toward Lupton is peculiar: generally he has great respect for his bravery, as his letters to Doctor Junker show. Junker, Casati, Slatin, indeed all who came into contact with him remarked on his admirable conduct. Yet Emin, in a letter to Doctor Junker, states:—"Lupton as you know is a mere figurehead, the real ruler is that scamp Satti Effendi," and in another:—"I should have thought that young Lupton would at least have learned the rudiments of administration when he was under me." It must be remembered that Lupton in his letters never gave any account of his own bravery, never kept detailed journals of his own exploits and adventures, as was the fashion of all African adventurers, and that Emin, who was not in the front line, was apt to put down the cause of the Dinka revolts to bad administration. Remember also that Emin was a man of age, education and experience; he was a doctor, he had been in the service of the Turkish and Egyptian Governments, and had lived amongst eastern peoples most of his life. He was twice Lupton's age. Lupton was still a youth and new to Africa, and in such circumstances conducted himself admirably.

Gordon was also unfair in his criticisms about Lupton, indeed about Slatin, Ohrwalder, Neufeld and other Europeans imprisoned by the Dervishes; admittedly he was a religious fanatic, and the nominal adoption of the Mohamedan religion by his governors must have touched a sore spot in his soul, but even so, one would have thought that taking into account the terrible sufferings, humiliation and privation to which

Lupton, a fellow Englishman, in fighting wholeheartedly for his Governor-General at Khartoum was subjected, Gordon, in spite of his own commitments, might have made more effort to lighten his sufferings ; admittedly he did send Stewart and Power, the only two other Britishers in the inland area of the Sudan, down the Nile in the " Abbas " to escape the inevitable rape of Khartoum, and it is realized that his administration of Khartoum during the siege was good, but his contempt for what he calls " . . . a regular Etat-Major, a medley of Europeans that the Mahdi is carrying about with him . . . " is not understandable. If Lupton had lived to escape from Omdurman, his services would have been invaluable, as were those of Slatin Bey.

On the 28th April, 1884, Lupton surrendered his province to Emir Karamallah.

Soon after his surrender, as he was leaning against the stockade of his fort, exhausted and dejected, probably looking over the hopelessness of the last four years and smoking what was probably his last cigarette, he was approached by a dervish, who struck him a very hard blow in the face and told him that the Mahdi did not allow smoking. Lupton said nothing.

Outside the mudiria after his surrender he was invited to become a Moslem, to which he replied that he had already done so. Karamallah then made him say the Moslem creed. The mudiria and magazine was then subjected to looting, and all the records, books, documents, etc., burned in the mudiria *zeriba*. All his soldiers were chained and used as slaves.

Lupton, Zēnūba his wife, and his little daughter then three years old, Major Abdallah, a kavass, a clerk and their families set off on a fifteen day trek to Shakka, where they were met by the Emir Abdel-el-Gader, who showed them round the battle-field of Shekan, the scene of General Hicks' annihilation on 4th November the previous year.

Not until June did Slatin Bey, already in captivity, hear the news of Lupton's surrender. In September Lupton arrived at El Obeid, where he met Ohrwalder, the Austrian missionary, who was captured by the Dervishes at Dilling. He (Lupton) was allowed to retain such property as he had, and also allowed to live with his wife. Ohrwalder records Lupton's great generosity towards him while at El Obeid, and how much he " loathed the life of a slave." Lupton, he said, would frequently burst



Fatma and Nafisa, daughters of F. M. Lupton Bey, about 1900.



Fatma and Nafisa, 1946.

into fits of indignation. During one such outburst in October he was arrested and sent to Omdurman.

He arrived on 17th October, 1884, at the Mahdi's camp (which was a day's journey up the White Nile from Omdurman), where he was met by Slatin Bey, who had surrendered Darfur in December, 1883. They met outside the Khalifa's house, while Lupton, hungry, weary, helpless and travel-worn was waiting to be received. This was the first time that the two governors had met. Slatin greeted him heartily, and told him that he had written to the authorities in Khartoum trying to negotiate his release. Lupton said that he hoped very much that he would be allowed to go. Lupton had left his servants and family some distance from the camp; Slatin obtained permission for him to see the Khalifa. The Khalifa "pardoned" him, and allowed him to bring in his family and servants. On his return he was presented to the Mahdi. Lupton moved to Omdurman with the Mahdi's hordes and other European prisoners; on their arrival he and Slatin were thrown into chains on suspicion of attempting to join Gordon in Khartoum.

When Lupton's property was searched by the Mahdists they found a document signed by Lupton's officers to the effect that he had been forced to surrender the Bahr-el-Ghazal. His property was confiscated and placed in the Beit-el-Mal, but Zēnūba and Fānna were allowed the services of a female slave, and were to live in the Beit-el-Mal *zerība*.

Lupton's hardships in captivity were many; he would fly into terrific rages and curse the Mahdi and the Khalifa and all their followers. Slatin did much to quieten him. After ten months, owing to the careful diplomacy of Slatin, the Khalifa had their chains removed. They were summoned before the Mahdi and were made to swear allegiance to him. This occurred in September, 1885.

Lupton was now allowed to join his family in their tent in the Beit-el-Mal. He was allowed to wander about Omdurman, and was more or less a free man, but he was mentally in a terrible condition, and led a pitiable and pathetic life, and most of the time whilst half starved he had to wander through the filth and squalor of Omdurman, trying to obtain food or money for his wife and child. In July, 1886, Zēnūba presented him with another baby girl, whom they named Victoria. Lupton tried many ways of earning enough money to keep his family; he managed to earn a few dollars mending old rifles. On his advice he tried soap boiling with Ohrwalder (Yusef the priest, as he was called

by the Dervishes), but could not make enough to keep himself and family from death, and their sufferings were indescribable; it is incredible how Victoria ever lived through those months immediately following her birth.

The Khalifa promised to assist him many times, but did not do so. At last Slatin managed to persuade a certain Ibrahim Adlan (a native of the Blue Nile who, as a favourite of the Khalifa, had been put in charge of the Beit-el-Mal, and whom Slatin had known in Kordofan) to try to help the wretched Lupton.

Slatin met him in the mosque one day in a very dejected state, and said that he would try to get him a job in the dockyard repairing steamers. Lupton was very grateful, and said that he would appreciate the job very much in spite of his wretched mental and physical condition. He received forty dollars a month for this work, which just kept himself and his family from starvation. His knowledge of the machinery was scanty, and he assured Slatin that their unserviceability would increase under his supervision. Lupton also obtained employment in making ammunition and fulminate percussion caps with one Hasan Zaki Effendi, another prisoner, who had previously been a doctor in Khartoum. Lupton's sight was seriously impaired by an explosion in the ammunition store. His state of health gradually got worse and worse, and he had to give up any work that he was doing, and so was reduced to the most abject poverty. About this time his family in England had sent him some money via Cairo by means of one Salah Wad Haj Ali. Ali had lent Lupton one hundred dollars, and in return had received a bill on Malcolm, his brother, for two hundred pounds which he cashed in Cairo. At last he had managed to communicate with his family. He knew vaguely of course that he was being swindled, although he was in such a state of mental distraction he did not really know what was happening. He talked with Slatin about how he should keep his money in safe custody; he was comparatively cheerful now, but complained that he felt ill and had pains in the back.

A week later Lupton was very ill and he sent to Slatin. Slatin, having obtained the Khalifa's permission, arrived at his house to find that he was dying. He hardly recognized Slatin, but begged him to look after his daughter. Ohrwalder and Hasan Zaki were also by his side; he murmured to Zaki to look after Zênūba and their two little daughters, and also asked Slatin to see his father and mother. He was

suffering from a type of meningitis. He passed away in delirium at midday on May 8th, 1888, after four years of torturing captivity. Slatin was destined to serve another seven years in captivity.

Zaki, Zēnūba, Ohrwalder and odd Greeks who were there, wrapped him in a white sheet and carried him on an *angarib* via the mosque to the cemetery near the Beit-el-Mal. Fānna was present with her mother at her father's burial. Zēnūba wept bitterly at the graveside, and mourned her late husband for many months.

In due time Zaki married Zēnūba, and in 1889 their first child was born, a girl, whom they called 'Isha. Their first son, Abdallah, born two years later, was eventually to marry Victoria his half-sister and Lupton's younger daughter. Abdallah unfortunately died a few years later. Zaki and Zēnūba in later years produced three girls and two boys.

On 5th September, 1898, Zēnūba and Fānna were surprised to see before them in Omdurman a face, that was familiar, even although it had none of the large beard that it used to wear. The man was in clothing strange to them. He was dressed in the uniform of the Egyptian Army. The figure before them was Slatin Bey, sometime Governor of Darfur, now Colonel Sir Rudolph C. Slatin Pasha, C.B., K.C.M.G., Director of Military Intelligence, Nile Expeditionary Force.

It is not difficult to imagine how they both must have felt seeing each other again, after five years, in such different circumstances. Zēnūba had now produced three more children; Slatin had returned to the scene of his long captivity in the uniform that he had not worn for so many years. Slatin, Zēnūba and Lupton's two daughters went over to the river-side near the Beit-el-Mal where, nearly eleven years before, they had covered the body of Frank Miller Lupton Bey with the sand from the spot on which they were now standing.

In Zēnūba, in spite of her thirty-seven years, Slatin could see the beauty that he had known so well so long ago, a strange type of native beauty which can only be appreciated by few. He noticed how Fānna, now a girl of sixteen, carried the likeness of his dead comrade and the beauty of Zēnūba, although her skin was a dark brown.

There seems to have been a strange bond between Slatin and Zēnūba. They saw very little of each other in Omdurman during their captivity, but perhaps on this day they sadly recalled that scorching 8th of May eleven years previously.

Zēnūba was not to speak to another European until the beginning of the next century, when a certain English merchant who had travelled from Lamarsh in Suffolk came to Omdurman to see her. His face was also familiar. For one brief moment she thought it must be Frank Lupton. It was, in fact, his younger brother Malcolm. Zēnūba and Fānna took him to see Frank's grave; Malcolm made arrangements to have the body transferred to what is now the old Christian cemetery in Khartoum. A simple metal cross was erected at the head with these words simply embossed thereon :—

In Memory of  
FRANK MILLER LUPTON  
GOVERNOR OF THE BAHR-EL-GHAZAL, 1880-1884  
DIED 1888

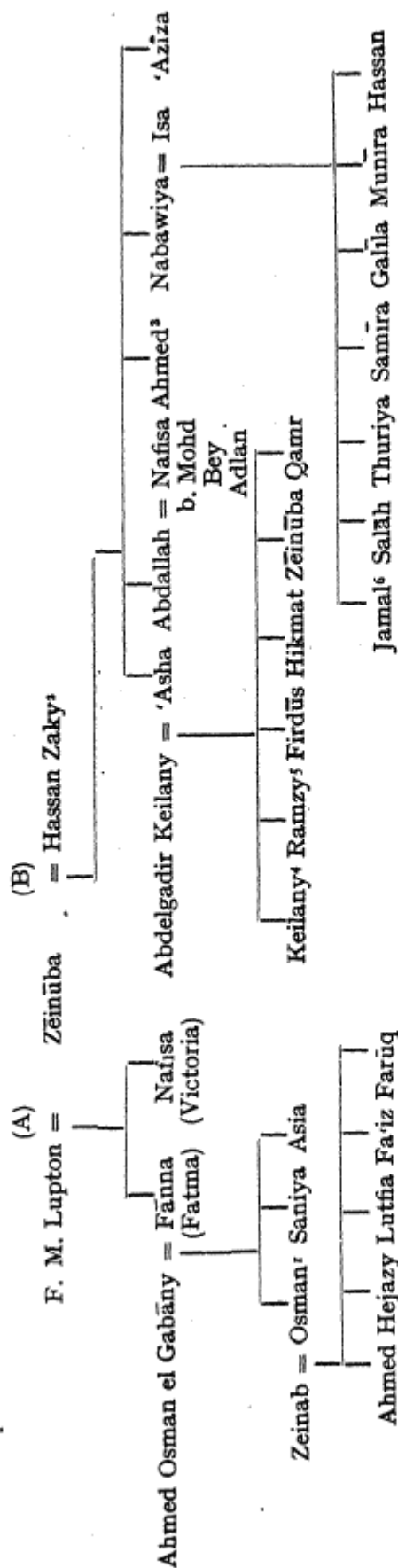
The cross has been broken, but it is now repaired. It grows rusty, and each downpour of rain increases the rust and makes tiny rivulets over what was once a tidy even mound; the rain makes the weeds grow thicker, which grow about the unkept grave. The grave is under a large acacia tree, where come ants and a hundred different insects of the Sudan, to crawl in and among the weeds and wild flowers that grow around this forgotten man.

The Sudan has swallowed up another great man; he, one of the few Englishmen who gave his life in the service of the corrupt and incompetent Egyptian Government, lies under a tree in Khartoum unknown by the world and neglected.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The only portrait of Lupton known to us is that on p. 214 of Junker's *Travels in Africa*, Vol. III, where he is shown with a beard and tarbush. Slatin states that at 32 years of age Lupton's hair was white. No street in Khartoum has yet been named after him.—ED.

# FAMILY TREE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF ZEINUBA.



- \* Osman Ahmed Osman el Gabany, who is Lupton's grandson, is now working in the Posts and Telegraphs Department.
- \* Zeinuba's second husband, Hassan Zaky, was medical adviser in turn to General Gordon and to the Mahdi. He is still alive.
- \* Ahmed Hassan Zaky is Assistant Analytical Chemist and stationed at Shambat.
- \* Keilany Abdelgadir is in the Surveys Department.
- \* Ramzy Abdelgadir is on the staff of the newspaper *Sawt el Sudan*.
- \* Jamāl Isa is a master at the Ahfād School, Omdurman.

# FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE ANUAK

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard

## I

In 1935 I made a quick ethnographic survey of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In 1939, when it seemed that I might not have a later opportunity, I wrote up, somewhat hurriedly, the notes I had made four years earlier and they were published in 1940 by the Replika Process as a book with the title "The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan" (referred to in this article as "The Anuak.") In 1940 I found myself back in Anuakland in the S.A.D.F., and was able to make some further observations about their political system during a strenuous, if very minor, campaign. These observations were made for practical, rather than scientific, ends. On the other hand, I was on this occasion able to understand better the Anuak language, as I had devoted almost two months to learning it, while waiting for operations to begin. I feel that some of these new observations are worth recording. The record would have been more detailed if some of my notes had not been lost in the course of the war in the Near East.

In the main the conclusions reached in 1935 were confirmed. I have stated in this article certain modifications which I think should be made in my earlier account and have corrected some errors in it. Apart from such modifications and corrections, the notes recorded here extend my original survey of the Anuak of the Oboth and Akobo to cover those of the Gila<sup>1</sup> and Obela. My direct acquaintance with most of the Baro villages was restricted and slight, and the group of villages on the upper Aluro (Aluoro) to the east of Pokedi was not visited.

## II

Before noting these new observations I would like to place on record that the Anuak, although they knew that the Italians had forces greatly superior to our little bands, gave us all the assistance they could in the Baro Salient. The Anuak of the Sudan paid no attention to Italian propaganda and showed themselves ready to co-operate with us in every way. Those who fought with us did so with enthusiasm and courage.

<sup>1</sup> As the Anuak reckon, the Gila is not only what we consider to be this river but also what we call the Pibor from its junction with the Gila to the Baro (Adhura). Upstream of its junction with the Gila the Pibor is known by the Anuak as the Dekony.

Whilst much of the credit for this must go to District Commissioners at Akobo, from Col. Bacon to Capt. Alban, much is also due to the man then in possession of the royal emblems, Cam war Akwei, who proved himself a true friend in need. He died at the end of the campaign in 1941. I would like to make special mention also of his brother Agada, the present holder of the emblems, and of Oyo war Aguaa, now official interpreter at Akobo, both of whom served with me throughout the campaign with great dash. In Ethiopia the Anuak were for the most part very favourably disposed towards us, particularly those in the Nyikaani and Jor districts. They were irritated by Italian actions, due to colonial inexperience, especially by some unnecessary, and not entirely successful punitive expeditions.

Anuak goodwill on the Gila counted much, because it allowed us to pass through the country without the Italians receiving reliable information about our movements, while the Italians could not do the same. The only two areas in which the Italians received support were on the central Gila from Thony to Pinyghudu and in the villages on the upper Aluro (Ukuuna and Abuobo). Pinyghudu, the largest village on the Gila, joined us after the Italian post there (at Agenga) had been raided and destroyed. The nobles of the House of Ngenyo on the upper Aluro backed the Italians to some extent, because they hoped to receive their support in obtaining the royal emblems from the House of Cam Winyijuaa. The ancient struggle between the nobles for possession of the royal emblems thus took on an international character.

I mention the assistance given to us by the Anuak in the hope that those who have dealings with them in the future may remember it to their credit when sometimes they are outraged by their stubborn and often rebellious spirit.

### III

To the bibliography in *The Anuak* (pp. 2-3) should be added, for the sake of completeness, some *Sudan Intelligence Reports* not accessible to me when my book was written and two papers, since published, by myself :—

*Sudan Intelligence Report*, No. 200, March 1941, Appendix "A,"  
 "Note on the Anuak Country (Western Abyssinia)". Compiled mainly from a report by B. H. Jessen and information supplied by Mr. J. M. Clayton.

- Sudan Intelligence Report*, No. 202, May 1911, Appendix "B,"  
"Further Information *re* the Anuak  
Country." Supplied by an English  
elephant-hunter.
- Sudan Intelligence Report*, No. 216, July 1912, Appendix, "Notes  
on the Anuaks of the Gila River," by  
Capt. H. D. Pearson, R.E.
- Sudan Intelligence Report*, No. 217, August 1912, Appendix "A,"  
"Notes on the Anuak Country," by  
Capt. H. H. Kelly, R.E.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. "The Relationship between the Anuak  
and the Föri," *Man*, 1940, No. 62;  
reprinted in *Sudan Notes and Records*,  
1940, Vol. XXIII, Part II.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. "Folk Stories of the Sudan," *Sudan*  
(with Beaton, A. C.) *Notes and Records*, 1940, Vol. XXIII,  
Parts I and II

## IV

In *The Anuak* (pp. 5 and 133) I said that it was believed that the peoples speaking languages related to Shilluk were linguistically more akin to one another than any of them was to Shilluk. I am now sure that this will not hold for the Anuak, whose language appears to me to be very close to that of the Shilluk. Also, recent papers in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr. Pumphrey and Mr. Howell (Vol. XXIV, 1941) bring out a fundamental similarity of social structure which was not revealed by earlier writers on the Shilluk. Though much remains to be known, I now have little doubt that whatever future classification may be made for the Nilotic peoples the Shilluk and Anuak will be placed together in it, probably in company with the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal.

## V

In *The Anuak* (p. 7) it is stated that the Anuak do not number more than 40,000 to 50,000 and that between 30,000 and 40,000 would be an estimate nearer the mark. It was found in 1940-41 that there were some 120 villages in Ethiopia, distributed along the Baro, Aluro, Obela, Gila, and Akobo, or along streams flowing into, or out of, these rivers. I roughly estimated the population of these villages at 25,000. There

are probably another 10,000 Anuak in the Sudan, distributed in 40 to 50 villages on the Akobo, Oboth, Agwei, and Pibor rivers. This estimate of some 35,000 for the total population of Anuakland may be regarded as a conservative one.

## VI

In *The Anuak* villages were classed as *small* (0-500), *large* (500-1,000), and *very large* (1,000-2,000). On this classification all the villages on the Gila and between that river and the Baro are small except the large villages of Ngela, Arieth, Pokedi, Uleny (on the Lurbango), which is divided into two settlements, Dipac (Gok), under the headman of which comes the little village of Acula, and possibly the village of Uleny on the Nyikaani, which at one time formed a single community with Uleny on the Lurbango; and the very large villages of Cenhthoaa, Pinyghudu, and Jangjor (together with Awokoi, the two sharing a common headman). Till recent times there used to be other large villages. The three villages of Gony, now separated by disputes about the headmanship, used to live as a single community at Apidau. The present-day communities of Pinymiel, Oboa, and Rema used to occupy a conspicuous site showing signs of fairly recent habitation. Dipa was once a large, possibly a very large village, but its people suffered many casualties in fights against the people of Pinyghudu and against the Nuer. Till recently Dipac, Acula, Umini, Jangjor, and Awoikoi formed a single community which must have then been the largest village in Anuakland.

The only very large villages at the present time along the Gila are Cenhthoaa, Pinyghudu, and Jangjor. Cenhthoaa is divided into seven small settlements or hamlets in close proximity to each other and sharing a common headman<sup>1</sup>. It would have been considerably larger if it had not been for recent disputes about the headmanship which have caused a good number of the villagers to disperse to neighbouring villages (Acua, Thony, Bwoala, Gweya, etc.), mostly accompanying into exile the last two headmen to have been expelled. Pinyghudu village stretches for several miles along both banks of the Gila and might be better described as a district comprising a number of small villages and hamlets rather than as a village, were it not that politically it can be regarded as a unit, since all the settlements recognize a single headman under whom they

<sup>1</sup> These settlements are Odaki (Alakoda, Wicnam), Ajwal, Ogilo, Omedho, Ngenyi, Pocang, and Kirdodo (the largest, burnt by the Italians). All are owned by the Jowatnaamo clan. The headman in 1940 was Ocala war Aruny.

unite in war, being the largest community in Anuakland in this sense.<sup>2</sup> Its population may well be over 2,000. Itang is probably the only large village on the Baro.

## VII

The village communities on the Gila, like those on the Akobo, are autonomous political units, each under its own line of headmen, and they are spacially distinct, a few miles, generally only a mile or two, separating each from its nearest neighbour. The people of a village are interested in little outside its internal affairs. Each has its bush which may stretch for many miles through unoccupied country. Most of the Gila villages are compact (*riek*) and until very recently were stockaded. These defensive works (*kir*) have to a greater or lesser degree fallen down, and no effort has been made to rebuild them.<sup>3</sup> The only village to the south of the Baro round which the walls are still intact is Uwalo (the Awarla of the maps) on the Obela (Bela) stream. On the Baro all the villages are compact and, with the exception of eastern Pinykeau, which is spread out, are still fortified. The two very large village communities on the central Gila, Cenhthoaa and Pinyghudu, are broken into a number of separate, and unfortified, settlements, but it is not till the forest villages of Gok are reached that one sees, except for Dipac, really spread-out villages in the sense of detached homesteads separated from each other by gardens and strips of forest. Thus Jangjor and Awokoi villages have their gardens strung out in the forest without a break for about four miles.

It is of interest to note that the Nyikaani villages on the right bank of the Akobo, which were all compact communities within the remains

<sup>2</sup> West to east its settlements on the right bank are Tietnyabela, Tierudol (Tieracuor), Agenga (turned by the Italians into a military post), Uleny, and Agulatuti; and on the left bank are Camlum, Kirbudi, Abuokur, Tiertua, Awayaa (Omoda), Agedi, Tierlueth, Diro, Oduela (Atiyo), and, standing well back from the river in wooded country, Ogalgoli and Tierwatmori. To these 16 settlements must be added the village of Komatong on the Nyikaani, for its people go to Pinyghudu in the dry season and recognise the authority of its headman. The people of Uleny on the Nyikaani and of Cuobo also go there in the dry season, but they have their own headmen.

<sup>3</sup> In *The Anuak* (p. 19) it was discussed, without any conclusion being drawn, whether the Anuak had always built village stockades and walls. Further enquiries elicited from old men the statement that they were first built against Nuer attacks; the defenders emerged to fight and then retired behind the stockades, where they could not be hit by spears. However, in view of what is known about the habits of other Shilluk-speaking peoples I find it hard to believe that the Anuak were unacquainted with the art of fortification before they reached their present homeland. On p. 11 the question was raised whether the Anuak ever used bows and arrows. Very old men said that they were once used. Nevertheless, Antonio's 'Nicana' may well refer to the Nuer Jikany and not to the Anuak of the Nyikaani district.

of stockades in 1935, had by 1940 spread out into hamlets and homesteads. This was especially noticeable at Cam and Nyigilo. Indeed, spread-out villages are the preferred way of life among the Anuak, who tend always to build in this way where the nature of the country allows it and there is some measure of security. In the case of the settlements of the very large villages of Cenhthoaa and Pinyghudu and of the homesteads of the Gök villages security is given by the comparatively large numbers of persons who compose the political units to which they belong. So whilst hydrological conditions are a limiting factor in influencing the form of villages, the range of community ties of a political kind is a more positive, and perhaps more important, factor.

### VIII

A point not brought out in *The Anuak* is here mentioned because travellers in Anuakland are likely to be confused if it is not understood. Apart from lineage nomenclature (*The Anuak* p. 35) a village site often has two names, the *nying ngom*, the name of the earth, the site on which the village is built, and the *nying jei*, the name of the people, of the community which lives there. The site had a name before the village was built on it and when it was built there it took the name of the site. But the community also retains the name by which it was known before it moved; or a village may split and occupy two sites. Each then has a separate site-name but both retain also the original name of the community, which is often derived from the first site ever occupied by this particular community. Thus Leri (the Rengwall of the maps—a Nuer name) and Thoo, which split off from it, are both JoOmedho, Omedho being their original community name and the name of its site. Donyrei people are also JoDokoli, since the community came from the Pibor to settle at Donyrei on the Gila. The people of Athiep (Borjebba of the maps is the Nuer name of the site) are JoOthuol. The people of Odia, Othou, and Lero are all JoGony. The people of Teedo, Burathoi, Oremo, Ngok, and Agak, on the Akobo are all JoTeedo.<sup>4</sup>

When speaking of the site in a geographical context one uses the *nying ngom* and when speaking of it in a social context one uses the *nying jei*. Thus Burathoi is the mound on which the village is built; the community is Teedo. Hence it comes about that there are often

<sup>4</sup> Other examples are Acula (JoUrang), Burcom (JoUlaing), Apiawi (JoAliil), Golgwok (JoUmiel), Athero (JoNyigilo), and Ayaa (JoDier). In the Ciru district Dimma, Uthili, Oboo, and Ubeer are known collectively as JoOgelo.

several villages with the same name in different parts of Anuakland. This generally indicates that a village community has split or formed colonies, an explanation which is strengthened by the fact that in such cases the lineages which own the villages are usually branches of the same major lineage or of the same clan. Thus there are three villages called Pocala: Pocala, the original home of the Jowatcuua clan on the Akobo, Dhiwathpem, between the Akobo and the Gila, and Pocala Olura, on the Gila. The original Pokumu is on the Owac stream, which runs into the Akobo near Teedo, but there is another on the Baro and, according to the maps, a third village of this name on Khor Jokau, a northern tributary of the Baro. There are three villages called Uleny, one on the Gila (a settlement of Pinyghudu), one on the Nyikaani, and one on the Lurbango, all derived from a single community. The Perborg (the map name) of the western Gila is really Perbong, a recently deserted site of the Jowatcuua clan and an offshoot from the Perbong occupied by this clan on the Aluro. The village of Donyrei on the upper Aluro is also called Cuobo and its people are Jowatjaango colonists from Cuobo in the Gok district. All the land between these two villages is said to belong to the people of the mother site.

## IX

The location of village sites on the Gila is determined by hydrological conditions in much the same way as the location of villages on the Akobo (*The Anuak* pp. 16-8), though the higher banks of the Gila prevent flooding further westwards than is the case with the Akobo. Westwards of Donyrei the country is flat and entirely flooded in the rains, so that villages cannot be built there. The Jor and Cenhtthoaa villages are built some miles back from the river where forest begins at the edge of its flood plain, except where, as at Thoo, the forest comes down to the river. When the river returns to its banks several of these village communities come down to it to spend the dry season. Such communities have therefore two sites, a wet season site and a dry season site. Thus the people of Othou (Gony) move to Apidau in the dry season and those of Odia (Gony) camp on the left bank of the Gila. Others, such as Leri, Urang, Othuol, Ulang, and the Ruanyi villages drink from swampy watercourses in the rains and from wells, pools, and water-holes in their beds in the drought. Ngela has two villages, one for the rains and the other for the drought. East of Cenhtthoaa the Gila floods here

Some Notes and Records



and there through swampy depressions running parallel to it, and in such places the villages are built on the edge of the flood some distance back from its banks, as at Thony and Arieth. Elsewhere they are built on the banks of the river. It is almost impossible to reach most of these Gila villages, whether built on the banks of the river or back from it, unless one keeps to the paths, as they are surrounded by dense beds of reeds (*gol*). Consequently they are difficult to attack. In the forest country further east, the Gok region, the people for the most part remain throughout the year several miles back from the Gila. During the rains they either drink from hill streams, as at Uleny (on the Lurbango), Awokoi, and Jangjor or from rock-holes in stone outcrops (*lela*) as at Uleny (on the Nyikaani), Dipac, and Cuobo. In the drought they drink from wells and water-holes, though some spend the dry season on the Gila. On the Baro villages begin at about the 34th parallel. Westwards of Pinykeau till the first Nuer villages are reached the country is, so far as is known, uninhabited, being a swamp in the rains. Eastwards of Pinykeau the villages are all built on or near the river banks. There are probably no Anuak villages east of the 35th parallel.

## X

In *The Anuak* (pp. 23-4) I listed the Anuak districts in the Sudan and this list was accompanied by a sketch-map showing the villages in the Sudan and those on the right bank of the Akobo in Ethiopia. Whilst the term *Thim* given there for the villages of the upper Akobo is correct, the expression *Tier nam* is also, and perhaps more commonly, used to designate the villages of that district.

It is now possible to give the main districts into which the Anuak class the Gila villages and to map the distribution of their villages along the Gila and between that river and the Baro (sketch-map No. 1). JOR comprises the most western group of Gila villages from Donyrei, about parallel 33° 30', to Ngela (inclusive), which lie for the most part well back from the river but drink its flood water. CENHTHOAA includes the villages from Gony to Ngenyi, the most eastern settlement of the very large village of Cenhthoaa, from which the district takes its name. Cenhthoaa is also included in the wider term BAT GILA, which refers to all the villages on the banks of the Gila from Gony to Abileny, though in contrast to Cenhthoaa it has also the more restricted sense of the villages on the banks of the Gila from Ngenyi to Abileny, excluding in this con-

text the Gony and Cenhthoaa group of villages. The Jobatgila, the riverains, are contrasted with the forest people, the Jolul, who live in thick forest and well back from the river in the most eastern part of the Gila region, as far eastwards as the 35th parallel. This district is generally called GOK by the Anuak of other parts, though within the district different divisions have other names, as is the case with the other districts enumerated here and in *The Anuak*. To give one example: Uyalo, between the Gila and the Akobo, is spoken of as part of the Nyikaani district from outside that district. From within it is Uyalo and from within Uyalo it consists of three areas, the villages of Koc, Pinykoaa, and Wicnam. (Since 1935 the people of Wicnam have moved to Awal on the Sudan side of the Akobo). The small group of villages on the Obela and the *wang* Awira, which dry up in the dry season, are known collectively as RUANYI. Arieth, the people of which used to live near this group of villages, is also often included under the same term. The Joruaryi do not drink water brought down by the Gila river but from the Obela and connected streams and from wells and pools in their beds in the dry season. To the Anuak of the Akobo or Gila the villages on the Baro are jointly known as UPEENO, and those on the Aluro, which flows all the year round, are considered to belong to the Upeeno block. The Gok villages are plotted on the map without much confidence. The area is poorly mapped and my survey had to be made under operational conditions and largely at night.

## XI

Sketch-map No. 2 shows the approximate distribution of some important ecological features of Anuakland. A short account has already been given in *The Anuak* (pp. 15-17) of these features in the Sudan, so the following remarks are chiefly about Ethiopia. The north-west part of Anuakland is *bap*, flat, treeless, cotton-soil, grassland, wastes, flooded during the rains and cracked in the drought. The flooding is due to the westward flowing rivers topping their banks for several months each year and to accumulation of vegetation in their lower reaches, the Gila being blocked by vegetation to some 20 km. from its mouth. One can canoe overland from Aliil on the Akobo to Thoo on the Gila in the rains. Further eastwards, where the ground is slightly higher and there is less flooding, this true savannah gives way to thin thornwood (acacia) forest, called *rup*, by the Anuak, which becomes denser the further

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eastwards one journey. Eastwards of Pinyghudu the Gila remains within its banks, the first rapids starting at Acula, the cotton-soil is replaced by red laterite soils, and thornwood forest changes into dense broad-leaved shady forest (*lul*). The country also becomes more undulating and, as it nears the Ethiopian escarpment, broken and hilly. The line which divides this kind of rain forest from the thornwood forest is roughly from Ilea on the Baro to Pokedi on the Aluro, and thence to Komatong on the Obela and to Pocala on the Akobo. From Pocala it runs south-eastwards to the last Anuak village on the Akobo.

The distribution of the tsetse fly follows the distribution of vegetation, and where fly is found cattle cannot be kept as it carries trypanosomes. There is some doubt about the exact point on the Baro at which cattle end. The Italian authorities said that they were not kept eastwards of Kaic, but I believe that some of the villages possess them as far eastwards as Itang. A few cattle are kept at Pokedi on the Aluro. On the Obela they are kept at Uwalo and Dier (and also at Nyiwir, Tua, and Olau on the Awira) but not at Komatong further eastwards owing to the presence of fly. On the Gila a few cattle are kept in some of the settlements which comprise the village of Cenhtthoaa, but Anuak say that they are kept at a risk, and they are not found eastwards of that village. Some of the small villages on the southern bank further eastwards are said to have had herds long ago when they were situated much farther inland from the river, but they have no cattle today in their present river-bank sites. Indeed, at Ilngo, where thick riverside forest commences on the south bank, the people cannot even keep sheep, goats, or dogs. All the Nyikaani villages between the Gila and the Akobo have herds and they were larger than those I saw on my 1935 visit. On the Akobo itself cattle are found as far eastwards as Pocala. Those small herds I saw further eastwards in 1935 had disappeared by 1940. Cattle can probably be kept in all the Adongo villages along the Oboth. Cattle can therefore be kept westwards of the line Itang—Pokedi—Dier—Nyiwir—Ngela—Cenhtthoaa—Pocala—and thence due southwards, as shown on the sketch-map.

This line does not exactly correspond to the distribution of tsetse, which is almost certainly found in pockets near the Gila to the west of Cenhtthoaa. Likewise fly is prevalent on both banks of the Akobo near the village of Nyighum and the villagers keep their cattle in hamlets well back from the river on its left bank. On the other hand, while

tsetse is found on the rivers to the west of the cattle-line shown on the sketch-map, cattle can sometimes be kept to the east of it if the villages are built a long way back from the fringing forest and thick reed-beds of the river (*wiok*), though never without risk. All danger vanishes where the rivers top their banks and flood. The best cattle districts and those in which most cattle are found are therefore Ruanyi, Jor, and Nyikaani.

Goats and sheep have stronger resistance to tsetse than cattle and are less likely to be infected in that they do not need so wide a range of grazing. They are kept in all the Baro villages as far east as Gambeila. Along the Gila they are to be seen in almost every village, at any rate as far eastwards as Pinyghudu, but not in the forest villages of the Gok district, in some of which not even dogs can be kept. Sheep and goats are found in most, if not all, the Akobo villages.

It may here be repeated (*The Anuak*, p. 20) that even where there is no fly and there is excellent grazing the Anuak are not keen pastoralists. They are, as they say themselves, bead-people and not cattle-people. They are assiduous gardeners. The size of their gardens on the Gila, where they grow millet, maize, and tobacco, are a constant surprise, and it is some measure of the amount of grain grown that in addition to their own needs these villages produced a supply adequate to feed some hundreds of Italian irregulars who lived on the country. On some stretches of the Gila and Baro maize and tobacco seem to be cultivated all the year round. In the Gok district yams are extensively grown and hunting is an important source of food.

## XII

To the notes in *The Anuak* (pp. 10-15) may be added the following observations. It is now established that the Nuer camp and graze their herds in the dry season as far as the Jor villages on the Gila. This intrusion has led to displacement of the Anuak. Thus the people of Urang originally lived to the west on the *wang* Nyimeri (the *khôr* Nimeri of the maps). The villagers migrated as a result of Nuer pressure. The people of Pinycam (Pinythin) came from the same watercourse. The people of Tua were also driven eastwards by the Nuer—likewise the people of Olau. This eastwards pressure of the Nuer led to several fights between them and the Anuak, and even after the Italians had taken over the

country there was a big fight between the united Jor Anuak and the Nuer. The Italians made what, in view of the operations to open later on the Gila, was a mistake in supporting the Nuer in this quarrel, on the assumption that the Nuer would give them considerable assistance against us. At the present time the most eastern Nuer camps in the dry season are in close proximity to Anuak villages: the late Capt. Leslie told me that the Wau section of the Gaajak Nuer had a regular dry season camp near Athiep (Borjebba of the maps). In the Baro region the Nuer graze their herds in the dry season across the Mokwai to the Obela and Aluro. On the Pibor also there has been displacement. Thus the present village of Dokoli, near Akobo Post was once a long way down stream on land now occupied by the Nuer of Wangkac section.

The presence of the government has enabled the pastoral Beir to graze their herds during the dry season further to the north than they would have thought safe a few years ago. In 1940 some of them were to be found with their beasts between Dibango on the Oboth and Aliil on the Akobo, well into Anuak country.

The shy Masango people, called Ojang by the Anuak, live as vassals of the Anuak in or near the villages of Jangjor, Awokoi, Akom bang, Ukuuna, and Abuobo on the eastern fringes of Anuakland, but are not attached in the same way to the villages of Dipac and Uleny, though they live in their vicinity. The Masango also live in independent villages to the east of the Anuak, and they possibly number a few thousand all told. They have a big village at Udari on the watercourse of that name and their homesteads stretch along it to its junction with the Gila. It is said that the Bula people adjoin them to the south and that beyond the Bula come the Yeke and the Curu, the last living opposite the Olam. The country was not visited, and the only Masango seen were those attached to Anuak communities. They are a hunting and collecting people who cultivate also, especially maize. They have no cattle, sheep, or goats. There are occasional fights between them and the Anuak.

I was struck by the friendly relations between the Anuak of the Gok district and the Galla, who frequently come in parties to hunt in the neighbourhood of their villages. These Anuak also spoke well of the Amhara, who, they said, supplied them with rifles and ammunition and only exacted tusks of elephant from the headmen of the villages in return.

## XIII

The distribution of villages controlled by *kuaari*, headmen, and *nyiye*, nobles, in the Sudan and along the Baro was correctly ascertained in 1935, but there had remained some doubt about the exact situation on the Gila. It was possible in 1940-41 to determine the distribution of both types of village along that river. A definitive map of distribution for the whole of Anuakland can therefore now be presented (sketch-map No. 3).

It will be noted from this map that the nobles hold a position of authority in very few villages outside the south-eastern block of *nyiye* villages, that area which the Gila people speak of in a broad political sense as Adongo. These villages on the Gila and to the north of it and the nobles who are in a position of some authority in them are:—Ingo or Acipanyiya (Medho war Atea, or Winyidolgah, with his brother Udola), Gweya (Goora war Utong), Akek (Goora war Othou), Pinybagho (Ogala wa Door), Thenyi or Abuobo (Giilo war Udiel), Cuobo or Donyrei (Ugela wa Giilo, killed by the Italians), and, though with very little authority, Uleny on the Gila (Alamo war Apir) and Uleny on the Nyikaani (Goora war Udiel, driven out by the Italians and later killed by them in a fight at Cam). All these villages are small communities. It is indeed very noticeable that in that part of Anuakland, by far the greater part of the country, which lies within Ethiopian territory, the people are interested in neither the nobles nor in the royal emblems. It is only in the cluster of villages on the Upper Aluro, on the central Gila, and in the Nyikaani district on the right bank of the Akobo—a distribution shown by broken lines on the sketch-map—that the royal emblems have circulated, according to Anuak traditions. In the rest of the country nobles who happen, for one reason or another, to be living in villages ruled by headmen are paid no more consideration than politeness requires, and in most parts the spread of noble influence is vigorously opposed by the commoner lineages. It is true that in the Nyikaani district the nobles were found to have made some advance since 1935, but this may not be maintained.

During 1940 three nobles were installed as rulers of villages (*arony nyin pac*) in the Nyikaani district: Cam war Akwei (war Adidh) at Cam, Cam war Udiel wa Ngenyo at Uwelo (died in 1941), and Agaanya war Aguaa winyithabi at Nyigilo. In 1935 headmen were ruling in all three villages. To understand the position in these villages and in those few villages on the Gila in which nobles are in authority it is necessary to

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explain shortly, and more clearly and explicitly than was done in *The Anuak*, how nobles gain a footing in commoner villages and oust, for a time at any rate, their headmen from office.

It was explained in *The Anuak* (pp. 108-9) how the sons of nobles are generally brought up in the villages of their maternal uncles. Their maternal uncles provide the bridewealth for them to marry and the people of a village support their sister's son in his effort to win the royal emblems, in the old days with the backing of armed force and today by payment of the expenses of investiture. In the old days the villagers seized the emblems from the village in which they were held and their sister's son was invested with them in his maternal uncle's village. Today the youth is taken by the people of his maternal village to the village in which the emblems are held and is there invested with them by permission of the holder, who is given a present in payment, the maternal uncle performing the actual investiture. Thus the *kuaaro* of Cenhthoa told me about the noble Alai war Amolo, who was living in his village, that he was living there because his father had been their sister's son; and he added: "He had no good maternal uncle to reside with, so we let him stay here." The *kuaaro* had paid the expenses of his investiture with the rank of nobility by permission of King Akwei wa Cam. Hence it is that Anuak frequently speak of a noble as the son of the sisters of a village, e.g., Udiel war Udiel wa Ngenyo of Teedo village as "*wa cok* Teedo." Often, also, the name of the village of a noble's mother is added to his own name, e.g. Cam war Akwei (war Adidh) is often known as Cam *winyi* Abileny, Abilieny being his mother's village. This is the *nying pac*, the village name.

But though a noble's son may be "*arony ka ocuok*," invested with the royal emblems (ennobled), at his maternal uncle's village and live there afterwards with the status of a noble, treated by the villagers with the respect due to one of that rank, this does not mean that he is "*arony nyin pac*," instituted ruler (noble) of the village. That is quite a separate procedure by which a village invites a noble to come and live with them and be their *nyiya*, their noble. Thus Agaanya war Aguaa, the noble ruling at Nyigilo, was invested with the emblems from Teedo, his mother's village, and lived there for a long time after his investment, till called in 1940 to take up residence in Nyigilo by the people of that village. Cam war Udiel was invested from Nyighum, his maternal uncle's village (*po naiyi*) and continued to live there for five years till called upon in

1940 by the people of Uwelo to reside in their village—his was the investiture mentioned on p. 109 of *The Anuak*. The maternal village of Cam war Akwei, installed as noble of Cam village in the same year, was Abileny, but at the time of his investiture with the emblems he was living with his mother on a plot of land on the right bank of the Akobo between Nyighum and Pocala. As his brother held the emblems at the time, his investiture presented no problem. It is therefore not entirely correct to say, as I have said in *The Anuak* (p. 108), that the son of a noble is first installed as the noble of his maternal uncle's village. What happens is that this village formally recognize him as their candidate for the royal emblems; then he is invested with them with the support of the village; and later he is sometimes, but by no means always, made noble of a village, not necessarily that of his maternal uncle. The way in which this happens must now be described.

Nobles generally obtain a footing in commoner villages ruled by headmen through maternal kinship, as already described in *The Anuak* (pp. 107-9), or on account of the custom of *agem*, a revolution by which a headman is expelled from office and replaced by one of his kinsmen. When a village on the edge of the area of the emblems is more or less equally divided in support of two candidates to the headmanship the villagers may, to avoid a fight, decide to invite a noble to occupy the village as its head for a few years; or, as at Uwelo, when there is no eligible candidate to displace a headman with whom a large part of a village are dissatisfied, the matter may be settled by bringing in a noble, sometimes at the instance of the headman himself. Behind the scenes the headman, though his office is regarded as being in abeyance, may still retain much of his prestige and even have greater following than the noble who has taken his place as nominal head of the village community. He ceases to keep up a headman's state and pays court to the noble, but it is expected that one day the people may tire of the noble and recall him to his position. At Nyigilo and Uwelo the *kuaari*, finding that the people were becoming dissatisfied with them, themselves brought in nobles, thinking that the villagers might take a more favourable view of King Log after a few years of King Stork. At Cam there were no persons of sufficient age to succeed the last *kuaaro*, so Cam war Adidh did not have, as did the nobles at the other two villages, to reckon with a conservative party in virtual opposition to his authority, for there the headmanship was only nominally vested in the last headman's sister, who

acted as guardian to his small children, potential claimants to the headmanship in the future. In all three villages it is expected that one day the nobles may leave and the old line of headmen be reinstated. Even at Nyighum the *kuaaro* is still leader of the village, though nobles have exercised authority there for many years, and has more real authority than Abula war Akwei, the noble who has been appointed ruler of the village, in spite of his being a brother of the holder of the emblems. The same is true of Teedo where the noble Udiel wa Cam does not exercise nearly as much influence as the *kuaaro* (living at Burathoi on the Sudan side of the Akobo). At Pocala, in the Sudan, it was found that while no headman had been appointed between 1935 and 1941 the people had consistently refused to invite a noble to take up position as head of the village and that the noble living there at the home of his maternal kinsfolk, Aguaa wa Medho, had made no progress towards getting himself recognized as *nyiya* of the village. Therefore, realizing the weakness of his position, a noble, once installed as ruler of a village, tries to maintain his position by playing on internal divisions within the village. Thus nobles get into villages through the cracks in their political structure and try to maintain themselves in authority by keeping the cracks open. It is seldom that they succeed in doing so. The cycle of democracy, anarchy, and despotism, generally makes a complete revolution.

Two facts of importance must be emphasized if the position of a *nyiya* invited to assume authority in a village is to be understood, firstly that he takes the place of the headman as the symbol of the unity of the village, and secondly that his real power is not great, probably less than that of a headman in most commoner villages. He represents the village in its dealings with other villages. His court is in the centre of the village, he holds the village drums, and he is invested with the village emblems. Although he exercises no judicial functions he is sometimes asked to settle a dispute by throwing his weight in favour of one disputant against the other. The people of the village make him presents of food and the young men assist him in clearing his cultivations. In fact, the honours and services formerly paid to the headman are now paid to him. In return he has to pay for his privileges and honours. The Anuak install a noble as ruler of their village for their own advantage. They are a democratic people who brook any authority ill, but they love the pomp of a noble's court, the ceremonial beating of drums, the processions, and the etiquette of court life, which give the village prestige in the eyes of

its neighbours and make its people feel important. It is especially the young men who like to bring in a *nyiya*, and it is they who escort him to the village, sit at his court, and perform services for him. The older men are polite to him, but visit his court less often, tending to stick to the *kuaaro*, even though his office is in abeyance and he himself pays respect to the noble. A noble's real supporters in a village may be no more than a number of the youths of the village, together with an adventurous youth or two who have come from other villages to seek their fortunes at his court. These youths follow the noble in their own interests. The association gives them prestige, in his name they can perform occasional acts of violence, and they enrich themselves at his expense. All Anuak stressed how a noble newly installed in a village has to distribute most of his wealth as presents (*nyuenyo*) to his supporters, especially *dimui* beads and cattle. They said that his courtiers pester him till he has little left and when he has no more to give them they lose interest in him and stay away from court. Cam war Adidh had already killed eight oxen from his very small herd within the first few months of his residence at Cam.

It is easiest for nobles to get into large villages with mixed (*gwac*) clans, such as Teedo and Pinyghudu, for in such villages internal cleavages are wider and deeper than elsewhere, but their size has given them strength to resist any attempt on the part of nobles to take up permanent positions of authority there, though the attempt has often been made and a succession of nobles have exercised authority in these villages for short periods. Even in small villages it is amazing how little real control the nobles invited to make their courts in them are able to exercise, in spite of all the show of allegiance and attention. If the people do not want to do a thing they will just not do it, whatever the noble may feel about the matter, and he only wields what authority the people endow him with. If he opposes their wishes they cease to visit his court and after a while he wearies of neglect and leaves the village of his own accord. "Each man goes to his own fireplace," as the Anuak say.

The acts of violence sometimes committed by nobles must not be wrongly interpreted. They are generally done to people in villages other than the one in which the noble concerned is himself residing, and when they are done within the village the noble acts not on his own account but on behalf of another villager. Such acts are not to be considered as sanctions applied by an impartial authority to enforce the decisions of a court, but as the support of one faction, or person, in a village against

another. The very violence of the acts is an indication of lack of authority. In seizing by surprise a man's womenfolk and goods a noble is using the only tactics which have much chance of success among the Anuak, for no one would pay attention to a decision which was not accompanied by simultaneous application of force. It was a conclusion forced on me during the operations in Anuakland that a *nyiya*, however important he appeared to be, could do nothing unless he carried the village with him, and that he therefore found out what the villagers wanted before acting. Among the Anuak the tail wags the dog.

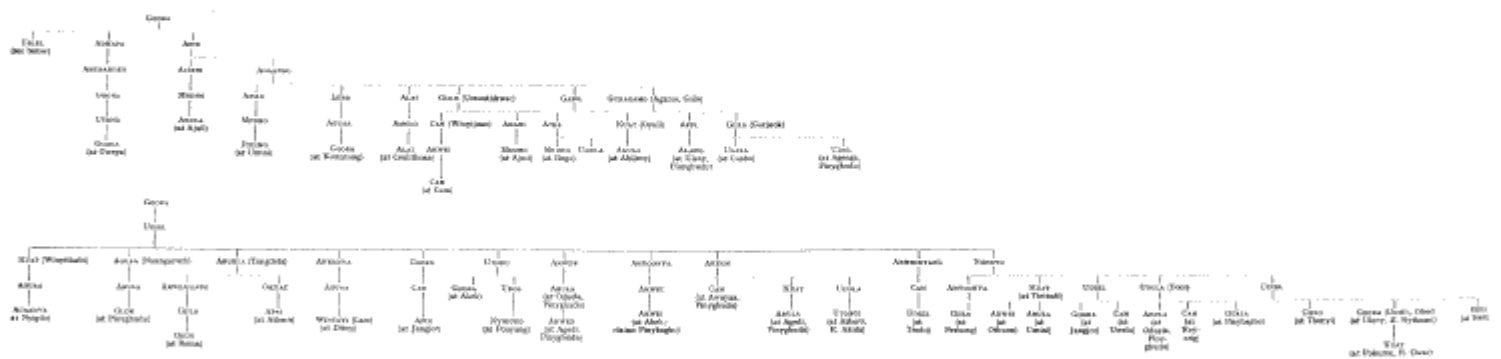
However, a village, once having instituted a noble as their *nyiya*, cannot eject him by force and, if he will not leave of his own accord when he sees that he is no longer wanted, their only way of getting rid of him is to invite another noble to take his place. This means that the new noble will attack him and kill him. A solution of this kind is no longer easy in the Sudan to-day because the government object to procedures of the kind. An example of the impasse than can arise to-day was noted at Adongol on the Akobo in 1940. U cudhu wa Nyang war Agaanya<sup>5</sup> had been instituted *nyiya* of Adongol where he succeeded his father and brother in authority. The ancient line of headmen had long ago disappeared as *kuaari* and there was no question of anyone but a noble being in authority there. The villagers found U cudhu unsuitable and ceased to pay court to him. He refused to take the hint and leave the village, and relations between him and the villagers worsened to the point at which he was assaulted and finally ejected. He complained to me that there was no precedent for treating a noble in this way and that it was unheard of for a commoner to strike a noble. The people of the village admitted this and claimed that if it had not been for the presence of the government they would have arranged for another noble to attack the village, and, when he did so, they would not have defended U cudhu, who would thus have been killed in the traditional manner. The new noble would then have taken his place. The dispute was complicated by U cudhu's claim that when he was thrown out of the village the people took from him valuable bead necklaces which were heirlooms in his family. The villagers claimed that they did not belong to him or to his

<sup>5</sup> A bad error is made in *The Anuak* (p. 96) where it is stated that Nyang had no living sons. At the time they were living in Ethiopia and unknown to my Ciru informant, who repeated some inaccurate gossip about the family. He had three sons. The eldest, Medho, died after taking his father's place at Adongol. The second and third, U cudhu and Agaanya, are mentioned in the text.

father personally but were the property of the village as a whole, and that the noble instituted as such in their village only had rights in them while he represented the village. Were he to leave the village they would revert to the village elders, who would invest the new *nyiya* with them. While the dispute was going on the villagers instituted U cudhu's younger brother, a boy named Agaanya, *nyiya* of the village. The general impression conveyed by this affair was that in Anuak opinion the *nyiya* of a village, like the headman of a village, belongs to the village and not the village to him.

In the case of U cudhu it was not a question of whether the village should have a commoner headman or a noble. They could only have a noble or no one. Also, it was really a question of which son of Nyang was to occupy the position, since Nyang seems to have acquired rights in the lands of the village and his family could only be ousted from them by the arms of another noble family. This is the third, and decisive, stage in the establishment of a noble in a village. In the first stage he is invested with the royal emblems through the backing of his maternal village. In the second stage he is invited to take up the position of noble of a village and invested with the village emblems and given the village drums. In the conclusive stage of a noble's career, a stage reached by a good number of noble families in the Adongo and Thim districts, the *po nyiye*, the ancestral home of the nobles, but by very few outside these districts, a village, either his maternal village or one to which he has been invited, gives him the *beel ka ngom*, the grain and the earth. They hand over to him the rights in the land. A village is identified on the one hand with the land and on the other hand with the office of *kuaaro*, so that the *kuaaro* not only symbolizes the unity of the village but also owns the land, though not as an individual. Hence the giving of the land to a noble permanently identifies his line with the village community and the village site. When this happens, as it has happened in the Adongo and Thim districts, the nobles fully and finally take the place of the traditional lines of commoner headmen.

This, as already explained, has not yet happened in the Nyikaani villages, but it may happen one day, and the installation of nobles in some of the villages is a step in this direction. In the few villages on the Gila and to the north of it in which nobles have some authority they own the land and have collected around themselves a small following of commoners (*bangi*). They have not been installed as rulers of the



villages in which they live, and are consequently not dependent on the villagers for their rights of residence, but in one way or another they have acquired small estates on which they have built their homes and courts, around which refugees from other villages, poor persons in need of assistance, and what few original inhabitants there may have been in the vicinity before their arrival, have collected. On such sites the nobles do not compete with headmen, for they own the land. They cannot, therefore, be expelled and if their followers are dissatisfied with them their only redress is to go and live elsewhere, leaving the nobles to live by themselves. Thus some nobles who possess their own land have no following, and rather than live in isolation and neglect on their own estates they prefer to live as guests of other villages. Abula wa Medho war Acieni and Medho war Akani are both living with their maternal relatives at Ajuil, though the first has an estate at Acua and the second at Acipanyiya (inland from Ilngo). The Anuak said that had they any following they would be living on their own lands. Pinybari is the estate of the family of Kwiulul war Agaango, but his children are living in Adongo. Alamo war Apir lives on his own land at Uleny on the Gila, but his commoner neighbours do not pay much attention to him. "*Puro*," "He just hoes," the Anuak say, meaning that the people do not pay court to him and hoe his gardens for him.

Of the nobles living to the north of the Akobo river on their own lands, the only family known to have obtained its lands by gift, possibly made under duress, is that of Ngenyo at Abuobo. Udiel wa Ngenyo was the first of the nobles to build up a force of riflemen, and from the Aluro his family had at one time great influence on the middle Gila and in the Nyikaani villages to the north of the Akobo. I was told that when a village makes a gift of its lands to a noble it is usually where the noble stands in a sister's son relationship to the dominant lineage of the village, as was the case at Abuobo. The other nobles acquired their lands in other ways. In some cases the land was previously unoccupied and the noble who first went to live on it gained rights thereby. In other cases the land originally belonged to commoners but was taken from them by some noble and given to one of his wives for her sons when they grew up. A stock explanation of what happened is that some small village or hamlet made the daughter of a noble pregnant, and, as they could not pay compensation for this offence, having no *dimui* beads, the noble took their land from them. It must be remembered that outside the Adongo

district the royal clan has no ancestral rights in land, and what land nobles possess in other districts has been acquired either by gift, usually from maternal kinsmen, or by occupation of bushland, or by seizure.

There are thus in Anuakland nobles living in commoner villages with much variation of status, presenting a complex series of relations which are difficult to describe simply and which require separate investigation in each instance, investigation on a deeper level than I was able to make. I can here do no more than enumerate the different kinds of status met with on a descending scale of authority. (1) The nobles own the land and rule the villages either because the land is *nyiye* clan land or because the land has been given to them by the villagers or usurped by them. Such villages are found in the Adongo and Thim districts, particularly in the Adongo district, the traditional home of the royal clan, but also in a few, mostly unimportant, sites on the Gila and between the Gila and the Baro. (2) Nobles are found in authority in commoner villages to which they have been invited, but their tenure is uncertain and the headmen still receive recognition and may, and in some cases almost certainly will, resume office. (3) Nobles are found, in such parts as they are found at all, living in the villages of their maternal relatives (*po meni* or *po naiyi*) with little or no authority except where they have acquired rights in the land and replaced the commoner headmen. Nobles who have been invited to reside in other villages generally return to their maternal villages when they find they no longer have the favour of the villages of their adoption. Sometimes nobles continue to live in the villages of their father's maternal relatives (*nac wani*) after their fathers have died. (4) Nobles are found living also as guests of other nobles who own the land or in villages owned by their Jowatong kinsmen (*tung ka wani*) without any personal authority. The nobles (in 1940, or recently deceased) in Ethiopia, on the Gila, to the north of it, and in the Nyikaani district, whom I met or have records about, are listed in the accompanying genealogy. The names of some of these appear in the genealogies in *The Anuak* (pp. 84-5).

#### XIV

Although the nobles have gained little permanent hold over the villages on the Gila and to the north of it, lineages of the royal clan which have lost noble rank and become Jowatong ("Atong") in the manner described in *The Anuak* (pp. 99-101) own to-day the majority of the Gila villages, a fact not appreciated in my earlier account, which was based

on hearsay. Sketch-map No. 4 shows the distribution of Jowatong villages for the whole of Anuakland in relation to the distribution of commoner villages. In spite of the difficult circumstances in which much of my information had to be collected the map of distribution can be relied on to be in a high degree accurate, except, perhaps, for the Baro villages, special care having been devoted to this matter; and where it is in conflict with statements recorded in *The Anuak* the map should be followed.<sup>6</sup> It will be noted from this map that the Jowatong are poorly represented on the fringes of Anuakland to the north and west, along the Baro and the Pibor. There can be little doubt that, as the Jowatong on the Gila themselves say, and as the distribution of their villages indicates, they have moved northwards from the Adongo district, the traditional home of the royal clan. I found that the Gila Jowatong were often unable to trace their descent from the point at which one of their ancestors lost the right to noble rank, and that in reaching the limit of their knowledge they would say "The Adongo people would know." They would say that they were "*Tong ya Adongo ce*," "(Jowa) Tong from Adongo there," pointing to the south, or even sometimes referred to themselves as "*Jo Adongo*," the Adongo folk. On the Gila "*Adongo*" and "*Po Nyiye*" ("the home of the nobles") are synonymous.

The following list of Jowatong villages, in the sense that the sites are to-day owned by Jowatong lineages which, moreover predominate in them, should be substituted for the very incomplete, and in some particulars inaccurate, list given on pp. 99-100 of *The Anuak*. The numbers correspond to those on the sketch-map.<sup>7</sup>

| BARO        | GILA      |             |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| 15. Pinyman | 30. Urang | 43. Powak   |
| 13. Inyuany | 33. Leri  | 46. Bwola   |
|             | 32. Thoo  | 48. Dhau    |
| ALURO       | 36. Othou | 45. Thony   |
| 75. Pokedi  | 37. Odia  | 50. Abol    |
|             | 38. Lero  | 53. Athero  |
| OBELA       | 41. Iingo | 52. Aboga   |
| 82. Uwalo   | 42. Ajuil | 54. Oboa    |
| 83. Dier    |           | 34. Pinycam |

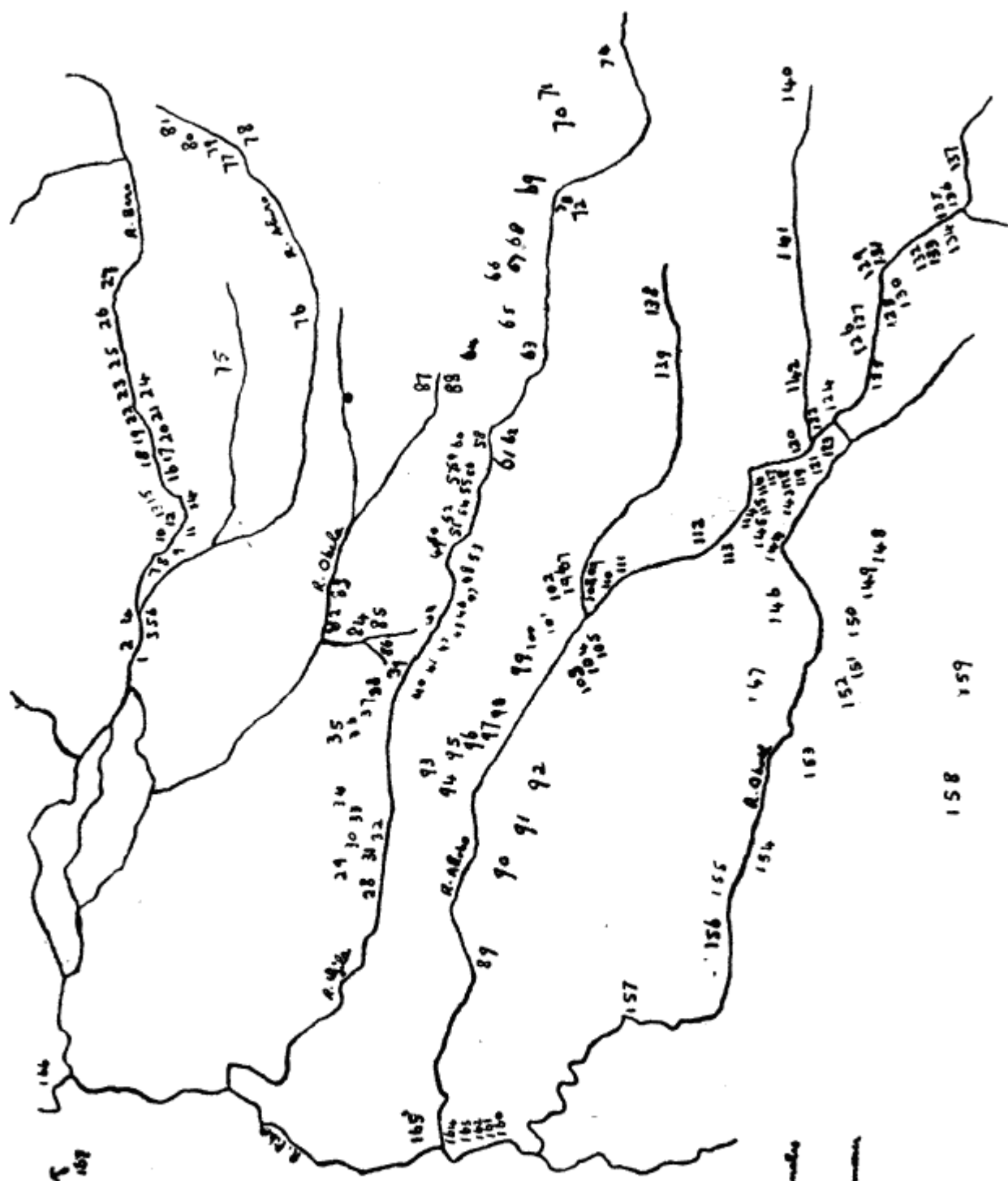
<sup>6</sup> In particular the statement on p. 100 that they are probably seldom found in the more western Gila villages is entirely wrong.

<sup>7</sup> Some small villages owned and occupied for the greater part by nobles and their families have been included in this list. Some small villages on the Akobo have moved to new sites near those occupied in 1935. To avoid confusion the old site names are given. There is some evidence of Jowatong at Lafon Hill among the Föri. (Mixed) opposite a village name indicates that there is a greater admixture of clans than is usual in Anuak villages.

|               |                      |                     |
|---------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 40. Pinybari  | 101. Cam             | OBOH                |
| 55. Rema      | 107. Othuon          | 155. Ugak           |
| 56. Pinyrael  | 109. Uget            | 154. Ngenyi         |
| 59. Pinybagho | 124. Ukaadi (mixed)  | 153. Nyang          |
| 60. Dipa      | 120. Kinha           | 152. Marjang        |
| 62. Abileny   | 121. Ugaa            | 151. Waliec         |
| 64. Cuobo     | 123. Adongol (mixed) | 150. Akwaiyajwok    |
| 63. Acula     | 119. Obuodi          | 149. Abetacan       |
| 65. Dipac     | 125. Obuodhi         | 148. Pocama         |
| 66. Umini     | 127. Udhak           | 144. Alaari         |
| 67. Jangjor   | 128. Liec            | 159. Utieri         |
| 68. Awokoi    | 130. Pinythin        | 146. Ajuara (mixed) |
| 73. Gari      | 136. Ukwaa           | 147. Utalo (mixed)  |
| 74. Kaanho    | 118. Digiira (mixed) |                     |
|               | 122. Baari           | AKULA               |
| AKOBO         | 131. Udiek           | 141. Athero         |
| 98. Uwelo     | 133. Gwac            |                     |
| 100. Nyigilo  | 135. Poopeeno        |                     |

If the Jowatong lineages of the royal clan have spread northwards from the Adongo, and I see no reason to doubt their unanimous statements to this effect or the indications of the map of distribution to the same effect, they must have gained their present village sites from previous occupiers of other clans. A means of determining which were these clans is probably at hand in the "Fathers of the Land." As much has been written about Fathers of the Land in the Southern Sudan I feel that I should emphasize that further enquiries on the Gila confirmed my earlier impression, recorded in *The Anuak* (pp. 48-50), that the Anuak *delami* or *kwai ngom* has only ritual functions, and these of very minor importance.<sup>8</sup> This man, also often called *wabur* (pl. *watbuci*) is a descendant of the lineage which first occupied a village site and tilled the soil there, a distinction which associates him ritually with the earth of the village and its gardens. Very often the lineage of a Father of the Land is different from that of the present-day owners of the village, the lineage to which the *kuaaro* belongs. There can be little doubt that this means, at least sometimes, that the village has passed from the control of one clan to that of another, very often that a commoner lineage has lost ownership in a political sense to a lineage of the royal clan, retaining only certain ritual functions in relation to the land.

<sup>8</sup> Besides his already recorded functions, when a village moves to one of its sites for a village may have several sites, he goes ahead and sacrifices a sheep or goat so that no dissensions or other calamities may happen in the village to be built on "his earth."



Slate-map map

Scale 1 : 1 000,000

Red : villages owned by branches of the royal clan.

Black, villagers, owned by common  
clans.

## KEY TO SKETCH-MAP No. 4

## BARO

1. Nyikuoo
2. Inyuon
3. Ideni
4. Pinyneau
5. Pinykeau
6. Cam
7. Imedho
8. Piny moo
9. Ithuoni
10. Itiel
11. Panyua
12. Pool
13. Inyuany
14. Piino
15. Pinyman
16. Itang
17. Polum
18. Piny mala
19. Pakori
20. Ilea
21. Ibagho
22. Pokumu
23. Pinyneau
24. Nyikuoo
25. Abol
26. Poomoli
27. Pinykeau

## GILA

28. Donyrei
29. Othuol
30. Urang
31. Ulang
32. Thoo
33. Leri
34. Piny cam
35. Ngela
36. Othou
37. Odia
38. Lero
39. Cenhthoaa
40. Pinybari
41. Iingo

## 42. Ajuil

43. Powak
44. Acua
45. Thony
46. Bwola
47. Gweya
48. Dhau
49. Arieth
50. Abol
51. Pocala
52. Aboga
53. Athero
54. Oboa
55. Rema
56. Piny miel
57. Akek
58. Ponyang
59. Piny bagho
60. Dipa
61. Pinyghudu
62. Abileny
63. Acula
64. Cuobo
65. Dipac
66. Umini
67. Jangjor
68. Awokoi
69. Akombang
70. Uleny
71. Ditop
72. Tiettadi
73. Gari
74. Káanho

## ALURO

75. Pokedi
76. Perbong
77. Cuobo
78. Thenyi
79. Doi
80. Keyang
81. Dumbang

## OBELA

82. Uwalo
83. Dier
84. Olau
85. Tua
86. Nyiwir
87. Komatong
88. Uleny

## AKOBO

89. Aliil
90. Obuodhi
91. Udiek
92. Umila
93. Wicnaam
94. Pinykooa
95. Koc
96. Umiel
97. Ugin
98. Uwelo
99. Agak
100. Nyigilo
101. Cam
102. Dhiwathpem
103. Oremo
104. Ngok
105. Burathoi
106. Teedo
107. Othuon
108. Kaara
109. Uget
110. Ukurayau
111. Nyighum
112. Buong
113. Piro
114. Pocala
115. Utigu
116. Gorkuoo
117. Kaara
118. Digiira
119. Obuodi
120. Kinha
121. Ugaa
122. Baari

|                |                  |              |
|----------------|------------------|--------------|
| 123. Adongol   | AKULA            | 155. Ugak    |
| 124. Ukaadi    | 140. Ukwac       | 156. Dibango |
| 125. Obuodhi   | 141. Athero      | 157. Umeeda  |
| 126. Powiu     | 142. Awaro       | 158. Dhirmac |
| 127. Udhak     |                  | 159. Utieri  |
| 128. Liec      |                  |              |
| 129. Ukuuna    | OBOTH            |              |
| 130. Pinythin  | 143. Alaango     | PIBOR        |
| 131. Udiek     | 144. Alaari      | 160. Oboo    |
| 132. Agwata    | 145. Uyuomwiiro  | 161. Ubeer   |
| 133. Gwac      | 146. Ajuara      | 162. Uthili  |
| 134. Pirgwinyo | 147. Utalo       | 163. Dimma   |
| 135. Poopeeno  | 148. Pocama      | 164. Dokoli  |
| 136. Ukwaa     | 149. Abetacan    | 165. Nyikwar |
| 137. Ubaa      | 150. Akwaiyajwok |              |
|                | 151. Waliec      |              |
| OWAC           | 152. Marjang     | SOBAT        |
| 138. Pinytiidi | 153. Nyang       | 166. Beet    |
| 139. Pokumu    | 154. Ngenyi      | 167. Nyighum |

Where a lineage has remained in possession of its village site and has not lost its rights in the land to immigrants, as the Joponguu lineage at Othuol, the earth is said to belong to the *kuaaro* alone and there is no Father of the Land. Where a village is widely spread out into a number of different hamlets or small settlements there may be a separate Father of the Land for each settlement. Thus at Pinyghudu the hamlet of Oduela has as its Father of the Land a man of the Jowatluaalo clan, the hamlet of Uleny a man of the Jowatnaadhi clan, and the hamlet of Agenga a man of the Jowatitho clan. In some cases it was found that the office was held by a woman of the lineage of the original occupiers of village sites.

In the Fathers of the Land, therefore, we have a guide to an earlier distribution of clans than that found in Anuakland to-day, and had I recorded the clan of this person in every village in the Sudan and in Ethiopia conclusions of some value might have been reached. In 1935 the importance of doing so did not occur to me, and in 1940 the opportunities of conducting an enquiry along these lines were limited. However, a sample was taken, mostly on the Gila, and this is perhaps sufficient to show the extent to which villages have passed from one clan to another

and, particularly, the extent to which the Jowatong lineages of the royal clan have spread at the expense of commoner clans :—

| <i>Village</i> | <i>Dominant Lineage</i> | <i>Father of the Land</i> |
|----------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Urang          | Jowatong                | Jowatmaaro                |
| Uwalo          | Jowatong                | Jowatkaanyo               |
| Ngela          | Joponguu                | Jowatjaango               |
| Tua            | Jowatbitho              | Jowatbitho                |
| Cenhthoaa      | Jowatnaamo              | Jowatjaango               |
| Thoo           | Jowatong                | Jowatmaaro                |
| Thony          | Jowatong                | Jowatmaaro                |
| Dipa           | Jowatong                | Jowatong                  |
| Rema           | Jowatong                | Jowatmuoongo              |
| Aboga          | Jowatong                | Jowatmuoongo              |
| Oboa           | Jowatong                | Jowatkaanyo               |
| Abileny        | Jowatong                | Jowatbitho                |
| Ajuil          | Jowatong                | Jowatjaango               |
| Powak          | Jowatong                | Jowatcuaa                 |
| Athero         | Jowatong                | Jowatluaalo               |
| Pinybagho      | Jowatong                | Jowatong                  |
| Akek           | Jowatcuaa               | Jowatcuaa                 |
| Ugin           | Jowatong                | Jowatmuoongo              |
| Nyigilo        | Jowatong                | Jowatkaanyo               |
| Iingo          | Jowatong                | Jowatjaango               |

In *The Anuak* (p. 153) were recorded some genealogies of Jowatong. Most of the Jowatong genealogies recorded in 1940-41 on the Gila have been lost. The loss is no great matter. One point established was that some of the Jowatong lineages which have been for a long time—several generations—owners of village sites on the Gila are no longer able, as already mentioned, to trace back their descent to one of the Anuak kings. They can only do so with any certainty when the king is not earlier than Goora, the man from whom all living nobles trace their descent. It was further established that, contrary to the tentative conclusion reached in *The Anuak* (p. 53), some persons have become Jowatong in the last few generations, though this has undoubtedly been a rare occurrence. Of these few persons some were of *tung* Adhapa, some of *tung* Acieni, and there were occasional examples in other branches of the royal clan.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The Jowatong headman of Ajuil (the Olau of the maps) is Olok war Aghugu war Acieni war Apir wa Goora. The headman of Powak is Giilo war Goora war Acieni. Their cousin, living near by, is a noble, Abula wa Medho war Acieni. Aghugu and Goora had died without having been invested with the royal emblems and so remained commoners. Medho war Apilo war Agaango war Apir wa Goora was in the same position, and his sons Cam and Medho are today commoners.

The Jowatong of Gok district, known as Jowatupeeno, are said to be descended from Upeeno, one of the early Anuak kings. The same lineage is met with at Dipa on the Gila, at Pokedi on the Aluro, at Ukwaa and Adongol on the Akobo, and at Ugaak and Ngenyi on the Oboth. It has therefore a wide range of distribution. According to Gok tradition Giilo, the first Anuak king, was killed by his brother Otheno (or Othieno). Giilo's sister thereupon left the royal village and later gave birth in the bush to a son by another of her brothers, Apathmac. From this son, called Giilo after his murdered uncle, are said to have sprung all the Jowatong of Gok. This is a typical mythological fiction of the kind by which a conquered people incorporate themselves into the lineage structure of a conquering people. I suggest that the Jowatong of the Gok district are probably of foreign origin and, in view of the geographical position of the Gok district, of Masango origin. One is led to this conclusion by other considerations. Other Anuak expressed the belief that the Jowatong of Gok were unlike other Jowatong lineages. In the list of Fathers of the Land it will be noted that a number of village sites on the Gila were originally occupied by the Jowatjaango clan and I am now of the opinion that this clan are Masango, whom the Anuak know as Ojang, and not, as stated in *The Anuak* (p. 32), Dinka. Their large village at Awokoi is occupied by a lineage called *tung* Jang. This Jowatjaango clan to-day own sites only on the upper Aluro, but fragments of the clan are distributed along the Gila and in fair numbers on the Baro, and the Jowatmuoongo clan, who have a wider distribution, especially on the Baro, are said to be related to them. The Baro and the upper Aluro are known as the Upeeno district and the Baro river is called the Upeeno by the Anuak, and it seems likely that there is some connection between this fact and the nomenclature of the Jowatong of Gok district, Jowatupeeno. These fragments of evidence suggest the conclusion that the whole of the country on the eastern Gila and eastern Baro was at one time occupied by the Masango people who are still found in pockets in it and living to the east of it; and that part of the Masango became absorbed by the Anuak, some as the Jowatjaango clan and some as the Jowatupeeno lineage of the Jowatong.

It was noted in 1935 that the Jowatong lineages living in the Sudan along the Akobo and Oboth rivers in the *Po Nyiye*, the country of the nobles, had no *kuaari*, lines of headmen. This is not generally the case on the Gila. Apart from the large villages with important lines of

headmen in the Gok district occupied by communities which call themselves Jowatong, although, as explained above, they may not be true Jowatong in origin, the independent Jowatong villages in the Jor and Bat Gila districts have long lines of headmen and practise the custom of *agem*, ostracism of headmen, in exactly the same way as villages owned by commoner clans. Where very small Jowatong communities have recently split off from the royal clan or have lived for a long time under the authority of nobles it is accepted that they own their land in virtue of inheriting it from some noble forbear and that in consequence they have no proper *kuaari*, but where Jowatong lineages have been long established in villages in their own right they have a political system identical with that found in commoner villages. The Jowatong headman at Rema said in reference to this fact: "*Kwacwa atimoyi kuaari*," "Our ancestors became headmen."

## XV

The clans which own most villages after the royal clan with its noble and Jowatong lineages are the Jowatcuua, the Jowatmaaro, the Jowatnaadhi, the Jowatnaamo, the Jowatmuoongo, and the Joponguu. The distribution of these clans was given, with a number of inaccuracies for the at that time unvisited villages on the Gila and Baro, in *The Anuak* (pp. 30-34). It is now possible to give a fuller and more accurate list and to plot the distributions (sketch-map No. 5). The distribution of the smaller clans is plotted on the same map. The numbers against each entry in the lists of villages are these given in the key to sketch-map No. 4. These thirteen clans own all the commoner villages in Anuak-land, so far as is known. There may be some fragments of other clans which do not own villages—there are said to be some Jowatlai on the Baro and some Jowatcuir on the upper Akobo—but if they exist they are unimportant. In view of the restriction of the use of the word "clan" by some writers to exogamous groups I pointed out in *The Anuak* (p. 28) that "Anuak clans have, probably, to be regarded as non-exogamous groups." Further statements made by Anuak support this opinion. I was told, for example, that the Jowatnaamo lineage at Ulang are considered to be sufficiently distinct from the lineage of that clan at Cenhtioaa to allow inter-marriage, and that the same is the case between the lineages of the Jowatbitho clan at Olau and Tua.

## JOWATCUAA

## BARO

- 26. Poomoli
- 17. Polum
- 16. Itang
- 14. Piino
- 9. Ithuoni
- 3. Ideni

## ALURO

- 76. Perbong
- 81. Dumbang

## OBELA

- 86. Nyiwir

## BARO

- 4. Pinyneau
- 23. Pinyneau
- 2. Inyuon

## PIBOR

- 161. Ubeer
- 162. Uthili

## BARO

- 10. Itiel
- 12. Pool
- 21. Ibagho
- 19. Pakori

## BARO

- 18. Pinykala
- 11. Panyua
- 8. Piny moo
- 7. Imedho

## BARO

- 5. Pinykeau
- 25. Abol
- 1. Nyikuoo
- 27. Pinykeau

## GILA

- 51. Pocala
- 57. Akek
- 58. Ponyang
- 71. Ditop
- 72. Tiettadi

## OWAC

- 138. Pinytiidi

## AKOBO

- 134. Pirgwinio
- 132. Agwata
- 117. Kaara

## JOWATMAARO

## AKOBO

- 89. Aliil
- 110. Ukurayau
- 116. Gorkuoo
- 108. Kaara
- 129. Ukuuna
- 126. Powiu
- 91. Udiek (half)

## JOWATNAADHI

## GILA

- 61. Pinyghudu (mixed)

## AKOBO

- 106. Teedo (mixed)
- 105. Burathoi
- 103. Oremo

## JOWATNAAMO

## ALURO

- 79. Doi
- 80. Keyang

## GILA

- 31. Ulang

## JOWATMUOONGO

- 24. Nyikuoo
- 6. Cam

## GILA

- 49. Arieth

- 114. Pocala

- 115. Utigu

- 102. Dhiwathpem

- 95. Koc

- 93. Wicnaam

- 94. Pinykooa

- 92. Umila

- 137. Ubaa

## OBOTH

- 143. Alaango

- 156. Dibango (half)

## AKULA

- 140. Ukwac

- 111. Nyighum

## OBETH

- 158. Dhirmac

## SOBAT

- 167. Nyighum

- 39. Cenhthoaa  
(7 settlements)
- 69. Akombang

## AKOBO

- 113. Piro

## AKOBO

- 97. Ugin



## JOPONGUU (JOWATYADA)

|             |              |           |
|-------------|--------------|-----------|
| GILA        |              | SOBAT     |
| 29. Othuol  | 112. Buong   | 166. Beet |
| 35. Ngela   | PIBOR        |           |
| AKOBO       | 165. Nyikwar |           |
| 90. Obuodhi | 160. Oboo    |           |

## JOWATLUAALO

|           |            |
|-----------|------------|
| AKOBO     | AKULA      |
| 96. Umiel | 142. Awaro |
| 99. Agak  |            |
| 104. Ngok |            |

## JOWATKAANYO

|          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| BARO     | OBOTH                   |
| 20. Ilea | 145. Uyuomwiiro (mixed) |

## JOWATBITHO (JOWATITHO, JOWATYUAA)

|          |                  |                     |
|----------|------------------|---------------------|
| OBELA    | AKOBO            | OBOTH               |
| 85. Tua  | 91. Udiek (half) | 157. Umeeda         |
| 84. Olau |                  | 156. Dibango (half) |

## JOWATJAANGO

|            |
|------------|
| ALURO      |
| 77. Cuobo  |
| 78. Thenyi |

## JOWATCAAMO

|           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| OBELA     | GILA      |
| 88. Uleny | 70. Uleny |

## JOWATMAALO

|            |             |                  |
|------------|-------------|------------------|
| BARO       | OWAC        | OBELA            |
| 22. Pokumu | 139. Pokumu | 87. Komatong (?) |

## JOWATBIEDO

|             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| PIBOR       | GILA        |
| 164. Dokoli | 28. Donyrei |
| 163. Dimma  |             |

The distribution of these commoner clans confirms Anuak tradition that they first occupied the southern parts of their present day territory and from there moved northwards, villages splitting and forming new colonies as a result of internal revolution (*agem*), and that the commoner clans were pushed out of their southern sites and compelled to seek fresh homes by the encroachment of the nobles and the spread of the royal clan.<sup>10</sup> They were only able to hold their own in the southern and central

<sup>10</sup> Anuak say, for example, that the original home of the Jowatcuuaa was Pocala on the Akobo; of the Jowatmaaro Ukwac on the Akula, and of the Jowatnaamo a site called Akwaro opposite Powiu on the Akobo.

parts of the country by uniting in such large communities that it was difficult for the nobles to attack them or for a branch of the noble clan, one of the Jowatong lineages, to swamp them numerically. Such large communities are the Jowatcuua at Pocala (Sudan), the Jowatnaamo at Cenhtthoaa, the Jowatcaamo at Uleny, the Joponguu at Ngela, and the Jowatnaadhi at Nyighum and, much mixed with other clans, at Teedo and Pinyghudu. Against the ambitions of the nobles and the spread of the Jowatong lineages of the royal clan the commoner clans have tended, divided among themselves through the institution of the *agem*, to become peripheral.

## XVI

The notes I accumulated about particular expressions of the custom of *agem*, the internal revolutions by which a headman of a village is expelled and replaced by one of his agnatic kinsmen whose father had once been headman before him, have been lost. Nevertheless, I think it important to record that the custom was found to be general. It is practised widely in the Sudan, as described in *The Anuak*. It was found that there was hardly a village on the Gila with a line of headmen which had not a history of these revolutions. At the village of Leri twelve men had been killed in the most recent *agem*, and the community, in consequence of the deep feeling engendered thereby, split into two, part remaining at Leri under one cousin, Omat war Opat war Okok, and the other part migrating to Thoo under another cousin, Ocan war Ujulu-war Okok. The headman at Thony, Ajiga wa Deang war Ajiga, had recently expelled (*ariem wuok*) his cousin Goora war Ocic war Ajiga, who was living in a nearby village. The headman of the very large community of Cenhtthoaa, Ocalla war Aruny war Oguta, had expelled his predecessor in office, Akwei war Akana war Otony, who in his turn had expelled his predecessor. Both of these ex-headmen were alive in 1940 and residing with a number of their supporters, one at Acua and the other at Thony, while other Cenhtthoaa dissidents were living in yet other villages on the middle Gila. In the last *agem* at Cenhtthoaa, when Ocalla got into power, twelve men were killed in the fighting. No compensation can be demanded for persons killed in such fights and relations between the two sides may remain embittered for a long time, sometimes so long that a permanent cleavage ensues, resulting in the formation of a new community on a new village site. The rivalry between Apai wa Dijom and his half-brother Ding, which had led to the expulsion of Ding from the

village of Ugin a few days before I arrived there in 1935 (*The Anuak*, p. 141), had reached such proportions by 1940 that the whole village had dispersed. Ding had gone with his followers to live at Koc, and Apai had gone with his supporters to live at Uwelo, while a considerable part of the village had taken up residence on a new site, Golgwok, near their old site of Ugin. "*Jo aketho with mieri' bet*," "The people are scattered among all the (nearby) villages." Six men were killed in a recent fight between the factions. Umiel had also broken up by 1940 on account of internal divisions of the same kind, and many of its families had gone to live at Golgwok.

In these revolutions sons of the same father (*wudwe*) or paternal cousins compete with one another for the headmanship of a village, but a man would not take part in an attempt to drive out his *coki*, his mother's son; nor would a man attempt to replace his own father. The rivalry is often between paternal cousins two or three times removed, a fact which shows how frequently such revolutions take place, since a man can only become headman if his father has been headman before him at some period of his life.

Anuak say that these fights are only avoided where all the village, or by far the greater part of it, are all one *tung*, one lineage. In most villages there is a dominant lineage, the *tung duong*, which owns the village site and lands and from which the *kuaaro* must be chosen. But there are also stranger lineages which are sometimes as numerous, or even more numerous, than the *wat thuoni* or *jobur* (*jongom*), the members of the dominant lineage. Anuak say that an *agem* is largely due to these stranger lineages which, though they cannot themselves furnish the headman, can divide the *tung duong* by backing one candidate against another. Nevertheless the real weight in a village are the *wat thuoni*. However long strangers and their descendants live in a village and however much they intermarry with the *tung duong* they can never become members of it but remain *welle*, strangers. It is therefore felt that in an *agem* the candidate for the headmanship who is supported by the majority of the *tung duong* is likely in the end to be successful, even though the other candidate manages to get into power for a time. Thus the people of Leri told me that the Thoo faction counted very few *wat thuoni* among them, and that most of its adherents were people whose fathers and grandfathers have settled in the village from Uyalo, Gony, and Cenhtooa villages. They were not true Omedho people of Jowatong

descent. They said that, for this reason, the two villages would almost certainly reunite before long under their candidate. Likewise I was told at Dipac (Gok) that whatever the rest of the village did the *tung duong* would support the present headman, Kuat, and that the recently expelled headman, Latha war Ocan, who was living in exile at Umini and intriguing to come back into power, could not hope to keep the headmanship, even if he seized it for a short time, because to remain in power a headman must have the support of the owners of the village lands, the *tung duong*. It is understandable therefore that in such villages as are composed almost exclusively of a single dominant lineage there is likely to be, as the Anuak say there is, greater cohesion and that revolutions are rarer and less embittered.

A revolution may occur, and very often does occur, without there being any jealousy between the candidates themselves, for an *agem* is the outcome of competition between factions in the village rather than of rivalry between individual members of the headman line. Thus the headman and ex-headman of Leri were on excellent personal terms, and so were the headman and ex-headman of Urang, and I have noted the same state of affairs elsewhere. It is for this reason that one headman told me "We are glad when in an *agem* the *bangi* (members of a village community who are not of the headman line, particularly those who are not of the *tung duong*) get killed, for it is they and not we (the *kuaari*) who make all the trouble." The reader will not need to be told that the account given here and in *The Anuak* of the kinship structure of the Anuak village is superficial, and that before the sociological significance of the custom of *agem* can be adequately assessed a detailed study will have to be made of the complex set of structural relations between the different lineages of the dominant clan and between these and the lineages of strangers, which count also as sisters' sons (the category of *winyakoo*, corresponding to the Nuer category of *gatnyiet*) through intermarriage between males of the strangers and females of the dominant clan.

It remains to be emphasized once more (*The Anuak*, pp. 43-4) that the headman of a village, though he is treated with great outward respect, the people bowing low and removing their sandals before him at court, is not regarded by them as a political functionary in our sense of the word political. In particular, he does not hear cases. People settle their torts among themselves by self-help, and the most the *kuaaro*

may be asked to do is to assist one side against the other. One does not have to live long in Anuak villages, especially in operational circumstances when it is essential to win the co-operation of the people, before realizing that the headman can only act with the approval of the villagers and do what they have decided among themselves should be done. He is a puppet moved by the fingers of popular will. The statement, based on secondhand sources, made in *The Anuak* (p. 42) that some of the headmen in Ethiopia seem to exercise considerable power is not one I would make to-day, after having spent some months in the Ethiopian part of Anuakland.

The services people render to their *kuaaro* are to the office and not to the man. I was told that the village will procure him his first wife, but that she is married to the office. If he is expelled by an *agem* he must leave his wife behind in the village, for his successor, when he goes into exile. When the young men (the *luak*) hoe his gardens—the older men lend him a hand only for a day or two when their own gardens are finished—they are working for the headmanship and not for him personally, and if he is expelled before the harvest is consumed his successor, and not he, will enjoy the fruits of their labour. In any case he is supposed to use the crop from the gardens hoed by the villagers, as distinct from the gardens hoed by his own family, to make porridge and beer for the men of the village who visit his court. When compensation is paid for homicide the headman takes one cow, or its equivalent in other wealth, because "the man was killed on his land," but this animal belongs to the office and not to him personally. The whole village must await the orders of the *kuaaro* before sowing. The reasons given for this prohibition were that if one man sows before the rest the birds will eat his crop, and, if the birds do not eat it, it will ripen in advance of the main harvest when food is scarce and, in one way or another, the villagers will seek to satisfy their hunger at the expense of the individual concerned. The headman, in fact, is the symbol of the unity of the village. He represents the common interests of the community internally and externally. Hence after a *kuaaro* is invested, for I was told that he is invested with the ancient village beads (*arony ka abudho*) in much the same manner as a noble is invested with the royal beads (*arony ka ucuok*), it is said that the chief elders of the village take the beads from him and hand them over to an old man who hides them, for they belong to the village and not to the headman. While he remains in office he keeps the

village drums, the outward sign of his status, but the ancient beads, in which lie the virtue of the office, are kept by the village from whom is derived its authority.

## XVII

On page 45 of *The Anuak* I wrote "It sometimes happens that all eligible candidates to the headmanship die. Then a *nyibur*, or representative of a headman, is appointed. This man founds a *nyibur* lineage and its members succeed and expel one another as the *kuaari* did before them." The information I collected during the late war does not confirm this statement. Pinyghudu was the only community found to have a *nyibur* and the office was found not to be hereditary. Pinyghudu, the largest village in Anuakland at the present day, is, as explained earlier, spread out into a number of small settlements over several miles. Though a number of clans are represented there and the settlements are owned by different clans, the predominant clan are the Jowatnaadhi, and the *nyibur* has generally been of this clan. In theory the *nyibur* is the representative in the village of some noble and has always been nominated by a noble or, curiously enough, by some member of a Jowatong lineage sent by a noble to appoint him; but it is clear that nomination could only have been made with the consent of the village.

The *nyibur* in 1940 was Adela war Odola of the Jowatnaadhi clan, who was put into office by the Italians after they had deposed Othou war Akui war Aluri, who had been installed (*arac*) by the son of a noble, Kuat Winyidimo. Kuat had not even been ennobled at the time and therefore counted as a *nyiwatong*. He was sent to Pinyghudu to exercise authority over the village by the well-known noble Udiel wa Ngenyo. The *nyibur* before Othou was Obok wa Ruanyi, who had been installed by a *nyiwatong* sent to Pinyghudu for the purpose by one of the Adongo nobles. His predecessor in office, Adela war Alak, was installed by a *nyiwatong* sent from the same district. Such is the custom at Pinyghudu. Nobles sent Jowatong to the village to set themselves up there as pseudo-nobles for a short time in order to appoint a man to the office of *nyibur*.

Also nobles have been invited from time to time to settle in the village as rulers (*arony nyin pac*), but only for short periods—Udiel Winyijula, Nyang war Agaanya (twice), Alual war Abula Nyangayath, and several others. Others have settled there uninvited, and on these occasions the villagers have sooner or later united to throw them out.

At one time Udiel wa Ngenyo dominated the village from Agenga, but the people eventually drove him away. They also fought, though less successfully, Abula wa Giilo of Kinha village supported by most of the Adongo district. The people of Pinyghudu do not want their village to come permanently under the control of nobles, and they are strong enough to resist pressure to this end. They were anxious in 1941 to prevent the ambitious Alamo war Apir of Uleny from obtaining a following and establishing himself too firmly in the village. The other nobles living at that time at Pinyghudu were regarded as too insignificant to be a menace.

## THE BVIRI TRIBE

By Filliberto Ucin, Teacher at the Bussere Intermediate School

### THE LEGENDARY ORIGIN OF THE BVIRI

The tradition has been handed down from our ancestors that once upon a time there lived a man and his wife. This man had three sons. He had also some daughters, who were not included because the tribe did not count daughters, as girls are only married by men of other clans and do not support their own clans with children. Each of these boys had a different occupation. They were all good workers.

The first son liked to work at iron and charcoal. He built his little hut, which was considered a good workshop, and used to make axes arrows, spears, diggers and especially big knives. When his father and mother saw this, they called him blacksmith (*Nve Tawi*) because he was working like a blacksmith all the day long. Then when his father and mother, and even his brothers and sisters, wanted tools to work with, they went to him and he provided them straight away.

When the boy grew up, his father provided him with a wife, who afterwards gave birth to many children. Then his parents began to call his children *Ka nve ganva*, which means 'the children of the man who makes big knives.' Then his brothers and sisters did likewise. This was at first a joke, but the name remained for ever. Thus the clan of *Nve ganva* came to be the memorial of the first son.

The second son liked to work in the fields. He had no thought of doing anything else. So when he woke up early in the morning, he thought always of his field, took his hoe and axes, which his brother had made for him, and off he went. He worked all the day long and came home in the evening. His mother used to cook food and bring it to him. So as a result of his work, every sort of cultivated food was at hand. When his parents and brothers and sisters felt hungry, the mother would get some foodstuff from his granary to be prepared and eaten in order to keep off hunger during the day. This was how he managed to keep hunger away from them. When the boy grew up to be a man, his father married him to a girl, and after some years the boy had many children. Therefore in the usual custom and as a joke his parents called his children *Ka nve jago* which means 'the children of the man who removes hunger from people by working in the field and providing food.' His brothers

and sisters followed the example of the parents. Nowadays we believe that the Fajago clan come from the second son. This name is his memorial.

The third son was very fond of hunting. He did not like to work at home, but preferred hunting. He went to his first brother and asked him for axes, spears and arrows. His brother, being kind, gave them to him as gifts. So every morning he rose early, took some of his weapons and went off hunting. He often brought back many kinds of edible roots and small animals he had killed, such as reed rats, squirrels, rats and so on. When meat was short he could always provide his family with plenty, both dry and fresh. Thus his parents called him *Nve moli* which means 'a man fond of hunting' or 'a person who knows the forest very well.'

The boy reached manhood and his father provided him with a wife. Afterwards he had many children, who were called *Ka nve moli* which means 'the children of the man who feeds on natural foods,' or 'children of the hunter.' This name was also given as a joke but it has remained for ever. This is the clan which is believed to have come from the third son, the clan of Famoli.

The conclusion of this story is that when the parents grew old they were glad, because their children helped them in many ways, each having a different occupation.

Thus they told them to teach their own children to have different occupations in order to help each other, so that they might increase in number after their death. They also told them that they would be able to resist any people who came to attack them if they were united in words, deeds, and in family life. The present descendants of this man nowadays tell their children more or less the same things.

#### THE THREE LARGE CLANS OF THE BVIRI TRIBE

The original large clans of the Bviri tribe were only three, which were formed from the three sons who had different occupations. From the first son and his children who were called 'Nve ganva' we have 'Nve gonva.' The change is that the 'a' is replaced by 'o.' This was done by his descendants.

From the second son and his children who were called 'Ka nve jago' we have Fajago. *Ka nve* is changed into *Fa* which has the same meaning as *Nve*. This *Fa* was borrowed from the Rodi. The change was made by the descendants of the second son.

From the third son and his children who were called 'Ka nve moli'

we have 'Famoli.' Once again the *Fa* was borrowed by his descendants from the Rodi.

#### THE TRIBE OF BVIRI

It is also believed by the Bviri that many, many years ago Bviri people started from the west coming to the east, and as they reached the land between the Ndogo and the Rodi they settled there and considered it their own motherland.

Before long this tribe consisted of the three clans whose origins we have already studied. The Gonva clan were the blacksmiths of the tribe. They worked with iron (*mugo*) and charcoal in order to make knives, spears, arrows, and hoes for their own use. They practised this work in separate settlements. They were also the merchants of the tribe, because they sold many of the things they made to other people who had need of them. They also cultivated, but only very little.

The Fajago were considered by the rest of the tribe to produce the best chiefs, who took more interest in ruling their clan than did the chiefs of the other two clans. The reason for this is because they were such good cultivators and basket makers. They therefore stayed on their farms, which they kept clean and well cultivated. Consequently they had large stores of food for sale to the rest of the tribe throughout the year. They exchanged their crops and baskets with the Gonva for iron instruments.

The Famoli were looked on by the tribe as nomadic hunters. They lived simply on the flesh of wild animals, honey, and edible berries and roots. They used to exchange dried meat and other forest produce with the Gonva for iron instruments and with the Fajago for baskets. They lived like the present day pygmies or bushmen. When they wanted to eat cultivated food they bought it from the Fajago. But you must remember that the Famoli were living like this side by side with the other two clans. If the other clans decided to change their country the Famoli went with them. They were feared as wild men, because they killed anyone they met in the forest, whether from their own tribe or from some other tribe.

It is said that from the very beginning up to the time when the Arabs entered the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the Gonva had their own chief, the Fajago had their own chief, and the Famoli had their own also.

#### THE BVIRI LANGUAGE

These three sections of the Bviri spoke the same language as it is nowadays spoken by their descendants. The only difference was that

the Famoli tended to speak a form of dialect, while the Gonva and Fajago spoke the language direct.

When the Gonva, Fajago, and Famoli united together and settled down close to one another, the neighbouring peoples called them all by the name of Gonva, meaning that it was not only the Gonva who carried big knives but that the other two clans did so as well. On the other hand the Rodi called them 'Tongedi,' which means 'not of my section or tribe,' while the Azande called them 'Ambe Gamba.' Actually no Bviri likes to be called by the name of Gonva, unless he really belongs to that clan.

#### BVIRI HILLS AND RIVERS

When the Bviri people came from the west, looking for a home, they settled on the following hills :—

Gufa, Modi, Ngokur, Wofo, Sumati, Vege, Wiw, Milo, Junguru, Nalba, Mara, Lai, Kpiliwi, Tungudi, Uliki, and Dokidoki.

The rivers in the area they inhabited were :—

Mara, Dii, Tii, Vee, Sere, Sambara, Milo, Nigila, Kuyi, Kpasa, Uliki, Leree, and many other streams.

The Bviri flourished in their new home very much. It was here that the three large clans began to produce many new clans, which again split up into newer clans, until there were a great number of Bviri people. The land was fertile, and they cultivated well, so as a result they had plenty of food all the year round. So plentiful was the food that beer was given away free, and was never sold for money. So everyone was very happy with their new country.

The Arabs had not yet come into the country, but the small tribes living near the Bviri tried to attack them fiercely. But the Bviri rose up against them and attacked them, until some ran away, some were killed, and some others were spared but treated as slaves.

The chief enemies of the Bviri at this time were the Rodi and the Bongo, especially the latter, who proved to be very fierce. It was in these wars that the Rodi and the Bongo began to call the Bviri the 'Nve gonva' because of the big knives they used in fighting.

#### THE CHIEFS OF THE THREE CLANS

Although these large clans produced a great number of new clans, yet the new ones did not break away from the original clan but lived together with it. It was thus with the Gonva. At that time their big

chief was Leketa. He ruled his clan for many years and died before the coming of the Arabs. Then his son, Vamungade, succeeded him. After some years the Arabs came looking for slaves. Vamungade rose up with his people and fought the Arabs. So well did they fight that the Arabs had to yield and run away. But every year during the dry season the Arabs returned, and this went on for about five years. But the last time the Arabs came to fight him with guns, swords, and horses, his people became discouraged and he fled away with his people towards the south, believing that area to be uninhabited.

The Fajago clan also collected many subsidiary clans attached to it. Their chief was called Unje, and when he died the Fajago elders assembled and decided to find a brave man to elect as chief. The choice fell on Vanje, the son of Unje, who was wonderful in speech and deeds and brave enough to face any enemy. As his sub-chief or councillor, Serego was chosen. He was as brave as Vanje, but younger.

By this election the people meant that when Vanje died, Serego would succeed him. After the election the people brought gifts to their new chief, and honoured him as the head of their clan.

Vanje and Serego were pleased with the people and took great care of the kingdom committed to their charge. Vanje made sure that the people worked hard, and so there was always plenty of food. Vanje stored much of this food for the use of his own people, and also to give to strangers who came to visit him. He also created some elders to rule under him, and gave them the right of judging small cases. This made the people honour Vanje and Serego all the more.

Now some of the Bongo were starving, and they heard of the food to be found in plenty in the lands of Vanje and Serego. So they brought some of their children and began to exchange them for millet, a child for five bundles of millet. So Vanje bought the children, and distributed them to some Fajago elders. When these boys grew up their masters found wives for them. They were looked upon as members of the household. If anyone examines the clan of Fajago he will find that some of its people are descended from these Bongo children.

So Vanje encouraged his people to grow grain, and even strangers came to buy the grain ; so the clan of Fajago became happy and famous. Then the Arabs appeared. For five years the Fajago fought with the Arabs, but at last they were defeated and fled south, following the Gonva.

The Famoli clan had a similar history. It too produced a number of smaller clans, who remained united to the parent stock. Their big chief was Vandungu (i.e., like a bull). He ruled his clan for many years, and died before the coming of the Arabs. Then his uncle, Ndokili, succeeded him, because his sons were all very young and had not enough wisdom to judge. When the Arabs came this chief also fought them hard for five years. But when the Arabs came the last time with their guns and horses, the people were frightened and yielded to them. So in revenge for resisting them for so long, the Arabs seized most of the young men and the children and beautiful girls for the slave trade. When they saw that only a few remained, who were too weak to fight them, they forced the chief and his people to pay tribute. Nowadays the Famoli people are fewer than the Nve Gonva and Fajago on account of what the Arabs did to them.

#### HOW THE BVIRI MET THE AZANDE AT TEMBURA

The Bviri people who fled before the Arabs met with a Zande chief called Tembura. This man was angry at seeing strangers entering his area, and so he decided to fight the Bviri. There followed a war during which the Azande and the Bviri fought each other for months. In the end Tembura declared peace, for he realized that the Bviri had no wish to fight him, but had come seeking new homes, because the Arabs were behind them seizing their children for slaves.

#### AN ARAB DEFEAT

The Arabs started from the camp, which they had made in the land of the Famoli, to follow the Bviri who had fled southwards. They were guided by some men of the Famoli clan who knew the way. When they reached the land of the Bviri, the Bviri at once sent to warn the Azande. There was a great fight in which most of the Arabs were killed on the spot, and the rest fled from the field. After this the Bviri were recognized as true friends by the Azande, and were treated very well. They learnt to live together with the Azande.

But after they had spent some years there, the Azande chiefs began to illtreat the Bviri and other tribes whom they had conquered. Such were the Bongo, Ndogo, Sere, Golo, and Bai.

It was at this time that the tribes became scattered, running here and there seeking safety. The chiefs were treated worse than their people, and some of them even lost their kingdoms.

Now the reason why the Bviri were conquered by the Arabs was that when the Arabs were fighting one of the clans, the other two clans did not come to the rescue. This happened every time, for each clan wanted to show that it alone was strong enough to beat the Arabs and so was the most powerful. The Bviri ancestors did not realize that this pride was proving their ruin.

If they had united and fought together against the Arabs and their other enemies they would have been during that time one of the most powerful tribes in the Sudan, for they were very numerous and had the best weapons for fighting.

#### HOW THE BVIRI HELPED THE AZANDE IN THEIR WARS

While the Bviri were under Zande domination they helped them greatly in conquering the surrounding tribes, the Bongo, Bor, Ndogo, Sere, Golo, and Bai. Their help came from their weapons, which were better than any of the other tribes' weapons; they were even better than those of the Azande. These were the weapons they used:—bows and arrows, spears and large knives. While their enemies were far off they shot at them with arrows; when they came close they used their spears, and lastly they used their knives for hand-to-hand combat.

Gedi, who was appointed captain by his father, Tembura, led some Bviri and a few Azande to the swamps to fight the Dinka of Tonj. Chief Buaggari was the second in command. They fought so fiercely that they succeeded in defeating the Dinka of that area, and captured many girls and cows, and sent them to Tembura.

In a second fight they had to withdraw, and the Dinka killed some of them. They retired and camped at Danyaka Hills, which remained their furthest outpost.

When Gedi heard that some white men were coming to explore the Bahr-el-Ghazal, he retired from these hills, and settled in the Bor country.

The above will explain why the Bviri have become acquainted with Zande customs. They were better acquainted with the Azande than with any other tribe. After them they knew the Bongo and then the Bor, i.e., the Rodi.

#### THE BVIRI AND THE RODI OR BOR

The Bviri and the Bor were never one tribe. But as the source of the river Bo was their boundary, they came into contact with them by visiting their dances and feasts. After some time of this sort of contact

they began to intermarry. Many of the Rodi married Bviri girls, but only a few of the Bviri married Rodi girls. The reason for this is that the Rodi language was very difficult for them to understand.

The Rodi sections with which they came into contact were the Afaranga clan, the Fujuga clan, and part of the Mbeme clan. They did not come into contact with any of the other Rodi clans.

#### NOTES ON SOME BVIRI CUSTOMS

##### 1. There are three kinds of Bviri dances.

*Galu*, a dance in which the big drum is beaten assisted by two smaller drums.

*Kama*, a dance in which a small drum is beaten assisted by two or three very little drums.

*Ngbandala*, a dance in which boys and girls stand in a circle, and each dance in turn.

The last two dances are only meant for young men, boys and girls. They are intended to show off their beauty and skill in dancing. It is very rare for grown men and women to take part in them.

2. If a woman gives birth to an illegitimate child, she must confess the names of all the men she has lain with or else the child dies. Pieces of wood must be cut according to the number of names confessed, and tied on a string round the neck of the child.

3. People do not intermarry within their clan. They never lie with their sisters or half-sisters, for it would be a shameful thing to do.

4. In greetings it is customary for adults to greet children first. Men must be the first to greet women, also they must greet the chief before he greets them. But the chief still greets women and children first wherever he meets them.

##### 5. Here are some remarks about the Bviri language :—

In Bviri the first vowel in a noun is repeated at the end. These words are called 'regular.' Other words which begin with one vowel and end with another are called 'irregular.' So if some other tribes copy our tongue we can detect it by the above arrangements.

*Examples :—Regular :— Nguru = hen      Diri = red stone*

*Koro = guineafowl      Nguu = tree*

*Kporo = snake      Yaa = broth*

*Irregular :— Dako = man      Nako = people.*

*Njinja = twin*

## THE SURI TRIBE

By R. E. Lyth

### I. NAME.

The greater part of this tribe pronounces its name Suri, but other members say Churi, Shuri, and Dhuri. Their neighbours, the Boma Murle and the Anuak call them Dhuāk, and the Giye of Kapoeta, Kichepo.

### 2. HISTORY.

There is a current though ill-defined belief among the Suri elders that the tribe originally lived on the banks of the Nile, in country now inhabited by the Dinka. It is said that they then migrated eastwards to the Akobo. From here the Meyun clan broke off from the main body of the tribe, coming south to Boma, and subsequently taking up their abode at Meyun. The rest of the tribe crossed the border, then making their way southwards, and finally settling at Koma.

The country between Koma and Boma was then free of tsetse fly (which, it is said, came southwards from the Akobo only some 50 years ago), and, in the dry season, the Suri used to water their cattle on the Neubari and other streams north of Boma, some herds coming up on to the Plateau itself to take advantage of its fine pasture and numerous springs.

At some time during this period a party of Dinka are said to have arrived at Koma, having been driven out of their own country by a severe famine. The Suri gave them shelter and finally absorbed them.

Some 90 years ago, when the rains failed twice consecutively, a large party of Suri trekked southwards, hunting as they went, and were never heard of again. It is believed that they settled in Kenya.

At about this time (c. 1850) Guraro, the chief of a large block of the Murle tribe living in the neighbourhood of the Maruwa Hills, decided to approach Bolu (the Suri chief) with a view to obtaining his permission to settle on Boma. This was finally given, and the Murle were allotted the northern and western slopes of the range for cultivation and grazing, with the plain beneath as their hunting ground. Guraro gave his daughter to Bolu to wife in settlement, and this division of the country between the two tribes has remained to this day.

The Suri have been continually harassed at Koma by the Amhara, Ghimira, Tirma, and other tribes. About 1890 large numbers of the tribe joined the Meyun clan at Meyun, where they were shortly afterwards subjected to a raid by the Murle. Representatives of the tribe first settled on Boma in about 1925, under the leadership of the two famous chiefs of the Jufa clan, Merelingo and Losanga (a witchdoctor).

The raids and counter-raids which took place between that time and the military occupation of Boma in 1936, between the Anuak, Giye, Murle, Nyangatom, Tirma, Amhara, and other tribes, in most of which the Suri appear to have played a more or less shady rôle, make complicated following, and are, perhaps, hardly worth detailing here.

### 3. LOCATION AND NUMBERS.

The present headquarters of the tribe are at Koma (about  $35^{\circ}07'$  E.,  $06^{\circ}01'$  N.), some 10 miles over the border into Abyssinia, where it is believed that about 2,000 members live. Their country rises from the undulating plain, stretching eastwards from Boma, up towards the heights of Zulimamu. At Zulimamu, some 10 miles NE. of Koma, there lives another small pocket of Suri totalling some 200 souls. Similar numbers live north of here on R. Kari.

The Boma branch of the Suri is about 1,500 strong, and their villages stretch from SE. of J. Ngelichu ( $34^{\circ}28'$  E.,  $06^{\circ}05'$  N.) to the south of J. Didong. There are also some 50 members of the tribe inhabiting a district 20 miles ENE. of Boma called Meyun.

Apart from the party mentioned above that disappeared in the direction of Kenya and whose fate is unknown, no other Suri are known to exist.

### 4. AFFINITIES AND RELATIONS.

In appearance and customs the Suri are similar to the Tirma who live to the east of them just over the Abyssinian border (both, for instance, affecting the stretched lower lip and ear lobes). Intermarriage also has taken place to some extent. From words that have been listed of the two languages it would appear that from 30-40% of Suri words have radical connections with their counterparts in the Tirma language. Very few are identical. (In passing it might be of interest to note that about 25% of the Tirma words listed have connections with their Murle equivalents, but all this 25% is included

in the 30-40% similarity between the Suri and Tirma languages, i.e., no word has been noted radically common to the Murle and Tirma languages that is not also found in Suri.) Despite the similarities noted above, both tribes repudiate the statement that they were ever one tribe or that they have a common origin. Indeed the Tirma state that their cradle was the River Omo in Abyssinia. There is, at present, intercourse between the two tribes over the Abyssinian border, but it would not be true to say that much love or trust exists between them.

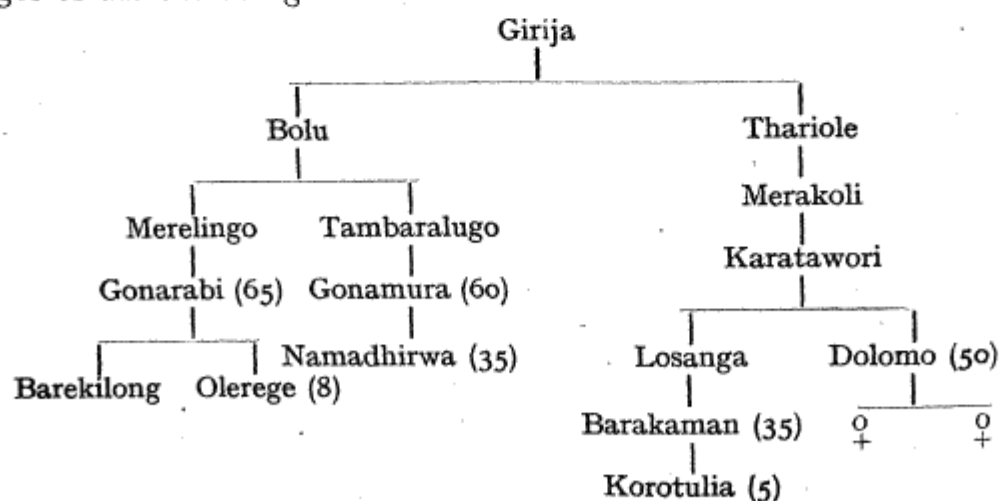
With the other various Shangalla tribes (except the Nyangatom) the Suri are on good terms. Towards the Anuak they are frankly hostile, and there is no intercourse whatsoever between the two. Between the Suri and the Murle it is seldom, since the military occupation of Boma, that feeling has run high, but until the peace pact was made between them on 21.4.44, a cold undercurrent of unfriendliness never seemed to leave their relations. With the Giye, the Suri are now on good terms, and each comes and goes at will in the country of the other.

The Suri acknowledge no blood affinities with any other tribe.

## 5. TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

### (i) *Clans and chiefs.*

There are six exogamous Suri clans: Jufa, Meyun, Beela, Kembo, Durugan and Baale. Of these, Jufa is the most important, and the family tree of this clan is given below. The figures refer to the approximate ages of the surviving members.



Gonarabi, spiritual head of the Jufa clan and recognized temporal head of the Suri tribe, lives at Koma.

Gonamura, a sub-chief, lives at Ngadia (SE. of J. Didong, Boma).

Barakaman, recognized head of the Boma Suri, lives at Romi (east of J. Ngelichu, Boma).

Dolomo, a sub-chief, lives at Koma.

These four men hold responsible positions in the tribe in virtue of their being in the direct line of temporal chiefs. Although the head of a clan may also hold temporal authority, he does not do so *ex officio*. His realm is primarily spiritual. Thus, Chaliabong (head of the Beela clan and living at Koma) is said to be of less importance than Dolomo, although both are of about the same age and the latter holds no spiritual authority. Again, none of the Boma sub-chiefs is the head of a clan. Further, it is stated that when Barakaman dies, his son, Korotulia, will be a chief of greater importance than Olokoridi, the head of the Meyun clan, and the only clan head living at Boma. Both are, at present, small boys.

The emblems or symbols of the clan chiefs are the following:—an ivory horn, a drum, and a set of fire-sticks. The horn (made out of a complete tusk) is blown in times of sickness. The drum (an ordinary small type of wood and leather) is beaten when a death occurs. The fire-sticks (an ordinary set) are used for making fire on special occasions, e.g., when the crops or herds are in bad condition, that the smoke of the fire may pass over and restore them; at the beginning of a hunting expedition, that the smoke may pass over the country and bring good fortune; at the time of a sacrifice, for cooking the meat. No ivory horns are now held by the clan chiefs, all having been seized in years gone by by the Amhara. The fire-sticks and drum of the Jufa clan were accidentally burnt a number of years ago, but new ones were made. No very great reverence appears to be paid to either the symbols or their holders, and the former are sometimes used by a temporal chief himself in his own village. The existence of secular drums and fire-sticks also, no doubt, makes those of the clan chiefs of less sacred value than if they were unique.

The duties of the temporal chiefs consist in the leading of their villages in times of war and peace, judging cases, etc, etc. At the present time, those at Boma have very little authority over their subjects, and the heterogeneous nature of their villages (all six clans are represented at Boma, and often several in one village) tends to militate against this. Efforts are being made (through the formation of simple native courts, by the use of these sub-chiefs as the mouthpiece of the Government if any

administrative instructions have to be issued, and by holding them responsible for the execution of such orders in their villages) to increase their authority.

(ii) *Age Sets and Initiation.*

A new age set forms about every ten years. The following are the names of those in existence at present ; numbers refer to the average age of members :—

|          |     |     |     |    |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Kolu     | ... | ... | ... | 80 |
| Gessi    | ... | ... | ... | 70 |
| Beeru    | ... | ... | ... | 60 |
| Bumi     | ... | ... | ... | 50 |
| Kamkolu  | ... | ... | ... | 40 |
| Demu     | ... | ... | ... | 30 |
| Banda    | ... | ... | ... | 20 |
| Buluguso | ... | ... | ... | 10 |

Each of the fighting sets is held in considerable respect by those junior to it, and, if this is not shown, the offending set is severely beaten by their seniors with quarterstaves.

Initiation ceremonies (*tetjao*) are held at intervals of about ten years, the next one falling due towards the end of this year (1944). It appears that they are held on a village, rather than a tribal, basis, but all ceremonies take place on one day. In each village a sheep is suffocated to death, and its dung is smeared on the bodies of the initiates. The latter also have many pieces of string tied about their persons. They are beaten with withies by the older age sets. Village dances are held.

## 6. RELIGION.

Religious beliefs and practices (God, spirits, seers or medicine-men, and action taken in times of personal and tribal calamity) are very similar to those of the Murle. There is only one rainmaker in the tribe, and the office is hereditary. The present holder is Runidheela, who is the headman of the R. Kari branch of Suri. Should his services be required at Boma, chips from a certain tree are masticated, and the resulting juice is mixed with clay and smeared over a man's body. When the latter arrives at Boma, rain may be expected to fall. The same effect may be obtained locally by dipping a stick of the same tree in water and throwing the latter upwards.

## 7. APPEARANCE, DRESS, AND ORNAMENTATION.

The majority of the Suri are very black-skinned. They are of average height. Their features show great variation, but are not, as a whole, so regular or so pleasing as other Nilo-hamitic tribes. (It is presumed that this is their category. Certainly they are far removed, physically, from both the prognathous negro and their red, hairy, thickset, clothed, Half-hamite neighbours among the Shangalla tribes.)

The younger men normally go entirely naked, although clothes are popular if obtainable. The older men mostly wear a small skin suspended from the neck and reaching to the thighs. Women and girls wear large skins, covering both upper and lower parts of the body, which are girded about the waist. These are assumed by girls almost as soon as they are weaned.

Cicatrization is common but not universal. It is performed according to taste, but is usually not extensive. The deliberate creation of keloids is not practised. Both sexes practise (though not universally) the boring and stretching of the ear-lobes. The result does not usually exceed three inches in length.

The practice of piercing and stretching the lower lip is universal amongst the women, and is performed at puberty, or a little before or after. A large stretch, which is achieved only after a number of years, is considered a sign of beauty, and the bride price payable is proportionately greater. The plate which is inserted is of the shape of a pulley-wheel, round, flat, and grooved,—occasionally it is triangular—and is made of burnt clay, or occasionally of wood. Its diameter varies from an inch to six inches, and it may weigh up to 10 ozs.<sup>1</sup> The plate is not always kept in position, and when it is removed the long loop of wrinkled lip hangs down upon the chin. This, except in times of mourning, must always be kept covered (by the hand or by a leaf held in the mouth) when in the presence of men-folk or of the woman's mother-in-law. It is said that the practice was learned from the south (doubtless from the Kikuyu).

Women and children and old men wear their hair very short, shaving it frequently. The fighting sets dress their hair in long tails, which come down to their shoulders and often hang down over their eyes. These are prepared with an oil from a certain tree, a certain wood-ash, and (if available) cows' urine. The hair in these three stages may be described

<sup>1</sup> Specimens of lip plates made of pottery and wood are Nos. II 2171 and 2172 in the Ethnological Collection, and are on view in the Khartoum Museum.—ED.

as black and greasy, grey and powdery, and yellow and fluffy. When it is in this last stage it is not unattractive. The Suri state that they learned this method of hairdressing (though not the tails) from the Dinka.

The women frequently wear a large number of big, heavy, iron bracelets and anklets. The men wear bracelets of various kinds, including ivory and wire. They also wear a beaten and engraved brass bracelet, which they state they adopted from the Dinka. Beads of various colours are popular with both sexes. Disk-shaped leather arm-shields are worn by the men above the elbow. Small, iron leg and arm bells are also worn by the men, as well as the following: white bark belts, short white skin leggings, and naked wrist-knives.<sup>2</sup> The older men frequently wear a long leather strap slung across from one shoulder, which is corrugated by biting with the teeth. The younger age sets often adorn themselves with different coloured clays (red, yellow, grey, and white). These are first spread over the entire body, after which lines and patterns are drawn with the fingers. The Suri at home is seldom separated from his quarter-staff (about 1½ ins. by 6 ft.), and fights with these are frequent. Formerly shields were carried, but, since the introduction of firearms, these have become obsolete.

Personal decoration is not affected strictly in accordance with age sets, but it can be stated generally as follows:— the Buluguso indulge in none save stretching the ear-lobes; the Banda, Demu and Kamkolu use all the types of decoration, etc., described above; and the older age sets use none at all except beads and leather shoulder straps.

#### 8. GENERAL.

The Abyssinian branch of the Suri keep cattle in fairly large numbers, and also cultivate the soil. At Boma the presence of the tsetse fly precludes the keeping of cows, but each family has large herds of goats and sheep. The main source of livelihood at Boma is cultivation. This is on a large scale and is situated for the most part in forest clearings. The soil is extremely fertile, and crops of remarkable size and quality are reaped. The first planting begins usually at the beginning of March, and the harvest is reaped in July and August. The second planting follows, which is reaped in November and December. The main crops are millet, maize, cabbage, marrow, bean, yams and tobacco. Capsicum and Abyssinian coffee grow wild in the forests. The latter is collected in great quantities, but all attempts at its cultivation have failed.

<sup>2</sup> A specimen (No. II 2173) is on view in the Khartoum Museum.—ED.



SURI WOMEN WITH  
AND WITHOUT LIP-  
PLATES.



SURI YOUTHS WITH BODIES ADORNED WITH PATTERNS IN DIFFERENT COLOURED  
CLAYS.

Large hunting and honey-collecting parties go out throughout the dry season.

A good deal of trade takes place between the Suri and the Jiye, in which the tobacco of the former is bartered for the goats of the latter. The Suri also barter lion and leopard skins, giraffe tails, honey, and (formerly) ivory and kidnapped women and children, with the Amhara and Shangalla for rifles and ammunition. Their country has the immediately local monopoly of clay suitable for making pots, and they sell a large number of these to the Murle.

Villages are composed of some twenty-five round, beehive huts surrounded by a stockade. The huts are similar in design to those of the Murle, except that the entrance to the upper storey, which constitutes the grain store, is inside the hut rather than outside.

Dancing is usually performed by one sex only at a time, the other forming a ring round the dancers. Most of the dancing consists in proceeding slowly round in a circle with "jigging" steps and much working of the elbows. Time is kept by singing, drumming, the beating together of quarterstaves, and the slapping by the women of their "skirts" with the palms of their hands.

Pipe-smoking (of the gourd "hubble-bubble" type) is very popular with the women and girls. With the men it is prohibited except for the elders, and even they do not indulge in it to a very great extent, preferring the chewing of quids of tobacco.

The health of the community is, on the whole, good, the chief ailments being tropical ulcers and yaws. Other forms of venereal disease are unknown amongst them.

The longevity of the Suri is noteworthy, the strength and virility of the old men and their almost unimpaired senses, being most remarkable. This fact is attributed by them to their hard work in the gardens, continual trekking, and their refusal to sink down into the armchairs of a local athenæum and relapse into the senile coma of tobacco smoke and reverie.

#### THE SURI LANGUAGE

1. The Suri language has considerable affinity with that of the Murle. The latter has received similar mutilation in the mouths of the Suri to what English has in the mouths of the Americans, and with similar cacophonous results: the consonants have been ellided, the vowels

broadened and nasalized, and new words added. But there was an original Suri language, much of which still exists, and this has points of similarity with the languages of certain Abyssinian tribes, such as the Tirma and Ngalam.

2. Suri grammar is, in many respects, similar to that of Murle (e.g., the prefixing of k to form the first person of the verb, the omission of the initial a (where there is an a) of the stem to form the imperative, etc.), but there are also many differences (e.g., pronouns, formation of plurals etc.).

3. The sound of the Suri and of the Murle languages when spoken is utterly different, and the two languages are mutually unintelligible.



A GROUP OF SURI MEN.

## A NOTE ON COURTSHIP AMONG THE NUER<sup>1</sup>

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard

Sexual activities among the Nuer are from their earliest manifestations given the stamp of their cultural values. They are from the first associated with marriage, which is the final goal of the sex life of men and women. It is unbelievable to Nuer that there can be a society, such as our own, in which some men, of their own choice, do not marry, and lifetime bachelorhood is unknown among them. Even the very poor and the disabled form a domestic establishment of some kind and talk proudly of "my father-in-law" and "my mother-in-law." It is the chief ambition of a youth to marry and have a home (*gol*) of his own, for when Nuer speak of marriage they speak of a home. They say of a youth, "He is married—he has a *gol*." Even in childhood it is clear to Nuer that marriage and the birth of children are the ultimate purpose of the sexual functions to which all earlier activities of a sexual kind, play, love-making and courtship, are a prelude, a preparation, and a means. I found it so embarrassing to be unmarried that I invented a family in England about whom I used to chat with the Nuer. A Nuer anthropologist would, I fear, have described me as an unreliable informant.

So long as there is no erotic behaviour in public, no inhibitions attach to sexual interests and their expression. Small children, as soon as they begin to notice what goes on around them, must see their parents in coitus sometimes, and very soon they will discover that this is part of the normal relationship between fathers and mothers. They generally sleep in the same hut as their parents till they are about five or six years of age. If they sleep there occasionally when they are older, the mother does not remove her skirt when she lies down to sleep. No one tries to hide from children the facts of sexual life, which they can learn by observing their elders and the flocks and herds among which childhood is spent. A boy who is seen by his elders in sexual play with a girl of his own age, will be told not to act as though he had been initiated—he can

<sup>1</sup> This note forms part of a general account of Nuer marriage which was prevented me from publishing earlier. The account has been written in a series of articles: "Nuer Rules of Exogamy and Incest," *Social Structure* (to be published in 1948); "Nuer Bridewealth," *Africa*, 1946; "A Note on Courtship among the Nuer" (the present article); "Nuer Marriage Ceremonies," *Africa*, Jan. 1948; "Some Reflections on Payment of Bridewealth among the Nuer," to be published in *African Studies* in 1948; "Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer," Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Papers, 1945 (first published in 1938); and "A Note on Affinity Relationships among the Nuer," to be published in *Man*.

do what he likes then—and at the most might receive a cut with a grass switch. No one considers his conduct immoral, and the older people will joke about such things among themselves.

Children start playing at marriage from the time they begin to walk, at first as uncomprehending observers of the games of older children and then as participants in them. They make cattle byres and huts of sand, and mud oxen and cows, and with these conduct bridewealth negotiations and perform marriage ceremonies, and they play at domestic and conjugal life, including sometimes in the game, I was told, imitation of coitus. In its earliest expression, therefore, sex is associated with marriage, and the first sexual play occurs in imitation of one of the domestic routines of married life. It occurs in response to a cultural, and not to an instinctive, urge.

Girls and boys, the girls rather earlier than the boys, begin to perform the simpler and lighter tasks of household and kraal from about the age of seven. From then onwards till they are about fourteen, marriage games continue when the children are by themselves, and though within them sexual play begins to be indulged in for its own sake and not merely in imitation of adult behaviour, it is subordinate to the whole make-believe relationship of conjugality of which it forms part. During the rainy months, the girls visit the boys in the grazing grounds, bringing them balls of porridge as presents, which each gives to the boy she has chosen as her "husband." She also milks the goats for her "husband," and may even bring him a gourdful of cows' milk from the kraal. The boys cut millet stalks in the gardens, and after roasting and eating the immature grain send the sweet stalks with their outer husks removed to their "brides." Older boys also send their juniors with mud oxen and cows to one of the senior girls, who plays the part of mother-in-law. I was told that in these games sexual intercourse may take place, but is neither a usual nor a prominent feature. Nevertheless, though serious courtship has not yet begun, for uninitiated boys cannot publicly court girls at dances, the boys are already looking forward with eagerness to the ordeal, which is the door to a full sex life. In preparation for this envied state every boy, when he is about twelve, performs on his organ an operation which is said to prevent the foreskin being torn during congress.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> He pierces under the cartilage with a thorn and passes a cow's tail hair through the perforation and ties it tightly round the cartilage, the end of which then atrophies. The action is repeated till the cartilage has atrophied to about half the length of the penis.

Girls witness serious love-making and courtship earlier than boys. At dances small girls follow their more experienced sisters and cousins, imitating their movements during the dancing and afterwards sitting with them while the young men pay them compliments and try to persuade them to retire with them into the long grass. When a girl is about twelve or thirteen freshly initiated boys begin to court her, and when she is about fifteen or sixteen she has at least one lover and probably one in each of the villages neighbouring her own. She passes through a succession of love affairs, besides more casual affairs, till marriage. I doubt whether any girl in Nuerland goes to her husband a virgin. In response to the attentions paid to them maidens give greater attention to their appearance than they did when they were younger. They keep themselves clean and tidy, and are at pains to observe the rules of carriage and deportment and to cultivate the modesty and reserve expected of them by the young men.

As a rule, boys are initiated from about fourteen to sixteen. Unlike the girls, whose social life develops slowly from childhood to marriage without any sudden changes of status, the boys jump at initiation from the grade of boyhood to the grade of manhood, and the character of their social life is correspondingly transformed; though even before initiation boys make some adjustments in their way of life in anticipation of the status they will acquire when they have passed through the rites. They model their conduct, in so far as it is permissible for them to do so, on that of the youths of the most recently initiated age-set. To be looked on with favour by their future sweethearts they try to keep their bodies clean—Nuer boys are very unkempt and dirty—begin to plaster their hair with ashes, and show an unwonted interest in ornamentation. After initiation, youths spend a great part of their time in attending to their appearance. Before initiation, also, boys have adopted the modesty imposed on young men in the presence of unrelated girls. This is expressed particularly by abstaining from eating in their presence. A small boy eats with his mother and sisters, but when he is about six, he eats with the other boys of the household when the womenfolk have guests, lest they might feel embarrassed at the presence of a lad, though only a small one, and bit by bit he gets into the habit of eating with them regularly. No initiated youth would eat in the presence of unrelated women, and it would be particularly shameful to do so were they of his *ric*, girls of about his own age from whom he chooses his sweethearts, and it is

shameful for him even to mention food in their hearing. The sexes, unless they are very close kin, respect (*thek*) each other with regard to food, and will not go near persons of the other sex when they are eating. Even I, when I wanted to eat, had always to employ a euphemism in asking girls to leave my tent.

After initiation, a lad takes on the full privileges and obligations of manhood in work, play, and war. Above all, he gives himself wholeheartedly to winning the favour of the maidens of his neighbourhood. Courtship now rivals devotion to cattle as his major interest. In speaking of a recently initiated lad Nuer often say: "And now he has become a man and will court the girls." He takes every opportunity for flirtation which offers. His chances are chiefly at dances, and Nuer youths, for this reason, attend as many wedding dances and other drum-dances as they can in their district during the rains and the harp-dances at neighbouring camps in the dry season. In speaking of these dances young men speak always of the girls they will meet at them, of how they will admire their finery and their excellent dancing and display of spearmanship and duelling with the club, and they add: "And then, of course, we will spend the night in courting."

That Nuer do not attend dances chiefly for the dancing is shown by their lack of interest in organizing harp-dances in dry season camps when it is unlikely that unrelated girls from other camps will be able to attend them. "Who wants to dance with his sisters?" they ask. But when there is a chance of love-making Nuer youths, who appear so slothful and lethargic to the foreign traveller, think nothing of walking and running 10 to 15 miles to attend a dance. In western Nuerland, where the tribes are smaller than to the east of the Nile and there is more inter-tribal intercourse, there will be dancing parties from three to four different tribes at a big dance.

When a dance breaks up, about 9 o'clock at night, the youths seize the girls by their wrists and lead them apart. They then either walk about the dancing-ground in pairs and small groups, the youths and maidens hand-in-hand or with their arms round each other's waist, or they sit in small parties at the grass-fringed edge of the dancing-ground. They sit wedged together and exchange endearments. Nuer girls are attractive companions at any time, and are enchanting when decked with flowers and ornaments and anointed with oil for dancing, and the young men are charming and indefatigable flatterers. Wooing in Nuerland

is an arduous business. A youth must be profuse and tireless in pouring out compliments to the girl whose favour he solicits, and he often sits opposite her with a stick in his hand to make lines on the ground to mark each new compliment. I was sometimes invited to be a member of these courting parties, but was never very successful at them, for when I had told the girl opposite me all I could think of which might please her, she would be derisive (*caany*) and ask "Is that all you have to say?"

When these parties break up, the youths and maidens pair and continue flirting tête-a-tête in the grasses in privacy. It rests entirely with a girl whom she goes with. She has her lovers who meet her whenever they can, at dances, at her father's house, and at trysting places, and she will probably go with one of these. When several young men want to go with her, they tell her to make her choice from them, for all those who have been sitting together with the girls belong to one *dep* (rope), the fighting line of a village, and are, therefore, all kin who will not quarrel about a girl. A lover from a different village would not try to break into the circle once it has been formed. She makes her choice—if she already has a lover in the *dep* she will choose him—and the other youths move away. Apart from her established lovers, a girl has no difficulty in knowing if a man is particularly attracted to her by the way he dances and conducts his spear-thrusting and club-duelling exercises during the dancing. If she likes him also she can probably so arrange matters that he is able to seize her wrist when the dance is beginning to break up.

Intercourse does not necessarily take place when a youth and maid are alone together on the night of a dance. When the relationship between them is a *luom buol*, a dance love affair, or *luom thur*, a dancing-ground love affair, a more or less constant attachment, I was told that the girl is likely to refuse her favours, though he will entreat for them, unless she feels sure that he intends to marry her and has the cattle with which to do so, for no respectable girl wants to be a *kea*, an unmarried mother. A courtship of this kind imposes on the girl modesty and shyness towards her lover in the presence of other persons, such as a bride is expected to show towards her bridegroom or a newly-wed towards her husband, and she must not chaff him as she might chaff other youths who flirt with her. Lovers respect each other's name by refraining from mentioning

it in public. She uses such an expression as *wuteme*, that man, and he such an expression as *nyanath*, daughter of Nuer, in public. In private, he may call her by her proper name, and she is likely to call him by his ox-name. No effort is made to conceal an attachment of this kind. Carnal relations do not necessarily form part of it as they do in a *luom gooka*, a love affair of the high grasses, which is casual lust. In Western Nuerland a sweetheart will come with girls of her village and make her lover a fine door to his hut and decorate it with bracelets.

Parents are not cognizant of all the love affairs of their children, but if a girl forms a constant attachment she may tell her mother about it, and a father will probably hear of a similar attachment of his son. They are not likely to say anything unless there is danger of incest. All the young men of a hamlet or small village, who are kinsmen and dance together in case fighting should break out at a dance, know of one another's courtships and escapades. Likewise, all the girls know about one another's lovers and amours, for they also keep together at dances. The only person who may interfere is a brother in an affair of his sister, for her virtue is his responsibility, but he will only do so in certain circumstances. He keeps an eye on his sister and knows who is courting her, but he will only come between her and her lover if he suspects that she is having regular relations with a man without cattle or that she is giving herself to all and sundry.

It not infrequently happens that a girl becomes pregnant while still unmarried. If the young man has cattle he will be expected to marry her, and if she is not a profligate he will be glad to do so. If he has insufficient cattle he cannot do so, and though another man will not object to taking her as a wife, he is more likely to take her as a second wife than as a first wife, and he will pay fewer cattle for her bridewealth. It is, therefore, in the brother's interest to see that this does not happen. It is unlikely that in these circumstances a young man would be permitted to legitimize his child by paying four to six head of cattle instead of marrying the girl. I was told that the father would generally say, "No, he has put my daughter in child and he refuses to marry her. Well, why did he put her in child? She and her child will not be separated; they will go together to her husband." The young man keeps away from the girl's village till the storm has blown over. It is also in the brother's interest to prevent his sister becoming a wanton. A man does

not expect his wife to be a virgin, but he does not want to marry a jade. A girl of easy virtue may find plenty of lovers but no suitors, and after bearing an illegitimate child is likely to become a concubine for the rest of her life, to the detriment of her family herd.

Therefore, if a youth takes a girl away from a dance to his *dep* and sits with her among his friends and other girls until he finds an opportunity to get her to himself he will not be molested, because her brother has seen her leave the dance in company, and by the time she is intimate with her lover he will be doing the same himself. "Chastity is an excellent thing in your sister, but is not so good in girls unrelated to you." But if a man is indiscreet enough to take her off by herself as soon as the dance is breaking up he is asking for trouble, though the brother may not say anything if the youth is a friend of his whom he knows to have cattle and serious intentions towards his sister. If the young man is a casual lover, he may tap him on the shoulder with the butt of his spear, when he will run away, or even fight him. However, there need be no trouble if the conventions are observed.

Courtship seems to be freest among the Eastern Jikany. There love affairs are carried on more or less openly, and a youth need not fear the girl's brother so long as they are on friendly terms and he is discreet. The girls of this area are, however, said to be less free with their favours than those of the Lou tribe. They are exacting in their demands for fine speeches but will not allow intimacy unless they are sure that pregnancy will be followed by marriage. The Lou girls are said to be easier and their brothers more difficult. To the west of the Nile, at any rate in some parts, it is said that a girl's brother has the right to take a male calf and a cow calf if he catches a man having relations with his sister, but this penalty seems only to be exacted when it is believed that pregnancy has ensued, and I was told that if the beasts have been seized they will be returned should it be found that she had not conceived. If she is pregnant, they will be kept pending marriage negotiations.

A youth may have several sweethearts in different villages and a girl several lovers in different villages. At this time of his life, a young man models himself on the accepted pattern of what a young man should be to win the approbation of his sweethearts and the regard of girls generally. He likes to know that they are looking at him and saying about him, when they chat together and share their secrets, that he is a *wut pany*,

a real man<sup>3</sup>. He pays great attention to his appearance and takes every opportunity to excel in feats of endurance and courage. It is for the benefit of the girls that he leaps behind his oxen in dry season camps, "when the people have met together" and chants poems. When asked whether a man would chant if there were no girls near, a man replied: "And if there were no girls near, what would he chant for?"

A youth who wants a girl in marriage goes to her village or camp in the evening and chants there for an hour or two. He knows that she will understand that the poem is about herself. Her relatives know why he has come. A youth is particularly careful not to be seen eating by unrelated girls: "If he is not making love (*lum*) to them, he may do so some time or to one of their relatives." When I asked whether it would matter if your sisters saw you eating, the reply was, "Do you make love to your sisters?" Food must never be mentioned in the presence of girls, and a man will endure severe hunger rather than let them know that he has not eaten for a long time. He is also careful to avoid any sign of greed or to display in any other way bad manners when eating, in case the fault should reach the ears of the girls and earn their ridicule; and he does not eat birds, pick and eat wild fruits, eat secretly in the bush near his father-in-law's home to assuage his hunger when on a visit to his bride, and so forth, "because of the girls." A man may mention food but not sexual matters before kinswomen, and he may mention sexual matters but not food before unrelated girls.

Girls are the arbiters of decorum and the severest sanction of a breach of good form is their disapproval. Not only is the shame (*puc*) of it a sanction for etiquette, but it is a powerful influence in making a youth generous, respectful to his elders, dutiful to his parents and kinsmen, hospitable to guests, courteous, industrious and brave. The girls on their side are anxious to earn the good opinion of youths by correct behaviour in the home and in society.

<sup>3</sup> A *wut pany* has, among others, the following qualities. He is a fearless fighter, a fair fighter, a frequent fighter, and a successful fighter with club and spear in quarrels and in war. When outnumbered he shouts out his spear-name and stands his ground. He is a fearless hunter and will tackle a buffalo single-handed. He is loyal always to his kin and his village and takes their part when they are in trouble. An insult to one of them he takes as an insult to himself. He is the protector and friend of his younger brothers. He works hard in the cultivations so that his family are well provided for. He is gentle with his wife and playmate to his children. He is successful in love affairs with girls, and concubines want to live with him. He is generous, and when he has fought a kinsman or relative-in-law about a cow and beaten him, he surrenders the cow to him in the path of kinship.

The admiration of the girls can be most surely won by a reputation for endurance and courage. A man who has shown himself backward in fighting finds that no girl wishes her name to be linked with his. Feminine opinion is also the great incentive to fortitude when boys undergo the tortures of initiation. A boy fears the pain he will suffer less than the humiliation he will bring on himself should he show any weakness during the ordeal. I may here mention also the pride of a young blood in his *thiau*, an armlet of a series of brass rings, each a little larger than the one below it, running from the wrist to near the elbow of the left arm and so tightened that the hand swells to almost double its size through the circulation being interfered with. The throbbing at night is so intense that the arm has to be kept vertical and sleep is almost impossible. I wore one of these armlets for 36 hours and can vouch for the discomfort it causes. Finally the skin breaks near the wrist and oil has to be poured between the rings to anoint the sore. After many days the flesh of the arm shrinks and the pain ceases. The rings are then tightened again. The *thiau* is worn for a year or two, the arm being rendered almost useless, but proud is the young man who, when he is flirting with the girls, can rub the metal ring he wears on one of the fingers of his right hand up and down the arm rings. "What else should a man wear a *thiau* for except to put himself forward in the favour of girls?"

Physical perfection in both sexes is held to be of the highest importance and any defect makes it difficult for a man to get a sweetheart and a girl a lover. A man should be strong-backed, long-limbed, with an even and perfect set of white teeth, and long, flaxen hair, and a girl should have firm breasts, a straight back, straight thighs, good teeth and flaxen hair. The hair is dyed with the ashes of burnt cattle droppings.<sup>4</sup> When an older man wants to marry, he finds it embarrassing to attend dances and court girls for himself because the girls prefer the attentions of younger men, and he will generally get a young paternal kinsman, perhaps a nephew, to persuade one of his sweethearts to marry him. He tells her that if she really loves him she will do this for him and become a wife of his *gol*, his home. If she consents, he tells her that their love affair is finished and the marriage talks begin with her parents. The days

<sup>4</sup> This is an important part of a man's toilet to which he devotes hours at a time. The scalp is massaged with moistened ashes of cattle dung mixed with the ashes of the wood of certain trees and, among the Western Nuer, cattle urine. The hair is then gathered into a peak at the back or front of the head and dry ashes are sprinkled over it. The hair remains in this plaster for two or three days. It is then removed and the hair is daubed with oil which makes it glisten golden in the sun.

of youth and beauty are soon past, and 10 years after initiation hair and teeth have begun to fall, but Nuer say "It does not matter, for a man who is no longer handsome can beget handsome children."

It will have been observed that it rests entirely with a girl whether she accepts a man's attentions and how far he presses his advances. A girl who is fond of a youth wants him to marry her. If he is philandering she will, if she has any regard for her chastity, be frugal with her favours. The talk between a youth and his sweetheart is frequently the topic of marriage. He asks her whether she will marry him and she says that she will if he has cattle and her parents consent, or he may entreat her to allow intimacy and she urges that she might become pregnant and he might not marry her, and she would then be in trouble. However, if a girl is in love with a youth, and he has a winning manner, she will often surrender herself to his pleading. Men often break the promises they make to girls when they want intercourse with them, and in looking for a wife a man may pass over all his sweethearts, past and present, and go out with his friends to seek a spouse outside the circle of his usual acquaintances. One reason why this often happens is that a man's sweethearts are frequently of his own age and Nuer usually marry girls younger than themselves. The prohibition on marriage to the daughter of a father's age-mate influences a man's choice of a wife. Nevertheless, it is probably more usual for a man to choose one of his sweethearts. Marriage is the purpose implicit in every romance.

Sometimes a girl herself makes a proposal of marriage. She goes with some companions of her sex to the kraal of her favourite and drives away several of his father's cows to her home (*caa ghok tul e nyal*). Her father knows what she wants when he sees her returning with the cows, and if he disapproves of the youth he will send them back. If he likes the young man he says nothing, and, when several days have passed and the cattle have not been returned, the young man knows that the girl's people are willing to discuss the matter. A father does not care to refuse his daughter when she is very much in love with a man, even when he is not rich, in case she runs away from home or hangs herself if she is denied her lover. If she hangs herself, her ghost may bring misfortune (*cien*) on her family. Another way in which a girl can make a public proposal of marriage is a custom of early dry season camps. Youths of one camp take their favourite oxen to parade them, led by their younger brothers,

round a neighbouring camp, while they chant poems behind them and make graceful leaps into the air (*rau*). A girl who loves a youth may on such an occasion seize his ox and remove its lead. By so doing, she pledges the youths to return to a harp-dance on another day. She keeps the cord and attaches it to a metal ring. The young owner of the ox later sends a small brother to fetch it. This is tantamount to a proposal and acceptance of marriage, and if the young man has enough cattle the betrothal ceremony takes place soon afterwards.

The facts outlined in this paper lead one to two conclusions: that there is wide sexual freedom before marriage, and that sex life is from the beginning stamped by cultural interests. At the outset of the voyage the compass is set towards marriage and children born of it. Apart from rules of incest, adultery, good form and privilege, there are no checks placed on the expression of sex from its earliest manifestations. It is neither driven underground nor compelled by social pressure into perverted forms. Simulated coitus between children is part of a game of domestic and marital relationships. After initiation, young men make love to girls as much as they can, but though there is much casual intercourse it is considered rather gross, and the aim of both youths and girls is to form attachments of the lover-sweetheart kind, in which coitus, when it takes place at all, is only part of a more complex relationship. The lover-sweetheart relationship has within it the purpose or pretence of marriage. Very likely a particular courtship will not develop into marriage, but courtship is the recognized prelude to matrimony, and if a youth wants intimate favours from his sweetheart, he must persuade her of his matrimonial intentions. A love affair tends, therefore, to be a marriage courtship, and for this reason the pattern of the husband-wife relationship in the first stage of married life intrudes into it, and the pair act towards one another with the conjugal reserve of this stage. So strong is the cultural ideal of marriage that, though devoid of irksome restraint and inhibitions, the path of sex life runs from childhood towards that union and, though circuitous, leads always to wedding, home and family. Marriage is the end of a full sex life. After he is married, a man settles down to care of herds and gardens, and goes less and less to dances, and ceases to take much interest in girls. I was told that should he wish to have an affair with a girl his wife would have no objection and would probably help him in it. Women, on the other hand, once they are married, must not have relations with men other than their husbands.

Men now expect to marry younger than in the last generation, when a man would not, as a rule, marry before he was 25 to 30. I was told that fathers used to say that they would themselves marry again as all their wives would in any case go to their sons when they were dead. Old men do not often marry young girls to-day, and when they do so it is understood that they marry them for their sons. It is held that a man who marries early ages early. It cannot be said at what age a man will marry to-day. That depends on the size of his family, his place in it, whether his father is dead, the size of his family herd, and other circumstances. It often happens to-day that a man is unable to marry his sweetheart or to complete marriage to his bride owing to the sudden loss of his herd through rinderpest.

As a rule, girls marry round about 17 or 18, though one sometimes sees an unmarried girl of over 20 (*jut*). If a girl is betrothed early the consummation ceremony is delayed. Women, therefore, have their first children at an age when they are well fitted to bear them. So long as a girl is married to a man with cattle she has fairly free choice of a mate. Much depends on whether the girl's family approve of the man's family. In theory, the parents choose their daughter's husband and only formally ask her consent, which she should give in duty to her parents, for marriage is not her business but the business of her menfolk. In fact, it is very difficult for parents to force their daughter to marry a man she dislikes, and strong-minded girls stand up against family pressure on this issue.

## THE BAZA FESTIVAL IN JEBEL MEIDOB<sup>1</sup>

By A. J. Arkell

The *Baza*<sup>2</sup> festival celebrates the entry of the Meidob youth into full manhood. The festival is celebrated separately by the three main Meidob sections, Shelkota, Erti, and Turti. The Erti celebration takes place between Malha and Bulgar. The following account of the festival held by the Shelkota in 1936 is based partly on information supplied by Melik Mohamed Sayah, Abukr Fadl el sid and others, and partly on personal observation.

Every youth has to go through the *baza* before he is accepted as a man of the tribe. He does not marry until he has been through the ceremony; and whereas if a Meidobi man dies, a ram is killed at his funeral, no ram will be killed for a young man if he dies before going through the *baza*. The young men, who intend to go through the ceremony, first go to the *melik* to get his permission to hold it, and this permission is given unless owing to a bad harvest or any other reason there are indications that the year is an unlucky one. The youths then choose three or four of their number who are good runners, and send them to appoint a member of a certain family<sup>3</sup> of the Meidob Bedyat master of the ceremonies (*sid el 'awaid*). This they do by going up to him and greeting him, suddenly throwing a small pebble at him from a short distance, and then running away as hard as they can. They are chased away by all the people of the village of the man chosen as *sid el 'awaid*.

The first ceremonies of the *baza* take place in the moon month of Satōdi, which corresponds with our September or August/September, when the harvest is ripening. The date depends on who is chosen as *sid el 'awaid*. If his first child is a boy, it should take place on the 8th of Satōdi, and if a girl on the 9th. If he is childless, it should take place on either the 6th, 7th or 12th of the month Satōdi.

Every youth taking part is helped through the ceremony by a number of assistants (*tongal*), who are apparently young men who have recently

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<sup>1</sup> See MacMichael. *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Vol. I, pp. 60-62, and *Sudan Notes and Records*, II, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The youths taking part are also spoken of as the *baza*.

<sup>3</sup> We were told that eligibility descends from father to son, and not from mother to son, so that the statement that the *sid el 'awaid* is always of the monkey totem (Tukugiddi) cannot be right.

passed through the ceremony themselves. The aim of the *tongal* is to get their candidate to acquit himself well for the honour of that part of Meidob from which he comes. For this reason the number of *tongal* a youth may have varies; the more numerous his friends and relations, the more he will have.

The youths in the *baza* are careful not to quarrel among each other, for it is believed that if anyone of them sheds a drop of blood of another in a quarrel, in after-life he who has shed the blood will always be wounded in any quarrel he may have.

Each youth taking part is provided with a ram, which his *tongal* help him slaughter at the beginning of the ceremony. The sheepskin from this ram plays an important part in the ceremony: and three bones, each about 3 inches long, are prepared from the ram, one from its foreleg (*oori*), one from its hindleg (*ādi*) and the third from —?—, and then worn by the initiate on a string over his left shoulder so that the bones hang in front of his right hip. The bones are strung thus:—



A woman whose son has taken part in the *baza* never again eats those parts of the sheep from which these bones are taken.

The meat of the slaughtered rams is eaten, and the initiates wrestle.

A *zarība* is made near Adrur, the *melik*'s village, in any convenient spot, a flock of sheep is provided, and the initiates with the *sid el 'awaid*, their *tongal*, mothers and friends assemble. The sheep are stampeded, and each initiate runs as hard as he can after a sheep. It is an honour to be one of those that catch the first three sheep. These three sheep are put in the *zarība*, with their lambs. The *sid el 'awaid* takes a gourd-bowl filled with milk and water and hangs it on a forked stick near the *zarība*, and the initiates' mothers dance outside the *zarība*. The *sid el 'awaid* slaughters a white ram, and ties a strip of its skin, with the hair on it, round his right wrist. He then makes a large fire, and all initiates have to jump over it.

The party then pass the heat of the day under trees at a place known as Akūchi Dōgat. In the afternoon the initiates race up Khor Tat (see p. 132) in the presence of their *tongal*, mothers and other friends, but not of the general public.

There is a dance after the race. Then the *sid el 'awaid* appoints one of the initiates as leader (*sirgi*). If there are more than about 50 initiates,

he will appoint two leaders. Each *sirgi* then goes off that night with his party of initiates at once to tour the villages and demand contributions. There is no sleeping that night. If there is only one *sirgi* his band visits all the villages; if two they each visit half the villages. It is dangerous to refuse gifts for, if you refuse, the drummer who accompanies each band gives one beat on the butt end of the drum and ill luck befalls that village. Having completed their tour, the initiates take the proceeds of their collection to the *sid el 'awaid*. The drummer gets a share, but the initiates get none, except that they may eat from the proceeds of the collection while going round. The rest all goes to the *sid el 'awaid* for his trouble.

On the first of the month Oori<sup>4</sup> the initiates assemble with the *sid el 'awaid* to see the new moon. When they have seen it they at once go up into the centre of Jebel Meidob to get three long thin sticks from a certain bush which grows in one or two khors up in the hills (Arabic : *basham* ; Meidob : *bāsi*).

These sticks are also known as *ādi*. They are about 15 ft. long, quite straight, the bark is peeled from them, and the three are tied together by bark to form one long wand. They have to be brought secretly from the hill by the initiate and hidden by him somewhere near Khor Tat. It is unlucky for the initiate if anyone sees him doing this.

The proper date for the chief part of the ceremony is the 10th of the month Oori, but outside influences now upset the even tenour of Meidob life, and the *melik* having to attend an inter-tribal meeting at Umm Gozein this year (1936) necessitated its postponement to the 29th of Oori. The *melik* was unwilling to defer it into the following month, Bāri (as that corresponds with the Arabic month, Qosayer, 'short,' which he considered an ill-omened name). In actual fact the people of a large area (Kirra) made a mistake in the date, and were intending to hold the ceremony on the following day (the first of Bāri).

I reached the *melik*'s village on the evening before the ceremony. About 8.30 p.m. while we were talking to the *melik*, there was heard the sound of a drum tapping. It was quite dark. This was a band of about 15 initiates from Gondeidi (the centre or 'belly' of Dar Shelkota, which includes both Shekhakha and Adrrur), who had had their supper, and were starting off to march to Bazageirka, a mud plain on the north side of a

<sup>4</sup> The name of this month appears to be connected with *oori*, the foreleg of the sacrificial ram (see p. 128).

*khôr* known as Bungussinut, which here runs parallel with the Malha-Adrur motor road, half a mile to the south of the road. On the west side of the plain is a small, conical, rocky hill. The plain and the hill together are known as Bazageirka (apparently the "place of the *Baza*").

Each initiate was wearing one single shirt (*jibba*). Round his head he wore a handkerchief to represent the long hair which till recently he would have been wearing (See Plate I.) Slung round his neck and over one shoulder were at least two long strings of beads, either all blue or one blue and one white. Round his neck was a leather string on which was a spirally wound coil of thick brass wire, the coil being about an inch in diameter, or about half a dozen brass rings bound together with leather (this ornament is called *seiyei*), several bracelets of brass or copper on their arms, especially on the right arm; among the Shelkota the three bones described above are *de rigueur*, but the Erti do not wear them.

Each initiate carries a Meidob short sword (*jugadi*) in its rough leather sheath and a *ferar*, a blunt axe with long narrow blade usually engraved with a pattern. This *ferar* is ornamented with leather strip tassels, and two or three short strings of beads ending in a cowry, such as the Meidob and other Darfur women wear in their hair. The initiate may not wear an arm knife, a cap (*tagia*), or pants (*sirwal*).

When we saw them the initiates had just had their evening meal. They would not eat again for twenty-four hours. They were going to Bazageirka, where they would meet similar bands coming from the Bedyat and Kirra areas of Dar Shelkota. There each area would that night compete with the other in wrestling, each area putting up a champion. The method of wrestling was described as meeting chest to chest and putting a hand between the opponent's leg on to his buttocks and attempting to throw him over your head. The successful wrestler, having thrown his opponent, continues to represent his area until thrown himself or he has thrown all his opponents. Sometimes the wrestlers suffer injury, arms or heads are broken, but no compensation can be claimed for such injuries. On the occasion in question the representatives of Kirra did not turn up, so that Gondeidi wrestled against Bedyat and beat them. If Kirra had turned up, Gondeidi and Bedyat would have combined against them. After the wrestling the initiates spend all the night on the hill at Bazageirka.

Soon after sunrise the next day, all the Meidob Shelkota repair to Bazageirka in their best clothes. The proper way is to go on a camel



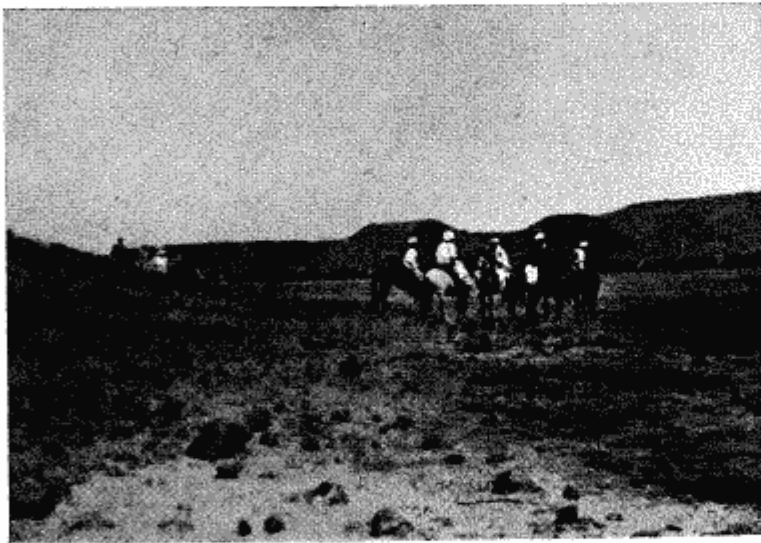
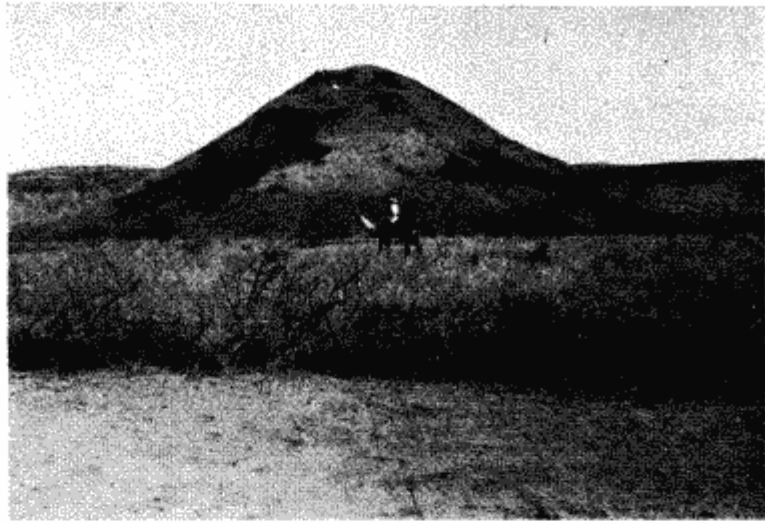
A. Note handkerchief on head to represent long hair, and tasselled axe over shoulder.

B. Note *seiyei* ornaments and bracelets.



C. Note beads, short swords, and string for the three sheep bones.

- A. To Bazageirka. The proper way is to go on a camel with your wife if you have one, and if not your best girl, up behind you.



- B. By 11 a.m. there were about 150 camels and 25 horsemen on the plain.

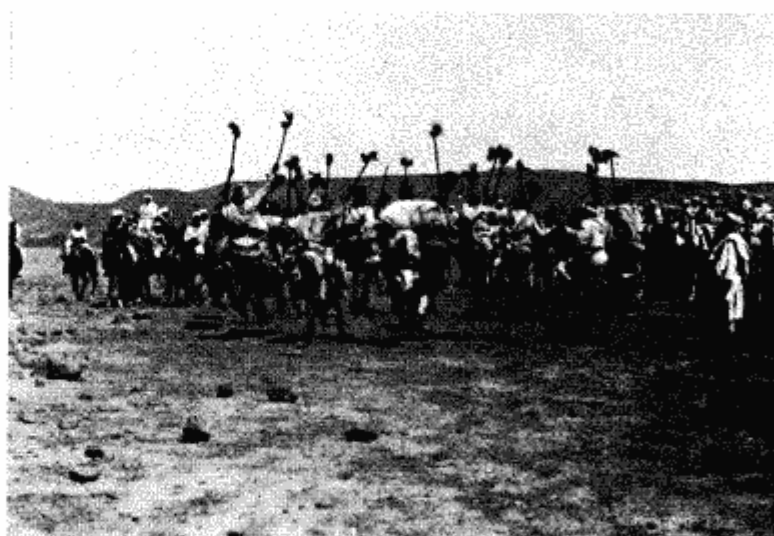
- C. On the little hill were seated the master of the ceremonies, the 27 initiates, and apart from them a group of girls (? female relatives of the initiates).





A. Then the initiates descended from the hill.

B. The initiates dancing. With axes raised over their heads, they jump in unison.



C. Then the ring closes in on the drummer, axes still held aloft, until all are close to the drum, when the tune dies.

with your wife, if you have one, and if not your best girl, up behind you. Men on horseback also attended, and men and women, who had no mounts, walked. (See Plate 2.)

By 11 o'clock, despite the absence of the Kirra Meidob, whose presence it is said would have doubled the attendance, there were about 150 camels and some 20 or 30 horsemen on the plain. On the little hill were seated the master of the ceremonies (*sid el 'awaid*), the 27 initiates, and apart from them a group of girls (female relatives of the initiates?) and some other youths. The camel-men galloped and the horsemen "duffed" at the hill. One man had a bad fall from his camel, and it is surprising that there were not more falls.

Then the initiates descended from the hill, and did their peculiar dance. (See Plate 3). The drummer stands in the centre and plays a tune with a definite, set rhythm. One by one the initiates join the ring, dancing sideways round the drum, until they are all in the ring, jumping sideways and occasionally crossing their legs at set times; then the rhythm changes and they raise their axes above their heads; then in unison thrice they leap as high as they can with their axes in their right hands extended as far above their heads as possible; and then the ring of dancers closes in on the drummer, axes still held above the head, until they are all close to the drum, when they begin to fall out, the tune dies and the dance is over.

The *tongal* also did a similar dance, and then about noon everyone adjourned to the trees in Bungussinut. In about a quarter of an hour the women were dancing under one of the trees, and the *sid el 'awaid* was with them. (See Plate 4).

The dancing was done on the north side of Bungussinut, where seven initiates from the Meidob Kinana with their own drum had been dancing the initiates' dance. For the Kinana to cross Bungussinut to Bazageirka means sudden death (because the Kinana are of a different origin to the rest of the Shelkota?). The Kinana initiates had spent the night on another small conical hill on the north side of Bungussinut.

About 12.30 the dancing ceased, camels were unsaddled, and everyone rested and picniced under trees in Bungussinut; *merissa* was drunk.

About 2 p.m. a dance started again on the north side of Bungussinut, with women singing and clapping their hands in Arab style. For about an hour different dances were danced on this spot, the initiates watching, and not taking part. All Meidob dancing consists in leaping as high as

possible. The favourite dance is the *Asulboing*. (See Plate 5.) In this the men are in one rank, and the women in another facing them a few yards away. A man comes out from the ranks, soon followed by several others, and when close to the women they leap as high as they can. Soon perhaps seven or eight women and men are leaping to an amazing height close to each other.

A variety of this dance called the *Kileibo* is begun by the women, two or three of whom run out of their rank with short steps towards the men, clapping as they run, then turn back to their own rank and then back to the men's rank, and the second time are followed back to their own rank by the men, who then start leaping close to the women's rank. (See Plate 6.)

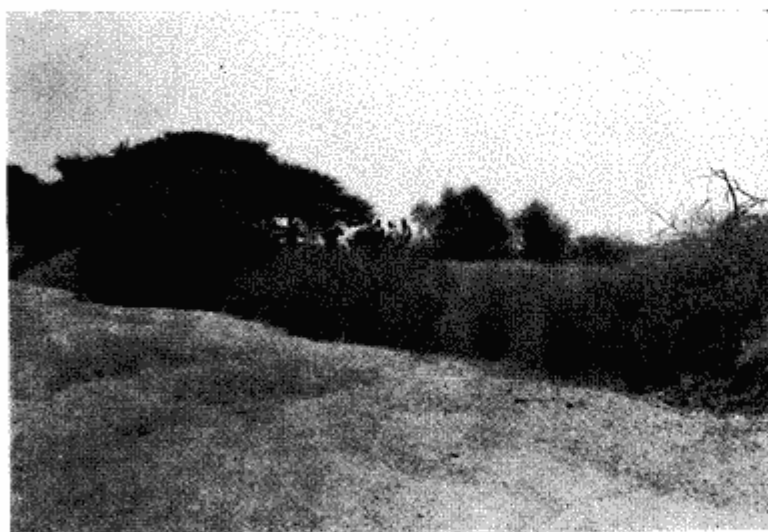
Another dance for men only is the *Dangadīr*, in which the drummer sits, and beside him a man holding two drawn swords in his left hand so that their blades touch, and on them he beats time with a stick. The drummer is accompanied by a male chorus. After a little the male dancers, who are standing about 20 yards away, charge at the band, leaping round past it and ending up facing it. The dancers are always led by a man with a spear in his hand, blade uppermost ; but the other dancers may carry sticks or whips. (See Plate 7.)

About 3 p.m. the dancing stopped, animals were saddled, and everyone repaired to Khor Tat, a stony valley leading up into some bare red sandstone hills about three miles SE. of Bazageirka. At the head of this valley are a number of old hut circles, which appear to have been built in the style known in Jebel Marra as *Tōra* (i.e., faced and rubble-filled). These ruins are said to have been built by the ancestors of the Meidob Tessetti (who some say came from Dongola).

The mothers and sisters of the initiates carry the initiates' sheepskins for them to the bottom of the khor. Here each initiate ties the sheepskin on his back, after it has been marked with a mark like a broad H with red earth from a special place, and each initiate has been marked with a vertical line of the same red earth in the centre of the forehead from the roots of the hair to the base of the nose (Meidob : *songi*).

The mothers of the initiates and also their *tongal* wait for them about half way up Khor Tat, where the path passes through a rocky ridge which crosses the *khor*. This year the runners were led by four girls running their hardest. As they approached the place where their mothers were, the initiates had their sheepskins off their backs and ready in their

- A. In about a quarter of an hour the women were dancing. The *Sid el a'waid* was with them.



- B. Seven initiates from the Meidob Kinana on the far side of Wadi Bungussinut.

- C. The Kinana initiates dance.





A. About 2 p.m. dancing started again on the north side of Bungussinut. Men in one rank, women in another, facing each other.

B. Soon perhaps seven or eight women and men are leaping to an amazing height close to each other.



C. The end of the movement.

- A. The *Kileibo* dance is begun by the women, two or three of whom run out of their ranks with short steps towards the men, clapping as they run.



- B. Then they turn back to their own rank . . . followed by the men,

- C. who start leaping close to the women's rank.



hands. When within about 100 yards of the ridge, most of them were seized by each arm by two of their *tongal* and forcibly assisted up the rocky slope towards the finish near the top of the *khôr*. Here there is a cleft in the sandstone 3-4 feet wide and about 15 ft. deep. To finish the race each runner has to jump unassisted over this *khôr*. (See Plate 8). Many of the runners were showing considerable exhaustion, but all succeeded in jumping across the *khôr*, although some years one may fall in and be injured. The greatest excitement prevailed among the spectators, and many of them joined in the finish of the race.

It was now about 5 p.m. There is a cleared space in the ruins near this cleft, on which an aged drummer immediately struck up a tune, and the usual dance was held by the initiates. Their *tongal* now produced the long peeled sticks of *basham* which had been hidden near by, and then several times executed the same dance, holding the *basham* sticks in their right hands as the initiates held their axes. (See Plate 9A). Then the mothers and other female relatives of the initiates wearing the sheepskins on their backs danced 'in fours' round the drummer several times. (See Plate 9B). Obviously every female relative of an initiate should dance once in this sheepskin, for the sheepskins were being continually handed from one woman who had just danced to another, who entered the dance with it on her back.

About 5.30 p.m. the *sid el 'awaid*, who was now carrying a handful of feathery grass<sup>3</sup> in his right hand, stopped the dancing (See Plate 9C); and was very angry with a youth who picked up the drum and started the tune again. At this point we left with the majority of the spectators who started for their homes. We were informed that anyone who wished to continue dancing would stay there all night. The initiates remain and their girl friends; the dance continuing until late into the night, when the dancers (male and female) sleep on the spot without any chaperons. It is not part of a marriage ceremony, for normally it is said that a young man will look for a suitable wife after he has been through the *baza* ceremony; but that considerable licence does take place this night is certain, and we were told that no married man would leave his wife behind there, however much she might want to go on dancing. Old men looking for wives will stay behind to share the dancing.

<sup>3</sup> This grass is known in Meidob as *asiddi*. Its purpose is for the *sid el 'awaid* to sprinkle with a mixture of flour and water and also possibly milk, not only the *baza* (i.e. the youths taking part) but also the spectators, in order to give them prosperity. This sprinkling with flour and water in order to give prosperity is part of all Meidob *'awaid* ceremonies. (Melin Abdullahi Hasan.)

Not all the *tongal* remain with their friends—only those wishing to dance. A number of them accompanied us on the return home carrying the peeled sticks, which it is said are usually broken up into shorter lengths and given by the *tongal* to girl friends.

The end of the ceremony takes place in the following month of Bari, when a sheep is slaughtered, and his brothers (? not his father as stated by MacMichael) cut off the initiate's long hair. This hair is made into a rope, and worn round her waist by the initiate's mother, to show her pride in her son, until it drops to pieces.

When his hair is cut, the initiate's ornaments are removed by his father's sister, and put in a skin bag, and given to the youth's mother, who keeps the bag and its contents carefully stored as long as she lives. The ornaments cannot be used again during her life-time however many sons she has. After her death, no particular importance is attached to them.

At the dance at Wadi Bungussinut I noticed a small boy wearing a strip of white sheepskin tied round his right wrist, and was told that this was done by the *sid el 'awaid* to anyone who spent the night on the hill with the initiates.

It was said that if the Kirra people had turned up, there would have been 20-30 other initiates ; without them there were, I think, 34 this year (1936).

A. The *Dangadir* dance. The dancers charge the drummer and his male chorus.



B. The dancers end up facing the drum. They are always led by a man with a spear held blade uppermost; the other dancers may carry sticks or whips.

C. The race up Khor Tat nearing the finish, after passing the place where the mothers awaited the sheepskins.





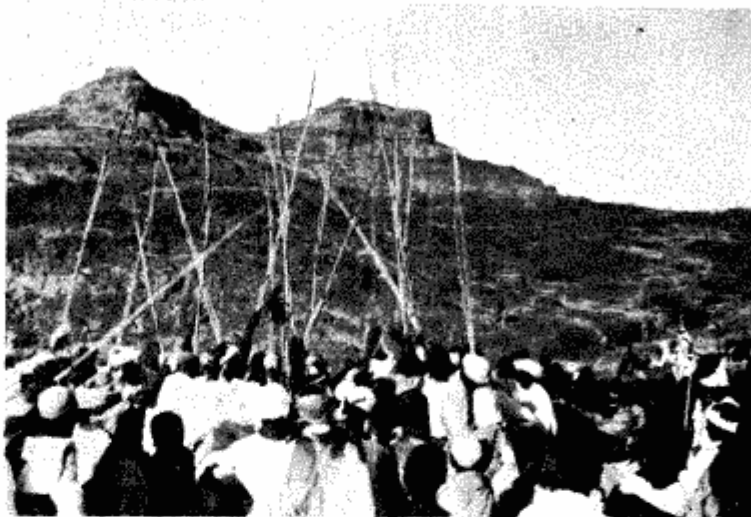
A. The finish of the race is across this cleft.

B. Elias Fadl, the winner of the race.



C. *Tozal* producing the long peeled sticks and leaping with them across the cleft.

A. The initiates' *tozal* dancing with the peeled sticks at the scene of the finish of the race.



B. The mothers and other female relatives wear the initiates' sheepskins in turn, and dance in fours round the drummer.

C. 5.30 p.m. The *sid el'awaid*, carrying a handful of feathery grass, stops the dancing.



## MURLE FOLK TALES

By B. A. Lewis

These animal stories were told me by a little group of schoolboys. Every Murle knows them, but grown-ups pretend that it is rather beneath their dignity to talk about children's affairs, although anybody who happened to be listening when the boys were telling me the stories was quite prepared to join in the telling and to laugh heartily at the trickeries of Kirier.

In addition to these animal stories recorded below, the Murle have a series of Nursery Rhymes, all referring to animals, sung as rounds and a collection of Myths about the creation centring round one Mainzerbo, the Murle Adam, whose wife bore sixteen children at a time and whose unmarried daughters fled back to the sky and became the Pleiades on their father's death.

### ORUDH KE BEN GUH

#### DOG AND THE FINDING OF FIRE

Once upon a time, long ago, there used to be no fire on earth, and so if people found any meat they used to cut it up into strips and put it on a rock in the sun to dry, because they couldn't cook it. They used to grind their grain, just as they do nowadays, and soak it in water and eat it the next day when it was soft.

One day, when it was raining, Orudh the Dog saw a rainbow. He ran after it, trying to find where it ended. As the rain stopped, he came to a cave in the mountain called Karac ci Ngangar, near Mount Inidh in the Maruwa Hills. This cave had a very small entrance and here, Rainbow (Boroi) had made his home because it was very difficult to find. Orudh crept into the cave. He found Rainbow, who was immensely long, lying asleep in coils round a fire, like an enormous python. Very gingerly Orudh stepped between the coils of the sleeping Rainbow, seized a lighted brand from the fire and wound his tail round the other end. He then crept out as carefully as he had come and ran away, even swimming across a river with the lighted stick still clasped in his tail.

Rainbow woke up and ran after him, but failed to catch him, and so Dog gave fire to all the trees, so that if you rub them together to-day, they produce fire.

## NGARAGAAM AND NGOL

## THE HIPPO AND THE ELEPHANT

Once upon a time Ngaragaam and Ngol had a terrible quarrel. The quarrel started because Ngaragaam boasted that his droppings were bigger than those of any other animal.

Ngol was annoyed. He said, "I am bigger than you, so, of course, my droppings are bigger than yours." So they went into the bush together and left their droppings side by side, and they were equal. Ngol gave Ngaragaam a tremendous hiding and threatened to kill him for being so presumptuous, saying, "I am bigger than you; it is not right that our droppings should be equal."

So Ngaragaam ran away to live in the river to avoid Ngol, and to this day when he goes out into the bush he always scatters his droppings, so that Ngol shall not be annoyed.

## KOR AND NYELOK

## THE SUN AND THE MOON

Long, long ago, at the beginning of time, the Sun and the Moon had a fight. They met in the middle of the Sky. The Sun asked the Moon, "Why are you travelling on my path, have you forgotten yourself or do you want to have a fight?"

The Moon replied, "No. This is my path," and the Sun said, "No. It is mine!" And so they quarrelled.

It so happened that the Moon was carrying a wooden porridge stirrer (*langarak*), and that the Sun had a rib of beef (*kwiyet*), which he had brought for his lunch.

The Sun hit the Moon on the head with his ox rib, and the Moon hit the Sun on his head with his porridge stirrer, and the scars from these blows are still to be seen; and that is how the Sun got his spots.

## MURLIN AND OLUM

## MURLE MAN AND THE OSTRICH

One day long ago, Ostrich went to the Murle Man who was a friend of his, and said, "Lend me your legs, I have got to go on a long journey."

The Murle man agreed, and Ostrich took Man's legs and left him his own and went on his journey.

When he came back he refused to return the borrowed legs. When Man tried to take them from him by force, Ostrich ran away, and has

always done so ever since, and that is the reason why man cannot run like the animals.

#### AGUL AND BADHA CROCODILE AND WARANA

One day Badha and Agul were chatting. Badha said, "Let's give each other some nice colours. I hate my striped colour, don't you? I will do your back and give you a nice colour, and then you can do mine."

Agul said, "No. You do mine first," but Badha said, "No. You do mine first." So Agul, who was bigger and thought he ought to be done first, eventually agreed, and told Badha to come and lie down.

So Badha lay down and Agul made patterns on his back. When it was finished he told him to get up. Agul then lay down and Badha started on his back.

Badha gave Agul the colour of mussel shells and Agul, looking over his shoulder, was so annoyed that he wanted to kill Badha, but Badha ran away, and that is the reason why they are enemies to this day.

#### ORUDH AND TANG DOG AND COW

The reason why Cow has no teeth in her upper jaw is because once, long ago, she had a quarrel with Dog.

Dog was boasting how strong he was. Cow too said, "I am very strong," and so they both boasted.

Dog said, "I am a great jumper, and do you see that stream over there? I can jump over that," and he ran to it and jumped clean over it. But when Cow jumped she was too heavy and fell short, and in falling she broke all the teeth in her upper jaw, and Dog laughed mightily. Cow cursed him saying, "You would laugh at me, would you? If you laugh at me, your mouth will be torn at the corners and you will never be able to eat cream, and that is the reason Dog has a long narrow mouth and cannot drink properly, but has to lap water up with his tongue, and if he eats butter or cream he is sick at once."

#### GENYITH CI KIRIERU THE TRICKERIES OF KIRIER

##### I. KIRIER AND GUDHUL

Kirier, the Jackal, and Gudhul, the Hyena, were related. Kirier used to call Gudhul Mamac (maternal uncle).

Now Kirier always used to go and fetch honey from the forest, and one day when he and Gudhul had quarrelled, and Gudhul asked him for some of his honey, Kirier refused, saying, "No, my uncle, you have been very angry with me and threatened to kill me, and, if I give you the honey and you do not like it, you will kill me afterwards."

But Gudhul begged him to give him some and promised not to kill him afterwards. So Kirier gave him a little honey. Gudhul ate it and found it very sweet. He was delighted with it and asked Kirier where he had found it. Kirier said, "What is the good of telling you where I found it? You would only give me a beating if I did." But Gudhul begged and begged, and promised he would not beat him. So Kirier told him to go into the forest and look for a man wearing a red *bokor* (a sort of skin chest-protector worn by the Murle). "When you find the man in the red *bokor*, ask him to tie you up in a tree which has bees." So Gudhul went into the forest and found a tree with bees, and looked around for the man wearing the red *bokor*. In a little while he saw the man and called him. Kirier came running up, for he had disguised himself and put on a red *bokor*. Gudhul asked him to tie him up in the tree, as Kirier had told him to do. They climbed the tree together, and Kirier tied Gudhul up very tightly. Kirier then stirred up the bees and ran away home.

The bees, in their anger, stung Gudhul most terribly. When he at length broke free, he crawled home in agony, swearing to kill Kirier.

Kirier, in the meantime, had gone home and collected some fish, which he had cooked, so that when Gudhul came home he could give it to him, so that his uncle would not be too annoyed.

At last Gudhul crawled home, and asked Kirier where he was going to-day, as he was going to kill him. Kirier said, "No. Wait a minute, here is some fish. When you have eaten, then you can kill me."

Gudhul was delighted with the fish, and asked Kirier where he had found it. Kirier said, "No. Not on your life! Yesterday you asked me where to find the honey, and afterwards you wanted to kill me. I am not going to tell you." But Gudhul begged him, saying, "Let bygones be bygones. Tell me for the sake of our old friendship." So Kirier relented, and told him to go to a certain pool and climb a tree which was overhanging the pool, and to jump from it into the pool. Kirier explained that all the fish would jump out of the pool in their fright, and

that he could collect them afterwards. But what he didn't tell Gudhul was that these fish had sharp spikes.

So Gudhul went and did as he was told. He found the pool, climbed the tree which overhung the pool, and jumped down into the pool, and was speared all over by the fish for his pains. He crawled out of the pool and went home, swearing revenge on Kirier, saying that he would certainly kill him for tricking him like this.

In the meantime, Kirier went to the forest and collected a lot of 'gul' fruit. When Gudhul arrived, swearing to kill him, Kirier said, "Wait. Eat this first, and afterwards you may kill me." So Gudhul ate the fruit and enjoyed it very much, and asked Kirier where he had found it. But Kirier said, "No. I always tell you how to collect these things and you always go and bungle it and don't do as I tell you, and then you get annoyed with me. If you only did as I told you, you wouldn't always come back bursting with anger."

So Gudhul begged Kirier to tell him where to find the fruit, and promised to do exactly as he was told. Kirier told him where there was a very tall tree where he would find some gul. He told Gudhul to climb the tree to the very top, and then bump into it so that the fruit would fall to the ground. Gudhul went off in due course and did as he was told. He climbed to the very top of the tree and then bumped into it. The tree broke and Gudhul fell down and broke his hind legs. Eventually he crawled home on his front legs, swearing the death of Kirier that very day for his trickery, and that is the reason why the hyena's hind legs are shorter than his front legs to this day.

In the meantime, Kirier had collected some very succulent fish and cooked it, and when Gudhul arrived, he gave it to him, saying that he could kill him after he had eaten the fish, and the greedy Gudhul enjoyed it as usual and forgot his anger, and asked Kirier where he had found it. But Kirier refused, saying, "You have made a mess of everything I have told you. I won't tell you another thing." So they argued for a long while, and Gudhul said to Kirier, "You must show me how to get this delicious food." So Kirier relented and told him to go to the edge of a special pool in the river where he would find a little hole at the edge of the water. He told him to sit down by this hole and put his member into the hole, when the fish would come and bite. He told him to jump backwards when the fish bit and so pull it out.

So Gudhul went to the pool and found a little hole at the edge of the water, and put his member in it. But when the fish came he bit it clean off, and Gudhul crawled home in greater agony and despair than ever before, and that is the reason why the hyena's parts are malformed to this day.

In the meantime, Kirier had collected some cream and gave it to Gudhul when he came home, so that he would forget his anger; and the greedy Gudhul forgot all his troubles because he enjoyed the cream so much. He asked Kirier where he had found it. Kirier at first refused to tell him, saying "You always get angry with me when I tell you how to collect food, and you always make a muddle of it and swear you will kill me." But Gudhul begged him and Kirier at last relented and told him that if he went beyond a certain village there was a very big bull with enormous testicles. He told Gudhul, "If you milk this bull, you will get the same cream that I got." So Gudhul went to do as he was told without result, except to make the bull extraordinarily angry. So he came back and told Kirier. Kirier said, "You have milked the bull without result, have you? You had better kill the brute and eat the milk and the fat. We both have a mother to feed; this bull won't satisfy four people, we had better kill our mothers first." Kirier told Gudhul to take his mother and kill her and throw her into the river at one watering place, while he would do the same at another.

Gudhul went and did as he was told. He hit his mother on the back of the head with a stick and then threw her into the river. Kirier in the meantime had built a secret hut in which he hid his mother.

They then went together to kill the bull. When they had killed it Kirier told Gudhul to go and get some water from the river while he cut the bull up. He gave Gudhul a fish trap and told him to fill up the holes with mud and bring the water in that.

Gudhul took a long time in fetching water because it all ran out through the holes in the fish trap. While he was away getting it, Kirier cut up the meat as quickly as he could, and ran off with as much as he could carry, and hid it with his mother. He returned several times until only the head remained. Then he dug a hole and buried the bull's head in it, so that only the horns were visible. Then he called out, "Hurry my uncle, come here at once, the spirits have eaten the bull." When Gudhul arrived he tugged at the horns, Kirier pretending to help him, but really pressing down hard to hold the bull's head in the ground.

At last Gudhul pulled the horns out and Kirier said, "Never mind. The spirits have taken the bull, let's eat its brains for lunch." And they did so.

The next day Kirier told Gudhul to take the cattle out to graze, and while Gudhul was away with the cattle, he slipped off to his mother's hut and feasted on the meat. In the evening when they met again Gudhul asked Kirier how it was that he was always well fed, while he was always hungry. Kirier said he had eaten some gum from the talh trees in the forest, but the next day Gudhul took the cattle to graze in Kirier's direction and found the secret hut with Kirier's mother and the remains of the meat. Kirier's mother gave him some meat and, when he had eaten his fill and was satisfied, he killed Kirier's mother and took some of the beef dripping and put it in the corpse's ears and eyes and between its fingers and toes and left the corpse as if it were asleep, and then went back to the village with the cattle. When Kirier went back to his secret hut, he called his mother, but she didn't answer. He pulled at her, but she didn't wake up, and so he realized that she was dead. That evening he went back to the village and sat down with Gudhul without saying anything.

The next day Kirier took some *kagura* (divining pebbles) and some marrow and covered the pebbles with the marrow and put them into the fire. When Gudhul smelled the savoury smell he came up to ask Kirier what he had got. Kirier told him that he had got some special marrow which would be ready shortly. When the pebbles were red-hot he picked them out of the fire with a forked stick and he told Gudhul to open his mouth. Gudhul obediently did as he was told, and Kirier popped the red-hot pebbles down his throat. Gudhul, in his agony, cried out for water, but Kirier said, "There is no water" and told him to run to the river. But the river was very far away, and so Gudhul died.

The Murle word for greed is *gudhuloc*, which means hyena-like.

## II. KIRIER AND THE LIONS

Once upon a time Kirier went and caught a little *nyalabi* fish and put it in a pool, and kept it there until it grew large enough to eat.

It gradually grew larger and larger, and Kirier used to watch it every day, so that nobody should steal it. At last Kirier decided that it was big enough to eat. So he left Nganter (the hammerhead bird) while he went off to collect some firewood with which to cook the fish.

But Mah, the Lion, came and asked Hammerhead where Kirier's fish was. At first Hammerhead said that he didn't know, but Lion got angry and beat him, and eventually Hammerhead cried out, "It is here. I will show you where it is." So Lion stole Kirier's fish.

When Kirier came back he asked Hammerhead where the fish was. Hammerhead said he didn't know, and so Kirier beat him. Hammerhead cried out, "Wait a bit—make two grass rings—one small one and one big one." (The Murle and neighbouring tribes use these when they have anything heavy to carry, as they carry loads on their heads.) When he had made them, Hammerhead told him to throw one in each direction and to follow the one that rolled along, as it would lead him to where his fish was.

Kirier threw them as Hammerhead had told him, and followed the one that rolled along. It led him to a large village, and here he found his fish in a cooking pot over the fire. All the people of the village had gone to a dance, leaving an old blind woman with a child to watch the fish cooking. Kirier ate the fish and then killed the child, cut it up into small pieces and put them into the cooking pot. He put the fish's head on top so that the people should think it was the fish.

Kirier then went off to the dance, and when he got there he started to sing "Dance, lions, all of you my uncles, dance, dance, all of you, my uncles, my ox with the downwards pointing horns is marvellous beyond praise." Then he said, "Your child is on the fire," and when the lions stopped to listen, Kirier said he thought it was a splendid dance and begged them to go on dancing, and they were pleased with his congratulations, and when the dance was over they invited him to go home with them and join them in their evening meal.

But Kirier refused, saying that he had a headache, so the people of the village went home and took the pot off the fire and started to eat the meat. One child refused, saying, "I don't want to eat my sister," and the other people did not understand the child's speech because it was only just beginning to talk. So they sent for a soothsayer. Karwet, the Crested Crane, came and threw his sandals, and cried out in horror—"You took Kirier's fish and he came and took it back, and you have eaten your own child." All the people cried out, "I didn't eat any of it"—spitting out the meat as they did so.

Then they sent for Kirier, who at first refused to come. So they sent again, saying that there was a woman who was ill, who wanted him.

They took a woman and wrapped up her knee with a lot of mud to make it look worse than it was. When Kirier came, he went to the woman and took out his knife, and told all the people who had crowded round to draw back lest any pus from the swelling should spurt into their eyes. They drew back and Kirier gave the woman one tremendous jab and ran for his life.

The people chased after him and some of them actually got his tail, but he tricked them by shouting out that it was only grass, and managed to take refuge in a hole in the ground.

The people sent for Dhelu, the Marabout stork, and told him to keep guard on the hole, while they sent to fetch hoes with which to dig him out. The people all went back to the village to fetch their hoes, and while they were away, Kirier started noisily licking his lips. Dhelu said, "Give me some of the food you are eating." At first Kirier refused, telling him he had better stand on guard, and then when Kirier had been killed he could eat the meat with the other people.

But Dhelu said, "No. Give me something to eat now." So Kirier told him to open his beak and look upwards; he came out of his hole dug up some sand, threw it into Dhelu's eyes and ran away. When the people came back and failed to find Kirier they were very annoyed. So they decided to catch him by a trick. They built a house and put a girl in it, saying that she was Kirier's wife, but Kirier realized it was a trick, so he went by night and slept with his wife. She was wearing beads in her ears and bracelets on her arms, and a necklace and a skirt. Kirie, took off all her ornaments and put them on himself.

At dead of night the lions came, and in the dim light, saw the pair sleeping together in the hut. One with beads and other ornaments, and the other unadorned.

They carefully lifted out Kirier, thinking that he was their own girl that they had put there, and then surrounded the hut and set it on fire. When the house was burnt to the ground and the girl dead, Kirier shouted out, "Here I am, I am Kirier," and they all tried to catch him, but he slipped away in the dark and escaped for good.

## WAALAK AND DHEROC

### THE CROW AND THE VULTURE

Once upon a time, long, long ago, before there were any human beings on earth, all the birds and animals could talk. Even the trees used to talk.

Later on, man came upon the scene, and one day a man and a dog went hunting. They found a Thiang and man told the dog to go and catch it. Dog refused, and the man beat the dog for refusing. Dog cried out, "Why do you beat me?" The man, in amazement, asked, "How is it that you can talk?" Dog replied that all the animals and all the birds, and even the trees could talk. Man said, "Is that so?" in a disbelieving tone. Dog said, "If you don't believe me, and think that only you can talk, I will show you something that will talk to you to-day."

They went on and found another Thiang. Dog ran after it and caught it, and Man ran up and speared it. He skinned the Thiang, and Dog told him to stay with the meat while he went to the village to fetch Woman to collect the meat. Man asked the Dog how he would tell Woman. Dog said, "I will take a rope and whine and wag my tail and Woman will understand." Man agreed. Dog said, "But to-day something will come and talk to you."

He made Man lie down with the meat, and spread the Thiang skin over him, and then he went off to fetch Woman.

Vulture and Crow and all the birds came, thinking it was a dead animal. Vulture said to Crow, "Good morning, Kabadhotogu," which was Crow's bull name, and Crow replied, "How do you do, Makaloburiang," which was Vulture's bull name. "What on earth is this?" Vulture replied "I don't know." And they quarrelled as to who should make the first peck at it, so that they could all eat the meat. Crow said, "I know how to set about all kinds of meat, elephant, giraffe, leopard and human, but I don't know how to start on this one."

The man got afraid that Vulture might take a bite out of him, so he got up in a hurry, and all the birds jumped back and then flew away crying, "I knew it! I knew it!"

After a little time Dog returned with Woman, who took the meat and went home. When Dog was alone again with Man he asked him, "Did you hear anything?" Man admitted that he had heard the birds talking. Then Dog said, "But you will not tell anybody, for if you do I will kill you."

They returned home, and three days afterwards Man went to a tree where all the men of the village were playing *voor*—a Murle game played with pebbles. Man tried to tell the story in an indirect way, but Dog realized what was happening and started to growl. Man grew

feverish and died that evening. The people carried his corpse out into the forest that night at midnight, and soon afterwards Dog went and pawed at him, and Man woke up.

Dog said, "I killed you, but if you are dead there will be nobody to look after me ; you had better come home." And so they went home, and Man said to his family, "Never beat Dog. He will sleep with us and eat with us as long as he lives," and that is the reason why Dog lives with Man to this day.

## TIGRI FOLK TALES (DIGAM)

By A. C. Beaton

Some Nuer and Fur folk stories were published in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XXIII, Part II, 1940. The following were told by a Sheikh of the Beni Amer, a nomadic Hamitic tribe, who graze their cattle, sheep and goats on the hill mass south of Tokar to the east of Khor Baraka. The bulk of the tribe lives in Eritrea, but the Sudan contingent, about a third of the whole, migrates between Tokar and Kassala and between the Karora and Eritrean hills. The leaders of the tribe are trilingual in that they speak Arabic, Beja and Tigri, but of the ordinary people some speak only Beja, while others, the majority, speak only Tigri—a language they share with other north Eritrean tribes such as the Habab. Tigri is the tongue of the Beni Amer cowherds and goatkeepers, whose status is one of semi-serfdom in that they herd, but nevertheless have certain rights over, the animals of the Nabtab aristocrats. The original Tigri version of the stories is given because this is the first written record of the narrative of the language in the Sudan.

### 1. Hayat wa Karai wa Hashiil

Hayat wa Karai wa Hashiil tar Ealau. Eindu misil geisou Ealau, adiq wa araab wa mantale qatla. Hare la Hayat igil la Karai, "Niei, illi arei kifalina minu?" beila. Karai hita tibe, "Illa kifla kula aamira—inta la adiq wa ana la araab wa Hashiil la mantale linsa." La Hayat qatabu ka ibba idu dabtēia ka motat. Hare Hashiil la'aka ka "Kifal" beileiu. Hashiil beila, "La adiq igil tabēhkatu wa araab igil diraarkatu wa mantale afoka masis ibba." Hayat biduuh itfakkara it illa kifla wa itra'asa, hare Hayat beila, "Ei wad rigib, man illa kifla atmahareika?" Hashiil beila, "Lohi ras-a-Karai ataamareinita."

### The Lion, the Hyena and the Fox

The Lion, Hyena and Fox were friends. When they went out hunting together, they killed a donkey, an ariel and a hare. Then the Lion said to the Hyena, "Come, this kill, divide it among us." The Hyena said, "I know all about dividing a kill; you take the donkey, I will take the ariel and the Fox can have the hare." The Lion was angry and struck the Hyena so hard with his paw that she died. Then he called

the Fox and said to him, "Divide the kill." The Fox said, "The donkey will do for your lunch, the ariel for your dinner and you can wipe your mouth with the hare." The Lion pondered long, was very pleased and said, "O Fox, who taught you this division?" The Fox replied, "The fate of the Hyena taught me."

## 2. Hitaan wa Arqab

Ga hate hitaan ambata qatil Eala ka arqab ra'a ka ambeitat amsaleia ka idu madda igil linsa. Hare hitu lakfeiu ka hita teilatu, "Ib ideika wa t'abat'kani, qital ambita wa adamka minu."

## The Boy and the Scorpion

One day a boy was killing locusts and, seeing a scorpion and mistaking it for a locust, he stretched out his hand to grasp it; but he saw what it was in time and hit it with a stone. The scorpion said, "If you had seized me with your hand, you would have soon stopped killing locusts."

## 3. Kile Dimmo wa Habai

Kile dimmo jibnat qalaia ka diib Habai geisaia ibba igil likaafi, ka kulot kifaal wadaia, örutom minna malheiu la'abi ka it meidaamu karaiom ka la'abi deda, hitu ibba anyaabu qarca minu igil ökil la nu'uush liwdeiu. Laakin la illa nasa mina bidhet ka la nu'uush deda ka kumsil la malheiu wadaia. Hare la wediit la lahai wadaia wada ösik la jibnat diib mawhai qirbat. La kile dimmo beilaiahu, "Hena illa kiflat radeina, jibnatna habana." Hitu beila, "Intin man raida, haq iiy radde," Ka min la kiflat la daidat ita qarrie ösik kile wahaia. Kile la dimmo ib qatib wa ib tieis aqbalaia it libla, "Ade inta la hileika ida rabbi ib mila sala wa daalimlatu daalimu rakibu."

Two cats stole some cheese and took it to a baboon to divide for them. He divided it into two pieces—one larger than the other—and put them on the scales. The bigger portion weighed down one scale and he nibbled a bit off it to make it the same weight as the smaller, but he bit off so much that the smaller piece became the heavier. Then he repeated his nibbling and went on alternating his bites until the cheese was nearly finished. The two cats said, "We agree to that division, give us our cheese." He replied, "Who are you to agree? An exact division shall be not wanting," and proceeded with his nibbling until

both pieces were finished.. The two cats went home angry and disappointed saying, " Now you have filled the hand of God and the oppressor will meet with oppression."

#### 4. Siqir wa Mantale

Siqir igil Mantale, " Nitbadir," tibē. Ka itradia la kiraia bidra ras debir reyiim karaiahu igil la qadam malhei tibtah hita tinsu. Siqir hita seni hiilata it magais batkat wa mantale bediir iyy tayasat it magais la qilla wa la qiida ta'amir salat, ka ibba la waqaia it tilhiya abdeitu osik la siqir min ad debir qarbat ka sa'eit igil gadam as siqir tibtuh ka iyy sarata. Wa siqir bathat eindu min hirara iyy itkarre. Mantale diibha hammaleiha taasat wa taesa iyy nafaatta.

The Kite said to the Hare, " Let us run a race." They agreed to put the prize for the race on the peak of a distant hill and for the one who reached it first to take it. The Kite put all her energy into walking, but the Hare did not put forth the least effort, knowing she was the faster ; she lost time playing about until the Kite was close to the hill. Then the Hare ran to reach the hill before the Kite, but could not overtake her. Thus the Kite arrived first by not slackening in her walk and the Hare was defeated by her own negligence, which profited her nothing.

#### 5. Tadbiiir Seni

Hitaan wa hitu it qarabiit misil geisou salau ka kelib sumuun immirharom lisee sala wa immirharu sab ib marawi abai igil liqtabu haddau salau. La hitaan farha wa la hitu weEeit, la hitaan hitu biduuh fakirtu la shaal nasa' ka it idiehu qalabu laulau wa hitu immirhar eat'-aatu abtaraia. La kelib doul abhasha diibu la idu la lifi madda ilu, hitu ibba anyaabu labaqie nakasheiu osik la adaam sarreiom lu ib mirhar la kelib liseau salau ka dabat'awu amotawu ka la hitaan wa hitu salman wa ibba tadbiiir la seni dahanau.

#### Presence of Mind

A boy and his sister were walking along a path and behind them a mad dog was running, pursued by men with big sticks intent on killing it. The boy was afraid and his sister cried out, but he thought hard and taking off his turban, wrapped it round his hand and thrust his sister behind him. When the dog attacked him, he thrust out his hand swathed in

the turban and the dog continued to snap at it with his teeth, until the men came up behind it and beat it to death. Thus the boy and his sister escaped scatheless owing to his presence of mind.

#### 6. Inaas wa Karai

Abattihat igil litna $\epsilon$ ou fagrau ka karai itisei fagrat ilom, hitom talawa. Hita diib beit inaas aateit, hitu ib seyif hirout fagra diibom, hitom heye beilawa, "Wa qabir rabbi, afo la illa nitna $\epsilon\epsilon$  kalakana"; hitu beilom, "Illa hita tahasabatani." Hitom heye admau minu wa hitu qanhaia ka biduuh shilhit wa hamrat ra'a ka heliib fagir wa mise aateia ösik hawadat wa rajEat. AmEel hate hitu it lisakib, wadgat diibu ka dirto sharamat wa damu sateit. Wad abhu heye beila, "Seneita igil reyiim lawade jadahu illitu."

#### The Man and the Hyena

Some youths went out hunting, and putting up a hyena pursued her into a man's house. When he drew his sword on them, they asked, "O servant of God, why do you deny us that which we are hunting?" "She has taken refuge with me," he said, and they left her alone. Then the man looked at the hyena and, seeing that she was very thin and weak, gave her milk morning and evening until she grew fat and recovered. One day as the man lay asleep, the hyena fell on him, ripped open his stomach and lapped up his blood. The dead man's brother moralized, "Such is the fate of the man who does a kindness to strangers."

#### 7. Walat Beit wa Ancai

AmEel hate walat beit fagrat diib kadan ka ancai sifriit rakbat ka teilatta, "Igilmiiit illa titgasei? Ka iyy ithaade nabra tithallagi? Qinati misilie diib Ead igil nabra seni tilEi." Hita heye diib beit la itta tanabbir Ealat, taaleita baal la beit heye a amta wa ashbihat wada itto. Walat la beit lashbihat min ra'eita, shafgat ka ib anyaaba qaleita ka la baal gab abalaia diiba ka qatla; la ancai heye harbat ösik maskabha laqadam ka tibe, "It abyaat nabra bidhit hileit wa baddaha min qadar tallia wa dahan misil higlan tahaayis igilie min tigab mot bi itta".

#### The House Rat and the Field Rat

One day a house rat went out into the country, and finding a hungry field rat said to her, "Why do you remain here? Do you not want to find food? Up with me to the village and eat good fare." So the field

rat followed her to the house where she was staying. The householder went out and brought back some fat. When the house rat saw it, she rushed at it and snatched at it with her teeth, but the man struck her and killed her. Then the field rat ran back to her home in the fields saying, "In the houses of men there may be much food, but there is more to it than that ; I prefer life with poverty to death amid plenty."

The teller of these tales was a literate sheikh, and although some of them e.g., Nos. 1, 2 and 6 sound genuine, the others have a ring of Aesop studied in Arabic translation and reproduced in Tigri. Further investigation on that point is required ; meantime the tales are recorded for the factual interest in the first transcription of narrative in the common tongue of the poorer members of the Beni Amer tribe.

## THE SUDAN DIOCH IN GRAIN-GROWING AREAS

By C. E. Wilson

For many years there have been complaints from grain producers in the Kassala, Gedaref, Fung, and White Nile areas, concerning the serious damage done to their crops by small birds, which annually arrive on the crops in vast swarms, just prior to the harvest, and in many cases may completely destroy the village food supply.

These birds are nearly all a single species of weaver bird, the Sudan Dioch (*Quelea quelea æthiopica*), which occurs commonly throughout most of tropical Africa, but which has reached the status of a serious menace in the central Sudan.

During the last two years the author of this article has been studying these birds, in an attempt to obtain an accurate picture of their movements and habits, and to find a practicable method of controlling their numbers to reduce the damage which they do annually. The investigation has mainly been carried on in an area bounded on the west by the Blue Nile, on the east by the River Gash and Kassala, on the south by the Abyssinian frontier, and on the north by a line joining Wad Medani and Kassala. This area is of primary importance from the point of view of grain production, and the bird swarms in this area, whilst migrating within it, do not appear to have significant contact with those further to the west.

This article does not pretend to be exhaustive, but it is hoped that it will arouse interest in those readers who possess knowledge which would amplify or disprove parts of the story, and encourage them to send information to the Research Farm at Wad Medani, and will also be of interest to those who have not come into contact with this troublesome though interesting pest.

The appearance of the Sudan Dioch is as follows: Male, crown, nape, sandy-buff, without as a rule any trace of black on the forehead; sides of face, chin and throat, including the lores and ear coverts, black; neck ashy, back and wing streaky, the feathers with dusky centres and pale buffy margins; underparts buffy, sometimes with a pinkish tinge, becoming paler posteriorly, and almost white on the under tail-coverts; primaries and tail-feathers margined with yellow; under wing-coverts buffy. Iris brown; bill rosy-red; legs fleshy-red. Length

about 135 mm. Wing 65.68 mm. The female has the crown and nape ashy, with obscure dusky stripes; the throat and sides of the face are whitish, and the ear-coverts ashy. During the dry season the males resemble the females. The strong rosy-red beak is the obvious dry season character, and this should prevent confusion with any other species.

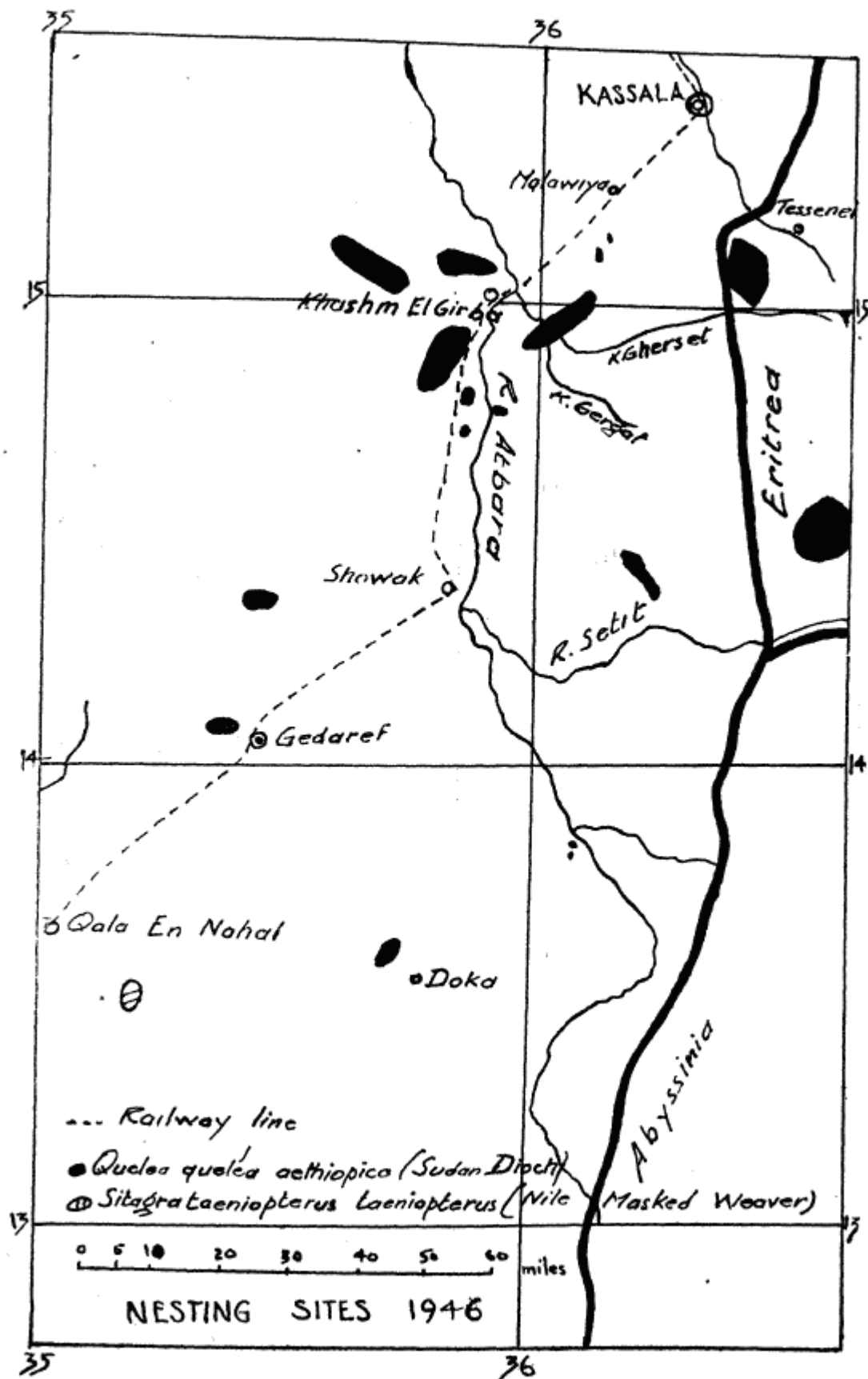
In the Sudan the Sudan Dioch occurs throughout the country from the latitude of Khartoum southward, but the main zone of distribution is between the 400 and 800 mm. rainfall isohyets, which includes the area mentioned above, and also a belt of country stretching from the White Nile to the western frontier, between the 9th-13th parallels of latitude. Within this zone a considerable amount of seasonal migration takes place, as the birds usually nest in large sites up to about 20 miles from the rivers in the north of the zone at the end of the rains, and during the dry season they move to the south of the zone, and concentrate near the rivers. The main zones are indicated in the accompanying maps.

The birds nest during the second half of August, September, and early October, and for this purpose congregate in immense numbers in suitable areas of kitr (*Acacia mellifera*), which consist of continuous thorny bush, 12-15 ft. high. The nesting period is remarkably short, as is illustrated by the following observations of a nesting site in Darfur, which seems to be typical, Day 0 birds arrived; on Day 4 laying was completed; on Day 13 hatching was completed; on Day 30 young had flown—though, when the rains are abnormally light, this period may be longer. The nests are strongly constructed of woven grass, and are firmly fixed on to the branches of the kitr. They have an opening near the top, which is bent, so that the bird has to enter the nest from below. The nests almost invariably contain 3 pale blue eggs, with 2 or 4 occasionally, and fertility seems to be very high, as only occasional infertile eggs are seen after hatching.

The nests are crowded in the bushes, and counts of nests during the 1946 nesting season showed that the numbers in each bush varied between about 200 and 400, with an average of 300.

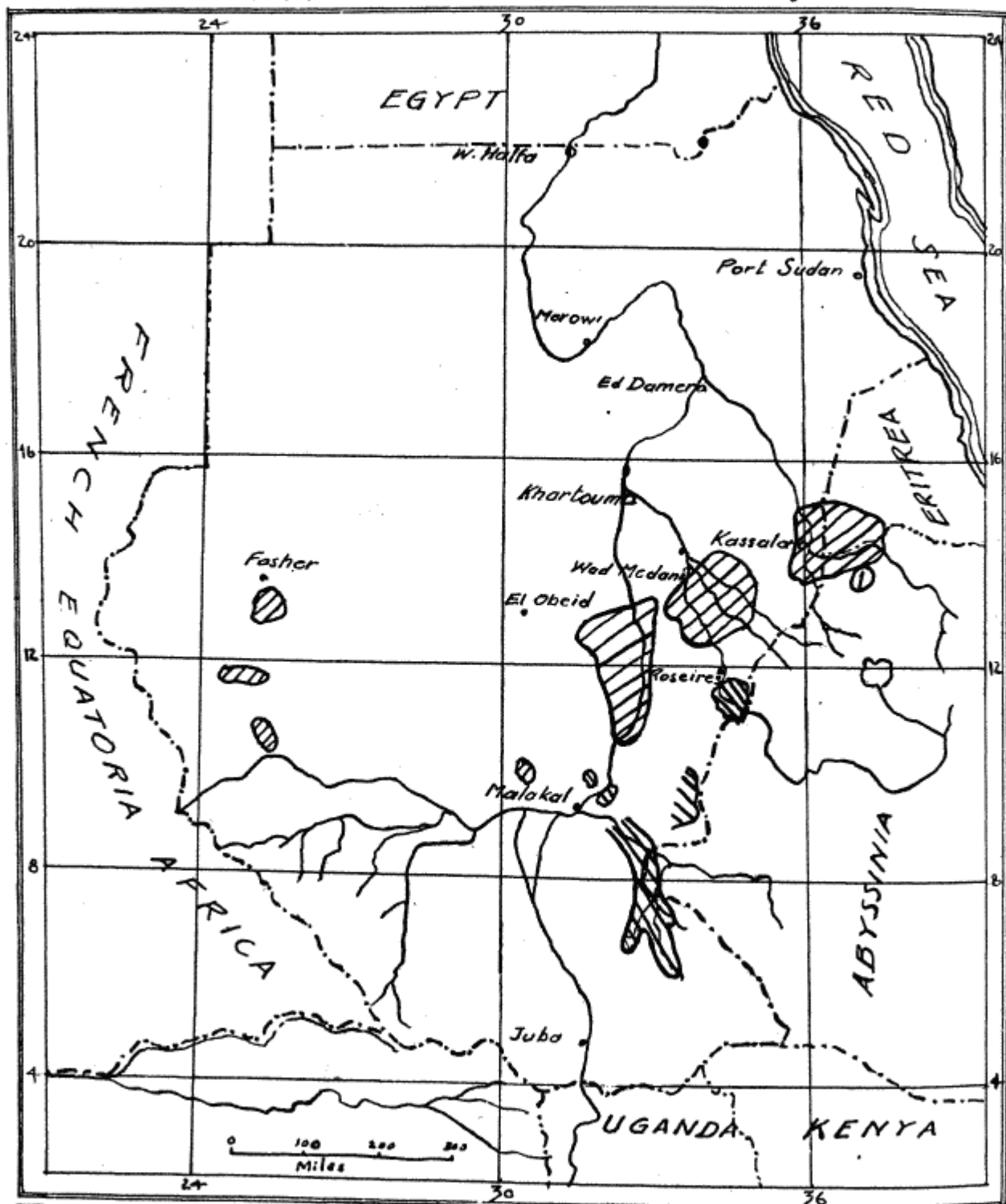
The largest nesting site seen in 1946 was estimated to measure 22 kilometres long and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres wide, and as there were four other large nesting sites, and several smaller ones, in the same area, the number of nesting birds is evidently enormous.

# SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS



# SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

## Sudan Dioc Areas of nesting



▨ Area of dense nesting

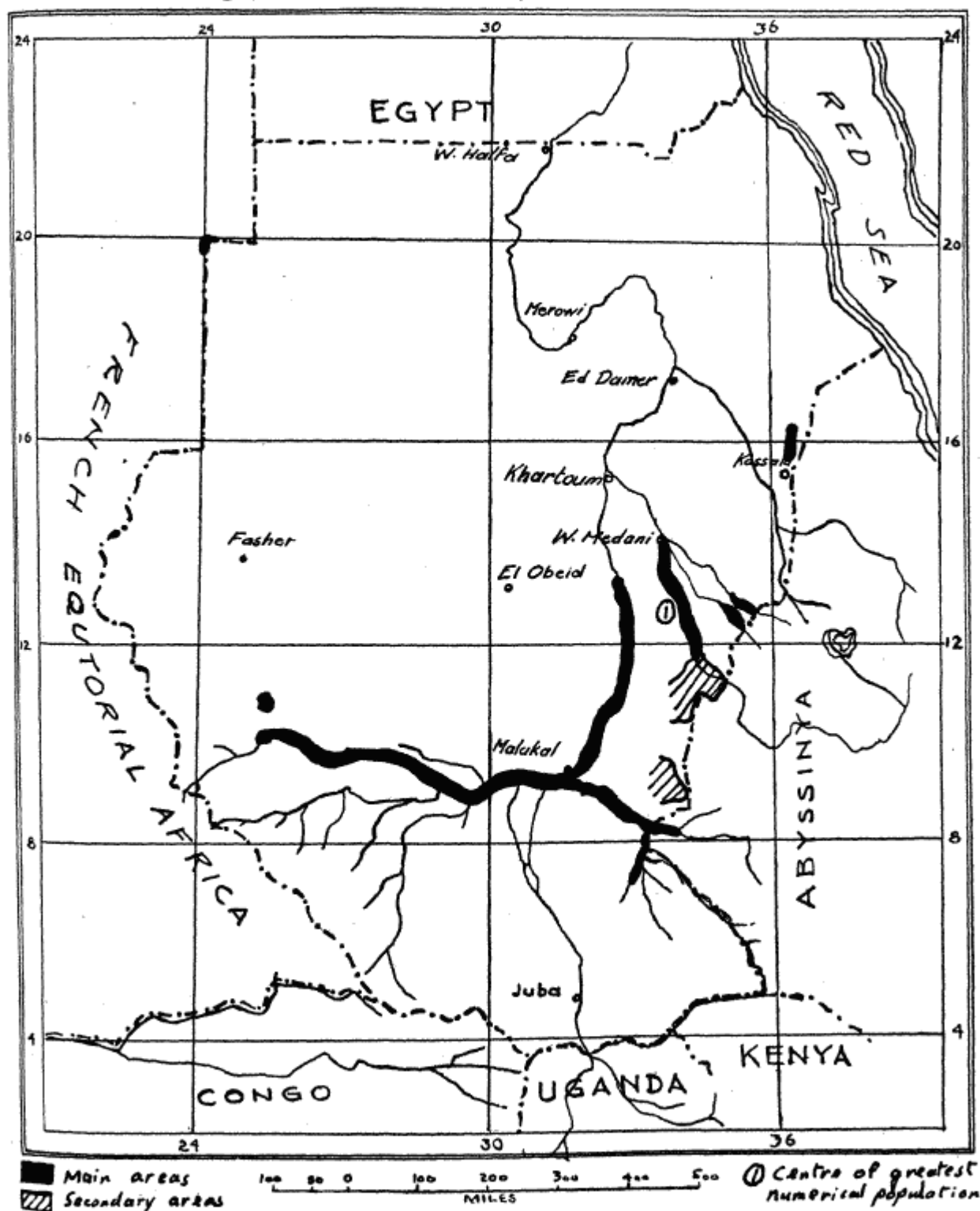
▩ Area of Secondary nesting

① Most important nesting area

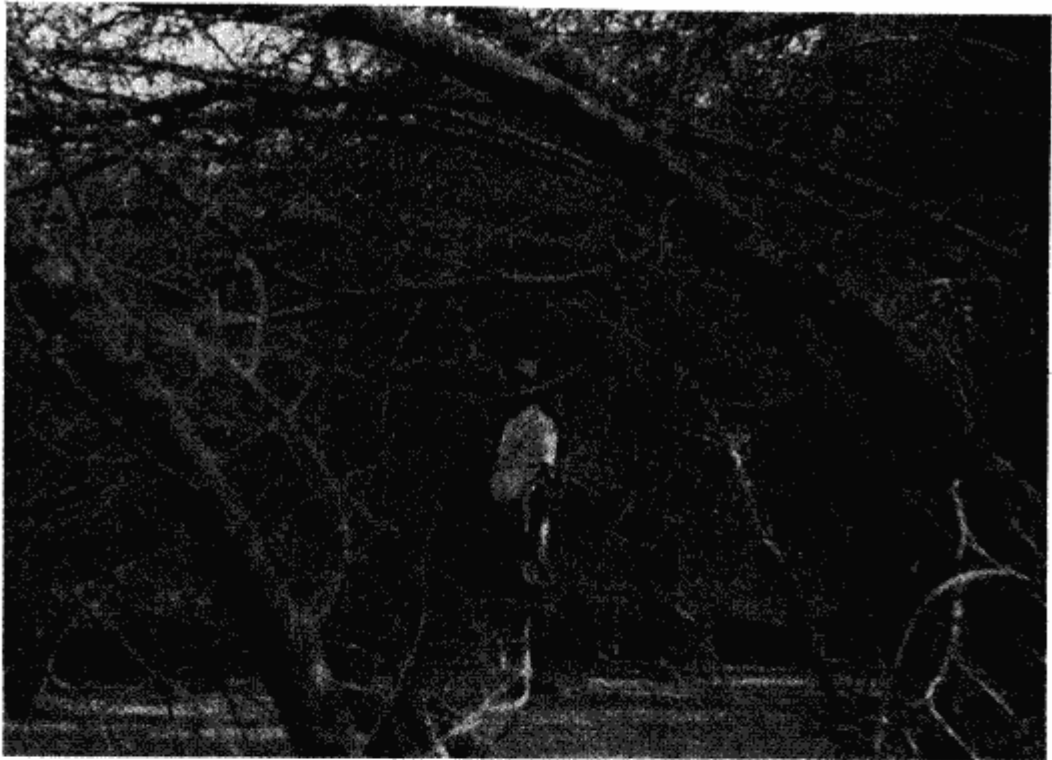
Records from south are incomplete

# SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

## Sudan Dioc Dry season areas



SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS



Bird damage to planted Sunt forest in the Fung.



Nesting site at Khashm el Girba.  
This pile of nests came out of only two bushes.

The nesting sites are usually situated about five to ten miles from a river. During the nesting period there is an almost continuous flight of birds during the day between the nesting site, the river, and feeding areas; the most definite flights occurring in the early morning, when the birds go to get their first drink, and in the evening. At these times the distant columns of birds resemble smoke. During the heat of the day the birds may seek shade from the heat of the sun. The birds feed on the seeds of small grasses growing in the vicinity of the nesting sites, moving further afield as nearer supplies become exhausted.

South of the main zone, in areas of higher rainfall, the habits of the birds seem to differ slightly. Nesting takes place somewhat later, though this is probably merely owing to the rains stopping later, and is on a smaller scale. The actual nesting sites may be quite large, though not quite so big as in the main zone, but they are much less dense, as the number of nests in each bush or tree is usually only between five and fifty. There is no kitr in this zone, and the nests are built in long grass or small trees.

Although during the nesting season there is a considerable gap between main zone and secondary zone nesting sites, during the dry season there is no gap in bird flocks, although the really large swarms do not go south out of the main zones.

The food consists of a wide range of small grass seeds, such as those of species of *Setaria*, and to a smaller extent of the larger Addar (*Sorghum* sp.). These grains are swallowed unbroken. When the cultivated duras are eaten, the grains are eaten whilst soft, before ripening, and are broken up, rather indicating that under normal conditions grain of this size is not an article of diet, and that damage is only done in the cultivated areas because the natural grasses have been replaced by dura. The serious damage to cultivated crops is done when these are in the vicinity of a nesting site, or are on the line of migration after nesting, as at these times village crops are usually in the vulnerable state. Later the grains have hardened and are safe.

The migration away from the nesting sites appears to start from about a week after the young birds leave the nest. The birds move in enormous flocks, and move fairly rapidly. They stop in the afternoon for a feed before roosting, and again feed next morning before moving on. When this happens near a village, all the unripe grain in the village cultivations may be stripped in a few hours, and, at this stage, it is almost

impossible to frighten young birds off the grain, as they will not move until nearly touched. They also spoil more grain than they actually eat. During the dry season great mechanical damage is done in riverain forests, when the swarms of birds settling in the trees smash them by their weight. Sunt forests in the Fung suffer severe annual damage from this cause, and the areas affected have to be clear felled and replanted. In other places, such as the Gash Delta, they may strip green foliage from trees during the dry season.

Abel Chapman, in 1914, during his journey in the Fung, noted flocks of birds which seem identical with the flocks met with at the present day, indicating that conditions have not changed appreciably since his journey.

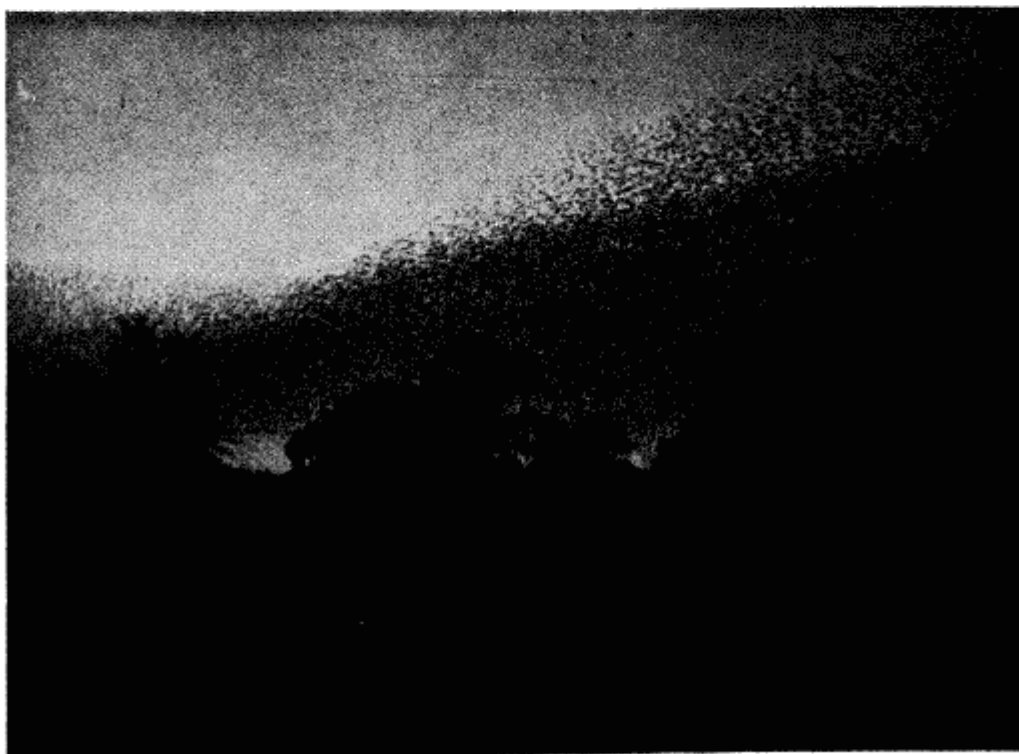
The method of drinking of these weaver birds differs considerably from that of most small birds, in that they normally drink on the wing. The normal method is for the birds to gather in bushes alongside the river until a considerable flock has collected; they then rise and fly to mid river, and the flock dips to touch the surface of the water, after which it returns to the bank and disperses. The birds seem to be able to obtain all the water they need in one rapid gulp. An abnormal, though not rare method of drinking was observed at a pool in a sunt forest in the Fung where the birds flew to a place where stems of tall grass were sticking out of the water, gripped these, and slid down until they were able to take a quick gulp of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  second duration, then flew off; at this place also they were taking rapid baths, in shallow water, of 3-4 seconds duration. Drinking in a pool in the forest, in preference to the open river, may have been due to the presence of hawks and falcons in this area, which swoop on the drinking flocks when in mid stream, with the result that, in the commotion, some birds get pushed into the water; the hawk can then pick them off it and remove them. This does not have any appreciable effect on the numbers of the birds, but does cause considerable panic.

The normal daily movements during the dry season are as follows:—early in the morning, just before the sun rises, the roosting birds become restless, and as the light increases, flutter about in the trees. The fluttering of these enormous numbers of birds make quite a strong wind near the forest floor. As the sun begins to rise the birds leave the forest in a continuous column, from which small parties break off as the distance from the forest increases, until they are all dispersed to feed. One or two hours later the birds start returning in large flocks to drink, and this

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS



Nests in a Kitr bush.



Bird swarm leaving roost in early morning.

movement continues during the morning, most birds apparently sheltering in the forest during the hottest part of the day. During the afternoon the main movement is outwards, again starting in large flocks, which break up gradually. Then, about half an hour before dusk the birds start coming to roost in a column, the reverse of the morning column which gradually increases as it nears the forest, until it is continuous. This may last between 20 minutes and 50 minutes, and the birds fly in low over the tops of the bushes. These columns of birds both start and finish remarkably suddenly.

When feeding on open ground the birds also appear to scratch for their food in an unusual manner: the action is so rapid that it is difficult to follow even with powerful field glasses, but the birds appear to balance momentarily on their beaks, and scratch with both feet simultaneously.

It would be thought that these enormous concentrations of birds would be attended by a mass of predators, or would show signs of epidemic diseases; but, as far as can be at present ascertained, this is not the case.

Marabout storks have, however, been observed in nesting sites after the young have hatched, standing on the bushes and pulling young from the nests, but this would not appear to be general. There also appears to be a nearly complete absence of hawks from the nesting sites, which is surprising.

Natural epidemic diseases have not so far been observed, and variation from the normal is apparently extremely rare, as the only abnormalities observed in many swarms of birds were one individual with white plumage, and one with only one wing developed, though this last bird appeared to be normal in other ways, and was quite healthy; apparently the wing had been destroyed earlier, and the bird had made a good recovery.

The only records of death from natural causes recorded, are on occasions when there have been abnormal early rains, and flocks of birds have moved northwards, and died of thirst, owing to the drying up of the pools.

Of the enormous quantities of grain required to maintain these enormous swarms of birds, dura, fortunately, only forms a very small proportion, though even so, the amount they eat forms a very serious problem for the cultivators in the areas where these birds occur.

During the 1946 nesting season, bird control work carried out in the area between the Blue Nile and Kassala, yielded interesting information

about the nesting and migratory movements of what is apparently a complete population unit of this species.

With the exception of a few minor nesting sites in the area of the Rahad, Dinder, and Blue Nile, the birds in this area nested mainly in the vicinity of the Rivers Atbara, Setit, and Gash, where there were several very large nesting sites, which are shown roughly to scale in the accompanying map. In all these nesting sites the birds started to build their nests at the beginning of September, and the young birds were flying at the end of the month.

The activity of the birds in the vicinity of these nesting sites during the day is very impressive. Between the nesting sites and the rivers there is a continuous cloud of birds coming and going to drink, and also foraging for grass seeds. Shortly after the young birds were able to fly, the migration to the dry season areas commenced. The main directions taken during this migration, so far as they can be traced at present, are shown on the map. The Atbara-Gash area was free of swarms of birds about the middle of October. They then caused considerable damage to crops in the Rahad-Dinder area before the main swarms reached the Blue Nile during the latter part of November. During the dry season the main bird population in the area would appear to be based in the sun forests of the Blue Nile, with smaller flocks on the Rivers Dinder and Rahad. The Blue Nile birds are normally concentrated in about four main swarms situated between Hag Abdalla and Roseires.

The swarms stay in the dry season concentration areas from November till about May, depending on any early rains. They then become restless, and move about the country more rapidly, and start to move towards their nesting zones. During the rains they appear to be more scattered than at any other time of the year, as food and water is more widely available, though observation at this period is difficult. Towards the end of August the birds start appearing in the vicinity of the places where they will nest during September.

## NUER GHOULS : A FORM OF WITCHCRAFT

By P. P. Howell and B. A. Lewis

Among many Nilotic tribes there is a belief in ghouls or witches who are particularly associated with the stealthy disinterment of the recent dead. According to Mr. J. H. Driberg, the Lango (Shilluk-speaking) believe in the *Achudany*, "a wizard who inspires the utmost horror, fear and detestation. To start with he has the evil eye, and simply by pointing his bent finger at a person he can cause his death . . . but as a ghoule he assumes his most loathsome character; he disinters the dead, and is alleged (without, however, any tangible evidence) even to indulge in cannibal banquets on their bodies."<sup>1</sup> The same belief is held by the Acholi, as is seen from Fr. Crazzolaro's account of witchcraft in "The African explains witchcraft."<sup>2</sup> The association of this form of witch—called *larjook* in Acholi—with the dead and their graves is apparent from the text. "The *larjook* lies down on tombs in order to show his joy at the death of a person, especially when he killed him." The significance of this remark given by Fr. Crazzolaro's informant will be seen later. Mr. Driberg's account of ghouls among the half-Hamitic Didinga<sup>3</sup> corresponds closely with what Mr. Lewis has found among the related Murle. The Murle expose their dead and the *tamarac* (ghoul) is supposed by them to cut lumps of flesh off the corpse, which he then dries, grinds to powder and subsequently uses as a particularly potent form of poison which he puts in his victims' food. This is believed to cause certain death.

There is therefore evidence that a belief in ghouls is widespread among Nilotic and half-Hamitic tribes in East Africa. Certainly it exists among the Acholi, Anuak, Shilluk, Lango, Nuer and Dinka of the Nilotic group and among the Murle and Didinga of the half-Hamitic group. Whereas among the half-Hamitic Murle and Didinga, the *tamarac* is a witch employing the full range of nefarious practices, and among the Lango, the *achudany* is also possessed of the evil eye, the Nuer and Dinka *rodh* or ghoule is specially associated with ghoulish practices and the bodies of the dead, in distinction to the *tiet* who casts spells by using

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Driberg, *The Lango*, T. Fisher Unwin, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> *Africa*, Vol. VIII, Oct., 1935, pp. 504-509. (This has been headed 'NUER.' From the text, the reference is Acholi in origin.)

<sup>3</sup> J. H. Driberg, 'Didinga Customary Law.' *Sudan Notes and Records*, viii, p. 169.

ritual methods, to the *peth*, who possesses the evil eye, and the *gwan wal*, who operates with medicines or fetishes.

The Nuer<sup>4</sup> are loath to discuss *rodh*, so great is their repugnance to such practices, but they, significantly, admit that it is a genuine Nuer trait and make no attempt to explain it as a cult which has crept in through their contact with the Dinka, as they usually do in excusing any shameful or unpleasant custom. Until the investigator has succeeded in arming himself with some known references to *rodh* as an opening, it is difficult to get them to talk on the subject at all, but once they have started it is abundantly clear that the belief is or was widespread.

Like the first example we quote, most of the stories about *rodh* which we have heard are extremely simple and refer to some specific occasion in which a corpse has been disinterred by a *rodh*. Other stories which are quoted below are more sensational and therefore widely known.

"A girl called Nyakong died and was buried in a pool. A *rodh* called Dar Gac of the Gaatbal Primary Section came by night and dug up the body. The girl's grandfather reburied the body and sacrificed a heifer over the grave, pronouncing a curse on the unknown *rodh* as he did so. Dar Gac came again the next day and sacrificed an ox, thus nullifying the curse."

This story is typical of many told about ghouls. The informant was speaking of his own grandfather (the grandfather of the girl). The motive of Dar Gac in digging up the body is not mentioned and the informant could not consciously express the reason. The horror of the act and the necessary ritual readjustment are stressed, and the attempted punitive action taken is mentioned.

The *rodh* in his rôle as mischief-maker in the community is brought out in the following story which is well known among the Lou Nuer. A man called Kwic was killed. No one knew who killed him. Diu Biel (a famous *rodh* in Lou) came that day to his uncle and told him that he was going out to herd the cattle in the pastures. He drove the cattle out to graze, but left them and joined a fishing party at a nearby pool. He announced to all the fishing party that it was he who had killed Kwic, and since some of Kwic's relatives were present a fight started. Diu himself slipped away unseen and returned to his uncle. His uncle heard cries of mourning coming from the pool and asked the reason. The

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<sup>4</sup> For a general account of the Nuer, see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (Oxford University Press).

children told him that the people had been killing each other because they had discovered who had killed Kwic. "Who is it?" asked the uncle. "Diu himself admitted it" they replied. The uncle swore that it could not have been Diu, and certainly he could not have told the fishing party, as they were at the pool and Diu had been far away with the cattle. A violent argument followed in which everyone joined in, but they let the matter drop because no one could remember whether Diu had confessed or not.<sup>5</sup>

Here the diabolical cunning of the *rodh* and his ability to confuse people is stressed. He has succeeded in bringing about the death of his fellows and in upsetting the equilibrium of the community by deceit. This characteristic is also stressed in another story about Diu Wectut, another *rodh* of notoriety in Lou country. The story is well known among the Gaweir Nuer as well.

"A buffalo used to come to Diu Wectut's village and graze in the corn outside. Early one morning Diu saw this buffalo asleep in the cultivations. He hurried off to tell his friend the blacksmith who lived nearby. He complained to the blacksmith that he never made him a spear, though in fact he had made many. Diu said, 'Never mind, I have killed that buffalo which grazes in our cultivations, and you may go and cut off your share of the meat.' The blacksmith hurried off and knelt down beside the sleeping animal to cut off the meat, but the buffalo woke up and gored him through the legs, ribs and forehead so that he died."

This apparently senseless killing is considered a typical characteristic of *rodh* by the Nuer. The sequel relates how the spirit (*cien*) of the dead blacksmith haunted Diu and brought about the death of his children. This suggests a confusion of thought, for we are often told that a *rodh* is pleased when his children die. The haunting of a killer by the *cien* or spirit of his victim, however, is considered a normal revenge, and is tacked on to the story to show that even *rodh* can be punished for their wickedness. In order to stop the mortality in his family, Diu Wectut confessed and paid normal cattle compensation for the death of the smith.

<sup>5</sup> This story expresses—among other things—the confusion caused by the unconfessed murder of Kwic. Normally a man will confess immediately, because he must personally perform rites of purification under the guidance of a leopard-skin chief (*kwar kwac*). Moreover, as soon as blood is spilt in this fashion, a state of feud arises between the two parties, and unless the guilty man confesses, both his own lineage and that of the deceased may unwittingly break taboos which automatically come into effect between them.

A further story about these two notorious *rodh* tells how they collaborated.

"Diu Biel and Diu Wectut went to a cattle-byre by night. A girl was sleeping inside and cried out in terror as they entered. They quietened the neighbours and said that they would only sleep there the night and would talk to them the next morning. They raped the girl and slaughtered a barren cow which was tethered inside. The next morning the girl went out and told the men of the village what had happened. The warriors lined up on either side of the door ready to spear the two *rodh* as they came out. Diu Wectut put some meat over his shoulders, darted out and back again. The warriors threw their spears but missed him and someone got wounded. A fight started among themselves. Diu Wectut and Diu Biel slipped away in the confusion."

Another story tells how Diu Wectut's uncle, who was leader of his section, tried to restrain his followers from fighting with the members of another cattle camp. Diu went to his uncle and told him that his wife had been seen wearing a serval-cat's skin,<sup>6</sup> and the uncle went off to reprimand her. While he was away Diu persuaded the young men to fight and many of them were killed. Diu came back with the survivors. They borrowed the skirts of married women and paraded before the uncle who had returned, and they began to sweep the threshold of his house. The uncle, shocked, asked them what they were doing. Diu said, "All the other men of the camp have been killed. Now we are like women and are wearing their skirts."

Here many of the anti-social tendencies of the *rodh* have been emphasized. In the first place he has disobeyed his relative and leader and caused a disaster in the camp. He has deceived the people and caused them to act in an abnormal and shocking manner.

The stories quoted above make no mention of the disinterment of recently buried corpses, which is always mentioned as the most reprehensible characteristic of *rodh*. They stress only their cunning in deceiving the people and leading them to disaster, and their ability to shock people's feelings by a reversal of custom, which in any case may cause spiritual contamination. Other stories include a description of digging up dead bodies and some stories mention mutilation.

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<sup>6</sup> A reversal of accepted custom. Catskins are only worn by men, never by women. Serval-cats' skins are worn by a man as a sign of respect in the presence of his wife's relatives.

Diu Wectut who has been quoted before and Tungwan Bir were both outstanding *rodh* in their time. It is said that they dug up the body of Gec Dieng's son. Gec Dieng and his wife were sleeping in their home about two days after the death of the boy. The two ghouls came by night, dug up the body, and cut it in half. They stuck the upper half of the corpse over the door of the hut and cut off the lips. The wife awoke and opened the door and seeing the mutilated corpse of her son fell back in horror. When Gec Dieng saw the corpse, he knocked a hole in the mud wall of the hut and got out that way. He called for the people and with them came the two ghouls—though no one knew who they were—and told them of the disaster. They then reburied the body after sacrificing an ox. Then Gec cried out, "No one shall cultivate here for eight years. Let us move on to some other place." The whole section moved except the two *rodh*, who remained to cultivate in other people's gardens. Shortly afterwards they went on a journey to Leik (Western Nuer) country, and there stole a wonderful drum, which they brought back with them. They set the drum up outside Gec's house and beat on it. The people heard and sent scouts to find out where the noise was coming from. Three days later Diu Wectut and Tungwan Bir went to Gec Dieng. First they asked him who created *tiet* (diviners and sorcerers). Gec replied that it was *kwoth* (God) who created them. "Who created *peth* (possessors of the evil eye)? And who created the *dwek* (the common people who possess no spiritual or magical powers)?" "It was *kwoth*," replied Gec. "Who created *rodh*?" they asked. "*Kwoth*," replied Gec. They then said: "The drum outside your cattle byre is ours. We dug up and mutilated your son. We bring this drum as compensation for our sin." The next day the people set off and reached their old home. Gec sent for a gourd of milk and sprinkled it over the people as a blessing. A great dance was held to celebrate their return. The two *rodh* filled a gourd with human excrement and smeared it on the dancers who were too much occupied to notice. When the dance was over, they sat down before Gec Dieng to talk. Everyone accused his neighbour of smelling, and a fight broke out among them. During the night a *let* (werewolf) came from the owners of the drum and killed ten people. Ten more men were killed the next night, and the people stopped dancing because they were afraid. Afterwards the *let* was killed and the drum became Gec Dieng's.

This story is really told to show how Gec Dieng acquired his famous drum, and presents a confusion of ideas which do not necessarily concern

*rodh*. There are, however, several points of interest. First the anti-social acts of the *rodh* are brought out; by cunning and deceit they succeeded in breaking up the group and forcing them to migrate to another district, they steal a drum and cause a werewolf to wreak vengeance on others.

Their hideous performances with a corpse are described. Most interesting of all is that before their confession—which in any case is part of their subtle plan—they compel Gec Dieng the leader to admit that *rodh*, like other anti-social persons and like the common people, are sanctioned by God and therefore have a known status.

The co-operation of *rodh* and their activities as supporters of a cult is brought out in the story of Diu Wectut's death.

"When Diu Wectut died, all the *rodh* came. They danced and howled round the village, so that the people were afraid and hid in their houses. They danced round and round in circles singing as they went:

*'Tung Yian Bier' ce tuol ke tool, lol ro karaade ci raan tool caa  
ngang eliethlieth.'*

*'Tung Yian Bier is broken. Verily he is dead. The whistling  
teal has taken him.'*

They killed a man and a woman of the village and dug a great pit to bury them in. Some of the *rodh* got inside, one above the other, one below and one above. They handed down the bodies from one man to another. Then all those above showered down great lumps of earth with such frenzy and abandon that those in the pit were buried alive. Then they danced on the banked earth and stamped it down."

There is a common belief that *rodh* cannot beget children unless they have intercourse with their wives while lying on graves. The following story was told by Lul Tolciek about his grandmother.

"My grandmother Nyacuol died, when I was small, and when the people had made a cattle camp at Muot Tot. She was buried near the watercourse there, and after she was buried the *rodh* came. Kwony Dhoi and a woman Nyathiang Jig and a *rodh* from Gaatbaal called Jokbir and a third, Mut Nyakwoth and two more called Dar Gac and Wec Thartut. They danced round the grave. They took off Nyathiang's skirt and she lay down on the grave and opened her legs. She lowed like a cow—like a barren cow. Jokbir tried to have intercourse with her, but when he

<sup>7</sup> A reference to Tung Yian Bier, who predeceased Diu Wectut, and who was his "best friend" (*math*).

lay down Kwoiny Dhoi beat him until he ran away. Nyathiang lowed again and Wec Thartut went and had intercourse with her ; Kwoiny Dhoi beat him and he ran away. Mut and Dar Gac were frightened and kept their distance, and when Nyathiang lowed again, Kwoiny Dhoi went to her and slept the night with her on the grave."

All the above quoted examples are taken from Lou Nuer. The belief in ghouls is prevalent also in Gaweir and other tribes who border the Zeraf river. Gaweir—particularly the Radh primary section of that tribe—are believed to have many *rodh* among them.

Thicut Dak, son of Dak Liep of the Per section of Radh tells how his father was a notorious *rodh*. The informant was careful to give his information in strict privacy, though everyone knows that he is the son of a *rodh*. He was careful to explain that he himself has nothing to do with the cult, although he is known to climb up trees in moments of excitement and to howl like a dog.

" Yes. My father was a *rodh*. I remember when my sister died. He tried to restore her to life, lifting her up and blowing into her nose, saying to her, ' Awake, awake.' My mother told him that it would be no use.

My father was intimate with a woman called Nyaroic. He used to copulate with her on the graves of newly buried dead. They would go out together at night when they heard someone had died. My father sometimes dug the bodies up and lifted them saying ' What are you doing here ? Come, let us go together into your *luak*.' When people heard him they would rush out with clubs, but he would run away. My father told me that the wives of a *rodh* could never conceive children unless they performed together over graves and jumped over graves."

It is worth noting that the informant—though obviously shy about giving the information—was quite convinced that his father was an active *rodh*.

Cuol Puoc, a descendant of a noted *rodh* family, (the Bidiet lineage who are sometimes designated *Cieng Marodh*—the ghouls family), stated that *rodh* is a possession or status accorded by God (*kwoth*) to their ancestors, in the same way as the ancestors of other ritual experts (*kwar kwac* for example) were given their special functions in Nuer society.

Tutkwac Nuon, a man of Western Nuer extraction, tells how his father Nuon Ter was a practising *rodh*.

"My father was a *rodh*. He was caught by the people of Jitheib when he was mutilating the body of Mamer Cuol, and was beaten to death by them. My family received no compensation."

Cuol Puoc quoted a song known only to those of *rodh* descent, which he alleged was sung by numbers of the cult when performing over graves.

*Bideghe, Bidegh liny*  
*Ce ben ke rap en gaat Nhial*  
*Cole Nyaroic—cole Nyathiang*  
*Kon wutni wec.*  
*Dheng me jal war*  
*Kwa cirr—kwa cirr*  
*Engu ce bie wato*  
*Ka mo neana ji mo.*

Like all Nuer songs, literal translation is difficult, but the approximate meaning appears to be :—

"O Bideagh—you Bideagh son of Liny  
 He, the son of Nhial came running fast.  
 Call for Nyaroic, call for Nyathiang,  
 We men of the camp.  
 O person who prowls in the night  
 Why do you dig up the bodies of the dead?  
 Ah! We can see you."

Bideagh Liny was a well-known *rodh* of the Bar primary section of the Gaweir tribe. Nyaroic was a woman assistant and the legal wife of one Cueny Dhoar. Nyathiang was another female *rodh*. Mayan Bideagh, son of Bideagh Liny, when questioned gave another version of the song :—

"*Kur gat Yar—Bideagh Liny.*  
*Kwar Bany de Rodh.*  
*Cole Nyaroic—cole Nyathiang,*  
*Rodh me jal war paciir."*

"O Kur son of Yar, O Bideagh Liny,  
 O chiefs of the chiefs of Rodh.  
 Call for Nyaroic—call for Nyathiang,  
 The Rodh are creeping by night."

From the examples which have been quoted, from many other stories and from general conversation, it seems that the main characteristics of *rodh* are as follows :

(1) The practice is primarily a hereditary one, the potentiality of which runs in certain lineages. Some of these have widespread notoriety, though it does not follow that all members of the lineage will practice or have the desire to co-operate with their evil kinsmen.

(2) A man may become a *rodh* even if he is not of a lineage generally associated with the cult. He may voluntarily associate himself with another *rodh* and become one himself by participation in the rites. He may also be compelled to become one against his will. It is said that a *rodh* will feed his victim with the disguised flesh of a disinterred corpse. His victim will die, unless antidotal measures are taken, but even if they are he still becomes a *rodh*.

A *rodh* can kill his victim by feeding him with human flesh, though this is not always his object. Nuer believe that any man who has eaten human flesh will certainly die, but this is a belief not necessarily connected with *rodh*. He may avoid the fatal consequences by undergoing certain purificatory rites, which include the drinking of purges administered by a leopard-skin chief (*kwar kwac*). If the flesh has been given to him by a *rodh* he cannot avoid becoming a *rodh* himself.

The leopard skin-chief has no power to break the bond established between a *rodh* and his victim, though he may save the latter's life.

(3) The *rodh* is regarded by Nuer with horror and fear. Their main reaction, however, is one of disgust, because his acts and intentions are believed to be the epitome of all that is anti-social. Although all stories do not include a mention of actual disinterment of the dead, the most repulsive and shocking of all the *rodh*'s activities, there is usually some mention of death or how the *rodh* by his fiendish cunning has tricked the people into killing one another. A *rodh* takes a foul delight in the death of anyone and even more intensely so at the death of a member of the community in which he lives. He is even supposed to delight at the death of his own children, and to dress himself in his marriage

clothes for the occasion.<sup>8</sup> The aim of life in the minds of all normal Nuer is the increase and continued solidarity of his group, and the aims of the *rodh* therefore are incompatible with normal aspirations. He hopes for and actively assists the disintegration of the social unit of which he is part.

(4) There is no tradition of cannibalism among the Nuer, and they regard the idea of eating human flesh with horror.

In 1943 an old woman of Gaweir committed suicide by burning herself to death in her own hut. Her relatives were away at the time, but on their return believed that the charred corpse they found inside was a calf. They ate parts of the flesh, and only discovered their mistake when an iron bangle came to light. They were horrified, and rushed off to the nearest practitioner for local purges. These were not effective, and they finally walked many miles to the nearest Government Medical Dresser, who gave them salts. The news of this awful calamity spread rapidly through the Zeraf tribes, and so shocked and impressed the Gaweir that the year 1943 is now called by the name of the old woman who killed herself.

(5) The disinterment of the dead is the most abhorrent of all the *rodh*'s activities. He goes by night, either alone or with his associates, and digs up the bodies of the recent dead. He plays with the corpse, props it up against a tree or wall, speaks to it and stuffs food into its mouth. Some stories recount how the *rodh* blows into the mouth and nostrils of the corpse. This suggests a desire to raise the dead, though we know of no case where this intention has been consciously expressed by an informant. Bodies are also sometimes mutilated, and in some cases pieces of flesh are preserved for the nefarious purpose mentioned above.

(6) It is said that a *rodh* cannot beget children unless he has sexual relations with his wife while lying on a grave, a belief which is widespread and often mentioned.

(7) The Lango *achudany* and the Acholi *larjook* are both defeated and killed by special methods. A stick is inserted in the rectum and twisted in the intestines while the wizard is in a trance. Among the Nuer another method is used. No blood may be spilt, and the *rodh* can be beaten to death with sticks, but care

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<sup>8</sup> A reversal of accepted custom and calculated to shock people's feelings.

must be taken not to hit him on the head. The idea that no blood may be spilt is also held by the Murle. Among the Nuer, a *rodh* may be killed by common consent, and if the method of killing described above is used, there is no fear of revenge. There is no parallel to this in Nuer customary law, where all persons killed must be avenged by his kin or compensated for by the payment of cattle. The nearest approach is the *peth* (the possessor of the evil eye), who may be killed without fear of a blood feud, though his family will demand compensation at a greatly reduced rate.<sup>9</sup>

The true significance of this belief cannot be assessed until we have wider knowledge of Nuer magical and religious beliefs as a whole. There are many categories of magicians, persons possessed of special spirits, diviners, owners of magical roots ; all may use their powers for the good of their fellows or direct them to personal gain and the destruction of their enemies, but, with the exception of the *peth* (evil eye) and possibly the *let* (werewolf), the *rodh* is the only category whose purpose is purely and only anti-social, and this may explain why a *rodh* may be killed by his fellows with impunity.

It is also difficult to discover the extent of the belief, and how it affects Nuer society today. All Nuer say that it is a dying practice, though they are able to point out which are considered *rodh* families, and the persons quoted in stories are or were real persons, whose names can be fitted into the lineal structure. Informants were referring to the fathers or grandfathers of persons now living and known to them. *Rodh* are not therefore mythical or supernatural monsters like werewolves (*let*), who are supposed to prey upon the people and their cattle. Werewolves are given names by which they are widely known,<sup>10</sup> but the names are nearly always fictitious and have no link either with past ancestors or living persons. *Rodh* may therefore be persons who actually and consciously practice the cult, or, like possessors of the evil eye (*peth*), persons who have the misfortune to have the taint attached to their names. Some informants<sup>11</sup> have quoted conversations with their fathers which

<sup>9</sup> Traditionally only six head of cattle as against 40 or 50 head.

<sup>10</sup> *Let* are usually believed to be monsters endowed with human personality, who come in from other countries (often Dinka). Gatgut, for example, was a notorious *let* from the west, who passed his victims on the road by night, speared them in the back, and then, changing into lion-like form, devoured them. We only know of one historical figure who was believed to be a *let*, Teng wa Tar, the mother of Teng Kerfeil (a famous Nuer leader), but the gift is not considered hereditary.

<sup>11</sup> Note, for example, Thicut Dak's statement, p. 163.

tend to establish that the practice is, or was, a real one, and not merely an idea inherent in the beliefs of the people.

Werewolves are still believed to roam the country. A monster of hyena-like colouring (*me kwac looka*) and habits is now active in Lak Nuer country. If a person mysteriously disappears in the forest or someone is attacked by a wild beast at night, Nuer will say that a *let* is on the prowl. Many persons are considered *peth*, and accusations of the evil eye are often brought before the native courts, either by persons who attribute their misfortunes to someone they consider to be *peth* or by persons accused of *peth*, who wish to clear their names publicly. From the evidence of court cases<sup>12</sup> and from conversations with accused persons, we conclude that *peth* have no actual desire to harm their fellows, and do not perform ritual directed against others. Nuer admit that *peth* are not practical witches, but persons imbued with malicious power, which they may or may not be able to control. They may even be unaware of their evil possession.

Accusations against *rodh*, however, do not appear before the courts, and we know of no recent cases where Nuer claim that their dead have been interfered with. People are careful and secretive about the burial of their relatives. They are still afraid of *rodh*, and Mr. Wedderburn-Maxwell recalls an occasion in Western Nuer when he was asked by Nuer to put an armed guard upon the body of an Arab sailor who had been laid out on the river-bank for burial next morning. They explained that *rodh* were known to exist in that part of the country.

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<sup>12</sup> Chiefs courts usually judge these cases with marked impartiality. Persons accused of *peth* are often acquitted, and their accusers sometimes punished for false accusation.

## NOTES

### THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS ON PREHISTORY

This Congress, held at Nairobi in January, 1947, was attended by two delegates from the Sudan, the Government Geologist, Mr. G. Andrew, and the Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology, Mr. A. J. Arkell. Mr. Andrew's paper was on 'The Development of the Sudan Plain in the Quaternary' and Mr. Arkell's papers were on 'The present state of our knowledge of the Lower Palaeolithic in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' and 'Three cultures with pottery at the junction of the Blue and White Niles.' Abstracts of these papers will be published in the 'Comptes Rendus' of the proceedings of the Congress, which are being edited by the Organizing Secretary of the Congress, Dr. L. S. B. Leakey.

The Congress has done much to further the progress of research in Africa in those fields where geology and archaeology meet, partly because it afforded an opportunity to workers outside Kenya-Uganda-Tanganyika to see the unrivalled and unique materials available in that part of the Rift Valley, partly because it brought into personal contact representative workers from the whole continent, but above all because it provided an opportunity for exchange of knowledge and views at what is certainly the beginning of a new chapter of research, the old chapter being conveniently closed at the point at which communication of the results of work and even work itself became impossible during the war.

The discussions, both in special committees set up and in plenary session, did much to clear up nomenclature and terminology. Exchange of views and information gave clear indication of what is required in the way of future research. It was made clear to the Sudan delegates how exceptionally important the Sudan is to prehistorians in other African territories from its geographical position next to Egypt, where a more or less exact chronology for the last 5,000 years has been established; for until Sudan prehistory has been worked out and dated as far as possible by connections with Egypt, other African territories will experience great difficulty in correlating their local successions with the north African time-scale through the Sudan.

There is undoubtedly in the Sudan a very large field for prehistoric research, the fringe of which is only just being touched at present, and readers of *Sudan Notes and Records* are reminded what opportunities there are for them to help by recording and sending in to the Khartoum Museum specimens of stone implements, early potsherds or fossils, particularly from sites south, east or west of Khartoum, even if they feel they have not the time to start making their own study of the prehistory of the area where they happen to be. So far only one fossil human skull from the Palæolithic has been found in the Sudan, and that was recovered by a District Commissioner of Singa. No palæolithic stone implement has so far been found between Geteina and Juba. The study of prehistory is not of purely academic importance, but has a vital bearing on the present day well-being of the inhabitants of Africa, who must always depend on the climate and the soil in a land where neglect of natural causes may easily result in the conversion of a fertile country to a desert. For the study of prehistory reveals changes that have occurred in the climate and soil cover of the country during the prehistoric period, and by elucidating the causes of those changes, shows to what extent it is possible to avoid the adverse effects of similar change in the future.

The Congress, at its final plenary session, passed a number of resolutions dealing with future research and a number of recommendations to governments in Africa calculated to encourage and systematize research in prehistory and associated geological and palæontological studies in African countries and territories. No specific resolution referred to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, but a resolution was addressed to Egypt on the subject of research into the period of early man pre- "Ancient Egypt."

At the invitation of the South African Government the Congress resolved to hold its next session (in 1951) in the Union of South Africa. The Congress is maintaining continuity by the election of a President (M. L'Abbé Breuil), Organizing Secretary (Dr. L. S. B. Leakey), Assistant Secretary (Dr. B. Malan) and a permanent committee, who will all remain in office until the next Congress meets and elects new officers and committees. Three sub-committees, one for archæology, one for geology and general palæontology, and one for human palæontology, were appointed.

The Kenya Government and the Organizing Secretary, Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, are to be heartily congratulated on the outstanding success of the First Congress, and on having overcome so many difficulties in the way

of getting delegates together from all over the world—26 countries were represented—so soon after the worst war the world has yet known. It is hoped that the Sudan will respond by making considerable progress in the study of its prehistory before the next Congress.

G. A. & A. J. A.

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Delegates from Spain, Dakar, Egypt, Palestine, France and England visited the Khartoum Museum *en route* to and from the Congress, and Dr. S. Huzayyin (Egypt) spent a week in Khartoum on his way back, studying the stone age collections.

## WATER SUPPLY

By G. Andrew

Dr. F. Dixey, who is now Director of Colonial Geological Surveys, delivered the Presidential Address of the South African Geographical Society in 1946, on the subject of Rural Water Supplies in Africa.

Dr. Dixey had a wide experience of water supply in Africa, in Nigeria, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. He visited the Sudan in 1942 to give advice on Port Sudan water supply, and visited Asmara, Massawa, el Obeid and el Fasher.

In his address he deals with the purely geological aspects of water supply and in considerable detail with the other aspects.

"In the planning of rural water supplies it is important to ensure that the proposed measures conform with the proper use of the land and do not in the long run do more harm than good." The acceleration of soil erosion following provision of water without being accompanied by safeguards is illustrated by many examples, and the converse—the improvement of underground water by proper control of the surface soil.

The method of raising water is discussed. It is not always desirable to use 'modern' methods for raising water, but it is essential that strong and safe headworks should be installed, so that wells do not collapse, and are less easily contaminated.

The impetus given by the Colonial Development Fund, a large proportion of which is earmarked for geological and water work, and the actual methods and organization set up in different colonies, is described.

He says "The Report of the Soil Conservation Committee of the Sudan Government, 1944, gives a comprehensive and invaluable review of the Sudan climatic background, forest policy, vegetation, soil erosion, soil conservation, water supplies, and numerous related matters; many of the conclusions arrived at are applicable to neighbouring countries. The supreme importance of rural water supplies was uppermost in the minds of the Committee throughout their deliberations, and they recommended that most of the funds available for conservation should be devoted to the improvement of these supplies. The proposals advanced include a central organization for water-boring and the improvement of the Hafir, and a five-year programme for the improvement of provincial rural water supplies."

Finally, in his summary, it is stated that—

“ In all countries there is place for a permanent organization for the construction and maintenance of rural water supplies, for the need is never completely satisfied, since adjustments and improvements have constantly to be made to meet changing population conditions, new demands from other welfare services, and a rising standard of living.”

## AN HISTORIC TAMARIND TREE AND NOTES ON SOME OF THE EXPLORERS OF THE UPPER NILE REGION

By Baron G. B. de Pezzei d'Ornella

Anyone who has travelled in the southern Sudan will remember with what delight he spotted, on his weary march in the scorching sun, a particularly shady, leafy tree in whose cool shadows he could rest in comfort. The best of such trees is the *tamarind* or *ardeib*<sup>1</sup> of the Arabs, the sacred tree of travellers, whose fruits are not only refreshing but supposed also to be a febrifuge. Around such trees native villages are built, and the space beneath is reserved for the elders who, in the shadows, discuss and administer local affairs. Even in these days of motor traffic I consider myself lucky if, on the Nimule-Juba road, I have to repair a puncture, and find myself near a tamarind tree on the road-side.

The tamarind is a fairly common tree and yields fruit abundantly. The pulp obtained from the fruit is not as acid as that of the Darfur tamarind, and it is therefore more agreeable. The cakes of this fruit are much in demand for making refreshing drinks, especially in Ramadan. These cakes were an article of export from the old Equatorial Province and were carried northwards along with ostrich feathers, ivory, rubber and hides.

We learn from the old explorers that they welcomed the shade of a tamarind tree for their noon-day rest, and that they delighted to sleep under its branches overnight. Once, while elephant hunting, I was caught in a heavy thunder-storm and took refuge under some monolithic rocks, but my Acholi gun-bearer pointed out to me that the safest and driest spot would be to stand close to the trunk of an *ardeib* nearby. The millions of little leaves kept off most of the rain, and to avoid being struck by lightning, the native made with his knife an eight inch slit in the bark.

The year 1854 marked a period of feverish activity by explorers to discover the sources of the Nile. Rumours of the success of such men as Burton and Speke spurred many other explorers to try their hand at further discoveries. One of these was a clever Venetian, Giovanni

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<sup>1</sup> *Tamarindus indica*, Linn.

Miani, who explored the headwaters of the streams coming from the Azande country and was the first to suggest a great river (the Welle) flowing to the west on the far side of the main watershed.

Miani camped by a magnificent tamarind tree not far from the junction of the Unyama River and the Bahr-el-Jebel. He then made preparations to go southwards along the east bank of the Nile. He was, however, prevented from going further south by the treachery of his Bari interpreter, a certain Loggo. His followers refused to go south, and forced Loggo to tell him that the people of the south would attack him if he did. Being of a peaceful nature and no longer young, Miani decided to return via Dufle, westwards, to the Azande country. Before leaving, however, he carved his name and the date, December, 1857, on the trunk of the tamarind tree. Then he went on to Tangazi, where he stayed with his friend, King Munza. Weakening from repeated attacks of malaria and dysentery, Miani died soon after his return.

In accordance with his wish, Miani was placed fully clothed, together with his pipe and tobacco jar, in a coffin of his own construction which was fastened with four big nails. Many Arabs and natives attended the ceremony, and shots were fired over the grave in honour of the dead man. Before the coffin was closed, King Munza ordered the long white beard of Miani to be cut off. This beard he had made into a cord which he afterwards wore as a girdle; an excusable idea, perhaps to be attributed more to affection than disrespect. On the night following the burial, unknown thieves opened the grave and stole the coffin, nails, carpet and dress, and would have certainly taken the body to eat had they not objected to the flesh of white men. King Munza, being informed of the facts, ordered an inquiry to be made to discover and arrest the robbers, but neither they nor the stolen objects were found.

In 1880, Gessi Pasha, the governor of Bahr-el-Ghazal Province, showed Major Caetano Casati some of Miani's bones at Wau, which he had ordered to be gathered at Tangazi, and induced Casati to search for the place where Miani had been buried. Casati, assisted by Chief Yangara, successor to the murdered King Munza, and also by Arabs, eventually found the grave not far from the burial place of the old king. He collected some bones and fragments of a broken vessel, intending to take them back to Venice. But these, together with all his other property were confiscated when he was taken prisoner in Unyoro at the court of Kabarega.

Sir Samuel Baker, with his gallant Hungarian wife, Ninian von Sass, met Lieut. Speke in Gondokoro in 1863. Speke told Baker of his successful discovery of one source of the Nile, the outlet of Victoria Nyanza, where it pours over the Ripon Falls, and also of the supposed existence of the Albert Nyanza and the connection of the Lake with the Nile. Baker replied that he was glad that there was still left something for him to discover and set off southwards. They worked their way through the Bari, Madi and Acholi countries and entered Unyoro. Here they met with a hostile reception and had trouble with deserting porters. But finally in March, 1864, they succeeded in discovering the great new lake, which was named the Albert Nyanza.

The Bakers skirted the lake to Magungo, at the point of entry of the Victoria Nile. They ascended the river and discovered the Murchison Falls. On the return journey they stopped at the now historical tamarind tree, and camped there for several days. Baker described the tree as one of the biggest and most beautiful of its species, and called it the *Shedder el Sowar*. He noticed Miani's name and date carved in the bark. Miani's treacherous interpreter, Loggo, was with Baker at the time, and confessed to the trick which he had played on his former master in preventing him from going south. After many hardships the party returned to the regions of Gondokoro and reached Khartoum in May, 1868.

In 1869, Sir Samuel Baker returned to the region of the Great Lakes, being appointed in charge of the expedition to annexe the equatorial regions of the Nile Basin for the Egyptian Government. His headquarters station was established at Fatiko, a few miles from the Gulu of to-day.

Sir Samuel Baker returned to Khartoum in 1873. The Khedive, Ismail Pasha, then sent out Colonel Gordon to continue the exploration of the upper Nile and to put an end to the slave trade. He started with great energy, establishing many stations in the Unyoro and Lake Albert region. He was well aware that the exploration of this lake region would establish a better outlet for the Equatorial Province by opening the road to Zanzibar, which was better than the uncertain north road through the swampy *sudd* region. Gordon entrusted the exploration of Lake Albert to Gessi Pasha, who, with two iron boats, brought to completion the tour of the lake after experiencing many difficulties. Gessi claimed that the length of the lake was 141 miles and the greatest width 50 miles. He also confirmed the existence of impassable papyrus swamps at the southern end.

Gordon had since 1875 given orders that the steamers *Khedive* and *Nyanza*, which had been left behind by Baker in Gondokoro, should be carried to Dufle. This enterprise met with considerable difficulty. The steamers were broken up into sections, placed in barges and towed from Gondokoro to Bedden. From there they were dragged over the road on the west bank of the Nile for about 110 miles to a place beyond the Fula Rapids. When the sections of the *Nyanza* arrived they were put together and launched in the Dufle waters. This boat was not of the stern wheeler type, but had a small screw instead.

Towards the end of 1865 Colonel Mason accomplished the second circumnavigation of Lake Albert on board the *Nyanza*. The results obtained differed somewhat from those of Gessi, and geographers were for some time undecided as to which results were correct.

In 1875 Dr. Emin landed at Khartoum with a letter from the chief eunuch, Khalil Agha, of the Khedive's mother to the Governor General, Ismail Pasha Ayub. He found that the Governor General was away in Darfur, but Ali Eff Saraj, Gordon's agent in Khartoum, asked Emin to go south to act as Gordon's doctor.

As soon as Emin arrived in the Equatorial Province he was sent by Gordon as representative of the Egyptian Government to King Mtesa, of Uganda, in order to establish friendly relations. He was very successful, and on his way back he met Gordon at Mruli Station, on the north side of Lake Albert. He made his report and handed to Gordon the presents sent by King Mtesa. Gordon was so delighted with the success of Emin's mission that he increased his salary and appointed him Inspector of Government Stores in the Province. On his journey from Dufle to Uganda, Emin camped for a few days under the now historical tamarind tree. In his description of the spot he says, "in the middle of Zeriba Djeifi stands the most beautiful tamarind."

Many years later, in December, 1907, Mr. Winston Churchill, then Under Secretary for the Colonies, coming from Kenya to Uganda on an inspection tour, came to Nimule in the little steam screw-launch *Kenya* with two steel barges in tow. He and his party were shown the famous tamarind tree at his landing. He then trekked to Gondokoro and proceeded on the steamer *Dal* to Khartoum, where he landed at the palace steps on Christmas Eve, 1907.

Nimule was then headquarters of a chief tax collector and a place of some size, with an English doctor, a company of K.A.R., about a dozen

Indian *dukas* and a post and telegraph office. When I passed through the region on my surveying expedition in 1907-8, the northernmost limit of sleeping sickness was at a village called Paraballa, a little north of Wadelai on the east bank. The disease spread rapidly northwards, and when, some years later, the Sudan exchanged the southern part of the Lado enclave for the region between Gondokoro and Nimule, it was compelled to abandon the Nimule area.

When I returned in 1921 to establish an Egyptian irrigation station at Nimule, I found a large sleeping sickness camp-hospital being run by El Kaimakam Dr. Nassar. Later this was transferred to Kirrippi. At that time I found the old tamarind tree very much neglected. During my stay of eight months I did my best to keep it clean. In 1931 it was again neglected. When I came to stay permanently in the country as elephant controller I appealed to the Governor of Equatoria and the then District Commissioner of Torit, for help, and now the tree is fenced in and the space is cleaned. I am placing a memorial tablet near the tree to commemorate the gallant pioneers who did so much good work in opening the country round about.

## THE RONGO

By Faustino Roro Kamitin

(The author is a member of the Gbaya tribe of Raga sub-district, whose father is the hereditary maker of *rongo* for his clan.)

The *rongo* is a kind of musical instrument with ten wooden slats and ten hollow gourds attached to a flat board half a foot broad by three feet long, and having a semi-circular rod joined by string to both edges of the flat board. The instrument is hung from the neck by a string when being played.

The *rongo* is made from either ebony or a special hard dried wood fetched from the forest, which is carved into a key board of ten pieces with varying tones. After they have been carefully carved and tuned, they are fitted over the gourds, which are got by first sowing the seeds during the rains. These gourds, which are of a special kind (*karaka rongo*), and are used only for this purpose, are sown near trees, where the stems, after growing, creep up and yield gourds, which are cut down and taken to the nearest stream or waterpool, where they are left for a week or so, then taken out, cleaned, and hollowed out, and left ready to fit to the slats at any available time.

Next come the wax for sticking the hollow gourds on to the flat board on which the slats are arranged. This wax is fetched from the forest from special ground bees (*uru*), by digging them out and obtaining the wax. The honey is used as food; then the wax is made into the sticking substance for the *rongo*. Thus is obtained the sticking substance; now comes the stuff which is spread over the tiny holes at each point of the hollowed gourds; this is put on in order to give out a fine tone. This stuff is either obtained from bats' wings or from a spider's web (*tri palele*) found in the bark of fallen trees and in old huts. Finding everything now available a man makes up his *rongo*.

### *How it is played.*

It is played by striking the slats with two pairs of rubber-ended sticks, holding a pair in each hand; when thus played it gives out a kind of harmony with both bass and treble tones.

There are four tunes played on the *rongo* for dances ; and it is accompanied by a drum, and by hollow, round-headed gourds with seeds inside, which give out noises agreeing both with the drum and the music (of the *rongo*).

The *rongo*, when played on feast days, is accompanied by either female or male voices, and this sometimes causes the *rongo* player to sing himself. The *rongo*, which is the original dance of the Woro people, was not a popular dance ; it was for mourning and not for amusement. Eventually it spread among the neighbours, such as the Ndogo, Golo, and Bai, who have adopted it now as their dance, and have forgotten their original dances entirely. The *rongo* of to-day has greatly developed among these tribes, who dance it differently from the Woro ; it is a dance rather like the European tango, two by two, by both sexes, and often causes a fight or some trouble among married couples, on the ground that people dancing two by two pass secret words between each other, and it may be a married woman or man, then the trouble comes. So this is all the little story of the *rongo* traced back.

The following is believed to be one of the oldest *rongo* songs in the Kpala language :—

*Ambi rongo ni ngongi ma ruki de.*  
Strike the *rongo*, so that my buttocks may itch.  
*Odi gete ni gbogbi ma angi de.*  
Play so that my body may be active.  
*Arri rongo ni reki ma omi de.*  
Dance *rongo* so that my hands may be quick in striking.  
*Brizi kote moji mari rongo de.*  
Come on, you small boys, and dance the *rongo*.  
*Manjaye ambi rongoni ndakpa arri de*  
Manjaya, play the *rongo*, so that people may see,  
*Bedi gete towo azi ayi rongoni.*  
There is no dance like the *rongo*.  
*Grogri nganga ka lukpu ka koto angi tiri*  
Old men and women and boys, all get up  
*Api ka repe rongo tuya.*  
To dance the *rongo* of this season.  
*Manjaya ngrowo yamba kiji rongo koje*  
Manjaya, it is the *yamba*'s spirits which brought the *rongo* to the world.  
*Manjaye ambi rongo ni ngongi ma rukide*  
Manjaya, play the *rongo*, so that our buttocks may itch repeatedly.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS



PLAYING THE RONGO.

## KINANA CATTLE

By J. R. Scott

The native cattle of the Kinana and Rufaa districts of the Blue Nile Province have long been recognized as being above the normal standard of the Sudan. Typically they resemble the Shorthorn, in both size and conformation, but the commonest colour is steel grey, shading darker towards the extremities, and usually terminating in black points. The bulls are darker in colour than the cows, and have the pronounced hump common to all cattle of the Zebu type. The calves, which are born brown, change to steel grey after 3-6 months. The hair of the mature animals is short and wiry, and the skin black, the horns short, curving inwards and occasionally inwards and downwards, and often are not attached to the cranium, so can be articulated freely.

The persistence of these characteristics is an obvious example of natural selection, as experiments in breeding cattle in tropical countries have all demonstrated the importance of short wiry hair and strongly pigmented skins. The former permits greater elimination of body heat, and offers less protection to ticks, whereas the latter impedes the penetration of solar rays, which may cause skin-burn.

At present most of these cattle graze in the Jebel Moya area during the rains, when the southern reaches of the Blue Nile are practically inaccessible on account of floods, flies and mosquitoes. Then as the northern grazing grounds dry up, they return to the villages on the banks of the river, where most of the in-milk and heavily in-calf cows are left to provide the village milk supply, and the remainder follow the receding vegetation southwards to the southern grazing grounds, comprised largely of low-lying swamps along the river banks, and finally return northwards when the rains start.

The above system is excellently suited to existing circumstances. The beef industry is well established, and the difference between a good and an indifferent steer keenly appreciated. Purchases are usually made on the spot by a representative of one of the butchering establishments in the large towns. The dairy industry is however completely undeveloped, so, as very little cheese or butter is made, the supply of milk is usually in excess of the demand, and thus the emphasis is unfortunately on the quantity of breeding units—or cows—rather than on the quality.

The establishment of improved breeds of both dairy and beef cattle in temperate countries has been accomplished by generations of enthusiastic stockbreeders fixing the type by selection and line breeding. The same degree of success has not, however, been achieved in their efforts to establish pure breeds of dual-purpose (milk and beef) cattle, as the basic characteristics of 'beefiness' and 'milkiness' appear to be antagonistic. Even less progress has been achieved in their efforts to improve the standard of cattle in tropical countries by the introduction of European blood, as, apart from the difficulty of fixing the type, the progeny appears to inherit a greater capacity to produce than the environment is able to support, so either these cattle have to be maintained under entirely artificial conditions, which is uneconomical, or they degenerate.

In India, America, and the African colonies efforts have more recently been made to establish pure breeds of native cattle by the traditional method of selection and line-breeding, but again these have met with little success, as despite the very wide variation in local types of cattle it has been found impossible to procure foundation stock containing all the desired characteristics, and although many of the more undesirable characteristics have been eliminated, the final product is only mediocre.

The native cattle of the Sudan do not suffer from this handicap, as individual animals are known which contain separately all the desired characteristics which would be required to build up a really outstanding breed of Zebu type cattle, which would be dual-purpose in the tropical sense in milk and draught. This is possible, as the basic characteristics of 'milkiness' and 'draught'—temperament, docility, activeness, capacity, conformation, longevity and heat tolerance—are complementary and not antagonistic.

About thirty cattle of this type, including three daughters of an old cow who had averaged more than 500 gallons a year, were transferred by Major H. E. Pease to Njoro, Kenya; all were tested before their departure and passed as being free from tuberculosis, mastitis and contagious abortion. The Gezira Research Farm herd includes a cow which gave 729 gallons within a year, and another which looks fresh and young despite the fact that she is known to have produced more than twelve calves; also a bull which has proved equally satisfactory as a sire and draught animal. The School of Agriculture has another cow which has given more than five gallons a day. All the above animals were originally purchased direct from the Kinana and Rufaa districts, and all have been

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.



I. KINANA COWS  
GRAZING.

II. SIX YEAR OLD  
COW WITH HER  
FULL BROTHER,  
FOUR YEARS OLD.



III. SEVEN YEAR  
OLD BULL (note  
horn has become  
detached).

maintained entirely on locally grown foodstuffs, dry and fresh gussab (*Sorghum* sp.) and lubia (*Dolichos lablab*), millet, cotton and sesame cake.

The initial difficulties of establishing a pure breed of this nature are considerable, as cows which have been suckled and milked at the same time for two or three lactations, cannot be milked without their calves, thus making accurate milk recording of these animals impracticable. The question of stock bulls is even more difficult, as selection in the first place has to be made entirely on appearance, thus incurring the risk of introducing undesirable characteristics ; fortunately, however, these bulls are so docile that they can be retained without trouble as draught animals and reintroduced later for stock purposes, if the performance of their daughters justifies this.

So with the material already available it should prove practicable to establish a pure breed of Kinana cattle, which could be relied upon to produce an average of 500 gallons of milk containing 5% butter-fat per annum, and at the same time really first class draught animals. These cattle would be a great asset to the Sudan, and might in time give rise to a valuable export trade.

# TYPES OF DURA USED BY SHILLUK AND DINKA

by Hasan Mutwakil

## Introduction

In making this note I am quite aware of the fact that I have been in the Upper Nile Province for so short a time that I cannot guarantee its accuracy in every particular. It is the outcome of personal experience and observation and enquiries made among Shilluks and settled north-erners (*Gellāba*), and should be accepted as such. If, however, in the course of future investigation any doubt arises with regard to my information, I will do my best to correct or confirm what I now venture to put on record.

## Groups and Varieties

1. *Lwalli* is the Shilluk name for the 'early red dura.'

This dura is early in the sense that it is sown earlier than other crops. But it includes quick-maturing varieties as well as comparatively late-maturing varieties.

The word 'red' is not a precise description, as the colour of the grain is by no means uniform. The dura exhibits a large mixture of colours from dark red to white, most probably the result of crossing. All these colours can be produced in one field, often from plants in the same hole.

*Lwalli* includes a large number of sub-varieties, of which the following are more common :—

|                                                         |   |   |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---|---|----------------|
| <i>Toro</i> , a tall plant, late-maturing, seeds pink   |   |   |                |
| <i>Othech</i> „ „ „ „                                   |   |   |                |
| <i>Nyalwalding</i> , dwarf, quick-maturing              |   |   |                |
| <i>Nyakino</i> , dwarf, quick-maturing, seeds dark red. |   |   |                |
| <i>Wer Jal Nyigara</i> , dwarf, quick-maturing          |   |   |                |
| <i>Nyanwar</i> ,                                        | „ | „ | „              |
| <i>Nyafirwat</i> ,                                      | „ | „ | „              |
| <i>Nyanbar</i> ,                                        | „ | „ | „              |
| <i>Nyachogo</i> ,                                       | „ | „ | „ White        |
| <i>Yonongo</i> ,                                        | „ | „ | „ Brownish red |
| <i>Chiat alij</i> ,                                     | „ | „ | „              |

It is very difficult to distinguish between the plants or the seeds of these different sub-varieties. Certainly I cannot recognize the differences myself, but I also doubt whether the Shilluk can do so without being misled quite often. All these sub-varieties are generally treated, and behave, in the same way. They are sown early in June, reach maturity in 90-100 days, (exceptions are the heavy sub-varieties), and are harvested in mid-September in a normal year.

2. *Rwat* is the Dinka name for the Shilluk *lwalli*.

The same sub-varieties exist among the Dinka, and the names given above for the sub-varieties are used by them.

It is also grown as an early crop in Dinka land, but in much smaller quantities, as a subsistence crop only.

3. *Jak* is the Dinka name for the heavy, late-maturing dura. It is the Dinka main crop, and has several sub-varieties, of which those commonly known are :—

|                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>Awet</i>    | Seed colour white. |
| <i>Kuchuka</i> | „ „ yellowish.     |
| <i>Kwayan</i>  | „ „ orange red.    |

Again seed colour is not as pure as the above description may convey. A mixture of colours is always a usual sight in a field of this dura.

All sub-varieties of the *Jak* are considered as heavy or late-maturing. They are usually sown early in July, reach maturity in about six months, and are harvested towards the end of December.

4. *Agono* meaning 'white dura' is the Shilluk name for the Dinka *Jak*.

The same sub-varieties and their names as above are also used by the Shilluk. As a crop plant, however, the *Agono* is grown but little in the Shilluk district, except among the southern Shilluk between Malakal and Tonga, where it is grown as a main crop.

5. *Angul*, meaning in Shilluk, 'dura of the wind,' is a winter dura.

The name refers to no one variety, but actually any crop which is sown so late in the rains that it benefits from the cool north (winter) wind, is known to the Shilluk as *angul*.

As the wet period from which the *angul* may be expected to benefit is very short, it is natural that only quick-maturing varieties are selected

for the purpose. These are generally the lighter *lwalli* sub-varieties (e.g., *nyalwalding* and *nyanbar*).

*Angul* is generally sown in the middle of September. Being a *lwalli* sub-variety it matures in 90-100 days, and is therefore harvested in the second half of December.

#### *General*

1. I have not heard of the name *lwalli* being applied to maize, but maize may be, and in fact is, very rarely sown as *angul*. The yields obtained from such a crop are usually poor.

2. It may be of interest to note that *jak* or *agono*, is the most flood-resistant dura variety in this area. It tolerated continuous water-logging for more than 40 days in the 1946 rain season.

## THE TOLERANCE OF GARDEN PLANTS, FRUIT TREES AND SOME INDIGENOUS SPECIES TO IMMERSION IN FLOOD WATER IN BLUE NILE PROVINCE

By J. Robbie

The observations which follow were made between the 6th and 15th October, 1946, that is, approximately one month after the flood waters had begun to subside. In most gardens inspected the water had reached an average depth of about 1 metre, and the length of the period of immersion had occupied 25 days. An exception was found at the Singa garden, which had been flooded to a depth of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  metres at the lowest levels, where flooding persisted for a period of 40 days.

In the Kamlin area a considerable amount of silt had been deposited, and the principal feature noted there was the lush growth of *Cyperus rotundus* (Saida) on land which had previously been fairly free from this noxious weed.

The Indigo plant, *Indigofera arrecta* (Dahassir), grown at Kamlin in the past as an economic crop, and now a prevalent weed, had suffered slightly from immersion, but was making good recovery in all but the more deeply flooded areas, near and on the bank of the river.

Young sucker growth of *Zizyphus Spina-Christi* (Sidr) showed a similar resistance to the effects of flood water, but young shoots of *Acacia spirocarpa* (Sayal) had not survived the unusual conditions.

Isolated plants of *Cassia acutifolia* (Senna Mekka) were dead, and the intolerance of this indigenous, economic and medicinal plant to flood conditions was later observed at Singa, where it is grown on a commercial scale.

A low, thorny, scrubby plant (probably *Fagonia cretica*) suffered a similar fate, but since no economic or ornamental considerations attend the susceptibility of this plant to the flood, its inclusion in the list is of academic interest only.

Surprisingly, a small grove of Bananas was still alive, and recovering in spite of immersion for 20 days to a depth of 80 cm., but further inland a large proportion of sucker growths from Neems (*Azadarachta indica*) in a small forest were dead.

Some curious results were observed in the Singa garden, where the damage to established Citrus and Mangoes has been devastating. In the pleasure garden a very small proportion of the shrubs escaped damage, and most of these were planted on the higher levels, which may have helped them to keep their heads out of water. These included *Nerium Oleander*, *Caesalpinia pulcherrima*, *Plumeria rubra*, and *Duranta Plumieri*, all of which sustained some damage.

Two groups of *Ixora coccinia* and *Lagerstroemia indica*, however, had withstood the long immersion, and stood out as fine examples of healthy plants in a cemetery of dead standing shrubs.

These latter included :—

*Acalypha Wilkesiana*  
*Russelia Juncea*  
*Tabernaemontana coronaria*  
*Duranta Plumieri* var. *nana*  
*Vitex agnus-castus*  
*Daedalacanthus nervosus*  
*Poinsettia pulcherrima*  
*Lantana* in variety  
*Caesalpinia Gilliesii*  
Roses in variety.

The fine double screen of *Bougainvillea* flanking the main path which separates the pleasure garden from the fruit garden has survived, but the flood water mark at 2½ metres from ground level is apparent in the blackened woody stems, and the lack of all leaf growth below this mark. It has been considered advisable to cut back all top growth in these plants to induce the lower stems affected by the immersion to send out new growth.

The surrounding Ingal hedge (*Euphorbia scoparius*) was similarly affected and still lives,<sup>1</sup> but not in a healthy condition. A woody species of the same family, also used for hedging, *Phyllanthus capensis*, was found flourishing in a position where flood water had lingered long and deep.

In the fruit garden and nursery all young grafted stocks were lost, and the Bananas, Paw-paws and the immature Citrus and Mango plantations were destroyed.

It is difficult to assess and evaluate whether or not the size and age of the fruit trees, or varietal susceptibility to flooding are the more

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<sup>1</sup> It is now dead—Oct. 1947.

important factors which enable a tree to maintain its viability under the adverse circumstances of a flood, but it is a fact that most of the immature trees of 6 and 7 years planting, which were completely submerged, have died. The fact is unfortunate because the latter were high grade quality fruit trees selected for their commercial possibilities, while the older trees, which now remain, are, with the exception of one Mango, of seedling origin and of low grade fruiting quality.

It was noted that Citrus which survived have suffered some damage around the main stems, where the bark is splitting and peeling off in alarming proportions. This damage was not observed in any degree amongst mature Mangoes, excepting in the stems of the one high grade variety surviving.

Guava trees show a high degree of tolerance to flooding, and in the Sennar garden there has been a considerable improvement in their appearance and healthiness, while the Citrus have responded with a flush of inflorescence which bodes well for a summer crop in 1947.

Mangoes, too, at Singa, Sennar and Gezirat El Fil have produced a flush of blossom following the flooding in varying depths of their planting sites, and an early crop of fruit of a high financial value may be expected from them next March and April; some trees in the Singa garden retained a crop of fruit which had set before the flood, and these will find a ready market as they ripen in the near future.

Six Mulberry bushes in the Singa garden were completely immersed, and of these one only is alive, and in poor condition.

The Irrigation garden at Sennar seems to have benefited by the limited flooding that took place excepting for a Banana grove which is in poor trim. Guava trees are healthier than they have been for some years and the Mangoes are in full bloom and many of them carrying a crop of fruit.

The only specimen of a Loquat (*Eriobrya japonica*) did not survive, and this is the more unfortunate as the tree was approaching a stage of maturity when fruits might be expected.

At the Abu Geili nursery the number of grafted Citrus destroyed was considerable, but it was notable that Bitter Orange stocks, on which grafting had failed, had survived in the seed beds affected by flood. This is considered to be due to the fact that they had their heads out of the water, while the grafted plants were submerged, and not to any acquired intolerance of flooding by the grafted plants. Seepage accounted

for many of the Pawpaws at this nursery, and the Pigeon pea (*Cajanus indica*) used as windbreaks around the seed beds were destroyed completely.

The other important effect was a considerable increase in the incidence of Saida grass (*Cyperus rotundus*), and this plant is going to be a difficult and expensive weed to remove from the nursery.

In the Club gardens at Wad Medani a number of shrubs have died, and others have been adversely affected. Cannas, too, have had a great struggle to survive, and replacements are being sought for at the Gezira Research Farm. It was noted that *Lagerstroemia indica*, as at Singa, was resistant, and the sister species *L. Flos-Reginae* showed no ill effects from the flooding.

At Hantoub the levels of the newly prepared sports grounds have been altered by deposition of silt and sand, and a heavy crop of Saida grass (*Cyperus rotundus*) awaits clearance.

Well established bushes of Ushar (*Calotropis procera*) at the Hantoub site suffered many deaths, and the remaining plants show distinct signs of the trying period they have passed through.

The cultivators at Gezirat El Fil have lost large areas of Bananas, the younger plantations of Citrus have gone, and young Date Palms submerged by the flood have not survived.

Guavas and mature Mangoes, as at other plantations, are in a healthy condition, and should provide some compensation, in due course, for the losses incurred in the Banana groves.

It was impossible to identify many of the grasses and herbs which had been destroyed by flood conditions, and no attempt has been made to include these in the list of plants affected.

Amongst the mature fruit trees it may be accepted that Mango, Date Palms, Bitter Orange, Lime and Guava show the greatest toleration to flood conditions, while Grape Fruit, Sweet Orange, Tangerine, Mulberry and Bananas show the least, and in that order.

## THE MIGRATION OF GAME IN THE BOMA AREA

By R. E. Lyth

In view of recent correspondence on the subject, the following remarks on the migration of game in the Boma area may be of interest. I was stationed at Boma from 1941 to 1944, and was able to observe each of the northward and southward migrations during that time.

White-eared cob form the majority of the animals taking part in the migration, but tiang, lesser eland, Mongalla gazelle, and zebra, are also present in large numbers.

The southward migration occurs usually in May, when the rains set in, but may be expedited or delayed by the rains being early or late. The northward migration usually takes place in October, when the rains start to diminish, but the date of this is also determined by the state of the rains.

It is impossible to estimate the number of animals taking part in these migrations and it is easy to exaggerate, but I have always reckoned that it runs into millions. As seen from a hilltop, the whole countryside appears to be on the move. I have seen natives throw spears with their eyes shut and hit an animal every time. The animals appear to show less fear of man or of lion than at other times, and both take full advantage of this.

The migrations (northwards and southwards) can be said very approximately to pass between J. Lochiret (20 miles S.W. of Boma) and the Kenamuke swamp (50 miles S.W. of Boma). Moving slowly, and grazing as they go, they take some 10 days to pass, always keeping to the plains. The cob drop their young early, and these are seen in large numbers in the northward migration. By the time the southward migration takes place, every species has calved.

I am unable to say where the animals spend the summer months, except that, seeking refuge from the bogs of the cotton-soil plains, they must live on the sandier soil at the bases of hills. Certainly I have seen large numbers of them remaining around J. Kathangor (50 miles S.W. of Boma) after the southward migration is over. They probably scatter after passing the Boma-Kenamuke line and trek southwards, choosing their wet season grazing grounds as they go, until, as reports state, some of them reach the Kenya border. Whilst stationed at Sevat Ambo

(Loelli), 75 miles south of Boma, I saw very few animals in the wet season and no cob at all.

My observations of their distribution when the animals scatter after the northward migration are more exact. Zebra and eland remain largely within a radius of fifty miles to the north and west of Boma. Tiang are found in very large numbers on K. Geni (to the S.W. from Akobo Post). Mongalla gazelle are scattered in small parties over the whole area, northwards to Akobo and westwards to Kapoeta. Many thousands of cob pass near Pibor Post going north, usually late in October ; but they are not seen on their return in May. They reside in very large numbers during the dry season on the Akobo River, from Ukwat (40 miles north of Boma), down nearly to Akobo Post. I am told that great numbers also cross the Akobo River and spend the dry season in the Gila River area.

Of course the dry season distribution indicated above is only very approximate, and herds of most of these species can be found everywhere. Many animals migrate only a short distance, and many get left behind and never migrate at all. Many hundreds of cob, for instance, remain on the Akobo River, and are followed by the Anuak in canoes and speared on the ant-hills and other high ground where they have taken refuge from the floods.

The reasons for the migrations are, of course, not far to seek. The dry season habitat of the animals becomes waterlogged or actually flooded, and the grass reaches a height of eight feet ; they therefore migrate southwards in search of firmer soil and shorter grass. In October their water supplies in the south begin to run out and the grass begins to die ; they therefore migrate northwards again to the permanent water of the rivers and the more fertile soil, where the new young grass will soon be springing up. In May and October therefore, scattered all over the countryside, force of circumstances sets them on the move, and they come together and take the shortest practicable course to their new seasonal grazing grounds. Mountains and human occupations prevent their taking a more easterly route, whilst poor grazing and a certain scarcity of water militate against their passing much to the west of J. Kathangor.

I have attempted to give a sober and unembroidered account of these migrations. This has not been easy, for the sight is one which, once seen, can never be forgotten, and must be considered one of the minor wonders of the world.

## BIRD TALK

By T. R. H. Owen

"No" said Riheid, the Baggari with whom I was chatting, "not all the birds talk; but some use human words which we can make out. For instance the guinea-fowl is a religious bird, the only one except the hoopoe (who spread his wings to keep the sun off King Solomon's head), and he quotes the Qoran to us, warning us of the day of doom and saying, ' *El shamis iza kuwirat, el nuğum iza inkaderat* ' and so on with the *şura*. Though some do say that the guinea-fowl once had a king called Suraj; they grew tired of him and sent him packing, but were so feather-brained and incompetent to run their own affairs that they soon began to scuttle about in the bush looking for their lost king and piping " *Suraj, Suraj,* " and so they have done ever since."

This seemed to me a better representation of the bird's irritating reiterations than the religious theory, and I tried him with other game-birds and bustards. "There's the partridge," he said, "which some call the *halfaya* and we call *el kuweira* because that is the noise he makes"; (this was Clapperton's Francolin, and his harsh *kuweir, kuweir* may be heard any early morning, especially in the rains, from the Hamar to the Zande). "There is also the little bustard" (Savile's pygmy bustard) "whom further north they call *Um 'Akkara*, but we call her *Um Kudukak*. She had a child once, called Sakkak, and she lost him and went round looking for him, and whenever the neighbours asked her what she was seeking she would reply melancholiously " *ana be-kus Sakkak.* " There must have been a hill about, for there was an echo, which you don't often get in our *dar*, and it just half-caught her words and gave back *ku-da-kak, ku-da-kak.* "

This also struck one as a fair interpretation, and I tried another line. "No" said Riheid, "the big hornbill, the *Abun Duluk*, doesn't talk. He just booms, and he is the worst omen of all the birds. I never go hunting and I never carry on with a journey if I see one when I set out. Oh it may be all imagination, but look at Sereir there; he went after giraffe two years ago and he saw two *abun dulus* and he carried on, and the very next day he was in mid-chase and his horse put its foot in a hole and broke its leg and nearly broke his neck. And don't you remember how angry you were with the omda Abul Gasim for not turning up at the

meglis in September ? He told you his wife had aborted and you didn't believe him. Quite right too. The truth was that he saw an *abun duluk* when he had gone half a day's journey, and so went home. And the very day after you saw him and berated him, she *did* abort. But some people say the *abun duluk* can't do you any harm if you put him up and get a view of the white on his wings. Personally I never trust him. Now the *Şagur el Abyad* (the Chanting Goshawk), he's the opposite ; we call him *el tair el bashir* for he always brings you good luck." I remembered an occasion near Kaka when one of these fine goshawks swept in front of our faces and within two hundred yards we had run into two lions and shot one of them, so that the superstition seemed almost to have support in practice.

However I returned Riheid to the subject of voices. " Now the *Abu Mangur*" (the lesser grey hornbill), " he is a hungry and miserable fellow, always *mazlum*, who goes about wailing ' *Şeif wa kharif ma dugtu ferik* '—' All summer and rains I've never had a ripe dura-head,' and his friend the red-billed-hornbill laughs at him and gives that chuckling mumble of his over and over again—' *T'akul um baṭn, t'akul um baṭn* '—' All you'll get is gripes.' " I had heard the wail of the one and the chuckle of the other a thousand times and was glad to know what they meant.

" How about the doves ? " I asked. " There's only one which has anything to say," he answered, and described the common black-collared little dove : " he is an old quidnunc who is never content with the present and keeps harking back to former times and saying ' *kheir gabl, kheir gabl, kheir gabl* '—' It was better in the past.' Our Dinka neighbours will tell you that he is a litigant with a very big dowry case, two hundred cows, and he can't stop saying ' *Bwodkarou, bwodkarou* '—' Two hundred of 'em.' But the Dinka were always litigious and can't keep their minds off cows as we can.

" Now if you want talkers, listen to the owls. There's the little *Tiu*" (the Pearl-spotted owlet) " which drawls his own name all down the scale every evening. And there's the big eagle-owl ; she's a mother, and her little daughter, *Kozi*, is dead and she can't help brooding over it all night and saying deep down in her chest ' *Kozi,—mmmm, Kozi,—mmmm.* ' We don't much mind her, but we can't abide that other owl " (the White Faced owl) " which hoots ' *Ghatt-o, ghatt-o* '—' cover it up ' ; he's referring to a corpse, and if you hear that when you're sick all the fikis in Kordofan can't help you."

"Are there any others?" I asked. "Not many" said Riheid, "but there's that little bird which comes with the rains and sits on the top of a tree and keeps telling you that his arm is broken '*eed-i-inkaserat, eed-i-inkaserat*'; however, it gets well, for before the end of the rains he slightly changes his note and says less mournfully '*eed-i-biriat*.'" One of these persistent little Didric Cuckoos had sat on a *heraz* tree in my garden and repeated his egotistical and piercing observations for most of the last rains, till I had thrown a stone at him and nearly accomplished what he was complaining about.

"We don't often see that yellow bird," (the Yellow breasted Barbet) "in *dar* Baggara," he went on. "I've seen him when going to Omdurman; the two birds always cry out together, and the Arabs along the river say that they are quarrelling about a piece of cloth; the cock wants to tear it up and keeps calling '*Sherrat-o, sherrato*,' and the hen is determined to sew it up and repeats after him '*Khaiyat-o, khaiyat-o*.' I think they sing more during the rains. But the bird which really foretells the rain is the little *Abun Taggaga*" (the Nubian Woodpecker); "he's always tapping the trees, and you hear him give that laughing squawk when there's some good storms about, and we like him." I thought of the green woodpecker at home, known in many country districts as "the rain bird," who certainly likes to be noisier in rainy weather, and presumably his cousin here is of the same mind.

"What about that brownish bird that sings so beautifully morning and evening?" I asked, meaning the Ethiopian Thrush, one of the only two or three fine songsters in the country. Riheid looked puzzled, then said, "Oh yes, I know the one; but we don't think much of him; he can't talk; he only sings. We call him *Um Balat*, the plasterer, because he plasters up the inside of his nest with mud." This again struck a familiar note as one thought of a song-thrush's nest in the garden at home.

"Some of the birds," continued Riheid, "are good neighbours and some are bad. The worst of all is the *Riheiu*" (Cattle Egret). "They don't nest in our *feriks* of course, but they do in lots of villages and always alongside the *Simbiras*" (Abdin's Stork). "Whenever the *simbira* is not looking they nip on to his nest and are off with a stick or two for building their own; they are as filching a lot of parasites as the Hawazma. In fact the people often say of a bad neighbour '*Girat-o zey girat el riheiu ma'a el simbira*'—'he'll be as good a neighbour to you as an egret is to a stork.'" And talking of bad neighbours," went on Riheid, "there's a

little matter I should like to mention to you ; it's about that fellow El Nueiri, who married my divorced wife last year and hasn't yet coughed up some of the cattle. In fact, *genabak, ana mazlum . . .*" and here the conversation went off at a different angle.

## OBITUARY

### JACK HERBERT DRIBERG

Jack Herbert Driberg was born in Assam in 1888, and was educated at Lancing and Hertford College, Oxford. In 1912, he joined the Uganda Administration and served in that country until 1921, when he was transferred to the Sudan Political Service when certain areas of which he had specialized knowledge were taken over from Uganda by the Sudan. In Uganda, he worked for several years among the Nilotic Lango, who are one of the tribes of the Shilluk-speaking group, and it was there that his interest in African peoples and their culture was first aroused. His first book, an ethnological monograph on these people, was published in 1923, and at the time was regarded as a model of its kind. In the Sudan, he turned to the Didinga, Longarim, Topotha and kindred tribes of the Nilo-Hamitic group who lived in the District he administered. On the Didinga, he wrote many articles as well as a book written in the medium of the historical vignette which portrays intimately the life, activities and feelings of a primitive African tribe. He did not, however, remain long enough in the Sudan to complete his researches, and was not able to provide more than a series of preliminary surveys of various aspects of life in this area. He retired from the Sudan in 1925.

As an anthropologist, he worked at London University as a student and at Cambridge, where in 1934, he was appointed Lecturer to the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, a post which he held until 1942. At Cambridge his personality, his vivid imagination, his unconventional manner and his personal charm made him an inspiring teacher. Here was a man outside the ordinary run who could portray his subject as a fascinating study, never a dull grind. He infected others with his enthusiasm, and it was undoubtedly due to his personal efforts that the School of Social Anthropology at Cambridge grew and flourished in the years immediately before the War. A man of wide experience and maturity of mind, he was yet able to enter into the spirit of undergraduate life, and among his pupils he had many real and lasting friends.

Professor Evans-Pritchard has written of him: "Jack Driberg would have been the same person in any walk of life. The classical scholar, heavyweight boxer of distinction, poet and musical critic of Oxford; the successful administrator who won the affection of those

he administered, exceptional linguist and fighter of Central Africa; the inspiring tutor, stylist and brilliant talker—at his best *splendide mendax*—of London and Cambridge, and volunteer for desperate hazards in the years of War; all were of one piece, gay, versatile, lovable and adventurous—an Elizabethan. He was a rare spirit and his weaknesses were consistent with the heroic in his personality and further endeared him to his friends. The gods give us faults to make us men."

The comparative inactivity of University life in the early years of the War he found irksome, and he left Cambridge in 1942 to do special work in connection with military operations in the Middle East. He returned to England in 1944, and was working in the Middle East section of the Ministry of Information when he died suddenly on February 5th 1946. He had for some time been a convert to Islam and was buried at the Muslim cemetery near Woking.

P.P.H.

### CECIL THOMAS MADIGAN

Cecil Thomas Madigan, who was a member of the staff of the Geological Survey of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1920-21, died on January 14th, 1947, at Adelaide, in Australia, at the age of 57.

Madigan arrived in the Sudan on April 8th, 1920. He had taken the bachelor's degree in geology in the University of Adelaide in 1910, and was awarded the diploma and fellowship of the South Australia School of Mines.

Until 1914, he was a member of the Australian Antarctic Expedition led by Sir Douglas Mawson, for which work he was awarded the King's Polar Medal. He joined the Royal Engineers and served four-and-a-half years in Western Europe. He was twice wounded and mentioned in despatches. On demobilisation, with the rank of captain, he was able to take up his Rhodes Scholarship, bestowed on him in 1910, and achieved a first in geology in the final Honours School at Oxford in 1919.

On arrival in the Sudan, he organized the transfer of supplies, surveyors and kit from Khartoum to Gallabat for the Lake Tana Mission. On this journey, a detailed survey was made on water-supplies and geology of the area between Gedaref and Gallabat, and on the road between Wad Medani and Gedaref via el Fau.

In the same year he made a similar investigation of water-supplies and geology covering the area of the Kawahla and Meganin tribes west

of el Obeid. This was described in a detailed report, the third part of which covered the line of successful bores sunk shortly after his trek along the road from Sa'cata to Nahud and on to Dam Gamad.

In the autumn of the same year he examined the Ras Rauwiya salt concession, inspected the Gabait gold mines, the newly-opened mine in Wadi Oyo, and concessions at Amaneb and Shishuteb.

Dr. Madigan left the Sudan in the early summer of 1921 to take up a geological appointment in the University of Adelaide, where he remained until his death.

His work in Australia was devoted to exploration in barren territory. Dr. Madigan used modern methods of transport as well as those of tradition. He was the first to use aircraft for systematic exploration in Australia and made many journeys by motor and camel. His work covered the Lake Eyre region, and he explored and named the "Simpson Desert" west of the Queensland border.

G.A.

## REVIEWS

**A Bibliography of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from the Earliest Times to 1937.** COMPILED BY R. L. HILL. *Oxford University Press*, 1939. *pp.* xii and 213.

By a curious omission, doubtless due to its having been published on the eve of the outbreak of the recent war, no mention has yet appeared in *Sudan Notes and Records* of a work which has already received notice in British and Continental journals.

This is not the first attempt at a bibliography of the Sudan. In 1886, Prince Ibrahim Hilmy published "The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan," a sprawling, untidy work with much information packed within its two quarto volumes. But whereas Ibrahim Hilmy marshalled his references in author-order, Hill has built his bibliography on subject-order with separate indexes of authors and subjects. Of the two methods the second is kinder to the reader, but it has the weakness of leading to repetition where titles cover more than one subject.

It is only to be expected that mistakes and omissions occur here and there in the text. There are limits to a bibliographer's knowledge as to his ubiquity, for bibliography of this kind involves much verification, much travel, much labour in vain. It would be unprofitable, therefore, to attempt a list of individual corrections which are beyond the scope of a review. Many are obvious and would probably be removed in a second printing; the rest are expert's work and it is to be hoped that the experts in particular branches of Sudan studies will respond to Hill's invitation to notify him of errors and omissions.

In a revised edition, the small output of literature written by Sudanese authors will receive some additions and there will be a section devoted to the literature of the world war of 1939-45, for the Sudan has featured in many books and pamphlets of the war years. Ideally, the work of continuing the record of the bibliography of the Sudan is one for a committee or, perhaps, for a public body such as Gordon College. Indeed, the maintenance of a country's bibliography is generally coming to be regarded as almost a public obligation.

**The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan.** BY LIEUT.-COLONEL E. W. C. SANDES, D.S.O., M.C., R.E. (RETD.). *The Institute of Royal Engineers, Chatham.* 1937. Price 18s.

"In March, 1800, a party of Turks and Arabs traversed the desolate wastes of the Sinai Desert from Syria and straggled into a large camp . . . 30 miles from Cairo. At their head rode Captain Thomas Lacy, whose energy and patience were soon to be tested to the utmost in advising the lethargic leader of an Ottoman army. Thus the first Royal Engineer came to Egypt."

Now, nearly 150 years later, the Royal Engineers and the other British forces are leaving Egypt. Colonel Sandes' book is a detailed record of the great and varied achievements of the R.E.'s during this momentous age. Reading it, one is struck again and again by the *variety* of the work done by the members of this renowned regiment. There is hardly an event in the military history of Egypt and the Sudan during this century and a half where R.E.'s were not playing an important part. There are also innumerable victories of peace where the resource and imagination of an Engineer supplied the driving force.

This history is rich in the names of men, impressive both for what they were and for what they did. There are the great names—Gordon and Kitchener, Graham of Tel el Kebir and Tamai, Girouard of the desert railway, and Gorringe, who rebuilt Khartoum. They were all sons of Woolwich. There are others too, who, in their varied ways, left almost as deep an impression on the land they worked in. There is Wilson, who, as a young man was exploring Sinai and measuring the pyramids, and later led the gallant but forlorn attempt to relieve Gordon in 1885. There is Lyons, the great Egyptian geologist and antiquarian. There is Talbot, whose lonely trails still dot the blank spaces of our northern maps and who founded the Sudan Survey Department. There is Scott-Moncrieff, who laid the foundations of sound irrigation practice in Egypt and saved the Nile Barrage from collapse. There is Midwinter, who brought the first railway to Khartoum North and later became Director of the Sudan Railways. And there is Bowman-Manifold who, despite frequent kicks from Kitchener, did so much, and with so limited resources, to supply the army and new government with telegraph lines. The contributions which soldiers make to history usually tend to be violent and, in their immediate effects, destructive. Not so, however,

with the R.E.'s. Their achievements are as much concerned with the building of the new Egypt and the new Sudan as with the clearing away of the old.

Some of the best chapters in this book are concerned with predominantly engineering projects. Those on the Cataract Railway and the Desert Railway are full of interesting detail. But the ordinary descriptions of straightforward campaigns are almost as good. The maps of battles and fortifications are excellent. The illustrations consist of a number of modern photographs and several reproductions of old drawings. A greater number of the latter would have been a welcome addition to the book.

In addition to his thorough sweep of major events, Colonel Sandes provides a mine of anecdote and intriguing detail. The 'dipper,' as opposed to the serious student, can read of how a balloon unit was employed in the Red Sea campaign, of how Kitchener ordered the first Sudan stamps to be prepared, of how a runaway train was chased on the Kerma railway, or of grimmer little epics like the death of the Khalifa or Austin's tragic expedition to Lake Rudolf.

Despite its inherently limited angle of approach, this book succeeds as a general military history of the place and period. This is partly because the R.E.'s were so ubiquitous and partly because the author's wide interest is never content with the actions of his own men alone, but rightly presents us with a rich account of the period and setting in which those actions happened.

More exhaustive histories of the Sudan and Egypt during the past century may come to be written, though none exist at present. But a more *readable* history than this is unlikely to be written. The explanation for this success may be that the author has, perhaps unintentionally, exploited a method which many of our most popular historians use. They make a decade glow by writing of it round some glittering central character. To write of a century in the same way, an institution must take the place of a personality and supply the romantic central theme. And surely the history of the last hundred and fifty years in the Nile Valley can offer few themes more stirring than the lives and achievements of these hardy, active, thoughtful Sappers.

• R.A.H.

**Listening for the Drums.** BY GENERAL SIR IAN HAMILTON. *Faber and Faber.* 1944.

Sir Ian Hamilton's recollections are mainly devoted to early days before the turn of the century, to vivid pictures of soldiering and sport, society and personalities in India, and to the South African Wars.

For readers in this country, interest will centre upon the part played by the author, who already at that time had won recognition on active service in other fields, in the attempt made to relieve Gordon by the River Column, which dragged its flat-bottomed boats up through the cataracts to Kirbekan, in the Monasir country, and there defeated a considerable Dervish army before turning back. He gives his own dramatic account of this campaign, and believes that if General Earle, whom he greatly admired as a leader of men, had not been killed by a chance bullet while resistance was being mopped up after his victory, the Column under his command would have pressed on and could alone have reached Khartoum in time and relieved Gordon, even though the Desert Column failed.

Sir Ian has always favoured a bold course, a fact which has brought both success and criticism, and which gives this book much of its charm and incident. What might have happened had he been in a position to take or to influence the decision after Kirbekan must remain a tantalizing though, perhaps, unprofitable field for speculation.

N.McL.I.

**Introduction to Egyptian Archæology (with special reference to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo).** Edited by R. ENGELBACH. *Cairo.* 1946. P.T. 250.

This volume is intended for students and for visitors who wish really to understand the collection in the Cairo Museum. It contains much information on Egyptology which many students do not know, and the chapters on Architecture, Burial Customs, Materials, Mummification and Religion contain original matter.

The general idea of the volume is an excellent one, and it is what is needed by students of Egyptology anywhere, not only in Cairo. The achievement, possibly due to the editor's unfortunate illness and death before the volume appeared in print, has fallen far short of what it might have been. Like the curate's egg, this book is good in parts, but in parts it could easily be expanded and improved; and it is to be hoped that

before long someone will undertake a second edition, which could be a most valuable book. It is assumed that as far as Egypt is concerned, the facts recorded are accurate, but where it concerns the Sudan—and this is particularly unfortunate, for a book like this would have been invaluable to our Sudanese students, who are beginning to study the archæology of their own country and Egypt—there are many inaccuracies, and these must now be pointed out in the hope that they will be removed from the next edition.

On page 22 'Nehesi' is still translated 'negro,' although there is now considered to be no racial meaning in the term, as a translation of which 'southerner' is to be preferred.

On page 30 no mention is made of the great 12th Dynasty trading centre excavated by Dr. Reisner at Kerma, and it reads as if the frontier was always at Semna during the 12th Dynasty.

On page 52 and again on page 55 it is stated that the Ethiopians under Queen Candace invaded Egypt. 'Ethiopians' is a misleading term, and the 'Kingdom of Kush' is preferable to 'Ethiopia,' which leads to confusion with Abyssinia. 'Candace' is a title and not a name, and 'Queen Candace' only means 'Queen Queen,' and is not an expression which should find a place in a serious book. There is little evidence for this invasion of Egypt, of which the little Kingdom of Napata, then independent of Meroe, was not capable; and according to Strabo it was merely a raid on the town of Syene which led to the punitive expedition of Petronius.

The paragraph on the Napatan and Meroitic Civilizations (pp. 54-57) is full of inaccuracies. There is the hoary confusion between ancient Meroe and modern Merowe, situated where Napata used to be. Neither are 20 kilometres downstream from Khartoum, from which Meroe is 220 kilometres distant by river and Merowe about 700 kilometres.

It is not by any means certain that Tutankhamun built the first temple of Amun at Barkal. Reisner concluded (J.E.A., vol. iv, pp. 223) that it was more probably built by Haremhab or Seti I.

Reisner's theory that the founders of the Kingdom of Kush, which gave Egypt its 25th Dynasty, were Libyans is not now generally accepted, and it is more likely that they were egyptianized-Sudanese from Dongola. There is no reason to think that the inhabitants of this part of the Sudan were negro then any more than they are to-day, although they may have a little negro blood in their make-up.

Dows Dunham shows in an article in this volume of *Sudan Notes and Records* that the transfer of the capital from Napata to Meroë probably took place about two centuries before Nastasen, and the reason for the transfer was not because Meroë was better able to control the trade routes to Egypt, which it was not, but that having lost control of Egypt, the Kingdom of Kush had to look for its revenue less to the north and more to the rainbelt further south, which produced grain, cattle and manpower, and on the northern fringes of which Meroë is situated.

There is no reason whatever to say that Meroë was destroyed by the Nobadæ, and the site was not occupied by Axum in the 5th century A.D. After centuries of degeneration, Meroë was sacked by an expedition sent by Æizanas, the king of her trade rival, Axum, about 350 A.D., whose army is said to have reached the land of the Red Noba, possibly the Napatans, who seem to be the people subsequently known as the Nobadæ in the century or two that followed the fall of Axum.

On page 57 it is stated that "the relation between the Meroitic language and other tongues has not been very definitely established," whereas no language has yet been found to which it is related; and no reference is made either here or in the Bibliography to Griffith's *Meroitic Inscriptions* or *Meroitic Studies*, or to the work of Zyhlarz.

In the Index of Principal Antiquity Sites on pp. 72ff. some of the more important sites in the Sudan are mentioned, but other equally important ones, such as Faras, Buhen, Semna, Amara, Tumbus, Kerma, Argo and Kawa are omitted, and should be included.

On page 103, in the paragraph on the Tombs of Ballana and Qustul, it is wrongly stated that the X-Group graves at Sai Island and Wawa have been excavated.

On page 105, Emery's theory that the X-Group people were the Blemmyes (who were certainly the ancestors of the Beja, the nomads of the Eastern Desert) is adopted; whereas, it is more probable that these sedentary people were those referred to by Silko as the upper Nobades, presumably the Napatans, the descendants of the inhabitants of the northern part of the Kingdom of Kush, who several times asserted their individuality and made themselves independent of Meroë. It is stated here that the Nobadæ lived in the Western Desert, but although climatic conditions probably are somewhat severer to-day than they were then, it is unbelievable that the Western Desert could even then have

supported a people strong or numerous enough to have prevented the Blemmyes from raiding Egypt.

In referring to the plates, several wrong numbers are given, which should be corrected, and surely the blocks for Figs. 27-29, on page 148, giving various forms of the uræus, are all inverted?

On page 255, the statement that "pots were baked on the ground as a mixed heap of pots and fuel, covered perhaps with dung to conserve the heat" suggests a misconception of the simple method of firing pots which is still common in the Sudan, and has been described more than once in *Sudan Notes and Records*. The use of dung is, of course, not to conserve the heat, but the dried dung is the fuel itself and the kiln actually burns only for a very few hours.

A. J. ARKELL.

## CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records*.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Wainwright's paper in Volume XXVI, part 1, of *Sudan Notes and Records*, suggests that the forests of Meroe, which provided charcoal for iron-smelting, were of sunt (*Acacia arabica* or *nilotica*). This is unlikely, as sunt, apart from the khor form of Kordofan, is a tree of inundated areas and would not extend on to the plain. Talh (*Acacia seyal*) is more probable; it produces a good charcoal which is esteemed more than that of sunt for general purposes, as sunt charcoal disintegrates violently when burnt. This might not matter in iron-smelting.

The phrase *silvarum aliquid* is very vague. To the traveller coming from Egypt by train to-day, the groves of seyal trees (*Acacia spirocarpa*) near Kabushia might merit this description. Even nowadays the trees of the desert scrub might be sufficient for iron-smelting in this region; during the Great War it supplied wood for Sudan Railways locomotives. However, the elephant and rhinoceros certainly suggest a different type of vegetation.

Yours faithfully,

J. K. JACKSON.

Katire, Torit,

November 5th, 1946.

The Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records*.

DEAR SIR,—Dr. Bloss' article on the tsetse fly in the Sudan (Vol. XXVI, part 1), has already been the subject of comment by Colonel Cave, but I feel that some of his other statements about fly on the east bank are open to query. Dr. Bloss, for instance, states "One can imagine in a dry season" (on the east bank) "that game will move further and further down a river" and that fly will inevitably follow it. As, however, the east bank rivers disappear into dry plains, they dry from the plains upwards; and supposing that game were to follow this water, they would follow it up towards the sources, and not down. He further states that "natives living along the main rivers such as the Kineti have more and more difficulty in keeping their cattle alive each year." Reference to local chiefs can produce no evidence that there have ever been any native-owned cattle on the Kineti, which has presumably been fly country from time immemorial.

In the Torit and Eastern Districts the transition from areas of vegetation harbouring fly to that not harbouring fly is abrupt—a matter of yards. At the edge of the plains area at the foot of the Boma Plateau, for instance, particularly on the west and southern sides, one can sit in entirely fly-free open cotton soil plains and fire a bullet into fly-infested bush growing on red cotton soil adjacent. As far as I have been able to observe, the fly does not follow the game out on to the cotton soil plains.

The area north of the Juba-Torit road with its centre about 25 miles west of Juba is instanced by Dr. Bloss as an area where tsetse has been spread north of the road by game movements. I suggest, on the contrary, that this is an excellent example of an area where the presence of tsetse is conditional on the type of vegetation. Anyone who has driven from Juba to Torit by this road will remember coming through the striking fly-free Lyria valley and then abruptly plunging into the wide fly-infested Khor Kudu swamp. This swamp area is the fly area, and the northern edge of it is the northern edge of the type of country which will harbour fly. Where man cultivates a large area in fly country it will become fly-free, and when it is allowed to revert to bush wild animals and fly will again be found there; but fly will not follow game into country unsuitable to it and breed there.

I suggest that any statements that tsetse have, in Torit and Eastern Districts, been spread northwards by following game, be very carefully examined before they are accepted.

Torit,

Yours, etc.,

A. B. ANDERSON, *Major*.

December 12th, 1946.

The Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records*.

DEAR SIR,—Having served as an officer of the Equatorial Corps during the war years, I am in possession of a few facts, which may be of interest about the game migration referred to by Colonel Cave in his letter in Vol. XXVI, part II.

I first met the White-eared Cob on October 22nd, 1943, when a few small herds were moving north across the Boma-Kapoeta road, east of North Khor. I do not know if these were the advance guards or the stragglers of the main body, but I think the former more likely.

On October 20th, 1944, I also saw a few heads, but I was unable to tell in which direction they were moving.

I spent a week from about November 11th of that year near J. Kathangor, and there I saw the main body of the migration moving slowly northwards. It was impossible to estimate the numbers, but there were very many thousands, and they were accompanied by the usual carnivora.

In early February, 1945, I saw many small herds around Ukwa and Ukadi on the River Kobo, and was informed that they were to be found there throughout the dry season.

Towards the end of May I saw several thousand tiang travelling southwards about 50 miles north-east of Kapoeta. This was a much more clearly-defined movement than that of the cob. On this occasion I saw no cob, but a little later, on May 26th, I saw a few near J. Inidh, 40 miles west of Boma. The main body, I was informed, did not cross the Boma-Kapoeta road until about June 22nd, which gives an idea of the speed of the movement, as they must have taken three weeks or so to travel some 50 miles.

My next sight of the cob was in the bend of K. Curon, where it is crossed by the Boma-Loelli Road. Here there were many large herds, some several hundreds strong, but I was unable to detect any definite movement either way. I made no note of the date, but it must have been about the end of July, 1945.

Later that year I travelled on the Boma-Kapoeta road on October 7th and 17th and November 10th and 22nd, but on none of these occasions did I see more than a very few heads.

In general, I fully agree with Colonel Cave that the movement is casual and not clearly defined; and it is certainly very slow. I am inclined to believe the cob move northwards from the dry plains of north Kenya and the extreme south of the Sudan to North Khor, where they are compelled to converge on the Khor itself near J. Kathangor owing to the dearth of water east or west of it, and thence spread out on the marshy plains of Upper Nile Province and along the River Kobo. And then, after the rains begin, the plains of Upper Nile begin to flood and they once again move south, but this time without converging to such an extent on J. Kathangor, to the drier southern plains.

Yours faithfully,

J. T. WEEKS.

Fort Portal, Uganda.

December 20th, 1946.

To the Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records*.

DEAR SIR,—Apropos of our recent conversation in Nairobi and your interest in the migration of game, I am sending you some notes made on a day of trans-African flight in March, 1937. I should, perhaps, add that I was in the old Imperial Airways 'Hengist'—whose best performance (with a following wind) seldom permitted us to top 100 m.p.h. This helps to explain the times which follow :—

March 2nd, 1937 :—

- 06.05—"Left *Juba* and reached vast papyrus swamps within a matter of minutes.
- 07.10—*Bor*—and mile after mile of swamp. Many elephant and crocodile, and occasional canoes.
- 07.17—At my request, the pilot dropped to within 300 feet of the ground. Thousands of crocodile and more elephant; also many white egrets or tick-birds and lovely water-lilies.
- 07.19—Circled round a herd of elephant which I estimated to number 800. Continuing our wide circle we dropped to about 200 feet to see two baby elephant break away from the herd and hare off heavily on their own. They were immediately followed by fourteen adults running in Indian file. Soon after the leader had passed the totos he swerved and followed by the others, the grown-ups formed an unbroken running circle round the infants. Suddenly, as though a sergeant-major had given a command, the fourteen stopped, turned outwards, went into reverse until their hindquarters were tightly wedged to form a closely packed kraal round the totos. Raising their trunks and flapping their ears this living circle seemed to be trumpeting defiance at the great unknown and noisy monster which flew so closely and threateningly overhead—while inside the living kraal the totos ran round like excited pigs in a sty. A rather moving and, I should imagine, unusual sight.
- 07.25—Returned to course, soon to pass occasional native villages, each with only a dozen huts or so, in the immediate vicinity of which were small herds of long-horned cattle, coloured (like the natives) a dirty greyish white from the dust of veldt-fires. The most typical huts are of papyrus. North of the

papyrus swamps the country develops into a vast plain, as flat as a pancake and very similar (from the air) to the Western Free State between Bultfontein and Boshof.

- 07.40—Flying at 2,000 feet saw many giraffe on plains c. 700 feet below.
- 07.50—Many tens of thousands of (?) hartebeest (? tiang), and springbuck-type gazelle (? Grant's or ? Tommies) on trek ; like a wide, closely packed band of ants moving in a north-westerly direction. Width of moving band, 10 to 20 antelope ; estimated length, 12 to 15 miles. The bush now begins to thin rapidly to give way to a great scrub-and-grass-covered plain as far as the eye can see.
- 08.00—No bush—just khaki-coloured grass burnt in long wind-swept black strips covering hundreds of square miles, with black, fire-scarred stumps standing out ashily here and there.
- 08.15—The grassy plains, scarred as ever, continue drearily—the only relief being a vague and insubstantial line of hills on the eastern horizon—hills beyond which lies Abyssinia, some 80 miles away.
- 08.35—A dreary flight ! Struggling trees here and there ; a few giraffe, antelope and ostriches.
- 09.00—The vegetation increases, huts appear, and at long last the limpid sapphire of the Nile.
- 10.30—Malakal.

Yours, etc.,

C. VAN RIET LOWE.

Johannesburg,

February 20th, 1947.

The Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records*.

DEAR SIR,—There occurred at Akobo, Upper Nile Province, between February 15th and 17th, an example of the extraordinary death of fish, which has been the subject of recent correspondence. During these three days the river and banks were literally white with millions of dead fish. They exceeded the local consumption to such an extent that gangs had to be organized to clear the corpses off the banks. The stench was indescribable. The mortality appears to have extended from Konyi

(about 15 miles above Akobo on River Pibor) to Wanding (about 40 miles below).

The following species were represented :—*kas*, *bulti*, *egil*, *ras el hajar*, *gargūr*, *kawāra*, *tambera* and *bayād*. *Garmut* and *nōk* were not affected.

There was no drop in temperature, and the cause of death appears undoubtedly to have been due to suffocation. This phenomenon previously occurred during the flood years of 1917 and 1932. During such years, the fish population of the Pibor is enormously increased, due either to a vast influx from elsewhere or to greatly increased breeding locally. Prior to death, overcrowding had been such that fish had to be pushed aside before water could be drawn, bathing was impossible and a spear thrust into the water was invariably rewarded by a fish. The river had been dropping at the rate of 8 or 10 cms. a day. This was suddenly increased to 20 cms., and dead fish immediately started to appear. There were no signs of disease; indeed, the fish appeared to be particularly fat and healthy.

Yours, etc.,

R. E. LYTH.

Akobo,

February 27th, 1947.

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The Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records*.

DEAR SIR,—At the close of Dr. Bloss's very interesting article, "The Sudanese Angler" (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XXVI, part II, 1945), he invites descriptions of other methods of catching fish in the Sudan.

The Murle and Anuak tribes of Pibor District, Upper Nile Province, in addition to trapping and spearing fish, also use an instrument rather like a gaff.<sup>1</sup> This consists of a stick some 18 inches in length, into the end of which is fitted a metal hook. This is about 5 inches long and from 1½ to 2 inches across. Instead of a barb, the point of the hook has a double bend in it. Attached to the shaft of the hook is a string which is tied to the user's wrist.

The operation consists in rapidly sweeping the hook about under water in every direction. When a fish is hooked, the fisherman leaves

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<sup>1</sup> The Murle name for this is *agolo*, the Anuak, *golo*. A specimen has been sent to Khartoum Museum (where it is No. II 2205 in the Ethnological Collection. There is a Shilluk specimen (No. II 290) already in the collection, which is a more finished article, but has no double bend in the front half of the hook. The Shilluk name is said to be *gaulo*.—ED.)

go of the handle and hauls in the string. It is immaterial whether the hook comes off its handle or not.

This method is very effective where fish are plentiful, but is often the cause of an angry scene where human legs are also plentiful.

Yours, etc.,

Akobo,

R. E. LYTH.

February 19th, 1947.

The Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records*.

DEAR SIR,—In my article on "Little Known Tribes in the Bahr el Ghazal Basin," I quoted D. C. E. Comyn's statement on the *Beio*, a tribe reported to consist in 1906 of only nine adults (*Service and Sport in the Sudan*, page 258). Is the author of that fine book still alive? If so, can he tell us where that tribe lived, and if he has any more information about the same? In two tours through most part of the district known to Comyn, I inquired in all possible ways from as many people as possible, but I could find nobody who had ever heard their names. Information from the author might provide the clue to a more fruitful research.

Yours, etc.,

Wau,

FR. S. SANTANDREA.

February, 1947.

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The Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records*.

SIR,

1. At the moment, the Sudan is in the transitory stage between the tribal and the territorial forms of local government, and although tribal *esprit-de-corps* in most parts of the Sudan is still a very potent force in public life, the broader basis of some of the newer councils, the stronger appeal of national loyalty, the greater ease of communications and all the complex demands of the new economy will tend to weaken the individual's ties of tribal allegiance and reduce the potency of tribal cohesion as a vital factor in everyday affairs.

2. I suggest that while there are still links with the pre-occupation era and while the details of the general picture are still unblurred, your

journal should add to contemporaneous history by securing a photography-cum-letterpress record of every major tribal unit in the Sudan.

3. The format of such records would be mainly pictorial, with only brief letterpress added to cover essential facts on some such skeleton as the following :—

- (1) Map—showing the geographical position of the tribe.
- (2) Note—giving name, numbers, language-group, outstanding anthropological characteristics, the main dates and events in tribal history and its economic importance.
- (3) Photographs of :—
  - (i) Head of tribe, in ceremonial dress if possible.
  - (ii) Typical Sheikh.
  - (iii) Ordinary adult male and female (if possible), full face and side view without headdress.
  - (iv) Boy and girl, full face and side view without head-dress.
  - (v) Typical house and compound.
  - (vi) Animals.
  - (vii) Particular products (*e.g.*, pots, knives or wood carvings).
  - (viii) Group of persons engaged in any activity peculiar to the tribe.
  - (ix) Views of the country inhabited by the tribe.

4. If the record were kept as brief as possible, three or four tribes could be dealt with in each volume, or if the material were readily available, a whole volume could be devoted to two or three provinces.

5. Such a series, apart from its value as a contemporaneous record, would be of great general interest and, if finally published in book form, would prove an invaluable addition to school and other libraries.

I am, Sir,

Yours, etc.,

A. C. BEATON.

El Obeid,

June 23rd, 1947.

# Sudan Notes & Records.

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## Museums in Khartoum.

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### **Khartoum Museum** (*Ethnological and Natural History*)

On river front between Gordon College and River Hospital.

Entrance P.T. 2. (Season Ticket entitling bearer to admission to the Khalifa's House, P.T. 10.)

Free to troops in uniform.

Open every day.

Hours of admission : 9 a.m. to 1 p.m., and  
3 p.m. to 6 p.m.

**Antiquities Museum.** Closed for the present. Will reopen at Khartoum Museum shortly.

### **Khalifa's House, Omdurman.** (*Historical—Old Government and Mahdia.*)

Entrance P.T. 2. (Season Ticket P.T. 10.)

Free to troops in uniform.

Attendant lives on premises, and admission can normally be obtained at any time.

### **S.M.S. Graphic Museum.**

Next to Stack Laboratories, facing the railway station.  
Entrance free.

Hours of admission : Daily (except Fridays), 7 a.m. to 1.30 p.m.

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