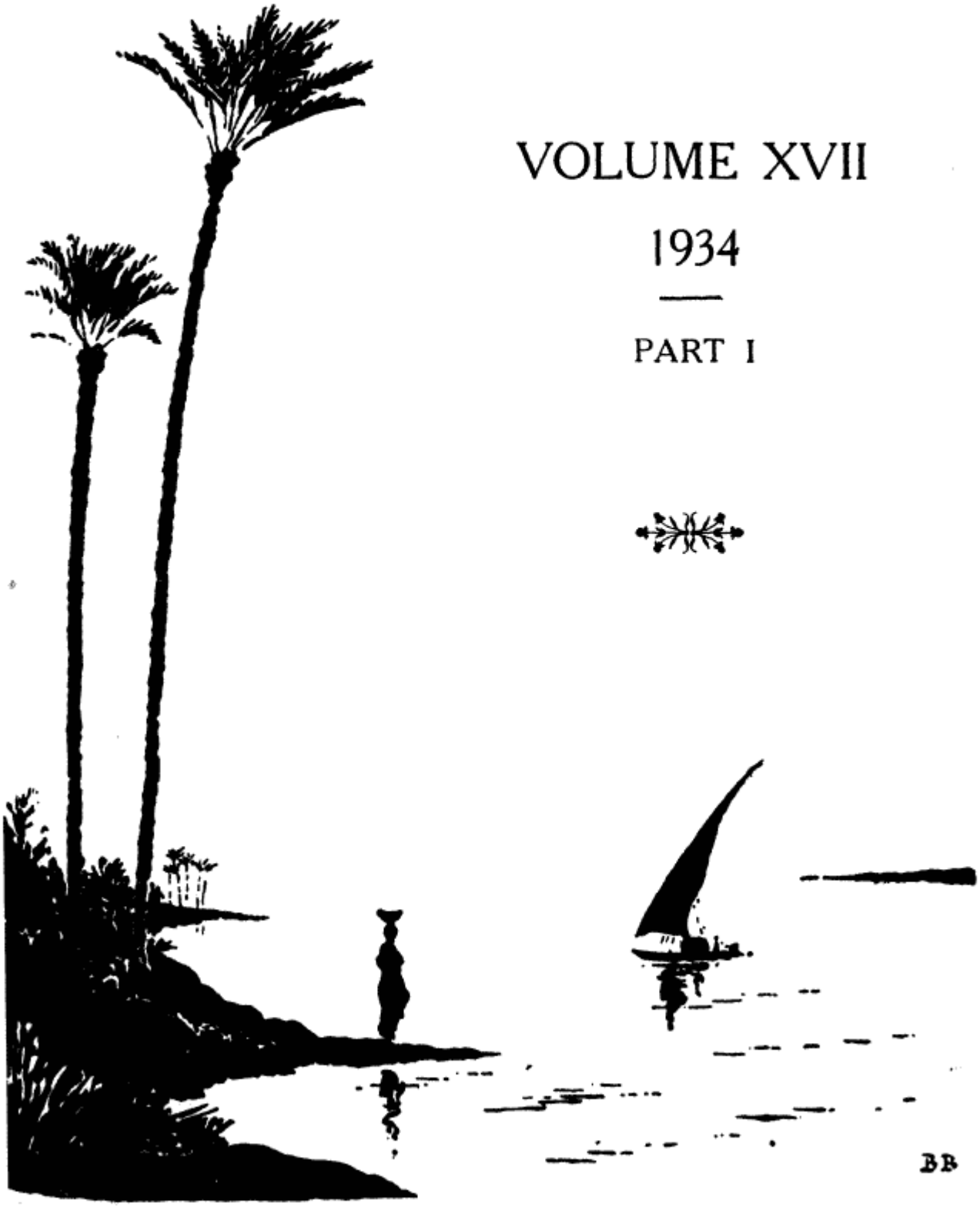
# SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS




VOLUME XVII

1934

PART I

# Sudan Notes and Records.

Vol. XVII, 1934.

PART I.

## CONTENTS.

ARTICLES. PAGE.

Nuer Tribe and Clan. E. E. Evans-Pritchard . . . . . 1

Traditional Stories of the 'Abdullab Tribe. A. E. D. Penn . . 59

Notes on the Birds of S. Darfur. J. F. Madden . . . . . 83

NOTES.

Three Burials in Sennar District. A. J. Arkell, M.B.E., M.C. . . 103

Fung Origins. J. D. P. Chataway . . . . . 111

Further Notes on Ingessana. J. W. Robertson, M.B.E. . . . 118

Religious and Spiritual Beliefs of Bor Dinka. R. T. Johnston . . 124

Dumb Show. Sir H. A. MacMichael, K.C.M.G., D.S.O. . . 129

REVIEWS.

Birds of Tropical West Africa . . . . . 131

Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation . . . . . 132

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# Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

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

---

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

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

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ة) is omitted.

## NOTES.

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

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

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

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

# EDITORIAL.

H.E. the Governor-General, Sir Stewart Symes, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., D.S.O., has kindly consented to become Patron of this Journal, in succession to Sir John Maffey. We take this opportunity of thanking our late Governor-General for the interest which he has always shown in our work, and of wishing Sir Stewart Symes a long and happy administration of the government of the Sudan.

In the past year, the Committee of *Sudan Notes and Records* has suffered severe loss by the retirements of two of the three surviving members of the original body (Sir Harold MacMichael and Mr. Hillelson), who had both rendered distinguished service to the Journal for sixteen years.

During the latter half of that period, Sir Harold MacMichael was Chairman of the Committee; and to his inspiration and guidance is largely due the considerable measure of success achieved in pursuit of the ideals set up by Sir Reginald Wingate in 1918. He was a frequent contributor, whose writings on the history of the tribes of the Northern Sudan will remain a model for workers in this field.

In Mr. Hillelson, *Sudan Notes and Records* has lost, not only the author of many admirable monographs on subjects of great diversity, but a Secretary who shouldered the greater part of the editorial burden. By his scholarship and the wide range of his interests he was eminently qualified for this task, and he maintained the standards of the Journal in accordance with his own severe canons; but his learning was without pedantry, and he was always ready to encourage and assist the rank and file of enthusiasts, upon whose labours, as he well recognised, the success of *Sudan Notes and Records* must so largely depend.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS


ARTICLES. PAGE

Nuer Tribe and Clan, with Plates. E. E. Evans-Pritchard . 1

Traditional Stories of the 'Abdullab Tribe. A. E. D. Penn . 59

Notes on the Birds of S. Darfur. J. F. Madden . . . 83

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Three Burials in Sennar District, with Plates.
A. J. Arkell, M.B.E., M.C. 103

Fung Origins. J. D. P. Chataway . . . . . 111

Further notes on Ingessana. J. W. Robertson, M.B.E. . 118

Religious and Spiritual Beliefs of Bor Dinka. R. T. Johnston 124

Dumb Show. Sir H. A. MacMichael, K.C.M.G., D.S.O. . 129

REVIEWS.

Birds of Tropical West Africa . . . . . 131

Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation . . . 132

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XVII Part I 1934

# THE NUER : TRIBE AND CLAN.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

(PLATES I & II.)

IV—*Continued.*

(*For plate II* (*Figs.* 3 *and* 4) *I am indebted to F. D. Corfield, Esq.*)

It must be remembered that whilst Nuer show open contempt for Dinka they do not humiliate by their scorn those Dinka who have been long domiciled among them. These have become Nuer and display Nuer initiation marks on their foreheads, since either they are the children of Dinka settled in Nuerland and have been brought up in every respect like Nuer boys or they are immigrants who have decided to remain in Nuerland and have been initiated there according to Nuer custom. Thus one sometimes sees men with Nuer tribal incisions cut laterally across more ancient Dinka incisions which run vertically across the temples. For in some Dinka tribes boys have had their tribal markings cut when they were quite small so that when they have come to live in Nuerland afterwards, by capture or of their own free will, they have not been too old to be initiated according to Nuer custom also. Dinka absorbed into Nuer society are known as *Jaang Nath*, Dinka-Nuer, and it is said of them "*caa nath*," "they have become Nuer." Unless carried away by anger a man would not address them, or even refer to them, as *Jaang*, for the expression is impolite and might easily lead to strife since many of these Dinka living in Nuerland are members of strong lineages and are related by marriage and through their mothers with aristocratic families. They are, except for purposes of tracing descent, like Nuer. Politically they are Nuer tribesmen but by clan relationship they are Dinka strangers. Nevertheless they count as Dinka for purposes of blood-money assessment.

The Ngok Dinka, who live to the South of the Sobat river, occupy a special position in relation to the several Nuer tribes who share their

frontiers. They intermarry freely with the Lou tribe and they speak the Nuer language as well as their own. They have adopted Nuer tribal markings and probably other customs as well. Nuer say that their land has been preserved from conquest on account of the poverty of its grazing but, as we might expect, a mythological interpretation of the peaceful relations between Ngok Dinka and Lou Nuer is forthcoming. It is said that the ancestors of the Ngok and the Lou cut a spear in two and that each took half of it and invoked it with a conditional curse by which either side attacking the other would bring down supernatural vengeance. Hence the Lou regard them as friends and as partially Nuerized and do not speak of them with the same hostile contempt as they speak of other Dinka though, it must be confessed, they receive a measure of scorn. Thus at one time I had an Ngok Dinka boy for servant but he left me because he could not stand the insults cast at him by Nuer of my household.

The Nuer treat other Dinka tribes with derision. They consider them useless as fighters and are never tired of affirming that a single Nuer would think little of tackling four Dinka—" He would kill two of them and the other two would run away." They recount that they did not bother to take their shields with them when going to raid Dinka, for shields were heavy and unnecessary protection against such poor spearsmen. They affirm that Dinka very seldom killed a Nuer because Nuer were always so agile at running and dodging spears. This agility enabled them to avoid Dinka shafts but the Dinka, being slower in their movements than their adversaries, often fell victims to their spears. The idea of Dinka counter-raiding into Nuer country was ridiculed as absurd. "How," I was asked, " could a Dinka kill a Nuer ? " I shall not forget how on the day following my arrival at Muot Dit I was sitting on the government road with some Nuer when a Dinka came along, driving in front of him a cow and calf which he had bought at Malakal and was taking back to his own country through the heart of Nuerland. The whole incident filled the Nuer with bitterness. To them it was grotesque. The cow by all that was right should not have been safe from them even in the heart of its owner's country while its passage through their own villages was certainly contrary to what had been ordained by God.

For the Nuer consider it decreed by God that they should always raid the Dinka and the Nuer word for Dinka, *Jaang*, has come almost to mean " anyone whom we Nuer raid." Thus when my friend Jok spoke



FIG. 1.
LEK TRIBESMAN.

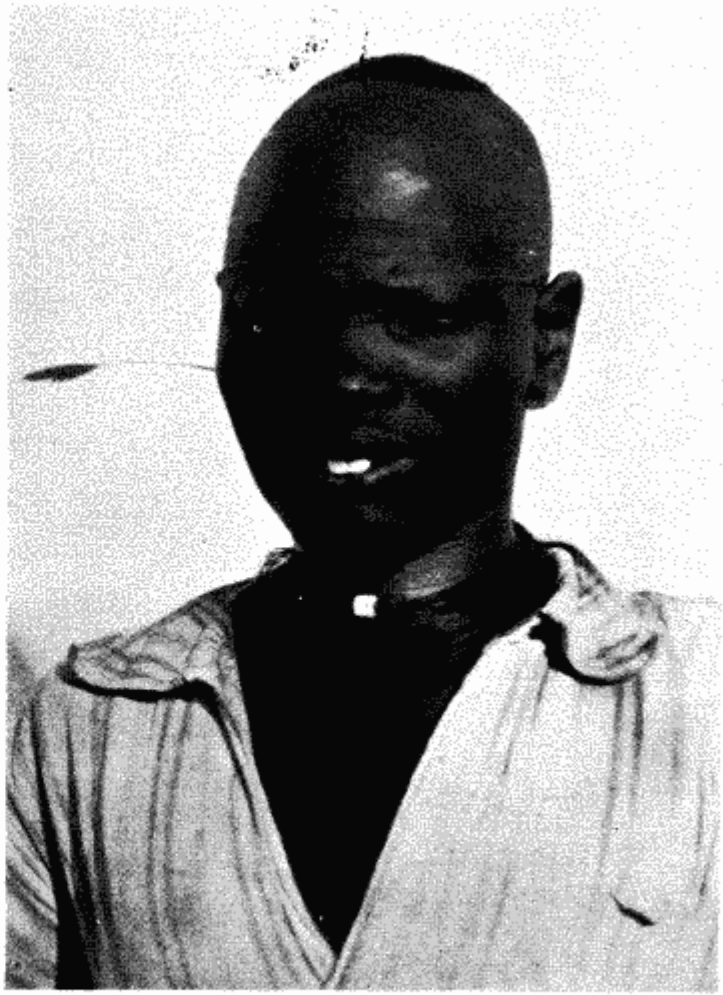


FIG. 2.
MY COOK TIOP, LOU TRIBESMAN OF DINKA DESCENT.

of the Beir (*Jepe* in Nuer) as *Jaang* I asked him in surprise " Surely the *Jepe* are not *Jaang?* " to which he replied, " Why not ? Don't we raid them ? " In the same way they sometimes speak of the Anuak (*Bar* in Nuer) and the inhabitants of Southern Dar Fung (*Cai* in Nuer) as *Jaang* because they used to raid them for cattle and captives but since the Anuak obtained guns from Abyssinia and with their aid overran a large portion of Lou country the Nuer have been more on the defensive than formerly. God's sanction for systematic raiding of Dinka and carrying off of their boys and girls and cattle and putting of adults to the spear is contained in a well-known myth like that of Esau and Jacob in the Bible. This story (given by Jackson, p. 71) has several variants. It is said that Kwoth, God (or sometimes Deng is mentioned), came to earth with a cow and a calf. The Nuer and Dinka are personified in the story as his two sons Nath and Jaang. Kwoth had promised the fine young calf to Nath and the old cow to Jaang but Jaang came by night to Kwoth's cattle byre and spoke to him in *thok nath*, in the Nuer language, claiming his heritage so that Kwoth, being deceived, gave him the calf. Kwoth preferred Nath to Jaang and was very angry when Nath came to claim his calf and the subterfuge was discovered. He told Nath that he was to revenge himself by raiding Jaang's cattle to the end of time. It is thus by command of God that Nuer wage ceaseless warfare against their Dinka neighbours and it seems to them ordained in the natural order of the world that they should do so. Hence when Nuer used to raid Dinka (*Nath ti wa mut*) they said that they were going to fight the enemy of the calf (*ter do yaang*). The *guk* or prophet used to invoke his spear before the elders and cry " *mut gwari,*" " *Deng Kwoth gwangwada, neni ter do yaang,*" " spear of my fathers, Deng Kwoth father of my ancestors, see the enemy of the calf."

The final Nuer category is *Jur*. These are any people whom they do not know much about. They know about the Dinka (*Jaang*), the Anuak (*Bar*), the Beir (*Jepe*), the Shilluk (*Tet*), and the Meban and the Khoma (*Cai*). People further off seem to be classified as *Jur* and Europeans as well as Arabs come into this category.

A final word may be said about the terms *dil, rul,* and *jaang*. There is a tendency among the Nuer to class people linguistically in a category closer to the speaker than their social relationship warrants. This is commonly done with kinship terms and we find a suggestion of it also in

their political life. *Dil Nath* are real Nuer in contrast to *jaang* and *jur*, Dinka and foreigners. In a tribe *diel* are members of the dominant clan. At the same time one does not insist on distinguishing between them and the *rul* and *jaang* who live with them except in those situations when descent has sociological significance, e.g., in payment of blood-money, in marriage regulations, and at feasts. Normally one treats *rul* as one's social equals and speaks of them as *diel*. In the same way one does not address an adopted Dinka as *Jaang* even though strictly speaking he is a *jaang* for he is a member of one's lineage as well. One may more correctly speak of unadopted Dinka residents as *Jaang* but here again one would not do so. Just as *rul* tend to be shifted in ordinary social life into the category of *diel* so *jaang* tend to be shifted into the category of *rul* and one generally speaks of them by this term. One reserves the contemptuous expression " *Jaang* " for Dinka of unconquered Dinkaland.

## V

The tribe is a political and territorial grouping and does not regulate descent and marriage. A man can marry into his tribe or out of it as he pleases for it is neither an exogamous nor an endogamous unit. This is obvious enough to me now but for the first few weeks of my residence among the Nuer I was completely mystified by their information about marriage prohibitions. This mystification was partly due to the absence of an interpreter and partly to the fact that it is not in the nature of Nuer to explain their institutions to a stranger about whom they care nothing. But my failure to understand Nuer rules of exogamy in the early stages of my enquiry was also due to wrong interpretation of the word *cieng*. Jackson made the same mistake and wrote of tribes and tribal sections as though they were clans and clan lineages. This accounts for several misleading passages in his narrative. Thus he wrote (p. 176) :

> " Exogamy is the universal rule amongst the Nuer and is carried to extreme lengths. Thus none of the descendants of Kir, who amount to nearly 150,000, may intermarry. The Jekaing are therefore forced to conclude alliances either with the descendants of Ging Marang or with a Dinka or with a Burun or with any Nuer not of the Jekaing tribe who happens to be domiciled among them or they have to go further afield."

It is perfectly true that none of the descendants of Kir may intermarry but it is not true that a member of the Jekany tribe is forbidden to marry any other member of the Jekany tribe. 150,000 souls is an estimate for almost the whole of the Jekany tribe only a very small proportion of whom are descendants of Kir and hence members of the clan GAT GAN KIR. Again Jackson wrote :—

> " As a general rule the *shieng* follows the *shieng* of the husband as with the Arabs, a man of *shieng* Dungrial marrying a woman of *shieng* Gong the children would belong to *shieng* Dungrial. Occasionally the husband adopts the *shieng* of the wife. Thus Qwoin Kieish of *shieng* Gung married a woman of Nyawar and calls his *shieng* Nyawar while his brother Gung Kieish calls his *shieng* Gung. Even however in these cases, which might at first sight be supposed to have been introduced in order to break the exogamy and conclude an endogamous marriage, the old relationship is remembered and the fact of the adoption of one's wife's *shieng* does not remove the obligation to marry outside the clan. Similarly Woll Wung of *shieng* Wung, near Nasser, has married a woman Koal of the Lak division and calls his *shieng* Qwoll or Koal, but he is universally recognised to be a member still of the Jekaing and not the Lak." (P. 176-177.)

There is clearly a misunderstanding here since a clan is a group into which a person can be born but cannot be otherwise incorporated (with the possible exception of formal adoption) and of which he remains a member from birth till death.

The source of error lies in an incorrect translation of the Nuer word *cieng* (*shieng*). As we have seen, *cieng* properly means homestead or village or district and to ask a man what is his *cieng* is to ask him where he lives. If he replies that his *cieng* is *cieng* Pakur (Lek tribal area) or *cieng* Nyajekany (Lou tribal area) or *cieng* Kwith (Gaajok tribal area) he means that he lives in the districts so named. In the case of Pakur it is evident that he is not telling you the name of his clan since a few days' acquaintance with the village of Pakur is sufficient to convince one that its population includes several unrelated lineages. But in the case of the other two examples I have chosen error is not only pardonable but almost inevitable in the early stages of enquiry. The districts *cieng* Nyajekany and *cieng* Kwith are so called because the lineages of NYAJEKANY and

KWITH live in them and the areas are named after these lineages because they occupy in them the position of *diel* or owners of the land. In other words the tribal section and the clan lineage have the same name. Probably what Jackson's informants meant when they said that they had become members of their wives' *cieng* was that they had gone to live in their wives' villages, a common enough mode of residence among Nuer. As Jackson correctly remarks, this does not mean that they gave up their clan membership. The matter is further complicated by the fact that, owing to a lineage giving its name to the home where it lives and where it holds a higher social position than the lineages of other residents, the Nuer often speaks of this home as though it were occupied solely by members of this one lineage (see Section No. II).

When I began work among a section of the Lek tribe at Pakur I tried to take down genealogies of the few people who condescended to talk to me. I remember being annoyed with a boy who told me in answer to questions to what *cieng* various people whom I met belonged that they all belonged to *cieng* Pakur. I knew Pakur was a village and not a lineage. It was an advance when I obtained the names of some clan lineages after which the various hamlets which compose the large village of Pakur are called, such as *cieng* Cuol, *cieng* Kwacukena, *cieng* Tic, and so on, but I was nonplussed when I discovered that men of a *cieng* had married women of the same *cieng*. Thus *cieng* Cuol at Pakur was an offshoot of a *cieng* of this name from Killual country and I found that a man of *cieng* Cuol at Pakur had married a woman of *cieng* Cuol in Killual country. I concluded that it was the kindred and not the clan system which regulated exogamy among the Nuer though this seemed quite contrary to what is known about Nilotic culture generally. It was only later, when I moved to Lou country, and resided for several weeks at a large cattle camp at Muot Dit, in the district of Nyajekany, that I began to get a clue to the solution of the problem. Here I learnt that a Nyajekany man might marry a Nyajekany woman so long as they were not both *tut* (*lit.* bull) by which was meant so long as both did not belong to the same clan. In other words a Nyajekany man can marry a Nyajekany woman but a NYAJEKANY man cannot marry a NYAJEKANY woman. Everybody living in the district belongs to the *cieng* (district) of Nyajekany but this is a territorial, and not an exogamous kinship, unit while the NYAJEKANY who have given their name to the district are a clan lineage and therefore

a section of an exogamous kinship group. This fact emerged clearly when the government decided to exercise pressure on the people gathered at Muot Dit cattle camp to hand over two prophets, who had previously taken part in a revolt, by taking hostages. There was a general complaint at the time that the hostages did not belong to the same lineages as the wanted men. The government were regarding the affair from the political or territorial point of view, the Nuer were looking at it from the kinship point of view.

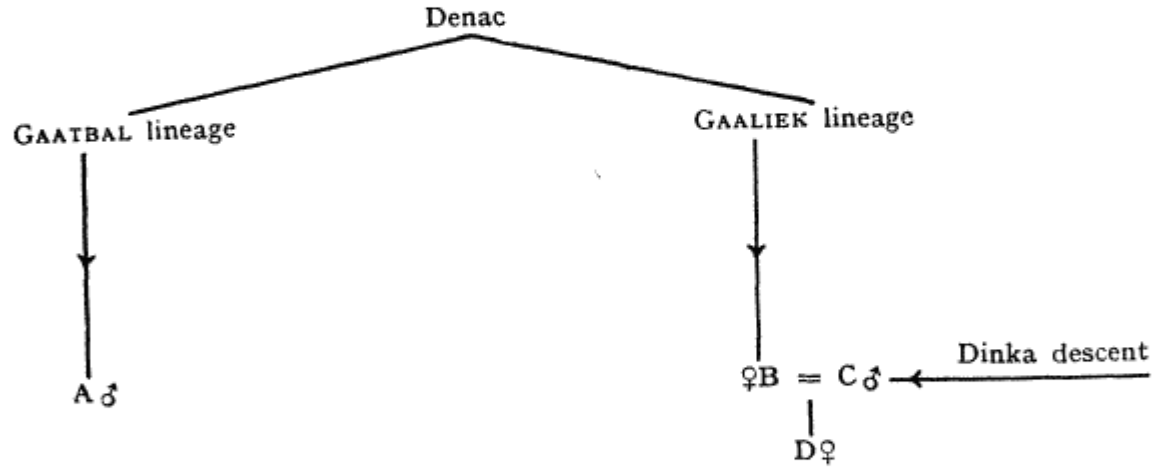
Each of the Nuer clans is an exogamous group. A man and a woman who trace their descent back in the male line to a common ancestor are not permitted to marry. In other words a man cannot marry into his own clan. If X and Y are male members of the same clan, however distant their relationship, X's son cannot marry Y's daughter. No man who traces his descent back, through the male line, to Kir is permitted to marry a woman who traces her descent back, through the male line, to Kir also. As will be explained later each clan has a spear-name and this name is shouted out at every marriage by the representatives of bride and bridegroom when they address the ancestral spirits. If these representatives shout the same name then there is relationship between the partners to the union and the marriage is incestuous. This rule of exogamy is the cardinal principle of clanship. A taboo on sexual relations between members of the same clan, and above all on marriage between them, is both one of the principal functions of the clan and sign of unity among its members.

A man may on the other hand marry a woman of his mother's clan. Thus though a man of GAATBAL lineage, which forms an aristocratic element in the Gun primary section of the Lou tribe, cannot marry a woman of GAALIEK lineage, which forms an aristocratic element in the Mor primary section of the same tribe, since both are descended from a common ancestor, Denac, nevertheless the son of a woman of the GAATBAL is permitted to marry a woman of GAALIEK since he is a member of his father's clan and not of his mother's clan. Conversely a GAATBAL man may marry the daughter of a GAALIEK woman since his bride is a member of her father's clan and not of her mother's clan.

A Nuer puts this last proposition thus :—a *gat dila* Gun (the son of a Gun aristocrat, i.e., a male descendant in the male line from Denac

through GAATBAL or RUMJOK lineages) cannot marry a *nyadila* Mor (the daughter of a Mor aristocrat, i.e., a female descendant in the male line from Denac though the GAALIEK lineage) but a *gat dila* Gun is allowed to marry a *nya nya dila* Mor (the daughter of a daughter of a Mor aristocrat, i.e., the daughter of a female descendant in the male line from Denac through the GAALIEK lineage) since only the man's lineage count as children of Denac whilst the woman's lineage count as children of the ancestor of her father's clan. Those who can see such matters more clearly in a visual form may be assisted to grasp this principle of exogamy by the aid of a diagram :—

DIAGRAM No. X.

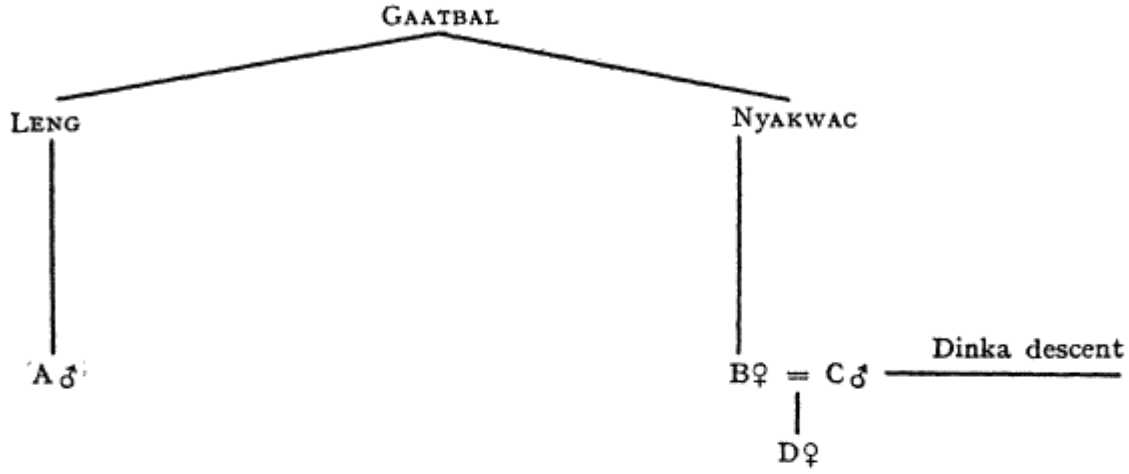



A♂ may not marry B♀ but he can marry her daughter D♀ whose father is of Dinka origin.

Summed up in sociological terms the exogamous clan is a unilateral group. You trace descent, with respect to clan membership, through your father or your mother but not through both. In Nuer society the mode of descent is patrilineal. But though a woman may marry a man of her mother's clan (as in diagram No. X) she may not do so if his father belongs to the same major lineage as her mother. Thus in diagram No. X, D♀ may marry A♂ although A♂ and B♀ are both members of the same clan, the GAAT-NACA, because their relationship is distant, but A♂ could not marry the daughter of any woman of GAATBAL lineage nor could D♀ marry any man of GAALIEK lineage. Thus in the following

diagram A♂ may not marry D♀ since A♂ and B♀ belong to the same major lineage.

DIAGRAM No. XI.




*(Refer to diagrams V and VII for further illustration of the lineages shown here.)*

It may well be asked, and it is easier to ask than to answer, what are the rules which regulate exogamy within lineages. We have seen the way in which these lineages are formed, how a minor lineage forms part of a major one which in its turn forms part of a clan. How then do the Nuer decide at what point a man may marry the daughter of a woman of his clan? Thus in diagram No. IV, going back from Z to A how do they tell at what point it will cease to be incestuous to marry the female descendant of a clanswoman?

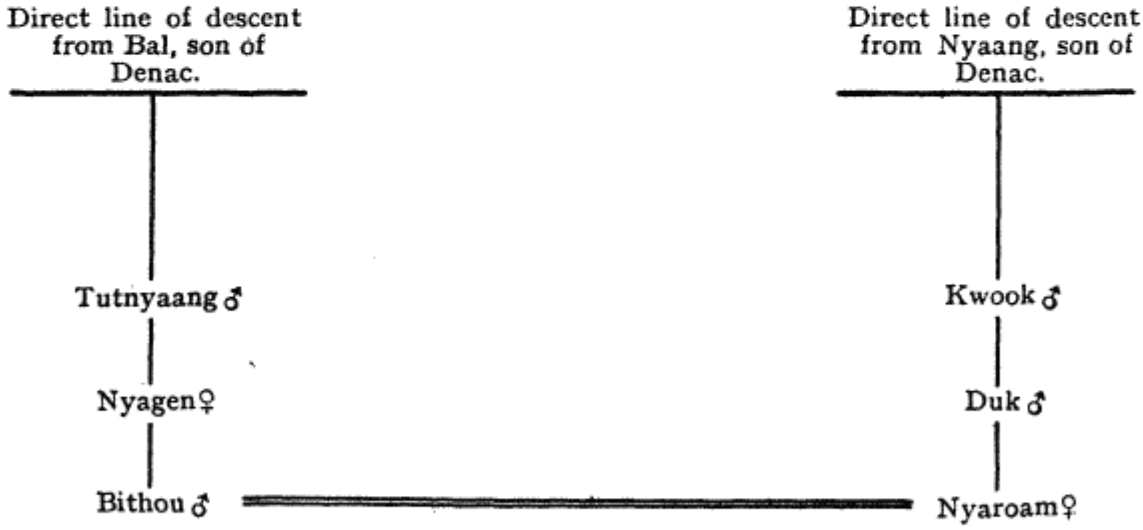
Exogamy is reckoned in the male line through clan membership. A man and a woman are members of the same clan and therefore cannot marry. This rule is final, invariable, exact. Exogamy in the female line on the other hand is not reckoned by reference to membership of a clan group but by tracing back descent of the two persons who propose to marry step by step through their mothers and grandmothers. Thus in diagram No. X they do not just say that A♂ is of GAATBAL lineage and that D♀ is the daughter of a GAALIEK woman so that they may therefore marry. On the contrary D♀'s grandmother may have been a woman closely related to A♂'s mother, in which case the marriage would undoubtedly be incestuous. What happens is that A♂ and D♀ have

their relationships traced back along their complicated ramifications and if their lines nowhere meet within several generations they may marry. Hence when a Nuer says that a man of the GAATBAL lineage cannot marry the daughter of any GAATBAL woman he means that in such a case if one traces back the parentage of both parties they will inevitably meet at Bal himself, if they do not meet earlier, and Bal died only about nine generations ago.

It would not be strictly correct to say that a man can marry any woman of his mother's clan with whom he cannot trace relationship genealogically because marriages are sometimes allowed where relationship can be traced. Thus A♂ and D♀ in diagram No. X are clearly related and this relationship could be traced genealogically if sufficient trouble were taken.

The following case was quoted to me to clinch the argument of a Lou Nuer that a man might marry into the clan of his mother though my informant was unable to give all the genealogical steps in the lines of descent :—

DIAGRAM No. XII




Bithou♂ married Nyaroam♀ though Duk♂ and Nyagen♀ are of the same clan and possess the same clan spear-name, *mut gham*.

It is correct, on the other hand, to say that a man cannot marry any member of his mother's clan with whom he can trace ' close ' genealogical relationship and the idea of ' close ' is elastic. It may be interpreted to exclude or include a person from the range of possible mates.

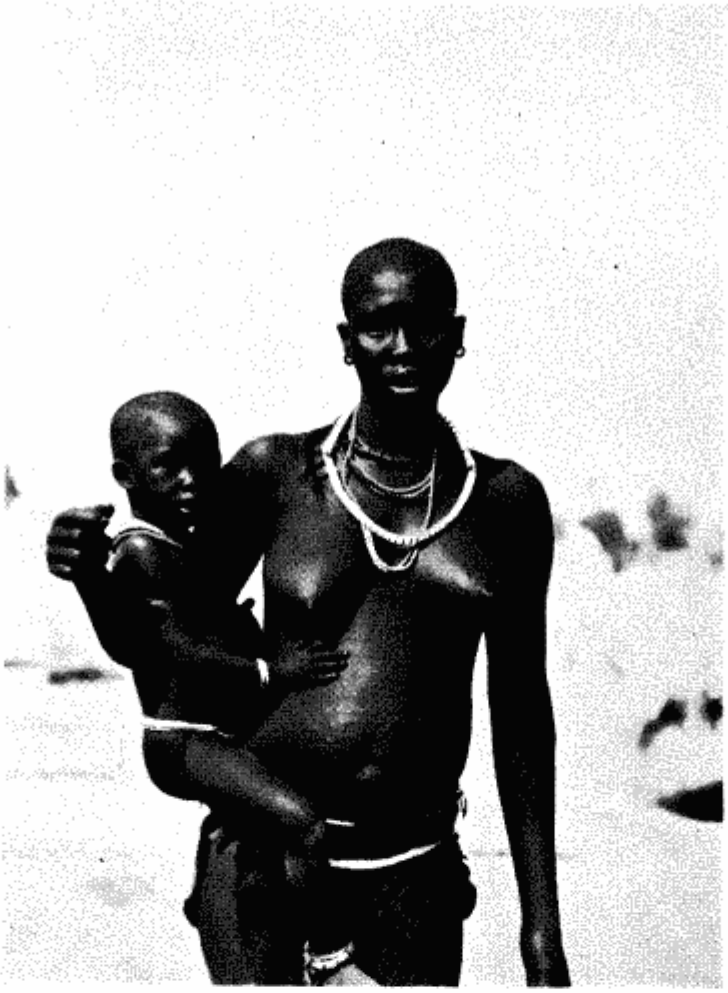


FIG. 3.
WOMAN AND CHILD (JEKANY).

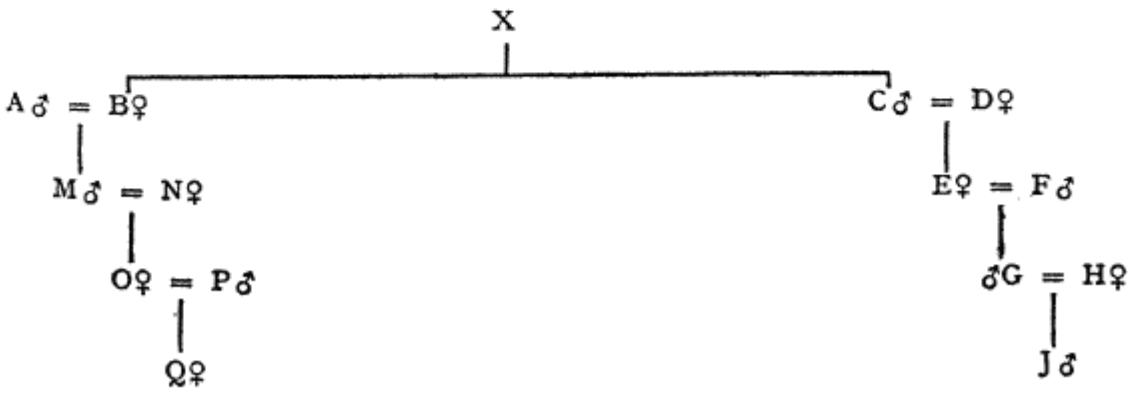


FIG. 4.
MEN DANCING (JEKANY).

Generally it means that where relationship can be traced for six to ten generations in direct ascent from the mother it is a bar to marriage. The actual number of degrees or generations depends to some extent upon variable convention. Thus it is conventional that a GAATBAL man cannot marry a daughter of a GAATBAL woman but may marry the daughter of a GAALIEK woman though the difference is merely one of degree. Any GAATBAL man and GAALIEK woman must be at least ten steps away from one another in the male line, i.e., if we trace back their descent through their fathers the two lines will not meet till Denac the founder of the clan who died at any rate ten generations ago (see diagram No. VII). One may compare the children of Kir with the children of Denac in this respect. No male descendants in the male line of Kir, who, it will be remembered, was the ancestor of the dominant element of the Jekany tribes, may marry the daughter of any female descendant of Kir in the male line ; in other words no GAT GAN KIIR man may marry the daughter of a clanswoman, however distant the relationship. The reason given for this prohibition is that all living GAT GAN KIIR are still less than ten generations removed from Kir, the founder of their clan, so that if the ascent of any single man and of any single woman are traced back to the founder they must meet at less than ten steps backwards (see diagram No. VIII).

The grandparents and great grandparents for several generations back are also involved in this exogamous system since a man may marry no woman to whom he is closely related. Thus in the following diagram J♂ would not be permitted to marry Q♀ since they are nearly related through C♂ and B♀ respectively :—

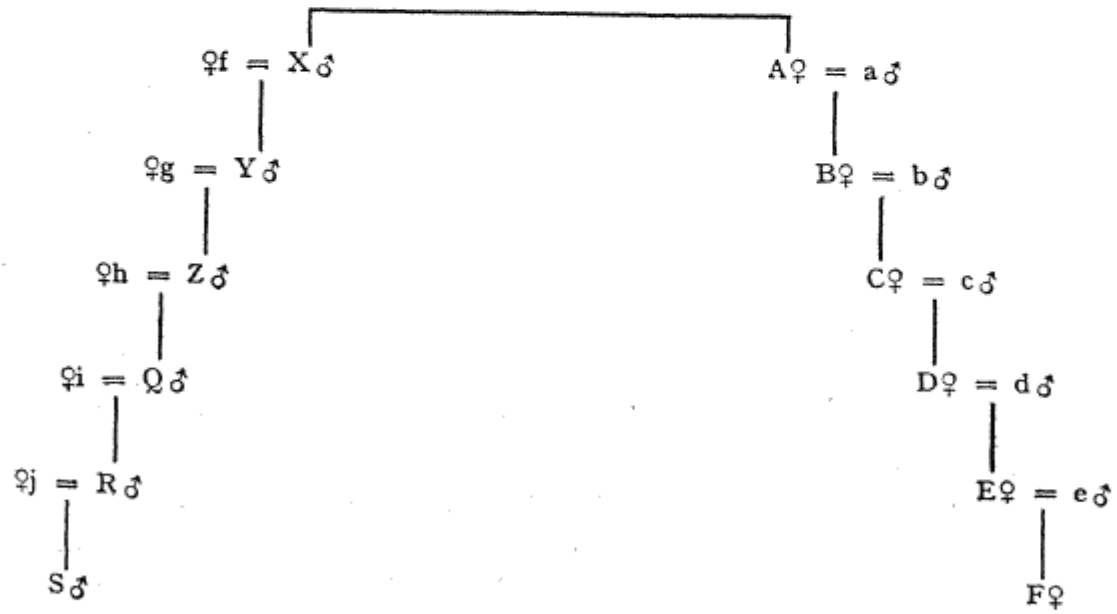
DIAGRAM No. XIII



It is wise however to point out that there are no absolute rules in such matters. If the girl's family do not greatly desire the proposed marriage they will urge the most distant relationship as a bar to it whereas if they are anxious for the union to take place they will wave an exactly similar relationship on one side as being no objection to marriage on incestuous grounds. Thus we find relations of the bride producing a plea of relationship between the bride and bridegroom in the middle of the long discussions about bride-cattle which precede marriage as a hint that they are dissatisfied at the attitude of the bridegroom's spokemen in the matter of cattle. It sometimes happens that one relative of the bride who objects to the marriage will urge that *mar* (relationship) exists between her and her proposed husband while other members of her kindred raise no objections on this score. Sometimes a relative of the bride puts forward this plea of relationship as something to bargain with in the discussions about bride-cattle, or merely because he is annoyed about some point or other, but will withdraw the objection later in the proceedings when he is satisfied that he is going to receive enough cows or is placated about whatever gave rise to annoyance. Thus one finds a man asserting *mar* at the commencement of negotiations but denying it later. Nuer fully understand such diplomatic moves and know how to deal with them. It is not difficult for people to trace some kind of kinship if they try hard enough so that one marriage will take place while another will be prevented though the bride and bridegroom stand in much the same relationship to one another in both cases, since in the first case the bride's party wish the marriage and do not stress a distant relationship while in the second case they are opposed to, or are lukewarm about, the marriage and emphasize the relationship as genuine *mar*. Also it commonly happens that when a youth approaches the father of his love to ask him for her hand in marriage he is told straight away that there is *mar* without the father making any real effort to discover whether there is *mar* or whether there is not. This is a polite but firm manner of saying " we don't want you for our son-in-law " and is understood by the Nuer as such.

I think that the general principle of extra-clan exogamy was well put to me by a Dok man who explained it in a manner which I represent diagrammatically below. When B♀ marries, X♂, her maternal uncle, gets eight head of cattle. When C♀ marries, X♂, or his son, may get one cow. When D♀ marries, the line of X♂ may claim a goat on account of the relationship between X♂ and A♀. When E♀ marries, the line of X♂ may ask for a spear. When F♀ marries, relationship is no longer recognised in the payment of bride-wealth and after this generation representatives of the respective lines of X♂ and A♀ can, if they wish to make a marriage alliance get their *gwan buthni*, a clan official of whom I will speak later, to break a gourd in two and so end relationship and the incest prohibition. They say *bakena mar*, we will break relationship, or *ba bak ne kir*, it will be broken with a gourd.

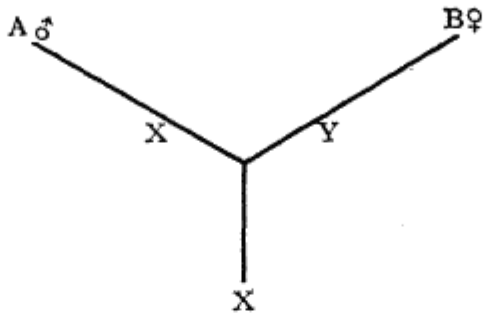
DIAGRAM NO. XIV




A special case arises when we consider the position of a Dinka who is adopted as a son into the family of a Nuer and is ceremonially endowed with kinship of their lineage (*ba ge lath buthni*). Is he then a full member of their clan and are his descendants forbidden to marry into the clan? I found this point extremely difficult to investigate and opinions of

informants varied when I asked about it. One man drew me this diagram in the earth and explained it as follows :—

DIAGRAM No. XV



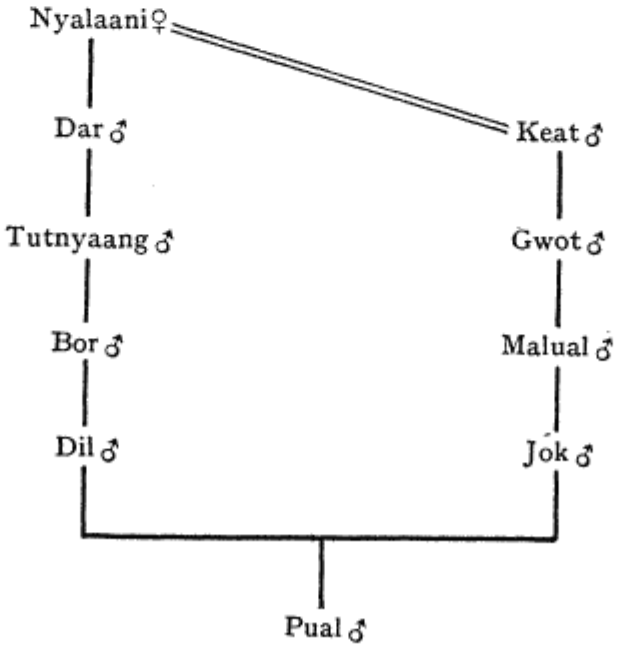

X represents a pure Nuer stock on to which is grafted Y, a line descended from a Dinka who has been formally adopted (*lath buthni, lath mwot*, has been given kinship, has been given the clan spear-name). A♂ represents a very distant male child of the original Nuer stock while B♀ represents an equally distant female child of the Dinka branch line. My informant said that they might now marry on condition that the number of steps that separate them from the point at which the lines bifurcate is very great indeed. If they marry, the girl of Dinka descent will have her clan spear-name invoked at her wedding as *mut jangemo* ('spear of this Dinka') instead of or as well as, *mut gham* (supposing that her ancestor had been adopted by a Lou aristocrat) in order to get over the difficulty of bride and bridegroom both having the same spear-names invoked, a circumstance which should prohibit the marriage. Later when I asked two other informants, Jok and Tutrial, they told me that I had been misinformed and that A♂ could not marry B♀ as this would be *rual* (incest).

On the whole I consider that a descendant of a Dinka may marry into the clan of his ancestor's adoption so long as the relationship by adoption is not too close and that an adopted Dinka himself may marry into the clan to which the man who has adopted him belongs so long as he does not marry into the lineage of which he becomes a member. I do not think that women are given *buth* in the same way as men and that in consequence a Dinka girl can marry into the clan of the man who has brought her up as a daughter though she may not marry a close relative of this man since this would, for other reasons, be accounted incest. Women get their *buth* through marriage for it is thought that they become

in a sense members of the lineage, if not of the clan, for many purposes, of their husband. Thus I have seen a woman perform the ceremony of invoking the clan spear-name of her husband's clan at a wedding ceremony of a girl of this clan and when I expressed my surprise that a person not of their clan should invoke their sacred spear I was told that a woman acquires relationship (*buth*) with members of her husband's lineage through marriage and that she counts as one of them.

I think that strictly speaking it is wrong to speak, as we have done, of a Dinka being adopted into the clan and right to speak of him being adopted into a lineage. If he is able to marry, or his descendants are able to marry, into the clan of his adopter, he cannot be considered as a full clansman because two things, among others, distinguish the clan as a social group, namely that it is a group which can only be entered by birth and that it is an exogamous group. I am convinced that this rule of exogamy does not hold for Dinka who enter by adoption a Nuer lineage and I give an example—not the only one I have cognisance of—which illustrates this fact. In the diagram beneath Gwot was a Dinka who was captured and given *buth* by Malual (or his sons), son of Jok, son of Pual. His son Keat has married Nyalaani, daughter of Dar, son of Tutnyaang, son of Bor, son of Dil, son of Pual. It is true that Nyalaani is not the biological daughter of Dar, being begotten by his sister's son, but she is the sociological daughter of Dar and hence counts as his daughter by direct descent.

DIAGRAM NO. XVI



When asking Nuer whether one person is related to another person I have noticed that in discussing the question among themselves they will ask certain questions to decide the matter. These questions are of great interest since they show the Nuer method of proving relationship when they are ignorant of the full genealogical trees of the persons concerned. They ask :—

(1) What spear-name do you invoke ?
(2) What are your honorific clan-names ?
(3) What spirit do you reverence ?
(4) With whom do you share sacrificial meat at ceremonies ?

We have here four ritual associations of lineage or clan and we will discuss shortly the questions of totemism, spear-names, honorific titles and *buth* relationship. Finally a few examples of clan traditions will be mentioned since another common heritage of clans and lineages are their traditions.

## VI

We will first consider the question whether Nuer clans are totemic. All primitive peoples have a ritual attitude towards natural processes, fauna and flora and elements and so on, but one only speaks of totemism when this ritual attitude is associated with social segments. When we write of totemism we mean the ritual attitude of a social segment towards a group or species of natural objects, generally living things like animals and plants. Nuer society is undoubtedly totemic in this sense because it is undeniably the case that various lineages have ritual attitudes towards species of natural objects but the question is whether this applies to whole clans. I am still doubtful whether we ought to speak of most Nuer clans as totemic, at any rate until the evidence is stronger than that furnished by research up to the present. Jackson speaks of the clans as totemic groups but the evidence upon which he relies is, in my opinion, far from conclusive. The clearest cases of clan totemism are those of the GAT GAN KIIR who respect gourds because their ancestor emerged out of one, the JIKUL who respect cattle-skins because the ancestor of the clan came down from Heaven in a cattle-skin and the GAAWAR who respect the *nyuot* tree because their ancestor came down from Heaven holding a branch of this tree in his hand. Now, none of these clans are, to my mind, of certain Nuer descent. They have no *buth*, blood-relationship,

to the rest of the Nuer clans who all spring from one ancestor or fraternal ancestors. The GAT GAN KIIR are said by other Nuer to be of Dinka origin, their ancestor being discovered in a gourd in Dinka country, and the other two clans mentioned are of independent origin in Nuer tradition. A better example from Jackson's account is that of the Bul who are said to respect certain trees; but the Bul are a tribe. Is there also a Bul clan? Jackson also gives a number of other examples. He says that the "Gaang section" respect the *warana*. He refers to

> "The ordinary beliefs held by the Nuer to account for the respect that they show towards certain animals and fish. In origin these all have one common factor, the birth of a human being as a twin to e.g., a crocodile or waterbuck. Thus *shieng* Tchaang, of the Kunjokjak division, have a crocodile for their totem because the sister of Tchaang was a crocodile. Similarly *shieng* Qwisz, a subdivision of the Bull section, *shieng* Bor in the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and *shieng* Ging, a subdivision of the Tiung section in the Upper Nile Province, all reverence the crocodile, as their eponymous ancestors were twins of this creature." (P. 166.)

And again he writes—

> "Twin birth is the explanation also given for the totem of the Kar and Tchuak sections respecting the giant lizard. For the same reason an ostrich is the totem of the Wutt section, and a snake that of the Lang people on the Bahr el Jebel. Bishok, Bwoap, Nyabang, Lok, Shum and Nyafir all claim the spitting viper for their totem as do the Bang section of the Tiung division in the Upper Nile Province. Snakes of various kinds are also the totems of *shiengs* Nyawar, Dungrial, Gong, Leiq, Lak, Lang, Reill and, possibly, Raiyan and Lau. In all of these cases the reason ascribed for the Nuer veneration of these creatures is the twin birth of their totemic ancestor and their human forefather." (P. 167.)

There are three points which I would make about these examples. In the first place it is clear that when Jackson speaks of the totem of a section that he is not distinguishing between a tribal section and a clan lineage. There are many Lou tribesmen who will tell you that they belong to such and such a *cieng* and that they respect such and such a

reptile as their totem but this does not make the reptile the totem of a *cieng*. The *cieng* is a village or district and there are no totems of territorial groups among the Nuer. Because a Lou man tells one that he respects the grass snake this does not mean that the Lou have the grass snake for their totem. The Lou are a tribe and have no totems. Still less does it mean that the JINACA, the Lou aristocrats, have a snake totem which they surely have not. The second point I wish to make springs out of the first one. If Jackson simply asked a man for his *cieng* (village) and then for his *kwoth* (totem) can he be sure that he was not addressing a Dinka ? When we consider that in a tribe like the Lou possibly 75 per cent. of the tribesmen are Dinka this seems to me to be likely. I found myself that most genuine cases of people respecting crocodiles and snakes and lizards turned out on investigation to be Dinka. The very greatest care is necessary in an investigation of this kind because it is almost impossible without an intimate knowledge of an area to find out who are Dinka by origin and who are Nuer. Also even if a man is a genuine Nuer living in Lou country it does not follow that he is a member of the JINACA and it is not always easy to establish to what clan he belongs. Moreover, the fact that a Nuer respects a snake does not mean that the rest of his lineage do so. He may respect a snake on the grounds that his mother or grandmother was a Dinka and respected it. I have heard Nuer themselves say that when you find a man respecting reptiles like lizards and snakes and crocodiles you may consider him either to be a Dinka or of Dinka descent on his mother's side or grandmother's side. The third point which I wish to make is that even when one finds a genuine instance of twin birth of totem and man in Nuer genealogies it does not follow that the totem is respected by a whole clan since it may be respected by only a lineage. Thus the LENG lineage of the JINACA in Lou country respect the lion on account of the fact that the ancestor of this lineage, Gilgil, was born as twin to a lion. But the rest of the JINACA clan, of which LENG forms only one lineage, do not respect the lion. Twin births still take place to-day and it is possible for a lineage to acquire a new totem by this and by other means.

The whole question of Nuer totemism is extremely complicated and I do not pretend to have fully understood it. However I reserve a discussion of it till another time. It will only be possible to say whether most Nuer clans are properly-speaking totemic when far more information

about the distribution of Nuer clans has been collected than we possess at present. Here we are only concerned with the question of the relationship of totemism to the Nuer clan system and we may say that different lineages respect different totems and that sometimes these lineages are clans, as in the examples of JIKUL, GAT GAN KIIR, BUL (?), GAAWÄR, WOT, and JUWAL given by Jackson, but that it is doubtful whether every clan, or even the majority of clans, have totems. Thus I never discovered a proper totem for the JINACA. All I could find was that they refrained from speaking of brown-rumped cattle and referred to them as thiang-rumped cattle instead. They did not respect these cattle in any other way and nothing was supposed to happen to a clansman who spoke of them by their correct colour. There is a legend accounting for this taboo among the JINACA but I am not sure that the taboo is restricted to their clan. It may be that further enquiry will show that this is a custom common to most Nuer clans and is related to the myth in which their founder sacrificed a bullock with a brown rump in order to cut relationship and allow intermarriage between them. Some other clans have similar attitudes towards cattle of other colours.

As I propose to speak of Nuer ritual elsewhere I will only mention in passing that if you ask a Nuer what is the *kwoth* (a word meaning " spirit " but also used for " totem ") of his lineage he may give you the name of an animal or reptile or tree but more often he will give you the name of a man, often of only two or three generations ago, sometimes even a man of his own generation. This man is one who was killed by lightning or whose death was in some other way unusual and who has become, under the name of *col wec*, a spiritual object evoking great fear and respect from his relatives and descendants. Sometimes a complete clan, e.g., the JINACA, respect the same *col wec*. The JINACA respect a man called Gul who is said to have been a full-brother to Denac the founder of the clan. He was mysteriously taken away by God in a rainstorm. One can hardly speak of this man as a clan totem. I believe that it is even possible for a man to be alive and yet be a *col wec* if he has been struck by lightning but not killed, though I am not certain about this.

Through membership of a clan or lineage a man inherits a number of ritual associations, some of which we have seen to be of totemic nature. Every Nuer also acquires by birth into his clan a clan spear-name and an

honorific clan-name. Each clan has its special spear-name and on ceremonial occasions clansmen shout out the name of this spear. No actual sacred spears exist to-day among the Nuer as they do among the Dinka with the exception of the GAT GAN KIIR (and possibly of the THIANG also). Hence the Nuer say that there are no actual spears but that they " exist in the mouths of men when they go to battle," meaning that men invoke their spear-name in fighting. The Jekany tribes on the eastern side of the Nile possess the actual spear of the founder of the GAT GAN KIIR. It is described by Jackson (pp. 179–181). It is possible that among other Nuer clans the spear-names were once symbols of actual spears but to-day at any rate the spears do not exist. I suggest that they may at one time have existed, though I do not believe myself that they were ever actual spears, because a Nuer of exceptional ability once pointed out to me that the GAT GAN KIIR possess a spear owing to the fact that they are not yet *diel* by which he meant, in this context, that they have not yet reached ten generations from the founder of their clan and he said that doubtless when they reached ten generations from their founder they would cease to reverence the actual spear and would reverence only its name.

*Mut wiu*, the GAAT GAN KIIR spear, was seen by Jackson, whose description I reproduce here :—

> " Tchang, son of Koriom, is its present guardian and he takes it with him whenever he moves from one place to another. When I saw it in March 1922 it was lodged in an ordinary *luwak*, or cattle kraal, near the Pibor river and was housed in a special grass hut which had not been completed owing to the fact that the Nuer had only just arrived at the river from their summer quarters. Tchang himself was a man of some fifty years of age and a chief of the leopard skin. He raised no objection to my seeing it provided he received some small remuneration. After the sacrificial offering of an unsuspecting goat had been made the matting that concealed the spear from the vulgar gaze was drawn back and I was allowed to approach but not to defile it with my touch.
>
> " The spear was about 2½ feet long, 3 inches broad at the top and tapering to a point. It was not a Nuer spear and may have been an old type of spear in use amongst the Dinka. It was not unlike the modern long Shilluk spear though not quite so broad

> as usual. The haft, which was all of iron, was some five feet in height and thicker than the average. The topmost two feet were smothered in cowrie shells, while below were odd bits of iron and beads of all descriptions that had been left by various suppliants. Most of these votive offerings had been attached to it by women who had visited the spear in order that they might have a numerous family or be assisted in their childbearing. A couch of *debka*[1] wood, eighteen inches long with a maximum breadth of about four inches, supported the spear which was held in position by a piece of wood three feet in height and surrounded with rush matting of the same length. As the matting was drawn aside all the assembled Nuer prayed to the spear, holding out their hands at the level of the elbow with their palms uppermost and shaking their hands gently up and down." (P. 180.)

Jackson says also that at one time the Nuer used to sacrifice a bull to the spear during the rains and that when a raid into Burun or Dinka country was contemplated each district in Jikany country sacrificed bulls to it. He adds that if two sections of the Nuer wished to fight among themselves the spear would be placed between the hostile forces which would then withdraw without exchanging blows.

I have never seen *mut wiu* myself but I was told by a Nuer who had seen it that it was about three feet high and that the spear was tanged—not socketed. He said that the haft was wrapped in a leopard's skin and that the spear rested on a *kom*, a seat he described as being not unlike an Anuak stool with four legs. He said that this stool was decorated round its edges with brass rings (*tiel*). He informed me that the type of spear to which *mut wiu* conforms is that in use among the Dungol Dinka.

This last remark of my informant supports Jackson's suggestion that the spear is of a Dinka and not of a Nuer type. We have to remember also that the spear is frequently addressed as *mut jangemo*, the spear of the Dinka, Jackson even giving the phrase *mut junka choalli Kir*, " spear of the Dinka whose name was Kir " (the founder of the GAT GAN KIIR clan). This evidence may be considered in the light of the facts that the GAT GAN KIIR clan is probably the only Nuer clan which possesses a real spear while such spears are common enough in Dinkaland and that there is a tradition among other Nuer clans that the GAT GAN KIIR are of

[1] *Crataeva religiosa.*

Dinka descent, a tradition supported by their myth of origin and by their *buth* relationship with the Ngok Dinka.[1] All these facts suggest the conclusion that the GAT GAN KIIR sacred spear (*mut wiu* is derived from Dinka culture, though whether by loan on account of their common origin it is less easy to judge.[2]

Each Nuer clan (and sometimes a major lineage) has its spear-name, a few of which I mention beneath :—

| Clan. | Spear-name. |
|---|---|
| JIDIET[3] . . . | *mut leak* |
| JITHER[4] . . . | *mut thiang* |
| JIRUET[5] . . . | *mut duong* |
| GAATIEK[6] . . . | *mut yir* |
| GAATNACA . . . | *mut gham* |
| GAATLEAK[7] . . . | *mut leak* |
| GAAWÄR . . . | *Mut wang* |
| GAT GAN KIIR . . | *mut wiu*,[8] *mut Kir* (*mut Kirka-kir*), *mut jangemo* |
| JIMEM (RIAL lineage) . | *mut wic*[9] and *mut dhot* |
| JIMEM (JIRUET lineage)[10] | *mut wic* and *mut tor*[11] |
| BÖR . . . . | *mut thiang* |

[1] See later for explanation on this point.

[2] One informant thought that all the Nuer spear-names were originally derived from *wiu* (" *twokdien e wiu*," " their origin is *wiu* ") and that *wiu* is the *kwoth* (spirit) of them all, although others present disagreed with him.

[3] Dit, the founder of this clan, was, according to some people, a twin brother to (De) Nac, the founder of the GAATNACA clan. They can intermarry on account of the sacrifice of a brown-rumped bullock by Gee, founder of most of the Nuer clans. The JIDIET are not localised in any one spot and are consequently nowhere *diel*.

[4] Are said to be pure Nuer and like the JIDIET are nowhere *diel*, but are spread all over Nuerland.

[5] JIRUET are a clan lineage of the JIMEM clan and according to one informant were Dinka in origin, but are Nuer by adoption.

[6] This clan forms an important section of the eastern Gaajak tribe. It is probably the same as the clan, sometimes called KIEK, who respect the river. Tik, the ancestor of the clan, appears to have lived in a river and he assisted Kir in his flight across a river (see Sect. iv.),

[7] This clan is probably nothing to do with the Lek tribe, but was once localised in Bul country. The GAATLEAK clan do not appear to be localised to-day. They provide leopard-skin chiefs for a great part of Gaajok country and also in Lou tribe and doubtless in other tribes as well. There seems to be an idea that *mut leak* was *mut Geeka*, the spear of Gee himself, the founder of most of the Nuer clans. The idea is supported by the ritual position of this clan. (See Sect. VIII.)

[8] This is the spear found with Kir when he was taken out of a gourd in the Kir myth.

[9] This may be *mut wiu* and not *mut wic*. It is not clear from my notes which it is.

[10] This is presumably the same lineage as the JIRUET listed above, though my informants gave different spear-names.

[11] The JIRUET lineage respect monorchids, whether human or animal. The Nuer word for monorchid is *tor* ; the RIAL lineage respect the cattle-bird (*kenkir*).

| Clan. | Spear-name. |
|---|---|
| GAT GAN KIIR (THIANG lineage) | *mut wiu* and *mut thiang* |
| GAT GAN KIIR (GAAGWONG lineage) | *mut wiu* and *mut kir* |
| GYING[1] . . . | *mut kir* |
| KIEK . . . . | *mut wiu* |
| KWERMOANG . . | *mut lony*[2] |
| BEEGH . . . | *mut leak* |
| JUAK . . . . | *mut yir* |
| BUL (?) . . . | *mut leak* |
| LANG . . . . | *mut thiang* |
| WOT . . . . | *mut leak* |
| JIMAC. . . . | *mut gham* (?) |
| GAATNACA (GAALIEK lineage) | *mut gham* and *mut tang*.[3] |

Each clan should have an unique spear-name. This is a clansman's title and its ownership is a bar to marriage with any girl whose father possesses the same title. It will be observed, however, that in my list different clans are sometimes given with the same spear-name opposite to them, e.g., the JIDIET, the LEK, the BEEGH, and the WOT, are all given the spear-name of *mut leak*. Two points must be borne in mind as shedding light on this problem, omitting a third possibility, namely that my ear has failed to distinguish between two different words. In the first place my knowledge is insufficient to say with any certainty that these are in fact all exogamous clans. It may be that the JIDIET, the LEK, the BEEGH and the WOT are related major lineages of the same clan. In the second place it is very likely that each of these three clans (if they are truly exogamous clans) has a second and distinguishing spear-name. The JIMEM appear to be divided into two segments, one of Nuer and one of Dinka origin. These two lineages have become a single clan (if we may use the word in this sense) by adoption. I believe that the spear-name of the RIAL and JIRUET sections is *mut wic* but each has a second and different spear-name as well (however, see foot-note on page 22). Also related lineages will take a second spear-name. Thus all the lineages which

[1] In Gaajak tribe.
[2] *Lony* is a lion.
[3] The GAALIEK lineage are possessors of the office of *ngul* or ritual war expert hence, *mut tang*, *tang* being a spear-shaft.

spring from Kir have the spear-name *mut wiu* but the THIANG lineage has a second spear-name of *mut thiang*. Hence the rule that two persons with the same spear-name are members of the same clan and marriage between them is incestuous must be accepted with the caution that secondary spear-names may be simply supplementary titles not denoting absence of relationship (as between the THIANG lineage and the rest of the GAAT GAN KIIR clan) or may be differentiating titles which show separate origins (as with the JIMEM lineages). In the second case we must take the several spear-names of a clan as a single unit when we speak of them as means of ascertaining relationship and determining exogamy. Clearly my knowledge of spear-names is very limited and much investigation into their distribution remains to be carried out.

The meaning of the names is often clear enough. *Mut leak* of the LEK clan is evidently called after the clan itself. *Mut yir* of the GAATIEK is the spear of (the) river (see foot-note on p. 22). *Mut gham* of the GAATNACA is the spear of (the) thighbone and *mut wang* of the GAAWÄR is the spear of (the) eye, though why they are so-called I cannot say. *Mut tor* of the JIRUET lineage of the JIMEM is the spear of (the) monorchid and *mut tang* of the GAALIEK lineage of the GAATNACA clan is the spear of (the) spear-shaft for reasons suggested in foot-notes. Occasionally the meaning of a spear-name is obscure, however, and frequently no myth explaining a name, the meaning of which is etymologically apparent, is forthcoming. I believe that sometimes no such myth exists while I have little doubt that it sometimes exists and that I have failed to elicit it.

The spear-name may be invoked on almost any ceremonial occasion but there are times when it must be invoked. These may be mentioned, but not described at length here. The first is when Nuer go on a raid. Not only will an individual shout out the spear-name of his fathers but the *ngul* or war-expert, who is really a ritual official rather than a secular military leader, will invoke the spear-name of his clan on behalf of the whole expedition. This is the spear-name of the aristocratic clan (*diel*) of the tribe. Thus among the Lou tribe this rite should be performed by a member of the GAALIEK lineage and the spear-name he will invoke is *mut gham*, the spear-name of the GAATNACA. Another occasion when the spear-name must be invoked is at marriage ceremonies. A representative of the bridegroom's clan and a representative of the bride's

clan invoke their respective spear-names. This ceremony is shortly described in connection with *buth* relationship later in this section. Another occasion on which the spear-name is invoked is when a Dinka is adopted into a Nuer lineage. He then receives their spear-name as well as the spirit of their lineage and the right to partake of their sacrificial meat (see Sect. IV). The spear is also invoked at mortuary ceremonies when cattle are sacrificed in honour of the dead and relatives are relieved from their mourning taboos. On this occasion (described shortly in this section) anyone who makes a long harangue to the mourners and others present will raise his spear above his shoulder and brandish it while invoking the spear-name of his clan. I expect that the spear-name is also invoked on ceremonial occasions relating to payment of blood-cattle and atonement for homicide and perhaps also at initiation of boys. We may consider that it is likely to be invoked at any important ceremony in Nuer social life.

Besides their spear-names each clan has another emblem which I propose to call an honorific clan name.[1] This name is known as *paak*. One asks *cyoot paaknikun coalkedi*? (what are your honorific clan names?) The meaning of most of these honorific titles is obscure but they appear to be often related to the cow from which the ancestor of the clan was suckled or to the place from which the clan originated or to some object connected with the ancestor. Thus I have heard Nuer speak often about *paakene yangdu*, praising your cow, in this context, and the honorific clan name of male members of the GAATNACA is *gat yiel*, son of the blue-grey cow which is said to have been the cow on the milk of which Denac, the ancestor of their clan, was brought up. Some clans, *baa paak ka kwi yangdien*, derive their honorific clan names from their cows. Such names as *gat kwer*, *gat ruop*, *gat gwol*, son of sandy grassless patch of ground, son of wood, son of the river *gwol*, appear to be derived from the original seats occupied by the first members of the clan. These clans *baa paak ka kwi ciengdien*, derive their honorific clan names from their villages. The GAT GAN KIR have honorific titles of *gat you* and *nya you*, son and daughter of iron, on account of the spear which their ancestor Kir brought with him or with which he was cut out of the gourd. Some names are related to totems, e.g., *nya wot*, daughter of the ostrich. Sometimes I was told that an honorific

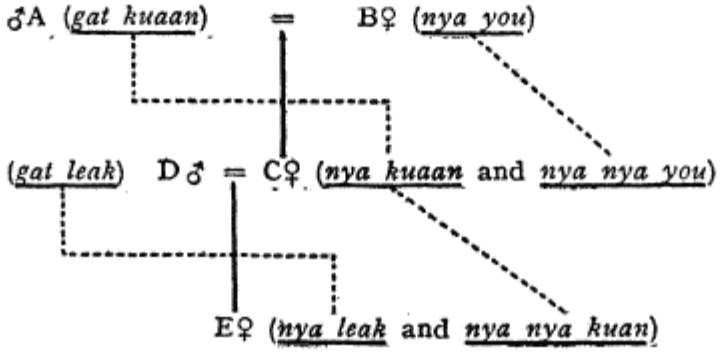
[1] I do not know whether the Dinka have similar names, but such seems to be the case with the Ngok tribe of Dinka, for whom I have recorded some names, e.g. *gat weng* and *gat yorn*.

clan name was derived from a certain cow, and I believe this to be the commonest derivation, but I was quite unable to understand its etymology. Thus I was informed that the name *gat kuaan* was associated with a cow which was called from its colours *yang ma bil* and that the name *gat dwonni* was associated with a cow which was called from its colours *yang ma rial.*

Men and women alike have honorific clan names though these are often different. Thus while male and female GAT GAN KIIR are called *gat you* and *nya you* respectively male GAATNACA are called *gat yil* whereas female GAATNACA are called *nya gun.* Similarly, while members of the KIEK clan of both sexes are called *gat gwol* and *nya gwol,* male members of the JIMEM clan are called *gat bar* and female members are called *nya kuan.*

The spear-name and the honorific clan name go together (*mut kene paak jaalke kerl*). Hence if you have the spear *gham* as your spear-name then you must be *gat yiel* if you are a man and *nya gun* if you are a woman for these are the titles of the GAATNACA clan which owns the spear-name *gham* (the spear of the thigh). Hence two people with the same clan titles should not marry just as two persons with the same spear-name should not marry. For these titles are inherited together with the rest of the clan inheritance through the male line. Thus if a girl's father is a *gat kuaan* and her mother is a *nya you* she is a *nya kuaan* (*gat* and *nya* meaning son and daughter respectively). In her mother's country however she will be referred to as *nya nya you* (daughter of daughter of *you*) but her son or daughter will drop this titular link with their grandmother's clan and will take the honorific clan name of their father's clan whilst being called *gat,* or *nya, nya kuaan* in the country of their mother's father. Thus diagrammatically :—

DIAGRAM NO. XVII



It would be going beyond my data to say that it is never possible for two persons with the same honorific clan titles to marry. The Nuer certainly assert this to be the rule but it is possible that, as we found to be the case with spear-names, some clans have a common *paak* name with secondary ones differentiating them. Thus in the following list of *paak* names the GAATIEK and the JUAK are both shown opposite the titles *gat gwol* and *nya gwol* and the THIANG and the JIMAC are both shown opposite the titles *gat kwong* and *nya kwong*.

Here again also we find that some clans and major clan lineages possess two honorific clan titles. Thus the BEEK have *gat wot* and *gat leak* and the GAAGWONG lineage of the GAT GAN KIIR clan have *gat gwong* and *gat lual twol* as well as *gat you*.

As far as my experience goes honorific clan names are not used frequently among members of the same kin but members of one clan will be addressed by these titles by members of other clans. In any case they are not used by men with the frequency of proper names or bullock names but only on special occasions such as visits or dances, or marriages or initiation, which have a ceremonial nature. It is particularly a woman's mode of address and it is certainly used by women far more frequently than by men. Women use honorific clan names among themselves and I have heard them speak to their children by these titles when they were pleased. A man will also sometimes be spoken to by a woman by his honorific clan title, a complimentary usage. He salutes the woman as *ma* ('mother') and she replies by saluting him as *gat* such-and-such, using his *paak* name. I was told also that a youth might occasionally speak to his love by her honorific clan name. As a common mode of greeting, however, there can be little doubt that these names are women's language rather than men's language even though one hears men using them sometimes.

It is necessary to state that I would not like to guarantee that all the names listed under the heading of "clan" in the compilation of spear-names given above and in the compilation of honorific names given below are true clans. Some may be major lineages belonging to the same clan as others while some may not be true lineages at all, e.g., BUL is given because an informant stated that they possessed the spear-name

of *mut leak* but whether they legitimately figure as a clan rather than as a tribe I cannot say.

| Clan. | Honorific name. |
|---|---|
| GYING . . . | *gat yan*[1] |
| | *nya yan* |
| GAAT GAN KIIR . . | *gat you* |
| | *nya you* |
| GAAT GAN KIIR . . | *gat you* and *nya you* |
| (GAAGWONG lineage). | *gat gwong and nya gwong* |
| | *gat lual tuol*[2] and |
| | *nya lual tuol.* |
| GAATLEAK . . . | *gat kwony* |
| | *nya kwony* |
| GAATIEK . . . | *gat gwol*[3] |
| | *nya gwol* |
| BOR . . . . | *gat ngoainy*[4] |
| | *nya ngoainy* |
| GAATNACA . . . | *gat yiel* |
| | *nya gun* |
| JIMEM . . . | *gat bar* |
| | *nya kuan* |
| JUAK . . . . | *gat gwol* |
| | *nya gwol* |
| JITHER . . . | *gat lita* |
| | *nya lita* |
| KWERMOANG . . | *gat kwer* |
| | *nya kwer* |
| THIANG . . . | *gat kwong* |
| | *nya kwong* |
| BEEGH . . . | *gat leak* |
| | *gat wot*[5] |

[1] Presumably called after a *yang ma yan*, a tawny-coloured beast.

[2] A brown cow (*yang ma lual*) was bought by the ancestor of the clan for tobacco and the *tuol* (smoke) refers to the smoke which rose from the tobacco when smoked in a pipe.

[3] I was told that the word *gwol* refers to the black cow which came out of the river to meet *Tik*, the ancestor of the GAATIEK clan in the Kir myth, though I am unable to say what is the connection between the word *gwol* and a black cow.

[4] Their original *kwer* (sandy eminence, on which they built their homesteads) was called Ngoing.

[5] This is probably the same clan elsewhere referred to as WOT which respects the ostrich (*wot*).

| Clan. | Honorific name. |
|---|---|
| LANG . . . . | *gat leel*[1] |
| | *nya leel* |
| JIDIET . . . | *gat bora* and *nya bora*[2] |
| | *gat leak* |
| GAAWÄR . . . | *gat yiek* |
| | *gat wang* |
| | *nya birial*[3] |
| | *nya juong* |
| JAAJOAH (MANBOR lineage) | *gat yang*[4] |
| | *nya bwoi*[5] |
| GAATNACA (GAATLIEK lineage) | *gat yiel* and *nya gun* |
| | *gat tang* and *nya tang* |
| JIMAC . . . | *gat kwong*[6] |
| | *nya kwong* |
| JAAJOAH[7] (BITHIANG lineage) | *gat kwong*[8] |
| | *nya teeny*[9] |
| GAAGWETH . . . | *gat liel* and *nya you* |
| | *nya paah*[10] |
| | *nya gaany*[11] |

References have been made now and again in this paper to *buth* relationship and to an official called *gwan buthni*, and it is time that these two terms were explained. *Mar*, the ordinary word for relationship, obviously connected with the word *mar*, ' my mother,' has a somewhat different meaning to *buth*. In the first place your *mar* include both your father's kin and your mother's kin, whereas *buth* always refers to people related to you through the male line. In the second place *mar*, used in most contexts, is a much closer relationship than *buth* and was explained to me by a Nuer as comprising all those relatives who receive a cow on

[1] *Leel* is said to be the *riek* or ritual pole of a man called Darkook who figures in Nuer mythology.
[2] Probably refers to a white cow, *yang ma bor*.
[3] *Birial* is name of cow.
[4] *Yang* means ' cow.'
[5] *Kwonybwoi* was a girl whom God removed to heaven in a storm.
[6] *Kwong* is said to denote here the spirit-name of the *cuur* fish, respected by this clan.
[7] JAAJOAH should probably be written jaajoah as a tribal section comprising two main but originally unrelated lineages. The BITHIANG lineage is said to have come originally from Bul country.
[8] *Kwong* is said to mean ' cloud ' here.
[9] *Teeny* is the name of one of the sky spirits.
[10] and [11] The GAAGWETH respect the *paah* and *thiep* trees and *warana* lizard (*gaany*).

the marriage of your sister. When you have reached a stage (as shown in diagram XIV) when people are so distantly related to you but that they can no longer claim even a goat or a spear on the marriage of your sister, the *mar* ceases and, as I have mentioned earlier, if two people wish to marry at this distance their *mar* can be formally broken by pulling a gourd in two.[1]

When your paternal relatives are so far distant that they cease to be *mar* to you, they become your *ji buthni*, that is to say they are related to you by the more distant patrilineal kinship known as *buth*, and in virtue of this kinship you and they will share the meat of bullocks killed on ceremonial occasions. All members of your clan are of necessity *ji buthni ka ji*, your relatives in this sense.

Such appears to me to be the primary meaning of *buth*. It will be remembered that a man can be *lath buthni*, given *buth* relationship, and only in virtue of his ceremonial admittance to a lineage can a man eat of the meat which is sacrificed by members of the lineage on such occasions as marriage and mortuary feasts and in honour of the ghost of a man or the spirit of his lineage. *Buth* relationship is no claim to a share in ordinary meat but only in meat of sacrifices. Captured Dinka boys are in this way generally adopted into the lineage of their captors and allowed to partake in their sacrificial meals. It may sometimes happen that a stranger of pure Nuer descent is given *buth* by neighbours with whom he has taken up his residence and of whose group he considers himself, for purposes other than those of descent, a member, but I should be inclined to doubt whether this happens often and I have no definite knowledge of it ever occurring at all.

*Buth* has a further extension. Some clans are *ji buthni* to other clans, and if members of clan X are present at a wedding or mortuary feast of clan Y, to whom they stand as *ji buthni*, they can claim traditional portions of the sacrificed animals. This relationship does not however create a prohibition against intermarriage between the two clans. It is not easy to know what clans are *ji buthni* to other clans, but the existence of *buth* between them always implies patrilineal relationship of a very distant and indefinite nature. Thus when a bullock is killed by a GATNACA at a marriage or mortuary feast, various clans, if their repre-

[1] The Nuer will distinguish in this manner between *mar* and *buth* but, like most words, *mar* may be used with wider meaning. Thus, a Nuer will say of two persons "*teke mar*," "they are related," however distant the relationship may be.

sentatives are present, have a right to certain parts of the slaughtered animal as their traditional share. Thus THIANG can claim one limb (*gham kerl*), and it will be given to any *gat dila* Thiang (Thiang aristocrat) who is present. This does not mean that each Thiang aristocrat who may be present gets a limb, but that one of them does and that he shares it with his relatives. If there are JIMEM or KIEK clan members present they will share a shoulder (*giar kerl*) between them, or if there are only JIMEM (or KIEK) present then they will get the whole shoulder. A *gat dila* Buli (an aristocrat of the Bul tribe) will also get a limb, and I think the same applies to a *gat dila* Lak (an aristocrat of the Lak tribe) and that a member of the JUAK clan can claim a share of the meat. It is possible that this may apply to any descendant of Gee by a parallel line of descent, and most Nuer clans are descended from this ancestor. Thus I was told that if JIMEM kill a bullock a shoulder goes to JINACA, the haunch to THIANG, while KIEK and JUAK each get part of a shoulder.

In the widest sense all the clans which traditionally spring from Gee have *buth* (*teke buth*), since all are ultimately related. All are in this sense *ji buthni* to one another, though for purposes of division of meat on ceremonial occasions there is probably a traditional association of some clans with others based on a belief in relationship of a closer nature than that which unites them to yet other clans. It will be readily understood why the GAAT GAN KIR (Jekany aristocrats) have no *buth* relationship with pure Nuer clans, since their ancestor was found in a gourd and did not spring like most other Nuer clans from the aristocratic loins of their common ancestor Gee. Hence the GAAT GAN KIR receive no meat on the ceremonial slaughter of a JINACA bullock nor on similar occasions when the animal belongs to any other clan of pure Nuer descent. Neither in the same way, do they give meat to the descendants of Gee when they kill a bullock, but they have a *buth* relationship with the Ngok Dinka who in the myth of Kir's origin brought him up and started him on the road to fortune and the founding of his clan of the GAAT GAN KIR.

The GAAWÄR, according to statement of Lou tribesmen, dwell in isolation. They are said to have no *buth* relationship with the descendants of Gee since their ancestor is not sprung from his loins but fell down from heaven. It is even said that if a GAAWÄR girl who has left her husband comes to live in Lou country and there lives with a man by whom she has children there can be no GAAWÄR claim on the part of her parents

or husband for the children.—Her husband will not attempt to retrieve his wife and children but will regain his bride-cattle from his parents-in-law in Gaawär country. The same rule is said to hold for a Lou woman who goes to live with a Gaawär tribesman.[1] On the other hand if a THIANG girl runs away to Lou country or vice versa the husband will go after his wife and children and bring them back to his home since there is a *buth* relationship between THIANG and JINACA, both being *gat gan Geeka,* descendants of Gee.

Thus whilst *buth* always implies distant patrilineal kinship I think that one may differentiate between its uses though I am not confident of doing so correctly. I believe that it is used as an expression for : (1) all members of the same clan ; (2) for Dinka who have been given the privilege by a special rite ; (3) for certain clans which have a distant relationship to one another, a relationship not debarring intermarriage between them ; (4) perhaps in the widest sense all Nuer who are descended from the same common ancestor may be said to have *buth* between them.

Each small lineage has its *gwan buthni,* an official who performs certain ritual services on their behalf. A man's *gwan buthni* is said to be a man of a collateral lineage (*thok dwiel*) to his own though the relationship may be distant. Thus A and B are two brothers who start collateral lines of descent. For a long time their descendants are *mar* to one another but when they move further apart from their common point of departure, the father of A and B, they lose their *mar* relationship (they can no longer claim part of the bride-wealth of each other's daughters) and they become *ji buthni.* At this point the family of A may select its *gwan buthni* from the family of B and when the *gwan buthni* dies his son will take his place (*be gwaathde gwal*). Hence one may ask a man, "*e ji buthnikun nga ni* ?" "who are your *ji buthni* ?"

I believe that this is the manner in which a man comes to act as *gwan buthni* to a lineage but I am very uncertain and can only add that the two men whom I have known to act as *gwan buthni* were very distantly related to the families on whose behalf they acted, being in fact members of different clans, so that I could not demonstrate their relationship genealogically.

[1] I do not know, whether I should write GAAWÄR clansmen or Gaawär tribesmen, in connection with this custom. The clan custom may be extended to the tribe.

The *gwan buthni* functions at important ceremonies. At marriage it is he who addresses the spirits of the bride's and the bridegroom's families. At marriage each party has its *gwan buthni*. First the *gwan buthni* of the bride's family stands up and holding a spear in his right hand advances between the two parties to the union, transfers the spear to his left hand and in his right hand carries a gourdful of beer which he sprinkles on the ground between the relatives of the bride and the relatives of the bridegroom. When he has reached the end of the two lines of relatives seated in the cattle-byre he stops and throws the remainder of the beer into the air for the spirits of the lineage and the ghosts of the dead, for the ghosts of the grandparents of the bride are present and they will see the beer. He then takes a piece of tobacco and walks up and down in the same way as before and sprinkles a little of the tobacco between the parties and throws the remainder into the air. Finally he takes his spear again into his right hand and raising it on high he brandishes it, making it quiver in his hand as though he were about to hurl it. While brandishing the spear he invokes it, addressing the ancestors of the lineages to which the bride and he belong. The *gwan buthni* of the bridegroom's family then repeats these actions but in the place of a spear brandishes a wedding-stick (*dang*).

In mortuary ceremonies the *gwan buthni* of the bereaved family plays the most prominent rôle. Some four months after death a ceremony is held at which oxen are killed, the relatives of the dead are ritually cleansed, and his goods are divided among them. These rites are conducted by the *gwan buthni* of the family concerned. He sprinkles the relatives with milk and pours some at the side of a cattle peg for the spirits. He smears the relatives with butter and afterwards cuts their mourning-strings from around their waists and necks. He is responsible for the division of the dead man's property among his relatives and he has the right to a portion of a bullock or cow sacrificed on this and similar occasions, the right foreleg, half of the scrotum or milk bag, and half of the skin. Later when a new fire is kindled in the home of a dead man the *gwan buthni* again performs the ceremony. He kindles the fire and ritually mixes porridge in a new pot on the fire. When the cooking is finished he removes the fire-stones which have supported the pot, together with the ashes and throws them into the bush. At the same time he sprinkles the attendant people with water and performs various other offices.

The *gwan buthni* also carries out the ritual of breaking off kinship when relationship is distant and marriage is contemplated (see page 13) by splitting a gourd in two or cutting a sheep in half. It is possible that he can also act as a ritual operator in cases of incest but I have no information on this subject. In all these ceremonies the idea of cutting is present and it is particularly the function of a *gwan buthni* ritually to cut bullocks or sheep. Hence they say "*tem juak yangiem e jen*". "he is cutter of the scrotum of their cattle," or "*ba juak yang tem e ji bothna*," "the *ji bothna* (plural of *gwan buthni*) are the people who cut the scrotum of cattle."

It is said that a *gwan buthni* has other functions to perform, especially in connection with ceremonies relating to homicide and raiding. But I must confess that I have always been doubtful about his true position in Nuer social life and I must hope to find out more about him on a future visit or must leave it to another to continue an investigation into his functions.

A final note, embodying a couple of examples, may be appended to this section. Besides inheriting by birth into a clan its spear-name and honorific clan name, its rules of exogamy and *buth* relationship, a man is also heir to its traditions. These are either about the founder of a clan or refer to some incident which happened in the past between one clan and another. In records of such incidents we generally find that the clans are personified. Thus in the tradition recorded about GAAGWONG and LEK which explains the prohibition on a member of one clan taking the hand of a member of the other clan; or in the tradition which explains why JWAL and GAAWÄR are forbidden to rest under the same roof; we find that the prohibitions are accounted for by incidents in which Gaagwong, Lek, Jwal, and Gaawär are spoken of as individuals in spite of the collective character of their names.

It is tempting indeed to proceed from this fact to suggest that most names of clan founders are really the names of lineages which have been projected into mythology as persons. Thus Nac, the founder of the GAATNACA clan (he is often called Denac) is the Nuer word for a heifer. Kul, the founder of the JIKUL clan, is the Nuer word for a skin used as seat and bedding, usually a *kul yaang* a cow's hide; Wär the founder of the GAAWÄR clan, is the Nuer word for cattle-dung; Bul (tribe or clan ?) is the Nuer word for drum and dance. The clan name JIMAC is composed

of two words—*ji*, people, and *mac*, fire. A number of other examples could be instanced. It is tempting on these grounds to suggest that the clans were originally called after some object, perhaps with ritual associations, e.g., the Heifer clan, the Cow's-hide clan, the Cattle-dung clan, the Drum clan, the Fire clan, and so on. There are, however, serious objections to such an hypothesis. In the first place there is no evidence that these clans, with the exception of the JIKUL who respect cattle-hides, have any ritual attitudes towards the objects their names suggest. The JINACA do not respect heifers nor is it recorded that the Gaawär respect cattle dung. A further and more serious objection is that often the founder of the clan does not show the same genitive when prefixed by *ji* (people) or *gaat* (children) as the objects which appear to have the same name, e.g., *buol* is the genitive of *bul* (drum) whereas Buli is the genitive of Bul (the tribe or clan). Hence the words are not identical. On the other if one does not commit oneself to the hypothesis suggested above one may nevertheless point out that *nac*, *mac*, *wär*, *mem*, *ther*, *lek*, and names of this kind, are seldom, if ever, used as proper names to-day and admit that it may sometimes have happened in Nuer history, as in ancient Arabian history, that a clan name became personified and figured as the founder of the clan. One finds that even in the case of lineages a Nuer will finish his tree of descent by the name of the lineage to which he belongs as though it was the name of his ancestor. Thus the GAALIEK lineage of the GAATNACA clan spring from Nyang but I have known Nuer to introduce Gaaliek into the genealogy as a person and speak of Nyaang Gaaliek as their ancestor or even Nyaang son of Gaaliek and one man gave me a genealogy, in which Gaaliek figured as the son of Nyaang.[1] In a similar manner the Nuer themselves become personified in the myth in which the Dinka cheat them of the calf promised them by God (see p. 3) and the story is told as though it concerned two men Nath (Nuer) and Jaang (Dinka), these names being in reality their national cognomens. In clan traditions, one or two short examples of which I record below, it is usual for the clans or lineages to be treated as persons. In this usage the Nuer are acting in accordance with myth making tendencies throughout the world.

[1] The founder of a lineage is often so identified with it that the Nuer refer to him by a composite name, appending the title of the lineage to his proper name, e.g., Nyaang Gaaliek and Nyaang Cung Leng.

These clan traditions may be supposed to mirror actual social conditions and in this respect too they are in conformity with the usual rules of myth-making. In traditions mentioned earlier in this essay we have seen that myth presents an ideological justification for actual practice. Thus the story of how Jaang (Dinka) deceived Kwoth (God) and stole the calf of Nath (Nuer) and how in consequence God directed the Nuer to punish this theft by raiding the Dinka perpetually is a story which reflects Nuer-Dinka historical relations. We saw also how tribal sections which live in the midst of the *diel* of a tribe and lead a communal life with them often have traditions which link them in some manner to the dominant clan, this ideological link, being a reflection of territorial contiguity and politico-economic unity (see Sect. IV). It frequently happens, however, that we are told a clan tradition without being able, through ignorance of the full facts, to interpret its significance either in terms of present day conditions or historical happenings. Two such traditions are recounted here for illustrative purposes.

There is a myth accounting for a special ritual relationship between the GAAGWONG lineage of the GAAT GAN KIIR clan and the LEK clan. Lek was a man who possessed no cattle but who lived in a hole he had excavated in an ant-hill. He used to kill elephants, buffaloes, and other animals and lived on their flesh. Gaagwong, who possessed cattle, went to visit Lek one day and said to him " Why do you live like this ? Why don't you come and live with me at my home and lead the life of a man ? " For a long time Lek refused to go home with Gaagwong but after receiving a promise that Gaagwong would not kill him he consented to go home with him. When they reached home Gaagwong gave Lek a male calf over which Lek proceeded to utter a conditional curse in the Nuer manner. He said, " Now we are related since I have come to live in your home. Our sons and daughters shall never intermarry and if a son of yours seizes the hand of a daughter of mine, or a son of mine seizes the hand of a daughter of yours, then both shall die." After making this invocation Lek said that he would slay the calf with a spear but Gaagwong said, " No, let us slay it with our hands." So Lek seized its penis and pulled and waggled it so that it urinated till there was no more urine left in the body. Then he continued to pull its penis till it urinated blood and died.

To-day a Gaagwong man will never take the hand of a Lek woman (i.e., court her) nor will he take the hand of a Lek man. If they wish to

take a thing from each other's hands one will place it on the ground and then the other will pick it up and take it. If they were to shake hands both would become ill, but were they to shake hands inadvertently, not knowing their mutual relationship, then they can pull some grass in two to take away the consequences of the curse.

Without further research it is difficult to account for this myth. The story speaks of Lek and the prohibition was said to refer to the LEK clan but this clan is probably the same as the GAATLEAK clan whom we find in such large numbers in the Jekany countries where they are often land-experts or leopard-skin chiefs, the GAT GAN KIIR themselves having no ritual powers of this kind.

Another story tells how Jwal and Gaawär were out fishing together and Jwal lacked a pot in which to cook his catch. He asked Gaawär to lend him his pot but Gaawär refused to do so and Jwal had to do the best he could with a gourd plastered with mud. To avenge this meanness he invoked his and Gaawär's clans with a conditional curse saying that if a member of one clan were sheltered by the same roof as a member of the other clan lightning would destroy them both. Hence to-day a JWAL man (the JIMAC lineage of the Mor moiety in Lou country belong to this clan) ought not to remain in a cattle byre or hut if it is entered by a GAAWÄR man. This prohibition is said, however, only to be stringent during rain when the sanction of lightning is likely to operate.

Here again it is not easy to interpret this myth in terms of social conditions but a hint of its origin is given by the statement that the JWAL were once GAAWÄR but split off from them after the fish incident so that the tradition probably mirrors an early feud between related or contiguous lineages. There are a large number of similar traditions but the two cited will adequately illustrate their nature.

## VII

So far we have dealt with the structure of Nuer tribe and clan and have tried to observe the relations between the two. We have noticed that whereas the clan is a kinship group the tribe is a territorial and political group. This implies that it possesses some kind of political machinery through which disputes between tribesmen are settled. We may now turn our attention to this aspect of our study and attempt to

describe the way in which leadership functions in Nuer society and the forms of political authority we find there.

The public life of village and district and the organisation of cattle-camps is in the hands of the older men of the community, particularly the older men of the dominant clan, the *gaat twot*. Proceeding from a logical deduction that a crowded cattle-camp does not run itself by some mysterious social force making for cohesion I had looked out on my entry to Nuer country to observe what happened in cases of dispute or in situations requiring direction and it was easy to observe how differences were settled by the older men of the community and how their opinion in all matters was usually accepted. This does not mean that the very aged act as leaders—they do not—but it means that men who are in the prime of life and who combine social position, middle-age, and personality, wield weighty influence.

Age is well-defined among the Nuer by their system of age-sets which regulate a man's position in the community in which he lives and exact from him recognised patterns of behaviour towards his age-mates and towards the members of age-sets senior or junior to his own. The age-set system thus gives a solid basis for acceptance of authority of the elders by the younger men and it merits a few words in this essay. I shall speak of the Nuer age-sets briefly as I propose to deal with them in a separate paper and as Father Crazzolara has lately devoted an article to them in another journal.[1]

We shall see that regulation of public life among the Nuer does not involve advanced political differentiation or development. The chiefs are still essentially religious functionaries rather than political agents and the sanctions of their authority are ritual rather than secular. A Nuer follows the persuasion of his leopard-skin chiefs and prophets and magicians because he fears curse and spell. But public life is regulated in other ways besides, especially by the institution of age-sets. Age is a biological factor which is everywhere recognised in society by means of grading. In Nuer society differences in age are formally recognised by the institution of age-sets. Members of a set remain in it from initiation till death and each grade is successfully invested with the social prestige of the preceding one. Thus when set C reaches the same age level as that which now marks set B their general social position will be the same as

[1] Pater Crazzolara. "Die Gar-Zeremonie bei den Nuer" *Africa*, 1932.

that which set B now enjoys. Members of set B have meanwhile aged to the age level once occupied by set A and have the same position in society as set A once occupied.

Age-sets are segments of a tribe and not of a clan. They are regulated in each tribe by a cattle-expert (*wud ok*) though the land-expert (*kuar muon*) may also play a part in their organisation. In the initiation of its young men each tribe can act independently of other tribes though there may be a certain amount of co-ordination among neighbouring tribes, e.g., the Lou tribe acts as a unit in the regulation of age-sets but they generally correlate their arrangements with those made by the Jekany tribes.

At present there are six age-sets in existence and any consecutive three of these represent roughly a generation. Whilst there is supposed to be, and probably is, an interval of four years between the termination of one set and the commencement of another, the period over which a set recruits initiates does not appear to be fixed. Hence it is not possible to use the sets as an accurate measure of time. The names of sets do not recur.

I did not find that these sets have any specific social function among the Nuer though they have a very important general social function. I found little evidence in support of Stigand's contention that they form the military organisation of the tribe.[1] Whether a man takes part in war depends on his age and fitness and not on his membership of any particular age-set. In war a man accompanies his village and district and not his age-set though in fighting he naturally groups himself with persons of about his own age and by preference seeks opponents of about his own seniority. It is only fair to remark however that Mr. Coriat seems to support Stigand's account and says that, "In effect they (age-sets) become tactical organisations and are under the control of the *Niel* or war leader."[2]

To my mind, and this is why I mention them in this paper, the social significance of age-sets is to be sought for in the manner in which they stratify, on a basis of age, members of family, kin, village, district, and tribe. In a community so politically undeveloped as is Nuer society

[1] Op.cit.

[2] From unpublished memorandum.

seniority is likely to be an important factor in determining leadership in most activities and a slight acquaintance with day-to-day behaviour in a Nuer cattle camp shows its importance in this respect. Pastoral activities are divided into labour of initiated and labour of uninitiated. Marriage of children proceeds strictly in order of seniority. Authority in kin councils depends upon age. One can perceive in a cattle-camp how the behaviour of each man to every other man is determined by membership of his age-set. Through the machinery of age-sets every man's position in society in relation to everybody else is known and defined. What leadership, what authority, what control, there exists in public life among this turbulent and democratic people is largely due to the weight given to age differences by institutionalising them into sets which are backed by tradition. It can be readily understood that age-sets tend to atrophy in cultures where there has been a greater social differentiation and where political development has begotten political chiefs and aristocratic lineage which make unnecessary the functions of age-sets in the regulation of public life. Such may have been the history of age-sets among the Shilluk.

Authority of elders rests upon age but not on age alone. It is backed by the pre-eminence given to members of the dominant clan of the area. A man then exercises influence over his local group not only in virtue of his age but also by right of ownership of the land on which they live. He is not only a member of a superior *ric* but he is also a *dil*, a member of a dominant lineage, a dominant *thok dwiel*. Such a man is also called a " tut," a bull, and his sons are called *gaat twot*, " sons of a bull." *Tut* is often used as a synonym of *dil* but it may also be used to refer to an important man who does not belong to the tribal aristocracy. Hence every cattle-camp *wec* has its *tut wec*, its leader who is normally a member of the dominant clan in the tribe and therefore a corner stone in the structure of kinship and aggregations by marriage and adoption which we have seen is the basis of social cohesion among the Nuer. I do not think that it is always a man of the dominant clan of a tribe who is regarded as a *tut* since in some communities of the tribe other clans may be numerically more important. Moreover in a democratic society like the Nuer it is possible for anyone with personality and wealth to gather around him his brothers and sons and relations-in-law and dependants and to become an important man, to have his own *wec* or cattle-camp or at any

rate a large separate section of the camp, and to be called *tut wec*[1] or *rueei wec*, leader of a cattle-camp. Normally however, in my limited experience, it is a member of the dominant clan, e.g., the JINACA in Lou country, who provide the *tut* of a *wec* and the leaders in camp and village society. The sons of such a man are *gaat twot*, the children of a *tut*, and have a slightly superior position in the community. Such matters, however, are very ill-defined among the Nuer and much of a man's influence depends upon his character and wealth as well as on his age and clan.

The settlement of a Nuer dispute is generally a clamorous affair. Everyone who wishes to do so expresses his opinion on the matter in question and arguments are urged at great length and are often accompanied by a good deal of democratic shouting. One has not to be long in a cattle-camp, nevertheless, to realise that the words of some men count for more than the words of others and that their advice is generally followed. These leaders in Nuer society are the *gaat twot* and it must be repeated that while the term perhaps strictly means members of the aristocratic clan it is also used to refer to men of character, age and wealth, who belong to other clans but are settled members of the community and often enough brothers-in-law or maternal uncles of members of the aristocratic clan. We must be careful, however, not to exaggerate the authority of *gaat twot*. It is not formalised. There is nothing comparable to class or caste in Nuer society. It is not laid down by custom that a *tut* may decree this or that. No Nuer will for a moment be brow-beaten by anyone. But custom furnishes a complex interaction of behaviour-patterns which combine to buttress their influence, the respect due to age, hereditary status, marriage alliances, ritual powers, wealth in cattle, fighting powers, oratorical ability and personality.

I have touched on the nature of leadership in villages and districts, groups which show a marked degree of solidarity in the largely amorphous and uncohesive tribal structure. We have seen how the senior members of lineages, more especially of lineages which form part of the dominant clan of the area, exercise joint authority in the kin and local groups. I have also mentioned, casually since I am deferring full discussion till another occasion, how the authority of these elders is linked

[1] I was told that the *tut wec* must be the first to drive in a cattle-peg in a new camp and that he organises hunts and other camp activities to some extent.

up with the system of age-sets which formalises and thus strengthens their social position.

The authority of old men is only exercised locally however, and, as I understand it, age-sets function locally, in bits as it were, as well. We may ask then how disputes are settled when they arise between kin and kin, between village and village, between district and district, and how cases are settled between individuals when they belong to different blood or local groups? Murder, adultery, theft, and injuries of one kind or another, occur in every society and have to be settled somehow if society is to exist at all as a political unit and is not to be merely a name covering a number of independent and hostile factions. In many African communities civil cases come before chiefs who have powers to settle them and to award compensation to the injured party. But the word chief is often a misleading title and the powers of arbiters differ widely among different peoples and as widely differ the sanctions upon which they rely to back up their legal decisions. I wish to make clear, therefore, that, in my opinion, the power of the so-called Nuer leopard-skin chief is only quasi-political and that the sanctions of his status and decrees are essentially of a ritual nature, because nothing, as every student of African conditions knows, is more confusing to Europeans and more liable to be misunderstood by them than the basis of leadership and authority among primitive peoples. It is a well-known and none the less true observation that the first thing a European asks for and expects to find when he enters into a hitherto unadministered area is a " chief " through whom he can direct the organisation of his district. It is inconceivable to people brought up under institutions like our own that everybody else is not subject to some analogous kind of control. This has been a particular difficulty in dealing with such peoples as most of the Nilotic and Nilo-hamitic groups or such very different peoples as the inhabitants of the Nuba hills. We ask who is the chief and are directed to the nearest medicine-man, rain-maker, or prophet, and we expect him to tell the people to do this or that and to punish them if they do not obey. But in calling a man " chief " we may quite easily attribute to him political functions, powers and sanctions, quite foreign to native notions about his status. He may have functions within only a restricted sphere of social life and in that sphere alone may his powers be operative. He may have no means of enforcing his authority other than magic rites or curses. He may be

principally a leader with limited departmental influence and purely ritual functions. In my opinion the Nuer *Kuaar Muon* was such a leader. His functions were, for the greater part, ritual, and the sanctions for his authority lay mainly in his power to curse those who refused his mediation in whatever disputes concerned him. I shall therefore class him as one, by far the most important, of a number of Departmental Experts, magico-religious specialists, whose offices control various divisions of Nuer economic and social life. That his leadership had a political aspect as well we shall see in the following pages.

The *Kuaar Muon* is, as his name shows, a land-expert. The word *kuaar* or its root occurs throughout the Nilotic languages. In Dinka *kwar* refers to ancestors and clan totems. In Lango an ancestor is kwaro, in Shilluk *kwa*. These words have probably an etymological relationship to the words *kwer* (tabu) in Lango, *kwero* (totem) in Jaluo, *jam kwer* (" things belonging to the community or the king, or which are reserved for religious purposes ") in Shilluk.[1] The general sense of the word is undoubtedly that of 'sacred,' the ancestors, totems, things used for religious purposes, all having a sacred character.

A man who is not a *kuaar* is a *dwek* (pl. *dwangni*), a common person, (" *ram me moa kuaar e dwek* "). It is possible that in strict usage this term should be applied to everyone who has no hereditary right to wear a leopard-skin but I believe it is commonly applied to those who have no special ritual functions as land-, cattle-, and water-experts, or as magicians. The word *kuaar* is often loosely used to refer to any of these experts and it is the word by which Europeans are politely addressed.

The *Kuaar Muon* has certain ritual powers over the earth (*mun*-gen-*muon*) and its productiveness and by extention over mankind which lives on and by the earth. All male members of certain lineages possess these powers though they may not exercise them. The *kuaar muon* besides being a land-magician performing occasional rites connected with earth and crops is also *kuaar twac* or *gwan twac* (owner of *twac*). *Twac* means a skin and in this connection means always a leopard-skin.[2] Only a *kuaar muon* has the right to wear a leopard-skin around his shoulders

[1] Driberg. *The Lango*, pp. 189-190.

[2] I was told in Dok country, that a leopard-skin chief would purchase a skin when he wanted one, with a young goat or sheep, but that he would also be given the skin of a leopard, killed by those who are *ji buthni* to his lineage.

as a symbol of his ability to perform certain offices which we may fairly describe as priestly offices.

These offices may be performed by any member of the levitic lineages though not all members assist at them. Various social functions, especially atonement for homicide and settlement of blood-feuds, are carried out by ritual machinery which can be set in motion only by men whose families have inherited the right to wear a leopard-skin from their ancestors. Such functions are carried out among many peoples through the mechanism of political courts controlled by purely political chiefs and to this degree the *kuaar muon* may be spoken of as a political officer. As a general rule I shall refer to the *kuaar muon* as a leopard-skin chief when speaking of him more particularly in relation to his politico-priestly functions, and as land-expert when speaking of him more particularly in relation to those magical functions which give him control over the soil.

There is no doubt that the position of the leopard-skin chief has been undermined to a very considerable extent by the events of the last two decades and it is probable that in some regions of Nuerland, especially in the valley of the Zeraf, it was affected earlier. Consequently it is not easy to assess his power in the normal working of a Nuer community. We know that whilst a leopard-skin chief might obtain great renown throughout an entire tribe he exercised legal functions within his own district alone. As far as I could gather a leopard-skin chief had very considerable prestige derived from personal sanctity and ritual powers but that when people wished to prosecute a feud they did so regardless of his prohibition. I have no doubt also that the authority of his judgments in civil disputes largely rested upon support of public opinion represented by the elders of the district who assisted him with their knowledge and advice. In taking this view of the Nuer *kuaar muon* as an official whose authority was, and is, that of a priest and a magician, with undeveloped judicial functions, and without executive powers, relying largely on the backing of an unofficial council of elders for acceptance of his decisions, mediator rather than judge, priest rather than chief, I have incurred once more the criticism of Mr. Coriat who writes, "The hereditary *kwar Mon* was at one time the sole authority for settlement of disputes connected with land and water rights. His powers were autocratic and semi-divine and the practice of hearing

disputes in collaboration with older men is born of the present administration."[1] If I understand correctly Mr. Coriat's assessment of the status of the leopard-skin chief in the past it is at variance with the impression which I received myself and I find it hard to believe that the *kuaar muon* even in the heyday of his power ever exercised such judicial or executive authority outside the sphere in which he functioned traditionally as a ritual agent or that he wielded what limited judicial authority he possessed save in consultation with the elders of his locality. Once again it is no satisfaction to find myself in disagreement with a man who knows far more about the Nuer than myself but since it is scientifically inadmissible to follow in such matters the direction of other people when one has already reached one's own conclusions on what limited data one possesses, I will adhere to the view-point I have already expressed, asking the reader to bear in mind Mr. Coriat's criticism as a caveat.

The *kuaar muon* has a ritual attitude towards the earth, the earth is to him holy. Thus it is said that a land-expert will not approach people when they are making pottery lest the pots crack on account of his presence. A land-expert, if angry with a man, will pick up some earth and holding it in his hand will point it at the retreating figure of his enemy, curse him, and throw the soil after him. He may tell a man that if ever he moves his village he will die so that he has to remain in the same place (*ca biet gwa* (*th*) *cieng*). He can make use of soil for blessing people and curing them of sickness. A *kuaar muon* of Lek country hearing that I was unwell was good enough to pick up some soil and throw it into the air though he said nothing that I could hear. Often when a man is ill the land-expert will kill a goat after first uttering an address over it and calling on his special *kwoth* (spirit) " *Kwoth Geeka, Kwoth Muonda, Kwoth Jagei*," " Spirit of Gee, spirit of my earth, spirit of Jagei." We may notice here that one of the most important functions of the land-expert is to annoint (*yir*) the earth. If something goes wrong with the standing crops a land chief will be summoned and will take some butter and rub it on the earth so that the crops may grow up and ripen well. I have myself seen a land-expert take butter and mix it in a gourdful of millet seed and rub the butter and seed between his hands before planting. He did this for himself and for other people who were sowing their gardens. At the time I was walking with a girl friend of his who chaffed him and told

[1] Privately circulated memorandum.

him that his rubbing the seed would not make any difference to it. He insisted on my rubbing the seed with butter as well though I could not see what I had to do with the earth. He may, besides rubbing seed in butter between his hands, rub the digging-sticks as well.

If there is a fight threatened between two villages a *kuaar muon* will often run in between the advancing warriors and dig up the ground lying between them (*ca kwel tet*). When the warriors reach the line he has dug the older men prevent them from crossing it and either everyone returns to their villages or the older men attempt to settle the quarrel by mutual agreement on the spot. A fight was stopped by this procedure during my residence among the Lou tribe but I did not witness the occurrence.

It is said that a land-expert used to accompany raids into Dinkaland and dig up some earth and place it on his head in order to weaken the enemy who were thought to be enfeebled by this rite. I was also informed that before setting out on such expeditions a *kuaar muon* would take his sleeping-skin and place it on the ground and call upon his earth saying that of all the men accompanying the raid might not one rest in the earth but might every man return home and sleep on his sleeping-skin. At the end of this address he would rub the skin with oil and hang it up in his hut and go out to fight with the others.

These accounts all illustrate the sacred connection between the *kuaar muon* and the earth. He *thek's* the earth, to use the Nuer word, as other people *thek* their animal and bird and reptile totems. I believe that families of land-chiefs may not intermarry—though I am not absolutely certain on this point—because one informant, himself a *kuaar muon*, told me " Their blood is still in the ground and in the leopard-skin (*riemdien ngota rei muon kene rei twac*), and as they all walk on the earth they partake, as it were, of each other's blood and hence have a blood relationship. This same informant spoke of the leopard-skins they wear round their shoulders in the same manner as though they created a bond of blood between all leopard-skin chiefs, whatever their lineage, so that they may not marry one another's daughters. I was informed that at a mortuary ceremony in honour of the ghost of a *kuaar muon* the attendant people are sprinkled with water mixed with blood.

From his power over the earth it follows that his curse is the greatest misfortune since it is clearly impossible to live except on the earth which

becomes an abode of misfortune for the cursed one. If you refuse to listen to the words of a land-expert he may curse your earth and almost any fatality may occur as a result of his curse. He will tell you to give birth to your children in the tree-tops and to take your cattle up into the skies. He may even forbid you to dig in his earth, thus removing at one fell swoop all building and agricultural activities; or he may curse you by removing some earth from your homestead and if he does this you will inevitably watch your crops failing while all around you those of your neighbours are flourishing. The curse is the great weapon of the *kuaar muon*, is in fact his only weapon outside public opinion. He has no police or armed forces at his beck and call, he has no loyal subjects to carry out his decrees, he has no claim upon his kindred or neighbours to back up his decisions by force of arms. Yet there can be no doubt that in the old days, even to-day in a large measure, the *kuaar muon* exercised, and exercises, very considerable powers. He was a person of such sanctity that it is improbable that his decisions were often disputed, at any rate in his own district though it is true, as I have pointed out, that his main sphere of influence was restricted to those social processes in which he played a traditional and mainly ritual part.

In blood feuds, the whole lengthy and circuitous negotiations which wind tortuously from homicide to final ritual of compensation and atonement are conducted by a *kuarr muon*.[1] As soon as a man slays another, he hastens to the home of a leopard-skin chief to cleanse himself from the blood he has spilt and to seek protection from vengeance. The slayer may neither eat a morsel of food nor sip a drop of water till " the blood has been let out " (*riemde kam rar*) for the blood of his victim is thought of as passing into the slayer's blood and must be drawn out. This is done by the leopard-skin chief, drawing the sharp point of a fishing-spear several times across the upper-arm, where it joins the shoulder, so that it is possible to tell a slayer by the short parallel cicatrisations which ensue. This rite should always be carried out by a leopard-skin chief, but so imperative is the operation that, if there is no leopard-skin chief present, the cutting may be done by his little son, or even by one of the women of his household. One informant told me, that in the absence of a leopard-skin chief a man can get his *gwalen* (father's

[1] If a *kuaar muon* or one of his family is killed, an elder of the aristocratic clan (*dil*) will perform the ceremonies of cleansing the slayer and the relatives of the dead.

brother, or a man standing in this relationship in the genealogical system), to cut a piece off his finger nail, a rite which enables a slayer to partake of water till such a time as he can have his arm cut by a proper leopard-skin chief.

Another informant told me that if you were to kill a man far from home you could, if thirst became intolerable, kill a black and white crow and remove its upper beak and lick it. This also serves as a temporary measure to enable you to drink water with impunity. The black and white crow (*jaakok*) lives in Nuer villages and cattle camps, is never injured, and is called *kuaar*, the title which is given to leopard-skin chiefs. Other people doubted the accuracy of this informant's statement and pointed out that the black and white crow frequents habitations of man and is not generally found so conveniently in the wild and open bush.

I am uncertain whether a man is under the same compulsion to be cut (*bir*) if he kills a Dinka as if he kills a member of his own nation. Here again I received different information from different informants. When I asked one man who told me that it is equally necessary to have one's arm incised for killing a Dinka as for killing a Nuer the reason for this prescription, he replied " Well, what about the blood, will not that kill you ? " Another man denied the necessity of being cut after slaying a Dinka. A third informant said that since Dinka are unrelated to Nuer a man need not have his arm incised after having killed one of them, but, he added, if the slain Dinka had been initiated in the Nuer manner and bore Nuer initiation marks on his forehead, as the Ngok Dinka do, then he would be considered as equivalent to a real Nuer in this respect. Initiation seems to create a kind of blood-bond between all who have undergone its rites.

A leopard-skin chief, Jok, told me, on one occasion, that a few days previously, he had acted on behalf of a man who had accidentally killed his brother-in-law by spearing him during a buffalo hunt. He first cut the homicide's finger nail, so that he could drink water and then gave him water to drink which contained a hair plucked from his leopard-skin. Later a sheep—the man had no cattle—was killed and Jok made two small cuts on the man's arm so that blood might flow.

One of the main functions of a man's kin in Nuer society, is to avenge his death if he is killed. They constitute a blood-revenge group. As soon as A has killed B, the kin of each is in a state of feud with the other.

This is recognised by a prohibition, which declares that members of each lineage may neither eat, nor drink with members of the other, nor indeed may they eat or drink out of vessels from which the others have eaten or drunk. This prohibition is regarded as too serious ever to be broken and it even behoves individuals unconnected with either party to avoid eating in the home of the one and then in the home of the other lest they carry death to those whom they visit last by contaminating their vessels. Hence the *kuaar muon* is summoned to give medicines to the family of the murdered man, in case they should inadvertently become contaminated by eating from vessels used by the slayer's kin, or eat with someone who has previously been entertained by them. This ritual prohibition involves both sides to the affair and apparently also their women folk.

The prohibition is called *nuer* and, if broken, people are said to die of *nuer*, usually in the form of a swelling in the neck, though death may come to them in any form. Sometimes *nuer* sickness starts with vomiting, though there may be no nausea. There is always a danger, particularly to one going on a journey, of being inadvertently contaminated and they therefore take the precaution of eating *wal nuera, nuer* medicine, prepared by a *kuaar muon*. This consists of a burnt thiang' skin, roots of *thep* tree and charcoal. They appear to drink the ashes of the skin and tree in water and to lick the charcoal (*mim*). They are said to lick brass bracelets for the same reason. The partners to the dispute remain in the condition of *nuer*, death-bearing, to one another until the final ceremonies of atonement and pacification are completed, and even after these are completed, neither family will eat or drink with the other for perhaps years, though probably from ill-feeling rather than from fear of ritual consequences.

It appears that a cow is paid over in advance of the rest of the blood-cattle and is brought by the leopard-skin chief, as soon after the murder as possible, to the village of the injured family. This cow is known as *yang jal* (cow of journeying) and belongs to the mother's son of the slain man. This preliminary payment of a cow is earnest that the remainder will be paid and its special purpose is to ensure that the slayer and his kin may frequent the neighbourhood of the *kuaar muon* and their village without risk of vengeance. This does not mean that they are safe to go where they please, but merely that avengers will not lie in wait for them to kill them as soon as they put their feet out of doors. It may be several

months after the payment of the *yang jal* that the main herd of cattle will be paid in full compensation for the death, but this will depend to some extent upon the size of the slayer's kinship group, because the larger and richer a group the more easily and quickly they can collect the cattle. The *yang jal* seems to have a similar function to the *yang gyup* of Gaajak country, for I was told that the *yang gyup* belonged to the leopard-skin chief and was an earnest that the blood-cattle would be handed over as soon as possible and that the injured party would not make incursions to the slayer's home.

The *Kuaar muon* goes with relatives to the home of the slayer and they present him with a goat while he sits outside their village. Probably beer has been prepared beforehand and is put before him also. In the morning the affair is discussed and the *kuaar muon* elicits from the family of the slayer that they possess cattle and what beasts each is prepared to pay as part of the indemnity. They go over the animals one by one, describing each by its colour, until they know exactly where each animal is to come from. The *Kuaar muon* then interviews the party to which the slain man belongs. Again he is accompanied by several of his relatives, though I am not certain whether he is also accompanied by a member of the slayer's family. It appears that it is considered courteous here also to present the leopard-skin chief with a goat called *yang coka kuaar*, the cow of the chief's legs—on account of the journey he has made. In the discussions which follow, it is a point of honour for the kin of the slain man to be obstinate. They absolutely decline to accept compensation and appear to yield only to the insistant persuasion of the *Kuaar muon*. Opposition is expected even when they are quite willing to accept compensation and is generally of a formal nature. The *Kuaar muon* argues to the point of insistance and his influence combined with the bias of custom is generally weighty enough to gain the day.

It is said that were the injured party to refuse the leopard-skin chief's mediation and insist on prosecuting a feud—to refuse not in the formal manner in which they are expected to maintain their dignity but definitely and finally to reject the mediation of the *kuaar muon*—then he would leave their homestead and threaten to exercise his prerogative of cursing. He takes one of his bullocks and as publicly as possible he rubs its back with ashes and begins to address it saying that if the injured party insist on revenge then many of them will be killed when they engage

in fighting to avenge their relative's death. He then raises his spear to slaughter the animal but this is as far as people will care to let him go, as a rule, and, having asserted their pride of kin to its utmost limit of obstinancy, one of the dead man's family seizes the upraised arm of the leopard-skin chief to prevent him from stabbing the bullock. He says "No ! do not kill your bullock. It is finished, we will accept compensation." My informant, Tiop, also told me that if people insist on refusing his mediation the *kuaar muon* will take a short-horn bullock and slay it after an invocation and will then take its head and rub all the hairs off it and members of the lineage who have refused to listen to him will perish in fighting for their cause.

The *Kuaar muon* goes to the home of the slayer's kin (*ji thunga*) and drives the cattle to the village of the slain (*ji ran*). Here they are inspected and the injured party reject any which they consider poor beasts. These have to be replaced by perfect animals since if they are not replaced the injured lineage will send back the whole herd telling the slayer's family not to trouble themselves further for they will take a life for payment instead. When the cattle are all accepted they are pegged out in a neighbouring homestead as they may not enter the homestead of the dead till a sacrifice has been made. One of the bullocks (*yang kitha*) is killed by the *kuaar muon* after it has been rubbed with ashes and invoked. The dead is addressed and told that his death has been paid for and that his relatives will marry him a wife and give him offspring. The bullock is then cut in pieces in a general scramble (*ca kwok*) and the gall bladder is extracted and placed on one side. This is later squeezed into a gourd containing water and a little milk and is drunk, first by the mother of the dead man and then by the rest of his family connections on both his father's and his mother's sides of the family. The horns of the slaughtered bullock are stuck in a small heap of earth.

Next morning they go before dawn to where the cattle have slept the night in a neighbouring homestead and kill the bull. After this the cattle may be brought into the dead man's homestead and part of them are distributed among the dead man's kindred as their share in the blood-cattle while the rest are entrusted to relatives to look after temporarily or are pegged out in his homestead. When arrangements have been made to marry the dead a wife they assemble together the cattle entrusted to the care of his relatives and these are handed over to the bride's family.

The bride lives with a brother of the dead man. A son of this marriage is known as *gat ter* and before marriage the wife is invoked and her back and bosom are rubbed with ashes by the dead man's relatives so that she will give birth to a male child who will avenge his father. This child is taught that his father was killed by a certain lineage and it will be brought up to regard them as enemies and potential victims of his hand.

The number of cattle paid for homicide in the old days was forty beasts (see Section No. IV) though doubtless the compensation varied to some extent according to the wealth of the murderer's family and the degree of intimacy which existed between them and the family of the dead man. To-day 22 cattle seems to be the usual payment.[1] Besides these one or two beasts will be handed over for sacrificial purposes. The leopard-skin chief receives a payment of a cow and a calf for his services[2] and he gives the calf to his relatives who has accompanied him on his visits to the homesteads of the parties concerned and has assisted him in his duties. This relative appears to be called *tangtul* and the calf which he receives is known as *yang tangtul*. In some parts of the country (in Gaajak and Dok countries for instance) I was told that this animal would go to the *gwan bieth* (owner of fishing-spear) an official who assists the *kuaar muon* in homicide cases.

I append notes on the final ceremonies of feud settlement but these suffer from confusion, partly due, doubtless, to variability of custom in different parts of Nuerland and even in different cases in the same area, and partly owing to the fact that it is almost impossible to reconstruct a sequence of events from hearsay alone without direct observation. Anyone who has written an account of a sequence of events of some custom from informants and has later had the opportunity of witnessing them will be aware that there is often a wide divergence between the two.

Jackson tells us that among the Gaawär tribe—

> "As soon as the blood-money has been paid in full the relations of the murderer collect at an appointed place where the Qwoar Moong is ready to receive them. The relations of the

[1] Jackson says that in 1912 about 50 head of cattle were paid, but that it later sank to 10 cattle, owing to depletion of the herds by cattle disease.

[2] A leopard-skin chief, who often officiates may increase his wealth by fees. One leopard-skin chief told me that if a *kuaar muon* is poor, he may spit on his spear and then sharpen it on a stone and call on God, or the spirit of the lineage and ask for a feud to start so that he will receive a fee for his office.

deceased approach in warlike manner. The Qwoar Moong produces a cow called *Yung Toka* "the cow of the drinking vessel." (*Toka*). This is his own property for which he receives a fee from the murderer or his relations. The cow is placed between the two parties and speared on either flank. The members of the rival factions, who have hitherto been sitting opposite to one another, now draw near and each section catches hold of a bone of the sacrificial animal. The bone is cut in the centre by the Qwoar Moong and each faction retains one half of the bone. The ceremony is completed by the drinking of the cow's urine from a vessel shaped out of the root of a *kuk*[1] tree. Both families then eat of the meat. The payment of what is called *yung toka* follows and consists of a cow and a calf which is handed over to the mother or a near relative of the deceased." (Pp. 102–103.)

After all the blood-cattle (*ok thunga*) have been paid it is customary for the party of the killer to pay over the cow called *pal loac* ("quiet the heart") which is milked into a gourd and its milk sprinkled on the ground. It is then killed and its gall is given to the relatives of the dead to drink. This animal is apparently also called *yang nuera* (cow of the ritual taboo which prohibits the relatives of the dead eating with the relatives of his slayer). At this same ceremony the *kuaar muon* ends the taboo by giving the relatives various medicines to eat, charcoal to lick, and ashes of burnt thiang's skin to drink in water. They are said to drink part of this mixture and to spit the remainder out from their mouths and to do the same with a gourdful of milk which the leopard-skin chief gives them, perhaps the milk of the *yang pal loac*. One informant, Lual, told me that the leopard-skin chief will also sometimes take his spear and hand it to the dead man's brother and tell him to lick it and promise that he will not continue the feud since it has now been concluded. I am not certain whether the relatives of the slayer are present at this final ceremony or not but I believe that they will come if relations between the two parties have been on the whole good but will stay away if there is a history of feud between them. Jackson mentions the *yang pal loac* though he speaks of the custom as though it were restricted to the Gaawär tribe.

"The relations of the deceased, acting on a preconcerted plan, steal this special cow 'of the eased heart' from the relatives of

[1] *Acacia Verugera.*

> the murderer who approach them in an angry manner. If the feud is to continue—even after the blood-money has been paid in full—a fight may still ensue, though only if it is precipitated by the action of some hot-headed individual. If everything passes off without a hitch the relations of the deceased, on the approach of the murderer's family, cut the tail of the stolen cow (*yung Pul Loitch*) until it bleeds. The friends of the murderer, on this signal, retire and the blood feud is then regarded as at an end. This payment, however, may not be carried out for many years after the blood-money has been paid and in some cases is not made at all." (P. 103.)

It has been noted that a man guilty of homicide will flee to the sanctuary of a leopard-skin chief's homestead. Probably this does not always happen but only when a man's lineage and village are weak. When the feud is concluded the leopard-skin chief takes the man back to his home which is in a sad state of disrepair since the grass has everywhere grown up in it. Here the *kuaar muon* invokes and kills a bullock, preferably a black one or one with black markings, and then takes a hoe and commences to hoe the kraal overspread with weeds. Then his assistant (either a relative or the *gwan bieth*) kindles fire in the homestead with fire-sticks. He makes three separate fires and after killing a sheep removes its *kol* and places a piece of it on each fire where the fire consumes it. After this ceremony the slayer cuts his hair which has been left to grow without attendance during his residence at the leopard-skin chief's homestead. He then repairs his cattle-byre and settles down once more to normal life.

The feud is considered to be at full height after homicide until the full total of blood-cattle have all been handed over and the full ritual performed. Afterwards it lessens in intensity, doubtless not only because the death has been compensated for but also because to avenge the homicide at this juncture would mean returning all the cattle which had been paid in compensation. Sometimes, I have been told, part of the cattle remain unpaid and the feud becomes closed by a number of warriors of the dead man's village raiding the herds of the killer's family and carrying away what cattle are still due. They will not, it seems, be resisted, even if they are observed driving off the animals. Perhaps this custom is really that of the *Yang pal loitch* referred to above.

But though a feud is nominally closed and feelings on both sides are less intense no member of the slayer's family would dream of going to the village of the slain man. It is only after the dead has been married a wife that the feud is considered to be properly closed insofar as measures of retaliation are not to be expected. Nevertheless ill-feeling continues for a long period and memories of a feud are handed down from generation to generation and there is always danger that it may break out again on small provocation. Even after the dead has been married a wife neither party will drink with the other. When such families meet on occasions of joint war expeditions, big dances, etc., they will neither drink nor eat together. They respect (*thek*) the water. It must be borne in mind however that avoidance does not involve a very large number of persons since one refuses to eat or drink only with the minor lineage of the man who killed one's relative and not with all members of his clan or even of his major lineage.

The truth appears to be that feuds were settled with comparative ease in a restricted social milieu but were more and more difficult to conclude as this milieu expanded until one reached the state of affairs in which there was no *cut* (blood-compensation) accepted at all. Thus if a man kills another who is closely related to him blood-cattle are still paid as compensation for homicide since their function is not restricted to the idea of compensating the family of the deceased, though this is undoubtedly its main function, but also embraces the idea of atonement for the dead and the quieting of his spirit. Thus both these ideas are in play when a man kills, for instance, his paternal cousin. The family of the dead are not the same as the family of the killer and they must be compensated for their loss. In this case fewer, probably only twenty, instead of the usual forty, cattle would be paid since one of the sources of contribution (the father's brother or his sons) are here the recipients and cannot therefore contribute to the blood-cattle. On the other hand there are not so many cattle required, since the father's brother or his sons who normally receive part of the blood-cattle are here the payers of it and therefore cannot also receive it. None the less cattle have to be paid since it is not only necessary to compensate the family of the dead man but it is also necessary to provide him with a wife and heirs. In such a case the feud is easily and shortly closed, and the same applies in a lesser degree to members of the same village who are not of the same kin.

An ox is slain by the leopard-skin chief and its thighbone is cut in half laterally while each side to the feud tugs one end of it. The bullock's bile is then squeezed into a gourdful of water and everyone concerned sips some of the mixture. Before the bullock is despatched, if it concerns the killing of a man by his relatives, the elders will walk up and down near the waiting animal and will make those long ritual harangues to the ghosts of the dead and the company of the living together, which occur at every important religious ceremony in Nuerland, and will point out to the ghost of the dead man that it is impossible to have a continuous feud as no one would be left alive if they allowed it to develop within the lineage. They then spear the bullock.

Another informant told me that even when a man kills a relative, the full forty cattle or their modern equivalent would have to be paid. This informant described the bisection of the bullock's thighbone, saying that the leopard-skin chief takes one end of it, while both parties of the feud tug at the other end. The leopard-skin chief then takes his half, which represents evil and misfortune, and throws it away into the bush, while the good half which represents peace, atonement and fortune, is taken away by the two parties to the feud. The feud is now finally and definitely settled and hostilities will not break out again, since the people concerned in it are of one blood and are neighbours, who herd their cattle together and take part in fighting as members of a single group.

When a feud develops, however, between persons of different villages, and even more between persons of different districts, it is much more difficult to settle and a state of anarchy may continue for an indefinite period. This happens after a fight between two districts in which a number of persons have been killed since it is very difficult to conclude with expedition the endless feuds which arise in consequence and, even when they are nominally and to appearances concluded by the usual ritual, the original offence rankles and the feud is always likely to break out again on the slightest provocation. At the beginning of this paper (Section No. II.) I outlined the manner in which feuds are organised and I will refer the reader back to it in this place. For we can now see more clearly how it is that the tribe splits so easily into more or less autonomous sections and the clan into isolated lineages. Feuds become increasingly more difficult to settle between groups which are territorially distant from one another and, if related, are only distantly related. There

is less to bind them together and hence less reason for them to submit to arbitration and to consent to ritual atonement and more reason for them to prosecute an endless feud. Consequently, a state of anarchy slowly develops, at first for short periods, and then for longer periods, between homicide and closing of the resultant feud, until finally there is no well systematised regulation of feuds between these groups. In the earlier part of this essay we were looking at the process as one of lessening social cohesion and political control. Now we may regard it from the opposite angle as a slowly increasing condition of anarchy. In the thesis developed in this paper, the tribe is the last stage of incipient disorganisation, still subject to outward political control and then a split takes place into two or more tribes whose fighting one can no longer call anarchy since even the ghost of social cohesion has vanished. The political integument has stretched to bursting point.

Thus tribal sections do not split up by design but by a slow and haphazard process of drifting apart. The rent between them enlarges until they have little to do with one another save on those rare occasions when they unite for common ends in warfare, and until border feuds between their respective sub-sections are settled, if at all finally, with greater casualness and greater ponderability. Thus in the large Lou tribe, there was still in theory a system of blood-compensation (*cut*) between the major tribal sections, but in practice feuds appear to have been left to drift, often enough, until a permanent state of feud between various lineages was established. Even in the small tribal sections, the same thing took place. I have already mentioned that even in the Gaatbal tertiary tribal section of the Lou tribe a long feud, between Tiang section and Leng section on the one side and Nyarkwac section of the other side, continued for many years and was still unfinished on the advent of the present administration, by which time it had become a traditional enmity which defied by its complicated ramifications of homicides any effort at settlement. In this manner feuds are prosecuted within the boundaries of tribes the members of which consider themselves to be in some respects a homogeneous group.

*(To be continued.)*

# TRADITIONAL STORIES OF THE 'ABDULLAB TRIBE.

**Collected by A. E. D. Penn.**

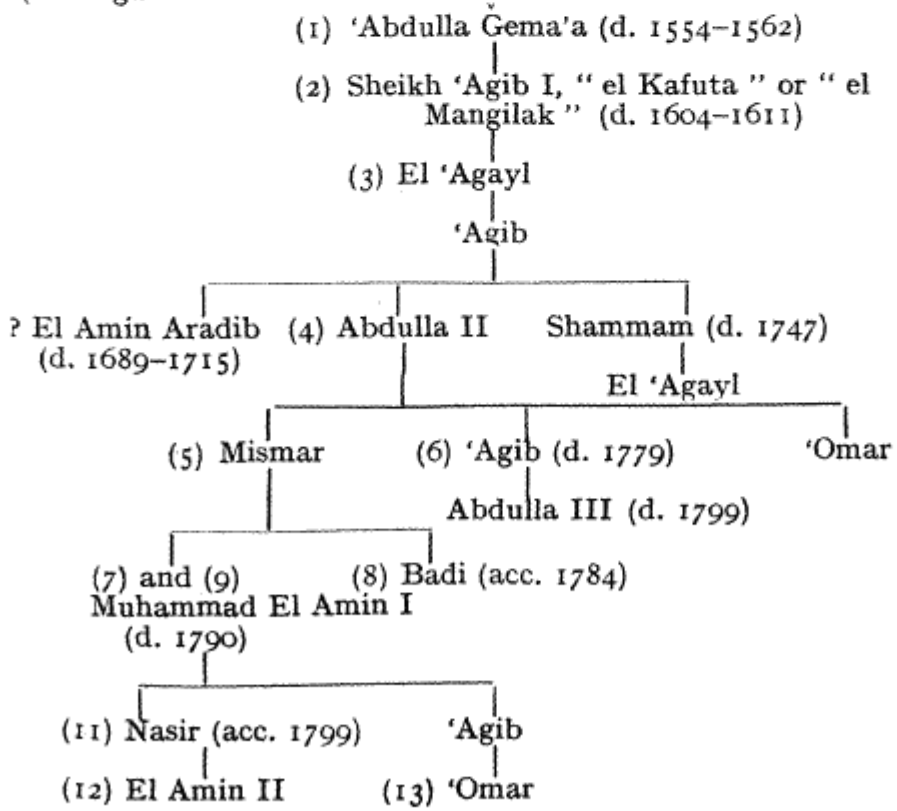
IN the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Thanks be unto God for his gifts, prayers and peace be upon him that is preferred above all Prophets, upon his friends and Companions and all such as walk in the right way.

I have been asked by virtuous persons, who are interested in the foremost Arab houses of the Sudan, to write a short history of the ancestors of our tribe, the 'ABDULLAB. I hesitated to go forward in this matter owing to the complete absence of written records, which disappeared in the early days of the Mahdia, but, in the many and various stories which have been handed down as the stock of tribal tradition, I think I have found my way to the core of the subject. These stories, though often distorted,[1] contain much that is true; much, too, has fallen to me from

[1] [NOTE.—As in most traditional stories the chronology is confused and the following genealogical tree from MacMichael's 'History of the Arabs in the Sudan' (Vol. I, p. 246) is quoted for reference :—

(The figures mark the order of succession.)



the lips of my late father ARBAAB EL HASAN IBN SHAWIR IBN 'AGĪB IBN UNSA IBN SHEIKH SHAMMAM IBN SHEIKH 'AGĪB the 3rd, who died in the year 1334 H. (1916 A.D.) at the age of 90 years. He was exceedingly well versed in tribal tradition and had a wide reputation for his learning; he held, moreover, a post in the old Egyptian Government and was a close associate of that learned divine, the late Sheikh Ibrahim Abdel Dafi', Mufti of the Sudan. I have also consulted various elders of the 'Abdullab tribe and other authorities and, as a result of such investigations, have been able to compile a list of chiefs of the 'Abdullab tribe in their order, together with the chief exploits of each, which I hope approximates closely to the truth. I have had to mention in my story some of the Kings of Sennar, who were known as Meks, in the service of truth and knowledge, as the history of the 'Abdullab and the Fung is closely linked together.

For all the imperfections of my history and its shortcomings I crave your indulgence. Our forefathers were deficient in the knowledge of strict Arabic Syntax and I hand on their story just as it was related to me. I pray God that, from his throne on high, he may look down with favour and bless this my work and may he also guide us in the right way.

## THE CHRONICLES OF THE 'ABDULLAB KINGS.

The first 'Abdullab king of whom we know anything was Sheikh 'Abdullah Ǧamma', the son of Mohammed El Bagir, who was named Ǧamma' because he gathered together under his rule various Arab tribes. He was of an ancient and honourable lineage, the descendant of chieftains of his own clan, and was of such high prowess and ability that he was able to weld the tribes together and rescue them from the harsh domination of the Anag Kings. The Arabs swore fealty to him after he had reduced their clans, one by one, but he considered it expedient to make a treaty of alliance with Amara Dunkas, king of the Fung country, who lived in the mountains towards Walool. They agreed together that the Fung king should supply provisions and fighting men from Negroland and, together with these and his Arab Allies, Sheikh 'Abdullah Ǧamma' advanced against the Anag king. He overcame him in many battles which it would be tedious to describe and penetrated northwards into the Anag country as far as its capital SOBA. This city he reduced, and slew the Anag king, but Hassaballah, their general, succeeded in escaping to Gerri with a remnant of his forces. Now Gerri was encircled by a great

wall and on this wall he built strong towers of defence, of which the traces can be seen at this day, but 'Abdullah Ǧamma' pursued him and besieged the town so closely that at length he was compelled to surrender.

After these successes the whole Sudan submitted to him except certain countries bordering on the Red Sea, and even these were conquered after his death by his son Sheikh 'Agīb. One of the fruits of his victories was the acquisition of great spoil, including the bejewelled crown of the Anag kings and a famous necklace of pearls and rubies, which descended as heirlooms from one Abdullab king to another until they were handed over to Ahmed Pasha "Abu Udān," the first foreign viceroy of the Sudan, together with the musical instruments—the reed-pipes, the bag-pipes and tribal drum.

As a result of their conquests the land was divided between the 'Abdullab and Fung kings. To Amara Dunkas fell the island region between the Blue Nile and White Nile so that he transferred his capital from the Fung mountains in the South to Sennar. The rest of the Sudan fell to Sheikh 'Abdullah Ǧamma' and he established his capital at Gerri. Both these kings dwelt in amity with one another until they died. 'Abdullah Ǧamma' reigned for 60 years and died at the end of the 10th century H.—may God have mercy upon him. He had many sons of whom the most famous were 'Agīb, the founder of the 'Agībab clan—Mohammed Dayoum, the founder of the Dayoumab clan—Idris El Anker, the founder of the Ankeryab clan—Mohammed surnamed Badirkoga, the founder of the Badirkogab clan, and Saba, the founder of the Sabab clan.

Sheikh 'Agīb reigned in his stead and was entitled El Mangilak. He extended the boundaries of his dominions and combined with martial exploits the virtues of a holy man, following in God's way and obeying with orthodoxy the precepts of his prophet, upon whom be the blessing of God and peace. His judgments among his people were just and tempered with mercy, and his consideration for the contentment of his people was so great that he made it his especial care to tour frequently through his domains and remove, where necessary, any heresies that had crept into the practice of Moslem law.

During his reign a quarrel broke out between him and the Fung Mek, Abdel Gader, over an innovation in the body of existing religious custom. In the war which followed Sheikh 'Agīb was so successful that he drove the Fung out of their own country and over the Abyssinian

border. After these victories he built a number of mosques, including one at a place called Ahmed Mugi near Roseires, another at Fadāsi near the Abyssinian boundary and a third among the Koma and A'amam tribes, a Moslem district in Abyssinia ; traces of these mosques still exist to this day.

The boundaries of his kingdom on the Abyssinian side he fixed at Jebel Ghora and Hagar Abu Gad ; on the west with the Fur Sultan at Foga, otherwise Kab Belul, in the Hamar country ; on the North at Assuan. He then returned to his capital at Gerri where he established security throughout the land and set in order the administration. He appointed 40 judges to administer the law, and they acquired a just reputation for their impartial judgments. Among these judges the most renowned were Sheikh 'Abdullah El Araki, who sat in Abu Haraz and its district ; Sheikh Dishein in Arbagi and its district ; Sheikh Bagdoush in Dar Gummoiya ; Sheikh Abdel Rahman, son of the Sheikhs of Noweiri ; Sheikh Mohammed El Ginawi in Berber and district and Sheikh Ali Wad Asheib. He also appointed Sheikhs and Meks with authority over their clans and, in accordance with custom, he presented them with the long-eared skull-caps of office ; these Sheikhs rendered to him annual dues such as a tenth part of their crops and a fixed number of horses and slaves. As a result of his zeal for learning, wise men and those skilled in religious practice found their way to his country from all parts so that, during his reign, teaching was wide-spread and the Koran was read throughout the country. Many were his gifts to religious leaders and most important of them were his gifts of land, which still remain in their families. This king became at length so wealthy and powerful that tradition describes Gerri town as being guarded every day by a troop of 12,000 horsemen mounted on horses of the same colour, whether chestnut, grey or black.

One day he learnt that the chief of the Sobaha Arabs, who was not subject to him, was disobeying the tenets of Moslem law, in that he was putting persons to death, inflicting fines without religious sanction and allowing women to be divorced and married to another man on the self-same day. Sheikh 'Agīb fought always in the good cause of religion and to further the word of God, so he gathered together a large force which he led in person against the Sheikh of the Sobaha. When he drew near his enemy, he went forward alone in the guise of a poor man seeking shelter and obtained lodging with the Sheikh. So by a ruse he was able to verify

for himself the truth of the reports and, having confirmed them, returned again secretly to his army. He then wrote to the Sheikh informing him that the poor man who had been his guest was Sheikh 'Agīb himself; that if he chose to submit to him and refrain from transgressing Moslem law, he would be appointed Sheikh of his tribe but that, if these conditions were unacceptable, he should prepare to fight. On receiving this letter the Sheikh of the Sobaha was wroth and collecting his forces together, met Sheikh 'Agīb in battle. The fight was waged so furiously by both sides that night alone brought release from the struggle and so they continued in pitched battle for twenty days. And on the twenty-first day the Sheikh of the Sobaha was slain and his army overwhelmed; as they fled from the field the horsemen of Sheikh 'Agīb pursued them closely and divided them into two parts, one of which escaped to Korosko and the other to Massawa. Sheikh 'Agīb appointed Nabit, the founder of Nabtab clan, ruler in their country after it had been subdued and bade him act justly, follow the ordinances of the true religion and build mosques over a province bordered by Suakin, Massawa and Korosko towards the Red Sea.

After these activities he made the pilgrimage to Mecca as enjoined by the Prophet and, finding that the way was difficult, decided that it would be a pious duty to open the pilgrimage road and make it safe for the folk. In former time the way had been by El Goseir, and Sheikh 'Agīb planned to make a road to Suakin. He collected large store of butter and, pouring it over the rocks, set fire to it until the rocks split and he passed through to Suakin, in his passage enriching that town with a large reservoir for storing rain water. He crossed the Red Sea taking with him great quantity of gold and made the pilgrimage to Mecca and also to Medina, beloved of the Prophet, may God preserve him and give him peace. After performing the pilgrimage he stayed in Mecca a long time, establishing Wakfs and religious foundations which exist there to this day.

On returning to his capital at Gerri, news reached him that the Fung King was collecting a large army, formed out of many different tribes, to make war upon him. Sheikh 'Agīb marched out immediately to fight, and the two armies met near the Fung capital, where a pitched battle was fought, lasting many days. As his troops were being worsted, he fell back towards his own country to obtain reinforcements, but the Fung King pursued him closely and they fought again, at a place called in the old days DABAKRA, now Karkoj, on the east bank of the Blue Nile, near

Khartoum. In that affray the Sheikh 'Agīb was killed, and tradition relates that he was at the time of his death so old, that his eye-lids sagged down over his cheeks and were tied up with a string round his forehead. He reigned for some 50 years and his body was carried to Gerri and buried there, and to this day his tomb is visited by pilgrims.

It is, I believe, undisputed that at this period, the number of Sheikhs and Meks tributary to the 'Abdullab king, excluding the Sheikhs of services, were seventeen. They were the Tagias of Rufaa (Hamada), Kordofan (Meks), Gummoiya, Sa'adab, Mireifab, Shaigia Argo and the ten districts of the Sobaha, including the Nabtab, Halenga and Homran.

After the death of 'Agīb, the Fung were dominant as far as the boundary of Berber, and his household retreated with the remnant of the Abdullab army to Dongola. His son, Othman, succeeded him and at once collected an army to fight against the Fung, but died prematurely and Sheikh Mohammed Agīl, was appointed in his place, a strong and resolute man who carried forward the designs of Othman. Before fighting commenced, however, Sheikh Idris Arbab (one of the most influential holy men in the Sudan) intervened and arranged a treaty between them, the conditions of which were recorded in a book called " The Covenant of Protection ". This treaty included such terms as the following :—

(i) Sheikh Mohammed El Agīl was to receive all the territory ruled over by his father, Sheikh 'Agīb.

(ii) The Fung Mek was to take all the country falling within the Gezira.

(iii) Such Arab tribes as owed fealty to the king of Gerri should serve a Sheikh in that district, from the household of Sheikh 'Agīb.

(iv) Whenever the family of the Fung Mek should cultivate east of the Nile, they should pay dues to the local Sheikh, who was subject to Gerri.

(v) Whenever a successor of 'Agīb entered as a guest the territory of Sennar, he should beat his own tribal drums only.

(vi) If the 'Abdullab territory were threatened by enemies on the side of Abyssinia, or Darfur or Egypt, the Fung Mek would assist with re-inforcements and, in the face of common danger, they would assist one another, as in the past, with a real alliance between the two countries.

So the quarrel ended. Mohammed El Agīl was restored to his own country and ruled his people justly and, like his father before him, took great thought for the religious leaders.

In those days Abyssinia moved with many large armies, amounting it was said to some 100,000 troops, who were eager to invade the country of the Sheikh 'Agīb. Mohammed El Agīl was informed of these designs and formed a mighty army from the various Arab tribes subject to him, including a force of 40,000 horsemen, clad in chain-mail with steel vizors over their faces. It would take too long to tell of the pitched battles fought over a period of many days, but Mohammed El Agīl was ultimately victorious and the Abyssinian King, Iyasu, was slain, leaving in his hands a large number of captives. Mohammed El Agīl died in his home at Gerri after a reign of 25 years, and of his 34 sons, many of whom were killed in these forays, the most illustrious were, Abdullah El Brins (?), 'Agīb, Hammad and Shawir.

Abdullah El Brins reigned in his stead, a righteous man and a seer who ruled his people justly: the country of 'Agīb prospered mightily during this period, being blessed with good crops and a large increase in flocks and herds. The virtue that lay within him was so great that his time, men say, was the Golden Age, when the ravening wolf lay down with the sheep and harmed them not, and a man might journey alone with much money from Berber to Sennar and return safely to his own people. After a quiet reign of 17 years he died and was buried with his fathers. Hago, the son of Othman, reigned in his stead and walked in the same way, ruling justly over his people and rewarding the religious leaders with grants of land. He died after a reign of five years and was succeeded by Sheikh 'Agīb the second, son of Ereib, who ruled as his cousin before him for six years, until he died. His brother, Mismar, reigned in his stead for five years until he was deposed on account of his evil character and trespasses upon his people. Sheikh Ali, son of Othman, was chosen and ruled wisely for seven years, until he died and was succeeded by Sheikh Hamed Es Simeih, son of Othman, a reckless man and stubborn, with whom his cousin 'Agīb Es Sheikh El Agīl had a feud because of his heavy tyranny over the people. He was at length deposed after a reign of ten years and fled to Darfur where his descendants still survive.

Sheikh 'Agīb the 3rd, son of Mohammed El Agīl, was chosen to succeed him at the ripe age of 65 years and at once found rivals among the sons of

his uncle, El Atta Mana ; this feud almost came to a head in open fighting, but he met their opposition by skilful diplomacy. He built a large compound with high walls on all sides and privily kept his sons therein until they reached manhood, unseen by any of his people. One day he gave orders to beat the tribal drums and all men old enough to bear arms collected for a review. The Sheikh sat on his throne and summoned forth his sons before the tribe : they rode out shoulder to shoulder, mounted on horses gay with trappings, clad in Davidian mail, with swords flashing in their hands and brought such fear to the hearts of his cousins, that from that day forward they were obedient to his will. These sons, 17 in number, helped him to maintain his authority, and, after he had divided the family of his cousins, he felt their rivalry no longer. He inherited in full the kingdom of his ancestor, Sheikh 'Agīb El Mangilak, and his descendants succeeded him without break, until the conquest of the Sudan in 1236 H. During the ascendency of the Turkoman sovereigns in Egypt, the conquest of the Sudan was contemplated and Sheikh 'Agīb the 3rd raised a large army, which he sent under the command of his son, Hammad, nicknamed Calf's Foot, to the Egyptian border. On his arrival in those parts Hammad quickly realised that his troops would be hard put to it, as the Turkomans were armed with fire-arms, whereas his own men had only the "White" weapons, the sword and spear. He called together the tribal leaders for a council, and after long argument, they decided that their only course was to collect all the camels and cattle and, driving them in front of them as a shield, advance against the enemy. This stratagem succeeded and enabled the Arabs to come to close grips and overwhelm the enemy in hand to hand fighting. The Turkoman general and a large part of his army were slain in the field and the rest fled in confusion to their own country. This notable victory led to the appearance of the Sultan Selīm at Suakin and Sheikh 'Agīb Mohammed, hearing of his arrival, feared another invasion of the Sudan on the pretext that the inhabitants were infidel. He therefore wrote to the Sultan explaining that we were Moslems, the people of the phrase "There is no God but God and Mohammed is his Prophet!" that we prayed regularly and gave in alms part of our substance and ordered justice in accordance with Moslem law; that we came of a noble house which had brought the true religion to this country and had built mosques throughout the land ; that we had fought against the Egyptian Wali, only because he had trespassed within our boundaries

and we prayed our master, the Sultan, to examine these matters himself. When he was assured of the truth, the Sultan departed from Suakin, but a long correspondence which ensued between them was lost in later days along with the 'Abdullab Crown. The reign of Es Sheikh 'Agīb the 3rd was not again disturbed by war, nor was the country threatened from without until the invasion of Mohammed Ali Pasha in 1236 H. After a reign of 25 years, he died and was laid to rest beside his ancestor Sheikh 'Agīb the Great.

His son, Sheikh Badei, succeeded him and walked in the same way ; he was one of the wealthiest of rulers and the country was without strife during the four years of his reign, when he died and was buried in Gerri town. In his stead ruled his son, Diab Abu Naib, a strong hard man whose hand was heavy upon his people and especially upon his cousins, so that the Abdullab came to fear him and fled from Gerri town, scattering in various directions. Only a few remained constant such as his uncles 'Abdullah and Shammam, sons of 'Agīb the 3rd, and they only remained in order to protect the household of their ancestor Sheikh 'Agīb El Mangilak. Sheikh Diab Abu Naib was so wealthy that he would have his hobbling pegs made of silver and his reins of pure silk. After a reign of 9 years he died while on tour in the Eastern provinces of his kingdom towards El Tul and El Mana, and he was buried in El Mana.

His uncle, Sheikh 'Abdullah the 3rd, succeeded him and in the 8th year of his reign took counsel of his brother Shammam and decided to transfer the capital of his kingdom from Gerri to the present town of Halfaya. He was a righteous man and just to his people, as well as being resolute and brave, and under his wise and beneficent rule the people rejoiced, comparing it with the oppression which they had endured under Sheikh Diab, and acclaiming him in such verses as :—

" Well have they chosen, lion of the land ;
Dear to the warrior, fearless you stand.
The chains of our prison are broken in twain,
Our homes are protected, our enemies slain.
Yet gentle thou art and thy fame spreads afar,
Sprung from the noblest, the house of Gamma'."

Those 'Abdullab who had voluntarily gone into exile returned to live in Halfayat El Muluk and made it populous and, as wise men gathered there from afar, it became a centre of learning and one of the largest towns in the Sudan. Merchants from all parts settled there as his reputation

for justice and good government spread abroad, and precious goods were bartered in security. He was particularly generous to the religious leaders and made them many grants of land and money to assist them in their virtuous labours.

The story of the king of Berber's son shows how great was his influence. The king of Berber had a proud and domineering son, who was very exacting and cruel towards the folk at the country markets and had no respect for any man. When Sheikh 'Abdullah heard these stories about him he despatched two spies, mounted on camels, with instructions to find out secretly at first hand whether the reports were true; if they were true, they were bidden to cut off the young man's head and bring it back to him. The spies found out that the reports were indeed true and slew the prince but, instead of returning at once, remained to see what the king would do in the matter. The king was immediately informed of his son's death but gave orders that no one should approach the messengers; he came to them himself and asked them why they had killed his son. They explained how they had been sent for this purpose by Sheikh 'Abdullah and had only carried out his instructions. Whereupon the king said—"Verily it is for me only to obey. I am the murderer of my son." Another tale, which illustrates how profound was the feeling of peace and security at that time, concerns the Sobaha Arabs who had lost great numbers of sheep from the attacks of desert wolves; looking from one to another they murmured—"Surely 'Agīb's son is dead and his successor has not been appointed else the wolves had not found such opportunity!" and, marking the day, they found that it was so.

The custom of saluting the sons of 'Agīb as head of the tribe, which has been handed down to our day, is that men gird their outer garment about their loins before entering in and, as they come before him, give their names saying "I am so-and-so." The Sheikh himself repeats the name only and the man replies, "Mangil," and kisses his hand. The interpretation of "Mangil" is that it is an abbreviation of the phrase "We acclaim you only." They sit on the ground modestly, but wise men, learned in religion, pass straight before him with only a hand outstretched and a prayer on their lips before they seat themselves on couches around him.

Whenever Sheikh 'Abdullah passed through the country his people would make holiday as though it were high festival, and go forward to

meet him with great welcome and rejoicing. It was also his custom occasionally to go out in disguise in order to discover what thoughts his people held about affairs, and in reply to his questions they would invariably say, " Well, since the day Sheikh 'Abdullah became our ruler we have enjoyed great peace and quietness." One day he met a goat-herd at some distance from the town and said to him—" Art thou alone, man, so far from the town ? " The goat-herd answered " I am not alone —I have God with me and Sheikh 'Abdullah." Said the Sheikh, "True, God is with every man but how can Sheikh 'Abdullah help you when he is in Halfaya ?" " Hush ! " said the goat-herd, " the very breeze will carry your words to the ears of Sheikh 'Abdullah."

At that moment the sound of his escort was heard approaching and the goat-herd knew it was the Sheikh himself and, as he was turning to go, threw himself before him and said—" My master, these sheep you see and my brother's sheep, to the number of 82, were found astray by us during your reign and we have kept them as a charge upon us safely for your ultimate decision." Sheikh 'Abdullah comforted him saying, " As you have safely preserved God's charge, I have left them in your keeping," and refused even the offer of a few sheep as hospitality for his men. At this, one of his officers murmured that the Sheikh was greedy, coveting all the sheep for himself, and, being summoned before Sheikh Abdullah confessed to his fault, but so great was his clemency that he forgave the man, bidding him only repent before God.

During his reign the Sultan of Darfur marched into Kordofan with a large army to conquer that country. As soon as he heard the news Sheikh Abdullah collected his troops together and led them in person to Kordofan ; with him went his brother Shammam and his nephew, Mohammed El 'Agīl Shammam, but he left his son, Mismār, behind in Halfaya. As soon as he crossed the Kordofan boundary fighting took place between his troops and the Fur, with the result that he was victorious and the Fur Sultan was forced to retreat. As he fell back he ordered the Arab tribes, who in those regions were under his suzerainty, to fill up the wells and harry his enemy with fierce yells and battle-cries but without engaging them in fight. Whenever Sheikh 'Abdullah attacked them they fled and, on returning to pursue the Fur, he found the Arabs still hanging on to his flanks. In this way they continued for many days surrounded by hostile tribes and with supplies both of food and water cut off

from them. At length a pitched battle took place in which Sheikh 'Abdullah was killed and his brother Shammam took over the command, retreating to a well called Samgat (Saniat Karo). After a few days the Fur Sultan again attacked and Shammam was killed leaving Mohammed El 'Agīl, his son, in command, but he and most of his troops were killed while attempting to withdraw from Kordofan. There was bitter lament when this news reached Halfaya and Sheikh Mismar was appointed in the room of his father. So fiercely was his passion roused by the death of his father and uncle and cousin that he determined at once to raise an army and recover Kordofan from the Fur. As soon as the Fung Mek heard of his plans he intervened, as the Fung and the 'Abdullab were at that time allies and he was afraid that Sheikh Mismar, who was only 25 years old, was too young and inexperienced for such a campaign. They agreed that Mohammed Abu Likeilik, one of the Fung captains, should command a joint army. This army he led to Kordofan and, defeating the Fur in battle, drove them back to their own country. There he remained as Warden of the Marches but Mismar reigned only five years in Halfaya before he was gathered to his fathers.

His cousin, Sheikh Nasir Ibn Shammam, was appointed in his stead and as he ruled despotically after the manner of his cousin, Diab Abu Naib, was abhorred by his people. After a reign of eight years he was deposed and exiled in Sennar and lived at Um Talha, where he died and was buried. He was succeeded by his cousin, Sheikh 'Agīb, the fourth son of Sheikh 'Abdullah, who was nicknamed the Elephant. He was a merciful and righteous ruler and never proceeded to judgment until he had consulted the elders. His chest was so broad that it measured three handsbreadths and this was the reason he was dubbed the Elephant. He died while on tour among the Sobaha Arabs after a peaceful reign of 20 years.

Omar Es Sheikh 'Abdullah reigned for two years until his nephew, Sheikh El Amin Mismar, wrested the supreme power from him. Sheikh El Amin Mismar was a doughty, fearless knight and the terror of his foes in battle: many were the tribes that bore witness to his prowess, and peerless was his fame throughout the Sudan. The story goes that on the day of his birth, Sheikh Khogali foretold of him that "noone in his time would prevail against him," and recommended him for safe-keeping to his grand-father, Sheikh 'Abdullah, who allowed no one to come near him at night.

The story of his war with the Hameg and his slaughter of their horsemen runs as follows :—The sons of Mohammed Abu Likeilik were still living in Kordofan and he himself had been succeeded by Badei Ragab, a man renowned for his bravery. Badei Ragab was eager to seize the throne of the Fung Mek and advanced on Sennar from Kordofan with a large army. So great was his prestige that he won the victory without a fight, and appointed and dismissed the Fung Meks at his own will as there was no one to withstand him. He toured the Gezira issuing his orders, and crossing the Nile slew the Sheikh of the Shukriya, Abu 'Ali, in battle. But one of the Meks of Sennar, Adlan Abu Gideiri, was considering with himself and his counsellors how he might defeat Badei Ragab and encompass his death. They agreed to enlist the aid of Sheikh El Amin Mismar, and Mek Adlan accordingly sent a messenger, Hegazi Abu Zaid, of the family of Sheikh Idris and closely related to the Abdullab, who undertook to bring Sheikh El Amin back with him, although the mission was dangerous. Indeed, when they met, Sheikh El Amin said to him, " If any other had come to me, I should have killed him, but I have spared you on account of our kinship." He agreed, however, to consult with Mek Adlan how they should attack Badei. Sheikh El Amin Mismar, at once sent a large sum of money to Tambal, King of Argo, to buy a horse, far-famed for its speed and strength, before hostilities began. As soon as Badei Ragab heard of their intention to fight him, he hurried back to Sennar and both forces met west of Sennar town. Before they engaged, Sheikh Badei challenged any horseman to single combat, and none dared to meet him except Sheikh El Amin. So they stood over against one another and Badei struck the first blow, but it went astray, and El Amin brought down his sword mightily on the head of Badei and clove his helmet and head so cleanly that the parts of both remained in place. Owing to the sharpness of the blade, El Amin thought that his stroke had failed but, on drawing back, he saw the blood streaming down both cheeks and giving him a slight push he fell down dead. On the death of their leader, the Fung army fled in confusion, leaving behind them great stores of gear and wealth.

During this campaign, El Amin's uncle, Sheikh 'Agīb, died and another uncle, Omar, succeeded him : but, on returning to Halfaya, he deposed Omar and reigned in his stead, ruling justly over his people, so that they obeyed him even as they had obeyed his ancestor, Sheikh

'Abdullah. As for the sons of Mohammed Abu Likeilik, after the death of their cousin Badei Ragab, a certain Ragab El Hideilik Mohammed was appointed Sheikh by El Amin Mismar and Mek Adlan Abu Jabeiri acting in concert. Ragab El Hideilik returned to Kordofan with the remnant of his forces and settled again in his old home, but, with the passing of time, he in his turn coveted the kingdom of Sennar. His brother, Ibrahim, who held high office in the household of the Fung Mek, helped him in his plans by bribing, with gold that was sent to him from Kordofan, other members of the household and the troops until he acquired great influence in Sennar town. The Mek became aware of this influence and feared that evil would result : he accordingly summoned before him such elders as he knew were loyal to him and consulted them about the sons of Mohammed Abu Likeilik. Their opinion was that Sheikh El Amin Mismar, who had formerly slain Badei Ragab, was the man who could level their proud bearing. He sent to Sheikh El Amin and when they were met together, informed him about the intrigue that was being carried on by his Wazir Ibrahim and Sheikh Ragab El Hideilik, who were brothers. Sheikh El Amin at once sent for the Wazir Ibrahim, imprisoned him and his confederates and executed them two days later. But El Nieisan, the Wazir's poet, fled to Kordofan carrying the news of his brother's death to Sheikh Ragab and informed him by reciting the following verses, with intent to excite his anger :—

" O Ragab ! son of Mohammed
May God requite you for your brother !
He lead an army armed with swords,
The people ask not for rewards ;
They would avenge the Wazir to-day,
Unburied and left for hyæna's prey.
As bales of fine linen to merchants are dear,
So was he dear to us ; we know no fear !
Will you avenge our chief who was slain,
Or have I sung and pleaded in vain ? "

When he heard of the fate that had overtaken his brother, Sheikh Ragab raged terribly and stayed only to raise an army before setting out for Sennar. He took with him Fiki Mahmoud, a pious man and inspired, who ate live snakes and so gave rise to the jingle " Hajji Mahmoud eats snakes for food." As soon as he had crossed the White Nile, he was opposed by the forces of Mek Adlan and Sheikh El Amin at Remeila. In this battle, both Sheikh Ragab and Fiki Mahmoud were killed but,

before the battle began, Fiki Mahmoud had written to Sheikh El Amin, imploring him to convey his body to his own country and bury it there and, as he requested, he was buried at Kireida, near Debba. After this battle Nasir and Adlan, brothers of Sheikh Ragab, escaped with the remnant of their force towards Abyssinia and there began to extract gold from the mountains so successfully, that they were able to corrupt the officers of the Mek's army. Shortly afterwards Mek Adlan died, at a time when the troops of Sheikh El Amin were scattered throughout the country and only he and his sons were in Sennar. Sheikh Nasir Mohammed was aware of the situation and, as by this time his influence had grown strongly, he marched on Sennar, stopping only at Baggara to send a warning to prepare for battle. The soldiers of the Mek, though openly against him, were secretly on his side and Sheikh El Amin was astonished to find, on his arrival, all the Mek's forces arrayed on the side of the enemy. He attacked them, however, with only the members of his own household and was wounded severely in the thick of the fight. His sons were bearing him away, though he was indignantly upbraiding them, when suddenly hostile horsemen charged down upon them: wherever he saw a horse, Sheikh El Amin said to his son Hammad, " Wheel round the horses," but another son, 'Abdullah, chided him saying, " If we wheel round the horses, Hammad gets the thanks " and this saying became a proverb throughout the Sudan. So Sheikh Nasir Mohammed wrested the kingdom from the son of Mek Adlan and Sheikh El Amin returned to Sennar, where he stayed for three days. He started on the journey to his own country before sunrise and met no one on the way, until he arrived at Hillalia, but when Mek Nasir heard that he was at Hillalia with only a few followers, he bribed an Arab of the Sobaha tribe to murder him, and also sent on his tracks Sheikh El Hamegawi with a large force. Mek Nasir was at the time in Abu Furu village and had handed over the leadership of his forces to Abukr Wad Wahsh, who set out for Hillalia with some 700 horsemen. Before they arrived, however, a few chiefs of the Shukriya tribe approached Sheikh El Amin, imploring him to start for Halfaya and promising to join up under him with their camels. His daughter Rigaya happened to overhear their converse and sang to him the following verses in order to inflame his spirit for the fight :—

" Bring out the great war-drum, bring out El Bakheit
The Shukriya will leave you, their camels are fleet.
Let them not tempt you to yield or withdraw ;
Confirm us in honour, our kingdom restore ! "

Thus was his spirit roused and he swore that he would not leave Hillalia until the dust on the ground went with him, and the Shukriya left him when they saw his resolution. The enemy approached and surrounded the village to prevent El Amin from escaping, but he was not disturbed and remained in his house, behind a curtain with the women His son, Hammad came into him and said, "Do you not hear the neighing of the horses outside?", but he laughed and answered "No matter, take you this slave woman to the river and bring me water for my bath." The boy succeeded in eluding the pickets and brought back water for his father, who bathed and perfumed himself and then mounted his horse, with his fifteen sons about him. The man who had been hired to slay El Amin was there ready for the fight and, as Hammad made towards him, curvetted on his horse and brandished a flashing sword behind the shield-bearers. But Hammad charged down upon him like the lightning-flash and severed his head from his shoulders with a single stroke. And, as the two forces engaged, Nasir El Amin chanted these verses to stir on the hearts of his brothers :—

> "Our surpassing skill in arms is an inheritance from our ancestors; press on to the fight, ye knights of Selima, for glory belongs but to a day while rest is eternal. Once ye have set out it is hard to draw back for the people are confident that we are ever victorious and, since the time of 'Agib, we have been the spear-point of the attack. We ride only such horses as can bear us in our might, and the naked swords flash in our hands. Insolent words inflame us to anger and we welcome the day of battle as a feast. We ride only such horses as can bear us in our might and, where others are afraid to press forward, there we are sure to be found. With our swords we have played merrily, merrily and rather than flee we shall be slain to a man."

Then were doughty deeds to be seen. Sheikh El Amin struck a heavy blow at their leader, Abukr Wad Wahsh, and clove him in twain and, in this distressful condition, his horse carried him in and out of the fray. He and his sons bore down valiantly upon the foe, dealing shrewd thrusts and blows, until God put such fear into their hearts that they fled from the field. They were closely pursued to the river bank and the story goes that, so great was their hurry, many of the fish called 'Shilba' and 'Kannakein' were caught up on the horse-trappings by their fins and carried out on the west bank near Abu Ushar. The remnant of their army escaped to Wad Abu Furu and Mek Nasir was greatly astonished at their defeat. He asked after the man who had been hired to kill Sheikh El Amin and, when he heard how Hammad had dealt with him before

the fight began, remarked—" Is Hammad a hawk, that he should so swoop down upon the man ? "

Another story of this fight concerns a small son of Sheikh El Amin named Bagoei, who had shortly before been circumcised and was locked up in a room and bidden not to move therefrom lest he came to some injury. But the boy took his spear and, climbing up on to the roof, killed an enemy horseman : he then mounted his horse and rode with his brothers into the fray. His sister, Rigaya, composed this couplet about him :—

" O Bagoei, my heart's delight ! we thought you a child,
Not ready to fight.
But yesterday you were setting a snare,
My precious darling, and pulling my hair !
The horsemen were mighty,
But mighty as they
On foot you have proved in the battle to-day ! "

Mek Nasir retired at once to Sennar and tried to devise some other plan by which he might bring about the death of Sheikh El Amin, because he was still in dread of him as the man who had slain his own brothers. But Sheikh El Amin departed from Hillalia and returned to his home in Halfaya. He sent out his sheikhs in different directions to collect the taxes and his own son, 'Agīb, he despatched to Dongola, with a letter requesting Abu Sowwar, king of the Shaigia, to assist him in his mission. After the taxes had been collected and he was about to depart from that country 'Agīb learnt that Abu Sowwar had peculated a large sum : so he arrested and executed him along with a few Shaigia sheikhs who had taken part in the conspiracy. The Shaigia at once rose in revolt and collected together to murder Sheikh 'Agīb and his retinue, who were few in number owing to the settled state of the country. It was not long before they were attacked and slain, and, as soon as he heard the news, Sheikh El Amin at once started for Shendi to raise a force there and quench the revolt in Dongola. He rested on the way at the village of Sheikh Saleh Wad Banaga and before he left, there came to him Abu Reida Khamīs, a chief of the Nuba, with a story of a grievance which he had suffered from his Mek, Nasir Mohammed El Hamegawi. He said that he had been thus provoked to transfer his allegiance, although he had in fact been sent covertly by Mek Nasir to kill Sheikh El Amin. At the same time, he had also sent against him a force under one of his Meks, accompanied by a man named Selim, who possessed a firearm, in the hope that he might

thereby slay Sheikh El Amin from a distance, before the fight began. This plan did not, however, succeed as he happened to shoot a son of Sheikh El Amin, who was armed in all the panoply of war upon his horse, instead of Sheikh El Amin himself.

In the fight which took place, the first blow was struck by Abdullah 'Agīb, a cousin of Sheikh El Amin, who succeeded in killing the enemy leader. Sheikh El Amin's own son, 'Abdullah, was beside him at the time and they quarrelled over the armour and weapons of the dead man until Sheikh El Amin intervened and awarded them to his cousin. After the battle was over and the 'Abdullab were victorious, he asked him for the sword only, but his cousin refused to give it up and fled for protection to the tomb of Sheikh Saleh Banaga : whereupon, Sheikh El Amin followed him into the tomb and, taking the sword for himself, threw him into prison. He despatched his force to Dongola with his sons and Abu Reida Khamīs, but Abu Reida fled away at Jebel El Gilf and returned to Wad Banaga where he helped Abdullah 'Agīb and Sheikh Mohammed Nimr to escape from prison. All three swore to bring about the death of Sheikh El Amin before his sons should return. When they reached his house at night none of them durst enter, but Abu Reida Khamīs bade the Nuba slaves climb up on to the roof of the house, which they did and, piercing a hole, killed him with spears as he lay quietly asleep. On the point of death he motioned to his cousin 'Abdullah 'Agīb and, handing him the sword, said, " Let not the slave (Abu Reida) take it from you." So after a reign of 20 years he died and was buried near the village of Sheikh Saleh Wad Banaga.

He was succeeded by his cousin, Sheikh 'Abdullah the 4th, son of Sheikh 'Agīb El Fil, who departed for Atbara after the burial of Sheikh El Amin and before his sons could return from the Dongola expedition. As soon as they discovered the flight of Abu Reida Khamīs and suspected that he had returned secretly to slay their father they made haste to save him : but they found him already dead when they arrived at Wad Banaga. So they continued their journey to Halfaya where they stopped only to collect their possessions, before they fled to Eilafoun, the village of Sheikh Idris Wad El Arbab, where they settled down to collect horses and lead forays against Sheikh 'Abdullah. Their first reprisal was to carry off the slaves in a raid at Haleingi, near Halfaya, while Sheikh 'Abdullah was in the Sobaha country. As soon as his steward, Arbaab Ali Wad

Badei, heard of this incident, he pursued them and caught them up at Meshra Abu Sileib near Eilafoun and one of Sheikh 'Abdullah's doughtiest knights, Othman Fatir, Sheikh of Mesaid village, was with him at the time. In the fight that took place Othman Fatir and a slave were killed and Arbaab Ali Badei was wounded. The slaves took away with them Othman Fatir's horse and sheep, and also the dead body of their companion, to Eilafoun. As soon as Sheikh 'Abdullah heard of the result of the fight he returned hurriedly from the Sobaha country and rested for the night in the open near Eilafoun. Fiki Barakat, Khalifa of Sheikh Idris, and Fiki Samaha intervened to put an end to the fighting between him and the sons of Sheikh El Amin, but he answered them " I will not let them be until they have handed over to me their weapons and horses, until they work on the land for their living or join my army or get them gone from my country." But they refused to hand over their weapons or to acknowledge him as their master, and said—" We will bide here until to-morrow and then depart from your country." Sheikh 'Abdullah agreed and slept where he had bivouacked, but the sons of El Amin sent for their horses, which were away grazing, and then beat upon the tribal drum the summons to the fight. As they were getting ready the religious worthies again intervened, but they would have none of their arguments and, in the fight that took place, defeated Sheikh Abdullah and slew nine of his close relatives. He retreated to the desert east of Atbara where he meditated plans of revenge and later stole upon the sons of El Amin from the south. From Umm Gahaf village near Eilafoun he fell upon them, putting them to rout and killing eighteen of their company and driving the rest out of his country southwards.

His rule over Halfaya was so distinguished for kindness and consideration for his people that among neighbour tribes it was known as the " Reign of Justice." Many stories are told of him, such as that he would tie a knife with a bag of pepper and salt on the neck of a sheep and turn it loose for a thief to steal, saying " There is the knife ready to hand and pepper and salt to give savour to the dish." The sheep would wander about freely day and night and no one would ever lay hand upon it. Another story which illustrates his impartiality tells how a party of merchants arrived at Halfaya and unloaded their merchandize in the bazaar. When evening came on they gave no thought to it but went to sleep, and next morning found part of their goods were stolen. They went to Sheikh 'Abdullah and said :

" Mangil, you have robbed us overnight." He asked them about the theft and they answered: " We have come from a far country and have slept at night in the desert, unloading our camels of their gear to graze, and sleeping with quiet minds. We have lost nothing until we arrived at thy town and must say that thou art the thief." When he had learnt their story in full he said, " Truly, I am the thief " and, summoning his captains, he threatened them severally with heavy punishment if the culprit were not discovered. Eventually the chief was found, the goods handed back to their owners and the thief punished in accordance with law. Another story goes that the sons of Abu El Ma'ali Ibn Es Sheikh Mohammed had a slave who was watering a cultivation by sagia wheel near Meshra El Gimeiza, by Koko village, when a stray sheep wandered towards him just before dawn. He slaughtered the sheep and hid the carcase in the roots of a tree, but when the sun rose horsemen arrived from Halfaya and spoke to the headman, asking for one of the slaves by name. He was seized and taken to Halfaya, and neither his people or the messengers knew the reason for his summons until they brought him before Sheikh 'Abdullah who said to him—" If you tell the truth, my hand will be light upon you, but if you lie your punishment will be twice as heavy. What were you doing late last night? " The slave answered, " I will indeed tell the truth. Late at night while I was alone watering the cultivation a stray sheep came to me and, after a little hesitation, I slaughtered it and the flesh is still there." Sheikh 'Abdullah turned to his master and said, " For the sake of your grandfather, Sheikh Hamed Um Marioum, I have pardoned him," and the owner of the sheep had only to be compensated. It was his custom to walk at night in disguise about the town, in order to acquaint himself with the opinions of his people, and one night heard a well-known wastrel, called Abdel Gelīl, singing the following couplet :—

" I neither buy nor do I sell,
In pampered ease no loss is mine.
I find and slay the fatted sheep,
At night I drink the purest wine."

The next morning he sent for Abdel Gelīl and asked him to sing the song again : when he had finished, he said to him—" You are a vagabond and live only for theft, fornication and strong drink "—and gave orders for him to be executed, but, on the intercession of his ministers and council, he spared him on condition that he left his country at once. The

man immediately took to his heels, girding up his loins and carrying his sandals in his hand, and the story goes that he was seen still running at Eilafoun. A lampoon made up at the time about this incident runs :—

" See Abdel Gelil whose sword is sharp,
Whose thoughts on murder are always burning !
How he runs and outstrips the gazelle,
Now beneath his feet the harsh rocks spurning ! "

Blessed indeed was the reign of this good man and peace and prosperity to the land : such great security indeed did his people enjoy that a man might travel with money in his pocket to a distant village and return home safely to his own people. Dear to him were skilful cultivators and these he would delight to honour, but the lazy man he would always harangue. He had a sagia cultivation of his own in which he would himself work with his hands to supply his household needs, chanting these verses as he drove the plough :—

" When the river is in flood we beat our swords into plough-shares; the wheel creaks the live-long day and the lazy man will go thin-bellied, but we who plough with our own hands will lose not our self-respect."

He would punish severely those who neglected the duty of daily prayers, so that the slothful would say—" Come, even if we do not fear God Almighty, let us pray the prayers of 'Abdullah ! " He forbade the butchers slaughtering before the dawn-prayer and, when one of them was brought before him for disobedience and swore by the oath of divorce that he had said his prayers before dawn, he laughed and said, " Wallahi, this man has not learnt the seemly hours for prayer ! take him away and teach him." He had himself such a sense of what was fitting that if he met a wedding or a circumcision procession he would turn aside from the way, and many other stories are told of his tact and kindliness.

As for the surviving sons of Sheikh El Amin, for two years they lived in Sennar town intriguing against Sheikh Abdullah : they tried to obtain the assistance of Mek Nasir El Hamegawi but he refused, and then they secretly approached his brother, Adlan Mohammed, promising to help him murder his brother and obtain the rule over Sennar if he would help them against Sheikh 'Abdullah. So they swore on the book to help one another and succeeded in killing Mek Nasir and putting his brother Adlan in his place. Both forces then marched against Halfaya, and in the fight that took place, Sheikh 'Abdullah was slain. Sheikh Nasir Ibn Sheikh El Amin ruled in his stead for 25 years with a wise moderation and was in his dotage

when Ismail Pasha invaded the Sudan and carried all before him. He considered that it was useless to offer resistance to him, and when he moved towards Sennar, he sent with him El Amin, his eldest son. Soon after they left, Sheikh Nasir died and El Amin was appointed to succeed him, and returned in the company of Ismail Pasha after the surrender of Sennar. A Sanjak with a garrison of 400 soldiers was left at Halfaya, and Ismail Pasha returned to Shendi, but made such exacting demands upon Mek Nasir, that he and his Sheikhs plotted to kill him, and he was burnt alive in his quarters. When this news reached the Turkish troops in Halfaya they collected together within the compound of their fort, and shot down the Arabs as they attacked, but were at length overcome and killed to a man. The Defterdar was at the time in Kordofan, but marched to Dongola as soon as he heard of this reverse and fought his way successfully along the river to Halfaya. Sheikh El Amin resisted him for some days, but fell back on Hillalia when he observed the superiority of firearms over sword and spear. After two or three reverses, in which the Arabs were only once able to force a hand-to-hand fight, he retired to Gellabat and defeated a force of Takarir who opposed him under Arīf, their Sheikh. Arīf was himself taken captive and executed three days later, and Sheikh El Amin appointed his cousin, Miri, Sheikh of Gellabat. There he remained for ten years and then retired to Halfaya, as the Government granted him a pardon and a sufficient pension until his death. Sheikh Mohammed Nasir succeeded him, but died two months later and was himself succeeded by this brother, Idris Nasir, who was a resolute and courageous man, and obtained such a high place in the affections of his people and of the Government, that he was given a large salary and was handed back his Wadis and other cultivation lands. He was on every patrol and accompanied Ahmed Pasha "Abu Udān" when he fought the Sobaha at El Taka and in other expeditions. It was Ahmed Pasha's custom to view the fight from afar in his tent and one day, as his tent was pitched at the foot ot the hill, the enemy rolled down large boulders: all those standing by ran away, except Sheikh Idris, who saw a large rock bound by him and tear up the tent-pegs, and when Ahmed Pasha marvelled at his bravery he answered with a quotation from the Koran—"Nothing will touch us save God wills it so." On another occasion Ahmed Pasha's force was being defeated and, with mind distraught, Sheikh Idris mounted, drew his sword "Nyam-Nyam" and galloped at the Pasha: reining back

his horse upon its haunches, he waved his sword above the Pasha's head, roared like a strong camel and plunged among the enemy, scattering them before him and putting such courage into the hearts of his own men that the field gun and firearms which had been lost, were recovered and the enemy driven from the field. The Hakimdar was delighted with such prowess and doubled his salary and, from that date, there sprung up between them a close friendship.

They agreed together to wrest from Egypt the kingdom of the Sudan and hand it over to the Sultan of Constantinople, together with the ancient crown of the kings of Soba which had been worn by Sheikh Abdullah Ǧamma' and handed down by him as an heirloom to the 'Abdullab kings in succession. The letters, too, that passed between Sheikh 'Agīb and the Sultan Seleim after he had defeated El Ghaz, the viceroy in Egypt, were handed over to Ahmed Pasha, but the conspiracy was discovered by the Egyptian Government, and a force was sent to arrest Ahmed Pasha " Abu Udān " who, however, poisoned himself before it arrived. He was buried in Khartoum, but Sheikh Idris was held high in the esteem of the Government until he died and was buried in Halfaya.

Sheikh Ǧamma' Sheikh El Amin succeeded him, an upright, serious man who was not troubled by the untoward events of that time, and was esteemed by the Government. When the Mahdia broke out he was appointed a Sanjak over 400 men in Lutfi Bey's expedition to Kordofan against the Dervishes. He and his men were slain in battle before ever the Mahdi came to Khartoum, and Sheikh Ǧamma' was buried at Branko. Sheikh Nasir Ǧamma' was appointed in his place during the last days of the old Turkish Government, was awarded a 1st Class Robe of Honour, and weathered the Mahdia with full authority over all the Abdullab and their dependants. He possessed in his turn the famous sword called " Nyam-Nyam," and was summoned before the Khalifa who had heard about this heirloom. When he came before the Khalifa, he looked at the sword and immediately coveted it for its beauty and placed it under his thigh, thinking that Sheikh Nasir would not dare to ask for its return. But as the hours passed by and the others sitting with him withdrew, leaving them alone, Sheikh Nasir stood up to go and drew the sword from beneath the Khalifa's thigh. The Khalifa exclaimed—" You are indeed fond of your sword, Sheikh Nasir ! " and the Sheikh answered—" It is entrusted to me as the head of the tribe, and will not be taken from me

except my head is cut off." Later, he was killed while fighting against the expeditionary force and the sword " Nyam-Nyam " was lost.

His successor, Sheikh El Amin Omar, lived to welcome this Government and was given a Robe of Honour before he died at the village of Sheikh Ǧamma' and was buried at Branko. Sheikh Mohammed El Sheikh Ǧamma' succeeded him, and has been honoured by Robes of Honour from Wingate Pasha and Sir Lee Stack and, above all, by the Medal which he received from King George himself on his visit to Port Sudan in 1912.

# NOTES ON THE BIRDS OF SOUTHERN DARFUR.

By J. F. Madden.

DARFUR was ornithologically little known until Admiral Lynes' expedition to the northern and central parts of the province in 1920-21. Something was known of the birds of Kordofan in the east and the Chad basin in the west ; and in the south and south-west collections had been made in the Ubangi-Shari area and in the Bahr el Ghazal Province, but the Nile-Chad watershed and the slopes of the great Jebel Marra " massif " were as yet unexplored by ornithologists. Lynes did much to link up the work done on either side of Darfur, and made a special study of the fauna of Jebel Marra, but he was not able to visit the southern part of the province. The area is particularly interesting in that it borders on the savanna country of the south, and contains a variety of bird forms from both the arid and the savanna belts.

Here I should say that for zoological purposes the main types of country which can be distinguished within the Ethiopian Region are the desert, the arid (scrub and thorn-trees), the savanna, the forest and the highland. The northern and central Sudan fall within the desert and arid belts ; the Southern Sudan is savanna country with the exception of the extreme south east of Mongalla Province, which comes within the East African Highland region. The true forest belt runs south of the Sudan boundary from the Belgian Congo right across to Southern Nigeria and the Guinea Coast.

Darfur Province extends a little south of 10° N. latitude and is bounded there approximately by the Bahr el Arab and its tributary the Umbelaitcha. The true conditions of the savanna belt (i.e. open park-like country, with big trees, long grass and much surface water) occur here and there in the area south of latitude 11°, but do not last throughout the year except in the vicinity of the river itself. But the great western *wadis* (as Lynes found) carry these conditions—and with them many southern forms of bird and plant life—right up to the slopes of Jebel Marra ; and those parts of Darfur which lie to the west of the divide range are closer to the south in climate and general conditions than they are to the central and eastern districts on the same latitude as themselves.

Apart however, from this western incursion of the savanna belt it may be said that arid conditions prevail as far south as about latitude 12° 30′, and few of the savanna types of birds are found north of this line. In the early rains I have seen individuals of southern species like the Didric and Black and White Cuckoos (*Lampromorpha caprius* and *Clamator jacobinus*) as far north as El Fasher, and the Grey Hornbill (*Lophoceros n. nasutus*) migrates northwards in considerable numbers; but during the dry season Wadi Musku (70 miles south of El Fasher) is about the limit of any savanna form. Here I have seen in May, the southern Babbler (*Turdoides p. plebeja*) and the Scarlet Breasted Shrike (*Laniarius erythrogaster*), both birds of the intermediate belt, but practically absent from Central Darfur. Typical savanna birds, such as the Bush Shrikes (*Malaconotinæ*) and the Grey Plantain Eater (*Crinifer zonurus*), do not occur (as far as my records go) north of Nyala, in latitude 12°—though this again does not apply to the western *wadis*. Others, such as the Vinaceous Dove (*Streptopelia v. barbaru*) and the Honey Guide (*Indicator indicator*) are seldom found north of Buram (about latitude 11°). On the other hand the larks of the arid belt (except the ubiquitous Sparrow Lark, *E. leucotis*) become very scarce south of Nyala, and on the river are represented only by the Red Tailed Bush Lark (*P. erythropygia*). Pipits are also scarce, though I collected one Tree Pipit (*A. t. trivialis*) on the eastern Bahr el Arab in April 1932, presumably on passage.

The distribution of species in the intermediate belt is often peculiar. The Grey Plantain Eater (*C. zonurus*), a savanna bird, occurs all the year round at Nyala, but I have never seen it at Buram, 100 miles further south. This also applies to the Black Breasted Barbet (*E. rolleti*), which is fairly common round Nyala and is found also in the western *wadis* (I have seen it at Kas, 30 miles south of Jebel Marra), but does not appear elsewhere except on the river. I collected one specimen of the small Yellow Bush Shrike (*C. sulfureopectus similis*) at Nyala in June, saw two others in the west at Kubbun and several on the river, but my only record of it from Buram was a specimen shot by the bird skinner in January, 1932. This cannot be entirely due to the better vegetation on the Wadi Nyala, since Buram is equally well wooded.

It is not until the western part of the Bahr el Ghazel is reached (in about latitude 10°) that the avifauna become typically savanna, and species occur such as the Violet Backed Sunbird (*A. longuemarei*) and the Red-

Throated Bee-Eater (*M. bullocki frenatus*), which definitely are never seen further north. And further east, on the Dinka-Rizeigat boundary, the flat plains—open, hot and largely waterless in the dry season—carry semi-arid conditions some 40 miles south of the river.

I was fortunate enough to have the native bird-skinner from the Gordon College with me in Southern Darfur from November 1931 until July 1932, during which period he obtained some 500 skins of over 100 species of birds. Half these skins have gone to America, for the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and the remainder are in the Natural History Museum at the Gordon College. Mr. Bowen will, I hope, work out the American collection, but I have myself only been able to take home a very few skins for determination in the British Museum, and in several cases in the following list I have had to leave the racial form of a species uncertain. Scientifically therefore, the list leaves much to be desired, and it must remain so until an opportunity occurs of working out the whole collection in detail. But it will at least form a guide to the species of birds which may be expected to occur in Southern Darfur. These number some 240 in all, and the first section of the list comprises the birds of the non-Passerine families. For the sake of uniformity I have followed the order and nomenclature of Bowen's " Catalogue of the Birds of the Sudan."

## LIST OF BIRDS COLLECTED OR OBSERVED IN SOUTHERN DARFUR, 1931-32.

### PART I.—NON-PASSERINE FAMILIES.

Family STRUTHIONIDÆ. Ostriches.

The Ostrich (*Struthio c. camelus*) is a common resident throughout the area. It breeds in the winter ; a chick still in down, and only about a foot high, was brought to me at Lake Kundi in February.

Family PODICIPIDÆ. Grebes.

The African Little Grebe (*Poliocephalus ruficollis capensis*) is common on open water everywhere from the Bahr el Arab northwards. A pair remained on the water in the deep pit in Fasher *fula* until May, 1933. Where they went to afterwards is a mystery ; at that time of year there was no open water left for a hundred miles in any direction.

Family ANHINGIDÆ. Darters.

The African Darter or Snake Bird (*Anhingia r. rufa*) is fairly common on water which gives it adequate cover. It seems to prefer plenty of small bushes and trees, which, combined with its habit of submerging most of its body and leaving only its long neck and bill visible, makes it easily overlooked. In flight the peculiar " kink " in its neck is unmistakable.

Family PELICANIDÆ. Pelicans.

The small Grey Pelican (*P. rufescens*) is common on large *rahads* in winter. Small parties, apparently on passage, appeared in El Fasher in May and June, 1933. One day I counted eight on the top branches of a big *sunt* tree in the bed of the *fula*, but there was no open water for miles, and I do not know what they were doing.

Family ARDEIDÆ. Herons and Egrets.

The common resident Heron is the Black Headed Heron (*A. melanocephala*). The smaller White Heron (*Mesophoyx intermedius brachyrhynchus*) is numerous on and near the Bahr El Arab—it is a large white bird with a long neck, a yellow bill and black legs and feet. The Goliath Heron, the largest of the family, was fairly common on the Rizeigat plains near the river in March, 1932 ; and the European Grey Heron (*A. cinerea*) is a winter visitor. Occasional birds of this species linger far into the summer, but I do not think there is any evidence of the Grey Heron having bred in the Sudan.

The common Buff-Backed or Cattle Egret (*Bubulcus ibis*) winters in the south, but comes north in the early summer in large numbers to breed. It is usually associated with Abdim's Stork and the Sacred Ibis, and very often a single *haraz* or *hegliğ* tree is literally packed with nests of all three species side by side.

The Little Egret (*Egretta g. garzetta*) is a rather uncommon winter visitor. Several smaller Herons occur ; the Squacco (*Ardeola r. ralloides*) and the Night Heron (*N. nycticorax*) are common residents in the south, and the latter appears to move northwards in May with the early rains.

I only met with the African Green Backed Heron (*Butorides striatus atricapillus*) once, when I saw a single bird in thick vegetation by the river bank on the Umbelaitcha near Radom. This was in February. I have no record at all of the Purple Heron (*Pyrrherodia p. purpurea*), though there seems no reason why it should not occur.

Family SCOPIDÆ. Hammerheads.

The Hammerhead (*S. umbretta bannermani*) is very common on the river and occasionally on the *rahads* near it. It builds an enormous nest of sticks and mud, completely enclosed except for one small hole, and entirely out of proportion to the size of the bird.

Family CICONIIDÆ. Storks.

The White Stork (*Ciconia c. ciconia*) is a passage migrant, and a few perhaps remain for the winter. I saw one at Abu Zamam, N.E. of Buram, in January, 1932.

The African Woolly Necked Stork (*Dissoura e. microscelis*) is fairly common in the southern part of the district. I saw one at Rotoké, between Nyala and Zalingei, in May, 1932.

Of the other Storks the Open-Bill, the big Jabiru and the Marabou are all common residents on the river. There were young grey-brown Jabiru at Kundi in February, looking very different from the striking adult plumage.

Abdim's Stork is an abundant breeding species in early summer.

Family PLATALEIDÆ. Ibises and Spoonbills.

The Sacred Ibis is also an abundant breeding bird both in Nyala and Fasher. It seems however, to arrive later than either the Cattle Egret or Abdim's Stork.

The Hagedash Ibis (*H. hagedash nilotica*) is fairly common on *rahads* in the winter and on the river in summer, where presumably it breeds. Its raucous cries and peculiar rounded wing cannot be mistaken.

The Spoonbill (*Platalea leucorodia*) is not common. I only saw it twice, on the *rahads* at Sibdu (near Abu Matarig) and Abu Salaa (just north of Buram) in the winter of 1931-32.

Family ANATIDÆ. Ducks and Geese.

Thousands of European Duck visit the big *rahads* of Southern Darfur during the winter. The commonest of these are the Garganey (*A. querquedula*), Common Teal (*A. crecca*), White-Eyed Pochard (*Nyroca n. nyroca*) and Pintail (*Dafila acuta*). Other fairly common species are the Tufted Duck and Common Pochard, while the Shoveler, Widgeon and Gadwall are rather scarce visitors. Mallard are rare, though a drake

in full plumage was recorded at Sibdu in December, 1932. Of the resident species the Spur-Winged and Knob-Billed Geese are very common, and the Egyptian Goose rather less so. The beautiful little Pygmy Goose (*Nettapus auritus*) is local but not uncommon; and the ordinary "Whistler" (the White-Faced Tree Duck) is abundant everywhere.

Family SAGITTARIIDÆ. Secretary Birds.

The Secretary Bird (*S. serpentarius*) is a common resident throughout.

Family ÆGYPIIDÆ. Vultures.

The commonest of the Vultures are the small Hooded Vulture (*Necrosyrtes monachus pileatus*) and the larger White Necked Vulture (*Pseudogyps africanus*). The Egyptian and White Headed Vultures (*Neophron p. percnopterus* and *Trigonoceps occipitalis*) are also common, but the very large Nubian Vulture (*Torgos tracheliotus nubicus*) is comparatively scarce. Rüppell's Griffon (*Gyps r. ruppellii*) seems to be quite rare; I do not remember having seen more than one or two.

Family FALCONIDÆ. Birds of Prey.

Birds of Prey are of course numerous in every part of the Sudan, but it is far from easy to identify them in the field. The present list is very incomplete, and I saw many birds myself which I could not identify.

Peregrines of some sort are winter visitors, but I was not able to determine their race; while the Lanner is a resident and breeds. Of the other falcons the European Kestrel is a fairly common winter visitor, and the Red Necked Falcon (*Falco chiquera ruficollis*) is a resident, nesting mostly in *doleib* palms. A female collected at Rajaj in January had the ovaries slightly enlarged, which would indicate breeding in the early spring.

The Grey Kestrel (*Falco ardosiaceus*) seems, as Admiral Lynes found, to be a woodland bird. One specimen, a female, was collected at Rajaj, N.W. of Buram (about 11° N. latitude) in January. It showed no signs of breeding.

The other members of this family of which I have records are as follows:—

Swallow Tailed Kite (*Chelictinia riocourii*). A bird of the arid belt. I have only seen it once south of Nyala. It is local, but not uncommon.

Single birds or pairs were seen quite frequently on the Fasher-El Obeid road in mid-July, 1933.

African Black Kite (*Milvus migrans parasitus*).—A common bird throughout the area, from the river northwards

Tawny Eagle (*Aquila rapax raptor*)—Common throughout.

Crested Hawk Eagle (*Lophætus occipitalis*).—Fairly common; scarcer in the arid belt.

Northern Lizard-Buzzard (*Kaupifalco monogrammicus*).—One male was obtained at Buram in May, 1932, but it is not common. It is rather a handsome grey bird with pointed wings and rather long secondaries. The tail is dark with a single white band, and the throat is white with a black line down the centre.

Grasshopper Buzzard-Eagle (*Butastur rufipennis*).—Fairly common throughout. Its specific name fits it well, as it definitely looks red winged in the air—sometimes with a curious transparent effect, as if the sun were shining through the feathers. I obtained no specimens and cannot say when, or where, it bred.

Bateleur Eagle (*Terathopius ecaudatus*).—Very common. I have never found a nest in Darfur, but in the Red Sea hills I saw a bird sitting in winter in a tree half way up a steep cliff. This species varies greatly in colour, the back being sometimes red and sometimes quite white; but its bold flight and characteristic outline from below make it easy to recognise.

African River Eagle (*Cuncuma vocifer*).—Very common on the river and on all large *rahads*.

Rüppell's Goshawk (*Astur badius sphenurus*).— Fairly common. I obtained one specimen (a male) at El Fifi on the Bahr el Arab in March.

Chanting Goshawk (*Melierax metabates*) and Gabar Goshawk (*M. gabar*).—Both very common resident birds. Of the latter, the grey and black forms seem about equally common. The breeding season in S. Darfur seems to be late winter or early spring; I have seen young birds in March.

Pallid Harrier (*Circus macrourus* and Marsh Harrier (*C. aeruginosus*). —Both fairly common winter visitors, the former being a bird of the bush and the latter restricted to swampy localities. I never saw a specimen of Montague's Harrier (*C. pygargus*), though probably it is an occasional visitor. Admiral Lynes recorded it as a common passage migrant in the western part of the province in autumn.

Family TURNICIDÆ. Button Quails.

Quail Plover (*Ortyxelos meiffrenii*).—A bird of the arid belt; particularly fond of "*heskanit*" grass. But I obtained one male, apparently juvenile, at Nyala on June 20th, 1932. I never saw another specimen in that area. The wing measurement of my bird was 75 mm.

Family PHASIANIDÆ. Game Birds.

Only one of the Francolins occurs in S. Darfur, namely Clapperton's; but it is very common. The Guinea Fowl (*Numida m. meleagris*) is abundant everywhere. I have once only seen a Quail (*Coturnix c. coturnix*), on the Bahr el Arab in March. This is rather unusually far south, as the Quail normally does not seem to penetrate into the savanna belt.

The Rock Bantam (*Ptilopachus petrosus subsp.*) is a fairly common resident from Nyala southwards to the river. It breeds in the winter. I saw a family of half-grown young in February. I cannot yet say to what race the S. Darfur birds belong.

Family RALLIDÆ. Rails.

Represented only by the Coot (*Fulica atra*), which is a fairly common winter visitor to the big *rahads* from El Fasher southwards to Buram.

Family JACANIDÆ. Jacanas.

The African Jacana (*Actophilornis africanus*) is common in suitable localities throughout S. Darfur. A specimen collected in March at Lake Kundi was an immature bird, which indicates, as might be expected, winter breeding.

Family BALEARICIDÆ. Cranes.

The Sudan Crowned Crane (*Balearica pavonina ceciliæ*) is a common resident, breeding in the summer or autumn. Young birds do not seem to attain full adult plumage until they are eight or nine months old.

The Common Crane (*Grus g. grus*) is a fairly common winter visitor and probably a passage migrant also. I have seen it as late as April on the Rizeigat river.

Family OTIDIDÆ. Bustards.

The Arabian Bustard (*Choriotis arabs*) is a common resident throughout, breeding in the drier parts of the province in the summer. The other large Bustard (*Neotis cafra denhami*) is not common until the early rains, when it moves northwards to breed and becomes fairly numerous.

Of the smaller Bustards the Senegal (*Eupodotis senegalensis*) is very common, and Savile's (*Lophotis savilei*) is fairly well distributed, though it is a secretive bird and is more often heard than seen.

I saw three medium sized whitish Bustards near the river in April, 1932; possibly they were Black Bellied Bustards (*Lissotis melanogaster*) but I was unable to identify them for certain.

Family CHARADRIIDÆ. Plovers.

The Little Ringed Plover (*C. dubius curonicus*), and the Kentish Plover (C. *a. alexandrinus*), are both fairly common winter visitors, and I once saw two Caspian Plover (*C. asiaticus*) at Buram in February. These birds are rather larger than the Ringed Plover and have a broad chestnut band across the upper part of the breast.

The commonest of the larger Plovers is the Black Headed or Red Wattled (*Sarciophorus tectus*), which rises with noisy cries under the feet (or wheels) of every traveller throughout Southern Darfur. It can often be heard at night flying overhead. The Spur-Winged Plover (*Hoplopterus spinosus*) is fairly common on the river and occasional elsewhere, while the Sociable Plover (*Chettusia gregaria*), the White Tailed (*Vanellochetusia leucoura*) and the Yellow Wattled (*Afribyx senegallus*) all occur in small numbers. Of these three the last only is a resident bird and the other two are winter visitors.

Family RECURVIROSTRIDÆ. Stilts and Avocets.

The Black Winged Stilt (*H. himantopus*) is a common winter visitor on all large *rahads*. I counted a flock of 64 at Sibdu in December, 1931. The Arabs call the bird " Gelwa," though this is rather a generic name for all kinds of waders.

Family SCOLOPACIDÆ. Waders.

The common Snipe (*Capella g. gallinago*) is a fairly common winter visitor in all marshy spots. Of the other Palearctic waders the Little

Stint, the Ruff and the Common Sandpiper are numerous, while the Green Sandpiper and the Greenshank are fairly common; all, of course, as winter visitors. I have no record of the Redshank, neither was it seen by Admiral Lynes.

I collected two specimens of the Wood Sandpiper (*Tringa glareola*) at Lake Kundi in February. In the hand they can easily be distinguished by the white shaft of the outermost primary. The rumps of these birds were brown and the upper tail coverts white, spotted with brown. Both were males (average wing measurements 125 mm.).

Another brownish-grey Sandpiper, with rump and lower back white, was seen by me at Kundi on the same day. It may well have been a Marsh Sandpiper (*T. stagnatilis*).

Family GLAREOLIDÆ. Coursers and Pratincoles.

Small parties of Pratincoles were common near Sahala (Bahr el Arab) in mid-April, 1932. I did not obtain a specimen, but they all seemed to be *Glareola pratincola* and not *nordmanni*.

A Bronze Winged Courser (*Rhinoptilus chalcopterus*) was shot by my collector at Nyala in June, 1932. It was a female in rather worn plumage. I never saw another specimen in Southern Darfur.

The Egyptian Plover (*Pluvianus eagyptius*), familiarly known as the Crocodile Bird, is a common resident on the Bahr el Arab. I never found a nest, but in March, 1932, I came across a pair on a sandbank, who appeared, from their efforts to draw me away, to have eggs or young, not far distant.

Family BURHINIDÆ. Stone Curlews.

The resident Sudan Stone Curlew (*B. capensis affinis*) is very common, and is the long-legged bird which so often flies up under the wheels of cars when travelling by night. The Senegal Stone Curlew is less common, and I have only seen it by the river, though its loud call can often be heard after dark. There was a party of five or six at Radom on the R. Umbelaitcha when I went there in February, 1932.

Family LARIDÆ. Gulls and Terns.

The White Winged Black Tern (*Chlidonias leucoptera*) is an occasional winter visitor in Southern Darfur and also occurs as a passage migrant

further north. I saw two in winter plumage at Lake Kundi in January, 1933, a pair in summer plumage at Ragaba Zerga on the Bahr el Arab in April, 1932, and one bird (which stayed for several days), also in summer plumage, on the *fula* at El Fasher on May 22nd, 1933.

A bird in grey and white plumage, looking just like a miniature Black Headed Gull, appeared at Sibdu in December, 1932, but I was unable to identify it.

Family PTEROCLIDIDÆ. Sand Grouse.

The only member of the family which occurs in the southern part of the province is the Four Banded Sand Grouse (*Eremialector quadricinctus lowei*). All along the river this bird is fairly common, and comes down to drink in small parties shortly after sunset. The breeding season is winter ; two chicks a few days old were brought to me by the natives at El Fifi on the Bahr el Arab on January 8th, 1933.

Family COLUMBIDÆ. Pigeons and Doves.

Eight species occur in our area, as follows :—

Guinea Pigeon (*Columba g. guinea*).—Widespread and fairly common ; breeding in winter and spring, probably earlier in the south than in El Fasher. A specimen not yet in adult plumage was shot at Kundi on February 16th, 1932.

Sudan Mourning Dove (*Streptopelia decipiens*).—Very common throughout.

Vinaceous Dove (*S. vinacea barbaru*).—Very common from about latitude 11° southwards, though in the early rains it appears to extend its range to the latitude of Nyala (12° N.). Its triple notes, repeated in rapid succession, cannot be mistaken when once heard, but it is otherwise practically indistinguishable in the field from the Rose Grey Dove. In the hand it can be known by the black line from eye to gape, which the Rose Grey Dove lacks.

Rose Grey Dove (*S. r. roseogrisea*).—Very common ; breeds in the winter. A female shot on January 14th, 1932, was about to lay an egg.

Laughing Dove (*Stigmatopelia senegalensis æquatorialis*).—A bird of the more arid districts, not common at Buram. Fairly common at Nyala, and seen also on the dry Rizeigat plains north of the Bahr El Arab in April.

Long-Tailed Dove (*Oena c. capensis*).—Common everywhere, but its numbers appear to vary from time to time. I have noticed the same phenomenon at Port Sudan, but I have not yet sufficient data to trace the birds' movements.

Black-Billed, Blue-Spotted Wood-Dove (*Turtur abyssinicus delicatula*).—A bird of the woodlands and the river, where it is very common throughout Southern Darfur. It probably breeds in the late rains; I never saw any signs of nesting during the dry weather. Its note, a rather stuttering mournful "diminuendo" is quite unmistakable when once recognised.

Bruce's Green Pigeon (*Vinago waalia*).—A savanna species, common at Buram and attracted further north by the big "*Ĝemmeiza*" trees in the *wadis* round Nyala. These are large handsome birds, dark green and yellow in colour, with a peculiar note—a sort of meditative hoot with a sharp sound at the end. Admiral Lynes described it as a "muffled grunt." It is usually uttered from the thick foliage in the tops of shady trees.

Family CUCULIDÆ. Cuckoos.

The Cuckoos are summer visitors to Southern Darfur, and, with the early rains, six species appeared in and around Nyala. Since, however, I was not in Nyala after mid-July I cannot say much of what they did after their arrival.

African Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus gularis*).—This is a resident African race of the ordinary European bird. In the field it cannot be distinguished, but its note is different, being rather like a reversal of the normal two tones, i.e., oo-cuk, instead of cuk-oo. I saw and heard one bird between Nyala and Buram on June 25th, 1932, but have no other record.

Black Cuckoo (*Cuculus c. clamosus*).—Two specimens were collected at Nyala on July 2nd.

Great Spotted Cuckoo (*Clamator glandarius*).—This is a puzzling bird. My records of it are as follows:—

May, 1932. Common on passage at Nyala. One male in juvenile plumage (black head, chestnut primaries), collected at Nyala, June 20th.

November, 1932. Young bird, apparently being fed by Long-Tailed Glossy Starling (*L. caudatus*) at Khuwei, half way between El Obied and En Nahud.

May-June, 1933. Very marked northward passage through El Fasher.

Clearly this indicates breeding in Africa south of our area in winter or spring, and a passage northwards in summer to spend the off season. But the young bird seen in November must have been recently fledged; it could fly, but the starlings definitely appeared to be feeding it, and it was gaping for food just like any young Cuckoo one might see in England. Admiral Lynes did not think there was any likelihood of Great Spotted Cuckoos having bred in the neighbourhood of his summer camp at Kulme in 1921, and further records are certainly required before the status of this species as a Sudan-breeding bird can be determined.

Black and White Cuckoo (*Clamator jacobinus*).—Fairly common at Nyala in early July; one male and two females were collected—apparently not breeding (wing 154 mm.).

Levaillant's Cuckoo (*Clamator cafer*).—Less common than the preceding species; a male and a female were collected on July 6th (wing, male 171 mm., female 168 mm.).

Didric Cuckoo (*Lampromorpha caprius*).—A common visitor to breed. My first record was on June 7th, and during the second half of this month the species steadily increased in numbers. Unfortunately none of my specimens were females, so I could not determine how near they were to egg-laying. They are beautiful little birds (average wing measurement 108 mm.) with plumage of coppery green and white, and have a peculiar mournful note, which I also heard on one occasion near El Fasher in June, 1933.

Senegal Coucal (*Centropus s. senegalensis*).—A common resident in the wooded parts of Southern Darfur at least as far north as Nyala. Admiral Lynes found it breeding at Kulme in August and September. It has a rather mellow bubbling cry, two birds often answering each other, with head held low and distended throat. The Arabs call it "hud-hud," though in Egypt this is the name applied to the Hoopoe.

Family MUSOPHAGIDÆ. Plantain Eaters.

The Grey Plantain Eater (*Crinifer zonurus*) is a savanna species irregularly distributed through Southern Darfur. It occurs all the year round in Wadi Nyala, becoming more numerous in the early rains. It is common on the western river and I have met with it in the big *wadis*, at Idd El Ghanam, Kubbun and Kas, the last named place being about 30 miles south of Gebel Marra. It is remarkable that I have no records

of it at all from the neighbourhood of Buram, though there are plenty of suitable localities in that area.

Family PSITTACIDÆ. Parrots.

The Sudan Brown Parrot (*Poicephalus m. meyeri*) is well distributed up to the latitude of El Fasher, but is commoner in the south than in the north. It is really a savanna species and does not occur in the true arid belt.

The Senegal Parrakeet (*Psittacula k. krameri*) is commoner generally and persists further north than the Brown Parrot. It breeds, I think, in spring. I saw a pair round a nesting hole high up in an old tree trunk near Tulus in March, 1933.

Family CORACIIDÆ. Rollers.

The Abyssinian Roller (*Coracias a. abyssinicus*) is a very common resident throughout.

The Rufous Crowned Roller (*Coracias n. nævius*) is not so common, but it is well distributed as far north as the El Obeid—El Fasher road. It is rufous in colour with the underside streaked with white and a white stripe on either side of the crown. The tail is dark blue

I have one record only of the Broad Billed Roller (*Eurystomus a. afer*), a bird of the savanna belt, which differs from the last species in being entirely rufous-brown, with under tail coverts light blue and a broad short whitish bill. I saw this bird at Kubbun, west of Nyala at the end of May. It appeared to have a particularly loud and raucous cry, even for a Roller.

Family ALCEDINIDÆ. Kingfishers.

Pied Kingfisher (*Ceryle r. rudis*).—Common everywhere on the river. One seen at Sibdu, December, 1931.

Giant Kingfisher (*Megaceryle m. maxima*).—This bird is half as large again as any other Sudan Kingfisher, and in Southern Darfur is confined to the better wooded parts of the Bahr el Arab. It is a big black and white bird, with chestnut breast (extending to the belly in the female) ; its note is a shrill cry followed by a chatter in a lower key. It nests, I think, in the face of high sandbanks, but I know little of its breeding habits.

Malachite Kingfisher (*Corythornis c. cristata*).—The larger and less common of the two small Kingfishers. Specimens shot on the river at El Fifi had wings averaging 57.5 mm., bill 30 mm., tail 27 mm.

Pygmy Kingfisher (*Ispidina picta*).—This species is smaller and lacks the crest on the head which the Malachite has. It is also commoner and seems to be found further from water. In June, 1932, it was fairly numerous at Nyala and I obtained several specimens. The wing of a male measured 52 mm. I know nothing of its breeding habits.

Senegal Kingfisher (*Halcyon senegalensis*).—A very common summer visitor to Nyala. Its loud breeding cry, a sharp note followed by a descending trill, was one of the commonest sounds there from the first week in June, onwards. I saw one at Buram on November 19th, which marked the end of the return movement to southern winter quarters.

Grey Headed Kingfisher (*Halcyon l. leucocephala*).—Another very common summer visitor to Nyala, but it arrived earlier than the Senegal. One specimen was shot on the Bahr el Arab on April 17th and another at Nyala on May 19th. It is a little smaller than the Senegal (wing 99-103 mm. as against 105-106 mm.) and has a completely grey head.

Striped Kingfisher (*Halcyon c. chelicuti*).—This is rather smaller than the other Halcyons and lacks the bright blue colour and the red bill. It was common in the lightly wooded country near Gereida at the end of June, but I have no other record of it.

Family MEROPIDÆ. Bee-Eaters.

Little Green Bee-Eater (*Merops o. viridissimus*).—Very common resident throughout.

Nubian Bee-Eater (*Merops n. nubicus*).—A fairly common resident on the Bahr el Arab (not elsewhere). A female collected on April 17th was preparing to breed.

White Throated Bee-Eater (*Merops a. albicollis*).—There was a marked spring migration of this species from the south. It was on the river in mid-April, at Abu Gabra by the end of the month, and common at Nyala in May and June. There were no signs of it breeding.

Little Bee-Eater (*Merops. p. pusillus*).—Fairly common, frequenting trees rather than open bush. A male shot at Buram on May 5th was in very worn plumage and presumably would shortly have moulted.

Red Throated Bee-Eater (*Melittophagus b. frenatus*).—A savanna species confined to the Bahr el Arab. Two females collected at the end of February were about to breed.

Family BUCEROTIDÆ. Hornbills.

The commonest species is the Red-Billed Hornbill (*Lophoceros e. erythrorhynchus*), which is found everywhere in the semi-arid districts. In the south the Grey Hornbill (*L. n. nasutus*) becomes commoner, though this bird moves north in large numbers in the early rains. During June, 1933, there was a marked passage to the northwards at El Fasher, where at other times of the year the species is absent.

The Abyssinian Ground Hornbill (*Bucorvus abyssinicus*) is common south of about latitude 13° and is a summer breeder. I first heard its deep booming breeding-cry at Wadi Musku, 70 miles south of El Fasher, on June 2nd, 1932.

Family UPUPIDÆ. Hoopoes.

The resident race is the Somali Hoopoe (*Upupa epops somaliensis*), which is common throughout Southern Darfur. It breeds in the spring; at Nyala it begins calling in February, but I never found a nest.

The European Hoopoe is a winter visitor to Northern and Central Darfur, but as I collected no specimens I am not certain of its status further south. There is not, however, any very marked increase in the number of Hoopoes seen there during the winter months.

Family PHOENICULIDÆ. Wood Hoopoes.

Two species occur, the large red-billed Kakelaar (*Ph. purpureus niloticus*) and the smaller black-billed White Nile Wood Hoopoe (*Scoptelus aterrimus emini*).—The former is a very noisy bird, moving usually in parties, while *Scoptelus* is quieter and is generally seen in ones or twos. The bill of the immature Kakelaar is black but its size always serves to distinguish it from the other species.

Family STRIGIDÆ. Owls.

The Cape Scops Owl (*Otus capensis*), a small bird with conspicuous ear tufts, is common in the south, but is more often heard than seen. The wing of a male shot at Nyala measured 129 mm. Another small and

very common species is the Pearl-Spotted Owlet (*Glaucidium perlatum*). It lacks ear tufts and is rather variable in size (wings of males varied from 106 to 111 mm.) but it is a good deal smaller than any other owl. The third common species is the big Spotted Eagle Owl (*Bubo africanus cinerascens*). It is by no means confined to hilly country, as I obtained specimens at Buram and at El Fifi, on the river.

I never saw a Barn Owl in Southern Darfur, which is curious in view of its wide distribution recorded by Admiral Lynes further north.

Family CAPRIMULGIDÆ. Nightjars.

I did not pay as much attention to the Nightjars as I should have done. In winter they were definitely uncommon north of about 11°, but I saw the Golden Nightjar (*C. eximius*) near Buram; and the Long-Tailed Nightjar (*Scotornis climacurus*) was common in February and March on the river. A male shot on April 10th was growing new long tail feathers.

The Standard Wing Nightjar (*Macrodipteryx longipennis*) was not uncommon on the eastern part of the Bahr el Arab in April, but I saw no evidence of it breeding there.

Family MICROPODIDÆ. Swifts.

The Swifts are far from easy to identify in the field, owing to their rapid movements and the height at which they usually fly. My records therefore are certainly incomplete.

The Common Swift (*Micropus a. apus*) is a common passage migrant, and numbers were passing over Nyala up to early May. On June 3rd I was surprised to come on a large swarm of these birds hawking for flies after recent rain at Malumm Wells, some 75 miles S.E. of El Fasher. These may well have been non-breeding birds staying the whole year round in Africa, such as those described by Admiral Lynes. (Ibid 1925, pp. 361, 362).

I saw several medium-sized white rumped swifts which I could not identify, and the Palm Swift (*Tachynautes p. parvus*) was nesting in doleib palms in the winter throughout the district.

I did not see the Darfur Mottled Swift (*M. æquatorialis furensis*) in the southern part of the province, but at El Fasher in April, 1933, it was swooping down in numbers every day to drink at the fula, just as Admiral

Lynes saw it do (Ibid 1925, p. 364). This is a species which breeds on Jebel Marra in the summer.

Family COLIIDÆ. Colies.

The Blue-Naped Coley (*C. m. macrourus*) is a common resident throughout. A bird of the bush rather than of the better wooded parts; Admiral Lynes found it breeding in April and May in north and central Darfur.

Family CAPITONIDÆ. Barbets.

Black Breasted Barbet (*Erythrobucco rolleti*).—This is a medium-sized black and white bird with a splash of red on the breast and a very large white beak. It is really a savanna species but is a fairly common resident at Nyala, and I saw one at Kas, N.W. of Nyala on the Zalingei road. It is fond of the fruit of the *Ficus gemmeiza* tree (African fig). The breeding season is, I think, in the summer, though I never found a nest.

Vieillot's Barbet (*Lybius v. vieilloti*).—A very common resident species throughout. The familiar call of two flute-like widely separated notes, which Admiral Lynes describes as "yodeling," is certainly produced by a duet between two birds; one bird calling alone can only produce one note.

Yellow Fronted Tinker-Bird (*Pogoniulus chrysoconus schubotzi*).—Also very common from Nyala southwards. It has two notes, one the bell-like "tinker" note, the other a kind of chirrup. I have never actually heard the same individual utter both notes, though I have watched them carefully; possibly it is a matter of sex, as both notes can be heard at any time of year.

Pearl Spotted Barbet (*Trachyphonus m. margaritatus*)—A bird of the arid districts, which seems to occur further south in the early rains. At the end of May I heard one about 20 miles south of Nyala, which is, I think, about the limit of its range. In winter I have never met with it in the Nyala district at all.

Family INDICATORIDÆ. Honey-Guides.

The larger Honey Guide (*Indicator indicator*) is a southern bird which I have seldom met with north of the river. I have only heard it once at Nyala, in May. The Arabs firmly believe that this bird will guide

hunters not only to honey but to game ; but I cannot say I ever received much help from it myself. Admiral Lynes met with it in the Zalingei district as an off-season summer visitor. I obtained a male in January at Rajaj, 50 miles W. of Buram, and it probably breeds in Southern Darfur in the spring.

Of the Lesser Honey Guide (*I. minor riggenbachi*) I have few records. One female was obtained on the eastern Bahr el Arab in April ; unfortunately I have no note of whether it was in breeding condition or not.

Family PICIDÆ. Woodpeckers.

Nubian Woodpecker (*Campethera n. nubica*).—A common resident. It has a loud ringing cry which is especially heard in the spring, when both birds appear to join in. Probably this is the breeding season.

Brown Backed Woodpecker (*Yungipicus o. obsoletus*).—A small bird with a little twittering cry, which is rather inconspicuous but quite common. It appears to range throughout Darfur wherever there are small trees, and breeds in late winter and early spring.

West African Woodpecker (*Mesopicos goertæ poicephalus*).—Very common ; it can be distinguished from the Nubian Woodpecker by its grey head, contrasting with the greenish upper parts, and by its pure grey breast. The rump is crimson. It has a loud twittering cry, sufficiently noticeable, but not nearly so startling as that of the Nubian Woodpecker. The breeding season in Darfur is winter.

(*To be continued.*)

# NOTES.

## THREE BURIALS IN SENNAR DISTRICT.

By A. J. Arkell.

(PLATES III—VI.)

THE following are notes made on three burials which I found in Sennar district when serving there between 1929 and 1932. In each case the burial was disclosed by erosion of the river bank during the Blue Nile flood. No systematic excavation was attempted, and my sole object was to preserve a record of what would otherwise have been lost.

The pottery from each burial and the skull from Burial No. 2 have been deposited with the representative of Sir Henry Wellcome at Jebel Moya.

The beads were submitted to Professor C. G. Seligman, who writes that he showed them to Mr. Horace Beck, but he was unable to say anything very definite about them.

### BURIAL No. 1.

Site : The West Bank of the Blue Nile, on the site of the old Fung city of Sennar.

Erosion of the steep earth cliff is very considerable every rains and river flood.

Early in 1931 a large bowl was found in the cliff face about 3 feet from the top, and about 100 yards South of the old Mosque. It had been exposed by a fall of the cliff.

It was broken, but quite two-thirds of the bowl was recovered in pieces.

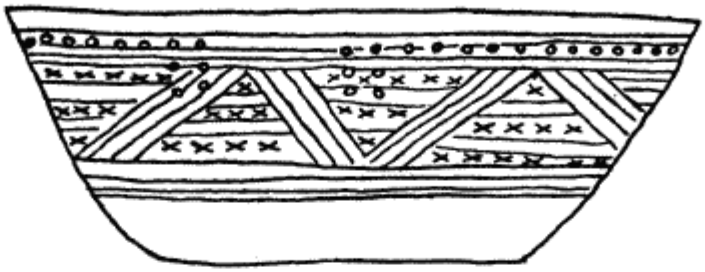
The skeleton was very decayed, but appeared to be buried at full length, North and South, with the head to South.

The bowl was inverted over the head and shoulders.

The bowl was of coarse black pottery, imperfectly baked, unpolished, hand-made. It had a flat bottom. Its sides were about 8 mm. thick, thickening gradually till the bottom was nearly 2 cm. thick.

| | |
|---|---|
| Diameter of base ... ... ... | 22 cm. |
| Maximum diameter ... ... ... | 44 cm. |
| Height ... ... ... ... | 15 cm. |

The bowl was of this pattern :—



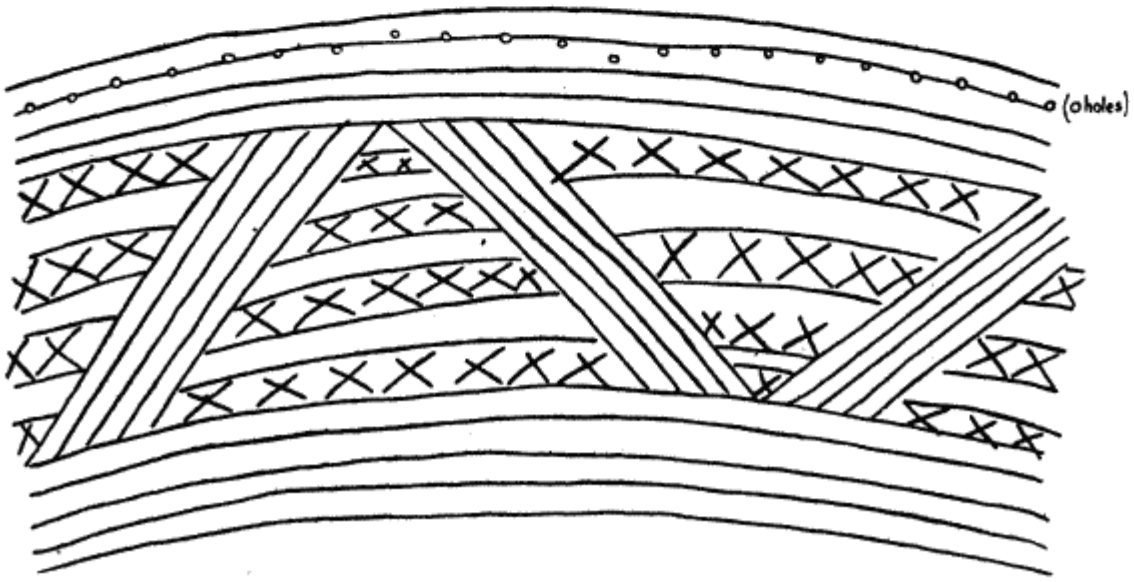
It is perforated about 15 mm. below the rim in the following pattern :—

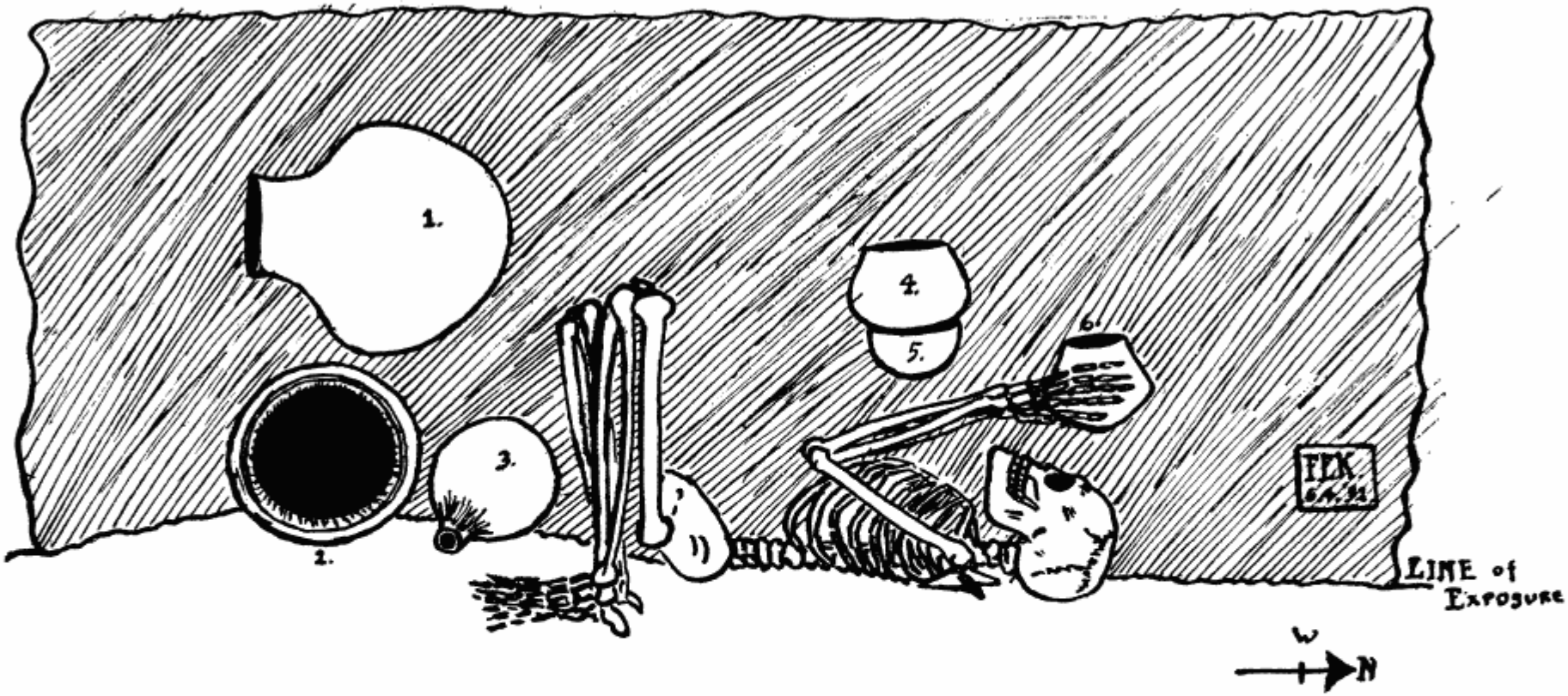


There is also a pattern on the outside, made with rough incisions, apparently in imitation of basket work ; as shown below.

Inside the rim, and about 7 mm. from the top, is a row of dots thus . . . . . and there is a similar circle of dots on the bottom of the bowl inside.

Inside the bowl were found 28 glass beads, about 3 mm. in length and 2 mm. in diameter, apparently cut from tubes, of which 18 were brown, 7 green, 2 blue, 1 black. Several other such beads were found which crumbled away at touch. Also one small white eggshell disc bead was found. A few human teeth were recovered.






BURIAL EXPOSED BY FALLING NILE FLOOD. Site about 500 metres N. of SENNAR

DAM: IN CLIFF FACE OF HARD MUDSTONE: W. BANK, BELOW SENNAR GARDENS.

## BURIAL No. 2

Exposed by the fall of the Blue Nile after the 1931/32 flood, in the West bank of the river, about ¼ mile North of the Sennar Dam, and below the Sennar Garden.

The burial was found exposed as in Plate IV, Fig 1, about 9 feet below the top of a bank of mudstone, which is totally submerged at high river, and not far above water level at low river.

Nearby on the foreshore were found a number of pieces of much better class pottery, some of which are of a similar make to some found by Sir Henry Wellcome at Jebel Moya, showing that a Meroitic cemetery has been already considerably washed away by the river.

Two pots had already been broken when found (see photo).

I excavated the rest of the burial as carefully as possible, and the corpse was found to be lying in a contracted position, but not so severely contracted as in attached sketch kindly made by Mr. Kenchington, which shows the positions of the pots, six in all, found with the corpse. The head was to North, and facing West.

The skeleton was in a fair state of preservation, and most of the skull has been recovered.

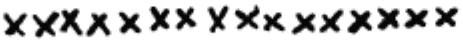
DESCRIPTION OF POTTERY.

1. A Beer Jar of thinnish red pottery, hand-made, slightly polished, apparently blackened by having been on the fire (black cross section). Poor quality. The jar is complete, but very badly cracked.

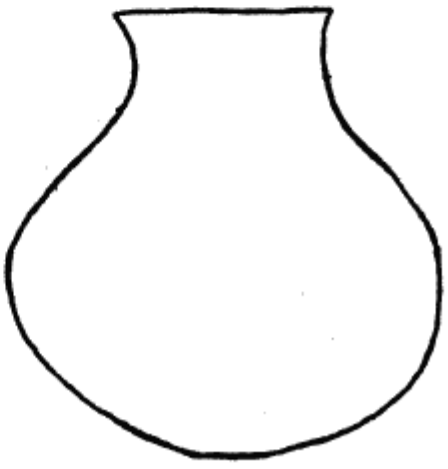
Round the top of the neck on the outside is a double ring, thus :—



(continuous).



The jar is of this shape :—

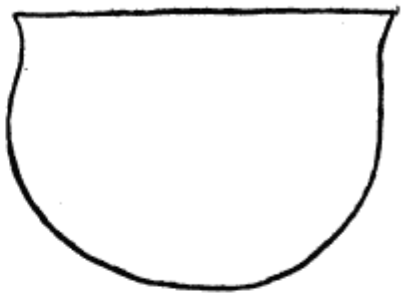


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Height | ... ... | 28 cm. |
| Maximum diameter | ... | 28 cm. |
| Diameter of mouth | ... | 14 cm. |

2. A Bowl of coarse black pottery, hand-made, slightly polished (broken and parts missing) :—

Height... ... ... 16 cm.

Maximum diameter ... 21 cm.



It has the following pattern round the neck on the outside :—

 (apparently continuous),

and on the rim, which faces inwards, is the following incised pattern :—

 (at intervals).

3. Water Pot of coarse black pottery, about 8 mm. thick. No decoration (broken but not much missing) :—

Height ... ... ... 22 cm.

Maximum diameter ... 16 cm.

Height of neck ... ... 6 cm.

Outside diameter of mouth 4 cm.

Inside diameter of mouth 2·5 cm.



4. Small Bowl of black, slightly polished, hand-made pottery, about 3 mm. thick. The bowl has a nicked rim. It is cracked, but complete :—

Height ... ... ... 13 cm.

Maximum diameter ... 16 cm.

Inside diameter of mouth... 11 cm.



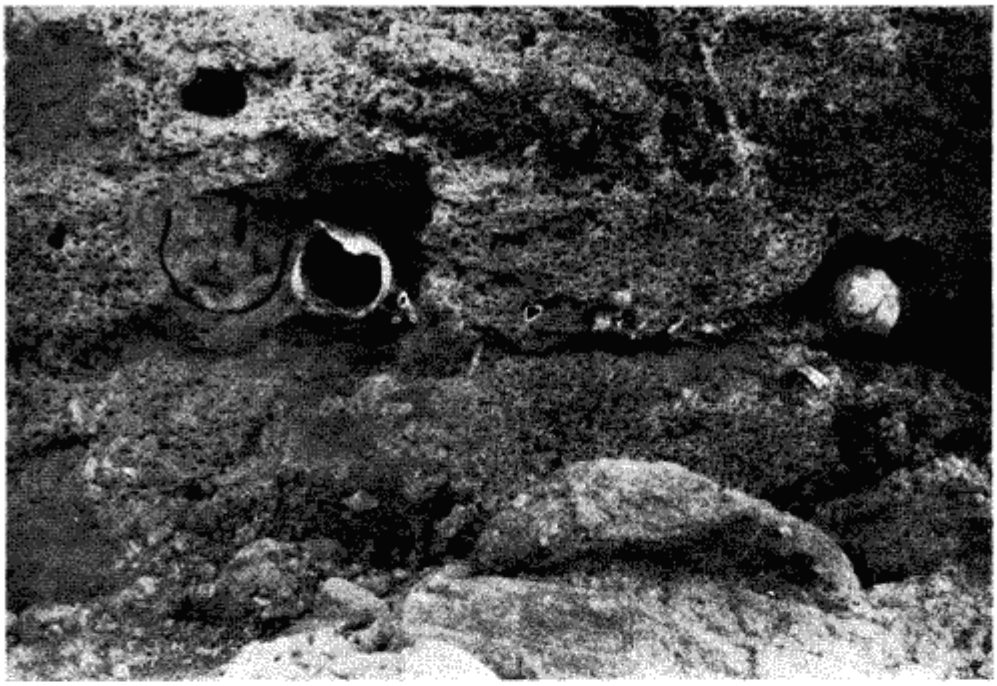



FIG. 1.

SHOWING BURIAL NO. 2 AS DISCOVERED.
PART OF POTS 2 AND 3, THE BACK OF THE SKULL,
AND SOME OTHER BONES ARE VISIBLE.

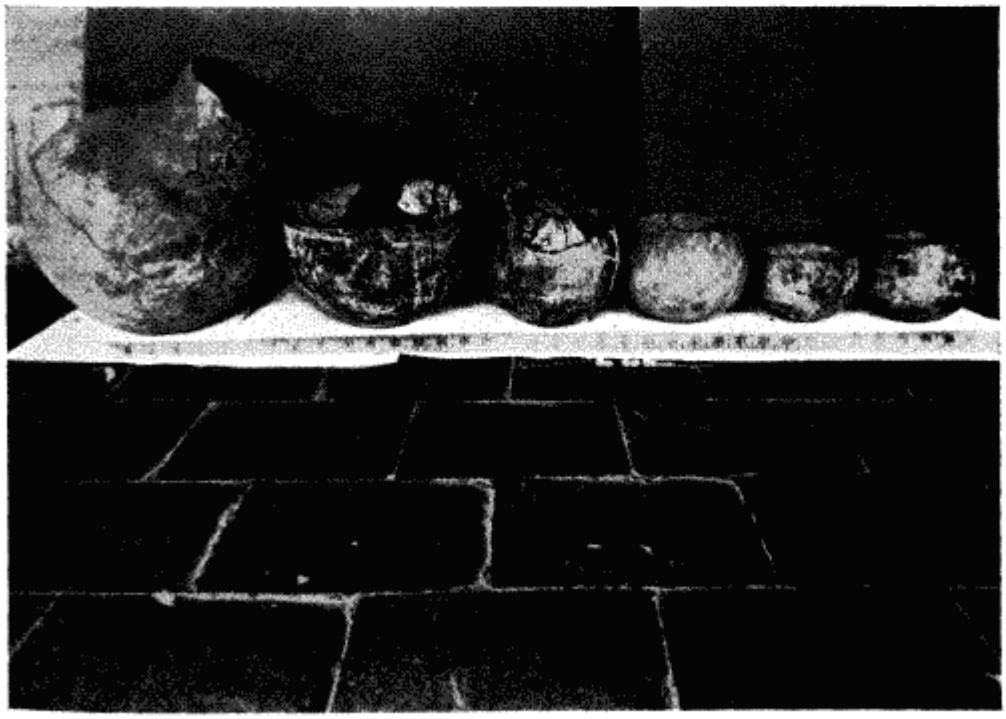



FIG. 2.

THE POTS RECOVERED FROM BURIAL NO. 2.
NOTE THE BEADS IN FOREGROUND AND SCALE IN INCHES.

5. Cup, of coarse black pottery, about 7 mm. thick. No decorations. The cup is undamaged :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Height ... ... ... | 9 cm. |
| Maximum diameter ... | 12 cm. |
| Inside diameter of mouth... | 10 cm. |
| Outside diameter of mouth | 11·5 cm. |



6. Cup, of polished black hand-made pottery. (Undamaged)— No decoration visible :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Height ... ... ... | 11 cm. |
| Maximum diameter... ... | 14 cm. |
| Inside diameter of mouth... | 8 cm. |
| Outside diameter of mouth | 8·8 cm. |



*Beads.*—There were also found a few beads which, from their position, were probably round the skeleton's right wrist.

5 white  (?) of quartz

1 white  of (?)

8 smaller glass beads (4 green, 2 orange, 1 yellow, 1 white; also 1 white and 1 black, broken).

## BURIAL No. 3.

Found 1 yard below high reservoir level on the West Bank of the Blue Nile, about half a mile North of WAD HASHIM village, Sennar district. (South of Sennar Dam.)

The burial was disclosed by the small circular chamber on the north side of the grave having fallen in during the recent flood.

About one foot of soil appears to have been eroded in this locality (since the construction of the Sennar Dam) by the water of the reservoir.

A scarab previously sent to the Director of Antiquities, a number of white eggshell beads, small black beads, small blue glass beads, and a few cornelian beads were found on the surface in this locality last summer, also a few human bones. It is obviously an old burial ground. This year a large earthenware bead—known as " fum "—similar to those worn

round the waist by Sudanese girls to-day, if sufficiently slim-waisted—was found on the surface close by.

In the hole, which fell in, at a depth of 3 feet below the present surface of the ground, were found three bowls, close to each other, in a line running North and South.

The grave was found close to the West of this circular hole or chamber. It was oval—maximum length 4 feet from East to West, and breadth 3 feet from North to South. The bottom of the grave was one foot deeper than the bottom of the chamber in which the pottery was found.

The skeleton was very decayed, and curiously no trace of leg bones was found, though from the relative positions of skull, ribs, arm bones and pelvis, and size and shape of grave, it is clear that corpse must have been buried in a sitting position, and facing either East or West. Because most of the bones were at the East end of the grave, I presume the corpse was facing West.

Ten cowries (cut as usual for threading), but of a larger size than those now commonly used in the Sudan, had apparently been threaded with a number of beads, of which the following were recovered :—

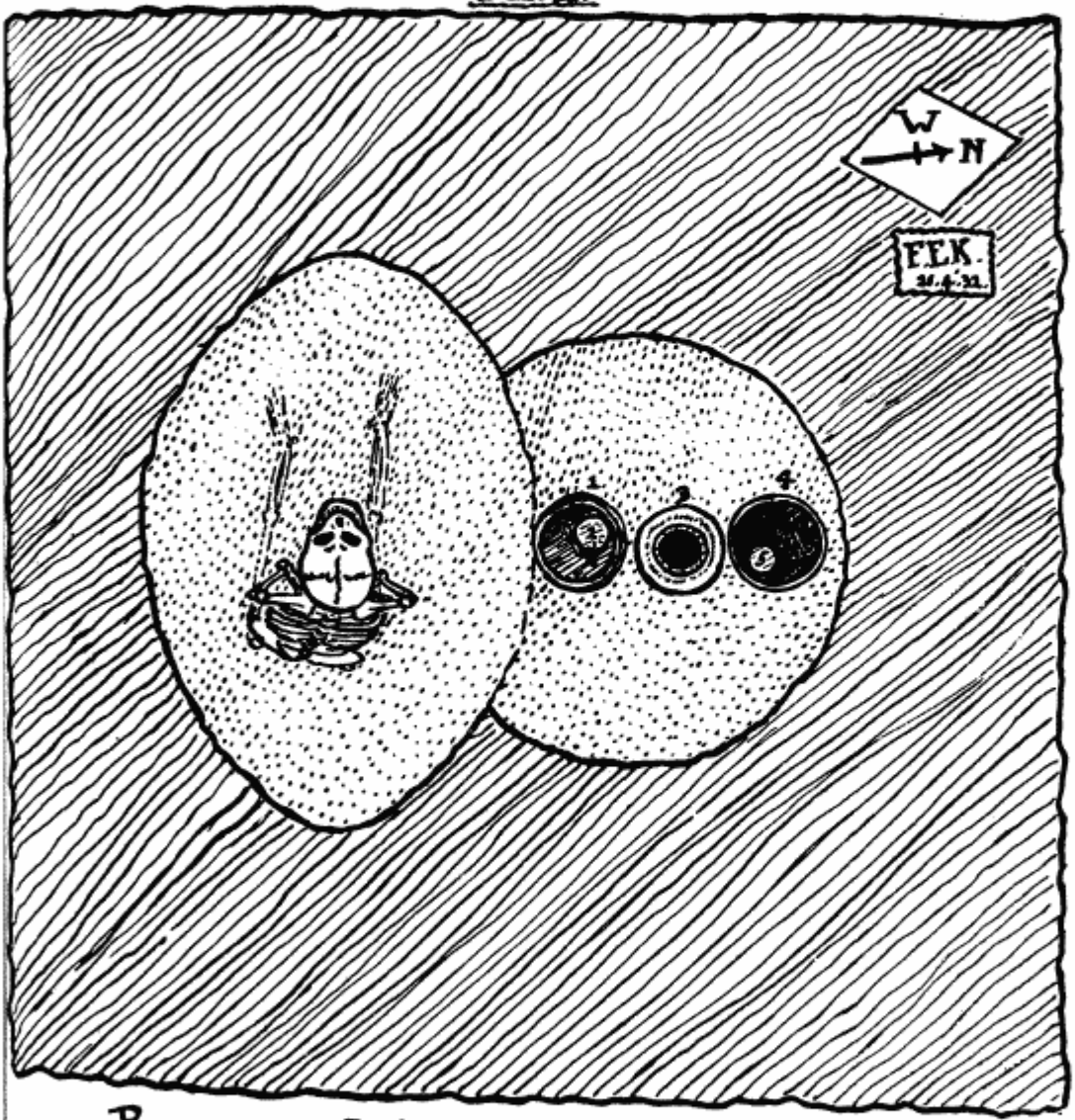
2 small cornelians, one round and one barrel-shaped.
1 pear-shaped light brown bead (about 5 mm. long) ? of glass.
26 white beads, varying from 9 to 3 mm. in diameter, of ?
2 green glass beads (9 mm. in diameter). Several other similar beads crumbled away on touch.
20 green glass tubular beads, length 9 mm., diameter 2 mm.
40 usual, small, white, eggshell, disc beads.
2 green glass tubular beads, about 4 mm. in length and 5 mm. in diameter.
about 70 small black tubular beads, of ———————— ? about 4 mm. in diameter and 3 mm. thick.

DESCRIPTION OF THE POTTERY.

1. A Bowl of polished black hand-made pottery, in which was found a quantity of mutton bones, and small dish No. 2.

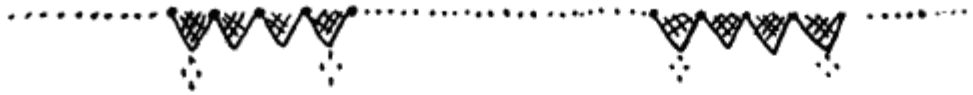
This bowl is broken, but nearly complete. It has four small knobs, each of which is surrounded by a ring of dots, with a pattern underneath, reminiscent of the trunk of a palm tree, making the knob appear to be the top of the tree. There is a circular, rough, mat pattern at the bottom,

PLAN




BURIAL AT WAD HASHIM (SOUTH OF DAM, SENNAR DISTRICT.)

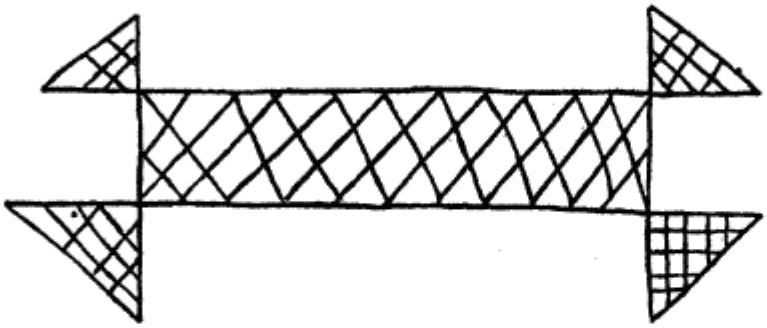
outside. Round the upper part of the bowl, on the outside, is a ring of dots (continuous) and the following pattern (recurrent) :—



On the top of the rim, which faces inwards, is the following pattern (? continuous) :—

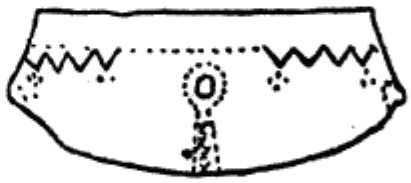


At the bottom of the bowl, on the inside, is the following design :—



The shape of the bowl and measurements are :—

Height ... ... 10 cm.
Maximum diameter, 24 cm.
Diameter of mouth, 20 cm. inside
Diameter of mouth, 21·7 cm. outside



2. Small Dish of black hand-made pottery, slightly polished. The dish has a distinct rim. (It was found inside No. 1)—

Height ... ... ... 4 cm.
Maximum diameter ... 10 cm.

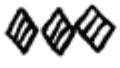


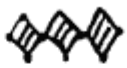
No decoration except a mark on the bottom inside, thus :—



3. Bowl of polished black hand-made pottery, about 7 mm. thick. This bowl has one knob only (similar to the four knobs in No. 1). It has a circular, rough, mat pattern on the bottom, outside ; and is decorated by

a ring of dots on the outside, and, below the dots, this pattern (recurrent) on its line of maximum diameter :—



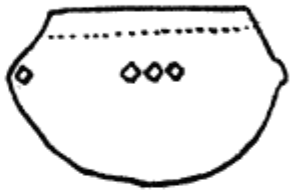


On the top of the rim, which faces inwards, is the following incised pattern, recurrent :—

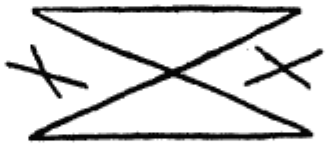




| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Height of bowl | ... | ... | 11 cm. |
| Maximum diameter | ... | ... | 17 cm. |
| Diameter of top | ... | ... | 13 cm. |



4. Bowl, of black pottery, about 3 mm. thick, slightly polished, which also has one small knob as No. 3. In this bowl also was found, as in No. 1, some mutton bones, and small dish No. 5. There is no decoration of the outside, and on the inside at the bottom is a mark, thus :—



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Height of bowl | ... | ... | 10 cm. |
| Maximum diameter | ... | ... | 19 cm. |
| Diameter of mouth outside | ... | | 18·5 cm. |
| Diameter of mouth inside | ... | | 18 cm. |



5. Small Dish of polished black pottery. (Found inside No. 4). Has no decoration outside, but inside are two marks opposite each other on the side, thus—



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Height of dish | ... | ... | 5·5 cm. |
| Maximum diameter | ... | ... | 11·5 cm. |



(I suggest that possibly there is no great difference in date between this pottery, and that found in Sennar Garden (then Makwar) in 1925, which was dated by Mr. Addison 4th—5th cent. A.D.).

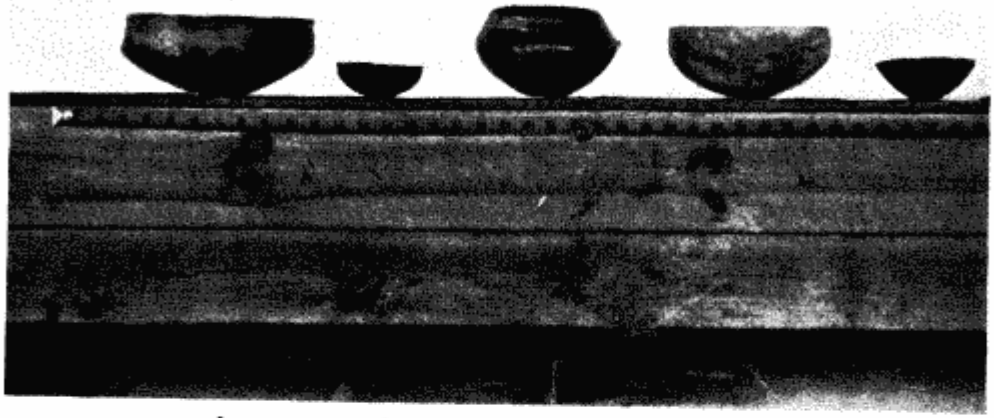



FIG. 3.

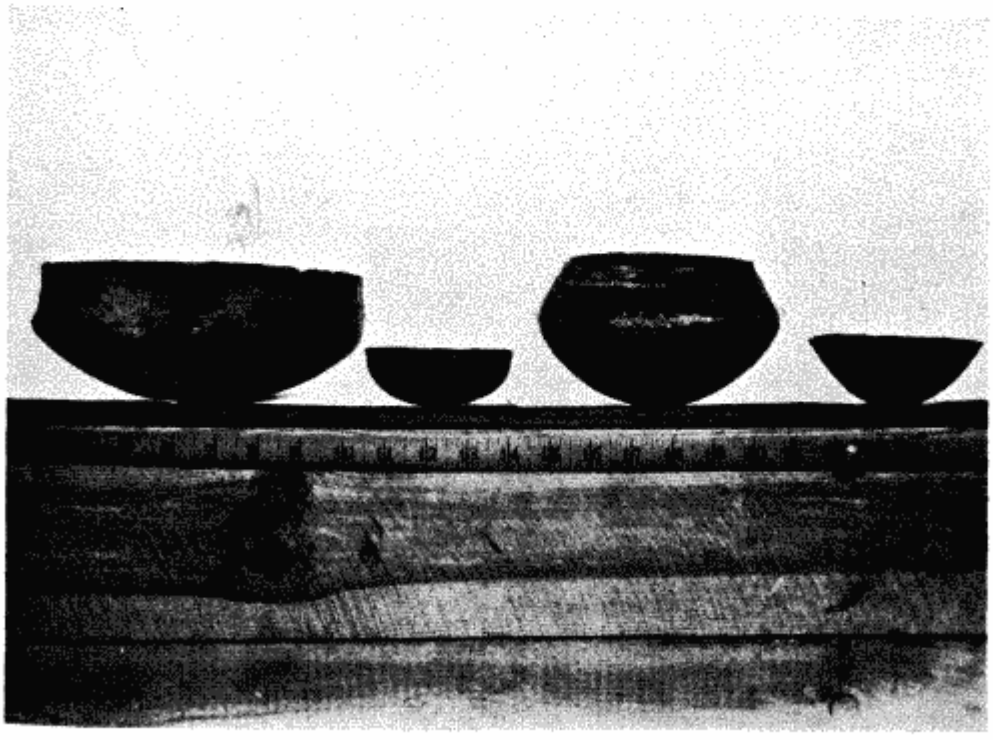



FIG. 4.

TWO VIEWS OF POTS RECOVERED FROM BURIAL NO. 3.
SCALE IN INCHES.

# FUNG ORIGINS.

By J. D. P. Chataway.

MR. ARKELL'S note on Fung origins in *Sudan Notes and Records*, (Vol. XV, Part II, 1932, page 201) cannot be left unanswered, yet to offer criticism of each statement which should be questioned, and draw attention to each argument which appears to be lacking in impartiality or logic would require a paper as long as his own. Fortunately in many cases he unwittingly supplies the answer to his own arguments. For example, on page 210–211 when attacking the Fung chronicle, the statement that Bady Abu Dign built a five storied palace before 1677 is assumed to be untrue because Poncet in 1699, Bruce in 1772 and Calliand in 1821, did not describe such a palace. Yet in the same paragraph he remarks upon the impermanence of buildings in the Sudan and the damage which can be done during one Sennar rains.

I must not, however, make too great a demand upon valuable space and will therefore confine myself to the questioning of a few of the more important of his arguments with which I cannot bring myself to agree.

In attempting to show the likelihood or naturalness of Abyssinia sending help to re-establish order in the area which was ruled from Soba, and of the help being welcomed in that area, I spoke of an age-long connection between Abyssinia and the villages of the Blue Nile. Arkell says:—

"There seems, thus, to be little evidence for Chataway's assertion of an age-long connection between Abyssinia and the villages of the Blue Nile except a predatory raid in 350 B.C. and refusal by the King of Abyssinia at the end of the fifteenth century A.D. to send priests to Aloa. The age-long connection is rather with Egypt, the community of interests and cultures is that of the valley of the Nile. Chataway was perhaps in part confused by the fact that Beni Shangul was included in Abyssinia by the boundary commission of 1902 although its historical and ethnological associations are practically wholly with the Sudan and not with Abyssinia. Beni Shangul was undoubtedly first exploited by ancient Egypt as a source of gold and slaves, as Chataway recognises. Its inhabitants are all Berta and similar races, and none of them Abyssinian

and it is geographically part of the basin of the Nile, the real natural boundary between the Sudan and Abyssinia being the edge of the highlands farther east."

Before dealing with the views expressed in the first two sentences let us pick the remainder of the paragraph to pieces. How could I be confused by the boundary commission of 1902? In my note I give Beni Shangul and Fadāsi—now both in Abyssinia—as Fung kingdoms. How do we know that Beni Shangul was undoubtedly "*first exploited*" by ancient Egypt as a source of gold and slaves? When did Egypt start exploiting it? Is there any evidence that ancient Egypt ever directly administered the country beyond Khartoum? "Beni Shangul" is the arabicized form of "Bela Shangala," "Bela" being "hill" in "Berta." "Shangala," Arkell will agree, if only because Bruce says so, is the name "given to the true blacks in Abyssinia." Are Bertas a race? Actually "Berta" covers a number of tribes with different languages and customs just as "Hameg" does. The Hamegs of Roseires and the Berta of Beni Shangul are probably the same people, and it is certain that they covered a much larger area northward at the time of the founding of the Fung kingdom. What is the ethnological definition of an Abyssinian? "Habesh" implies a mixture. Dancaz, the capital of the Abyssinia king in the sixteenth century, is also geographically situated in the basin of the Nile, and so presumably on the Sudan side of Arkell's "real natural boundary" between the Sudan and Abyssinia. But anyway why drag in Beni Shangul? It is not on the direct route, nor does it seem to be in any way vital in the way of a link, between Dancaz and Soba.

Perhaps I was wrong ever to have used such modern terms as Abyssinia and the Sudan. If I had spoken of various Ethiopian kingdoms, for example, Southern Ethiopia, which was Aloa (Alut to the ancient Egyptians?), with its capital at Soba, and the Ethiopian kingdom ruled by the line claiming descent from the Queen of Sheba, with its capital at Dancaz, the common use of the word Ethiopia might have given Arkell a hint as to the kind of connection to which I was referring.

I was trying to picture the conditions as they existed in this part of the world at the end of the fifteenth century. The ruling people of Soba and Dancaz were predominantly Hamitic, they were Christians, whose church was ruled by the common mother church of Alexandria,

they must have been connected by ties of mutual trade and common culture, traditions and religious belief. A movement, one of the most important which has taken place in history, was still in progress, and in a fanatically aggressive manner. People of the Semitic race, or anyway people who had adopted their culture and religion, were conquering and seizing power and wealth. Full blooded Hamitic Ancient Egypt, which had such a great influence upon, and was so closely connected with, the Ethiopias, had long since gone, it could almost be contended that the Sudan had been independent for two thousand years, and the few things that remained as links between Egypt and the Ethiopias—the church in Egypt, and any remnant of power or wealth left in the hands of brother Hamites—were being swamped by the invaders. Was there not something age-long which was likely to stimulate common action against this new order of things ?

As Arkell appears to ignore several centuries of constant fighting between Moslem Egypt and the Christian Ethiopias, he is probably unaware that in the eighth century an army of 200,000 from the kingdom of Dongola invaded Egypt, and laid waste the country from Aswan to Cairo, because the Copts had been persecuted and the Patriarch cast into prison, and that a Patriarch was again released from imprisonment in the fourteenth century as a result of the invasion of Upper Egypt, this time, let it be noted, by Nowaya Krestos, king of the Ethiopia, which we call Abyssinia.

I must confess to a mistake in the dating of the letter from Teda Haimout to Bady wad Unsa ; but, while Arkell is entitled to see no more than evidence of " long standing friendly relations " between two sovereign states, he would have been well advised to omit Bruce's comments on the incident, as they reveal how inaccurate Bruce could be in the assumptions upon which he based his conclusions. Arkell seems to have picked upon, yet missed, the weak point of Bruce's argument. I must repeat the extract he gives. " Therefore the kingdoms of Sedgid and of Kim were, before that conquest, places whence this black nation came that had established their sovereignty at Sennar by conquest, from which therefore I again infer, there never was any conquest, or tribute, between Abyssinia and that state." Arkell may be right in thinking Kim refers to Khem and to ancient Egypt, and Sedgid not only " looks like Melik Segued or Susenyos," but clearly is connected with Sagad,

which was the second half of the regnal title of nearly all the Abyssinian kings at that period; anyway there is no reason to suppose that Sedgid and Kim were places in former Shilluk lands, but if they were not, what becomes of Bruce's argument? And if Arkell believes they were not, why does he say, immediately after quoting the passage, " I agree with Bruce? "

To dispose of my suggestion that Bady Sid el Qom in his quarrel with Susenyos was apparently throwing off a vassalage, another passage from Bruce is quoted; this also contains a flaw which should anyway have raised Arkell's if not Bruce's suspicions. ' Abd-el-Cader ' was given and accepted a drum. This was a sign of vassalage; the Fungs themselves gave drums to subordinate chiefs as marks of honour, and I believe the practice has been fairly widespread in the Sudan. ' Abd-el-Cader ' must have known he was admitting his subordinate position, and so must ' Bady, son of Abd-el-Cader.' There cannot have been any need to " suggest " it to Bady. " It was suggested to him " is the flaw in the story which Bruce accepted. It still appears to me that, when Bady sent to ' Socinios ' two old blind and lame horses, he was throwing off a vassalage, which had been consciously admitted by his predecessor Abdel Qadr.

Arkell would not have quoted Wilkinson's paragraph had he realised the difference between those who " Speak of Bruce's narrative as a tale of wonder or a pure invention," and others who consider he was not able to sift the true from the false in all that he was told. The former said Bruce was never at Sennar, the latter say he met a lot of people there who, if not deliberate liars, were unreliable in the statements they made. Arkell himself admits that Bruce was careless and made frequent mistakes over details, but, as evidence of Bruce's " very fair understanding," quotes his statement, which included in the territory administered from Fazoghli, all the Berta country and across beyond Gule to the White Nile. Yet Fazoghli never administered farther west than the Khor Offat, over a hundred miles from the White Nile, and the majority of Bertas lived under the rule of the kings of Keili, Beni Shangul and Fadāsi.

Gule, by the way, is mentioned several times by Arkell. While information regarding Fung history and customs can be obtained at Gule, it is essential to recognise that it is a tainted and unreliable source, a point which other observers have failed to recognise. Gule was not

included in the Fung dominions till very late in history, in fact, till after the usurpation of power by the Abu Likeilik family. There was no 'mangil' at Gule in the time of the Fung kingdom at Sennar. The Abu Likeilik family—Mohammed wad Idris wad Ragab is a descendant—did not bear the title of 'mangil' in Fung times, and did not move to Gule till the Turkish conquest. The Hameg at Gule may be the original inhabitants, or may have come with the Abu Likeilik family. Anyway there is further corruption which has arisen from the introduction of 'Baruns'—mostly Gura—during the last century.

I can scarcely forgive myself for letting the king-killing custom at Fazoghli escape my notice. Its existence there does not prove that it was a Fung custom, but it explains how Ahmed Sid el Qom told Bruce that it was. A Shilluk mother for Ahmed Sid el Qom is now quite unnecessary.

Arkell does not make clear what his views are upon El Aice. He seems to suggest a history which should ensure that the Shilluk of El Aice knew that the Fung were Shilluk. Yet the present day Shilluk only know the Fung as people who fought them. Personally I don't think there was a 'mangil' there in the hey-day of the Fung kingdom. El Aice was probably a military post established to guard the Nile crossing when Kordofan was conquered, and was probably under a military commander of the Fung family. This would account for the peculiar behaviour of this "mangil."

I wish I had Arkell's faith in the evidential value of the similarities in names and words, and could display the same ingenuity in discovering these similarities. I feel, always provided he were on the side of Abyssinia, he would find in the similarity of Amhara to 'Amara and Dankaz to Dunkas a convincing proof of the Abyssinian origin ot the Fung family. He would probably work in Schweinfurth's statement, that in Sennar Amhara is pronounced Amara, as a 'coup de grâce.'

There are one or two fundamental objections to the Shilluk theory, and Arkell's answers to some questions would be of interest.

1. Bearing in mind that the Shilluk would be faced by cavalry for the first time, and that it was a conquest and not only a victorious raid, what force would be necessary to conquer the Soba kingdom—even if degenerate—and the 'Abdullab ?

2. What force would be necessary to maintain the Shilluk in power ? I cannot admit that the Shilluk would be welcomed, or treated as anything

but strangers and enemies, by the inhabitants of Aloa. Any link stretching back thousands of years to a common Hamitic or Ancient Egyptian origin would be altogether too attenuated to receive any recognition.

3. The conquest and settlement, it seems, must have been carried out with the aid of a considerable force of Shilluk. If so, why did these Shilluk not leave a much more definite stamp on the traditions, culture and languages of this part of the country ?

4. Would a Shilluk family have possessed sufficient adaptability to take up the reins in an old established kingdom ? The Shilluk tide was in flood as well as that of the Arabs, therefore confidence and pugnacity were likely to be displayed, particularly after the success of conquering Aloa. Is it likely that the Shilluk family would reveal the diplomacy of claiming, almost immediately, an Arab descent, and was there the remotest chance of their ' getting away with it ? '

I repeat, if one assumes that the four main parties in the struggle at that time were :—

(A) Soba. Consisting of ' Aloan ' town dwellers, agriculturalists and traders.

(B) Early Arabs. Nomads, Moslems without fanaticism, who, being part of the economic structure, had recognised rights, powers and duties in the Aloan kingdom.

(C) Later Arabs, town dwellers, traders and fanatical Moslems who had gradually and more recently filtered in to the Aloan towns and villages. Their interests would induce them, when powerful enough, to seize the power from the Aloans, their activities being competitive and not complementary.

(D) " The Fung." A leader with an army sent by Dancaz to re-establish the old order and relationships.

Then one has an explanation for all the conflicting stories.

(1) Soba falls to the Arabs (C).

(2) The Fung and Arabs (B) unite.

(3) The Fung defeat the Arabs (C), and Soba (in the hands of the Arabs C) falls to the Fung.

(4) The chief of the Arabs (B) is given a position of great importance and honour in the new Fung kingdom.

I am quite prepared to agree that, in addition, Soba possibly suffered reverses at the hands of Shilluk, raiders during the same period; this may have been the reason for changing the capital from Soba to Sennar, and traditions of these raids probably persisted.

The Abu Likeilik family, when trying to oust the Fung, would be up against an obstacle of strong prejudice, seeing that they could not deny their descent from mere 'ʿabīd.' It was then too late to provide a satisfactory *nisba* for the Hameg, and the alternative was to say that the Fung were no better. Why not say the Fung were Shilluk and tack the suggestion on the existing traditions of Shilluk raids? That the Fung were black was added evidence, evidence to which Bruce seems to have given undue weight. It is significant that, in each case which Arkell quotes, the source of the story of a Shilluk origin can be traced back to one of the Abu Likeiliks or the Hameg.

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May I take this opportunity—and thereby risk the accusation of having been infected by Arkell's fever for verbal similarities—to ask if anyone knows the origin of the word El Hoi? In the pronunciation of the word in the Southern Fung, by the way, it has a trace of a sŏft 'ğ' or 'd' at the end of it, a sound rather similar to the ending in the proper pronunciation of the word Funğ.

It appears in the name of the Nomad tribe the "Rufaa El Hoi." On the Blue Nile "El Hoi" means the country on the west bank, and, if I remember rightly, it is also used in the same sense on the Atbara. On the White Nile just south of Khartoum, however, it is used to refer to the country on east bank. Can it be a corruption or perhaps the original pronunciation of Aloa, the old kingdom of Soba? If so what are the boundaries of this El Hoi?

# FURTHER NOTES ON THE INGESSANA TRIBE.

By J. W. R. Robertson.

A few years ago some notes on the Ingessana[1], written by Mr. Evans-Pritchard appeared in *Sudan Notes and Records*. The following notes may be of some value as a further contribution to our knowledge of this tribe.

## FESTIVALS.

The Ingessana have three main feasts :—

(1) SAI WEIG. The children's or twins' feast. This occurs in the late rains, and is intended to induce fertility and large families. Twins are accounted lucky and are greatly desired. At this feast every householder makes merissa, and slaughters pigs, goats or a hen in accordance with his means. The small children take part in the subsequent feast, and it is accounted a friendly act for neighbours to come in and join the party.

(2) SAI POING or SAI SAK. The harvest or merissa feast. This takes place in September or October when the early grain is ripe, and is the first feast of the year. Each family makes merry with beer from the new crop, and numbers of animals are killed. The chief and his elders usually visit from house to house and partake of the good things, and watch the young men and maidens dancing to the music of whistles (bal).

(3) SAI PURUIG, the final harvest home. This festival takes place in January or February, when all the late maturing dura has been brought in from the fields to the Sueibas. The usual beer drinking and feasting takes place, with the additional proviso that chickens must be killed. They have their heads cut off, and the bleeding stumps are smeared on the corn-bins, so that the grain may multiply and increase.

These festivals appear now to have no very marked religious significance but to be merely social and family obligations. The Ingessana god is Tel, a word which means both god and sun. I do not think in the ordinary way they really identify the sun with their god. God is a power who can bring rain, can make people well or ill, can give children and increase herds, or can bring death and disaster.

[1] A preliminary account of the Ingessana Tribe in Fung Province. E. E. Evans-Pritchard. *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. X, 1927.

In almost every hill there is a special place known as the We-i-tel (house of God) where God is worshipped, and where offerings are made to him. These places are sometimes rocks, sometimes huts, sometimes a flat smooth space on the hillside. Usually they are near the house of the Aur (or chief) who is the Sen-i-sa. The worshippers must observe strict discipline when approaching the holy place; they remove their sandals and the bands round their hair, and stand together facing the holy rock or hut. Then kneeling, they bend forward and touch the ground with their foreheads, giving a long drawn out shout 'seeah.'

This act of submission is definitely religious, and should properly be made to no one but Tel. It is, however, also made to the Aur, who, as head of the hill and keeper of the We-i-tel, has a religious position.

The Sen-i-sa, in addition to being the religious head of the hill, is also the rainmaker. When rain is wanted it is customary for the people to go to the We-i-tel, and make offering of a bullock there. Sometimes a Sen-i-sa, who is widely respected, will send instructions to someone outside his own hill to make sacrifice on his local we-i-tel. In 1932, when rain had been long in coming, Omer, the Aur of Wisko town, received news from the Sen-i-sa of Gebanit, twenty miles away, that he should offer a white bullock at his own we-i-tel. He did so, and rain fell before he reached home.

A lion was killed at Bunug recently. The hunters dragged the body to the holy rock at Bunug and left it there as an offering. It remained there all night. In the morning the guardian of the shrine and his relations returned, cut it up, and ate it. Only certain people are allowed to eat offerings which have been laid before these holy places.

This we-i-tel at Bunug is the most famous, and most respected, in the hills. It lies near the pass on the motor road a mile or two north of Wisko. An oath sworn on Bunug is accounted the most binding oath an Ingessanawi can swear. There is a legend that there was once a cleft in the rocks here, from which came subterranean murmurings. 'The mountain used to speak.' Many years ago, however, the cleft closed up, and the voices are not now heard. The Ingessana still venerate the place.

There is a very clear division between the witch-doctors and the religious leaders proper. The Kai, or doctor, has nothing to do with religion, though he has a knowledge of spells and witchcraft; he has simples which he prescribes, as well as the more magical tricks of the

trade, such as killing hens, goats or cattle to appease an evil spirit. The Sen-i-sa is not a doctor, and does not attempt cures, but is the guardian of the holy place, rainmaker, and leader of public religion.

## MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE LAW.

Mr. Evans-Pritchard in his paper described the marriage customs of the Ingessana. The following are a few notes on aspects not mentioned by him. Marriage among the Ingessana is considered largely as a transfer of property from one family to another; the brideprice seems always to be thought of as an investment, which is repayable in certain circumstances. In dealing with appeals raised against the decisions of Aurs, I have had many cases concerning marriage. The brideprice is repayable when the wife has been unfaithful, has run away with another man, or has borne no children. In these circumstances the husband is entitled to go to his father-in-law and divorce his wife, demanding back the brideprice. There is never any question that the brideprice should be repaid.

If, however, there have been children of the marriage, the husband is not entitled to recover his investment so long as he has the custody of the children, even if the wife has run away with another man, but if the children are brought up by the woman's people, and they refuse to hand them over to their father, he is bound to recover the brideprice.

When a man dies, claims are often made by his relatives for the return of the brideprice paid by him, when there are no children or when the children are with their mother's family. Custom seems to be that the children stay with their mother, and their maternal grandfather repays the brideprice to the deceased's brother or father.

There are frequent disputes about the actual amount of the brideprice, and what is to be repaid. The most universal cause of disagreement lies in the assessment of the labour done by the bridegroom. In ancient times nothing could be recovered for work done in building a house for the girl, or in the cultivations of his father-in-law, on the grounds that the house was after all for the groom's own use, and the fruits of his labour in the cultivations were expended on grain and beer for the marriage feast, in which the bridegroom and his friends got their share. Recently, however, with the opening up of the hills, the spread of cultivation and the possibility of getting good prices for grain, the young men

are beginning to demand that their work on the cultivations should be counted in the assessment of the brideprice. Decisions vary.

## INGESSANA SONGS.

The Ingessana have two forms of music, the long whistle BAL or LAL, and a guitar-like instrument known as the Ginger. This has three strings, and a sound box made out of a hollowed piece of wood, covered with a tightly stretched skin. At all the festivals music is played, the men usually performing or dancing at Bal, while the women crowd round the player of the guitar, singing his choruses and dancing. There are several well-known players on the guitar, who are in request at festivals and gatherings. The skilled performer is seldom at a loss for a song and can improvise well at a few minutes notice. I have heard a song made up and sung to an odd tune in a moment or two, with the crowd laughing at the topical verses (the D.C.'s hair, the Governor's present, or the fire at the Mamur's house) and soon joining in. The player switches from song to song, and the women follow in the choruses with no difficulty though he seems to change the order from verse to verse.

It is extremely difficult with only a smattering of the language to get any proper idea of what the songs mean. There are many refrains of the 'Fa La La, Hey Nonny Nonny' type, which are inclined to confuse one. Then the singer jumps from song to song, puts in repetitions as he likes, and there is always a shuffling, stamping crowd. I have taken down a number of these songs; some of them seem rather foolish, but as sung they go with a very infectious swing. I believe that if one knew the language well, one might get a considerable amount of interesting historical and ethnological information about the Ingessana.

(1) A FAVOURITE SONG AT WISKO.

| | |
|---|---|
| Teli sol i kassalay | They sent the Sol to work, |
| Adin i Dinduri. | To go to Dinderu. |
| Wori gamuk, | He summoned the people of Jeggam |
| Agundi figger kwoi. | To dig for the rain water. |
| Gak i Gange | The people of Gange |
| Ounde 'Daima' | Sang Daima |
| I Kassu, sag i Morag. | From Kasum, the song of the Turks. |

NOTE.—This refers to the excavation of a *haffir* at Dinderu in 1929 and 1930. The Sol of police was in charge of the work. Gange is the Aur of Togo, and his people on their way home past Kasum, sang a soldier's song, with the refrain of 'Da'iman' (always).

| | |
|---|---|
| (2) Gorman sim tirzi eulik, | He brought poison to kill the hyenas, |
| Eulik kansuk i gallik, | The hyenas fell down with the eagles, |
| Igo athga, i mareika. | With the dogs and the cats. |
| Ingithu " Hu hu " | We hear " Hu Hu " |
| Amath fay bau burgmuk eegyeeg | Hyenas came to the doors of the houses at night. |
| Fedis gorman sim. | The Mufettish brought poison. |
| (3) Li eh te | Whence did it come ? |
| Li eh te | Whence did it come ? |
| Taiar li e Belling | The aeroplane came to Belling |
| Ursi i gam. | It went over the mountains. |
| Fedis li i Belling, | The D.C. came to Belling, |
| Kir tau gallik. | He chases the eagles on high. |
| Li eh te | Whence did she come ? |
| Li eh te | Whence did she come ? |
| Utt anisee | Beautiful woman, |
| Utt bir ur koleth, | Woman lovely as a sword, |
| Lien inde i Gumerik | She came here from Gule, |
| Dein Burgut i Goder, | Desiring Burgut from Goder, |
| Nyam i Gellau | A woman from the Arabs, |
| Bir ur urri. | Lovely as an ostrich. |
| Li eh te. | Whence did she come ? |

There are many more verses of this song, which I heard at Soda, but I could not get them down.

| | |
|---|---|
| (4) Fendim gai Toom, | Fendim a man from Toom, |
| Wari kangan | Raised an army |
| Wissi kang gam Tau. | He brought the army to Soda. |
| Lamsi tipsuk i gor | He ate the early grain by force |
| Na Sader i Teifel | The grain of Soder at Teifel ; |
| Lamsi i Gor. | He ate it by force. |
| Douse i Morag. | He rose against the Government. |

Fendim was the leader of the last rising against the Government in 1923. The rising started in September, when the early grain was just ripening. Fendim marched with his followers over the pass from Belling to Soda, where he attacked the Merkaz.

| | |
|---|---|
| (5) Dayee Dee Dayee | Dayee, etc, etc. |
| Dee dee dayee | The trumpet sounds at Agadi |
| Dayee de dayee. | The men of Soda are drowning in the river. |
| Lal ounin i Char | The whistle sounds at Jegu. |
| Taun messay i Deil. | The road goes by Agadi. |
| Singer ounin i Goh. | Listen ; the trumpet sounds at Agadi. |
| Teitel ligi i Char. | |
| Atudi. Lal ounin i Char. | |
| Dayee dee dayee, etc. etc. | |

NOTE.—This song refers to the visit of some Soda people to Roseires to meet the Governor-General. They went down by Jegu and Agadi with their bands. There is no record of anyone having been drowned.

| | |
|---|---|
| (6) Eul linath lam meek | The leopard of the hills eats goats ; |
| Ko Kab " oeyath." | Kab calls " my brother." |
| Eul newi lam meek, | The leopard of the forest eats goats ; |
| Ko Kab " oeyath " | Kab calls " my brother." |
| " Ar Tait oeyath, | Oh Tait my brother, |
| Eul nien lam meek." | What leopard eats the goats ? " |
| (7) Morag li i Tau, | The Government came to Tau (Soda) |
| Ausi burin Tau | They sat down at Tau. |
| Fezeh gak Tau. | The people of Tau were afraid |
| Nas gerk i sem. | They devoured the grain by force. |
| Kamrin mudiri li i Tau. | Cameron the Governor came to Tau ; |
| Turuk ausi Buruk. | The Turks sat down at Buruk. |
| (8) Goth worri mosserik tali Gorbel | Goda gathered horses at Kukur In great numbers, in great numbers. |
| Tulga turam, tulga turam. | The battle was at Sillak ; |
| Mussi tal i Anga ; | The army of Adlan fled like sheep, fled like |
| Kanga Alan dur er eur, dur er eur. | sheep. |

*N.B.*—Goda was Aur of Kukur. Adlan was the name given to Shiekh of Gule.

These are sufficient examples to show the sort of songs which the Ingessana sing.

# THE RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL BELIEFS OF THE BOR DINKA.

By R. T. Johnston.

THE Dinka of Bor District, from whatever part they come, are unanimous in believing in the existence of a supreme Deity whom they term *Nhialic*, which simply means 'in the above,' or *Deng Dit*. The latter name would appear to be the one they use when they attempt closely to visualize God and to get into more personal relation with Him.

To the majority questioned Nhialic was either preceded by or is at present co-existent with "Du Chie" which means Creator, and to some the two are synonymous. Some tend to conceive of 'Du Chie' as at rest in the sense that he is inactive, his work done. Others believe that without Him there would be no life whatsoever to-day, and every form of life in nature is accepted as his work. When a bull is sacrificed to Du Chie all the chief bones of the animal are piled near the place of sacrifice, while those of the bull sacrificed to Nhialic are hung in a tree.

Their belief in a Supreme Deity 'Nhialic' comes, they say, from what their parents have taught them. It is perhaps from their attempts to reason on their belief that there springs the acceptance of a number of other Deities allied to Nhialic, to some of whom are allocated certain special functions. Their existence is only rational to the Dinka when explained by relationship in term of blood relationship to God. Accordingly there is Abuk Dit, the Mother of God. She is a beneficent but not very active Deity, is particularly well disposed to women, and therefore is invoked to aid fertility. Her name is joined to that of her son when a sacrificial bull is killed.[1]

In their simplest terms of relationship, though there is some confusion about the degree and number of the Deities, Deng Dit has children.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ayum. | Nyangol. |
| Alwet. | Gerrang. |
| Aja. | Ayak. |

Some people know only of Ayum, Alwet and Gerrang.

By far the most active and potent of these children of Deng is Gerrang. In every respect his attributes are equivalent to those of Satan.

[1] Compare Seligman, "Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan," Chapter V, p. 179 *et seq.*

All sin is laid at his door, and he is, like Nhialic, omnipresent. In prayer he is asked not to visit evil on his suppliant, in the household a goat is frequently dedicated to him and kept pending the imminence of misfortune, when it will be sacrificed to avert it.

Of a man who has done evil it is said 'Aci Gerrang Keu'—i.e., Gerrang has taken possession of him.

The remaining children of Deng Dit complete the Dinka pantheon.

Ayum (Yom means wind) may be called the Goddess of the Winds. Her presence in the wind as a spirit is scarcely visualized. Rather to the Dinka the very wind itself is Ayum. When it blows too hard a ram—a goat would not be acceptable—is sacrificed to her and she is begged not to blow very hard, and to let the rain come.

Alwet (which means dew) is an interceder with Nhialic for Mankind to let rain fall, and, when sacrifice is made for a sick person, she is invoked to aid recovery.

Aja and Nyanngol, to those to whom they are known, are static Deities without special functions or attributes. Ayak is a Deity allied to Ayum, who, in conjunction with her, is hostile to Mankind in forbidding rain.

To Du Chie is attributed the creation of the first man and woman. He took earth and made them. The first man some believed was called Apiny Ding. He had two children. When Du Chie or Nhialic asked to see the children the woman was afraid. One she hid and one she proffered. Some say the one she hid she put below a cooking pot when it got blackened, hence the black man and the present division of mankind into black and red men. Others say that one child was born black and one red. Nhialic took to himself the child that was proffered, and he is the favoured 'red' man who has been granted to know and possess all that is denied to his black brother. To-day some hold that the blackman's rôle vis à vis the red man is to be his slave. The woman is held to blame for her action in denying the other son.

That man has an immortal soul is a belief firmly held by all Dinka. Death is not the end, for while the body goes back to earth the soul (tiep) goes to the place appointed by Nhialic.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS.

These are believed by Dinka to have the power of favourably influencing the outcome of human endeavour, and they are frequently invoked in prayer to Nhialic and 'jok.'

In addition to Nhialic and his satellites every Dinka believes in the existence of spirits (jok) which are in the rôle of personal guardians. Each man has at least one whom he has inherited from his ancestors. The explanations of the origin of the relationship in which men stand to their "joks" vary.

In the case of a man whose jok is Bul (a lion) the origin of the relationship is that a remote ancestor called Agwer Kok had the power of changing from a man into a (man eating) lion.

Among other more repulsive of the Dinka 'joks' are the snakes Pajok (also called Deing, Biar and Malang) Atem, Weou or Makeir, and Baroc, which are common to the Twi. Also Akoy, small-pox.

There is a special Luak, a small one, of Akoy, on the edge of a heavily wooded Duk near Duk Faiwil.

To not a few people their jok is a Bain Deng, apparently conceived of as either an emanation of Deng Dit, i.e., Nhialic himself, or as God in special relation to the individual.

The Dinka Bor 'joks' are Bany Mac (i.e., fire) or the spirit of fire—a 'jok' common to the Koich and Paleik sections of the Bor Gok—Nyang (crocodile) Gerrang (Satan himself), Arow (a snake), Akon (elephant), Row (hippopotamus). Alir Piou is a sacred spear held in reverence by the Ghol section, and by some of the Bor Athoich, and again Bain Deng—the jok of the Abily section, but in addition to these a man may have a secondary 'jok.'

To his jok a man most frequently prays, and it is conceived of as ever present with him. Every living being must have his 'jok.'

Thus when a man is proceeding to pursue a case he will knot the grass by the wayside (called an Atheth or Piath) and invoke his jok, "Do you go in front and I will follow in your footsteps." Similarly the grass will be knotted by a person in search of food when nearing the place where it is hoped to find it. A charm used by a man to disperse difficulties ahead is called a 'Chun,' when a handful of grass is rubbed together and then scattered away, and his jok called on, "Let me walk free."

The holy places and objects of the Dinka, which are not infrequently their cattle camps, and in particular certain stakes therein, seem to be so only because of their association by custom with the sacrifice of beasts there to Deities or joks, and not because the place or object has an inherent sanctity of itself. With certain 'joks' certain kinds of tree are

associated, e.g., with the jok Atem (a deadly snake) the tree Akoy (inderab). And of such trees the post of a man whose jok is Atem at which sacrificial bulls are tied will be cut.

The Dinka appear firmly to believe that the evil man does is visited on him on earth. As for Nhialic untimely taking to himself both the just and the unjust they can offer no explanation. Of the death of young children they hold that God is visiting on them the sins of the fathers.

Of Dinka religious symbols most is heard in the Bor tribes of this District of the spear Alir Piou.

There are two guardians of the spear, one a man called Paic Bior who lives at Gwalla village in the Bor Gok, the other Jok Ngong who lives at Angakwei in the Athoich. At each place the spear has a special hut. It is at present in Gwalla and it is believed that when it wants to be moved to Angakwei it will make its wishes heard by speaking from a gourd. Presumably the guardian in each case understands the voice from the gourd. When it is moved, the spear, Alir Piou, is carried by a man called Deng Mabiei of Gwalla.

The spear itself, except by association and as a symbol, is not sacred.

It is admitted to have been made by the hand of man, but it represents the Alir Piou (cold heart), which is conceived of as having fallen from Heaven like a falling star, and it is used for sacrificing bulls thereto. Although not regarded as a 'jok' or as sacred by sections of Bor Gok other than the Ghol, yet they accord it the reverence which all Dinka accord to 'joks' in general.

Although the idea of swearing on it is not regarded as out of the question, yet the proposal to do so creates alarm. The guardian always demands a fee from the would-be oath-takers, usually a calf from each, with a sacrifice to be made on the spot; but others not concerned in the matter to be decided invariably betray great reluctance to allow the oath to be taken, declaring that in addition to killing the oath-takers, calamity will befall the countryside. I have never known an oath to be taken on Alir Piou, and those who declare readiness to do so should simply be regarded as maintaining a bluff to the uttermost.

There is another spear in the Bor Athoich called 'Gajang,' at Biong the village of Ch.Lual Kur of the Bor Athoich. Of its origin and attributes

I am unaware at the time of writing but it can be said that its repute scarcely spreads beyond the confines of the village.

The nearest approach to a High Priest among the Dinka is Arrak Yak of the Rut Dinka, who has lately moved to Fagor on the Dinka Nuer border. His repute is hereditary as his office descends from Lual Agok, the original man whom the Dinka found of most use as their intermediary with God, but he is believed not to be a lineal descendant of Lual Agok. He is often referred to as Deng Dit.

He is an insignificant person in appearance with no distinction of manner, and the repute of his office, if such it can be called, is suffering in his keeping. The original Deng Dit, it is said, commanded no reverence except from the Nyarreweng, the Twi and Bor tribes—but to the two latter the name of Arrak Yak is unknown to-day, while the Nyarreweng are largely indifferent to his existence.

I exclude from this brief review an estimate of the powers and attributes of Kujurs, since, in the common estimate these are things apart from true religious belief.

# ARAB DUMB SHOW.

By Sir H. A. MacMichael, K.C.M.G., D.S.O.

To The Editor, *Sudan Notes and Records.*

Sir,

Among some notes which I made in Northern Kordojan more than twenty years ago, I recently came across an instance of 'dumb show,' which may be of sufficient interest to record.

A deaf and dumb man wished to convey to me the message :—" My father was Sheikh. He was killed in the Dervish days. I want you to send a telegram to Khartoum in order that I may be appointed in his place, for the present Sheikh is a bad man."

The method of transmission was as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| With the palm of the hand turned upwards, smoothed out as from below a large imaginary moustache, projectingly... ... ... ... | My father. |
| Blew out his chest and took the air of a rutting camel ... ... ... | A great man. |
| Hit his head repeatedly with the side of his forefinger and emitted a noise like " wow-wow " ... ... ... | Expert in sword-play and fighting. |
| Wrung the end of his nose ... ... | Died. |
| Drew a short line in the sand with his forefinger and then heaped up the earth from either side... ... | Was buried. |
| Pointed at me... ... ... ... | You. |
| Pointed eastwards towards Khartoum and made a noise like b.r.r.r.r. | Send a telegram to Khartoum. |
| Patted himself on the chest and expanded ... ... ... ... | I become a Sheikh. |
| Pointed northwards and made a noise of disgust ... ... ... | The man up there is bad. |

Yours etc.,

H. A. MacMichael.

Khartoum.

# REVIEWS.

## THE BIRDS OF TROPICAL WEST AFRICA.

By D. A. BANNERMAN, M.B.E., M.A., F.R.S.E.

VOLUME III.

(*Crown Agents for the Colonies*, 1933. *Price* 22/6.)

THE third volume of Mr. Bannerman's work covers the remaining non-Passerine families of the birds of West Africa. It deals with the Owls, Plantain-Eaters and Turacos, Cuckoos, Colies, Nightjars, Swifts, Rollers, Hoopoes, Kingfishers, Bee-Eaters, Hornbills, Trogons, Barbets, Honey-Guides and Woodpeckers. Since, with the exception of a few families, notably the Turacos, Trogons and Hornbills, the majority of the species described are found in the semi-arid belt as residents or visitors, this volume is of special value to Sudan ornithologists; for it is the species of the semi-arid belt which remain most consistent across Africa from west to east.

Of the eight species of Sudan kingfishers, seven are here described with excellent illustrations. All the species of Bee-Eaters which occur in the Sudan are similarly described, though in some cases the Sudan race differs slightly from the West African.

The majority of the Sudan Barbets and Woodpeckers are given, and practically all the Nightjars and Cuckoos. It is significant that throughout the volume one of the most frequently quoted works of reference is Admiral Lynes' paper on the birds of North and Central Darfur—a paper, incidentally, which remains a model of what field notes on the birds of a new country should be.

Where so much is of interest, detailed comment on the species included in this volume is not possible. To take only one family, that of the Cuckoos (and a very puzzling family it is), we may be grateful to Mr. Bannerman for having cleared up the confusion in the "*C. clamosus*" group (the Black Cuckoos), which he separates from "*C. solitarius*" (the Red Chested Cuckoo), leaving *jacksoni* and *gabonensis* as races of *clamosus*. The Black Cuckoo is a summer visitor to the Sudan after breeding further south. Jackson's Cuckoo, according to Bowen, is a resident in the extreme Southern Sudan.

In connection with the migrations of the Great Spotted Cuckoo it might be of interest to record that I saw a young bird of this species near El Obeid in November, 1932, apparently being fed by a pair of Long-Tailed Glossy Starlings (*Lamprotornis caudatus*). Such an observation does not necessarily establish this cuckoo as a Sudan-breeding bird. It appears to breed further south in the spring and to migrate northwards through the Sudan in the summer, but the presence of what looked like a newly fledged bird in November is distinctly puzzling.

One might write very much on detailed points of interest in this volume; but it is sufficient to say that on nearly every page a Sudan ornithologist would recognise familiar species. The illustrations, both coloured and black-and-white, are excellent, and the whole book has been produced with exemplary care and accuracy. Such a work will be indispensable to anyone who may in the future attempt to produce a much-needed handbook of the birds of the Sudan; and for a resident wishing to identify the birds which he sees around him in this country Mr. Bannerman's book is by far the most useful guide which can be obtained.

J.F.M.

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PAGAN SURVIVALS IN MOHAMMEDAN CIVILISATION.

By EDWARD WESTERMARCK.

(*Macmillan*, 1933. 8/6.)

THIS is a subject that cannot fail to interest anyone whose work is in the Sudan, where, despite the fervent claims of the inhabitants to be True Believers and orthodox at that, no doubt as many pre-Islamic beliefs and customs connected with those beliefs survive, as even Dr. Westermarck found in Morocco.

In the Sudan the influence of the religions of the Romans and the Phœnicians is probably lacking, but besides the beliefs of Ancient Egypt, Christianity, and the Berbers or Hamites, certainly those of negro Africa and the pre-Islamic Semites and possibly those of Persia have left traces, if not more.

Dr. Westermarck, besides giving us a short introduction, divides his book into six chapters entitled the Jinn, the Evil Eye, the Curse, Holiness (BARAKA), its prevalence, manifestations and sensitiveness, and Berber and Roman Survivals in Ritual.

If any of his books is of less interest to us than the rest, it is his last chapter, in which evidence is produced for the survival in North Africa to-day of the ritual of the Roman SATURNALIA and the Festival of the Kalends. In the rest of the book one is continually being reminded of parallels from the Sudan, and as a result some Sudan customs appear in a new light.

In the chapter on the Jinn, the belief is recorded that if anyone eats much without getting satisfied, there are *jnūn* in his body sharing the food. This recalls the tradition now current in Darfur that originally the people were always hungry however much they ate, until AHMED EL MA'AQŪR, the HILĀLI, taught them how to get full benefit from their food by saying 'BISMILLĀHI' before meals, and the Tunjur Sultan was so pleased that he gave him his daughter in marriage, their son being SULIMAN SOLONG, the first Fur Sultan.

We have the *jinn* in human shape in the story of the origin of the FELLĀTA, the HADENDOA, and the TUĀREG, who are said to be descended from some beautiful Abyssinian slave girls that were seduced by the White Jinn when they were on their way to AMR IBN YASIR at Mecca.

The *jinn* as whirlwind is to be found in every Sudan 'dust-devil'; and an example of the connection of *jnūn* with shooting stars was reported from Southern Darfur in a recent Province Diary, the phenomenon being there explained as pieces of star thrown by angels at *jnūn* who try to climb up to heaven on each other's shoulders.

Traces of the belief that all water is more or less haunted can be found among the pre-Arab inhabitants of Darfur. At many rock-cisterns or wells 'customs' are performed to placate the spiritual guardian, who is frequently believed to appear as a snake. Similar beliefs are reported from Kordofan hills and the Southern Sudan. In Morocco, too, *jnūn* are said (p. 18) to assume animal shape, and most frequently that of snakes.

To the *jnūn* as masters of the house, one may perhaps compare the DAMZŌG spirits who, according to TUNISI, were widely believed in Darfur, in the 18th Century, to act as guardians of the house. They could be bought and transferred from one house to another by being tricked into a bowl of fresh milk, on to which the lid was promptly placed. Like the *jnūn* of Morocco they could be frightened away by the discharge of firearms.

Certain of the *jnūn* of Morocco are expressly said to be Sudanese (p. 15). I suspect, however, that it is rather the Western Sudan from which they come, for there is a tradition that the most powerful magicians were once to be found on the Niger.

Chapter II deals with the Evil Eye. 'One half of mankind die from the Evil Eye,' runs a Moorish proverb: and in many unsophisticated parts of the Sudan a similar belief will be found, or at least the idea that death is due in most cases not so much to 'natural causes' as to the direct agency of man's mind. In Morocco the reason women do not eat with men is the fear the latter have of the women's evil eye. Probably the same reason, now forgotten, is at the back of the Sudan Arab custom by which the sexes feed apart. A Ta'aishi friend of mine at Sennar had two wives, the one educated at a girls' school and the other not. He much appreciated the companionship of the educated girl, but he could never persuade the other to join him at table like his first wife. That would have been contrary to the notions of what was right and fitting that had been instilled into her from her youth up.

Of charms against the evil eye, the five-pointed star is well known in the Sudan; but although Dr. Westermarck states (without giving his authority) that the 'gesture with the five outstretched fingers' occurs as a similar charm 'among the Sennaarese and the Kabābīsh,' I have not come across it, and if it occurs, I hope that someone will report it.

Similarly on page 51 the triangular shape of written charms and their leather cases is said, on the authority of D'ARVIEUX (1718), to be used by Turks and Arabs, but so far as I know this shape is confined in the Sudan to the small Tuāreg Colony in Darfur. In fact it seems to be characteristic of the Tuāreg.

Chapter III deals with the Curse. Picturesque curses on the object of one's detestation and his ancestry are certainly not lacking in the Sudan.

In a country where cousin-marriages are so much favoured by the Arabs it is interesting to find it suggested here that one reason for the prevalence of this kind of marriage is that the wife cannot curse her husband, for, if she did, the curse would, through their common ancestor, fall on herself also.

Swearing by the saddle, and also by fire, is known among the ZAGHAWA and MEIDOB of Northern Darfur.

Swearing by the sun, moving the right hand towards it, is common in the Sudan, being thinly veiled as swearing by the East, which will probably be equated with Mecca if an explanation is demanded.

Swearing at the shrines of saints is so common that I would refrain from mentioning it, were this not an opportunity to record my discovery of two subsidiary shrines on the River Dinder near the GUBBA of Sheikh MEDANI WAD HĀMID, the terror of camel thieves. These shrines are the graves of the Ananias and Sapphira of Sennar district, the first two people who swore falsely on the tomb of Sheikh Medani, and lost their lives in consequence.

When trying camel theft cases I have more than once come across Arabs from the Blue Nile who believed in the danger of an oath, even if not false, and preferred to pay rather than acquit themselves of a false accusation.

I have not, however, met with the idea of 'AR or the transference of a conditional curse to someone for the purpose of compelling him to grant a request, although it is said to be common to Arabia and North Africa.

A well is hardly ever dug in the Sudan without a scarifice (KARĀMA) being made, but its intent, so far as I know, is rather to propitiate the *jnūn* than to compel them to behave.

Similarly in the Mohammedan Sudan, and especially on the Nile, as for example at the YA'AQUBĀB shrines in Sennar district, hair and bones are frequently tied to trees at shrines. But to the best of my knowledge the intent is not so much to put 'AR on the dead saint as to acknowledge a blessing vouchsafed or to witness the fulfilment of a vow; as for instance the lock of youth cut off at manhood and hung up by a lad's mother as a proof that the saint has granted her prayer for a son, or some bones from a sacrifice vowed to the saint in return for his acceding to some request. But it is to be hoped that someone who has the opportunity will go into the question further in the light of Dr. Westermarck's disclosures from Morocco. It is more than probable that the same idea exists also in the Sudan.

Chapters IV and V deal with Holiness (BARAKA). The Baraka of Mohammed is believed to be transmitted to his descendants the ASRĀF, and there is no doubt that frequently in the Sudan as in Morocco ' by simply moving from his native place to another district, and then

pretending to belong to a family of sherīfs, a person has often gained for himself and his posterity a title to which he had no claim whatever.'

Belief in the BARAKA of a sultan, of old men, and of insane persons is found in the Sudan ; where also there are certainly many shrines that are not graves but places where real or alleged saints have prayed or appeared in visions. There are several such around Sennar.

Parallels to the Berber belief in holy sooth-saying women may be found among the ZAGHAWA, MEIDOB and DAJU of Darfur.

Sheikh BANNAQA EL DARĪR of Sennar district (for whose shrine see Plate XXX of Vol. XIX of the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*), is an example of the saint who will brook no roof or even building of any kind over his grave.

An instance of belief in the *baraka* in the name ' Mohammed,' is to be found in Darfur at the pagan ' customs ' already referred to, where the sacrifice sometimes has to be performed by a man of this name.

Examples of *baraka* in animals do not come to mind so readily, unless this is the reason why the houses of YA'AQUBĀB holy men in Sennar district swarm with lean cats.

The ability to fly as a manifestation of *baraka* is frequently found in traditions concerning YA'AQUBĀB and other holy men.

Earth is frequently taken from sacred places, e.g., the grave of the Khalifa Abdallahi in Kosti district, the grave of the Mahdi at Omdurman, and in fact the grave of any holy man. Visits to such shrines by women and sick persons are too common to need instances, and so is the use in charms of verses from the Koran.

As an example of the sensitiveness of *baraka*, Dr. Westermarck quotes that women as unclean beings are not allowed to visit certain shrines. I think it is permissible to mention as a parallel to this the thanks I received from a leading Mohammedan dignitary for having arranged for the erection of a fence round the Sennar Mosque, since ' donkeys and women were now kept away from it.'

Various parallels to the idea of sexual intercourse being injurious to *baraka* occur. For example, the Darfur DUMBARI, who claims he can control the movements of locusts, has to refrain from intercourse with his wife from seed time till harvest, in order to be able to exercise that power.

The idea that the place of prayer must be clean is universal in the Sudan. Shrines are always kept well swept by their guardians. The

efficiency of the oath in a District Commissioner's Court is probably impaired if care is not taken to treat the Koran as respectfully as is done without fail in every native court.

Finally it is interesting to learn (p. 135), that the reason slippers must be removed before entering a mosque is because of the impurities of the ground with which they have been in contact, when used for walking.

The above examples of Sudan beliefs similar to those treated in this book, and they are only a few of those which occur to me, should be sufficient to indicate its value and interest to workers in the Sudan.

If it is not presumptuous to differ with such an authority as Dr. Westermarck, I might add that in Chapter II he seems sometimes to see a connection with the Evil Eye where it probably does not exist. I doubt whether men's fear of the evil eye affecting their loved ones had anything to do with the Moslem custom of veiling their women ; though a similar reason may very well explain why Tuāreg men veil their faces. In the case of Moslem women, surely the jealousy of their menfolk is sufficient motive. Nor do I think it likely that its rather far-fetched resemblance to the eye contributes in any way to the popularity of the cowrie. And, although an argument is built on the assumption that the triangular ornament in Fig. 9 probably represents an eye, the reason for that assumption is by no means clear.

Similarly two unconvincing examples are given in support of the argument (p. 143) that, as *baraka* sometimes causes evil, so uncleanness sometimes is a cause of good. The healing power in a place where a person has been murdered has less to do with the uncleanness of the place than with the vital force (residing in the blood) that has been let loose by the murder and can presumably therefore, be acquired there ; while the curative effect of the excrement of animals, certainly in the case of the hyæna, a popular medicine in the Sudan, need only be ascribed to the astringent qualities of the substance itself.

These are, however, only small points which do not affect the value of this little volume as a whole, and it is strongly recommended to anyone who wishes to gain a further insight into the mentality and outlook of the inhabitants of the Sudan. As a result of reading it I, for one, intend to take the author's advice to those who wish to pursue the subject further, and to study his larger work, ' Ritual and Belief in Morocco.'

A.J.A.

# Sudan Notes and Records.

Vol. XVII, 1934.

PART II.

## CONTENTS.

ARTICLES. PAGE

Some Nubian Rock Pictures. J. H. Dunbar, M.C. . . . . 139

A Chapter in Bari History. A. C. Beaton . . . . . 169

Tales of the Halāwīn. G. B. Tame . . . . . 201

Italian Travellers in Berta Country. G. O. Whitehead . . . 217

El Menna Ismail—Fiki and Emir. A. R. C. Bolton . . . . 229

Beliefs and Customs of Malwal Dinka. Captain J. N. Stubbs . . 243

NOTES.

Bari Names. A. C. Beaton . . . . . 255

Fung Origins. J. W. Robertson, M.B.E. . . . . 260

REVIEWS.

Fighting Bracelets . . . . . 267

Likundu . . . . . 267

Bari Grammar . . . . . 270

The Abyssinian at Home . . . . . 272

The Uganda Journal . . . . . 273

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# Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

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

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

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

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

The silent *t* (ة) is omitted.

## NOTES.

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

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

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

Ei may be used as an alternative to ē.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS


ARTICLES. PAGE

Some Nubian Rock Pictures, with Map and Plates. J. H. DUNBAR, M.C. 139

A Chapter in Bari History, with Plate. A. C. BEATON . . 169

Tales of the Halāwīn. G. B. TAME . . . . . 201

Italian Travellers in Berta Country, with Plate. G. O. WHITEHEAD 217

El Menna Ismail—Fiki and Emir. A. R. C. BOLTON . . 229

Beliefs and Customs of Malwal Dinka. CAPT. J. N. STUBBS . 243

NOTES.

Bari Names. A. C. BEATON . . . . . 255

Fung Origins. J. W. ROBERTSON, M.B.E. . . . . 260

REVIEWS.

Fighting Bracelets . . . . . 267

Likundu. . . . . 267

Bari Grammar . . . . . 270

The Abyssinian at Home . . . . . 272

The Uganda Journal . . . . . 273

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XVII. Part II. 1934

# SOME NUBIAN ROCK PICTURES.

By J. H. Dunbar, M.C.

(MAP AND PLATES I—X.)

HOW many of us, who have travelled up and down the Halfa Reach of the Nile on our way to and from leave, realise that the rocks and cliffs, all the way from Wadi Halfa to Assuan, are covered with hundreds of thousands of rock pictures?

Though they are so numerous, and despite the universal attention aroused in recent years by petroglyphic art, very few of these Nubian engravings have yet been published. Nevertheless there are many valuable references to them in the works of the Egyptologists, and particularly are we indebted to A. E. P. Weigall's survey in 1907.[1] Another most important contribution, this time from the geologists, is the chapter on "Rock Pictures" in Sandford and Arkell's recent work[2] though, as they rightly observe, "The subject is in need of a comprehensive survey of the Nile Valley akin to those made by Breuil and Newbold for the western deserts." There remains quite an amount of work to be done before the last word can be written on the Nubian petroglyphs.

I should like to acknowledge, at the outset, the personal help and encouragement I have received from Prof. and Mrs. F. Ll. Griffith, Dr. K. S. Sandford, Mr. A. Lucas, Mr. G. W. Grabham and Prof. G. Steindorff. I am also greatly indebted to officials of the British Museum, of the Egyptian Archæological Survey, and of the French and American Research Schools in Palestine.

It seems to me that the Nubian rock engravings can be studied best under five headings: Distribution, Subject-Matter, Stratigraphy, Technique and Weathering. After looking at the engravings from these

[1] "A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia." A. E. P. Weigall. Oxford University Press, 1907.

[2] "Paleolithic Man and the Nile Valley in Nubia and Upper Egypt." Chapter VIII. K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell. University of Chicago, 1933.

five angles we may perhaps consider that we are in some sort of position to attempt answers to the questions, " Who did them ? " " When ? " and " Why ? "

DISTRIBUTION.

An idea of the distribution of the engravings can be obtained most quickly and conveniently from the accompanying map though, as I have marked certain other remains as well, a short explanatory note is necessary.

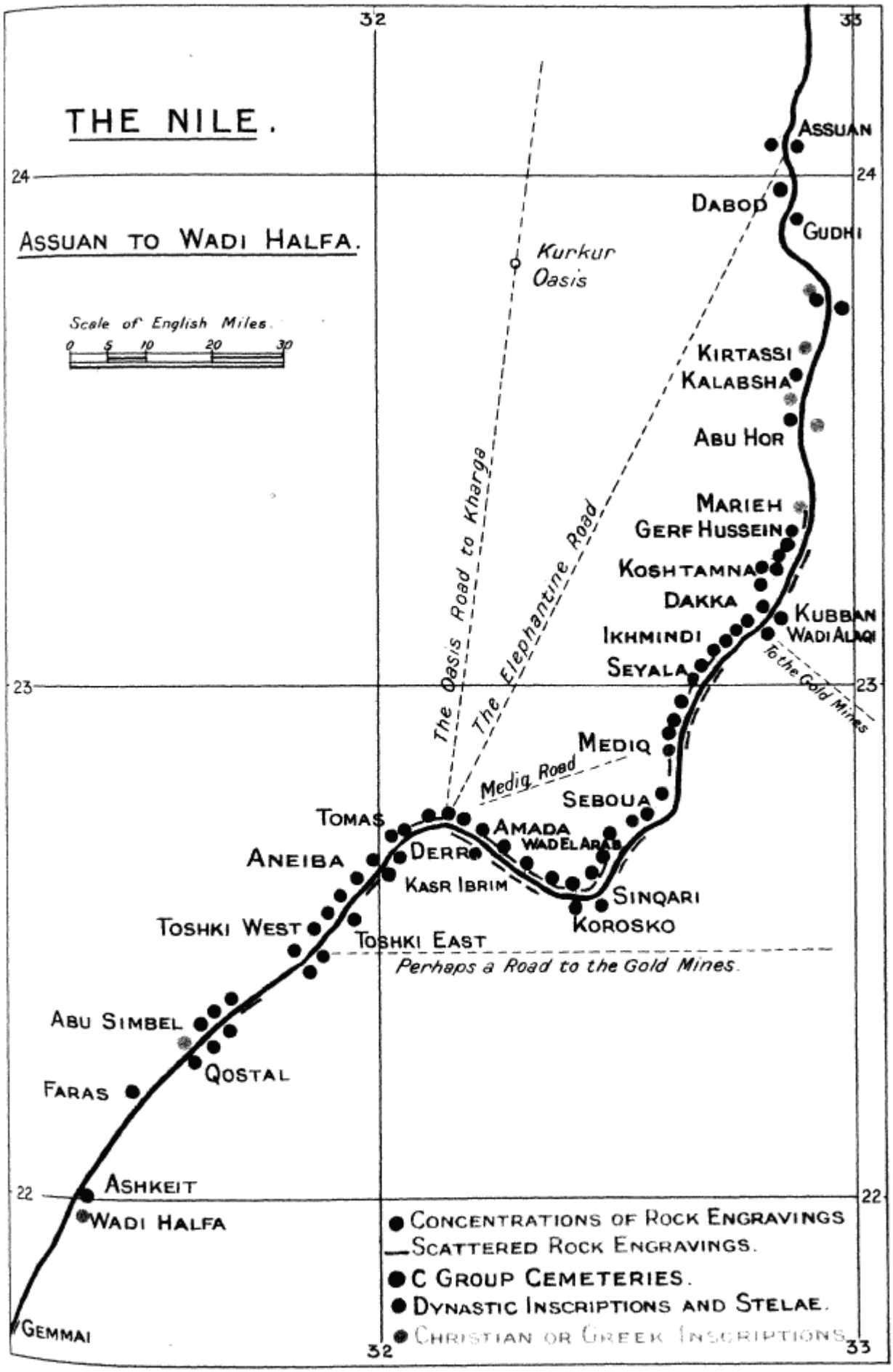
The course of the river is between north and north-east but is by no means straight. There are many bends, of which the most notable are those at Tomas and Korosko. This can be seen even on a small map, but for a detailed study the fifteen sheets that comprise the 1 : 50000 map of the Egyptian Survey Department should be consulted.

It will be seen that, broadly speaking, the rock pictures and the Middle Nubian or C. Group cemeteries are concentrated between Toshki and Gerf Hussein, but, while the engravings are equally common to both banks, the cemeteries are generally confined to the west bank.

There is no concentration of engravings between Toshki West and Aneiba to match the cemeteries, but this is explained by the lack of suitable rocks.

We are concerned in this article only with such rock engravings as are to be found in Nubia, and it must not be imagined that Wadi Halfa and Assuan mark the limits of petroglyphic art in the Nile Valley. There are many recorded from Egypt. I have seen a very fine giraffe hammered on a rock at Gemmai, and there are other engravings, a little higher upstream, near Semnah. Many have been found in the Batn el Hağar by H. C. Jackson, who has very kindly shown me unpublished photographs of some at Sabu and Akasha, and who tells me of these pictures that " they appear to date from, at any rate, the old Egyptian occupation as they depict, *inter alia*, typical Nile geese, an ancient type of boat, and the Egyptian ankh. There are also obvious later additions in the shape of Arabic scrawls, camels, Christian crosses, etc. Many of these pictures are exceedingly well delineated and show an amazing amount of life and motion."

Whereas the rock pictures are plentiful all along the river banks the dynastic inscriptions are found, as a rule, at the termini of the short cuts


THE NILE.
ASSUAN TO WADI HALFA.
Scale of English Miles.
0 5 10 20 30
32
33
24
23
22
Kurkur Oasis
The Oasis Road to Kharga
The Elephantine Road
Medig Road
To the Gold Mines
ASSUAN
DABOD
GUDHI
KIRTASSI
KALABSHA
ABU HOR
MARIEH
GERF HUSSEIN
KOSHTAMNA
DAKKA
KUBBAN
WADI ALAQI
IKHMINDI
SEYALA
MEDIQ
SEBOUA
TOMAS
AMADA
WADELARAB
DERR
ANEIBA
KASR IBRIM
SINQARI
KOROSKO
TOSHKI WEST
TOSHKI EAST
Perhaps a Road to the Gold Mines.
ABU SIMBEL
QOSTAL
FARAS
ASHKEIT
WADI HALFA
GEMMAI
CONCENTRATIONS OF ROCK ENGRAVINGS
SCATTERED ROCK ENGRAVINGS.
C GROUP CEMETERIES.
DYNASTIC INSCRIPTIONS AND STELAE.
CHRISTIAN OR GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

across the river bends. The natural inference is, surely, that the pictures were done by people who lived in the valley, while the inscriptions are the work of travellers. The best example of this is between Mediq and Tomas-Amada for, although there are engravings and cemeteries all along this bend, the only known inscription is that of Amenemhat I at Korosko.

I have shown on the map only such dynastic and Christian inscriptions as are cut on the naked rocks. I have not indicated the temples and churches nor have I made any reference to Christian paintings in the many chapels. For example, Faras is shown as the site of a C. Group cemetery whereas it has a continuous recorded occupation from proto-dynastic times to the present day, and is perhaps best known from the fact that it was the largest Christian centre in Nubia.

I have marked a concentration of rock engravings at Gudhi though this may be considered as hardly justified, for the number of pictures at this station does not compare with the tremendous concentrations at Gerf Hussein or Toshki. Gudhi gets a place on the map because it seems to indicate, as far as we know now, the northern limit, in Nubia, of both the rock pictures and the C. Group cemeteries. We must bear in mind, however, that, as is the case with the engravings, there are C. Group cemeteries in Egypt.

It will be noticed that Tomas was the junction of the great caravan routes and it is here, as one would expect, that dynastic inscriptions of the Old and Middle Kingdoms are most plentiful.

The Greek inscription shown at Abu Simbel is the famous one of the time of Psammetichus I on the left leg of the headless colossus. Though it is an exception to our purpose in that it is not cut in the naked rock its importance makes it worthy of mention.

## Subject-Matter.

The subjects most frequently depicted on the rocks are boats, cattle, antelopes and giraffes. Not so common, though quite plentiful, are ostriches, human figures, camels, dogs and elephants. Very rare are donkeys or wild asses, wild sheep, horses and arabesques resembling basket-work patterns. There are a few subjects that are, so far as my experience goes, unique, for example, a hare, a lion, a cat (curiously with two tails as though the first one did not satisfy the artist), a crocodile, an ape, a large water bird, and a small sparrow-like bird. Of these the

lion and the cat may be open to doubt as they are not now sufficiently clear for certainty.

There seem to be no extinct fauna such as are found in the European caves or in North Africa, nor are there any fantastic animals like those on the Ancient Egyptian palettes, unless one so considers some of the subjects at Toshki East, though these I feel inclined to interpret as representing that strange animal, the okapi. I have not encountered the antlered deer nor, which is perhaps more remarkable, have I ever seen (except for two scratchings by present-day children at Kasr Ibrim) a single example of a fish. There are no stencilled hands such as are as common elsewhere as are cup stones,[1] though in this connexion the following account of a present day practice amongst nomad Arabs is most interesting. "Whenever a sheep is slaughtered some sort of ceremony is performed. Either an offering is made to the shades of the departed or the hand is dipped in the blood of the sacrificial animal, and the imprint of the bloody hand is put upon some favourite beast to guard it from evil or to make it prolific." [2]

The boats are just the same as those on the Ancient Egyptian monuments. They range from the primitive papyrus-reed canoe to twenty-five-oared craft with cabins, masts and sails. Some of them display, raised on masts or poles, various cult-object signs. The picture of boats being hauled upstream by a score of men on a rope seems peculiar, in Nubia, to Gerf Hussein, and it is significant that the men are sometimes in charge of an overseer armed with a whip. These particular boat engravings are quite imposing, for though the individual men measure only a few inches in height, a score or more of them on a rope, together with the boat result in a picture that is from six to eight feet long. A similar subject with thirty-three men on the rope giving a picture ten feet long has been found eight miles north of Assuan, and is thought to represent a predynastic picture of men hauling a boat up the First Cataract.[3]

Amongst the cattle, the variety with long, widely spread horns (*Bos africanus* or *B. macroceros*) is by far the most common, though one

[1] "Ancient Hunters." W. J. Sollas. Third Edition, 1924. The red hand is mentioned as occurring in Egypt, p. 417, and cupstones are discussed, pp. 254-255.
[2] "A Trek in Abu Hamed District." H. C. Jackson. *Sudan Notes and Records.* Vol. IX, No. 2. Dec., 1926, p. 15.
[3] "Some Pre-Dynastic Rock-Drawings." G. W. Murray and O. H. Myers. The Journal of Egyptian Archæology. Vol. XIX, Parts III and IV. Nov., 1933, pp. 129-132.

might recognise sometimes the short horned type (*Bos brachyceros*). When one remembers that *Bos africanus* is generally considered to have come from Central Africa it is most interesting to learn that the present day Beja, who possess both short horns and long horns, say that the former are indigenous and the latter a comparatively recent importation from the south.[1] I have seen very few cattle like those on the predynastic palettes whose horns form a nearly closed ellipse, or a crescent of which the points nearly touch. The aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) seems to be absent from the engravings, though he was known in Egypt as late as Old Kingdom times.

Not infrequently associated with the cattle are human figures, and a spirited drawing at Gerf Hussein of a boy leading, at a run, a bull (which appears to have a halter round its neck) might be a subject from Dinka or Shilluk life to-day.

Of the antelope family the ibex is plentiful and, like the oryx, which is fairly common, and the kudu, which is very rare, it is easily recognised by its distinctive horns. The ordinary gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*) is found frequently and, amongst the others, one is tempted to recognise the reedbuck and the addax. As the engravings of antelopes sometimes measure only a few inches one cannot always be certain of the subject and it is possible that there are a few sheep and goats.

Giraffes and ostriches are, as a rule, particularly well done and the former are sometimes shown as being led by men with lassoes. When one looks at some of the ostriches at Gerf Hussein the question springs to one's mind, "Did the temple builders have anything to do with these engravings?" and one recollects the rock sculptures up the Wadi Hammamat.

The human figures are treated in a variety of ways. Some are like frogs standing on their hind legs though this is partially explained by the technique, for in these cases, of which there are examples at Wadi el Arab, the arms and legs look very thin while the whole of the body is intagliated. Some are like animated musical crochets and quavers, and these are nearly always in a state of poise as though dancing or skipping or walking a tightrope. Some stand on one leg with the other knee bent in the familiar Hadendoa attitude. Some are armed with bows and arrows,

[1] I am indebted for this piece of information to G. E. R. Sandars, formerly District Commissioner, Beja.

have a feather in the hair and look rather like hieroglyphic signs. Finally there are schematic figures, some of which resemble camel brands or perhaps letters of the Tifinagh alphabet. Rock engravings of dynastic figures, as distinct from temple and shrine sculptures, are extremely rare, and one, about a quarter of a mile up a khor at Tomas, is unique. It portrays four figures and no doubt represents a man petitioning the Gods of the Cataracts.

Dogs seem to be of two kinds ; one looks like a perky terrier and the other, though different from the salugi dog, like a hound of some sort. Perhaps the latter is a form of the animal symbol of Set, twin brother of Osiris. It might be a jackal or wolf or hyæna, or even an animal type representing this group of the canine family.

There are a few unusual pictures. A sakia wheel and a shadoof look quite recent. A flower or plant, perhaps a lotus, is strikingly like a Meroitic pottery decoration.[1] There is, high up on the west cliff at Amada, a charming picture of a man with a bow. It is exceptionally large and the bow is taller than the man, who is posed in a most nonchalant attitude. When looking at the picture there springs to mind that Nubia was once " The Land of the Bow," and one remembers the story of the Nubian bow that was sent to Cambyses with the injunction that, until his archers were capable of drawing it, he should not think of attacking his southern neighbours.

All the Nubian rock engravings are naturalistic and of subjects easily recognised. There are no therianthropic, zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, or theophanic representations. There is nothing anywhere that can be equated with the " Sorcerers " of Lourdes and Les Trois Frères, or with Barth's pictures from Murzuk. Out of all the human figures I remember only two (of which one is steatopygous) that are phallic. One recalls Newbold's tailed and phallic men from the South Libyan desert.[2]

More often than not all the various subjects are to be found at the same station. You do not find elephants at one place, giraffes at another, cattle at a third, and so on. Can we interpret this as meaning that the pictures do not represent the totems of tribes or nomes ? There

[1] " Oxford Excavations in Nubia." F. Ll. Griffith. Published in Annals of Archæology and Anthropology. University of Liverpool. Vol. XI, Plate XXI (Fig. XXXJ). Plate XXVII (Fig. LX). Plate XXXIII (Fig. 2).

[2] " A Desert Odyssey of a Thousand Miles." D. Newbold. *Sudan Notes and Records.* Vol. VII, No. 1. July, 1924, p. 76.

are a few exceptions to this general rule, evidence perhaps that such places have not a continuous record of occupation. For example, at Ashkeit, antelopes and cattle predominate and there are no boats, hieroglyphs, giraffes, or ostriches. Up a khor at Wadi el Arab there are elephants, giraffes, ostriches and antelopes, but no cattle, boats, or hieroglyphs, though all of these last are found lower down near the river bank. At Gerf Hussein the position is curious, for there the temple stands between two markedly different groups of engravings. South of the temple is a game-animal group with a few boats, cattle, hieroglyphs and camels, while north of the temple the pictures are almost all of boats and cattle. Weigall remarked on this ubiquity of the subjects, for in his frequent references to the "prehistoric," "archaic," or "very ancient" engravings, he says: "The early inhabitants were good draughtsmen and delighted in covering the rocks with drawings of the gazelles, oxen, giraffes, elephants and other animals which they saw around them, as well as with drawings of boats and sometimes of themselves." [1]

STRATIGRAPHY.

Every student of prehistory has seen, or has resolved to see, the French cave art. One of the most interesting sights in the neighbourhood of Les Eyzies is, to my mind, the grotto of Laugerie Basse. At this station there are no engravings, except those housed in the adjacent museum, but part of the grotto has been cut in cross section and is as plainly stratified as is a pile of ham sandwiches.

In Nubia the prehistorian is not so fortunate for, in the sandstone, there are no caves such as are found in limestone formations and stratification, in the European sense, is of particularly rare occurrence.

Do the rock pictures bear any relation to river levels? It is an established fact that river level has fallen continuously in Nubia, from the Lower Palæolithic Age down to the present day. That there has been a slight lowering even in historic times is demonstrated by "the shifting of the cultivation from higher to lower terraces between the Predynastic Period and the Old Kingdom," [2] though such a big drop, since the Middle Kingdom, as that of twenty-six feet at Semnah[3] is quite local.

[1] A. E. P. Weigall, *op cit.*, pp. 5, 83, 107.
[2] "Excavations at Kerma." G. A. Reisner. Harvard African Studies. Vol. V, Part I. 1923, p. 5.
[3] The position at Semnah is fully discussed by Sandford and Arkell, *op cit.*, pp. 54-56. See also The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A. Vol. XXVII, No. 163. Oct., 1929, p. 68.

Prof. Steindorff told me, when he was excavating at Aneiba in 1931, that he found a difference of nearly two metres between the Middle Kingdom and New Empire water-gates there, and that he considered the river level at Aneiba to be about five metres higher during the New Empire than it is now.

While it is a fact that engravings do occur at different heights (for example there is a crowded vertical range of thirty feet at Gerf Hussein) I have yet to find on one face of rock a series of parallel friezes descending in what looks like a chronological sequence. Very often, when there are many pictures at a station, those higher up on the rocks are such as would be dated, from other points of view, as younger than those lower down. At Toshki East there is a good instance of the seeming paradox of inverted stratigraphy. There are five groups of pictures, one above the other, and one would certainly say that, on all grounds except stratigraphy, the highest pictures are the youngest and that the others get older and older as they descend in the vertical scale. No doubt the explanation is that the first artist selected what was, to his mind, the choicest rock surface, and his successors fitted in their contributions to the picture gallery as best they could, being driven higher and higher up the rock.

It seems to me that what really matters is not how high up the cliffs the pictures are, but rather how low down are those pictures which, from other considerations, one has reason to regard as the oldest. One could draw to-day pictures at Lower Palæolithic level, but only a man in a diver's suit could have drawn, in Lower Palæolithic times, pictures at to-day's level.

From the levels I have taken there emerges a suggestion that would seem to be of the highest importance. It is that all of what I regard as the very oldest pictures are above Upper Sebilian flood level. I have used as my datum lines a present day flood of 98 metres at Assuan corresponding with 123·87 metres at Wadi Halfa (correcting zero on the Halfa gauge to 115·87 at Assuan and taking 8 metres as the Halfa flood), and Sandford and Arkell's Upper Sebilian levels (40 feet at Halfa and 25 feet at Assuan above modern flood). I took all my readings, making occasional checks against temples and survey bench marks, with a carefully tested Direct Reading Tacheometer. My lowest level for a picture of an elephant worked out at five feet above Sandford and Arkell's Upper Sebilian line. At Amada, about three miles downstream from the temple,

there is an isolated and very conspicuous boulder measuring nine or ten feet cube. It lies half way up the beach between present high water mark and the foot of the cliffs. It is surely significant that this comparatively low lying boulder, which was awash in Upper Sebilian times, is smothered on all sides with dynastic inscriptions but does not bear a single rock picture. High up on the cliffs behind this boulder, at 140 feet above present-day flood, there are a few pictures that clearly date from the Middle Kingdom or New Empire.

Perhaps in time we shall be able, by measuring all the lowest levels at which the various picture-subjects occur, to work out a comprehensive stratigraphical scheme for the whole of Nubia, but I feel that this will only be possible after a comparison of many more levels than I have yet been able to take.

One might mention here some rock engravings at Thebes which, though at Lower Palæolithic level, are regarded as not earlier than Neolithic times.[1]

Fortunately the case, from the stratigraphical point of view, is not as discouraging as might at first sight appear, for there are several palimpsests and superpositions that furnish us with most valuable evidence. Either the defacement is a picture over an earlier picture, or, more rarely, an inscription over a picture. The elephant is, invariably, in my experience, at the bottom of the sequence and inscriptions are always at the top. Intermediate subjects are not so definite, for example, at Tomas, there is a giraffe over a boat and, quite close to it, a boat over a giraffe. At Toshki East there is an interesting Hyksos Period inscription cut across some giraffes and gazelles, while at Ashkeit there is a Greek Christian inscription cut over an antelope. Among Breastead's pictures from the desert north-west of Abu Simbel there is an ostrich on top of a giraffe. I have never seen an instance of a human figure or of a camel as a palimpsest or superposition. It would seem established from these superpositions that the elephant is the oldest subject and that the inscriptions are later than the latest animal drawings.

The sandstone boulders and cliffs are darkened or blackened by weathering except when they have been quarried by the Ancient Egyptians or fractured by landslides. It is significant that the rock engravings, with

[1] "Gravures Protohistoriques de la Montagne Thébaine." Rémy Cottevieille-Giraudet. Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. T.XXX (for 1930). Cairo, 1931, pp. 545-552.

the exception of a few of known recent origin, are always on the weathered, and never on the more recently exposed, surfaces. Similarly, though you often see engravings on the rocks near the temples, as for example at Derr or Gerf Hussein, you never find them on the dressed stone of the temples themselves.

In Nubia, where there are no flint bearing strata, artifacts were made of sandstone, quartz, ironstone, and hard rocks from the cataracts. By far the commonest surface finds are the Late Sebilian microliths of agate and chalcedony, though I should be most reluctant to say that I have found any recognised industry in actual association with the engravings as has been the case with Capsian flints in North Africa. Cup stones and hammer stones are common everywhere on the Halfa Reach but do not help us as they have no cultural or chronological significance.

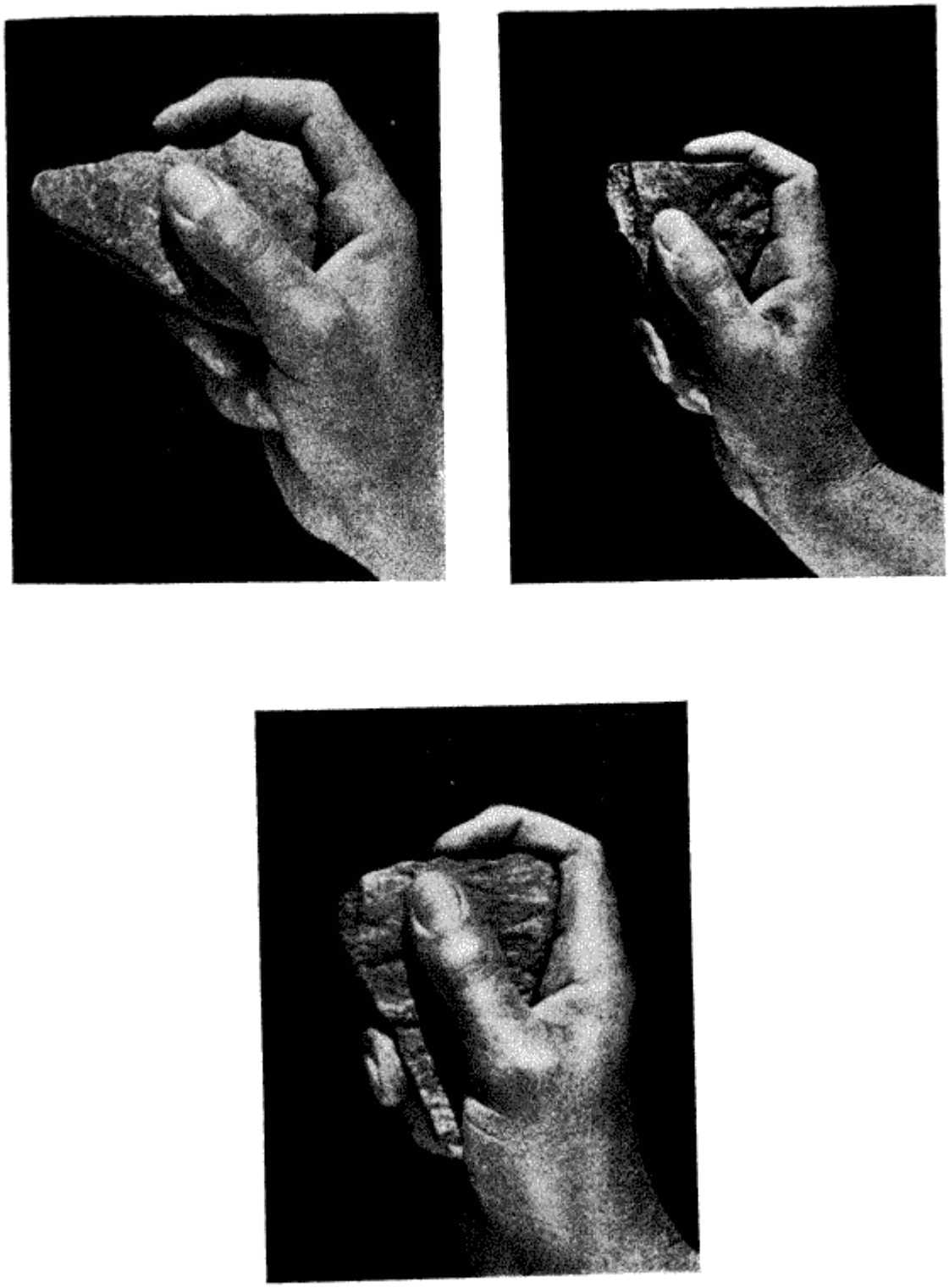
One type of implement, of which I found a few examples at the foot of engraved rocks and so probably in association with the engravings, is unusual, but makes an ideal tool for rock drawing. It is an isosceles triangle with the long sides measuring three to four inches, a base of two-and-a-half inches, and is from a quarter to half an inch thick. It is of recemented sandstone and might be described as a flat *coup-de-poing*. It affords a perfect grip on all three sides and any apex can be used with equal facility so that it is, in effect, three tools in one. It is very hard and very well weathered all over.

There are two other considerations which might be regarded as stratigraphical lines of approach. On the distribution of fauna in the Lower Nile Valley in ancient times there is the greatest diversity of opinion. For example, one view is that the Lower Nile in predynastic times was like the White Nile to-day[1], whereas another opinion is that, even in predynastic times, the elephant and the giraffe did not penetrate north of where now stands Khartoum[2], [3]. There seems to be no doubt that the elephant disappeared from Egypt not later than the beginning of the historic period for he plays no part in Egyptian mythology. Nevertheless the general opinion that he retreated southwards

[1] "Egypt as a Field for Anthropological Research." P. E. Newberry. Presidential Address, Anthropological Section, British Association, 1923.

[2] "The Ancient Egyptians." G. Elliot Smith, 1923, pp. 77-79.

[3] For a discussion not only of the distribution of fauna in early times but also of the significance of animal decoration in the earliest Egyptian art see "The Carnarvon Ivory." G. Bénédite. The Journal of Egyptian Archæology. Vol. V, 1918, Part I, pp. 1-15 and Part IV, pp. 225-241.



THE TRIANGULAR SANDSTONE TOOL.
Three views.

from Egypt through Nubia and so survived a littler longer in Nubia than in Egypt must be modified, and we cannot treat seriously the suggestion that the Blemmyes used elephants in war. If Nubia had lost its rainfall by Lower Sebilian times and Upper Egypt not until Upper Sebilian times[1] it follows that Nubia dried up before Egypt, so that the elephant and the giraffe would survive in Egypt longer than in Nubia. We thus have reason to suppose that rock engravings of elephants in Nubia may be very early indeed. In the temple mural decorations, for example at Bēt el Wali where the king is shown as receiving tribute from the Ethiopians, the offerings include ostriches, giraffes and elephant's tusks. Presumably such offerings were rarities from the south and the elephant was so far south, by the XIXth Dynasty, that only his tusks could be brought. If we add to these considerations the extreme probability that there has been no local change of climate during historic times[2], we may reasonably assume that the retreat of the elephant from Nubia began in what corresponded with the Upper Palæolithic Period in Europe, and that he was followed successively by the giraffe, the ostrich and the antelope.

The last stratigraphical line of approach is by way of the ancient pottery, palettes, ivories and such like or, if we may so express it, a comparison between the petroglyphs and the local *art mobilier*. There are many striking resemblances between the pottery decorations and the rock engravings, and the similarity seems to hold more particularly in predynastic and C. Group times. Any good museum will furnish examples, and there are copious descriptions and illustrations in various publications.[3] The predynastic pottery is classified in the Cairo Museum in six groups, ranging from the earliest Black Topped ware to the latest Pink Decorated ware. Unfortunately it is impossible to work out an exact chronological subject sequence from the pottery, though valuable clues are by no means missing. The earliest Black Topped ware has scratchings of antelopes amongst which the ibex is to be clearly distinguished. Then there seems to be no animal decoration until Group V, the Cross Line ware, which displays lizards or crocodiles, scorpions and gazelles, in red paint on a pink ground. Group VI, the Pink Decorated ware, is

[1] Sandford and Arkell, *op cit.*, p. 85.
[2] "The Geography of the Mediterranean Region. Its Relation to Ancient History." E. C. Semple, 1932, p. 99.
[3] For example, "The Archæological Survey of Nubia." Report for 1909-1910. C. M. Firth. Cairo, 1915.

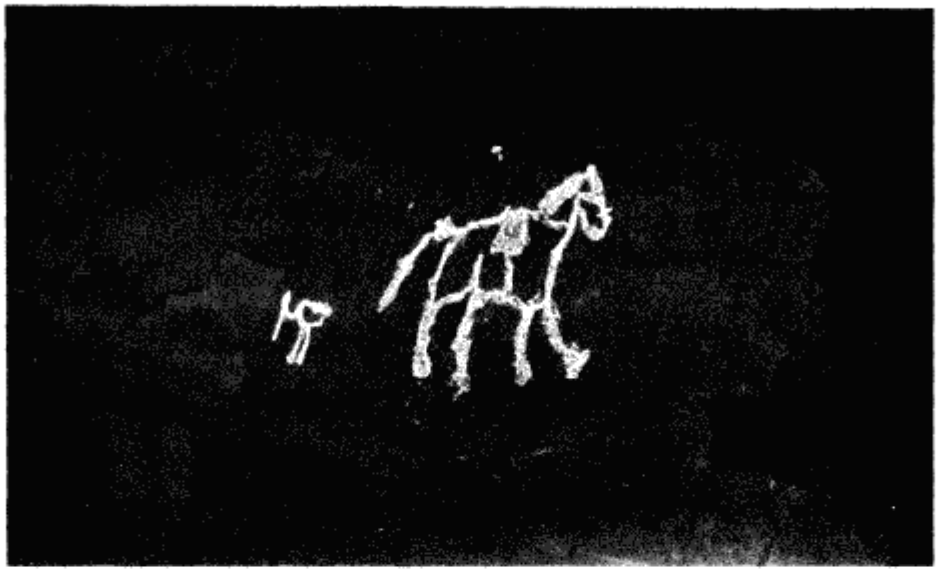
smothered with pictures which include ibex, gazelles (often fighting), scorpions, ostriches, pyramids, human figures (including dancers or castanet players and schematic figures), and many-oared boats, which sometimes bear cult-object signs. It would seem important that elephants are very rare and of very early date, and it is curious that the arabesque basket pattern on the rocks is matched to perfection on the protodynastic and C. Group pottery.[1] Of the protodynastic finds at Faras " only those types of pottery which are found also in Egypt and are probably of Egyptian fabric, bear engraved figures :—animals, birds, fishes, stars, oars, ropes and other objects difficult to identify. The same scratched designs are met with in Egypt, and may have been put on the vessels as distinctive marks by their owners, or simply for ornament."[2]

The slate palettes afford many good examples of elephants, for not only are some of them elephant-shaped but many are also incised with very fine figures of elephants. It may be that these palettes, like the bear palettes, were inspired from Syria. Elliot Smith sees on some of the slate palettes " certain mammals and birds whose habitat is Abyssinia and the adjoining part of Somaliland."[3]

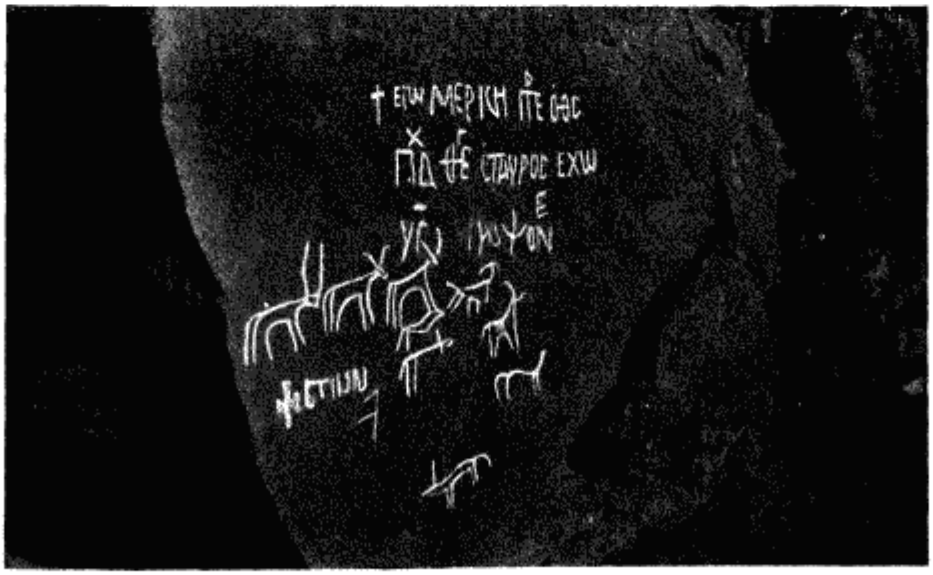
Opinion is divided as to the source of the predynastic ivory supply. It may be that the elephant was still in Egypt (and, from the pottery marks, the giraffe and the strange okapi too)[4] though I feel it is much more likely that he had already gone, and that the ivory was imported from the south[5] or perhaps from Syria.

There are other objects, too, that afford interesting comparisons. The distinctive Badarian ivory spoons mostly end in animal forms of which the ibex is a favourite, while an Early Dynastic mace from Lower Nubia had a gold mounted handle covered with figures of animals including elephant, giraffe, antlered deer, bull, cow, lion, leopard and

1. Prof. Peet gives a timely reminder that some of the present pottery classification terms are misnomers. " The Classification of Egyptian Pottery." T. Eric Peet. The Journal of Egyptian Archæology. Vol. XIX, Parts I and II. May, 1933, pp. 62-64.
2 " Oxford Excavations in Nubia." F. Ll. Griffith. Vol. VIII, p. 10 and Plate III. In this connexion see also G. W. Murray and O. H. Myers, *op cit*, p. 131. " Again, if the predynastic people near Aswan were portraying boats on the rocks it at least casts some doubt upon the theory that all the red-on-buff pottery showing such boats was made in the Delta. The question of the provenance of the different predynastic wares is not likely to be solved until a systematic series of analysis is made of the wares, and of the clay deposits in different parts of Egypt."
3 G. Elliot Smith, *op cit*, p. 82.
4 " A History of Egypt." J. H. Breasted. Second Edition, Chapter III.
5 " The Badarian Civilisation." Guy Brunton and G. Caton Thompson. British School of Archæology in Egypt, 1928, pp. 40-41.



ASHKEIT.



ASHKEIT.

hyæna. This beautiful piece of work has been stolen, unfortunately, from the Cairo Museum.[1]

TECHNIQUE.

In Nubia, as in other parts of the world, the rock engravings are executed in a number of different ways. Sometimes the figures are shown in dotted or continuous outline and sometimes as complete shadows or silhouettes. In the last case the whole body of the subject is as though stencilled but, invariably, it is the figure and never its surround that is removed from the rock, or, in other words, the pictures may be intaglios but are never cameos. This is rather curious for in Ancient Egyptian sculpture the bas relief is older than the sunk relief, and, in the case of the painted hands of palæolithic art, the stencils are both positive and negative.

There is also a great variation in the sizes of the engravings for, though they are generally from about nine inches to two feet, they do range from life-size to diminutive representations measuring only three or four inches.

In a word, the technique in Nubia is just the same as it is all over Africa or as far afield as Australia.[2]

It is generally considered that, in North Africa, the incised line, dotted line, and hammered surface techniques, as also the variations in size, represent a chronological sequence, though it is recognised, too, that subject matter and patination play important parts.[3] Cottevieille-Giraudet would seem to regard subject-matter as a more reliable guide than technique, and considers that the different styles, rather than affording a continuous sequence, are evidences of a recurring fashion cycle.[4]

My own opinion is that, in Nubia, the techniques fall into two main divisions which I propose to call Ancient and Modern. I regard as Ancient such styles as are executed with stone tools, and as modern the

[1] This gold handle is described and illustrated in the Archæological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1910-1911. C. M. Firth. Cairo, 1927, pp. 204-207.

[2] "Aboriginal Rock Carvings of Great Antiquity in South Australia." H. Basedow. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. XLIV (1914), pp. 195-211.

[3] For example:—"The Eastern Libyans." Oric Bates, 1914, pp. 156-157 and pp. 196-197. "Sahara Algérien." E. F. Gautier, Paris, 1908. Vol. I (Gravures rupestres), pp. 87-121. "Afrique." L. Frobenius and H. Breuil. Editions Cahiers d'Art. Paris, 1931, pp. 97, *et seq.*

[4] *Op cit*, p. 549.

style which results from using metal tools. In this respect there is an interesting resemblance between the Nubian engravings and those in South Africa.[1] The Nubian Ancient group is subdivided into the orthodox dotted line, incised line, and hammered or bruised surface techniques. I do not see in these subdivisions a chronological sequence but feel that, while technique is influenced sometimes by fashion or by individual caprice, and sometimes by the time factor, it is imposed primarily by the materials used. Patinated Nubian sandstone is often so hard, superficially, that it can be worked only by pecking, pocking, hammering, or bruising, and cannot be graved unless with an infinitude of patience resulting in sore fingers. I have tried to draw pictures with various stones, with sherds, with little scrapers made of beaten copper and hardened steel, and with files mounted in convenient holders. The only really suitable tool is that of a type resembling the isosceles triangle already described, and to give the best results it should be of a size that can both be held comfortably in the palm of the hand and, at the same time, delicately controlled by the fingers. Once the patina of the rock is broken, rather like chipping an enamel, the softer stone underneath, being no harder than bath brick, can be rubbed or scraped with the greatest of ease.

It seems reasonable to suppose that when ancient man wished to draw a rock picture he set about it just as we should to-day. He selected his face of rock and then sketched or roughed out his subject, in dotted line, by pecking away the patina. He would proceed to put in more and more dots, and the closer the dots the more nearly continuous the line would be until, eventually, a fair line would result. In practice the line is generally about half-an-inch wide by a quarter-of-an-inch deep, and is like a shallow " U " in cross section. In some of the very small pictures the line is of necessity finer, so that undoubtedly tools of different sizes, or at least of different thicknesses, were used. As an example of small pictures one might mention ibex measuring only four inches, in which the horns are shown by two most clearly defined parallel curves. Having completed his outline the artist, given sufficient time, would think about elaborating his sketch (for example by giving the giraffe its lozenge markings) and perhaps the ultimate result of this would be the bruising or hammering of the whole of the surface enclosed by his line, so that his

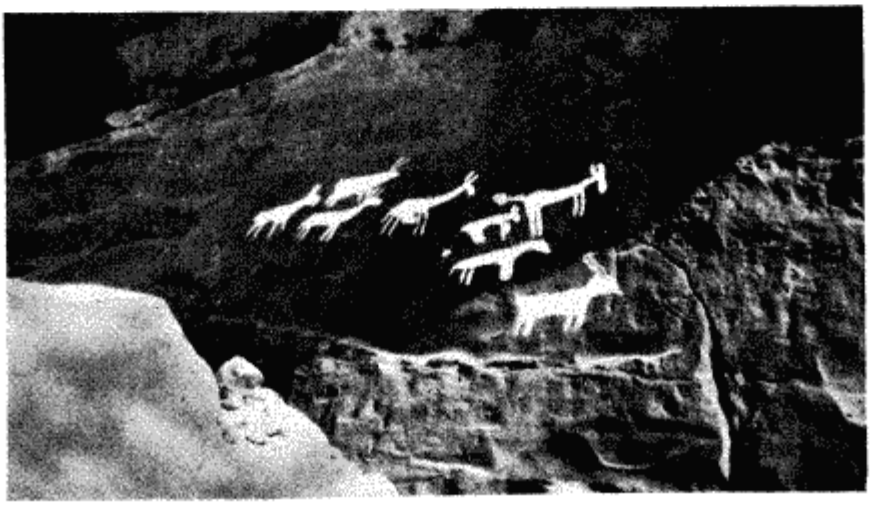
[1] " South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint." M. C. Burkitt, 1928, pp. 145-152.



TOSHKI EAST.
The antelope is five feet six inches long.



TOSHKI EAST.
The elephant is sixteen inches high.



TOSHKI EAST.
The figures measure from six inches to nine inches.

finished picture would be an intaglio. All these Ancient techniques seem equally common to every subject, and I am unable to equate any particular technique with a picture that would be assigned, from other considerations, to a definite period.

The position as regards the Modern, or metal tool, technique is clear and admits of no doubt. This technique includes such subjects as camels, feluccas, cattle, donkeys, horses and crudely drawn men. A curious Modern subject is the outline of the foot and brings to mind the stencilled hands of palæolithic art. The foot is placed on the rock and a line scratched round it just as one would draw an outline on a self-measurement form for a pair of new shoes. Quite a number, one could safely say the majority, of present-day engravings are done in the horizontal plane, that is to say " on the floor " as though by someone kneeling or sitting down. The Modern line is narrower and deeper than the Ancient line, is usually a " V " in cross section, and is drawn with a knife, dagger, nail, or perhaps even a sherd, for the Modern engravings are on unweathered, or on lightly weathered, rock. To clinch matters the present inhabitants can tell you when many of the Modern engravings were done, while they know so little about the others that they do not even attribute them to the " Anağ." There are associated with the Modern engravings Arabic names and prayers, and marks for the native games resembling Draughts and Nine Mens' Morris.

The standard of the Modern work is vastly inferior to that of the Ancient which is, in many instances, of a very high order. " The older the better " is a fairly safe maxim in Nubia as elsewhere. This may be explained by the fact that most of the Modern pictures are done by children, but is chiefly due to the type of tool used. It is easy to draw any curve in the Ancient style, but a metal tool always gives a " quadrangular " effect which looks very crude and puerile.

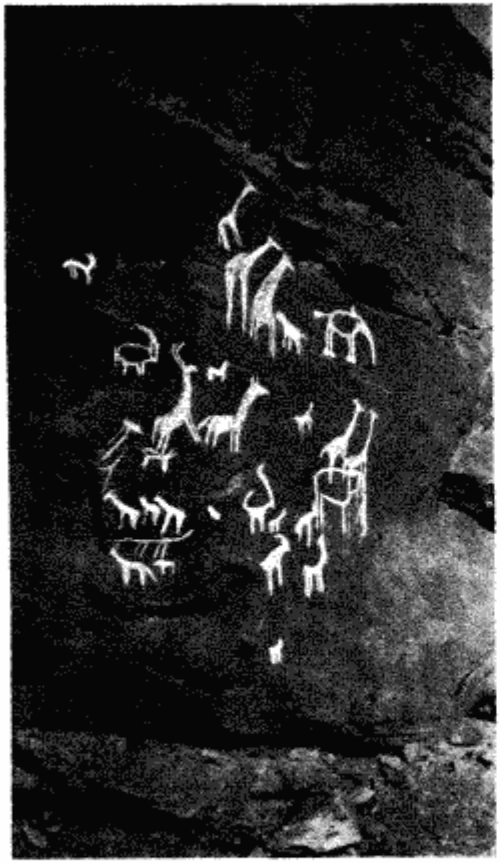
The Nubian pictures resemble so closely those at Owenat that some of my photographs are interchangeable with those taken by Hassanein Bey,[1] and it may be that " they were drawn by somebody who was trying to compose a scene " though this is very much open to question. Some of the little men with bows and arrows might well seem to be shooting at animals, but the rocks are so crowded that they cannot fail to appear

[1] " Crossing the Untraversed Libyan Desert." A. M. Hassanein Bey. The National Geographic Magazine, Washington, U.S.A. Vol. XLVI, No. 3, Sept., 1924. Also " The Lost Oases." A. M. Hassanein Bey, 1925, pp. 203-205.

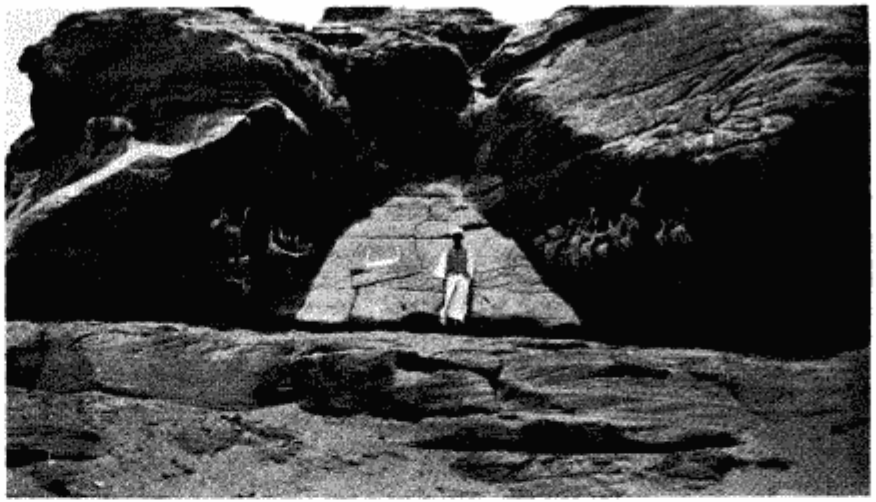
to be aiming at something. I have seen a gazelle with its kid, also an elephant with its calf, and Weigall mentions a gazelle attacked by four dogs ; while at Wadi el Arab the large panel with men and game animals, and, at Gerf Hussein, the men hauling the boats, two horses playing or fighting unconscious of a crocodile that is about to attack one of them, and the lassoed giraffes and cattle might also be regarded as compositions.

There is, however, hardly anything in Nubia to match those composed scenes of the hunt, the dance, and everyday life that we know from Eastern Spain, North Africa and Australia.

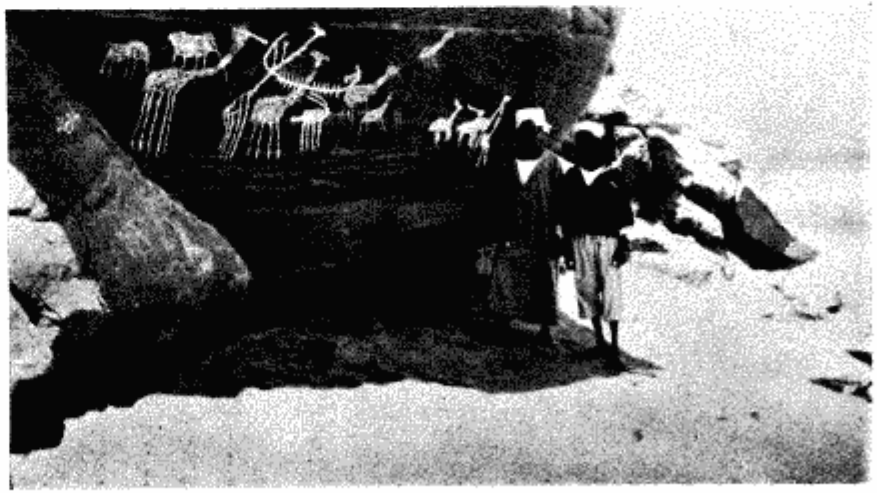
Special mention must be made of a quite unusual picture at Amada, half a mile inland and half a mile upstream from the boulder on the west bank previously described. There are five horses, two being riderless but the other three carrying men who are brandishing cross-hilted swords. The horses are saddled and bridled, the saddles having high pommels and cantles. Leading the horses, or perhaps fighting with the mounted men (of whom they have dislodged two) are men on foot, apparently unarmed. To the left of the horses are two armed and crouching men who seem to be having a duel, sword and shield against spear and shield, or it may be that they are attacking an animal. At the left, too, there is a boat, and there are also, on the same rock, two camels and three buffaloes. The whole panel is most intriguing and seems capable of two interpretations. Either it represents a raid (perhaps Blemmye) successfully beaten off, and the raiders are cutting their way to their boat to get back to the east bank, or it represents a ceremonial procession, possibly in connexion with the horse burial of a dead chief. Whatever the picture may mean I should say there is little doubt that it is to be assigned to the time of the civilisation recently unearthed by W. B. Emery and L. Kirwan near Abu Simbel, in which the horse, the sword, and the spear played so great a part. Enquiry from the local " oldest inhabitant " elicited the reply : " Did not the Romān do them and do not the English always ask questions about such things ? " Tomas is the only other station at which I have seen these mounted men armed with swords and spears, and there, only three such figures. One of them was so red that I thought, at first, it was coloured, but a closer examination revealed that the sandstone, under its weathering, was brick red. I have noticed this brick red sandstone at a few other places, but it is by no means common. All the mounted men with swords and spears were found on my last, and nineteenth, survey.



TOSHKI EAST.
The largest figure measures fifteen inches.



TOMAS.



TOMAS. The giraffes are from two to three feet high.

Every time one goes out one finds more pictures, so there may still be surprises in store for us.

A very distinctive feature of some of the Nubian engravings suggests that they are not altogether haphazard. The animals, more particularly the giraffes and ostriches, are often in processions of four, five or six. It is possible that these processional representations, or regular repetitions, have a magical import, or they may be evidences of an instinct for rhythm and order.[1] When I asked a particularly intelligent native why he thought the giraffes and ostriches were shown in processions he replied : " Why not ? Do they not go about in real life like that ? Have you ever seen a lone ostrich or giraffe ? " If you buy an ivory elephant in Omdurman do you not afterwards buy others and arrange them all in a procession on your table or mantelpiece ? Why ?

The similarity of the Nubian engravings to those at Owenat opens up the question of any possible relationship between the petroglyphic art of the Nile Valley and that in other parts of the world. The late E. H. L. Schwarz seems not only to attribute to the Bushmen the pictures discovered by Newbold, Hassanein Bay and Prince Kemal ed Din, but also to see Bushmen affinities in Spain, France, Austria and predynastic Egypt. His suggestion that Owenat may be identified with the Uhat of the VIth Dynasty[2] is not convincing. It is most unlikely that there is any philological connexion between the two names, and, in any case, Uhat meant any oasis or, even more generally, any water and not any one particular oasis. The Abbé Breuil also writes of the analogy between Owenat, South Africa, and Eastern Spain, and considers it too close to be fortuitous.[3] Frobenius journeyed through the Nubian desert and the Atbai in 1926, and particularly searched those regions for rock engravings and paintings. As far as I know he has not yet published his finds, though it is said that they indicate a resemblance between Nubia and the Sahara.[4] All the engravings in Nubia that I have seen are simple and straightforward. There are no " suggestive " or " impressionist " pictures, such as we know both from the *art mobilier* and the cave paintings in palæolithic Europe.

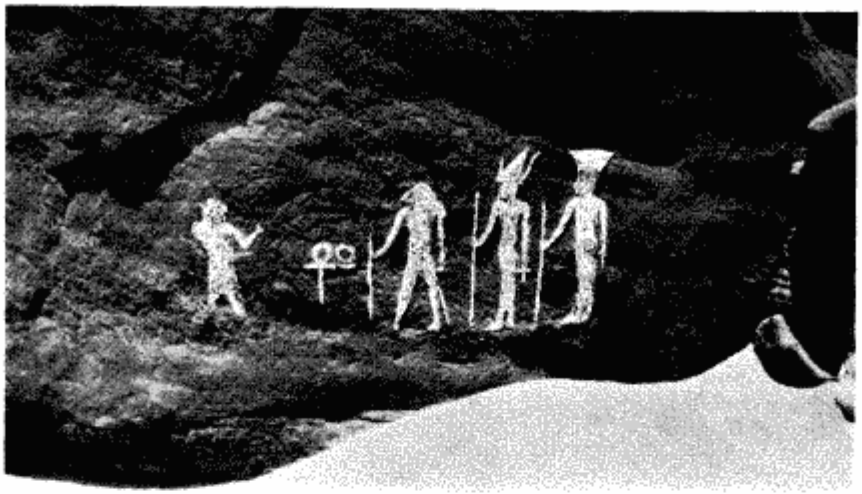
[1] The question of animal " thematic groupings " on the predynastic ivories is discussed by G. Bénédite, *op cit*, pp. 226-228.
[2] " The Kalahari and its Native Races." E. H. L. Schwarz, 1928, p. 143, *et seq.*
[3] L. Frobenius and H. Breuil, *op cit*, p. 97, *et seq.*
[4] " Bushman Art." H. Obermaier and H. Kuhn, 1930, p. 31-32.

I know of no rock paintings in Nubia though Weigall mentions one of a man leading a cow, which he attributes to a priest from a nearby Ptolemaic or Roman temple. It is inconceivable that, had there ever been paintings, they could all have disappeared, and this lack is all the more curious when one recalls rock paintings so near home as those at Gebel Geili,[1] Gebel Moya, Gebel Segadi and in Northern Kordofan.[2] Newbold also mentions a procession of cattle in the South Libyan desert which, while not painted, is nevertheless coloured red by rubbing with friable red sandstone.[3] It may be, though the idea is questioned,[4] that there is something in Stow's theory that the Bushmen are descended from two remote northern tribes, one of which, cave dwellers, were painters and the other, open air folk, were sculptors.

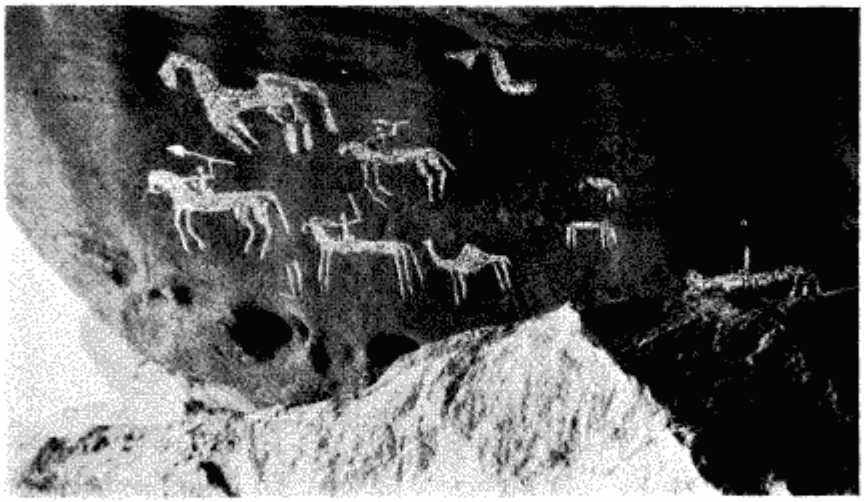
WEATHERING.

Weathering, or patination, is generally considered by prehistorians as a somewhat capricious factor, and therefore is regarded rather as a check, or cross reference, than as a sure guide or absolute criterion. In Nubia where there has been little, if any, rain since the earliest rock pictures could have been drawn, the sandstone has been weathered under conditions that are, for our purpose, ideal, and we have much more confidence in patination than would be justified in less favoured localities. Those, Egyptologists and others, who have studied the rock pictures in the Nile Valley and have compared them with the dynastic inscriptions are all agreed that, if any reliance can be placed upon patination, the former must date very much farther than the latter. As long ago as 1893 Sir Flinders Petrie wrote : " All over this district (*i.e.*, Silsileh) are many rude figures of animals, marked on the rock by hammering : they are of various ages, some perhaps modern, but the earlier ones certainly before the eighteenth Dynasty ; and, to judge by the weathering of the rock, it seems probable that they were begun here long before any of the monuments of Egypt that we know. The usual figures are of men, horses and boats, but there are also camels, ostriches and elephants to be seen.[5]"

[1] " Meroitic Remains." G. O. Whitehead and F. Addison. *Sudan Notes and Records.* Vol. IX, No. 2, Dec., 1926.
[2] " Rock Pictures in North Kordofan." H. A. MacMichael. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vo. XXXIX (1909), pp. 562-568.
[3] " An Exploration in the South Libyan Desert." D. Newbold and W. B. K. Shaw. *Sudan Notes and Records.* Vol. XI, 1928, pp. 165-171.
[4] " Races of Africa." C. G. Seligman. (Home University Library), 1930, pp. 24-25.
[5] " Ten Years Digging in Egypt." W. M. Flinders Petrie, 1893, p. 75.



TOMAS.
Figures twelve inches high. No inscription.



TOMAS.
The cavalry figures are twelve inches high and from fifteen to eighteen inches long.



AMADA.
The Boulder.

One sometimes reads that the oldest dynastic inscriptions look as fresh as if they had been cut yesterday, whereas the rock pictures are covered with " desert varnish." This is very misleading, for there are degrees of patination and it is by no means confined to the pictures. The term " desert varnish," suggesting, as it does, a glaze or polish applied externally, is not a happy one, for the film is not bright but dull or matt, and comes from within the rock itself. Expressed clearly but crudely the film is petrified perspiration.

It is to be understood that we are considering only desert film on Nubian sandstone. We are not concerned with river film or with limestone and granite, for all our engravings are on sandstone and are, and always have been, above high water mark.[1]

Can we arrive at any idea as to how long sandstone takes to weather ? General opinion seem to be on the side of Gautier when he says : " Mais nous ne savons pas du tout quel temps il faut pour patiner une gravure.[2]" I feel that this is an unnecessarily pessimistic conviction, at least in the Nile Valley where there are criteria that are more helpful than may be the case in North Africa. Nubian sandstone is, when freshly broken, as pale as straw or honey. It may even, on very rare occasion, be white. When it has completely weathered it is generally soot-black. If we compose a spectrum with chrome yellow at one end and lamp-black at the other, with intermediate ochre, sienna and umber, we have a very fair idea of the different shades seen on the rocks.

The weathering of sandstone is like the case-hardening of steel in that the farther the material is penetrated the softer it becomes. On a completely weathered rock there is a crust that may be as much as an inch thick, and which sometimes may be stripped from the rock-like bark from a tree. This crust is covered with a film that is sometimes as hard as glass but is so thin that it cannot be measured. On its inner side the crust is crumbly and looks like seed cake. As the crust shades in colour from darkest at the film to palest at the rock juncture, it follows that the more deeply an engraving is cut into the rock the fresher and less weathered it looks.

The degree of blackness of the film depends, naturally, on the manganese content of the stone, so that it is quite possible for two films to be

[1] For a full discussion of the weathering of Nubian sandstone see " The Blackened Rocks of the Nile Cataracts and of the Egyptian Deserts." A. Lucas, Cairo, Ministry of Finance, 1905.
[2] E. F. Gautier, *op cit*, p. 120.

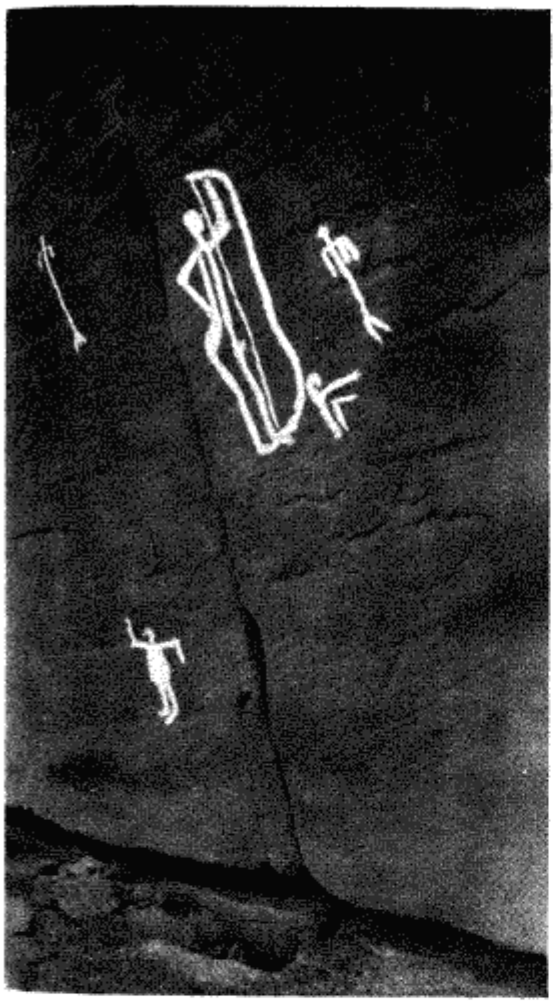
of the same age though of slightly different colour. Also film has varying degrees of hardness and is on occasion so soft that pecking would not be a compulsory technique, but a picture could be rubbed or graved on the rock. The rate of weathering may be affected, possibly, by the texture of the stone, for it seems to me that a close grained, hard sandstone does not weather as quickly as a coarser and softer variety. Such factors as comparative exposure to wind and sun do certainly have an influence on weathering. I once whitened, for photographic purposes, some inscriptions on a boulder and, having very little time, did not brush off the whitening. Three years later I revisited the boulder. On the side facing the prevailing wind all the whitening had disappeared, while on the other side it was still as clear as I had left it.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that any particular piece of stone will weather, there being no variation in climatic conditions, at a uniform rate, so that, if we can look upon umber as being twice as dark as ochre, the probability is that it takes twice as long to weather to umber as to ochre.

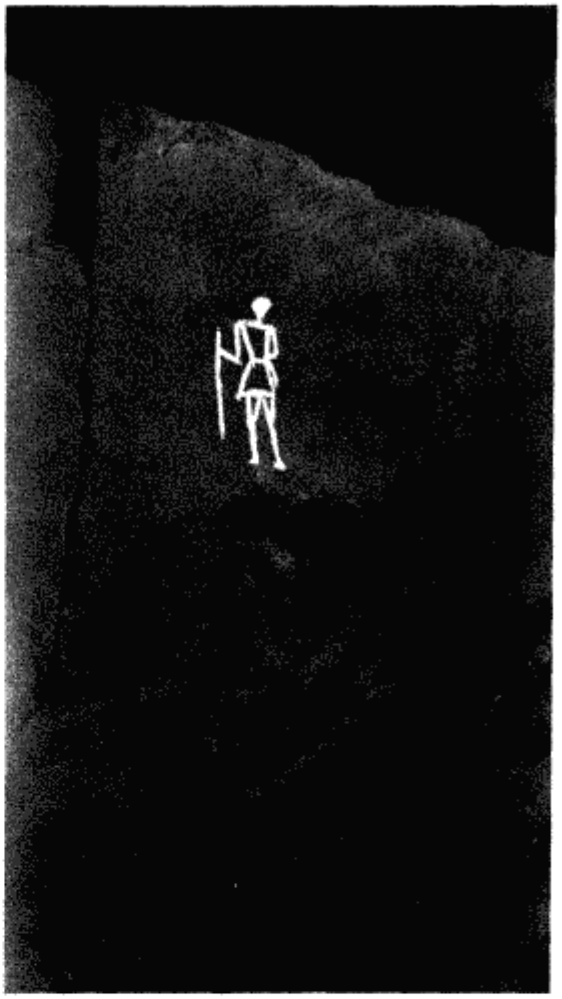
If we bear all these considerations in mind then, in such a localised area as the Nubian Nile, it should not be impossible to arrive at some idea of the comparative ages of two engravings. Naturally, the ideal comparison is of two engravings close together on the same rock and cut to the same depth. In any case it is not solely the colour of the engraving that is important, but that colour compared with the colour of the contiguous rock surface, and considered in conjunction with the depth to which the crust has been penetrated. Given sufficient time, and an adequate number of observations, one might work out a spectrum sequence that would date most of the engravings. There is one insuperable difficulty, and that is that no such spectrum could determine the date of the upper limit, for, once the rock has weathered to black, it cannot weather any more or get any darker in colour or older in appearance, so that if a black picture may be as little as 7,000 years old it may equally well be as much as 70,000 years old. Expressed otherwise " une patine noire est un *terminus ad quem*, mais pas *a quo*." [1]

It is fortunate that, in the Nile Valley, history goes back so far, for this does give us an opportunity of partially testing our theories of patination. There is an uninterrupted series of rock inscriptions from Old

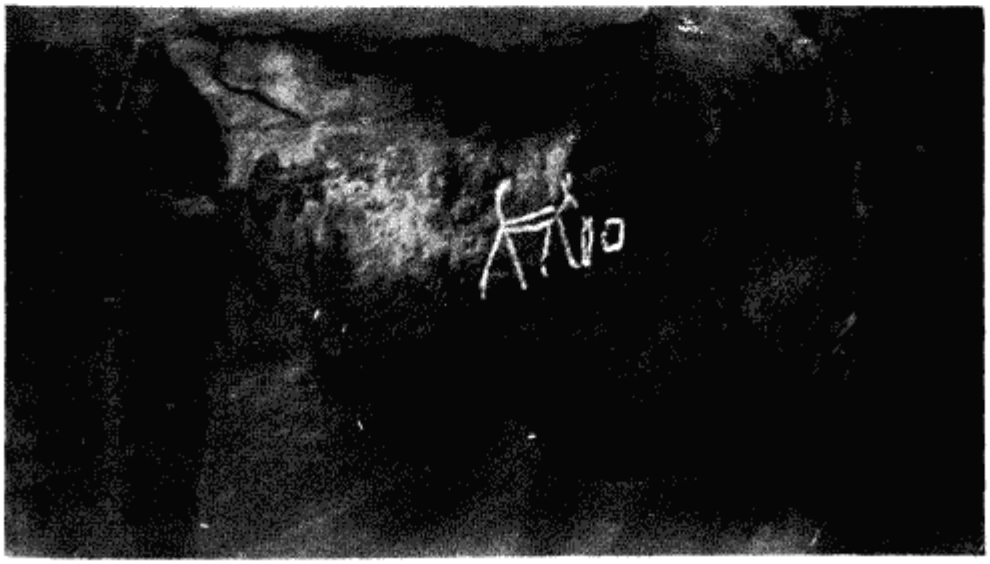
[1] " L'Adrar Ahnet." Th. Monod. Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, T. 19, 1932, p. 83. In this publication the author correlates his work in North Africa with that of Flamand, Frobenius, Obermaier and Russo, in the same area.



AMADA.
At the top of the cliff. The man with the bow is eighteen inches tall.



AMADA.
At the top of the cliff. The figure is ten inches high.



AMADA.
At the top of the cliff. The animal figure is twelve inches long and is very deeply cut.

Kingdom, through Middle Kingdom and New Empire, to Christian, and even Moslem, times, and it is a fact that the older the inscriptions the more deeply patinated are they. It is also a fact that the oldest inscriptions are very much less weathered than are some of the pictures. This patinatory evidence of the rock inscriptions is confirmed by similar considerations of the rock temples and quarries. Abu Simbel and Kirtassi at once spring to mind, for the former has been defaced by a succession of vandals, while the latter, which has hardly been disturbed since Roman times, bears the tool marks, the votive inscriptions, and some interesting engravings (a lion, a snake, two wine jars and some hawks) of the priests and the stone cutters. The votive inscriptions are cut into the quarry face and look like brasses in a church, and both inscriptions and engravings are clearly the work of professional sculptors.

From considerations of weathering I feel that the upper limit of the rock pictures is marked by elephant engravings, which are always black, and the lower limit by scratchings, which are not weathered at all and belong to the present day. Between these extremes I should place, in descending order, giraffes, antelopes, ostriches, cattle, dogs, horses and camels. Naturally there are no strictly defined dividing lines but a shading from one group to another with a certain amount of overlapping, and, here and there, an exception to any rule that could be formulated; nor would the various divisions in any scheme be of equal duration. Some subjects persist for a very long time and span two or more groups; for example, the antelopes are both older and younger than the ostriches, while the boats and human figures have an even wider straddle.

## Conclusions.

Are we now in a position to attempt answers to the questions "Who drew the rock pictures?" "When?" and "Why?"

I feel that they fall into three main groups, a game-animal group, a cattle group and a boat group. I feel, too, that these three groups form, broadly speaking, a continuous sequence and that they are the work of successive inhabitants of Nubia, whom we may describe as hunters, farmers and traders. The last group has a particularly wide straddle, and though the majority of the boats are comparatively late the earliest of them must be considered as anterior to the cattle. We might be justified in subdividing the boat group into Early, Middle and Late, but this would

unnecessarily complicate matters for it was continuous and progressive and was not separated into distinct phases by the cattle group. It seems probable that the boat group has its modest beginnings before the cattle period, then ran parallel with the cattle group, and reached its full development after the days of the cattle group were over.

The argument that the engravings were the work of the inhabitants of the country may not be altogether convincing, and it is possible that some of them were drawn by visitors. One recalls Breasted's rock pictures of boats some miles inland from Abu Simbel and, more particularly, the graffiti between Kharga and Dakhla of which Harding King wrote: "The drawings of ostriches and the fragments of their shells which are often to be found in the Libyan Desert, even in the neighbourhood of the Egyptian oases, has been held to show that they once existed wild in this part of the desert. But the argument is by no means conclusive; ostrich eggs used frequently to be brought from the Sudan by the old slave raiding caravans who used them as food, and the drawings no more show that ostriches inhabited this part than the pictures of boats show that dahabiehs once sailed over the desert in the neighbourhood say of Dakhla oasis. The occurence of these and of drawings of antelopes and other wild animals merely show that some of the travellers who used these roads came from districts where the creatures they represented could be seen."[1] I think that we have already accounted satisfactorily, in Nubia, for the travellers by caravan when we pointed out that inscriptions are found at the termini of the short cuts across the river bends, whereas the pictures are to be seen all along the river banks. One might mention here the rock engravings of boats and animals up the Wadi Abad, thirty-seven miles east of Edfu.[2]

How far back may we reasonably expect the Nubian rock pictures to take us? I assume that we will neither quarrel with Osborn when he says, "No trace of artistic instinct whatever has been found among the Neanderthals,"[3] nor question Elliot Smith's dictum that the period of the artist hunters is the beginning of the Neanthropic Age.[4] We thus rule out palæanthropic man altogether and start our investigations with

[1] "Mysteries of the Libyan Desert." W. J. Harding King, 1925, p. 336.
[2] "Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts." A. E. P. Weigall, 1909. Plates XXIX-XXXI.
[3] "Men of the Old Stone Age." H. F. Osborn, 1916, p. 272.
[4] "Human History." G. Elliot Smith, 1930, p. 92.



AMADA.

The horses measure twelve inches and the man six inches.



WADI EL ARAB.



WADI EL ARAB.

The ibex measure from four to six inches and the cattle from nine to twelve inches. One bull at this site (not shown on the photograph) measures twelve inches and has a spread of horns of twenty-one inches.

his neanthropic successor. Even the earliest history of neanthropic man is not very relevant to the matter in hand, for it does not greatly concern us here whether his cradle was in North Africa or in Asia. What is important is that *Homo sapiens* was established in North Africa at a very early date, say at a time corresponding with the Laufen retreat in Europe, and that the Sahara became a centre of dispersion for neanthropic culture (the primary centre if neanthropic man originated in North Africa, or a secondary centre if he came from Asia). From the Sahara neanthropic man set out on his travels, and it is generally believed that he advanced in three great waves taking with him his Capsian industries and his petroglyphic art. It would seem that only the last migration with its Final Capsian or microlithic industry was towards the east, and that it reached the Nile Valley in the distinctive form of the Upper Sebilian. If this is so we should expect the rock pictures in the Nile Valley to be younger than some of those in Europe and South Africa and much younger than the oldest in North Africa. Perhaps the first two migrations were from choice and followed the lines of least resistance, north to Europe and south down the length of Africa, there being no way to the east by reason of the swamps. This would explain the common origin of Bushman and Eastern Spanish art. The last migration was undoubtedly from necessity, caused by the dessication of the Sahara, and dispersion was in all possible directions. Not only was the road to the east now open but the Nile Valley would have been a comparative paradise.

Many authorities consider that the North African petroglyphs may be palæolithic, but that they are more usually described as neolithic does not necessarily mean that they are younger than the European cave art. In those days North Africa was a cultural stage ahead of Europe, and Egyptian Neolithic may possibly have gone back as much as 12,000 years further than the corresponding phase in Europe.[1] We are on firmer ground when we equate the earliest Egyptian Predynastic with the Magdalenian of Europe, and such an equation will serve as a very convenient datum line[2]

[1] "Fossil Men." M. Boule. Second Edition, 1923, pp. 372-388 and Fig. 201, p. 325. See also "The Origins of Civilisation." J. H. Breasted. The Scientific Monthly, New York, Oct., 1919, pp. 304-306 and Fig. 6, p. 296.

[2] "The Badarian Civilisation." Guy Brunton and G. Caton Thompson, 1928, p. 40. Also "Prehistoric Egypt." W. M. Flinders Petrie, 1920, p. 50. (British School of Archæology in Egypt, 23rd year, 1917). Also "The Stone Age in Egypt." Flinders Petrie. Ancient Egypt, 1915, p. 132.

The chronological considerations may be summed up in the form of a question. Can we suggest a date for a rock picture in Nubia that (*a*) was drawn when the elephant was roaming the country; (*b*) was drawn when the Nile at Halfa may have been not more than forty feet higher than it is now; (*c*) is so old that it is weathered to the same colour as the surrounding rock; (*d*) must have been drawn with a stone tool, most probably some form of *coup-de-poing*; (*e*) attains a high artistic standard?

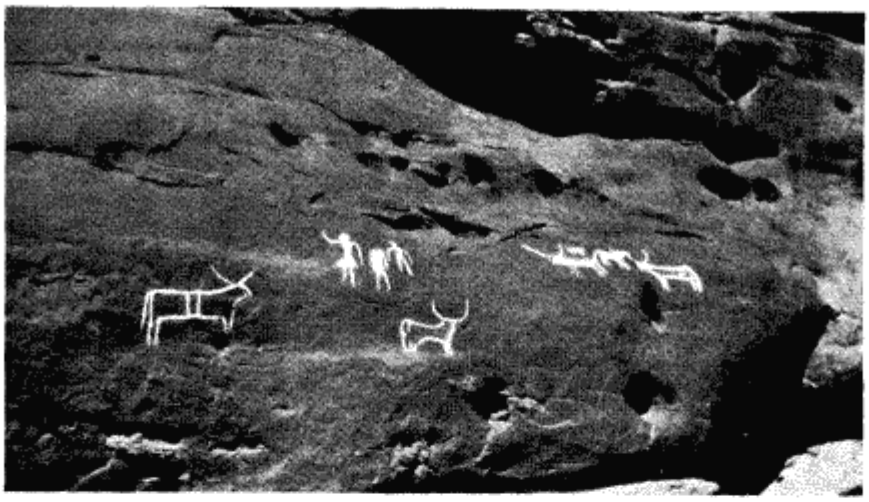
Surely a picture that fulfils these conditions must go back to Upper Palæolithic times. When we remember that no pottery has ever been associated with even the uppermost Sebilian discoveries, and that we have reason for equating the earliest Predynastic with the Magdalenian, it follows that the oldest Nubian rock pictures are in all probability as old as those of the Middle Aurignacian Period in the European caves. If one must hazard a date I should put it at about 10,000 B.C. Sir H. H. Johnston, writing in 1911, suggested that the Egyptian rock pictures might go back 20,000 years or so.[1] On the other hand, J. W. Crowfoot in his descriptions of the drawings at Gebel Geili, which are similar in subject (except for the absence of boats and ostriches), technique and weathering, to the Nubian engravings, hesitates to assign to them a date more remote than "the close of the Roman period."[2] The Roman period has been suggested, too, as a probable date for some "rude drawings of men and animals" near Amada,[3] and I should regard it as not unlikely that the earliest camels, at Gerf Hussein, are of about this age.

If we ascribe the Nubian pictures of elephants to Upper Palæolithic times then all the other pictures fall neatly into place, and the result is a general scheme that is harmonious and accords convincingly with all that we know of local geology, archæology and history. Following upon the heels of the elephants I should place the giraffes, antelopes and ostriches, and it seems reasonable to assign the earliest of these to the Predynastic Period, when the inhabitants of Nubia were great hunters of the desert

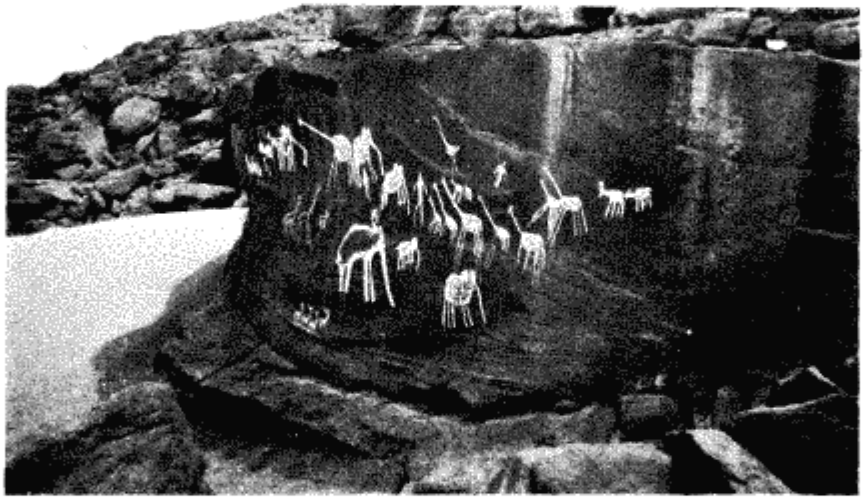
[1] "The Opening up of Africa." Sir H. H. Johnston, 1911, p. 36. (Home University Library).

[2] "Old Sites in the Butana." J. W. Crowfoot. *Sudan Notes and Records.* Vol. III, No. 2, April, 1920, p. 89.

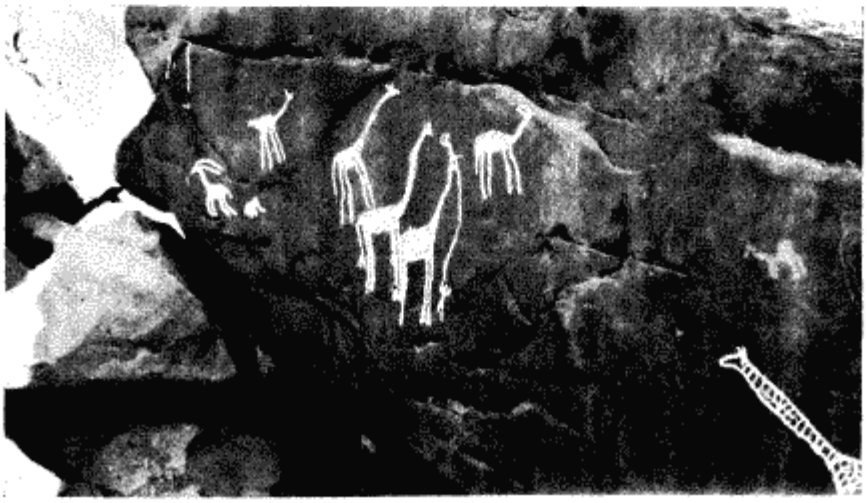
[3] "Areika." D. Randall Maciver and C. Leonard Woolley. (The Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia. University of Pennsylvania). Oxford University Press, 1909, p. 4.



WADI EL ARAB.
The cattle measure from nine to twelve inches.



WADI EL ARAB.
This panel measures sixteen feet by six feet. The largest elephant is two feet high.



GERF HUSSEIN.
The tallest giraffe measures three feet.

fauna, used the bow and arrow and the lasso, and were culturally one with the Egyptians. I think that the giraffes would disappear before the ostriches, which would be followed in their turn by the various antelopes. During the past five years I have seen three gazelles in the Faras district but nowhere an ibex or an oryx.

From what we know of the C. Group, or Middle Nubians, there can hardly be any doubt that they played a very great part in the engraving of the boats and cattle, especially the cattle. Whether they were Temehu from the west, whether they came from Darfur and Kordofan or even from the ancient land of Punt, is still a matter for speculation, though it is agreed that they were of the same Hamitic stock as were the earliest neanthropic inhabitants of North Africa. Can we say of rock engraving, as has been said of the throwing stick and the spiked wheel-trap, that it is an example of " the early generalised Hamitic culture of northern and eastern Africa ? " [1] That the earliest Nubian engravings, good as some of them are, do not attain to the amazing standard of European palæolithic art is perhaps due to the fact that they are purely Hamitic and have not the added inspiration of culture contact.[2]

What would be more natural for man, soon after he reached the Nile, than to try and cross it ? We might therefore expect the boat to be amongst the early subjects portrayed on the rocks. As man settled down in the valley he no doubt built bigger and bigger boats until, in C. Group times, he came to occupy himself largely with trade and river transport. Perhaps the pictures, at Gerf Hussein, showing a score of men dragging a boat upstream under the whip of an overseer may be dated to the end of the C. Group period, and mark the subjection of Nubia under the Middle Kingdom.

We cannot leave the C. Group people without expressing surprise at the total lack of rock paintings. When we remember their love of colour as exampled by their beautiful pottery with its incised patterns filled in with red, yellow, blue, green and white, and their dyed skin garments, we must wonder greatly why they have left us no rock paintings.

The Ancient rock pictures seem to come to an end with the close of the New Empire and to be linked, by the straggling continuity of a few camels and Greek inscriptions, with the Modern engravings and Arabic scrawls

[1] " Egyptian Influence in Negro Africa." C. G. Seligman. Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith. Egypt Exploration Society, 1932, p. 457.
[2] "The Old Stone Age." M. C. Burkitt, 1933, pp. 145-149.

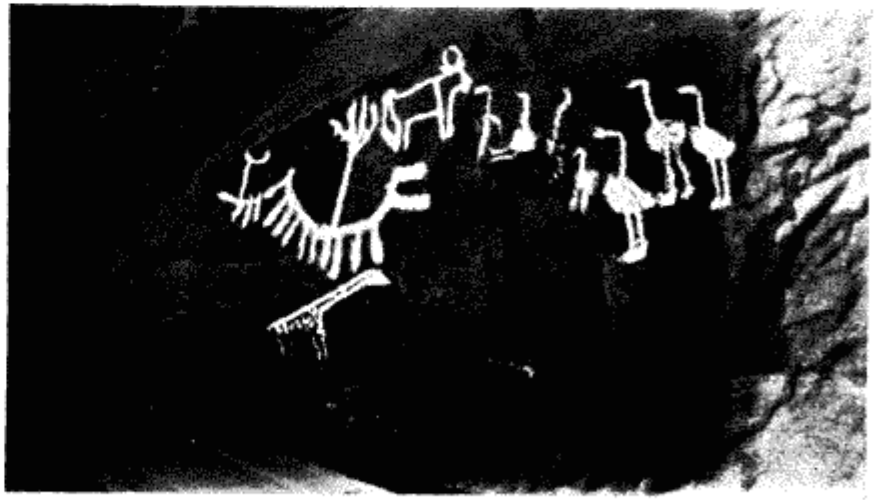
which bring us down to the present day. It is a significant fact that the Modern engravings generally stand apart as conspicuously in space as in time, for Ancient and Modern are very rarely found on the same rocks, and never have I seen the Modern superposed on the Ancient.

What is the explanation of the rock pictures? Are they the natural outcome of an instinctive urge for artistic expression? Were the first ones done out of sheer boredom and the others in imitation? Is it only now, in Nubia, that there is so very little to do and such an infinitude of time in which to do it, or was it always so except for periodic but widely spaced upheavals? Have the engravings any magical or religious import? Were the ancient pictures drawn for the same reason as are the modern ones?

At Ashkeit, on the top of the sandstone hill on whose western face are the Ancient pictures, is a little stone zariba, enclosing an uninscribed headstone and the usual pots and bowls associated with a sheikh's tomb. The inhabitants protest that no one is buried there but that the site used to serve, until a few years ago, as the pulpit of a local holy man who preached there every Friday and Monday, though why Monday seems a mystery. The whole village used to gather round, and while the elders listened to the sermon the children scratched on the rocks. The inhabitants are quite clear about this and are in no confusion whatever between the Modern work and the near-by Ancient engravings. The scratchings include innumerable Arabic inscriptions, lines for games like our "noughts and crosses," and two horses, all done with a nail or a knife or perhaps a sherd. At many other places, too, one learns that the pictures of camels, donkeys, human figures and feluccas, are drawn by boys who have nothing better to do. Although rock drawing is not nowadays an adult pastime it is inconceivable that the Ancient pictures are the work of children. They are far too good and are undoubtedly the work of men and even, sometimes, of artists. The concentrations of Ancient engravings are usually found where the present cultivation is particularly extensive and where no doubt there has always been a population above the average, so that the sites may well mark tribal meeting places. Perhaps the rock pictures up the khors indicate where the hunters lay in wait for the game near the favourite drinking spots. At some places where, on historical grounds, one might expect to find concentrations of pictures, as for example at Aneiba and Faras, the rocks are both far back







GERF HUSSEIN.

The boat is twenty-two inches long. Note the crescent-shaped horns of the bull. The giraffe is awash. Photograph taken when the Reservoir level was 117.50 m.

NOTE.— R.L. 117.50 = forty-two feet above present flood level at Gerf Hussein and thirteen feet above Upper Sebilian level at the same spot.

from the river and unsuitable for engraving, being so broken that the hills resemble slag heaps.

We know, from animal cults, tomb paintings, and other sources, that the Ancient Egyptians were very superstitious, and that magic was a potent influence in their lives. If between the primitive and the historic there is no great gulf fixed, but the latter is a development of or an evolution from the former, then it is reasonable to argue that magic must have played an important part from man's earliest days. It is widely agreed that this is so and that, making due allowance for the temporary ascendancy of intrusive cults, the gods of the Dynastic Egyptians were the development of the spirits and ghosts of the earlier inhabitants of the Nile Valley, whose beliefs were much the same as those that obtain amongst the tribes of Central Africa to-day. Can we go so far as to suggest that the sacrificial animals and sacred barques that decorate the tombs bear the same import as the animals and boats that are carved on the rocks ? At least one authority thinks that we can and that magic, totems, cults and ceremonies meant just the same to the primitive Egyptians as to the dynastic Egyptians, the palæolithic Europeans and the aboriginal Australians.[1] It has also been suggested that the incised and coloured figures of cows and calves on the C. Group stelæ might have a magical significance and that their purpose was to ensure perhaps a supply of milk for the dead.[2] Perhaps Weigall had magic in his mind when he wrote of the rock pictures at Gerf Hussein : " From the earliest times the cliffs of the western bank at this spot seem to have been sacred." [3]

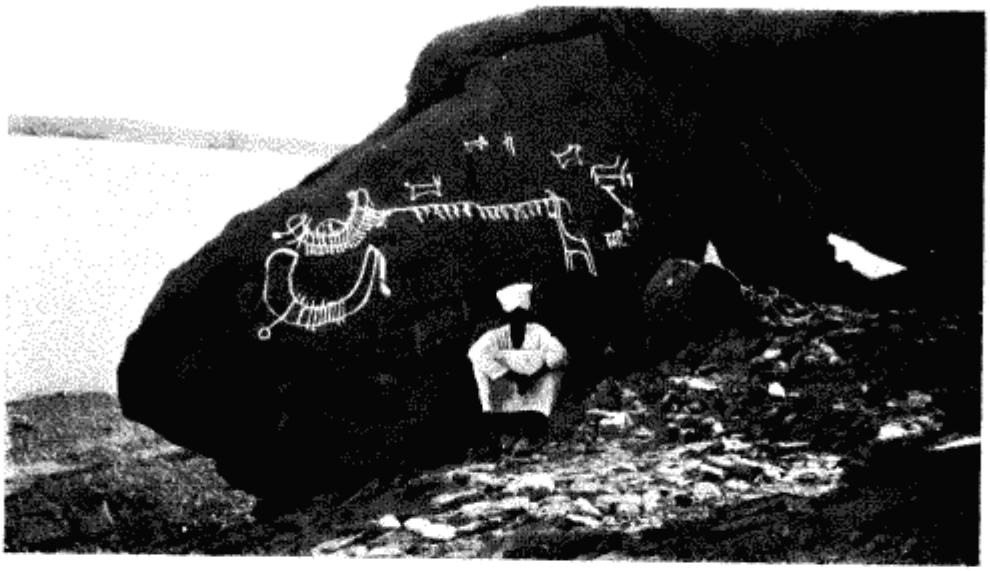
There can be very few people nowadays who do not think that magic was the mainspring of European glacial art. This conclusion is based upon such features as the drawing of arrows sticking into the animals, the situation of the pictures in the deepest and darkest cave recesses, the portrayal of masked dancers or " sorcerers," the custom of shooting at the pictures, and the attempts to draw magic itself.[4] The nearest approach I know to a magical picture in early Egyptian art is the decoration on a predynastic bowl,[5] but I have seen nothing like this on the

[1] " Primitive Art in Egypt." J. Capart, 1905. Chapter IV, particularly pp. 202-221.
[2] " Archæological Survey of Nubia." C. M. Firth. Report for 1909-1910. Cairo, 1915, p. 17.
[3] " A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia," 1907, p. 81.
[4] " Bushman Art." H. Obermaier and H. Kuhn, 1930, p. 57, *et seq.*
[5] " Two Prehistoric Objects." O. H. Myers. The Journal of Egyptian Archæology. Vol. XIX, Parts I and II, May, 1933, p. 55.

rocks in Nubia though there are, undoubtedly, magical rock pictures in other parts of Africa. I see no evidence of a magical element in any of the Nubian rock pictures, unless there be a possible magical interpretation of the little men with bows and arrows, and the " processional representations " or " thematic groupings " previously mentioned.

When one stands in a palæolithic cave in the Dordogne, even though it is lighted by electricity, one cannot but feel that there is something ghostly and sinister about the place. One imagines it as a proper setting for all sorts of weird cults and ceremonies. There is, most assuredly, magic in the air. No doubt one would experience the same eerie feeling in the depths of an equatorial forest. Things are quite different in Nubia where there is nothing of which to be afraid. One looks at the rock pictures. There they are in the full light of day. They are candid and simple. There is nothing furtive or frightening about them. There is no need to call upon magic for their explanation. Perhaps, though, even in Nubia, the sun was not always so genial or the sand so golden. The stillness, up the Wadi el Arab where the best elephant pictures are, that one finds so soothing for a few hours may well have been a silence that was terrifying to those who lived there long ago.

Notwithstanding all this, the negative evidence may have an important magical significance. Among the animals that were sacred to the Ancient Egyptians from the earliest times were the bull, cow, sow, ram (particularly perhaps in Nubia as it was the symbol of Khnum at Elephantine), goat, hippopotamus, crocodile, lion, cat, dog, dog-headed ape, wolf, jackal, hare, ichneumon, hawk, vulture, ibis, swallow, dove, heron, serpent, frog, beetle, grasshopper, mantis, scorpion, shrewmouse, and various kinds of fish. How many of these are found amongst the rock pictures ? Only the cattle, which may have been regarded differently by the C. Group people, and the dog, which, on the rocks, looks more like a caricature than an object of veneration. Now take the animals that are depicted on the rocks, the elephant, giraffe, ostrich and antelope. None of these seems ever to have been sacred except that the gazelle, as a destroyer of crops, was regarded, like the wild ass and the pig, as a noxious Set-animal. Does this tempt us to think that the rock artists had such a dread of magic that sacred animals were taboo, and that they drew only Set-animals or animals outside the cults and ceremonies ?

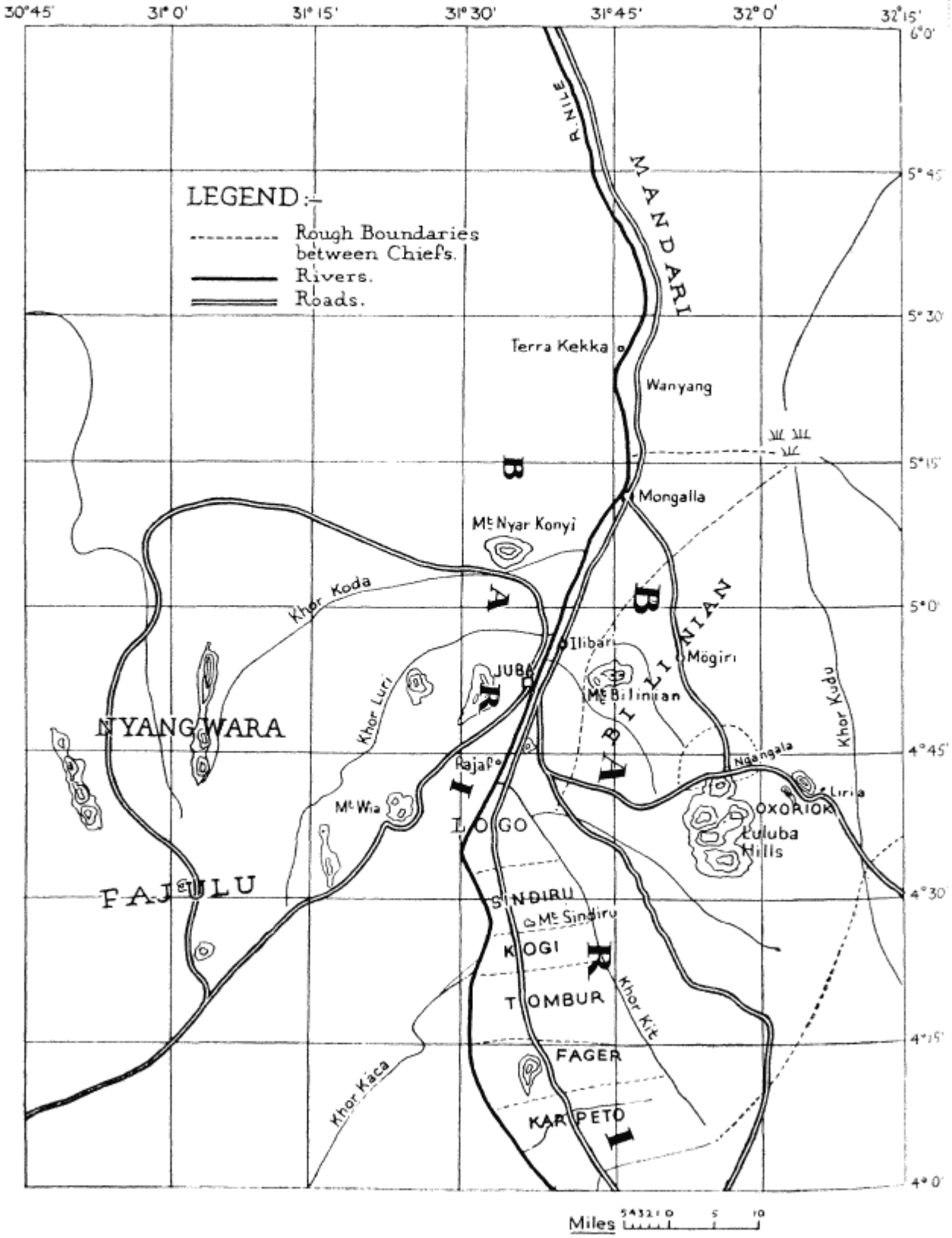


GERF HUSSEIN.
The picture of the men hauling the boat measures eight feet.



GERF HUSSEIN.
The ostriches measure from nine to twelve inches. The elephant is fifteen inches.

However much we may study ancient art we cannot but feel that some rock pictures are magical and some are not, and we shall never all agree as to just where the dividing line should be drawn. It seems to me that magic, like Bushman or Eastern Spanish affinities, or like beauty, is largely "in the eye of the beholder." If we all look into the same fire we do not all see the same pictures.




SKETCH MAP OF THE CENTRAL DISTRICT : MONGALLA PROVINCE.

# A CHAPTER IN BARI HISTORY.

## THE HISTORY OF SINDIRU, BILINIAN AND MÖGIRI.

By A. C. Beaton.

### PART I.—SINDIRU.

(PLATE XI.)

SINDIRU is the name of a hill on the East of the White Nile about 40 miles South of Juba, in the Central District, Mongalla Province, lying on the first trace cut for the Juba-Nimule Road, and is used to denote the area occupied by the Bari of Chief FITIA LUGÖR (1933) just South of 4° 30′ Parallel. It is the traditional home of the BEKAT LIMAT line of Rain Chiefs, whose repute is great, not only among their fellow Bari, but also west among the FAJULU and north among the Mandari. It is also a reputed cradle of the Bari Tribe. There is no surviving myth relating to any of the movements of the Bari prior to their arrival in the Nile Valley, for, although the traditions of the Bekat Limat clan reach back over fourteen generations (further than any other Bari clan), their earliest forbear was ensconced at Sindiru.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss in any detail the duties and powers expected of the Rain Chief, nor to enlarge on the veneration accorded to him. So far as the available evidence goes, these subjects have been adequately covered by Dr. and Mrs. Seligman in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LVIII, July-December, 1928, and in his recently published book the "Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan." The funeral rites of a Rain Chief have also been described in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XV, 1932, Part I, p. 84.

The material here reproduced is the history of their clan as remembered by its surviving members, and as it is the only family among the Bari which can trace its ancestry back so far, and which has preserved traditions even of its most distant ancestor, it may not be without value to record these tales while they are still related by the elders of the clan.

The genealogical trees printed at the end of the article vary considerably from that given by Dr. Seligman in "Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan," p. 249. Under the Bilinian (Mögiri) line, Dr. Seligman has merged into one what are two collateral branches of the same family. The trees as printed clear this point up and, although it

would be rash to claim that they are correct in every detail, an endeavour has been made to get them as accurate as possible by tracing the various generations back by reference to their mothers as well as their fathers. The family histories are given as they were received from the mouths of their present descendants.

The early chronology is of course, guesswork, but it was arrived at on the following basis :—Loguno, son of Molodiang at Bilinian, was seen and talked to by M. Thibault in 1840. He is dead before 1860, when Nyigilo, son of Molodiang is seen by Morlang. Presuming then that he became Chief fifteen years before 1840, that makes Molodiang's death about 1825, and allowing twenty years to a generation Dere dies about 1805 and Subek about 1785. In the Sindiru and Mögiri lines rather more has to be allowed for a generation but as the results are not wildly impossible, I think the number of generations has been accurately given. The dates represent the approximate time of the Chiefs' activity in Office.

'YO'YOK. (About 1565-1585.)

The earliest ancestor that the Bekat can remember is 'Yo'yok. He lived on the hill of Sindiru, which, since his time has always been the home of his family. He received his miraculous powers of invoking rain from the God of Heaven (Ngun-lo-ki) who declared that he was to be the Lord of all Rain Chiefs.

LOMIJIKOTET. (About 1585-1605.)

On his death, 'Yo'yok was succeeded by his son Lomijikotet, who is reputed to have been born with a rain-stone tightly clenched in each hand. This, of course, marked him out as doubly worthy successor to his father.

Father Spagnolo records in his Bari Grammar, p. 278, a variation of this name in the shape Dirimiji[1], which he interprets as meaning—" adi dinya lo'dirja Kulya adi mit " (that is, he knows all and everything).

He also records part of the Sindiru genealogy but the early generations are somewhat confused. The name Lomijikotet is unusual, as are also Kuwuba and Pintong, but none the less these names occur in the ancestry of two other lines of Rain Chiefs. At Kogi to the south of Sindiru (see attached sketch map), is a secondary rain-making clan, called the Dungkaliri, which also numbers the Chief among its ranks. They are

[1] Mr. G. O. Whitehead records the name as Dirimijikotet.

a section of the Dung clan who claim Lomijikotet as an ancestor some eight generations ago. Again at Pipiri a village of the Fager area, the Rain Chief is a member of the Nyori Kimak, a section of the large Nyori clan. In this line Lomijikotet appears thirteen generations ago, while Kuwuba, Pintok (or Pintong) and Lokureji also occur, but not in the same position as at Sindiru. There is no legend of the same Lomijikotet being the founder of all three families ; nor is it reasonable to suppose that the three clans Bekat Limat, Dung Kaliri and Nyori Kimak are sections ceremonially divided off from one original clan. When that happens the new section preserves the old clan name and adds a distinguishing name to it ; thus the Bekat Limat are a section of the Bekat, the Dung Kaliri of the Dung and the Nyori Kimak of the Nyori clans. There is no trace of a common origin of the Bekat, Dung and Nyori clans. It seems likely then that there is a mythical line of ancestors or at any rate one legendary ancestor for Rain Chiefs, to whom they refer their origin in much the same way as the ancient Greeks used to trace their descent from their own legendary heroes. I have nevertheless regarded all these names as historical figures and ascribed them a rough date.

LOKORO. (About 1605-1625.)

Lomijikotet was succeeded by his son, Lokoro, in whose days there was a fission of the Bari-speaking tribes. Hitherto the Fajulu and Luluba had lived at Sindiru in apparent amity with the Bari, but, although the Bari were in possession of the hills of Sindiru, both the Fajulu and the Luluba coveted them as so obvious a stronghold of rain-power. Now the Bari called the Fajulu and Luluba by the name Lumu Kudit, which means " as numerous as grass " and, aware that friction with their neighbours was increasing and that, in any fight which ensued, they were likely to be worsted through lack of fighting men, they consulted a famous diviner ('bunit) who lived at Loike near Sindiru. His name is not known, but his advice to the Bari was that they should go by night and tie the feathers of a white bird, called the Kokani or cattle egret, to all the trees both round their dwellings and on the hill slopes. Next morning the Fajulu and Luluba awoke with hostile intent, but, when they saw the feathers they mistook them for the headdress of Bari warriors and, fearing that their plans had been betrayed and that they were surrounded by the enemy—a consternation of which the Bari were

not slow to avail themselves, they incontinently fled before a vastly inferior force. The Fajulu directed their flight west and the Luluba east to their present homes. On page 278 of his Bari Grammar Father Spagnolo preserves a different account of the Lomukuḍit. Internal evidence dates this at the time of Pintong and it will be dealt with under Pintong's reign.

KUWUBA. (About 1625-1645.)

Lokoro was succeeded by his son Kuwuba, but no outstanding event is recorded in his reign. Father Spagnolo (*op cit*, p. 278) has a Bari text which runs :—" Pitya a Yungundyo Kuwuba adi nye dinya Kukuon so baba." In English this is " Pitya begot Kuwuba—a name which means that he would be a notable man." The interpretation of Kuwuba's name is interesting, but his father's name is wrongly recorded, since no Pitia appears in the family until nine generations later.

PINTONG. (About 1645-1665.)

After Kuwuba came Pintong, his son. This is the Chief referred to by the Bari Proverb " in the days of Pintong," which means " in the days of Long Ago." (See Dr. Seligman, *op cit*, p. 249.)

A tale is told of Pintong and his search for a good diviner ('bunut).[1]

" There was once long ago a man called Pintong, who originally came from the North.[2] One day as he was sitting down, he brooded in his heart, saying, ' There are many diviners in the land, but how may I discover those that are good ? ' Then he chose a small house and put his firestones inside it, and took a small pot, poured water in it with some beans, stood it on the stones and lit a fire with ebony wood. Then he cried out with a loud voice, and selecting two servants, he sent them to call a diviner. When the diviner came, he said, ' Your ancestor is angry with you. Choose a bull quickly and slay it,' and Pintong said : ' Good, take this goat and go home.' After that he sent a messenger to fetch another diviner, who came and said : ' Cook a sacrifice to your grandmother.' After that he sent for another diviner but he, too, was baffled, and all the others who were summoned were also baffled. Then he sent

[1] See Father Spagnolo, Bari Grammar, p. 276, of which the following is a translation.

[2] I have come across another trace of this northern origin of the Bari, or at any rate of a migration from the North in a southward direction. The Rain Chief family at Pipiri which includes the names Lomijikotet, Pintok and Lokureji, are reputed to have originated at Nyarkönyi, (the mountain which is erroneously called Jebel Lado on the maps), and to have moved south in a series of migrations as far as Fager.

his servants to call a man of great renown, whose name was Tombe Lokuryeji. Now Tombe had two houses afar off, and the one belonged to this wife and the other to that. When the messengers approached the more distant house they asked the woman, saying: 'Where is your husband?' but she merely motioned with her head signifying 'Over there.' At this moment he heard them and came hurrying up. His path was in the air and he walked on a spider's web. When he came up he said: 'Where are you going? I knew my wife had nodded here. Go on! I know all your words. You came with seven hoes, and hid one of them, leaving six.' They said: 'But these six are the only ones.' He replied: 'Not so. Go on, please.' And when they reached home, Lokuryeji said: 'Go over there,' and when they had obeyed, he said: 'Strike beneath this shrub! What is this? Is this not the hoe you hid?' Then those messengers dug out the hoe and went home. Then Lokuryeji took a goat and said: 'Here, go your ways, and cook this on the road, but be sure not to cook the head; put that in a basket. Then when you draw near to your homes, cook everything with the head. I shall remain for four days, and on the fifth I shall arrive. And when you hear the earth shaking as with an earthquake, perhaps that will be me arriving.' They departed and when they came to the place where they intended to sleep, they killed the goat, and put the head in a basket. The head turned into a goat. Next day they also advanced and when they reached the end of the day's march, they slew the goat and put the head in a basket. The head became a goat. Next day they moved on, and at evening, when they were near home, they cut the goat's throat and ate it head and all. When they reached Pintong's house, they told him all that they had seen, and at that moment Lokuryeji arrived and said: 'Why do you keep your beans on the fire until they smell? Bring flour to that house, and cook it that we may eat.' He then ate, and went to sleep. Next morning he arose and called Pintong out on to a flat rock, and the knees and legs of Lokuryeji sank therein. Then he gave orders, saying: 'My fishermen are coming, they follow the river. They are white, but be not afraid. At that time you shall beget Chiefs large of head, of whom you shall call one Wani Yemba 'Dija'.[1] And in future your daughters shall bear their first child while still young.' And Pintong said: 'If our daughters bear

[1] Wani Yemba 'Dija's real name was Wani Lolugör, but he was dubbed 'Dija (Marriage closed), because he had no children despite his many wives.

their first child while young, how will their descendants fare?' Lokuryeji replied: 'Their descendants will bear their first child when no bigger than flies.' Pintong asked: 'But if they bear children when no bigger than flies, what of their posterity?'' Lokuryeji said: 'Then shall the race be brought to an end.'"

It is in Pintong's day, too, that the text preserved by Father Spagnolo on page 278 dates the so-called Lomukudit Incursion.

"Once upon a time a hostile people came from the east, and their name was Lomukudit, which means that they were very numerous. They advanced to the West and sacked all the villages on their route. They burned the hill of Ngangala, called Lili, with fire so that it should fall down, because it threw back echoes and they thought there were people in it. They defeated the Bari who were scattered abroad in distant villages, both to the west of the Nile and to the south. Pintong fetched Lokuryeji saying: 'Come, drive away the Lomukudit.' And Lukuryeji replied to him saying: 'Take those two sons of yours called Mödi[1]; take one Mödi to Pitya (which is a mountain towards Lowe) and let him go and thrust his Iron Bar into the earth there; and let the other Mödi go to the west of the Nile together with a man of the Minge clan.' Thus were these two men called Mödi divided, and they broke off reeds from the swamps to use as spears. The one dashed forward shaking his spear and the other did likewise, so that the force of Lomukudit was completely broken and disappeared to the west, and the land was saved.

Then all the villages, which had scattered and hid in the grass, assembled together again under the leadership of Pintong."

This invasion Father Spagnolo conjectures to have been a Galla incursion in the seventeenth century. If this is so, the dates here ascribed to Pintong are perhaps correct.

LOKUREJI. (About 1665-1685.)

Lokureji, son of Pintong, was Chief in Sindiru's golden age, when the fertility of the ground and the fecundity of their herds were such that they have never been surpassed. This was matched with a corresponding fruitfulness among the women, and, as a result of this universal prosperity, the Chief became surrounded with an aura of something approaching

[1] Mödyöt or Mömödyot—means a child born after previous sons or daughters have died.

divinity. To foster this attitude among his people, he was never seen outside his house, which few were even allowed to enter; on rare occasions a distinguished elder would be granted an audience, but only after the payment of a ram or bull as a suppliant offering, and only on condition that he came into the Chief's presence with eyes abased and crawling abjectly on the ground.

MÖDI. (About 1685-1705.)

The mantle of Lokureji fell on his son Mödi, who tried to preserve the atmosphere of mystery with which his father had surrounded the position of Rain Chief. He did, however, appear in public to take part in the trials of cases of homicide, but this public appearance was not compatible with the character of a semi-divine, or at least more-than-mortal Chief, and after his time the Rain Chief did not try to imitate Lokureji.

In Mödi's days there was war with Kogi. The story goes that Sindiru, in alliance with the Luluba, had fallen on Wado Lomijikotet, who lived at Wordiang in the vicinity of Kogi. Wado was driven out of his ancestral home into an island in the Nile, called Rume, where Rume, Wado's son was born. Rume Wado reversed the fortunes of his people and gradually drove back the army of Sindiru, and Rume's son Mogaki, although born on the Island Rume, was able to re-occupy his family's old home at Wordiang.

TOMBE. (About 1705-1725.)

Tombe followed his father Mödi. It has always been, and still is, part of the Rain Chief's duties to be present at every " Putet " (a council which assembles to make decisions on matters of moment), and to give the elders the benefit of his advice as spiritual head of the community. Tombe gained a great reputation for the sagacity of his counsel and the justice of his decisions. His name as an arbitrator spread far and wide, and he received many bulls as fees for settling disputes.

MÖDI. (About 1725-1745).

After Tombe came Mödi, his son.

Mödi married two wives, whose names, however, have not been preserved. The first wife bore him Jada, his successor, while his second wife had two children, a son Manabur, and a daughter, Juan. But the golden age of Sindiru was nearing its end, and if prosperity still favoured

Mödi, adversity was fated to overtake his son and to harry his descendants.

JADA. (About 1745-1765.)

When Jada succeeded his father troubles were gathering over Sindiru. The rain did not fall on their fields, the crops were blighted, the herds diminished rapidly and the women were barren. To arrest the march of these disasters was the first duty of the Rain Chief, and when his invocations to his ancestors were of no avail, he had to resort to human sacrifice. To entice back the rain, to give richness to the soil and to break the spell that lay on their women, he ordered his half sister, Juan, to be buried alive. Now Manabur, her brother, loved her greatly, and although powerless to oppose the Rain Chief's decision, which was backed by public opinion, he was so cast down at her death that he could no longer tolerate the sight of the village where they had grown up together. He summoned his sons and daughters, gathered his cattle together and, moving off to Kuli, he founded the Bekat Manabur Section of the Bekat clan. When a clan divides, it usually does so to admit of intermarriage between the sections, but in this case the incest taboo still holds good, and the Limat and Manabur sections do not intermarry even to-day.

KOSE. (About 1765-1785.)

When Jada died he left two sons, Subek the elder, and Kose the younger, both of whom were capable Rain Chiefs. The Rain, however, appeared to obey Kose rather than his brother, with the consequence that Subek, observing his loss of prestige, preferred the uncertainties of adventure abroad to the ignominy of his position at home. He called upon some of his relatives to join him and, collecting his cattle, moved off to the North. In the course of time his wanderings led him to Bilinian, where the course of his fortunes changed. (See below under Bilinian).

In the days of Kose, the Oxoriok from the hills of Liria and Tologu allied themselves with the Luluba, their neighbours, and came down on the land of Sindiru, raiding for cattle. So few were the warriors as a result of the dearth of the previous reign, that Kose had to resort to magic to aid his troops. He restrained his forces on the hill crests until the enemy were upon him. They were misled by the lack of resistance and elated by the small numbers of the enemy ranged against them. Advancing in an undisciplined manner to what they thought an easy victory, their

ranks were all the more thrown out, when suddenly a great wind blew against them and a red mist began to shroud their foes and to creep down the hill slopes. Into these disordered troops the small Bari company charged and routed them with great slaughter.

JANGARA. (About 1785-1815.)

Jangara followed his father Kose and knowing, perhaps, that his mother was a woman of the Madi, a tribe which lives on the East of the Nile between the Bari country and Nimule, he himself sought a bride in that direction. He married a girl called Nyambek, the daughter of a Rain Chief, 'Dogale Yanga.

Jangara was a great fighter and had to contend with the same foes as his father. The Hillmen of Liria, Tologu and Lowe raided Sindiru in such numbers that they easily drove off the Bari cattle. Jangara held off his men until the enemy were on the way home, when he immediately divided his forces into two and fell simultaneously on both flanks of a column heavily encumbered with booty. So successful was his ruse that he recaptured the cattle, but, as he fell back, he was forced into a costly rear-guard action against an Oxoriok rally. He returned home with all the cattle intact, but left so many men on the field that all the women of Sindiru were in mourning for husband, son or brother, and reproached Jangara bitterly for causing the death of so many men. " The Oxoriok," they cried, " had carried off their cattle ; the girls would lament that thus their marriage would be postponed. It was true that Jangara had recovered the cattle but what good were cows, when their owners lay dead on the battle field, and would no more go wooing for marriage ? " Wounded by this criticism, Jangara withdrew from the war and sat idle while the Oxoriok emptied the cattle kraals.

FITIA. (About 1815-1845.)

Father Spagnolo (*op cit*, p. 278) has preserved a curious tale of Fitia's infancy. A translation of the Bari text is :—

Lado Jangara (i.e., Jangara Kose) begat two sons who were twins, one called Fitia and the other, Lwala. Fitia was malformed since both his shoulders were short, and his father took him and exposed him in a cave on the mountain, and only had Lwala suckled. After a few days Lwala died. One day the mother went wandering over the mountain saying : " I will go and look for my son, whether he be alive or dead."

She searched and found him sitting in the middle of the water playing there. She thereupon hurled away the stones into the bush, gave him suck and took him back home. When she returned, she told Jangara's serf, who was called Soka, saying: "Lo, the child you took away to the mountain is alive; but if you agree, I have still a little milk in my breast; is it good?" and Soka replied: "It is good, bring him home," and then he told the father who said: "Verily, it is good. Go and bring him home." So the child was brought back and his mother spoke, saying: "Listen, all ye Bari, how did this child survive upon the mountain? How did he endure hunger? He survived by water alone. Let him be suckled. He will become your Rain Chief." Then the child was taken into the house and put to the breast, which he refused. The people cried out "Bring a bull," and after a sacrificial bull had been led round the child, it accepted the breast. Then the people said: "This is he who shall be our Chief."

In course of time Fitia[1] succeeded his father. He sought his wife among his own people and married a Bari girl, Igale.

Delighted at Jangara's policy of non-resistance, the Oxoriok continued to make periodical raids on the Bari cattle, but in Fitia they met a very different adversary. Public opinion had veered considerably from the attitude that had led to Jangara's passive policy, and Fitia found he could rally the Sindiru forces. He hotly contested the capture of every single bull, without avail however, as the Oxoriok forces were far superior. During his forlorn sallies to guard the kraals, he noticed that the invaders were too intent on carrying off the cattle to trouble themselves with the corn, which was neither burned nor looted. He therefore applied himself to the task of invoking the rain, so that hunger at any rate should not stalk through their midst with poverty. The rain fell and the corn stood so thick about the villages that Fitia was affectionately called Fitia Yeng Ko Piong, Fitia of Everlasting Rain, and to-day his rule is remembered as the 'age of obedient water.'

LUGÖR. 1845-1885. (This latter date is fairly definite.)

This was, however, but a temporary lull in the series of misfortunes which were to follow this house.

[1] Dr. Seligman, J.R.A.I., Vol. LVIII, p. 424, records the following of Fitia and his son Lugör:—"In that time Fitia Yeng Ko Piong never walked on the ground. When he made a journey he was borne in a couch until his return home. All the great Chiefs of the land of the Bari in the year (?) untied him bulls also (i.e., killed bulls for him)."

Lugör,[1] son of Fitia, remembering the tales of the defeat of Kogi, and viewing with alarm the rapid increase of manpower at this centre, went to Köri, son of Sukiri, Chief at Kogi, with the suggestion that they as Rain Chiefs should cause a year's famine, in order to reduce the number of people inhabiting the land. Lugör, naively hoping that the famine would harm his neighbour more than himself, withheld the rain, while he sent a spy to Köri's country to see if he was keeping his part of the compact. Rain had fallen and men were busy hoeing, but the spy was bribed to report that there was not even enough water to drink. The crops grew and Köri fell to reaping. A second spy from Lugör was bribed to report dearth and famine. The grain was gathered and safely stored when a third spy arrived. He was given a basket of grain with these words: "Take this to Lugör and tell him our granaries are full."

When Lugör saw that he had been duped, he assembled eighty men and eighty women, with whom he paid a visit to Köri at Palebek, where under the council tree, he demanded of Köri, not an explanation of his conduct, but the bride price of Röung, a relative of Lugör's, whom Sukiri, the great-great-grandfather of Köri, had married. It was averred that this had not been paid in full. Köri, rather than open a feud, handed over eighty cows to Lugör, who, made covetous by Köri's compliance, demanded men to do his cultivation, a right which the Rain Chief invariably exercises. Köri retorted that by now there should surely be enough of Röung's progeny to do this. Lugör again demanded more, but Köri closed the discussion with an abrupt "I have given you eighty cows." Lugör returned slowly home. Köri, suspecting trickery, sent a runner ahead of Lugör to give orders that any attempt on Lugör's part to take more cattle should be met with armed resistance. At Melukian, on the way to Sindiru, Lugör let his eighty cows mingle with the grazing herds and attempted to drive them all off. The men of Melukian, being forewarned, were ready for this strategem; they attacked, killed his eighty warriors, seized his eighty cows and sent Lugör home with his eighty women.

To avenge this Lugör returned with an army, but found Kogi prepared. When he advanced Köri surrounded him and heavily defeated him. Lugör called in allies from Minge, the Chief at the Oxoriok village of

[1] Dr. Seligman, J.R.A.I., Vol. LVIII, p. 424, records the following of Lugör:—
"... And when Fitia died he left his son, his name was Lugör. Also when he journeyed he did not go on the ground, he was borne in a couch until his return. The great chiefs of the land of the Bari in the year (?) unloosed bulls and all the country of the Bari (did the same)."

Ilangari, and Lado, son of Ide, who, as a descendant of the emigrant Sube, was a relative of Lugör's at Bilinian. Köri, however, rallied his troops from Morsak, Kogi and Wurkiteng, and calling in help from Rombe and Agota, Headman at Nyarjua, successfully opposed him. When Köri gained a victory, Lugör's allies, who realised that they were supporting a lost cause, dropped away, and Köri's subsequent attack dealt such havoc to the enemy that to this day the men of Sindiru are few in number.

On the top of this decimation came the Arab invasion against which Lugör was powerless to struggle.

LADO. (Between 1885 and 1897, fixed dates.)

Lado, brother of Lugör and son of Fitia, also called Lado Ngeek by his age fellows, succeeded to a thankless task. Hitherto the Arabs had contented themselves with Sindiru's subservience, but now they proceeded to harry it. Sindiru's troubles were increased by a series of onslaughts from the neighbouring Chiefs, and Lado finally fled to the country of the Fajulu, where he took up his residence at Mt. Maribe.

On page 279 of his Bari Grammar, Father Spagnolo has a Bari text describing the state of the Bari country about his time. It runs :—

" In the days of old, men were very numerous, and their herds were countless, but there came a time when the Turuk descended on the land, and swept away youths, girls and cattle so that the land was desolate. The survivors, who had fled at once, and whom the Turuk had not carried off, scattered to the north and in fact penetrated to Pajok, while some reached Palabek of Oli, some Mödi Lokung and others Palaro of Lokung.

" When they had remained there some years, the villages of the Acoli and Madi grievously wronged them ; if a man had previously gone with his wife or daughters, all these were taken by force and he was left alone in the world. When the Bari saw the treatment that was being meted out to them, they held secret conclaves, and told their women, who had all been taken by force. By night they all collected in one place and secretly fled to Bari country. They did not, however, all come because some had not received the message. When they afterwards heard it, they were eager to escape in secret; but the Böri (Acoli) proved cunning and, if any fugitive escaped in secret, someone ran after him along his road and they were all slain. When the land was so desolate, men could not find cattle for marriage and began to marry with spears and hoes. Again

when the Bari began to increase, then the Lokoya (Oxoriok) came to trouble them with war and they were engaged in battle. Again the Bari quarrelled among themselves and the villages came into conflict; this village would invade that and those would invade others. When they had collected for a large dance to which they all came and danced by clans, they always fell to fighting. Thus it was that the Bari grew fewer and fewer."

Amid such circumstances Lado fled.

WANI. (Overlapping Lado and Leju, 1885-1897.)

When Lado fled, his nephew, Wani, son of Lugör, also called Wani Yemba'dija,[1] who had married Kiden, sister of Lualla, the Chief of the Luluba, remained behind at Sindiru. He quarrelled with his brother-in-law, Lualla, and was attacked by Lualla's brother, Fitia, who had called in to his aid the Army of Mödi (Adong) Lado, a buccaneer from Gondokoro. Wani fled north and took refuge with Kirba the Chief at Logo, who led out his forces against Fitia and slew him. Lualla was incensed at his brother's death and again called on Mödi Adong for help. This Mödi has an interesting history. When the Arab invaders first reached Gondokoro, Mödi, a member of the Nyori 'Dogale clan, threw in his lot with them. Owning rich herds and possessing a number of rifles presented to him by his Arab masters, he became a power in the land and sold his services to all who would employ him. He penetrated the Luluba Hills where he married Sukŏji, daughter of Chief Lualla.

He thus had two motives for avenging Fitia's death. The people of the Sindiru contend that Mödi captured Wani and slew him out of hand, but the Fager version of the story is that Mödi handed over Wani to the Luluba, who murdered him on their way home. The Rain Chief of Pipiri, called Loro Kimbo, was so struck by the prowess of Mödi, that he invited him to collect the scattered peoples of Fager and Pipiri and make them one again. Thus Modi, the adventurer from Gondokoro, became Chief by invitation at Fager. So powerful was he, and so far had his fame spread, that later when the Uganda Government took over the East bank of the Nile, they invited Mödi to meet them and act as guide. He led them along the West bank of the Nile as far as Salari, the southern limit

[1] Literally Wani-Marry-closed, because he had no children, although he had many wives.

of Belgian influence and then across the river and so to Gondokoro by the East bank. In return for his help he was confirmed in his Chieftainship.

LEJU.[1] (1897, a fixed date.)

Meantime Lugör had died at his home among the Fajulu and his son Leju had succeeded to his position. It was about this time that the Belgian expedition under Chaltin advanced to capture Rajaf. Leju fled before them and returned to his home at Sindiru, where he found Wani already dead. He was at once recognised as Rain Chief, and was at Sindiru when the Uganda Government took over Gondokoro.

There is a Bari account (see Dr. Seligman,[2] J.R.A.I., Vol. LVIII, page 476) of a crisis in Leju's reign . . . " the rain makers of Sindiru have always been too powerful to run any risk of violent death. Be this as it may, one of the 'dupi of Pitia Leju (this must be Leju lo Lugör) was killed when he was an old man. The Bari account of this is as follows :—

" The sun shone strongly and Lika[3] came and said : ' Leju, the sun is shining strongly,' and they said : ' Why is it ? ' And Leju said : ' No one is shining strongly, God is shining.' And Lika said : ' It has nothing to do with God . . . give us Lako to kill.' And Leju gave them Lako and said, ' kill him.' And forthwith he was taken away to the stream (Lomoata) and was killed, and the rain fell. And when the rain fell he was buried, and Leju said : ' Now you have killed him, compensate me with 100 goats and 5 cows and 2 guns ; now you have killed him, do not come here again.' "

FITIA LUGÖR. (Since 1912, fairly definite.)

A report in the Mongalla Chief's File dated April, 1918, records that Fitia succeeded his uncle ' about 6 years ago.' Actually, he succeeded his brother Leju, but the uncle referred to is probably Lado Ngeek, who with Wani Yembadija and Leju were all Rain Chiefs about the same time.

But the glory of Sindiru is departed. The reports on File in the Chief's register make sad reading and he has even been imprisoned and for a time deposed. The gifts of cattle that in old days used to pour in from the surrounding Bari and from even as far away as the Fajulu, Nyangwara

[1] In Rainmaking in Equatorial Africa, by F. Spire, Journal of the African Society, 1905 (quoted by Dr. Seligman, J.R.A.I., Vol. LVIII, p. 468), is a full account of Leju's method of making rain.

[2] Dr. Seligman is quoting Mr. G. O. Whitehead.

[3] Lika is a village near Sindiru.

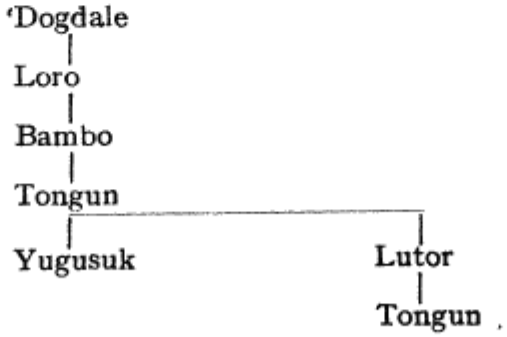
and Mandari, have practically ceased, and there is not a cow to be seen in all Sindiru. In 1930-1931 the feud that existed between Sindiru and Kogi in the time of Lugor evinced itself again and gave rise to the events described in a previous article.[1] The award of a sword of honour to Fitia Lugör on 8th July, 1932, may serve to enhance the prestige of the family.

## PART II.—BILINIAN.

Bilinian[2] is the name of a Chieftainship of the Bari on the East bank of the Nile, lying about 9 miles due east of Juba. The ridge of mountains called Bilinian is a local landmark and around its base cluster the hamlets of 'Domadang, Bui, Bura, Mingoro, Nyongki, Birindi, Singi and Gitong, which, combined with the village of Mögiri (eight miles further east on the Mongalla-Torit Road) make up the area which at present goes under this name.

SUBEK. (About 1765-1785.)

According to tradition, Subek, elder son of Jada at Sindiru, had become jealous of his brother Kose who was apparently more successful at invoking rain and therefore received more gifts of cattle. Feeling that he was sinking into the position of a nonentity at home he chose to seek his fortune abroad. He migrated north, and on reaching Bilinian he was prevailed upon by the men of the Panyigilo, Lumbari and Dung clans to take up his abode there. Loro 'Dogale, a Panyigilotyo, was Chief at the time, but his descendants to-day are no more than Komonye-kak (Lords of the land), while Subek's family now hold the office of Chief and several of the minor posts as village Headmen—so great are the virtues of rain power. The family of Loro 'Dogale may for convenience be put here :—




but as within a generation of Subek's arrival, the original Monyekak had been eclipsed by the Rain Chief, there is from a historical point of view,

[1] See *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XV, 1932. Bari Studies, p. 84.
[2] See genealogical tree, p. 197.

no need to consider the family further. It must be recorded, however, that the Monyekak has magical functions to fulfil at seedtime, at harvest and before a hunt, and still holds a position of sociological importance in the life of the village.

DERE. (About 1785-1805.)

Dere, son of Subek, followed his father as Rain Chief of Bilinian because his elder brother, Tombe, had decided to move on further. Strangely enough he seems to have abrogated his claim to rain power, declaring, as he parted from Dere, that he was amply endowed with cattle. Tombe lo Subek, who is also known as Tombe lo Gwagwe, settled at Mögiri, a village situated a few miles east of Bilinian. The fortunes of his family will be studied separately

MOLODIANG. (About 1805-1825.)

Molodiang[1] succeeded his father Dere, and he made his home at Paruk, a name which he chose for it, from one of the mountains, which comprise the Bilinian range. His fame as a begetter of children is still a matter of veneration in these parts, and many a present day inhabitant of Bilinian will trace his parentage back to Molodiang.

LOGUNU. (About 1840.)

On the death of his father Logunu succeeded to the Chieftainship. It is in connection with him that we get the first historic mention of the Bari.

Logunu was seen and talked to by Werne and d'Arnand, who led an expedition sent by Mohammed Ali in 1840[2] to discover the sources of the Nile.

On April 28, 1841, a certain M. Thibault, a French traveller, wrote a letter to the Société de Géographie de Paris from Khartoum describing an expedition of exploration which he had just accompanied up the White Nile on behalf of the Egyptian Government. The following is an extract from this letter.[3]

> " My letter of last October has made you acquainted with what happened to me and with the dangers I have encountered on my various travels into the interior of Africa, and above all on the one

[1] Father Spagnolo spells this name Muludyang, which he translates as " born after the famine."

[2] See Expedition to White Nile, Werne, for a fuller account.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. G. O. Whitehead, late of the Church Mission Society, Mongalla Province, for this extract.

from which I returned on March 30, 1841, after an absence of five months. I undertook this journey up the White Nile, the sources of which, as yet unexplored, will always remain so, if expeditions of a similar importance for geographical study, continue to rely on military persons, by custom inclined to demonstrations of hostility. It is useless to recount afresh the troubles and obstacles I met with last year; this year's expedition, although more peaceable, has only gone to show how distant is the solution of this problem. On this last journey, from which I returned on April 18, 1841, I was accompanied by two fellow countrymen, of whom one spent his time in scientific observations, while the other, a much travelled young man, who has crossed America, has the knowledge necessary for mapping the course of a river. His astronomical readings will without doubt yield good results and he will be able to give some accurate information on the unknown tracts of the various countries we have traversed. For my own part I did nothing but glean information; nevertheless, the notes I have taken on the habits and customs of the different races that I visited, and the collections of articles that I have amassed, will be, I hope, of some interest.

" The first expedition, which penetrated as far as 5° 47′ latitude, was forced to return, owing to the depth of water being insufficient for their vessels. Progress has been made this year as far as 4° 43′ latitude and about 29° longitude. As a result, those famous Mountains of the Moon, which were thought to form an impassable barrier below Latitude 8° North, have disappeared at this point to give place to unhealthy marshes, the effects of which the natives suffer from, judging by their ailing and puny constitutions; they came to us in crowds to implore our help for their ailments.

" While traversing about 130 miles more than the previous year, we have discovered certain strong healthy peoples, whose numbers and courage might have been a source of danger, considering our poor means of defence. We were prudent and they showed themselves generous, and the small gifts we made them procured for us on their side a hospitality worthy of the ' natural man.' Indeed, it was not our black soldiers nor our firearms, hitherto unknown to them, that could have cowed them, but it was our floating mountains and the men riding on the yardarms; these novelties kept them within the

limits of deference. Armed with spears, the iron heads of which measured thirty inches, with bows and quivers, each containing thirty poisoned arrows and always in numbers from six to eight thousand, they could have sunk our frail and ill-prepared vessels. On the contrary they brought us oxen, animals of all kinds and elephant tusks of excellent ivory to exchange for glass beads.

" These numerous peoples are ruled by a Head Chief, who is called ' Lagone ' (Logunu). He was the only man we saw decently dressed, and he wore a plain shirt of blue cotton, which came to him, so he said, from one of his friends in the neighbouring hills, the inhabitants of which were represented as cannibals—a fact which was corroborated by the whole populace. Prince Lagone presented himself on January 24, 1841 at our ships in a way too remarkable for me not to describe it to you. Let us imagine we are watching a man more civilised than his followers, all of whom were naked, and made a point of displaying their athletic and muscular bodies, several 6′ 7″ or 6′ 8″ high, with a corresponding breadth of shoulder and surprising vigour ; they wore enormous armlets of ivory on both arms, while iron rings covered their limbs. Their only deformity, as with all the tribes in this part of Africa, is the excision of the four front teeth in the lower jaw.

" At length M. Lagone had his arrival announced by a countless gathering of people. The repeated cries of thirty of his wives were accompanied by the melodious music of drums and antelope horns ; he spread out his arms like an eagle in full flight to draw attention to the large sleeves of his old shirt. His head was decorated with a headdress of ostrich feathers, the movements of which he could regulate to the best of the attractive music. Some dances were performed and Prince Lagone danced with the rest. At length, drawing near our boats, he went aboard that of the Turkish Officers with a confidence that appeared to surprise them. It gave me great pleasure to see this man and the custom of sucking the forefinger of each of our officers was a mark of honour I found most singular. He made us understand that he was most flattered by our presence and that he awaited our generosity in the bestowal of gifts. These were words which in no way pleased our men ; but however that may be, some serge garments of red cloth were distributed to Lagone, to his brothers and his sons,

some white, blue and red glass beads to cover their limbs, and to increase the attractive sound of their band we added a bell of twenty-five pound weight, the clashing of which greatly delighted him ; in a sitting of some hours he repeatedly showed us respect according to his custom. After eating some dates which we carried with us, he found them so much to his taste that he asked for many more and carried them off with the stones and the carpet spread out to receive him. All these people are as a rule beggars. Glass beads, with their bright colour and fine polish, they prefer to delicate and varied cloths. The women go naked, but on special occasions they wear a tanned hide over their loins and underneath that a fringe of cotton thread rubbed with a red ochre, which imparts a colour to it ; the warrior class make use of this mineral to colour their bodies and they take on the colour of lobsters. Let us return to the females, who, when young, are pretty and well made, with muscular bodies, large eyes, rather slender noses, but with meagre heads of hair ; these girls are only clothed in a light cotton fringe, which is so supple that the shape of the whole body is easily discernible.

" Well received by these tribes, whom our men called unbelievers and slaves, we continued our journey to make contact with the ranges of hills we had descried several days before. It was on January 1, 1841, that we reached a point beyond which progress was impossible ; reefs of sand and rocks strewn in the bed of the river and its shallowness, all constrained us to cease our exploration. We sighted the various mountains which could be seen on the horizon and twenty-eight salvos from our guns announced our departure to the neighbourhood. The Turks were pleased to return, but we Frenchmen regretted we could go no further. Could it be that we were on the point of discovering the sources of this remarkable river ? The mountains through which it flows so peacefully could have given us an answer. We shall never have it, not even the natives could tell us.

" The mountains, which we were leaving, are very rich in iron ore ;[1] the native avails himself of this and manufactures his weapons from it and uses it to trade among the neighbouring hills. The nearest lie in the country of Lagone, which is called Ber (Bari) ; good tracts

[1] The Blacksmiths (Tomonok ti Yukit) of Bilinian have always been famous. Originally they smelted their own ore, but now they prefer the ready smelted article sold by merchants.

of country lie in front of masses of rock, which would have been for us so many more obstacles to surmount. Cultivation among the Bers or Berrhs (= Bari) is extensive, and their principal crops are white grain, sesame and small beans. Their houses are thatched and protect them from the heavy rains of the equatorial regions.

"The definite result we achieved was to determine the course followed by the White Nile as far as the point we reached. Geographers have always believed that it comes from the west. It is now established that it rises in the East and that its supposed confluence with the Niger could only occur if for part of its course it flowed the other way—a thing impossible to credit. If we had pushed on as far as the equator, to within 4° north of which we had penetrated, we should have solved without possibility of contradiction a problem which must be taken up afresh with renewed energy. It is only a European Power that can solve the problem."[1]

Such were the Bari as seen by Mr. Thibault. It is indeed lucky that his experiences among them, before they were ruined by the Slave Raiders, have been preserved, and that the bad character given them by Baker was not their natural disposition, but the result of the harrying they suffered at the hands of so-called merchants like Abu Saoud.

SUBEK. (About 1850.)

In the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LVIII, pp. 475-476, Dr. Seligman, quoting from Franz Morlang, who was a missionary at Gondokoro, records that a Rain-maker called Nigila[2] (= Nyigilö) was suspected of withholding the rain. ". . . . During the famine years 1855-1859 . . . . doubt fell on the people as to the responsibility for their misery. After blaming now the slave-traders, then the mission and even their own medicine-men, Nigila was at last held guilty :— He was forced to flee from Belenyan (= Bilinian), where his cattle were stolen and his dwelling burnt down, and for some time wandered as a hunted fugitive, until at last he found shelter with his kinsman Mödi near Gondokoro, where he hoped to wait for a boat and save his life by escaping to Khartoum. But . . . . a numerous band of armed youths,

[1] Extract from *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie.* Deuxieme serie : Tome XVL, pp. 127-132.

[2] On page 249 of *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, Dr. Seligman is right in dating Nigilo four generations ago, but he was the son of Molodiang, not of Jada.

gathered from far and wide, came to Kudschenek,[1] the home of Mödi, and boisterously demanded Nigila the rain-maker. He escaped again, but was found in the neighbouring village of Tschuckir,[2] and was struck down with blows from clubs and four spear-thrusts. His belly was slit open and he was left for vultures. So died Nigila, the great Nigila. . . . . "

The account of this assassination as current in Bilinian to-day is slightly different. Subek, son of Logunu, was the real Rain Chief at this time, but as Nyigilö, son of Molodiang's old age, was a younger man, it was left to him to collect the dues of cattle given to the Rain Chief by the surrounding villages, even from among the Mandari. Nyigilö also officiated at any rain ceremony conducted away from Bilinian. He had returned from one of these tours with a tale of cattle, which were duly divided between himself and Subek, and then set off again for Ilibari, a village to the west of Bilinian on the river bank. Here he was met by an irate band of warriors who accused him of taking their cattle but hiding the rain. As he could offer no excuse, they stabbed him to death. The Chief at Ilibari or Gondokoro at this time was Loro lo Lako, the Bari Chief made notorious by Baker under the name Allorron.

In 1863 Baker journeyed through Bilinian on his way to Liria, and although he does not record the name of the Chief, it must have been in Subek's time. When in 1871 Sir Samuel Baker, armed with the Khedive's authority to put down the slave trade, arrived at Gondokoro, Subek was probably still Chief at Bilinian. In " Ismailia " can be read the story of Baker's arrival at Libu (as his point of disembarkation is really called), of his reception at the hands of the Bari (in strong contrast to that recorded by Mr. Thibault in 1841), and of his attack on the forces of Bilinian.

While some of the natives of Ilibari, which is near Libu or Ismailia as Baker called it, still recall ' The Fat Pasha with the Long Beard,' if not with affection at least without animosity, the men of Bilinian have no reason to cherish him in their memory.

They have preserved a bitter lampoon against him which runs :—

" Basan ! Basąn ! Do kon da Pungöt ?
Jabe a loron lese, Siti.[3]
Ali Bey ! Kölöki nan jubbu Kiritwan !
Kode Kinga lu nan Owe lopir."

[1] This is the hamlet Kujönö, part of Ilibari.
[2] Swakir is the modern spelling of this village. It is part of Ilibari.
[3] Mögiri has a different account of a " Sitti," who was apparently Ali Bey's wife. (See below.)

Rendered literally this is :—

" O Pasha ! O Pasha ! You do how buttocks ?
Their summer is bad, O Woman !
O Ali Bey ! Leave me wearing skin marks.
But next year I shall be fat."

" O Woman " :—This is Lady Baker, who among the natives is reputed to have had only one breast from the fact that she could handle a gun like a man.

" Summer " :—Jabe is the period from about June to August when the new crops have not yet been cut and the store of food from the previous year is growing meagre.

" Ali Bey " :—Ali Bey was a marauder in the time of the Mahdia. (See below under Mögiri, Chief Wani Lakose).

" Skin marks " :—This word literally means the marks worn on the skin by famine.

The song is disjointed and the point of view changes in each line :—

" O Pasha ! O Pasha ! Can you visit the pit ? " :—

The people of Bilinian are here ironically referring to Baker's raid on the Bilinian crops, and are asking if he carried off enough to fill his stomach.

" Their Summer is a time of famine, O Woman " :—

This is Baker imagined as addressing his wife. He is pleased at the hunger of the Bari and the fact that his raid is likely to have made it worse.

" O Ali Bey ! Leave me who am scored with the marks of starvation " :—

The people of Bilinian are here lamenting the famine that followed Ali Bey's raids.

" Yet next year I shall be fat ": —

Any singer of the song is hoping to be well fed next year. There is also a sly reference to Baker's bulk.

A feeling of bitter resentment runs through the lampoon and in writing it is impossible to do justice to the volumes of expression that can be put on the words ' Pungöt ' and ' Lopir ' when the song is being rendered.

On page 232 of Ismailia there is an account of Abu Saoud's treacherous murder of ' the Sheik of Bilinian ' whom Abu Saoud feared,

and whom he murdered in cold blood after inviting him and his family to an entertainment. No name is given and as no record remains at Bilinian of Subek suffering in this way, it is impossible to tell who it was. He may have been only a commoner put forward to deal with outsiders while the real Chief kept in the background.

LAKO. (About 1870.)

Lako succeeded his father Subek and was Chief at Bilinian in Gordon's time. Some time later he contrived an ambush for a patrol sent out by Emin Pasha and practically annihilated it. Emin Pasha, or Mimbe as he is still locally called, was chagrined at this minor loss, but apart from sending out another patrol and seeing it suffer the same fate, he could do little but bide his time. Eventually it came. Emin had been on an expedition among the Latuka, where he had routed the tribesmen and driven off a number of cattle back to the river. Lako, led on by the hopes of buying some good cattle cheaply, was rash enough to venture into Emin's camp on the day of the auction. He was recognised and betrayed, and when Emin heard the news, he had Lako seized and beheaded with a sword.

BASAN. (1880.)

As Lako's children were all small, Basan, son of Doga, son of Molodiang, was chosen to follow him. He did not live long.

LADO LO IDE or LADO LOGUNU and BEPO LO NYIGILÖ. (About 1885.)

Although it is usual to call a man by his own and his father's name, Lado is always referred to as Lado lo Ide, where Ide is the name of his mother. Actually Ide was the wife of Logunu, on whose death she was inherited by Sube, son of Logunu, and it was to him that she bore Lado, who is thus named Lado lo Ide. He may also be called, according to Bari custom, Lado Logunu, that is, by the name of the original husband of his mother and not by that of his real father.

Lado was Chief at Bilinian at the time of the Mahdi's rebellion, and was a contemporary of Lugör, Chief at Sindiru, whom he supported in his abortive attack on Köri, Chief of Kogi. Finding, however, that the anticipated victory and acquisition of spoil gave place to defeat and loss, he deserted what he realised was a lost cause and returned home. At this time there was division at Bilinian, where two Rain Chiefs were acting

at the same time. The western part of Bilinian, called Indöru, was Lado's Province and the eastern half, called Gitong, belonged to Bepo, son of Nyigilö. On the arrival of the Dervishes, Bepo,[1] who was old and weak, made terms with them and was left in peace, but Lado, who proposed to dispute matters, soon found his home burned and his men shot down. He surrendered and in due course assembled the remnants of his forces and made a descent on Gitong, which he sacked, killing Bepo in the struggle.

Lado had connexions with the Mandari at Wanyang, where he had married a bride, and in this village he had a number of cattle owing to him. Before he could collect them he was imprisoned in Rejaf by the Dervishes, as a man likely to cause trouble. He was released, however, and went off to Wanyang to collect his debts, but its inhabitants fell on him and murdered him. Thus did the chequered career of Lado lo Ide come to a close.

SUKE LAKO. (About 1890.)

Lado was followed by Suke, son of Lako, his brother, of whom, however, nothing is recorded.

BAMBO LAKO. (About 1900.)

Bambo followed his elder brother Suke and he was 'known to Mr. Ernest Haddon some thirty years ago.' (*cp.* Dr. Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 248.) He combined the offices of Rain Chief and Government Chief, under the Uganda Government.

MOLODIANG and LOGUNU. (About 1914.)

On the death of Bambo, Molodiang, his brother, who received the Rainpower from him, said that he was not capable of assuming, as Bambo had done, the two onerous rôles of Rain Chief and Government Chief. He therefore requested that the duties of the latter should devolve on Logunu, son of Lado. Despite, however, this lessening of his duties, he failed even to fulfil his functions as invoker of rain. Angered by the burning sun, which was scorching their crops, the men of Bilinian expelled Molodiang, who fled to the Mandari. Logunu was confirmed in his post by the Sudan Government.

[1] See Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, p. 307. Casati is discussing with Emin Pasha the possibility of defending Lado against Keremallah. "We have the river at our back and therefore we could easily get corn from the rich Gondokoro and Bepo countries." (The latter must be Bilinian.)

LOGUNU and ALI BEY (NYIGILÖ).[1] (About 1918.)

Ali Bey or Nyigilö Bepo was chosen to succeed to the Rain Chieftainship in the place of the exiled Molodiang. It is the Government Chief, Logunu, with whom history is mainly concerned, and the name of the Rain Chief drops into the background. Logunu died in November, 1918.

LOGARI FITIA. (1918-1920, fixed dates.)

Logari acted as regent for two years as Molodiang, son of Logunu, was deemed too young to succeed his father.

TOMBE LADO. (1920-1925.)

In 1920 Tombe Lado, a brother of Logunu, was appointed Chief, but owing to his inefficiency and complicity in the raids of the Abyssinian poachers he was imprisoned and deposed.

LAKO LOGUNU. (1925-1928.)

Lako, son of Logunu, was then made Chief, because he was the son of Lojöng, Logunu's first wife, although Molodiang, son of Poni, Logunu's second wife, was older. Lako, however, also fell by the wayside. He was imprisoned on December 22, 1926, for purchasing 303 ammunition from a poacher, and, during his imprisonment, Subek Nyersuk acted as regent. Lako had been but a few months released when further dealings with the Abyssinians led to a sentence of five years on July 11, 1928.

MOLODIANG LOGUNU. (1928.)

Thus it came about that Molodiang was appointed Chief in his brother's stead. His youth and Mission Training should be of value to his people. The present Rain Chief is Subek Molodiang, a direct descendant of the traditional Molodiang. In 1933 the Chief's position became a salaried one as a result of the amalgamation of Bilinian and Mögiri, the history of which must now be studied.

## PART III.—MÖGIRI.

Mögiri is a small village built on the banks of the River Lokiriti about twenty-five miles from Mongalla on the Mongalla-Ngangala-Torit road. It lies about eight miles east of Bilinian, to which it is joined by a dry weather track.

TOMBE LO GWAGWE. (About 1785-1810.)

While Mögiri was inhabited, like Bilinian, before the arrival of the Bekat Limat, it is now this clan which forms the ruling house. The

[1] Nyigilö, like the son of Fitia Lokose (see below under Mögiri), was named after the marauder, Ali Bey.

original inhabitants of Mögiri were perhaps the Nyöngit, the clan to which the present Monyekak (Lord of the land) belongs, but, as at Bilinian, they have sunk to a position of secondary importance as far as administration goes, although they still have functions of great sociological value to fulfil in the life of the village.

Subek, the original Bekat immigrant to Bilinian, had two sons, Dere, who fathers the Bilinian line, and Tombe, who is founder of Mögiri branch. One day Tombe collected all his cattle and moved off to Mögiri, saying as he departed that he left all the Rain Powers to his brother and would content himself with his rich herds of cattle. However this may be, his descendants still exercise Rain Powers, and it must have been this that persuaded the people of Mögiri to accept him as Chief.

SUBEK LO TOMBE. (About 1810-1840.)

Subek, son of Tombe, succeeded his father, but no event of importance is recorded of his reign.

WANI LO SUBEK. (About 1840-1870.)

When Wani, who followed Subek, was nearing the end of his days, his son Lado was regarded as much too young to succeed him, and at a council of the elders it was decided that Wani Lokose, a cousin of Wani Subek, should be the next Chief. The Rain Chieftainship thus passes into a collateral line.

WANI LOKOSE. (About 1885.)

In Wani's days the Dervishes descended on Bilinian and Mögiri. Wani was apparently on good terms with Emin Pasha, who presented him with a rifle. About this time the locality was overrun by a Dongolawi called Ali Bey,[1] who was accompanied by his wife Sitti.[2] While Ali Bey was raiding and plundering, the wife of Fitia Lokose, brother of Wani, conceived and immediately before his departure she gave birth to a son. Wani was so relieved to see Ali Bey depart that he had the child called after the marauder and adopted him.

The depredations of Ali Bey are still sung of in these parts :—

" Ali Bey ! Parana ko rigö na ngutu,
A kiteng 'bayin Köji."

" Men are hunted in the day time—
Ali Bey our kraals are empty."

[1] I am indebted for this information to Mr. J. N. Richardson, M.C.

[2] Is this the same Sitti mentioned in the lampoon of Baker ? If so, the two villages, Bilinian and Mögiri, have different traditions on the subject.

A few years later Arabi Dafa 'alla plundered this district more thoroughly than ever before. Among other things he relieved Wani Lokose of the rifle given him by Emin Pasha.

FITIA LOKOSE. (About 1895.)

Fitia, brother of Wani, then received the Rain Powers, which he continued to exercise in the difficult years that followed.

ALI BEY FITIA. (About 1900-1932.)

Ali Bey, whose real name was Nyigilö, but by which he was never known, succeeded his father as Rain Chief, and his position was further strengthened when the Uganda Government made him the Government Chief. In 1914 he was confirmed in this office by the Sudan Government and continued in it until his death on July 10, 1932, which was probably hastened by an excessive addiction to strong drink—a fact which is always being noted in reports on him, and of which the village of Mögiri was apparently proud. At the beginning of 1933 Mögiri was amalgamated with Bilinian to form one Chieftainship, and its history as a separate entity ceases from that date.

## PART IV.—THE BEKAT CLAN.

Such are the ruling members of the Bekat Limat clan, which is by far the largest of the nine sections into which the Bekat are divided. The largest Bari Clan of all is the Nyori with its twenty-nine divisions, covering about 4,000[1] people. The members of the Bekat family number approximately 3,500,[1] of which about 2,250 are Bekat Limat, while 950 are Bekat Manabur, 150 are Bekat Mulusuk, 50 are Bekat Liparan and 50 are Bekat Bet; the few remaining are divided among the Bekat Lobur, the Bekat Lokwe, the Bekat Nyayengki and the Bekat Romo.[2]

All Sections of this Clan have their own method of cutting the ears of their animals—a practice which is indeed common to all the Bari Clans.

Looking at the animal from behind, two of these ear-cuttings would appear :—

BEKAT LIMAT.

LEFT EAR. COW. RIGHT EAR.



[1] These figures are arrived at on the basis of a clan census of able bodied males taken in 1932.

[2] The smaller sections of the Bekat are to be found mostly within a ten miles radius from Juba.

BULL.

LEFT EAR. RIGHT EAR.



BEKAT MANABUR.

COW.



BULL.




The clan as a whole has a number of taboos[1]—they do not drink water which has dripped from a roof, nor do they eat the heart of any animal. They do not call their second born sons Lodu, because they are likely to die, but prefer the name of Swaka.

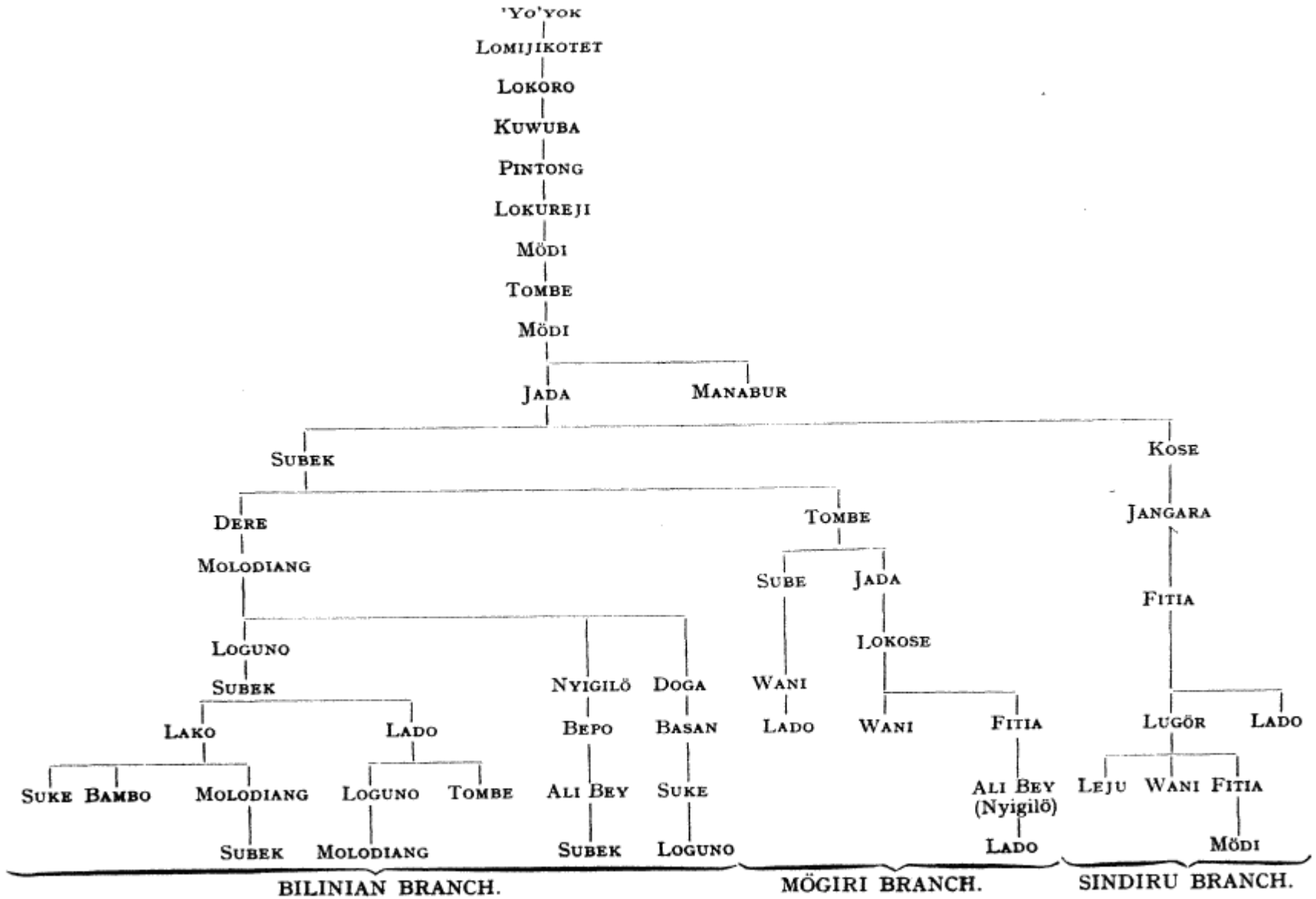
No member of the Bekat Clan will cross the Kwe, which is a small stream running towards Tombur, because years ago one of their ancestors[2] fell and broke his leg there.

Before the secession of the Manabur in the reign of Jada, and the departure of Subek in the reign of Kose at Sindiru, the clan was doubtless confined to that region, but, from the latter date onwards, there has been a continuous dispersal of the Bekat over the neighbouring Bari country—a process which was hastened by the upheavals consequent upon the succession of invasions to which the Bari were subjected. To-day men of the Bekat Limat clan may be found as far north as Wanyang in the Mandari country and as far south as Uma, and although the colony at Bilinian is now numerically the greatest, they all still regard Sindiru with veneration as the cradle of their great clan.

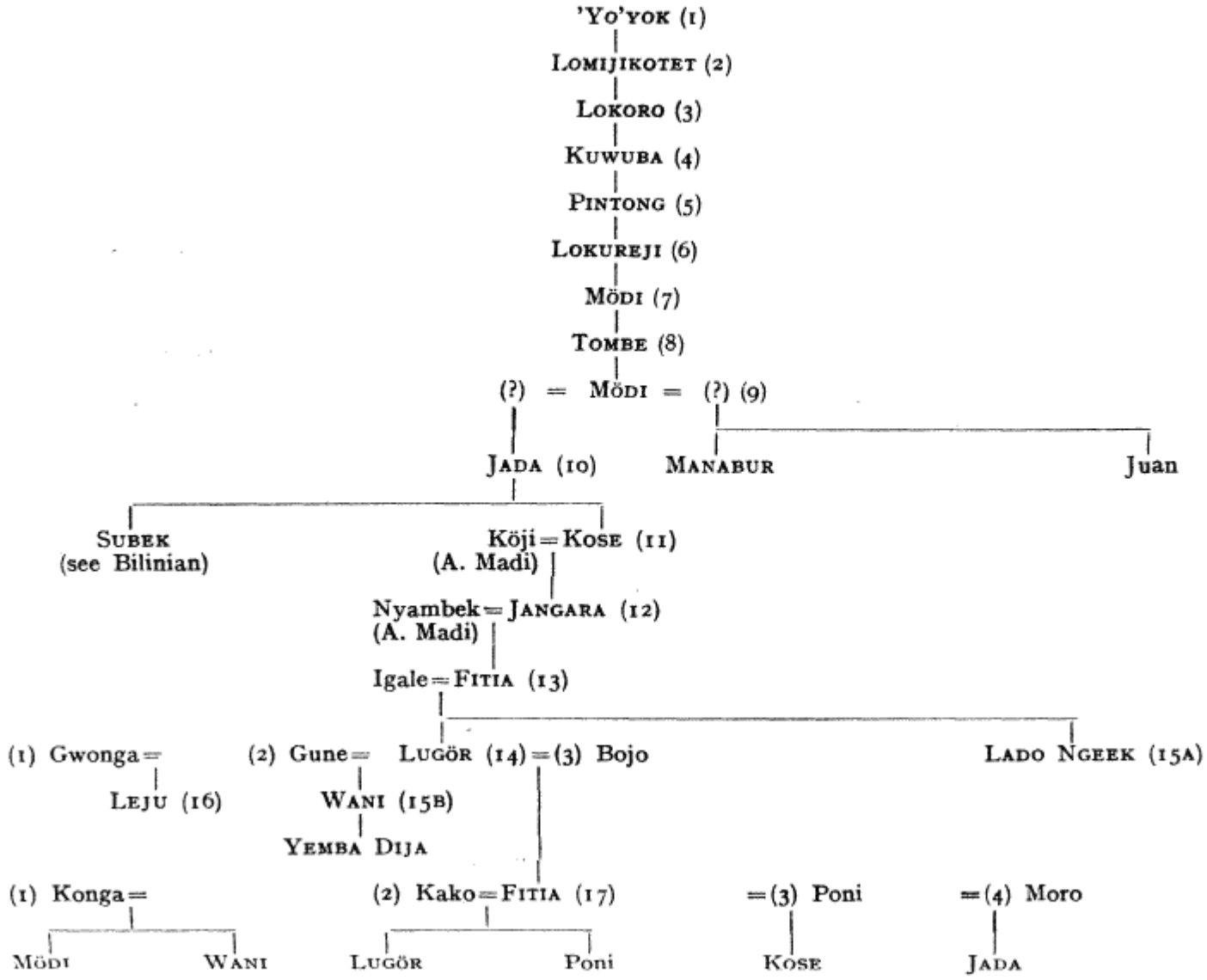
[1] See Spagnolo, Bari Grammar, p. 312.

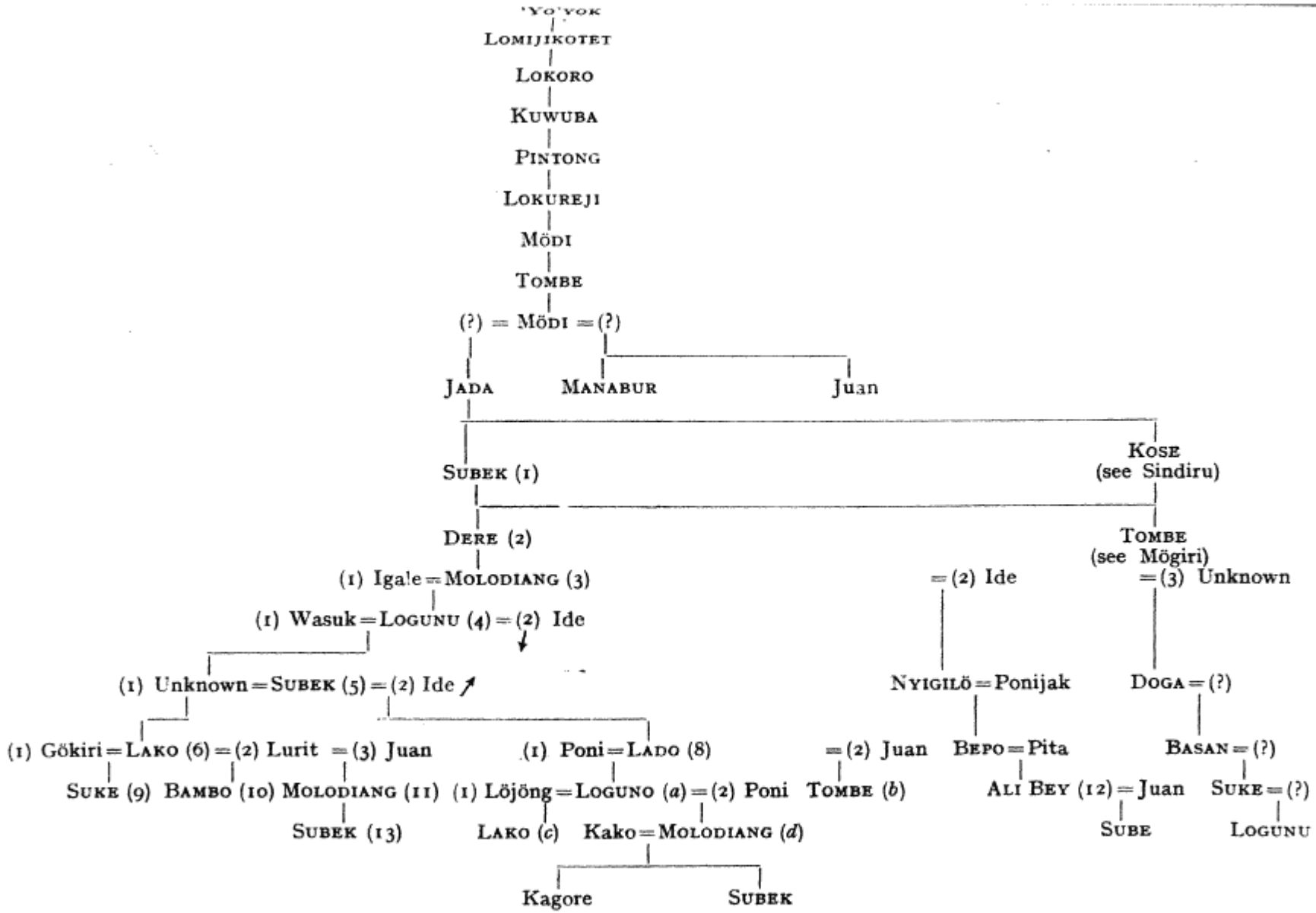
[2] His name is not recorded.

I. THE FAMILY TREE OF THE BEKAT LIMAT CLAN (MALE ONLY).



## II. THE SINDIRU BRANCH OF THE BEKAT LIMAT CLAN.

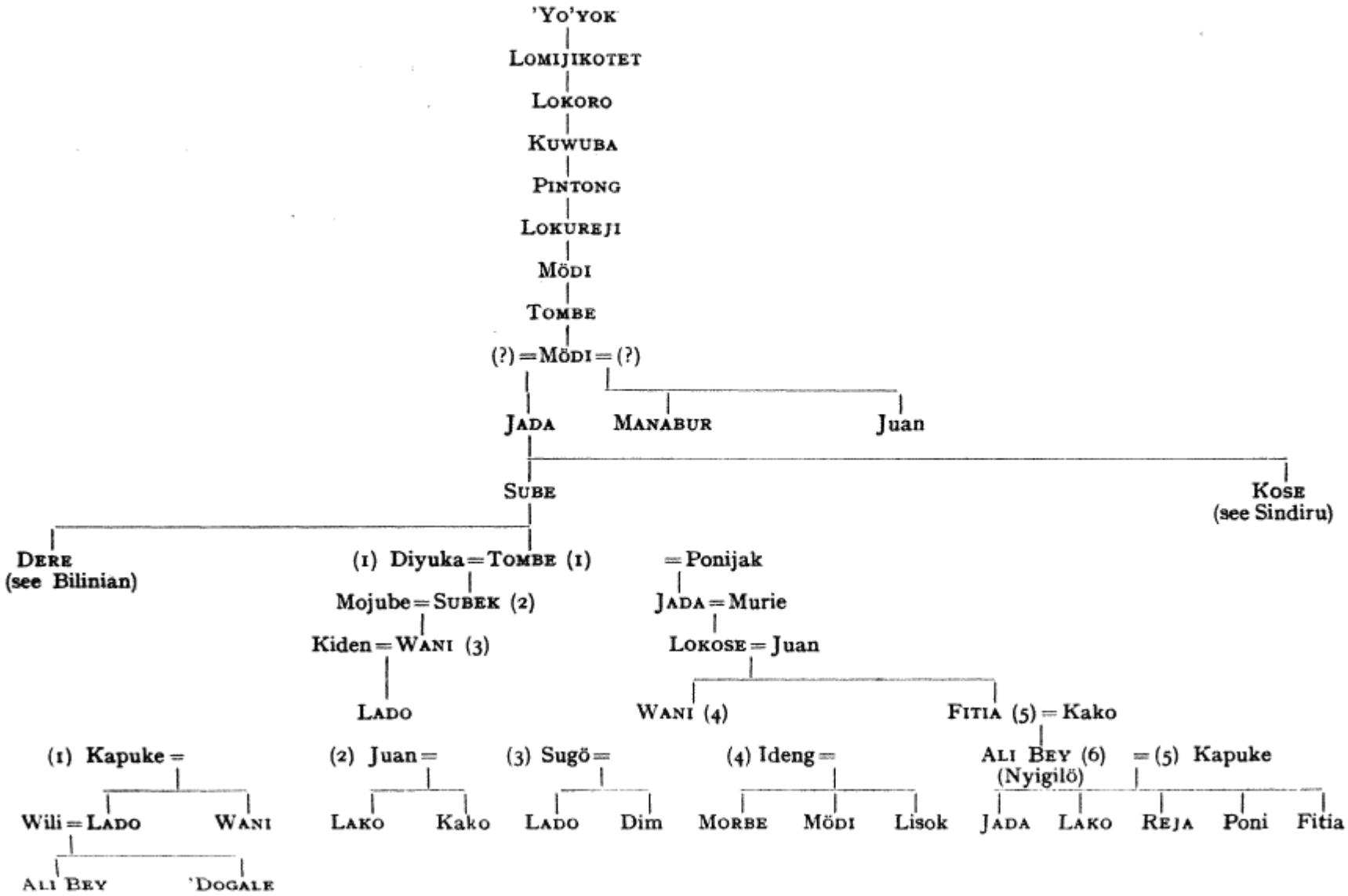





Figures 1, 2, 3, etc., indicate the succession of Rain Chiefs.
Letters *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., indicate the succession of Government Chiefs.

Poni.—Female names are in small letters.

## IV. THE MÖGIRI BRANCH OF THE BEKAT LIMAT CLAN.




Figures 1, 2, 3, etc., indicate the succession of Chiefs.

Poni.—Female names are in small letters.

# LEGENDS OF THE HALAWIN OF BLUE NILE PROVINCE.

By G. B. Tame.

*The following notes have been collected together from time to time over the coffee cup during my ordinary daily duties, and as I have only made use of this purely local source of information I will not attempt an apology for omissions or inaccuracies.*

WHEN El Said Amir left Arabia he came over with the Guhayna Arabs and settled in Egypt. There he married the daughter of 'Abdullahi El Guhayni,[1] and a year later, when he attained the patriarchal age of 360 years, she presented him with a son called El Said Rafa'i. From that day nothing else is known of the old man, and whether he died of shock at his success or grief at the probable infidelity of bint 'Abdullah or merely of old age remains a secret of the past.

Little is known of El Said Rafa'i beyond that he spent his days in Egypt and was buried at Darau. His three sons Hamid, Mohammed and Ahmed came south with their flocks into the Sudan and eventually settled near Sennar. Hamid had 20 sons, one of whom was Halu, the father of the Halawin, who settled at El Kufta, near Umm Siteib forest between the present villages of Gannib and Abu Fru'. This was in the year 850 A.H.[2]

Of Halu's 10 sons three were by his first wife, and the seven others by his second. These seven in due course set off accompanied by Mohammed El Mukhalif, the youngest of the elder three. Most of them seem to have been the fathers of sub-tribes : Ayish founded the village of Debba, another Abu Fru', while Mohammed El Mukhalif founded Wad El Kamil, a village just north of Hassa Heissa. The two elder sons, Nail and Asham, alone stayed by their father in Umm Siteib, but eventually Asham settled near the site of the existing village of Qurashi at a spot called 'Azaza El Sahba, so named because the camels of the pagan king

[1] A case of tradition with no pretence to accuracy ; for the immigration of the Guhayna tribe with Abdullahi El Guhayni occurred early in the first century A.H. (Circa 630 A.D.), while El Said Amir according to most traditions, was the tenth in descent from Fatma the Prophet's daughter. It will also be noted below that Amir's great grandson lived in the fifteenth century A.D.

[2] 1446 A.D.

Wad Adlan used to be driven up there after grazing—Sahba meaning a good riding camel.

Of his brother Nail no story is told, but the history begins again with Juma', the fourth in descent from Nail.

Juma', returning from the pilgrimage, stopped in the eastern Sudan and married the daughter of El Feki Rahma El Kahlia, and had by her two sons, Rahma and Madida. Before he died (circa 1051 A.H.)[1] Juma' handed to his wife and father-in-law a sword and a Qur'an both inscribed with his name, telling them that when his sons came of age they were to take these tokens to Umm Siteib, where they would be recognised by their relations. This they did, and were welcomed by their uncle Mohammed Abu Matayib who wedded Rahma to his daughter. They settled with their uncle, but when both were grown up each chose the form of cultivation he fancied and moved accordingly : Rahma choosing to cultivate the precarious rain sown *dura* while Madida founded Dolga and kept to the richer river *jerf* cultivation where crops were surer if not so heavy.

It is a matter of some interest that even to-day the Madidab follow a cautious and " ca'canny " policy and are more difficult to bargain with than the impetuous Rahmab.

There is a story of Rahma. A giant of a man called Mohammed El Maniabi, one of the Ashamna, was given to inordinate drinking of *merissa*. When well filled it was his practice to make for the local *khalwa* and there to extinguish the Feki's fire with his urine. This shameful habit continued until another giant of the Aidab, by name Darkuma Wad Abu, ancestor of the present sheikh of El-Kua, approached the Feki and undertook to put a stop to it. Waiting by the fire, when Mohammed came as was his wont he seized him, and a tremendous fight ensued lasting from the evening till half-way through the night. Both are said to have broken two ribs, and when at last they were lying side by side exhausted, Rahma appeared and, lifting up his hands, uttered the following pious curse: "*Ya en-Nebi teferrig El-Aidab wategallil El-Maniab*"—and even so has it fallen out, for of the Maniab there are but seven[2] to-day living and the Aidab, though in every village there are a number, have no village that they can call their own.

[1] 1641 A.D.
[2] One has died since writing this, leaving only six.

In these early days the Kawahla wandered over from the White Nile in search of grazing for their cattle, and among them were the Kuraishab, who settled at Abu-Usher, and took the lackadaisical Halawin for their natural prey. They drove off flocks of sheep and marauded generally, the outcome being a fight near Abu Usher, where the Halawin under their Mek Balula suffered a severe defeat, and in which Balula met his death. After this for a number of years the Halawin paid tribute to the Kuraishab and lay low nursing their revenge.

Now there happened to be living with the Kuraishab at that time an old Halawi lady named Umm Badr, who one day heard the men planning an attack on the Halawin. She wasted no time in going to Umm Siteib and telling her folk what she had overheard. Dawn found all the Halawin at Abu Usher in arms; but the birds had flown. They followed the tracks to the *Masid* of one Feki Wad-el-Maqdi,[1] where they found the Kuraishab all assembled. They at once demanded *el-thar* (blood revenge) (i.e., an important man to kill in exchange for Mek Balula). The Kuraishab, against the Feki's advice, refused: annoyed, the Feki drove them forth to arrange matters as best they could.

The Halawin formed up round the Kuraishab, the Ashamna section on one side, the Rahman and Medidab on the second, and the Aidab on the third. All then began to shout and boast, but the Aidab, though the smallest in numbers, were the most vociferous and boastful, shouting "*Nihna el ruqa'a el nesiha*"[2] which, in view of the paucity of their numbers, so annoyed the Kuraishab that they decided to fall on the Aidab and break away. This they did, annihilating most of the Aidab *en route*. But the rest of the Halawin, following up behind, slaughtered the Kuraishab, man, woman and child. Returning to Abu Usher, they dug up the grain and burnt it, killed the old cronies who had been left behind, and razed the houses. It is said that no child was born in that village for ten years after.

For the next hundred years brushes with the Kawahla, of which the following is a typical example, continued: a Halawi knight-errant named Ammas, when riding along one day, fell in with a Kahli driving a herd of cattle. Both raised their spears to throw, but Ammas accused the Kawahla as a tribe of cowardice; when the insulted Kahli denied the charge,

[1] In a village south of Umm Degarisi.
[2] "We are the brave ones."

he replied : " If your denial is true, prove it by putting your spear on the ground and clapping your hands above your head." The Kahli most obligingly complied, and Ammas ran him through with his spear and drove off the cattle. There is a song sung to this day to commemorate this incident.

About the year 1000 A.H.[1] there was born in the village of El Fadlin, near El Messellamia, a child called 'Alim : his father, a Sherifi, had come to the neighbourhood from Mecca. The child became a follower of Sheikh Dafa'allah Wad Mohammed AbuI dris el Araki[2] : he built a large mosque at El Fadlin and became a *Feki* of some repute, performing the usual miracles which were popular with the religious leaders of the period.[3] Upon his death, his corpse could not be lifted, until Qurashi Mohammed of the Ashamna,[4] the Sheikh's son-in-law, was called upon with his party. No sooner had they put their shoulders to the burden than the body rose of its own accord, and, floating over the heads of the astonished spectators, eventually came to rest at the Halawin burial ground near Umm Siteib, where it was buried.

Some ten years later Qurashi Mohammed had a dream, in which Sheikh 'Alim told him that his body must be moved to 'Azaza El Sahba, and that a village must be built near his grave, for he was being troubled by ants eating one of his feet. Doing as he was told, the faithful Qurashi found the body of the Sheikh in perfect preservation except for one toe. While the body was being carried to the new grave, a foot was pricked by a wayside thorn, and the wound dripped blood : and when a woman, thinking the Sheikh was alive, attempted to kiss his hand, the corpse turned away its head and she desisted. The village of Qurashi, where the body was buried, is thus the result of the Sheikh's injunction to his faithful servant.

When a few years had passed Qurashi decided to build a *qubba* (shrine) over his master's grave : but he had great difficulty, as the bricks which he made all crumbled away. One day, however, a stranger riding a camel came to him and told him that if he could bring men and camels he would show him where he could find some good red bricks. The animals and men were produced and Qurashi was shown a pit

[1] A.D. 1591.
[2] A.D. 1594-1680.
[3] He is not mentioned in MacMichael's translation of Wad Daif'allah.
[4] An ancestor of the present Omda of Kuraishi—Sheikh el Bashir Ibrahim 'Alim.

north-west of the village of Abu Fru', which was full of red bricks about 18 inches long and 4 inches broad; these were all carried to the grave. Even then Qurashi could find no builder, but the stranger came and offered his help and he was allowed to build the *qubba*. When the building was finished the builder stood on the top, and asked the crowd standing below him whether this Sheikh 'Alim was really such a great man as to deserve all this trouble; the Halawin assured him that he was. "Then, if I jump down from here, he will not let me hurt myself" cried the stranger, and leapt to the ground. The crowd gasped, and held their breath expecting to see a mangled corpse at their feet; but to their amazement, the stranger had disappeared. The descendants of Qurashi and of Sheikh Alim hold to this day that the Sheikh came and built his own *qubba*.

The first fell down, and the existing structure was built by Haj Ahmed 'Alim in 1230 A.H., or thereabouts. The tomb is to-day used for swearing and is considered to have miraculous powers.

Qurashi himself was also credited with miraculous powers. Once a stranger, who was staying with 'Abd el Ğalil, Qurashi's brother, went out rabbiting with a party from Dolga and inadvertently killed one of them with his *trumbash* (throwing stick) instead of the rabbit. The dead man's relations at once called for the stranger's blood, but 'Abd el Ğalil refused to give him up and sent for Qurashi. Qurashi came and brought back the dead man to life, thus relieving an awkward situation.

At the end of the 18th century A.D., the 'Abdullab devastated the country with more or less disciplined bands of black troops, under Nasir el Amin, who succeeded 'Abdullah Wad 'Agib as Sheikh of the 'Abdullab in A.D. 1799.

Mohammed El Qurashi, son of the devoted follower of El Sheikh 'Alim, said that neither he nor his family would move for Wad El Amin or anybody else. When Wad el Amin came near he heard that Mohammed el Qurashi had not run away: exclaiming "Well there is one brave man for you," he moved out of his line of march to avoid the village. Mohammed el Qurashi was thenceforward known as Mohammed El 'Hadu'.[1]

Brushes with the Shukria resulted at this time in a fight at Qurashi, but my informants are very reticent on the subject, and it is probable that

[1] Meaning the one who is avoided owing to his bravery.

the Halawin came off the worst and perhaps had to pay tribute to avoid further molestation. Another time a small party of Shukria had a fight at Helaila (then known as "Hosh Bedur"). Being hard-pressed they eventually found themselves fighting with their backs to a big thorn *zeriba*. The women of Helaila, it is said, then set fire to the zeriba and burnt them to death. This seems to be the only time the Halawin women took part in any fighting.

Cotton was first introduced about A.D. 1800, and was grown with some success and spun into thread or woven into clothing which the Halawin took south and exchanged for slaves and other merchandise. A considerable trade was carried on until comparatively recent years and old hand-looms are still to be found in the villages, while coloured tablecloths are made to this day in Sharafat, though the thread is now bought, and not grown as before. There is still a saying extant "*El halawi el medawis, huwa yinsij imra'thu tebowis.*"[1]

About this time, the famous Sheikh Ahmed El Basir was born in Dolga village, and during his lifetime Mohammed Adlan Abu Likeilik[2] (the last of the Hamaj Sheikhs) sent one, Qasim el Hamajawi, to administer the Halawin and to collect the taxes due from them. The headquarters of the administration, such as it was, were at El Timeid.

The Halawin were still fighting with their old enemies the Kawahla, and even Qasim, hard ruler though he was, was unable to stop them. But after a fight on a larger scale than usual Sheikh Ahmed El Basir set off to the White Nile with the object of settling the quarrel once and for all. He succeeded in making a *sulh* (settlement) and sealed the peace by marrying the daughter of El Feki Mohammed el Agbash, a Kahli notable, by whom he had a son, and since that day the feud between the two tribes has ceased. On his return from the White Nile, Sheikh Ahmed collected all his followers in Dolga to celebrate the occasion of the peace and to exhort them to keep it. Qasim, however, considered the gathering a good opportunity to frighten the Halawin into paying their arrears of taxes: and, arriving with a number of soldiers he set fire to the *khalwa* in which the Sheikh and his followers were assembled. A grass *rakuba* in front of the door collapsed in the flames and made it impossible for anybody to come out or to go in: but Sheikh Ahmed, calling for silence, raised his

[1] "The dull-witted Halawi weaves his cloth and his wife spins the thread."
[2] Acceded to power in A.D. 1808 and was killed in A.D. 1821.

hands to heaven and prayed for rain. At once heavy rain fell on the burning building and all escaped unhurt. It is said that no rain fell outside the house and that there was no cloud in the sky.

Qasim rode off to Sheikh Mohammed Adlan Abu Likeilik to tell the strange story, hoping doubtless for an army to rid him of the turbulent Feki. The Hamaj sheikh, however, impressed by the Halawi's power, ordered that no more taxes should be collected from him, neither *Matura* nor *Mukhlaya* nor *Kersha*.

Annoyed at the lack of support from his superior officer, Qasim leapt to his horse—a famous steed—and rode him so hard that he jumped him over a high cliff into the river at a place called Hurab Abu Shok. Qasim was drowned,[1] but the horse is said to have swum across and never to have been caught again.

Sheikh Ahmed was then brought before Mohammed Adlan in Sennar and was there treated with the greatest honour, and presented with an 'address' granting him his freedom from taxation. (See Appendix III.)

I have heard a number of interesting stories told about Sheikh Ahmed El Basir. He was in fact as good a wonder-worker as any of the Halawi saints. On one occasion a pupil, by name Mohammed el Tegalawi, was struck by lightning and killed while sowing his *dura*; the Sheikh had the body brought before him and gave it back its life, with a promise of a further ten years to live.

Another pupil from Helaila village asked the Sheikh to give him a son, as so far his wife had produced nothing but daughters. A son was promised, and the father was naturally much annoyed to find that the next child was also a girl. He returned to the Sheikh, who again assured him that he should have a son. The next child was also a daughter and the father, who had by now lost all faith in the Sheikh, refused to ask again. Sheikh Ahmed heard about this and went on purpose to the village and asked to see his pupil's boys. When the poor man replied that he had only girls, "Never mind," said the Sheikh, "bring the eldest girl." When the girl came he ordered that she should be covered up with a *tub* (cotton garment), he then placed his hand on her head, and, working it down over her face and breasts, he reached the pit of the stomach; then, suddenly uttering the words "God shall abolish and confirm what he pleaseth, with Him is the mother of the book,"[2] he seized a handful of

[1] Another account makes Qasim still alive with the Halawin when the Turks arrived.
[2] Qur'an chapter entitled "Thunder."

flesh and pulled. When the *tub* had been removed a boy, and not a girl was found underneath.

The Sheikh died in A.H. 1244.[1] He was buried in the village now called by his name, and in 1255 A.H.[2] Sheikh El Hussein Wad el Subahi built the present *qubba* over the body.

In 1236 A.H.[3] Sennar submitted to Isma'il Pasha and the old *régime* passed away. On the arrival of the Pasha's army El Feki Mohammed el Dau,[4] who was regarded as Sheikh of the Halawin, ran away, and two Sheikhs were appointed by the 'Turks' in his place. They made Ahmed Wad el 'Alim,[5] a nephew of El Feki Mohammed El Hadu, Sheikh over the Ashamna, and Imam Wad Idris,[6] Sheikh over the Rahmab and Medidab, while the *nazir* over the whole of the northern part of the *Gezira*, from Khartoum southwards, was Shanbul Wad Medani, the Shanbuli.

El Haj Ahmed was a hot-tempered man and rather a knight errant in his way. It is said that on one occasion the 'Turkish' soldiers had collected a number of Halawi men and were taking them, tied together by their necks with leather thongs, into Wad Medani as conscripts : they had reached El Hassaheissa by the time that their weeping wives and children had told El Haj Ahmed. Mounting his horse, and catching up the party alone, the Sheikh cut their thongs with his sword and told them to run away. Such was the Sheikh's reputation that the 'Turkish' soldiers, though armed with rifles, dared not resist him, and allowed the Halawin to escape.

The Sheikh, however, did not always get his way with the Government, for he once received 500 lashes and was bastinadoed at the same time, for not collecting his taxes.

Imam Wad Idris was succeeded on his death by Ahmed Idris,[7] his brother, and Ahmed in his turn was followed by Imam's son, Mohammed Imam " Wad Haboba," the best known of all the Halawin. As a young lad, not long circumcised, Wad Imam was once riding along near Sharafat when he noticed a number of people moving off to do a sort of feudal day's

[1] 1829 A.D.
[2] 1839 A.D.
[3] 1821 A.D.
[4] Brother of Mohammed El Hadu.
[5] Grandfather of present Omda of Qurashi.
[6] Grandfather of present Omda of Meheireiba.
[7] Grandfather of the present Sheikh of Halawin Khut.

work on Shanbul's land ; the boy is said to have drawn his sword, and, threatening to cut the head off anyone who went, to have told Shanbul's slaves to carry to his master sundry unprintable remarks.

The slaves did so, but Shanbul, far from being put out, exclaimed : " I always knew that that child was *natuj* " (" likely to bring forth something "). On the death of Wad Imam's uncle, Shanbul made him Sheikh, and later, when Mohammed Imam had married the daughter of Shanbul's cousin Musa'ad 'Abd el Qadir, he became Shanbul's *wakil*.

During this period there occurred the usual internal bickerings among the Halawin and Mohammed Wad Imam and Haj Ahmed Wad 'Alim went off to fight things out in Khartoum. While they were away, a quarrel broke out between the Halawin and the Dubasin over some land near Abu Sheneib, in which the Dubasin made at the Halawin cultivators with whips and staves, and the former at once ran away. Nothing was heard about this until Wad Imam on his return camped for the night with Wad el Hashim, the Dubasi Sheikh. When he was out in the village a little way away washing himself preparatory to evening prayer, he heard some Dubasin maidens singing " *El Dubasi seifu sanin wa el Halawi khamaj el tin* : "[1] going straight back, he ordered his slave to saddle his camel. The fatted sheep had been killed and Wad el Hashim asked him at least to eat before moving. Wad Imam, merely lifting his hand and uttering the one word " *haram*,"[2] and went off as hard as he could, and bade forty of his slaves each to take a shield and stout cudgel and set out for the Dubasin village. Apart from the slaves he only took with him Haj Ahmed 'Alim : at the village these two drew their swords and told the slaves to set to and beat the Dubasin, warning them that anyone who ran away would be beheaded. The slaves are said to have given the Dubasin a sound drubbing, Wad el Hashim only escaping with his life at Mohammed Imam's intervention.

The Dubasin complained to the Hakimdar (Governor) in Khartoum and Wad Imam was summoned thither and thrown into prison.

There, however, he bribed his way into the presence of the astonished Governor, who was sitting with his wife after dinner, and poured about £E.160 in gold on the carpet from his *jibba*. The Governor asked if Wad

[1] " A sharp sword for the Dubasi, a salluka stick for the Halawi."
[2] " Accursed," i.e., forbidden (of the food).

Imam was giving all his gold in order to be set free, but Wad Imam at once replied that he only wanted to have his case tried.

The next day he presented the Judges with grain and camels; (my informants insist that these were not intended as bribes, nor to influence the court in any way).

The case came up for trial that afternoon and the judge, one "Salowi," said: "As this is a big case and will take a long time and it is the rainy season, and as the sowing and weeding of *dura* cannot be left unattended without great loss to both parties, I propose to put the hearing off until after the grain has been harvested"—and Wad Imam was released.

The Dubasin were much incensed at this but eventually a *sulh* (settlement) was made and the disputed land became the property of Wad Imam. It is to this day known as "Abu Daya" in memory of the event.

Another tale told about Mohammed Imam is that he objected to the high price of wives, and that as the birth-rate was declining, he went to Khartoum and got permission to hold the *kora* among the Halawin. On his way back he brought with him Wad Eisa, the *'Alim* of Masid,[1] to help make things legal. He then told each youth to take the damsel he fancied and merely to pay twelve piastres and a half and to provide a robe and a pair of slippers for the girl. He is said to have wed thus one hundred and ten couples in Sharafat village alone in one day and their offspring is believed to have totalled a hundred boys.[2]

Soon afterwards Wad Imam was removed as a result of a petition to Khartoum from the villages of El Basir Edeid and Talbab alleging oppression and dishonesty, and his half-brother Abu Sinn was made *Sheikh el Qism* with one Karam'allah, a Ja'ali, as *Nazir* over the whole country South of Khartoum.

Upon one occasion Abu Sinn did not take enough money up to the "Turks" and is said to have pocketed more than his fair share of the taxes collected in their name. He was arrested and taken to Khartoum

[1] Grandfather of the present *Sheikh El Khut* at Masid.

[2] I believe a similar occurrence took place at Nuba village in 1929 when one, Taha Qurush, incidentally an Aidabi and a wealthy merchant, made *El Kora* there. He apparently threatened to move all his shops and call in his debts unless everyone swore on the Qur'an to agree. Even later than this, in 1930, Sheikh Tayib el Sheikh El Qurashi made *El Kora*, but this time for £E.2 in the village of Sheikh el Qurashi; about 30 couples were married.

where he received a thousand lashes for his pains. He is reported to have stood the beating without a murmur: upon rising, the amulets which hung round his neck by a cord were found to be buried in the flesh of his stomach. He had been afraid to move or to take them off for fear people should say he had writhed under the whip.

Mohammed Wad Imam was then reinstated (A.D. 1877). At an assembly of the Halawin and the Shenabla for the settlement of one of the continual land disputes, he thought to put the proceedings on an amiable footing by getting one Qurashi Ibrahim of Edeid, who was a singer of note, to make up an *extempore* 'ballad' on the subject. The worthy Qurashi sang as follows:—

"Abiad min el dabalan
Khati el dakan
Tishbah gamal abu a'aj
Fi mubrekein
Waqt badeit el kai
Aula el mekin."[1]

Needless to say the meeting at once broke up.

In 1292 A.H.[2] Mohammed Ahmed el Mahdi came to study under Sheikh el Kuraishi at his village and remained there until, in 1295 A.H., the latter died. In 1296 A.H. the Mahdi raised the present *qubba* over his former master and asked for the hand of the daughter[3] of Sheikh Mohammed el Basir[4] in marriage. It is said that Mohammed el Basir asked Wad Imam to come and see the Mahdi and to tell him whether he thought it would be a wise thing to give his daughter, as nobody knew very much about the Mahdi at that time; Wad Imam replied: 'He appears a good and holy man, and I would give him four daughters if I had them.' The marriage was carried out that night.

In 1297 A.H.[5] Mohammed Ahmed returned to Aba Island and in the next year Sheikh Mohammed el Basir went to visit him there: in Ramadan that year the first fighting started. The Mahdi wrote secretly to Sheikh Mohammed el Basir but got no reply; after the fall of El Obeid he once more wrote telling him either to make trouble and forays against

[1] "You who are whiter than cotton that has no blemish
You who are as beautiful as a crouching lion
When you hit, hit hard."
[2] 1875 A.D.
[3] Surra by name; she had no children.
[4] Grandson of Ahmed El Basir.
[5] 1880 A.D.

the local Turkish posts or to come and join him. Sheikh Mohammed called the Halawin elders together for a discussion on the subject, and they decided that it would be better to wait a little longer.

Later some eight or ten Halawin came from El Obeid where they had been present with the Mahdi at the fall. (About two hundred men, amongst them Ahmed El Basir and Sheikh Ibrahim 'Alim, had joined the Mahdi at the first fight). These men were very annoyed at the temporising of Mohammed El Basir and the others and swore them in to the Mahdi's service on the Qur'an. The next day these men came to the market and smashed the bowls of *merissa* and spilt the *tombac* on to the ground and burnt it. At which a soldier in Turkish pay, one Ahmed Effendi, told them to stop, and boasted that he would alone wipe out all the Halawin if they started any trouble. Mahmud Haj Musa'ad ran up to him and tried to stop his rash talk, but he was too late, for someone[1] ran him through with a spear and fifty more spears were then thrust into the wretched man. The market at once broke up and all went off to Sheikh Mohammed el Basir where they beat drums to collect the people. Mohammed Imam was away at the time, but, though one Mohammed 'Omar cut the telegraph wires so that no news should get through, he soon arrived on the scene in a great rage. ' Fools,' said he, ' the Government will bring twenty soldiers for that one you killed ;' but everyone said ' How are the Turks to know, now the wires are cut ? ' After a while Mohammed Imam appears to have fallen in with the views of the majority, as he ordered everyone to come together and be sworn in. This occurred on the Sunday, and on the Monday over 7,000 men had enlisted. On Friday they had 40,000.

Saleh Bey Wad el Mek, the Shaigi, coming up from Sennar in a steamboat, heard of this and knowing that the Halawin had no rifles or cannon engaged them at Fedasi.

The Mahdi had news of this fight and sent Ahmed el Basir, who had with him forty riflemen. Saleh Bey was eventually overcome, and sent as a prisoner to the Mahdi,[2] who rewarded Sheikh Mohammed by making him an *Emir*. The Sheikh arranged his camp below Ganneb and settled down to drill and review his forces, until Sheikh Ibrahim Wad 'Alim[3] came from

[1] A slave belonging to Tahir Wad Aid of Timeid.
[2] 1884 A.D.
[3] Father of present Omda of Kuraishi.

the Mahdi with orders which resulted in the presence of the Halawin force at the fall of Khartoum.

When news of Osman Digna's doings in the North-East arrived in Omdurman, Ibrahim Wad 'Alim was sent to Kassala to take over, but in 1303 A.H. the Khalifa made him *Amin el Shuna* and *Qadi* in the *Beit el Mal* in Omdurman.

In 1305 A.H. Wad el Basir was sent, with one-sixth of the Halawin, towards Abyssinia, and the fight at Gallabat took place.

In 1307 A.H. the Khalifa ordered all the Halawin fighting men to Omdurman and made Qurashi el Basir, brother of Mohammed, *Wakil Emir*, with instructions to take them as reinforcements to Gallabat. Qurashi returned in 1309 A.H. and died at Omdurman in the next year. In 1311 A.H. another expedition, under the Emir Ahmed Fadil, went to Abyssinia and Wad el Basir, Wad 'Alim and Abu Sinn were among others who had flags, and commanded men of their own. In the same year Mohammed Imam " Wad Haboba " died and was buried at Omdurman and in the next year Abu Sinn died at Timeid. During this period the entire country was under Sheikh Mohammed el Basir, who had Ibrahim Wad El Basir, father of the present Tayib el Basir,[1] as his *wakil* over the Halawin section. The latter had to collect and hand over 200,000 ardebs of *dura* and 1,000 rolls of cotton cloth yearly, as " assistance to the faith." At Omdurman and in direct contact with the Khalifa as one of his *mulazimin* (bodyguard) was Qurashi Ibrahim, the second son of Sheikh Ibrahim 'Alim. Mubashar, his elder brother, was killed by a rifle bullet in the final battle of Omdurman, but Qurashi escaped, and has been of great help in the writing of these notes.

Other Halawi *mulazimin* were Sammani Mohammed el Basir and Ibrahim El Qadi Hadi, who are living to-day in Abu Fru'.

Sheikh Ibrahim 'Alim left the field of Omdurman on horseback behind the Khalifa. When some forty miles had been covered there came up to him an officer of the black slave soldiers who told him that the Khalifa's small sons were travelling on foot and very tired, and asked for the horse for them. Ibrahim complied with the request and the slave took the horse and rode off, not to the children, but to save his own skin. While Ibrahim was moving along on foot, some Ta'aisha set upon him and wounded him

[1] Sheikh of village Sheikh el Basir.

in the arm and thigh, and, after taking his clothes and arms, left him for dead. He eventually returned, however, to his house at Kuraishi. Mohammed el Basir had left before the battle, and upon hearing the news that the Khalifa had lost the day set off to Rufa'a in order to interview the famous Abu Sinn family of the Shukria who would probably be able, should they desire to do so, to put in a word for any friend of theirs. With him he took Mohammed Haj Musa'ad, Ibrahim Haj Safi, El Amin Musaad Gad el 'Ain and sundry others.

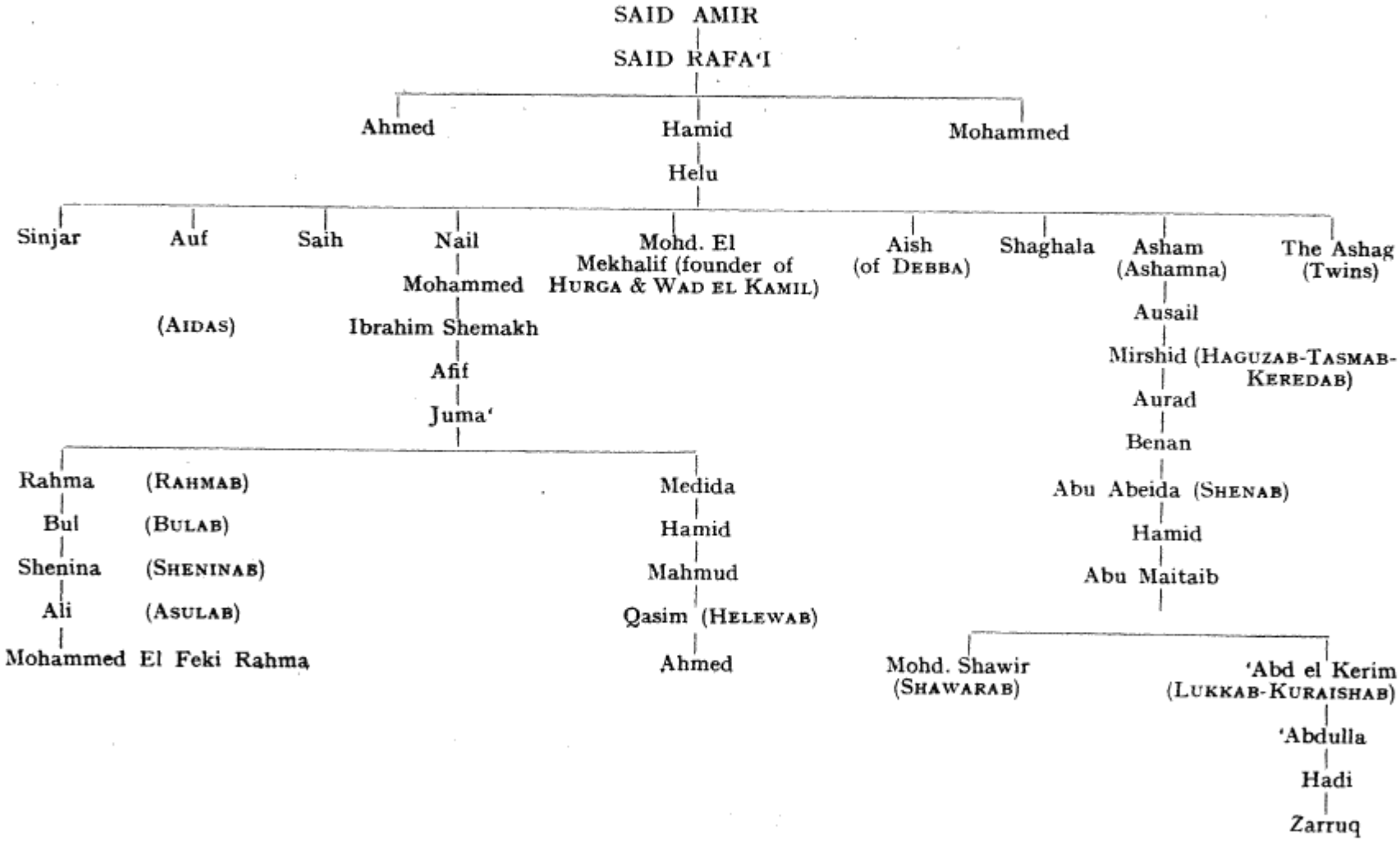
The Emir Ahmed Fadil, who had had no news of the Khalifa's downfall, and was proceeding with his followers to Omdurman, came upon the party at Rufa'a and asked for news. Mohammed el Basir, not wishing his friends to be in the Emir's power, said he would send them to get news; this he did, but they at once returned to their villages. When news came through, Mohammed el Basir and the Emir moved off south, crossing the river opposite Kosti. As they were half across, a steamboat sent from Khartoum split the party up, and Mohammed el Basir was captured, but was eventually allowed to return home.

Imam, son of Ahmed Imam, had set off for Egypt and had there asked to be made *Nazir*; he was told to return, as such questions would be settled on the spot. He then, with Musaad Wad Ahmed, the father of the present Sheikh, went to Khartoum and saw Slatin Pasha who also told them to return home. They did so, but Imam made out that he had been made *Nazir* and collected all the goods of Mohammed el Basir and the animals and arms of the Ta'aisha who had fled to the West. The Halawin were not pleased at this and later when the whole tribe agreed to the appointment of 'Abdulla Musaad as Sheikh of the Halawin and Sheikh of the Third Khut, the Pasha accordingly approved. He died in A.D. 1917, and was succeeded by his brother El Amin, the present Sheikh.

## APPENDIX I.

### TABLES SHOWING FOUNDERS OF HALAWIN SUB-TRIBES.

N.B.—This does not pretend to be more than a mere skeleton outline.



## APPENDIX II.

The following is a table showing the three chief divisions of the HALAWIN and the sub-divisions with their notable families and villages.

| | *Ancestor.* | *Sub-division.* | *Family.* | *Village.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RAHMAB. | Ibrahim Shemakh | AIDAB ... ... | —— | Scattered. |
| | Afif ... ... | AFIFAB ... ... | —— | SAFIA. |
| | Bul ... ... | BULAB ... ... | —— | HELAILA. |
| | Shenina ... ... | SHENINAB ... | Present Nazir and Wad Imam | —— |
| | Ali ... ... | ASULAB ... ... | —— | SHARAFAT. |
| | Mohammed ... | — | FEKI RAHMA ... | KATFIA. |
| MEDIDAB. | Medida ... ... | MEDIDAB ... | —— | DOLGA. |
| | Hamid ... ... | —— | WAD EL BASIR family | —— |
| | Mahmud ... | —— | HAG SAFI family | —— |
| | Qasim ... ... | HELEWAB ... | —— | HELEWAB village. |
| | Ahmed ... ... | —— | HAG EL TAYEB family | —— |
| ASHAMNA. | Mirshid ... ... | HEGUZAB ... | | HEGUZAB and |
| | | TASMAB ... | —— | MANAGAZA. |
| | | KEREDAB ... | | Market villages. |
| | Abu Abeida ... | SHENAB ... ... | —— | TUKALAT HAJ KURAISHI. |
| | Mohd. Shawir ... | SHAWARAB ... | —— | SHAWARAB. |
| | 'Abd el Kerim ... | KURAISHAB and LUKKAB | —— | WAD EL 'ALIM family. ANGADO village. |

## APPENDIX III.

This title deed from the Sultan is written in the land of the Fung, in the City of Sennar the fortified, governed by her ruler and her ruler's son the lord of far and near.

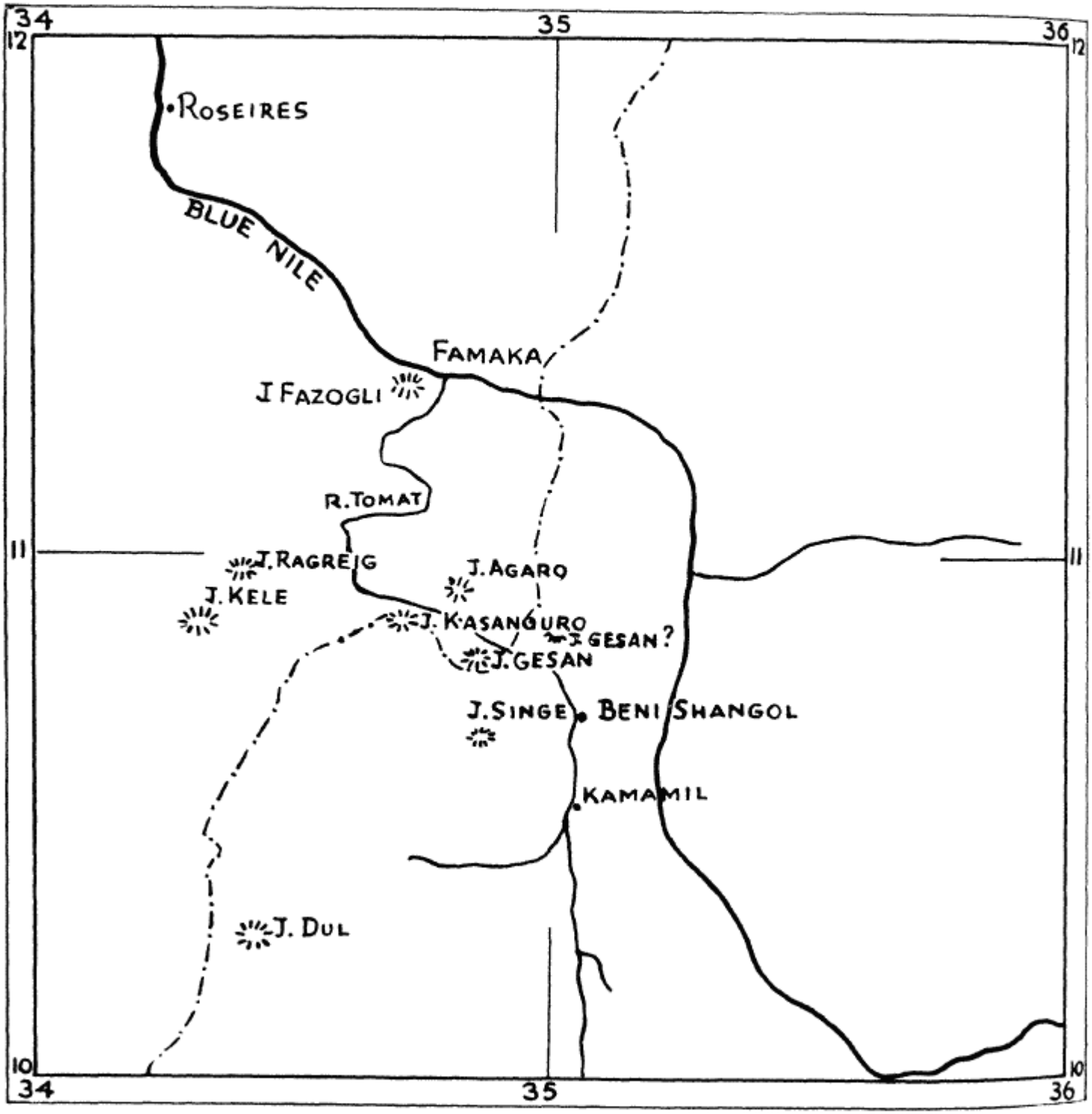
The lord the Sultan ibn El Sultan Mohammed Likeilik has made over to the Sheikh Ahmed el Basir, the Halawi, the *Dar* of his village, be it in rain land or by the river, to the honour of God and his Prophet, as indulgence for that last day when money and sons will be of no avail except to those who have a pure heart. And this village shall have no taxes levied upon it neither *Matura* nor *Mukhlaya* nor *Kersha* nor any of the customary tributes.

Take notice of this O soldiers : do not encroach on these rights : for he who does so shall be stricken and die.

Peace be upon you.

From the Sultan ibn El Sultan.

MOHAMMED LIKEILIK.




SKETCH MAP OF BERTA COUNTRY.

# ITALIAN TRAVELLERS IN THE BERTA COUNTRY.

By G. O. Whitehead.

(PLATE XII.)

THE following passages taken from the works of two Italian travellers in the Sudan have enough interest to warrant their translation. In the first place all accounts of journeys in the Sudan which were made before the time of the Mahdi take on a glamour of romance which they do not always intrinsically deserve ; though in this instance both writers are readable enough. In the second place both make small though definite additions to our knowledge of the Berta people. One strengthens the supposition that there were Fung dynasties among the Berta as in other parts of the Blue Nile, and the other gives a notice of a late example of king-killing, which has not been quoted before in other reviews of the custom.

According to Romolo Gessi only four Europeans had made their way into the heart of the Berta country before he and his companion Pellegrino Matteucci[1] made their journey in 1878. These four are : the German Russeger, who visited the country in 1838, the Frenchman Trémaux, who went there in 1848, the Italian Beltrame,[2] whose account is here quoted, and the Austrian Marno, who made the journey in 1870. Gessi was in fact incorrect : several other Europeans had already been in the Berta country and left some account of their experiences. There was a young geologist, M. Lefèvre,[3] who, with Boréani and d'Arnaud (the latter afterwards reappears on the White Nile), went up to the river Tomat prospecting for gold, and in enthusiastic expectation of a quick development of the country meant to call one of the villages Mohammed-Ali-Polis. Unfortunately he died of exposure. In the early forties a Dr. Castelli[4] made a journey from the White to the Blue Nile, by way of Dul, Keili, Bertat, Camamil and Fazoghli. In 1848 a Russian, Kovalsky,[5] also went looking for gold, reached the head of the Tomat and called the spot Nikolævskaia—a transient witness to Russian enterprise. Carlo Piaggia,[6] an assiduous

[1] Matteucci, Pellegrino ; Sudan e Gallas. Milano 1879.
[2] Beltrame, Sennaar e lo Sciangallah. Verona 1879.
[3] Lefèvre. Bull. Soc. de Geographie, 1843. p. 97–99.
[4] Castelli. Bull. Soc. de Geographie, tome 4, 1845, p. 165–166.
[5] Kovalsky. Nouvelles Annales de Voyage, Vols. 2, 3, 4. 1850.
[6] Piaggia, Carlo ; Da Cartum a Beni-Sciangol. L'Esploratore, p. 233 *et seq.* 1881.

Italian traveller and trader in the Sudan during the seventies was in Dar Bertat, either just before or after Gessi. After Gessi the Dutchman Schuver[1] made a journey from Cairo to Fadasi in 1881, and published as the result of his travels an excellent map of the district.

Most of these travellers reached Beni-Shangul, a town on the Tomat river which joins the Blue Nile near Fazoghli. This town was the head-quarters of the Berta tribe, and in those days a point of some commercial importance. It stood on a frequented trade route between Abyssinia and Sennar, and was visited by Galla and Arab merchants. It was in the middle of the gold producing country of the Berta hills, and the point where Abyssinian merchants obtained salt. Matteucci describes it, possibly with some exaggeration, as a commercial emporium for a great part of Africa.

The first extract is taken from Beltrame's book "Senaar e lo Sciangallah."[2] Beltrame was an Italian missionary who had already travelled on the White Nile to the Bari country, and who was now (1855) undertaking a journey on the Blue Nile to investigate the prospects of establishing a mission in those parts. The scheme was abandoned on his return to Khartoum after discussion with his superior Knoblecher, and a mission was ultimately sent to the Dinka country. Beltrame gives an interesting account of the Turkish régime on the Blue Nile, and of the obstacles put in the way of his further advance by the Turkish pasha at Fazoghli. However, with the assistance of local merchants he had over-come these difficulties and succeeded in moving on to a village named Singe. Singe lay a mile or two from Beni-Shangul, and is said to have been the most southerly point reached by the Egyptian expedition of 1821.

"About three in the afternoon I returned with Uad el Garbi to visit the *faqi* Messaid and the two big chiefs Sciek-el-Fadly and Honkong, and about four o'clock we were already seated under the rekuba of the *faqi* Messaid where I found the good merchant his son-in-law, whom I had seen in Qesan (a village a little further north) and to whom I soon gave the glass beads I had then promised him. I made gifts to the *faqi* Messaid of the two finest cloths I had purchased in the bazaar of Khartoum and of other objects of lesser value.

[1] Schuver, J. M.; Von Kairo nach Fadasi, Petermann's Mitteilungen, 1882. Also Petermann's Erganzungsband, XVI, No. 72, 1883–1884, containing a good map.

[2] Previous to publishing his book Beltrame had contributed two of its chapters to the Ital. Royal Geog. Soc., Ser 2, No. 4, p. 151 *et seq.*, 1879. It is from this volume that the translation is taken.

The news of my coming to the *faqi* spread throughout the town in a few minutes, and its inhabitants in their curiosity came pouring out from all parts ; there was such excitement, such coming and going and gesticulating as to suggest that they were witnessing something super-natural. There must have been without exaggeration from four to five thousand persons gathered to see the white man. There were a hundred men, women, old men, youths, little boys and girls on the tops of huts, on trees, on every eminence where they could see better ; and in the middle of the crowd, taking turn and turn about, they bore each other in their arms or on their shoulders. At last the *faqi* Messaid and Uad-el-Garbi succeeded in persuading them to return to their huts, promising them that I should return to Benisciangol another time.

Among the inhabitants of Benisciangol I noticed that many were quite black in colour while the greater part were of a brown colour and of much more regular features."

" We, sir," the *faqi* Messaid told me, " have been in these parts a short time ; we are people of Shendi and Halfa, who fled from those districts when Mohammed Aly sent Egyptian soldiers there to avenge the death of Ismail Pasha his son, burnt alive in Shendi. Very many then took refuge here in Benisciangol which is the chief town among the Sciangallah ; some in Fadasi, and others were dispersed on the neighbouring mountains. Of the negroes, which you, sir, see present here, some already inhabited Benisciangol when we came, and others are black Berta, who spontaneously gave themselves up into our power, not knowing upon what to live on their sterile mountains ; and the great chief of all these negroes is Honkong whom we shall visit.

But first, if it please you, let us recall ourselves to Sciek-el-Fadly, the great friend of Nemr, who had Ismail Pasha burnt alive in a hut in Shendi."

What a fine old man of about eighty years of age ! He was sitting bent, motionless, and inert upon a stool under the *rekuba*, which was in front of his hut. The *faqi* Messaid approached him first, pressed his hand and kissed it reverently, so did Uad-el-Garbi, and I felt myself forced to imitate them, and while I held his hand clasped in mine and placed it, as is the custom, to my heart ; " Oh, how fortunate am I," I said to him in tones of emotion, " this day to clasp and to kiss the hand of a hero of Shendi ! "

These words of mine stirred the venerable old man so that he lifted his furrowed brow, raised his chest, fixed upon me two black eyes that gleamed like two stars and began to speak as one rapt in ecstasy :—" The great night ! the great night ! that night at Shendi. Ismail Pasha knew it, too, who thought to torture us with his cruel caprices. Three hundred slaves, the choicest, the shameless one claimed, within twelve hours, under pain of death, from poor Nemr, my friend, besides all the rest. The great night, the great night, that night at Shendi ! I remember, as it had been now, the solemn oath we made with our brave soldiers to burn Ismail Pasha alive in his hut. I remember that instant when we had attacked him, fearless, at dead of night, unlooked for, slaying sentinels and officers who guarded him, and seizing others by the throat and striking them furiously to the ground, shouting, 'Vendetta, vendetta,' against Ismail Pasha, who was then suddenly burnt alive, as we had sworn against him."

In this brief recital of the tragic end of Ismail Pasha, Sciek-el-Fadly displayed an extraordinary vigour of voice and gesture, yet ever preserving such a patriarchal dignity as might have served for example to many an actor. In short, I have never seen an old man's face more awful or more handsome than that of Sciek-el-Fadly.

The incident here referred to occurred in 1821. Mohammed Ali had despatched two armies to undertake the conquest of the Sudan, one under Ismail his son, and the other under his son-in-law, Mohammed Bey el Defterdar. Ismail occupied Sennar and advanced into Dar Fazoghli with the aim of occupying the gold producing area of the Dar Bertat mountains. On his return to Sennar, a revolt led by Nimr, the Malek of Shendi, broke out. Ismail had summoned Nimr to appear before him, and in his fury had struck him with his pipe. Nimr afterwards took this revenge. On the return of Mohammed Bey el Defterdar from Kordofan, 30,000 Sudanese are said to have been killed as a reprisal for Ismail's death.

Beltrame leaves the old Arab sheik and goes to see Honkong. " Before sunset we were at the hut of the great chief Honkong, which was placed at a little distance from that of Sciek-el-Fadly, isolated from all the others, at the foot of a little eminence, and shaded by an old tree. Honkong was seated on the ground outside the entrance of the hut which was surrounded with cow dung, and awaited my visit ; the *faqi* Messaid

had already announced it to him. For the rest he never received anybody, except the slave who brought him a little food to live on. And the *faqi* Messaid told me that he prayed continually, thinking of God, of the future life, and of the misery of man. I clasped his hand, kissed it, and placed it to my heart saying to him: Es-selàm aalèk, ia Scièk el-kbir; Allah ybàrek fik—peace be with thee, great chief; God bless thee." He then pressed my hand to his heart repeating: "Alèk es-selam, ia Sidi, kàttar âla chèrak—with thee be the peace, oh Signor; I thank you."

Then I turned to Uad-el-Garbi and to the *faqi* Messaid calling to them; "And why leave the great chief in such squalor?" Honkong understood these words; looked at me smiling and said: "Now that I am an old man of nearly ninety, and that I cannot live any more in the midst of men, because my natural forces daily abate more and more, at least let me live among the ants which you see, sir, swarming from this dung. The ants are, and I wish them to be, my only companions here upon earth, where I have lost all; nothing remains to me but this hut which will receive my bones when I am dead, and that I soon shall be. I have no more wives, no more sons, no more cattle, no more gold. All was taken from me by God, whom I adore, and the Turks, whom I curse. I ought to say that every one of my grandsons and of my tribe would wish me in his house, but I like to stay here all alone in my hut; here died my dearest, here one day was buried my gold which I had to give in handfuls to the Turks that they might not come and seize our lands; not content with that they tore all the teeth from my mouth, they circumcised me—behold, sir, and shudder—and cut off the tip of my ears and my tongue. Allah malkom—may God curse them! And here in this hut, as I was born poor, I wish to die poor. Thus goes the lot of the world!"

"Calm thyself," I said, "calm thyself, oh great chief, and hope in God, who is so good, who sees all, and who will know . . . ." "Yes," he answered, "in God alone I hope, who is so good and so just, and who sooner or later will know . . . . how to avenge me against the Turks. Woe to us, if the hope of a better life did not comfort us!"

When coffee had been drunk and the usual compliments exchanged, as the sun had already set, I said to Uad-el-Garbi that it was time to go, that the way was long and rather rough, since a deep valley divided us from Singe. We left at about eight o'clock and did not reach Singe till about ten."

During his stay Beltrame made enquiries about the boundaries of the Berta district, the Berta language, the rights of the local chiefs, and the manners and customs of the people.

" The country of the Sciangallah is bounded by the Fazoql on the north, the Blue Nile and the Jebus (Jabos) on the east, the Dinka tribe of the Sennaar peninsula on the west, the Jebus and the Galla on the south. It is crossed from north to south by the great chain of the mountains of the Berta, which takes various special names according to the tribe by which it is inhabited. The principal of these tribes are the Agaro, the Kusciankuru, the Berta (which form the most numerous and strongest tribe, and from which the big chain derives its name) and the Benisciangallah. All these tribes speak a common language which is called the language of the Berta."

Sciangallah or Shangalla is a well known term for the negro population of the western frontiers of Abyssinia. When Bruce entered the Sudan from Abyssinia, he applied the term indiscriminately to all negroes, and only later learnt to distinguish Hameg, Shilluk and Nuba. Beltrame here uses the word as synonomous with Berta, and Beke, the Abyssinian traveller and linguist, did the same, but it seems that it generally had a wider application.

Beltrame made a small vocabulary of the language and used an occasional word such as *ide* (man) and *angiarata* (greeting) while he was on his tour, but unfortunately he lost his notes while on his return journey to Sennar.

He talked with several of the local chiefs and in particular visited the chief of Qessan several times on his hill. He was puzzled by the fact that while the people only knew Berta, their chiefs spoke Arabic. He was told that the ruling families were descended from the Arabs; their ancestors had conquered these mountains by force of arms and had since then been accepted as the rulers of the territory, and that the people willingly obeyed their counsels and accepted their decisions.

" The Sciangallah are divided into tribes, each independent of the other. Every tribe recognizes a great chief and comprises a certain number of villages " (elsewhere Beltrame says three, four, or five villages), 'of which each has its own chief as well. But these chiefs do not exercise any rights against those among whom they live. The dignity with which they are invested is no more than an honorary dignity. They are respected and consulted in the affairs which concern the interest of

the entire tribe, of the town, or village, in which they live, whenever it is a matter, for example, of a war to be undertaken, a conquest to be made, a grave conflict to be terminated, and so on.

On the death of the great chief of a tribe, the chiefs of the villages which compose it meet in council; they agree upon the choice of a new chief, and then propose him to the tribe itself, by whom he is usually accepted.

When the chief of a village dies, it is then the great chief who proposes the successor to the elders of the village, who represent its population.

It is needless to add that as in the case of the heads of villages, so as regards the great chief of the tribe, they are chosen from the Arab families.

I have said that all these chiefs do not exercise any right against those amongst whom they live, and I ought to add: provided that they are of the same tribe, because most of them possess slaves of other tribes over whom they enjoy full right. In the village of Singe, where I was lodged, nearly fifty men and women were slaves of Uad-el-Garbi. Here the slaves are not treated as they are among the Nubians." The author then describes a mild form of domestic slavery.

Beltrame's account of chieftainship among the Berta is interesting. It is clear that he is describing a dominant aristocracy, and that both he and the chiefs he spoke with understood this aristocracy to be a foreign element of Arabic extraction. What modifications of this view may need to be made in the light of additional information will be considered at the end of this paper.

Our second traveller is Pellegrino Matteucci, the companion of the better known Romolo Gessi. Gessi had returned to Italy in 1877 to co-operate with other explorers in an ambitious attack upon the little known interior of Abyssinia. While Count Antinori was to lead a large and well-equipped party into Kaffa, Gessi and Matteucci were to go up the Blue Nile and try and join Antinori. Matteucci was born in 1850 and had been trained as a doctor. Without going at all deeply into ethnology (except that he was the first European to take anthropometrical measurements of the Shilluk in Khartoum) he was observant and enthusiastic. White Nile Sudanese dancing on a feast day at Khartoum stirred him to pages of description; the chances of trade,

the prospects of putting down slavery, the pyramids at Meroe, the history of Sennar, were all subjects for his facile pen. On his return to Italy he published his book " Sudan e Gallas."

He and Gessi reached Roseires on the 12th February, Famaka on the 15th, and Beni-Shangol on the 6th of March. They penetrated as far as Fadasi, which they reached on the 15th of March, but there they were forced to turn back. They had learnt nothing certain about the movements of the other party ; they were met with opposition on their own route, and were assured that further advance would be too dangerous. Sadly disappointed by their failure they returned to Khartoum, and thence to Italy. In the same year Matteucci returned to Abyssinia, this time in co-operation with the newly formed Society for the Commercial Exploration of Africa. He landed at Massawa, but soon left the society in whose objects he had no confidence. In 1880 he started on what was to prove his last expedition, to explore Wadai and cross the Sudan to the West Coast. He succeeded in his object but died shortly after.

At Fazoghli, Matteucci was told of the strange custom which had been previously recorded by Lepsius, Brun Rollet and others. But as he adds a few details not elsewhere recorded the account deserves transcription :

" In all Dar-Bertat from Fazoglu to Fadasi at a given time of the year the Sheik is obliged to render an account of his deeds in the presence of his subjects. On that day he takes his place on a great seat that has become historic, and next him stands a dog. Then he relates in minute detail the account of his acts and demands a judgment. If this judgment is favourable the assembly kill the dog in sign of joy ; if it is the contrary the Sheik is stabbed on his seat, and there follows an infernal dance (ridda). Not many years ago it happened that a Sheik, while giving an account of his work, heard around him a furious murmur of disapprobation, and, foreseeing danger to his life, got off the seat, mounted his horse, and with his long ancestral sword threatened the ministers of popular wrath."

A sister breaks her way through the crowd, reminds him of the oath he swore when he took the sword from the hand of his father, who died fighting :

" 'Do you not know that they (his ancestors) always fought near the cemetery of their fathers (cimiterio patrio) so that the bones of the dead

might be a remembrance, an augury and an encouragement? Return with fear to your seat, do not tarnish the name of our house; show a better courage, smiling at death. Remember that death is a lamp which passes and returns, because you will soon live again under the guise of a noble animal, and will be able to avenge yourself upon him who has cut short the serene course of your days.' The words of the young girl prevailed upon the mind of that Sheik more than fear. He dismounted from his horse, and sat down on the seat which was to prove his painful death-bed."

Matteucci concludes his account by saying that this incident had happened a few years back, and that the facts were related to him by the murdered man's son, who was then occupying the throne.

This account adds something to the existing accounts of king-killing in the district. It carries the perpetuation of the custom beyond the date 1838, which Brun Rollet suggested as the last date on which it had been practised in Fazoghli. It suggests that the rite was performed at the burial place of former kings, and that this burial place may very well have been the royal hut. It adds the new point that the murdered king expected to live again in the form of an animal. This belief in transmigration was, according to Matteucci, common among the Berta, but while the commoners changed into base animals, it was only the members of the royal house who inherited the form of nobler animals.

From the information to be gleaned from these two Italian authors, combined with additional facts supplied by Bruce and more recent investigators, definite conclusions may be drawn on the composition of the hill communities of Dar Bertat.

The facts may be tabulated chronologically :—

HISTORICAL REFERENCES.

| DATE. | |
|---|---|
| 17th cent. | Mr. Chataway makes it clear (S.N. & R., Vol. XIII, 256-258) on the authority of what he learnt at Gebel Keili, that the rulers of both Fazoghli and Beni-Shangul were a branch of the Fung dynasty at Keili, which, in its turn, had come from Sennar. |
| | A relative of Dowra Maias, second king of Keili, founded the Fazoghli line; this would have been by Caillaud's reckoning about 1600. |

A sister of the same Dowra Maias founded the Beni-Shangul line; this would have been by Mr. Chataway's reckoning about 1720.

18th cent. Bruce records the following facts about the settlements on the Blue Nile.[1] They are taken from the rough notes which he made during his stay at Sennar, and have the advantage of showing the information he had collected in its rough state, before he had committed himself to the identification of Fung and Shilluk.

"The king of Sennar commands both sides of the Nile, all the way up to near Agow Midre. There are Shangalla and thence comes the gold. The country on both sides of the river produces this metal, and they are governed by Sheks appointed by the King of Sennar, or rather the Vizir. These are Shangalla, or natives of the place, relations of the king or great men at court; and are, as they are called, Funge, that is, Shangalla converted to Islamism (of the country whence those Shangalla came who drove out the Arabs under Wad 'Agīb)."

Up to the brackets this account is quite clear: Bruce considered that the rulers of Dar Bertat were Shangalla or negroes, natives of the country, yet related to the royal house of Sennar and converted to Mohammedanism. But the passage I have placed in brackets confuses the point because it seems to suggest that the Shangalla of the Blue Nile were Shilluk.

As Bruce continued to take notes he appears to have distinguished more particularly the various people to whom he at first applied the wholesale term Shangalla, as was natural to some one coming from Abyssinia. Later he contrasts the Shilluks with "the other blacks (who) come from Guba, Nuba, and Fazuclo." (p. 91.) Further on (p. 93) he describes the Blue Nile natives as "southern Hamidge"; and lastly he is able to distinguish between the inhabitants of Fazuclo, the Shilluks, and the Nuba: "the country of the Funge is Fazuclo, and Guba east of

[1] Travels, 2nd edit., 1805. Vol. VIII, p. 89; Appendix to Books 7 and 8.

Fazuclo, and west in that parallel to the Bahr el Aice ; they bound the Nuba to the south. The Shillook, in the islands of the Bahr el Aice, are Funge *also*, not Nuba." (p. 98.)

Bruce's opinion of the rulers of Dar Bertat therefore appears to have been that they were Shangalla or natives who were called Fung in view of a certain connection with the court of Sennar, either a relationship of blood or of religion ; and that these Fung were distinct from the Shilluk, though the latter also had a right to this title.

Of Fazoghli's ruler Bruce says : " This Mek is a native black of that country who is, however, placed or deposed by the Mek of Sennar." (p. 95.)

1855 Beltrame meets the rulers of Qessan, Singe, and Beni Shangul, and learns that they and the rulers of the neighbouring hills claim an Arabic descent.

1878 Matteucci meets Sheik Hogoli[1] of Beni-Shangul. He records the Berta title for relatives of the king—" fugava." He also meets the Sheik of Gebel Aqaro who informs him that his people are Dar Bertat Gelawi, who call themselves Mussulman so as to claim authority over the pure Berta.

1898 The Handbook of the Sudan states that there were at this date two Emirs of Beni-Shangul, one by name of Kogeli[1] who resided at Agoldi, and another " a recalcitrant Dervish Emir " by name Abi Abdul Rahman.

1926 Max Grühl, a German traveller,[1] records having interviewed in his home on the outskirts of Addis Ababa the Sultan of the Beni-Shangul, by name Sheik Hotsheli.[2] The Sheik told him that he had taken part in the capture of Khartoum in 1885, and that his family came from Sennar.

There is thus a persistent tradition over a space of two hundred years that the rulers of the hills of Dar Bertat have claimed to be related to the Fung rulers of Sennar.

[1] Max Grühl. The Citadel of Ethiopia, pp. 374–377.
[2] Sheikh Khogali Hassan the present ruler of the Beni-Shangul area. (Ed.).

# EL MENNA ISMAIL; FIKI AND EMIR IN KORDOFAN.

By A. R. C. Bolton.

AT Taiara, which is a large village in Eastern Kordofan, 38 miles from El Obeid, and almost due east of it, there are some well-kept graves, in which a Fiki, Sheikh El Menna Ismail, and his relations lie buried.

The respect in which the name of El Menna Ismail is held led me to enquire into the circumstances in which a family, described as belonging to the Ǧim'a tribe of the White Nile Province, found their last resting place among the sandhills of Kordofan in the heart of the Ǧawama'a country. The interesting traditions of this family of Fikis and the part it played in the drama of the opening years of the Mahdia which was staged in Kordofan are worthy of being recorded.

El Menna Ismail belonged to the Mesadab, who are considered to be a sub-section of the Ǧim'a[1], and are also referred to as belonging to the Dar Muharib,[2] a Baggara tribe of the White Nile Province, which is distinct from the Ǧim'a, but is of the same main group of the Ǧa'aliin. The relationship of the Mesadab to the Ǧim'a or the Dar Muharib seems in actual fact to amount to no more than this, that the Mesadab trace their descent from Ibrahim El Ǧa'ali, who is the common ancestor of the Ǧa'aliin group. The Mesadab are most akin, not to the Baggara of the White Nile, but to the Ǧa'aliin proper, who live along the Nile north of Khartoum, as far as the Atbara. Sheikh Khalid El Menna, son of

[1] A History of the Arabs in the Sudan. MacMichael. Vol. I, page 230.

[2] *Sudan Notes and Records*. Vol. XIII, page 173.

El Menna Ismail' has in his possession a pedigree[1] according to which the ancestor of the family is Saad Abu Dabbus, from whom the Saadab section of the Ǧa'aliin trace their descent.

In the direct line of Saad Abu Dabbus was a certain Hassan El Ahmar, son of Mohammed Gibril. Hassan El Ahmar quarrelled with his relations and disowned his race, saying, " I am not a Saadabi " —" Ana mu saadabi," whence the name Mesadab is derived.

Accompanied by his family and many followers, Hassan El Ahmar, who was a Fiki and famed for his knowledge of Mohammedan law, went to Darfur, to Hufrat El Nahas, and settled among the Fur. One conjectures that this was in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Within thirty years of coming to Darfur, the Mesadab were driven out by the Fur Sultan. With Hassan El Ahmar still at their head, they left Darfur at the same time as the Ǧim'a and other Baggara tribes, who were under the leadership of Mereimi Wad Bukr, of the Kibeishab section of the Dar Muharib. They came to Kordofan probably in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Musaba'at and the Fung were disputing for supremacy.

It would appear that the movement of the Baggara eastwards was slow, and that their penetration of Central Kordofan and of the country to the west of the White Nile was spread over a period of years. During

[1] It begins with Hashim, father of Abd El Muttalib, father of El Said El Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet. From Hashim, through sixteen generations, the descent passes to Ibrahim El Ga'al, and then through eleven more generations to Arman. From El Abbas to Arman, who lived about 1500 A.D., the names correspond in toto with those contained in the pedigree given on page 126 of Vol. II of " A History of the Arabs in the Sudan " (MacMichael) which was in the possession of the late Sheikh El Taib Hashim. The names from Arman onwards are as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Arman | Mohammed |
| Adlan | Ǧibril |
| Abd El Maabud | Mohammed |
| Saad Abu Dabbus | Hassan El Ahmar |
| Abd El Salam | Yasin |
| Diyab El Bersi | Ismail |
| Suleiman | Hussein |
| Idris | Ismail |
| Abd El Salam | El Menna |
| El Fahl | Khalid |

this period, the Mesadab, who were moving with the Baggara, split up into three groups.

One small group representing the animal owners attached itself to the Dar Muharib, and the Mesadab, who are now with this tribe east of the White Nile, are looked upon as a sub-section of it.

Another group moved with the Ğim'a into the country which was wrested from the Mesellamia, and there are now ten Sheikhships of Mesadab north of Tendelti under an Omda Malik Yasin, who is descended from Hassan El Ahmar.

The third group under Yasin, son of Hassan El Ahmar, settled north of Um Ruaba, and this Yasin gave his name to the place where he lived and was buried.

Yasin's forbears for ten generations had been Fikis and he was himself a Fiki of great reputation. He had a large family, and is credited with having had ninety-nine offspring. He died before the dominion of the Kungara began, that is before 1784 A.D. The religious mantle passed from father to son, from Yasin to his son Ismail, from Ismail to Hussein and from Hussein to another Ismail, who was over ninety years old on the outbreak of the Mahdia, and who was the father of El Menna Ismail, who lies buried at Taiara.

Before Ismail Hussein became too old to teach, El Menna Ismail took over from him the "khalwa" for the instruction of Mohammedan religious law, which brought fame to Yasin, and, by 1880, El Menna Ismail had taught one hundred and twelve Fikis. His reputation as a teacher and a pious man spread far and wide. It was told that after El Fahl, son of the Mek Nasr of Tegale, was killed in a fight some six or seven years before Mohammed Ahmed first defied the Turkish Administration in the Sudan, his brother Idris El Dabi accused El Menna Ismail of having misappropriated some gold and saddles left in his keeping by El Fahl. El Menna Ismail was summoned to El Obeid and was committed to prison, where leg irons were put on him. Three times the irons were fastened on and each time they fell off. The prison bars could not hold him and every morning he was found by his gaolers outside his cell, waiting for it to be opened. The case against him was not proved and he was discharged and allowed to return to Yasin.

In 1881 there was probably no Fiki west of the White Nile whose influence equalled that of El Menna Ismail, and he seems to have

overshadowed even Mohammed El Khalifa of the Doalib family of Fikis which had lived for some generations at Khursi, east of Bara. The small village of Khursi was also the headquarters of Abd el Hadi Sabr, who filled the post of Nazir under the Turkish Government. El Dirdiri, son of Mohammed Khalifa, who was "Ohada" of the nomad tribes around Bara until the beginning of the Mahdia, still lives and teaches at Khursi.

El Menna Ismail belonged to the religious order of the Sammania, of which Mohammed Sherif Nur El Daim was the head. Among the disciples of Mohammed Sherif Nur El Daim was Mohammed Ahmed, the Fiki of Aba Island, whose reputation was penetrating to all corners of the Sudan, and must have been rivalling that of El Menna Ismail in Kordofan. It was inevitable that the paths of these two men who belonged to the same "Tarika" and who were both famed for their sanctity, should cross one another. It is said that a friendship existed between them. Mohammed Ahmed went from Aba to El Obeid in 1880, and his way lay through Yasin. It may be surmised that this was the occasion of a visit to El Menna Ismail.

When Mohammed Ahmed sent his first challenge to the Government, El Menna Ismail lent him no support. There had been a bitter dispute between Mohammed Ahmed and his religious head, Mohammed Sherif Nur El Daim. It culminated in Mohammed Ahmed leaving the following of Mohammed Sherif and attaching himself to Sheikh El Ghurashi at Mesellamia, an important figure in the Sammania "Tarika," who was not in accord with Mohammed Sherif Nur El Daim. It may have been that El Menna Ismail's devotion to Mohammed Sherif was too great for him to follow Mohammed Ahmed from the outset. At all events Mohammed Ahmed, after his followers had defeated the force of Yousif Bey El Shellali at Gedir in June, 1882, wrote to El Menna Ismail, asking him to be his representative and to summon the people to arms in his name. El Menna Ismail accepted the task and the men of the Ǧim'a, the Ǧawama'a and the Beza came to him at Yasin to make their allegiance to Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi.

Blood had already been shed in Kordofan as small forces of tribesmen were beginning to harry the Turkish military posts and to raid isolated villages In May, 1882, the village of Ashaf near Bara had been attacked

and its inhabitants killed. El Nur Bey Angara, who was for a time Governor of Western Darfur, and a friend of Gordon, escaped to Bara. He was to become famous as an Emir under the Khalifa Abdulahi, and not more than five or six years have elapsed since he died in Omdurman, where he was held in respect for his deeds as a soldier and for his charity.

On 23rd of June, Bara was attacked. The garrison of two thousand men under Ali Bey Sherif, drove off the Arab Tribes, inflicting heavy loss on them. From July the town was closely invested. At Taiara, which was a military post, two companies of Bashi Bazuks under El Yuzbashi Mohammed Effendi Shafai had entrenched themselves against the attacks of plundering bands. The trenches, the outline of which can be seen to this day, were in the form of a square, in a hollow between two low sand-hills. In the middle were the all-important wells. When Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi was advancing on El Obeid in August, El Menna Ismail led his newly-formed army against Taiara. From the village of Um Migeirinat he wrote to the Turkish Commander, Mohammed Eff. Shafai, calling on him to surrender. This Officer, who is remembered still for his gallant conduct and on account of the large white charger on which he made the round of the camp, refused to surrender. The army of El Menna Ismail having attacked and having been repulsed with great loss, encompassed the trenches on all sides. On the north, were the Bezaa, on the east the Ǧim'a, on the south the men of the Ǧima'ia section of the Ǧawama'a, and on the west the Homran section.

After a short siege a second attack was made. At dawn the tribesmen came over the low sand-hills, wave after wave. The Turkish troops and the irregulars were overwhelmed. From the testimony of men who took part in the attack it seems that there were few survivors, and that they were from among the alien inhabitants of Taiara, who came from the northern Sudan and had taken their place in the trenches with the Turkish troops. Among the slain was Idris, son of Abd el Hadi Sabr, who had been Nazir at Khursi over Khursi, Taiara and Sherg el Agaba, and who was killed at Gedir fighting in the force of Yusif El Shellabi.

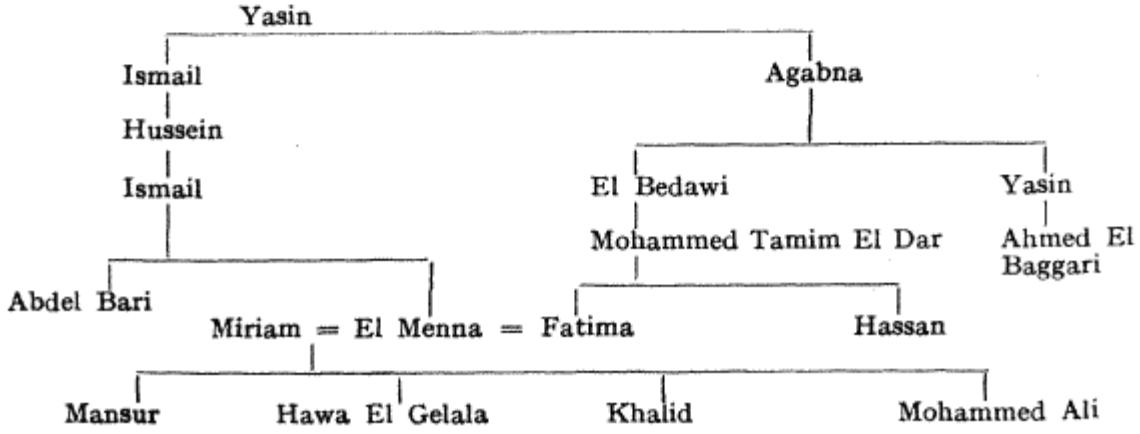
Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi had brought his forces to El Obeid by the beginning of September, 1882. On the 8th September, and on two subsequent days, three great assaults were made on the fortifications held by the Turkish troops under Mohammed Pasha Said. They were

repulsed with very heavy losses. After the capture of Taiara, El Menna Ismail was required by Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi to join forces with him at El Obeid. It is claimed by the family of El Menna that his army arrived in time to participate in the first assaults, but it is stated in at least one official record that Taiara fell towards the end of September and it seems more probable that the army of El Menna Ismail arrived at El Obeid after the first attack and when the historic siege was already in progress.

There is an episode in the siege which is told about Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi. A few days after the first onslaught, a Ga'ali, Abdulla Ibrahim, a relation of Ahmed Bey Dafa'allah, who was an officer of the Turkish garrison, was sent out to kill Mohammed Ahmed. He found Mohammed Ahmed praying in a grass shelter, which was set aside for prayer and aimed a revolver at him. Some say that all six shots misfired. Others say that all six shots were fired and hit Mohammed Ahmed but made no mark. The Khalifa Abdullahi Mohammed drew his sword meaning to kill Abdulla Ibrahim but Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi restrained him saying, "Do not kill him. He will be useful to us later as he is brave." Abdulla Ibrahim said, "As I tried to kill you and could not, I will join you." He entered the service of Mohammed Ahmed and rose to be an Emir in the army of Hamdan Abu Anga, and was eventually killed in battle against the Abyssinians.

El Menna Ismail, when he left Yasin to join the cause of Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi, was followed by all his kinsmen, and the members of his family[1] both male and female, accompanied him to El Obeid. Among them was a stripling, by name Hassan Mohammed Tamim El Dar, whose

[1] The following tree shows the near relations of El Menna Ismail and some of the descendants of Yasin, son of Hassan El Ahmar :—



task was to hold the horses of his superiors. He is now an Omda and he lives at Yasin. From his graphic account, which conflicts in few respects with the meagre records of the period which survive, one learns the story of the quick rise to power of El Menna Ismail and of the more sudden waning of his star.

The forces of Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi were divided between El Obeid and Bara, which was resisting gallantly. It is said that the most renowned soldiers of Mohammed Ahmed, Hamdan Abu Anga of servile parentage but a great fighter, Abdullahi Nur, a Ğa'ali, and Abd el Rahman El Nejumi, a Ğa'ali, were sent to subdue Bara, and that when they met with no success, El Menna Ismail, whose army equalled the rest of the forces of Mohammed Ahmed in numbers, was sent against the town. In a book[1] of absorbing interest, which is also the most authoritative account of the events of this period, it is stated that in November the garrison was reduced to desperate straits on account of a notable, Ahmed Wad Melik, causing a fire in the town, in the course of which the bulk of the grain supplies were destroyed. In the same book one learns that El Nur Bey Angara wrote to Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi offering to surrender himself but to some other than El Menna Ismail, whose vengeance he feared, on which Mohammed Ahmed sent Abd el Rahman El Nejumi to Bara and El Nur Bey Angara escaped to him, and it is stated that when the garrison surrendered on the fifth day of January, 1883, it was to Abd el Rahman El Nejumi.

The story which is told in the family of El Menna Ismail is that on the day after he reached Bara he was praying the midday prayer and Sheikh Abd el Rahman Suleiman of the Shenkhab tribe said, "The Mahdi sent you to Bara, why are you waiting?" El Menna Ismail replied, "I will bow in prayer twice and then I will pray the midday prayer"—"ana bisalli ragatein wa baadein bisalli el duhr." Before he prayed the prayer a fire broke out inside the Turkish camp. It drove the defenders out, and the army of El Menna Ismail took Bara without bloodshed. The captives were sent to Mohammed Ahmed who ordered them to be released. The fire was said to be an act of God in response to the supplication of El Menna Ismail. It is strange that the local tradition at Bara is that the garrison was forced into surrender by a disastrous fire and that El Menna Ismail contrived it.

[1] Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan. By Wingate. MacMillan & Co. 1891.

From Bara the army of El Menna Ismail returned to El Obeid, and when the garrison surrendered on the 16th January, 1883, it entered the town from the east while the main army of Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi entered from the other side.

Ahmed Bey Dafa'allah was taken prisoner with Mohammed Pasha Said, the commander of the garrison. Ahmed El Baggari, a kinsman of El Menna Ismail, visited Ahmed Bey Dafa'allah, to whom he was related, and offered to plead for him if he would acknowledge Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi. Ahmed Bey Dafa'allah said, " I am not like Abdulla Ibrahim who, after he had failed to kill him, became afraid and made his submission to him." Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi ordered that he and Mohammed Yasin who had been Nazir at Bara, should be beaten with sticks until they were dead. They were taken out to a forest and done to death by Madibbu, Emir of the Rizeigat, who was to suffer a violent death at the hands of Hamdan Abu Anga. It is stated by Wingate that Mohammed Pasha Said, whose death had been ordered by Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi, was sent to Alloba and was there killed by El Menna Ismail, but the relations of El Menna Ismail dispute that he was in any way consenting to the death of the Turkish commander.

From the time that El Menna Ismail brought his forces to El Obeid he stood high in the favour of Mohammed Ahmed, whether because of their earlier friendship when they were both humble followers of Mohammed Sherif Nur El Daim in the Sammania " Tarika," or because of the large forces which El Menna Ismail had at his command. As a mark of his especial esteem, Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi married his daughter Hawa El Ǧelala. She was no more than ten years old but she had been taught to read by her father and was versed in the Koran. Mohammed Ahmed continued her religious instruction so that she should be able to impart it to the women of his household, and until his death he showed great favour to her.

Before Mohammed Ahmed moved from Aba to Jebel Gedir, he appointed as his Khalifa Abdullahi Mohammed of the Taaisha, who corresponded to the first Khalifa Abu Bakr El Sadik, Ali Wad Helu, who corresponded to the second Khalifa Omer Ibn El Khattab, known as Omer Farok, and Mohammed El Sherif, who corresponded to the fourth Khalifa Ali El Kerrar. After El Obeid fell, Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi resolved to offer the vacant chair of the third Khalifa Osman Ibn

Affan to El Sheikh Mohammed El Senussi. While the forces were at El Obeid Khalifa Abdullahi Mohammed was nominally only one of three advisers, and it was not until the end of 1883 that he was proclaimed the agent of Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi with powers transcending those of the other Khalifas.

El Menna Ismail had without doubt great ambitions on account of his prestige as a teacher and because he had the support of the men of the Ǧim'a and the Ǧawama'a. It is said that after his success at Taiara, the name of his daughter El Batul had been used to make this rhymed couplet, Menna abu El Batul, Khalifat El Rasul. It was inevitable that El Menna Ismail, expecting great things from Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi should soon have felt himself overshadowed by Khalifa Abdullahi with his following of turbulent Taaisha. It needed only a spark to set alight the illwill between leaders of such different tribes.

The story is that after the fall of El Obeid, while the armies were still encamped there, El Menna Ismail went to pray in the Mahdi's mosque on a Friday. After the prayer, Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi took him by the hand and led him to his own house. A young man of the Taaisha, Osman Adam, said "Menna masaku el Mahdi min idu amal nafsu khalifat el Farok "—"The Mahdi has taken Menna by the hand, he fancies himself to be the Khalifa Farok," referring to Khalifa Omer Ibn Khattab. Mohammed Ali, the youthful son of El Menna said, " If Menna is not the Khalifa El Farok, then Khalifa Abdullahi is not Khalifa El Sadik," referring to Khalifa Abu Bakr El Sadik. Then the Taaishi hit Mohammed Ali and other Taaisha fell on him. They were separated by Ahmed El Baggari. In the evening when Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi came to prayer, Mohammed Ali went before him covered with blood, and complained. Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi ordered those responsible to stand up, whereupon about thirty young men stood up. Mohammed Ahmed, weeping copiously as was his wont, ordered them to be imprisoned. Then El Menna Ismail spoke harsh words against Khalifa Abdullahi and insulted him before all the people. Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi said, " Let us pray the evening prayer."

After two days Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi summoned El Menna Ismail to his house. El Menna asked leave to return to his home and he was allowed to go in seven days' time. When the seven days had elapsed, Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi went to the camp of El Menna

Ismail and they said farewell with prayer. El Menna Ismail with all his army went to Taiara where the army dispersed and he then returned with his family aud his followers to Yasin. Then he put a chain around his neck and fastened one end to the roof of his dwelling. He put pods of the sunt tree[1] in the water which he drank, to make it bitter, and he ate only dukhn with tar instead of salt. He lived in this fashion for the space of a month and he had not yet ceased to do penance when an army led by Hamdan Abu Anga and Abd el Rahman El Nejumi and Abdullahi Nur came and attacked Yasin without warning, killing forty-two of the Mesadab and capturing El Menna Ismail and his relations. Twenty-two of his family were put in bonds. After two days Ahmed El Baggari was given two hundred lashes and was beaten one hundred times on his feet, in order to compel him to surrender his wealth. Before he was beaten he taunted Hamdan Abu Anga saying, " Have you brought a bundle of whips to terrify me ? " since the practice was for one of the escort of an Emir to carry a bundle of fifty whips. And after he was beaten he still cast insults on Hamdan Abu Anga and refused to divulge his wealth. Then Ismail Hussein, the aged father of El Menna Ismail was given one hundred lashes and the soldiers also beat Fatima Mohammed the wife of El Menna Ismail fifty lashes.

The captives were taken to Taiara where they stayed two days, after which Ahmed El Teleia of the Bedeiria tribe, the public executioner, came to Taiara. The youthful Hassan Mohammed Tamin El Dar, who was body servant to El Menna Ismail, went to give him coffee and El Menna said, " Has El Teleia come ? " Hassan Mohammed replied that he had seen him. El Menna said, " Tell El Baggari and the other prisoners to shave and wash their clothes because El Teleia has brought the post and to-morrow we will meet the Mahdi," meaning that they should prepare themselves for death. Hassan Mohammed Tamim El Dar went and told Ahmed El Baggari but he forbade him to tell the others, saying, " We are clean and are not afraid to die."

Next morning, early, the bugles were blown and a square was formed, the riflemen inside, and then the spearsmen, and on the outside the men on horses. Then the four prisoners, El Menna Ismail, his father Ismail Hussein, his son Mohammed Ali, and his cousin Ahmed El Baggari, were put on the ground in the centre of the square. Hamdan Abu Anga

[1] Acacia arabica.

having entered with the leaders, called on the clerk, a Dongolawi, by name Sheikh Idris, and the clerk brought out an order from Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi and read as follows: "Fa lamma ata El Teleia ligatlihi huwa wa maahu waladihi wa abihi wa El Baggari, adbarat ankum wa agbalat alaikum," which being interpreted means, "and when El Teleia has come to execute him and his son and his father and Ahmed El Baggari, then good-bye to this world and be received into the hereafter."

Then straightway the executioner with his sword cut off the head of El Menna and of Mohammed Ali and of Ismail Hussein, and lastly of Ahmed El Baggari. Hamdan Abu Anga said, "Bring out Sheikh Menna's brother Abdel Bari." Then a brother, El Maia, came and sat down. Hamdan Abu Anga said, "Not you, go, I want Abdel Bari, the black." El Maia answered, "I will not go, we are all one." Two slaves pulled him by his chains and dragged him away. Then Abdel Bari came and took his place. El Teleia struck him three times but the sword made no mark. Hamdan Abu Anga ordered that he should be shot and a soldier put a rifle to his temple, and so he died.

The corpses were left unburied until the next day when shrouds were received for them from Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi, and they were buried in a piece of cultivated land by the withered stump of a heğliğ tree[1], after the leg irons had been pulled apart by means of a rope tied to this tree. The head of El Menna Ismail was sent to El Obeid and fixed on a spike over the main gateway. He was sixty-five years old when he died and his father had reached the great age of ninety-five. After the bodies were buried, the stump brought forth green leaves in ten days. It grew into a big tree, and other heğliğ trees sprang up, so that the graves now rest in complete shade.

The prisoners and the relatives of the dead men were taken to El Obeid, and after three days Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi sent for them and said to them, "Radīn bi ma fa'al Allah"—"are you agreeable to what God has done?" Beshira bint El Bedawi, who was the aunt of Hassan Mohammed Tamim El Dar, replied, "Radīn bi hukm Allah, mush radīn bi hukm el nas"—"we are agreeable to the judgment of God but are not agreeable to the judgment of men." Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi, who was weeping, took a sword and placed on it a Koran and said to the captives, "Ahlifu tabiin el Mahdi wa Khalifatu"—"swear obedience to the Mahdi

[1] Balanites Aegyptica.

and to his Khalifa." When they had so sworn, they were sent to Khalifa Abdullahi, to Khalifa Ali El Helu and to Khalifa Sherif, to swear before them in like manner.

Then Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi gave leave to the captives to look for their slaves, their animals and other property, and they returned to Yasin with what they could collect of their belongings.

Sheikh Musa Wad El Ahmar of the Masheikha from the Blue Nile was appointed Emir of them. He it was who ordered Yasin Yusif, who became Nazir of the Ğawama'a under the present Government, to be given one thousand lashes because he had followed El Menna Ismail.

Hawa El Ğelala remained with Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi, but she grieved after her father and her relations and, for all the favours shown her by Mohammed Ahmed, she was no longer happy to be in his household.

In "Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan" there is the text of a letter from Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi to El Menna Ismail, which, with other documents, fell into the hands of the British troops after an action with some Dervish forces. In it Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi enjoins El Menna Ismail not to regret that the command had passed from his hands into those of his brother. The author concluded that El Menna Ismail fell from favour because he appropriated some booty and was replaced as Emir by his brother. It is established, however, that no brother of El Menna Ismail became an Emir and all his relations were looked on with suspicion and disfavour after his death. The term brother was a euphemism for another leader who was preferred to El Menna Ismail and it can be said almost with certainty that the reference was to Khalifa Abdullahi. He it was who was the chief stumbling block to El Menna Ismail gaining the highest favours from Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi, and it is supposed by the relations of El Menna Ismail that Khalifa Abdullahi, fearing that his position was being assailed, contrived to bring about El Menna Ismail's death. The letter is so pregnant with significance that it is given in full :—

"From Mohammed El Mahdi to his beloved El Menna Ismail.

My beloved—You have advanced far in holy life. You are aware from the sayings of God and his Prophet that this world is but a shadow and that all its pleasures are fleeting. You should therefore be one of the first to quit the world and devote yourself wholly

to the world to come. You should not therefore regret your removal from the leadership and it should be a matter of indifference to you as to whether the command is in your hands or in those of your brother, provided that your mutual object is one and the same, that is to uphold the cause of God and the holy laws of his Prophet. If this be carried out directly under your command or under the command of your brother, it can make no difference. You are also aware that God dislikes him who prefers himself to his brother.

Knowing this and being also anxious for your own good, of which I am a better judge than yourself, for you know my only desire is for your eternal happiness, it is therefore necessary that you should submit to this arrangement and be obedient to my orders.

You should also thank God for being relieved of the responsibility of leadership and as you are such a good and devoted servant of God, you should be especially grateful and happy."

Much information has been imparted to me by Hassan Mohammed Tamim El Dar, the present Omda at Yasin, by Sheikh Khalid, son of El Menna, who lives near Tendelti and carries on the torch of religious learning, maintaining the tradition of his ancestors for piety and wisdom, and by Hawa El Ǧelala, who was left a girl widow by Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi, and who now lives with her relations near Tendelti. None of these knew of this fateful letter which was the death warrant of El Menna Ismail, and there is something of irony in the fact that its contents should have been divulged to them from the English text of a document captured by the same forces which caused the overthrow of Khalifa Abdullahi, the man whom Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi preferred to El Menna Ismail when he was compelled to make his choice between them.

# NOTES ON BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MALWAL DINKA OF THE BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVINCE.

By Captain J. N. Stubbs.

The religious beliefs of the Malwal may be summarised as follows :—

(*a*) The belief in a supreme being, which is recognised throughout the tribe, and,

(*b*) Ancestor worship, with which is combined the observance of totem rites. These vary in each clan.

The name given to this supreme being is " Nyalich " (lit. " in the above ") to whom is closely linked " Deng " (lit. " rain "). In fact amongst the Malwal it is emphatically asserted that " Nyalich " and " Deng " are one and the same being. To them are attributed all natural phenomena. It is they who send the rain, which to the Dinka means life.

Misfortune is not attributed to the machinations of evil spirits but rather to the anger and displeasure of some ancestor whose memory has been neglected by his clan.

On the whole the Dinka is extremely vague when questioned on the subject of his religious beliefs.

There are no legends of " Nyalich " having been at one time a human being.

It is said, however, that long ago he lived in the air close to the ground. One day a Dinka woman deserted her husband and ran away into the forest. There she lived, and whilst pounding her grain she raised the pestle high above her head and hit " Nyalich " in the stomach. So angry did he become that he ascended to his present abode far above the earth.

The Dinka are content to regard their supreme being as an all-powerful spirit, the creator of the universe, to whom they attribute all things beyond their comprehension.

Ancestral worship varies in the case of each clan or " Gol." The latter is the name given to the fire of cattle dung in the cattle camp. Such a camp may contain from five to twenty fires, around which sleep the young men and girls of the " Gols."

The members of a " Gol " are considered blood relations, and claim descent from a common forefather, who is always their legendary hero and the subject of many stories.

Intermarriage between members of the same " Gol " is considered an act of incest.

Customary law renders the " Gol " liable to contribute cattle awarded as compensation for certain offences committed by a member or members of that " Gol."

Each " Gol " has its recognised leader who claims direct descent from its founder.

Certain factors such as war, famine, pestilence and the growth of population have contributed towards the migration of certain members of the various " Gols " from their ancestral hearths, and whilst maintaining their original " Gol " names and recognising their hereditary leaders, they have appointed local leaders to perform the various rites incumbent upon them.

A collection of such migrants would form a new cattle camp or " Wut," which in due course would be recognised as a new Sub-Section. Thus it will be appreciated that the same " Gol " is to be found throughout the various Sub-Sections of the Malwal, and further some Malwal "Gols" are to be found among Raik, Twij and Agar Dinkas.

Attention has been drawn to the recognition by each " Gol " of its founder who is, amongst the Malwal, known as " Wa Dit " (lit. " my big father "). The stories woven round the person of " Wa Dit " all contain references to some animate or inanimate object which during his life-time rendered him conspicuous service. For this reason the animal or object to which is attributed the service rendered has been given the permanent protection of the " Gol " concerned—and so each " Gol " has its totem or " Yat." In some cases it is said that " Wa Dit " married his " Yat," and when this occurred the members of the " Gol " affirm that their " Yat " is bound to them by marriage.

Cases are known of " Gols " which have as many as four " Yats," but the majority possess only one or two.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in certain " Gol " names the " Yat " is perpetuated by prefixing the sounds " fa " or " pa " (an abbreviation of Fakier, meaning related) to the specific " Yats." Thus the " Gol " Payol is that which has the " Yol," a thigh bone, as its

" Yat." The " Gol " Fakor is that which has the " Kor," a stone, as its " Yat."

The absence of the prefix sounds " fa " or " pa " from a " Gol " name seems to indicate that the members of the " Gol " in question are not of Dinka origin, but rather that they are descendants of another tribe absorbed by the Dinka at some period of their history. For instance the " Gol " Eben is one of Jur origin and the " Gol " Turi of Shatt origin.

Reference has already been made to the stories woven around the founders of the various " Gols." Some such stories are given in the appendix to this article. In one, mention is made of a spear which was acquired by the founder and which is said to have been handed down by his successors and plays a most important part to-day in the rites associated with ancestor worship.

Whereas the religious customs of the Malwal vary in detail in each " Gol " yet the general principles involved in their observance are the same.

## I. OBSERVANCE OF THE " YAT."

In some " Gols " the osbervance of the " Yat " is more strictly adhered to than in others.

For instance the " Gol " whose " Yat " is a hippopotamus, whilst abstaining from killing the beast, will nevertheless eat its flesh. If the " Yat " is a giraffe the members of the " Gol " will neither kill nor eat the animal. Fire as a " Yat " may not be extinguished with water, but when water is a " Yat " it is permissible to boil it provided it does not in the process bubble over on to the naked fire. " Yats " in the form of trees or grasses render these objects immune from destruction by those whose " Yats " they are, and their dead timber and stalks are carefully collected and thrown into the river or into rain pools. In cases when a river is the " Yat," sacrifices are made to it before the commencement of the fishing season.

Should a person be killed by his " Yat," or struck by lightning, he is not mourned, since both are regarded as a well merited and direct punishment from " Nyalich."

It is incumbent upon each family in the " Gol " to dedicate to the principal " Yat " a bull and a cow. These are known as " Mior a Yat " and " Weng a Yat " respectively, and, should they be seized by an outsider,

misfortune will come to both parties. The " Mior a Yat " is not used for stud purposes but kept especially to serve the " Weng a Yat." Should a bull calf be born it is not castrated but set aside to succeed its sire, which is sacrificed when its calf attains maturity (*vide*, notes on sacrifices).

When given in marriage a girl renounces her " Yat " and takes that of her husband. To conciliate the " Yat " so forsaken at least one calf from her husband's " Yat " cow is included in the marriage and dedicated to the former " Yat " by the wife's relations.

In certain rare cases a man may assume the " Yat " of his mother's people. Should he do this then he must renounce all the rights and privileges to which he would be entitled as a member of his father's "Gol."

Prayers are offered up to the " Yat " in conjunction with those to " Nyalich " or the " Wa Dit."

## II. VENERATION OF ANCESTORS.

Ideas on the after-life are extremely vague amongst the Malwal. If questioned on this subject a man will say that when he dies he will go to join his " Wa Dit." Nevertheless the spirits of the departed enter largely into the lives of those on earth. The spirit of a person but recently deceased and of a person who during his life was of little importance in the " Gol " is known as " Tieb " (lit. shadow). Such a spirit is considered comparatively harmless, but it can make its presence felt by haunting the scenes of its existence on earth. When this occurs it may be propitiated by the offering of sacrifices or preferably by disinterring the corpse of the deceased. If this latter course is adopted then the incisor teeth are extracted from the corpse and worn round the neck of the person persecuted by the spirit. This custom is probably not of true Dinka origin but was taken from the Jurs and Shatts. It is, however widely practised by the Western Malwal.

Spirits of renowned Chiefs and " Gol " heroes are known as " Jok." They are only so-called however when they exert a malign influence due to their neglect by their descendants. The word " Jok " is also used to denote sickness among men and cattle. Generally these spirits are referred to as " Wa Dit." The deceased are not mentioned by their names but by those of their ancestral " Gol " heroes. This would appear to indicate a belief in the union of the spirits of the people referred to with those of the founders of their " Gols."

When an important Chief dies, bull sacrifices are offered the following year, and again in the fourth and eighth years after his death. Those offered in the fourth and eighth years are of greater importance than the first, and cows are sacrificed as well as bulls.

Misfortune attributed to the neglect of an ancestral " Yat " is arrested by sacrifices made either by the individual afflicted or by the members of his " Gol."

## III. SPIRITUAL LEADERS.

The spiritual chief of each " Gol " is called the " Bang a Bith " which means chief of the (sacred) spear.

The appointment is usually hereditary but is never held by a young man.

Should the successor to the position happen (on his father's death) to be a youth he will not assume the position of " Bang a Bith " until he reaches middle age, although he may have been initiated into the rites by his father before his death.

The " Bith " or fishing spear (sometimes called " Lal ") plays an important part in all the ceremonies performed by the " Bang." Some of these spears are extremely old and have been handed down from father to son.

Some " Bangs " are in possession of new spears, which nevertheless are accorded great respect, and on a certain occasion a " Bang " was seen to be performing with five " Biths " which were obviously new.

The " Bang a Bith " leads his " Gol " in war and in the chase. He is credited with the power to drive off troublesome lions. This he does by removing the soil on which a " spoor " is clearly shown and depositing it in the forest half a day's march away. The next night the lion will be found at the spot where its " spoor " has been thrown. He takes the lead at peace ceremonies and officiates at the sacrifices of the " Yat " bull. He swears persons on the ashes of his " Gol " and to him is attributed the power to bring rain, cure sickness and cause harm to enemies.

The ceremony of swearing a person is carried out by cutting the throat of a goat and mixing its blood with the ashes of the " Gol." The " Bang " then raises his spear and points it repeatedly at the person to be sworn. He calls on his " Wa Dit " and " Yat," and demands the death of the person should he have committed the act attributed to him.

The mixture of ashes and blood is then swallowed by the suspect who is kept under close observation for five days. If in this period no misfortune befalls him, his relatives or their cattle, he is deemed to have spoken the truth.

A person who confesses to a deed must not be asked to swear to the truth of his confession. A Malwal Dinka will, if he considers his word is doubted, take a minor oath by licking a spear, or by placing a pinch of earth on his tongue. These are not considered, however, to be proof conclusive of his innocence.

Inducing rain, curing the sick and causing harm to enemies are all accomplished by prayers offered by the " Bang a Bith " to " Nyalich," the " Yat " or to his " Wa Dit." These prayers need not be accompanied by sacrifice, but if the occasion is of importance then a bull, or at least a goat, will be slaughtered. When this procedure is followed, recognised chants are sung by those present before and during the sacrifice of the animal. There is no fixed formula for the prayers, but they are always said by the " Bang a Bith " who makes, while doing so, repeated points with his spear at the person concerned or the sacrificial animal. When addressing " Nyalich " he points his spear towards the East. This act of pointing is called to " Lam." Each sentence of the prayer is terminated by the expression " enykan " (lit. so be it). A prayer so conducted is known as " aci lam " or " enykan."

When the object of prayers is to cause harm to a certain person (who would of course not be present) a rough representation of the victim is sometimes made. This was done once at Meshra by two local Chiefs who resented the attentions bestowed upon them by their District Commissioner, whose effigy was, after the ceremony, thrown into the Bahr El Ghazal. And recently the same treatment was observed in the case of a Malwal Chief, a wooden effigy of whom was buried with full ceremony after the offering of prayers intended to cause him harm.

Of the other spiritual leaders of lesser importance amongst the Malwal the most worthy of note is the " Bang Deng," who, with the " Bang a Bith " is the rain maker. He also blesses the seed grain of his " Gol " before sowing. Samples of seed are given him by his followers. They are then mixed with the fat of a bull sacrificed for the purpose and redistributed for sowing. This custom is by no means generally practised.

" Bang Raich " is another leader of minor importance whose duty it is to make sacrifices to the pools before they can be fished. This is done by drowning a goat in the pool.

When it happens that the river is the " Yat " of the " Gol," this ceremony assumes greater importance and is performed by the " Bang a Bith."

A " Tiet " corresponds to a doctor. He practises by means other than " enykan " and is conversant with all the deceptions of the medicine man. He will extract a foreign body from the chest of his patient by rubbing it with oil and so on. " Tiet " also denotes a person with " Apait" (evil eye) and when used in this connection it is considered to be an insult.

## IV. SACRIFICES.

Amongst the Malwal, sacrifices are not reserved for events of importance alone. They enter into the every-day life of the people. Should a storm damage the trees, or a house be struck by lightning ; should the crops be good or bad ; before starting out to war ; in cases of sickness and cattle plague ; at births and deaths or on the occasion of peace ceremonies ; in all these connections sacrifices are offered.

As a general rule cattle sacrificed for the dead have their throats cut ; at peace ceremonies they are hacked in half alive, whilst animals offered to the river or to fishing pools are drowned.

In other ceremonies the animals are speared by the " Bang a Bith " except in the case of the sacrifice of the " Mior Yat," when the animal is slaughtered by hand.

The meat of all animals sacrificed may be eaten, except that of those drowned, but it must be cooked by boiling and not by any other means. The bones must not be broken and they are generally thrown into a river or placed in trees.

An account of a peace ceremony has already been given by Major Titherington.[1]

Two other sacrifices of importance are those of the " Mior Nyalich " and the " Mior Yat." The former is a bull or bullock set aside annually to " Nyalich " and offered to him when the crops are sown. The animal is speared. The " Mior Yat " is sacrificed when its male off-spring has reached maturity. Immediately after the harvest is the time usually

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. X. " The Raik Dinka of the Bahr el Ghazal."

chosen for this ceremony. The procedure observed is as follows :—The animal is thrown on its left side with its head towards the North, and facing East (the position in which Dinka bury their dead).

Members of the " Gol " then take turns to sit upon the beast, the men on its head and shoulders, and the women on its flanks. At the same time it is being slowly strangled by the men. This operation sometimes takes many hours and is accompanied by a chant as follows :—" Mior yat eguri, yat a wa ataniga ping," which means " the bull of the yat is being sat upon. The yat of the wa dit is being held to the ground." Just prior to its expiration the " Bang a Bith " offers up prayers, at the same time making the usual points with his spear. Such a prayer is translated as follows :—" So be it, that of my father, spear of my father, so be it, spear of my father let me be strong, so be it ; bring me a daughter and a son. Big father, your cow is with the cattle and when it gives a bull calf I will dedicate it to you ; that of my father, so be it. If any man hates me let him go with the bull ; if any man loves me me let him live on the earth, so be it."

When the animal is dead it is cut up and the meat divided between the members of the " Gol," boiled and then eaten. The women rub themselves with the fat so that they may become fertile. The bones must not be broken but are collected to be thrown with the skin into the river or a rain-water hole. The beast's sexual organs are worn by the " Bang a Bith " for three days and then thrown into the river. In the Payol " Gol " the thigh bones are placed in the fork of a tree. The horns too are generally so placed, but occasionally a bull is roughly fashioned in mud and the horns set in this. This is known as a " Buor " or " Yiet," and is the only representation having any religious significance to be met with amongst the Malwal. Even so it is extremely rare to see one.

## APPENDIX.

Following are some Dinka Stories told about their " Gol " founders and heroes. They have been abbreviated, and in each case explanatory notes are given in connection with any points of interest which arise.

### I. Pajein Gol.

Once a man called Ajang stole a black cow called " Ashol " and fought with a man called " Ayei " over its ownership. Since, he said

he had had all the trouble and risk of stealing it, Ajang refused to part with it.

A cobra attacked the cow and Ajang threw a spear at it hitting the serpent in the tail. The cobra disappeared down a hole, taking with it the spear. Unfortunately this was the only spear possessed by Ajang who, after considerable trouble, succeeded in digging it up, together with the daughter of the cobra. Ajang was delighted at recovering the spear and determined to marry the cobra's daughter and to give the black cow "Ashol" to his rival "Ayei."[1]

## II. Paraik Gol.

A man called Deng lived with his wife Araik and their son Ajang. The latter was given two spears, one by his father and the other by his mother. In the place where the family lived the lions were very troublesome and Ajang was told to kill one. He made a wager that, if he killed the lion with the spear his father had given him, all the cattle belonging to his mother's family should be given to his father's "Gol," and, conversely, all the cattle of his father's family should go to his mother's "Gol" if he slew the lion with his mother's spear.

He killed the beast with his father's spear but was persuaded by his mother to lie and say that he had killed it with her spear.

So Deng the father, and his family lost all their cattle.

A little later Deng learnt the truth, and being extremely irate at the deception practised upon him, made "Enykan" and prayed for the death of his son. That very night his "Gol" was struck by lightning. Ajang was killed but his father and mother were unhurt.

Deng then asserted that he was a big "Bang a Bith" and tied two drums to his shoulders. He beat them and was taken up to "Nyalich." Araik, his wife, was now left without husband or son and so she went to the river to weep. There a crocodile approached her and told her to sit upon its back. This she did and was taken down to the river spirits at the bottom of a deep pool. To her surprise she found people there living like Dinkas, but they had no knowledge of beer making. So, to the delight of the chief of these people, she taught them how to brew beer.

[1] The "Apiem," or cobra, is the "Yat" of the Pajein "Gol," the members of which affirm that their "Yat" is bound to them by marriage. The "Gol" will never own a black cow ("Ashol"). Ajang is their ancestral hero.

The chief told her to go and lie down in the water on a sand bank and then the spirits would give her a son. But he said that if a son were vouchsafed to her neither he (the son), nor his descendants must be permitted to die of old age or sickness. Araik did as she was told, and taking a bowl of water balanced on her head by an " Akwei " (the plaited grass ring worn on the head by women carrying water) she set out for her home. She lost her way and being overcome by thirst she drank all the water in her bowl. She was in desperate straits and about to die when the " Akwei " started to roll ahead of her. She followed it and in due course reached her home.

A son was born to Araik and was named Tiek. When he grew up it was his custom to visit the spirits of his father's people at the bottom of the river. One day, as he was ascending from the river bed, he was met by a young water spirit armed with four spears. The spirit threw them one by one at Tiek, but they turned in the air and fell harmlessly near by. Having thrown the last spear the spirit asked Tiek who his father was. Tiek replied, saying that he was born of the water spirits. The spirit then gave him two of the spears, instructing him to hand them to his son, and so on, and to regard them as sacred.

Tiek was also told by the spirit never to return to the river spirits, and never to kill the small fish called " Melek," since it had the power to ward off small-pox.

Tiek took the spears and went home.[1]

The Paraik is one of the three Malwal Gols known to have killed their chiefs rather than allow them to die natural deaths. In fact, it is not improbable that this custom is sometimes carried out in secret even now, and that it is extended to include aged men of no importance who have become burdens to their families. Men of the " Gol " to whom I have spoken, assert that the custom should, and in fact does, apply to all males of the " Gol " whether they happen to be chiefs, or not.

One of the two spears given to Tiek is said to be in the possession of Majok Akot, the present " Gol " leader. He refused to show me the relic, which is kept wrapped in skins in his mother's house. It can be revealed at night, and then only on special occasions.

[1] The yats of the Paraik Gol are the fish " Melek " (Kawara), small-pox and the " Akwei." Their ancestral hero is " Deng," who is always referred to as " Deng Dit," who must not be confused with the " Deng " so closely related to " Nyalich." The Paraik say there is no connection between them.

The last occasion on which it was brought out was in the war against the Rizeigat. It must not be carried by one man, but by three or four, who lift it by its shaft. The head is bound up with leather, and only a small portion of it remains, since it is customary in order to ensure victory in war to break off a small piece and throw it into the enemy's midst.

This spear must not be confused with the sacred fishing spear of the " Bang a Bith." It is also very old, but Majok Akot had no objection to my seeing and handling it.

## III. Payom Gol.

A man by name Bol lived in the country of the Agar Dinka. He was always fighting, and was expelled and came to the Malwal.

Whilst on his way he found the path blocked by lions, which he and the people with him could not pass. So he ordered a " Kok " (a big wicker basket used for storing grain) to be made without a bottom. Then he got into the " Kok " and advanced towards the lions, which took fright and ran away. Thus the road to the Malwal country was open to Bol and his followers.

But later on Bol was unable to find water and he and his people nearly died of thirst. Bol, however, saw a monitor lizard and gave chase to it, intending to kill it. The lizard ran away and led Bol to its home on the bank of the river. Bol ordered the lizard to be spared since it had brought him and his party to water.

In due course Bol returned to the Agar country and left his son Yourt and his followers with the Malwal.[1]

## IV. Payor Gol.

A man called Longar was a great " Bang a Bith," but he was of a retiring nature and kept to himself. He could produce water for his cattle by dividing the " toich " grass.

His ability to do this aroused the jealousy of a man called Chitik, who led his people against Longar. They found him on the far bank of a river known as Monok, and when they endeavoured to swim across to attack Longar he stabbed them with a spear as they swam.

However, some of the attackers did succeed in gaining the bank, whereupon Longar dived into the water and hid in the weeds.

[1] The monitor lizard is the " Yat " of the Payom " Gol," and Bol its hero.

Chitik then took the vertebræ from the tail of a buffalo and fixed them to a shaft (thereby making the first fishing lance) and speared blindly into the river. By so doing he found Longar, who parried the thrusts and turned into a cobra. At last Chitik caught him but he (Longar) turned successively into a buffalo, a cow, and back into a man with eight spears, which he threw at his assailant, who, however, dodged them all.

Having thrown the last spear Longar said he would fight no more. Then he took a bull called Monok and killed it. The thigh bone of the animal he gave to Chitik, telling him that so long as he kept it intact and did not break it he would be a great " Bang a Bith."

Then Longar took his son Chinko down to the river and they were never seen again.

Longar's wife said they had gone to join " Nyalich " and she lay down in the water near the bank of the river and was given by the water spirits another son called Konga.[1]

The " bith " of this " Gol " is regarded as the most powerful in the Malwal.

[1] Longar is the " Wa Dit " of the Payol " Gol " and their " Yat " the thigh bone, which must never be broken intentionally. The thigh bones of slaughtered animals are always cleaned and placed in the forks of trees.

# NOTES.

## BARI NAMES.

By A. C. Beaton.

IN his recently published Bari Grammar, Father Spagnolo touches on the Bari system of naming their children. The following notes are intended to amplify the information he gives. Completeness is at present impossible, as some names are confined to districts and even clans, while others have different uses in different parts. The general principles however remain the same and are perhaps worth recording, even though local usages may differ.

Every Bari child has two names—its own preceding that of its father, e.g., Fitia Wani or Fitia lo Wani for Fitia, the son of Wani, and Jabe Lako or Jabe na Lako for Jabe, the daughter of Lako. This first, or own name, is not bestowed by the parents capriciously, but in accordance with a system which defines beforehand the sort of name the child shall get. This system is based on the position of the child's birth in the family, usually, but not always, in relation to the other children of the same sex, and although each child takes its father's name, its own is given to it according to the position of its birth among its own uterine brothers or sisters.

There are many names for first born sons, some of which are :—

Bambo
Göri
Jada
Kwajok
Lualla,

while for second born male children, there are a large number, including :—

Bepo
Goddya
Jangara
Lori
Nyagon.

Third born names are fewer, as

Diwar
Koji
Notwö
Tombale
Waka
Wani
Wuri
Yawa,

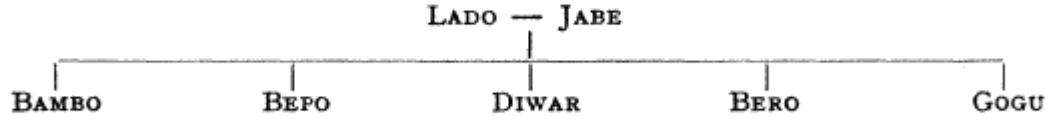
are the only ones I have met.

For fourth born males, there are :—

Bero
Buli
Donkiri
'Dogale
Gore
Jombeke
Fitia
Soka,

while, for a fifth born son, I have only found one name, Gogu, meaning " to stop," since five sons, all still alive, are regarded as the limit.

A possible family of five sons might then be—




First born daughters may be called :—

Gwiö
Igale
Igong
Kajube
Lwökinan.

Second born females are named :—

Bojo
Kitari
Poni
Wago.

A third born daughter might be called :—

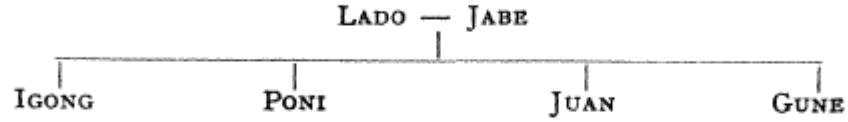
Dwöki
Juan
Pita.

A fourth born might be called :—

Gune,

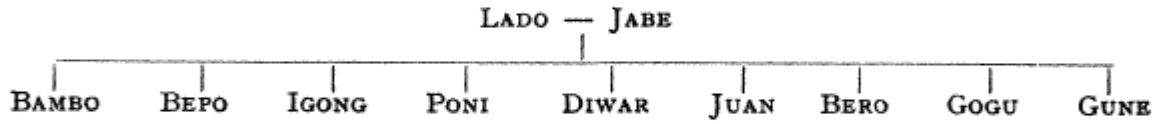
but I have found no name which goes further than this.

A possible family of four daughters is then—




If we combine our two imaginary families, it would ordinarily make no difference to their names at all, as each sex is treated separately for the purpose of naming. There is an exception to this which will be dealt with later.

We might then get :—




Igong, although the third child of the family, receives a first born name as being the first daughter, while Bero, although seventh child, receives a fourth born son's name. If a man has more than one wife, each family is regarded as a separate entity, and there are cases of fathers with two sons, each bearing, say, the same first born name.

While the names for first and second born children are numerous, those for sons and daughters born third and fourth are fewer, and further despite this the tendency is to use only one of these names ; for example, there are hundreds of third born sons called Wani, for every one called Notwö or Waka. There is a variation therefore in naming when dealing with a second son of a second son, and a third son of a third son, and so on. There is an aversion to naming a son by the same name as his father, e.g., Lado lo Lado. In such a case the father might choose another second born name for his son, or might give him the third born name, Wani, instead, while a third-born man, Wani, would not give his third-born son the same name as himself but choose 'Dogale, the fourth born name, for him. As daughters are usually called by their own and their

fathers' names, there is no need to go into these intricacies, if naming, for example, the third daughter of a third son.

So far we have been dealing with families of which all the members have survived, but if a number of children have died the next born child is called a mömö-diöti, and as such has a special name. If the first born has died, the second is called Dere, Kinyong, Leggi or Laki, to quote a few only ; if two previous sons have died, the third might be called Lako, if three, his name would be Mule. Among the daughters the second or third after one or two deaths respectively is called Puru, the fourth after three deaths, is Kako and the fifth after four deaths is Kinyong.

It has been stated that names are given to children according to their position among their own sex in the family, but exceptions to this must now be considered. The first born son after one daughter is usually called Lensuk, while Könyi is the first son after a number of girls. A daughter born after one son is named Sukŏji, and the first girl after a succession of boys is called Kiden. The birth of twins is also apt to affect the name of the next born child. There are, to begin with, different ways of naming twins. Twin boys may simply be called by the ordinary name which would fall to their lot, if born separately, or they may receive the twin names, Wulang (the first) and Sukiri (the second), or, according to Father Spagnalo (*op. cit.*) Ulang and Lodu. Similarly girls may receive the ordinary names or the special twin names, Bojo (the first) and Jore (the second). One informant told me that Wili and Kako are twin girl names, but since Kako is a mömödiöti name, he must have made a mistake. In mixed twins if the elder is male they are called Wulang and Wili, while if the elder is female, the same names are used. After twins, the first child is called Moga, if a boy, and Gune, if a girl.

A posthumously born son is called Lukölö (the male who was left), while a daughter born after her father's death is called Na Kölö (the daughter who was left). When a Bari dies his wife or wives are inherited and married by his brothers, sons or nephews, except that a man cannot so inherit his own mother. Among some tribes there is a special name reserved for the first son or daughter born to the new husband, but among the Bari there is no trace of this custom. Such a child receives the name he would ordinarily have got as a son or daughter of the original husband.

In some villages, where the 'dupi (serfs) survive, the father, who has lost many children, will send his wife during her next pregnancy, to remain

with a 'dupiet, who will look after her until the child is born, when he names it Wari (if a boy) and Puru (if a girl).

Besides their ordinary names the Bari usually have nicknames bestowed on them by their Age Grade fellows, by which they are often more commonly known. It is no rare event for a Chief to deny the existence of a registered person until some one nearby remembers his Age Grade name. Some men, but only a few are known by their mothers' name, e.g., Lado Lo Ide, Lado, son of Ide (a woman) and I have met one man who had an " insult name," which his Age Grade apparently used with impunity, but which on the lips of a stranger was one of the occasions which gave rise to a hotly contested fight between the armed youth of two neighbouring villages.

# FUNG ORIGINS.

J. W. Robertson.

IN Mr. Arkell's extremely interesting article, [1] which recently appeared on this subject, he gave a description of the appointment of Sheikh Mohammed Idris Ragab as Nazir of Gule. I was present at this ceremony, which occurred at Gule in December, 1931. Sheikh Mohammed is the descendant of the family of the Viziers of the Fung Kingdom and is directly descended from Mohammed Abu Likeilik, whose grandson fled from Sennar to Gule at the conquest of Sennar by the Egyptian army in 1820. Sheikh Mohammed is now Nazir of Darfung and would resent being termed a Hamegawi. This helps to explain Mr. Arkell's difficulty about the Gule Hameg, vis-a-vis the Nazir.

When I agreed on behalf of the Government to the appointment of Sheikh Mohammed, he was placed in a chair (not a Kukur), an ordinary wooden chair with a rope bottom such as might be found in any merchant's shop. The chair had a rug thrown over it, and a cushion on the seat. His people then came forward one by one and hailed him as Mangil, and some of them kissed his hand. A drum was beaten continuously by relays of men. No shots were fired, no camel races run, and I do not think there was a horse at Gule, at any rate I did not see one.

I recently asked Mek Hassan why he had given such a very exaggerated account to Mr. Arkell, and he replied that he had told Mr. Arkell not so much what had actually happened as what should have happened if the old customs had been properly carried out. Thus, while Sheikh Mohammed was not shut up for forty days, but went out about his business straight away, this custom is very well known in Roseires District and was followed in Fazoghli and among the Roseires Hameg until quite recently. I believe Mek Hussein in Fazoghli sees that it is properly carried out in the cases even of village sheikhs.

I corroborated my recollection about the Kukur by asking Mek Naīl of Keili whether or not it was true that his Kukur had been taken to Gule or not, and he told me that it had not been sent to Gule. The Hameg at Keili have no Kukur; the Kukur there belongs to Mek Naīl, and he tells me it has been handed down from father to son in his family since it was presented to them by the Kings of Sennar. (See Mr. Arkell's article, page 230.)

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XV, Part II, 1932, p. 201.

With regard to the more general questions raised by Mr. Arkell and Mr. Evans-Pritchard, I can make no contribution to the solution of the Fung Origins, except a very negative one. The whole tradition of the people in the Southern Fung is that the Fungs were the Fungs of Sennar. There is nowhere, so far as I have found, any tradition that they came from the White Nile direct, nor is there any tradition that they came through the Southern Fung on their way to Sennar from Abyssinia. All the legend and tradition is that they came to the south from Sennar.

The Fungs did not, so far as I can see, penetrate effectively to the south until long after they settled in Sennar. The present Fung kings of Fazoghli and Keili say that their ancestors, Mayas and Gabir, came together from Sennar, " they were brothers, and together they conquered the hill tribes of Berta as far as the Abyssinian escarpment." They divided up their conquests. Mr. Chataway discovered that Mayas was supposed to have had a settlement at Disa.

The genealogical tables of these kings, as at present told by themselves, are extremely fragmentary and improbable. Evans-Pritchard gives a genealogy of the Kings of Keili, which makes the present Mek only six generations removed from the original Mayas. Similarly the genealogy given for Fazoghli in Nalder's Fung Province notes makes the present Mek Hussein Hassan only four generations removed from the Gabir, who is supposed to have come from Sennar. These genealogies are obviously valueless. MacMichael[1] quotes from the Historia Ethiopiæ of P. Petri Paez, who wrote in the early seventeenth century, that an Abyssinian invasion " regnum Funge invadunt.....a Suaquem usque ad Fazcolo." Obviously these genealogies too leave little room for the " king-killing " so beloved of the anthropologists. Caillaud has a much longer genealogy for Fazoghli, and one is inclined to believe that his is more likely to be correct as far as length goes.

The general belief in this district is that the ancestors of the kings of Fazoghli, Keili, Gubba and Beni Shangul came to the south from Sennar, that they conquered the indigenous inhabitants and settled down amongst them. They do not appear to have been much interfered with by the Fungs of Sennar, but seem to have been practically independant. They undoubtedly have been in this part of the world for two or three hundred years.

[1] " History of the Arabs in the Sudan." Vol. II., p. 410.

When one considers the Darfung area as opposed to the above principalities, there is a very great difference. There seems to me to have been considerable confusion in some of the recent articles about the influence of the Fungs in the present Darfung and Ulu areas. It should always be remembered that the rulers of Gule are not Fungs, but are the descendants of Mohammed Abu Likeilik. Abu Likeilik is said by local gossip to have been a Ja'ali—Gemu'i by a Hameg mother from Dali ; in 1754 he was commander of the Fung cavalry in the war against the Abyssinians and in 1760 he marched on Sennar from Kordofan and seized the power if not the throne of the Fung Kings. When the Egyptians came in 1820 his grandson, Idris Adlan, fled to the South to the land of his mother's people, the Hameg, and settled at Gule.

The influence of the Fungs in the wide area over which the chief of Gule rules seems from tradition only to have really started with the arrival of " nas Adlan " to Gule. The Mek of Gule, an old Hamegawi, aged about seventy, tells me that, before the Sheikhs came to Gule, each hill was on its own, that they paid tribute from time to time to Sennar, and that each hill had its own Mek. He himself has some old drums (nahas) which he assures me were given him long before the sheikhs came to Gule. He also had a Kukur, but this was destroyed when Ahmed Fadeil came to Gule at the end of the Mahdia.

If there is anything in the above, it seems to show that the Fungs never effectively occupied this country until after their Fung Empire fell ; Ulu, which Evans-Pritchard describes as a Fung outpost was, and is, undoubtedly an outpost of Gule ; and similarly Sillak had a resident Fung Manofana, but I think these were rather the agents of the Sheikh of Gule, than the viceroys of Sennar.

During the "Turkia" the Sheikhs of Gule were recognised by the Government as tax collectors and chiefs of all the area from Gule to the South including Sillak, Kurmuk Ulu, the Baruns, and even to Fedasi. It would seem that the Sheikhs appointed agents at Ulu or Gerawid to assist them, and that their connection with the southern areas was raiding them for slaves and gold ; Ulu was a starting point for such expeditions. Marno's description of the inhabitants of Ulu as Funngi-Hameg seems to me to be a perfect description of the Adlan family, half Hameg and identified with the Fungs. Evans-Pritchard gives a genealogy of the Meks of Ulu ; the present Mek Badi Sadiq is only the fifth generation removed from the

alleged founder of the dynasty, who came from Sennar. It seems probable that they came from Sennar with the Sheikh Idris Adlan. Badi Sadiq before his appointment as Mek of Ulu by Sheikh Idris Ragab, used to live at Bot near Gule.

The fact which now seems proved beyond any doubt, that considerable Nilotic influence can be traced in the language of the Meban (Gura or Southern Barūn, as they are also called), and to a lesser degree in the languages of the Hill Barūn of Kurmuk, the Ragreig, and the people of Maiak, Abul Dugu and Maghaga, seems to me for the above reasons to have nothing to do with the problem of Fung origins. It is more likely that these people were pushed up from the South by pressure exercised upon them by the Nuers. The Ragreig, for instance, have quite recent memories of having come to their present habitat from the direction of Kurmuk.

The Meks of Abul Dugu and Maghaga have a tradition that they are really Dinkas and that they came from the West from Teifa and Fam which, they say, are Jebels in the West. This is interesting in view of the mention of these same places in the Fung traditions. I have seen Dinkas in various places in the district, and one or two settle for cultivation annually at But near Gule.

It seems to me that these indications of connections with the White Nile are absolutely unconnected with the Fungs. Shilluk may have invaded the area now known as Darfung, as supposed by Evans-Pritchard. I think all the indications go to show that they did. This does not show, however, that the Fungs were Shilluk, because there is no reason to suppose that the Fungs ever reached Darfung until very late in their power, possibly only after Sennar had fallen.

Probably the truth is that Fazoghli, Gubba, Keili and the other kingdoms were raided by Sennar, and made tributory, and that a viceroy was left in charge. It may be that the Berta, or indigenous ruler, was allowed to carry on as a tributory. But there is such a distinct resemblance in type between the four Fung Meks, whom I know, that I think they have racial connection. Meks Hassan of Singa, Hussein of Fazoghli and Hamdan Abu Shōk of Gubba might almost be brothers. The rulers of Gule are quite different in appearance, as is to be expected. What I wish to emphasize is that as far as can be ascertained in the Southern Fung, the influence of the Fungs was not widely felt until late. Probably

in Darfung itself the Fung raided from time to time, for slaves and gold. They left the Hameg in their ǧebels and it was only with the coming of the "Funngi-Hameg" in the early nineteenth century that Darfung became Darfung.

One or two other points may be worth making. In the course of a visit to Ulu, I asked Badi Sadiq the Mek whether he had ever heard of Ulu being called Lulu. He said he had not, but told me that he had always heard that the place of the 'Ada at Ulu was called Lulu. I asked him whether he knew where his ancestors had come from; he had no doubt at all that they came from Gule. There are one or two persons at Gule, But and Roru, who are said to be the descendants of Fungs who were at Gule before the "nas Adlan" came there. They are now not to be distinguished from the Hameg, and the sheikhs, or Meks, of these hills are now Hamegs. It may be that there was a small Fung outpost at Gule before the flight of the Viziers.

References have been made from time to time to the Fung language, and it has been supposed still to exist in the hills of the Southern Fung. In some old notes the Fungs of Fazoghli are spoken of as speaking the Fung tongue. This is quite incorrect. They speak the Berta language. Similarly Gule Hameg has been thought to be Fung; this, the Mek of the Hameg tells me, is also not the case. Westermann, as interpreted by Mr. Arkell, gives the word BUNJ as being the Fung and the Gule Hameg word for stranger. The Gule Hameg told me that in their tongue stranger was ARINDI KAWENGI. In the numerals given by the Hameg of Gule, and in the old numerals of the Roseires Hameg, there seems to be a certain similarity, though the Roseires Hameg now speak Berta, and only one or two of the old men can remember the old numerals. Apart from these languages there seems nothing which could be the Fung dialect.

One or two of Mr. Arkell's earlier remarks can be amplified from the Southern Fung. Mr. Chataway's Meroitic sites as described in *Sudan Notes and Records* were examined by me; and I have kept my eyes open for similar sites throughout the District. There are many sites of a very similar kind on Khor Shamfur; Nessissa, Shamfur itself, "Wad el Dueihi," Tub el Dinka, Mufu, Agaaz, and I have no doubt others could easily be found. On the West bank I was shown a site where I found the same types of pottery, stone articles and beads. This was locally known as Sōba. There was a large area covered with these remains.

This was near the present village of Abu Gemai. A smaller site was beside the motor road, where it crosses Khor Uffat.

Inland in the Gule area there are similar remains. Mr. McDowell found one site at Maghaga ; I found one at Weirkat, where I also found a rock, which has a rather good picture of giraffes, and other rock drawings somewhat similar to those found on Gebel Haraza in Northern Kordofan.

Throughout the middle Gezira, too, there are the old haffirs mentioned by Mr. Arkell. These exist at Weirkat, Roru, Sidak, Sillak, Buk, Bagis, and Kilgu, to my knowledge, and are attributed to the mythical Anags, even by the Hamegs of the present. At Maghaga there is a ceremony something resembling baptism, in which the small children are immersed in a rock pool by the Kujurs in order to preserve them from evil and illness.

These notes may be of some value in amplifying previous articles. They go to show that there was a considerable population in the hills of the Southern Fung before the arrival of the Fungs. These people were no doubt affected by the civilisation of Soba and Aloa. There is no evidence in the Southern Fung that the Fungs who founded the Fung Empire came from the Shilluk country or from Abyssinia by this route. There is no evidence that they had a language of their own. There is a very well founded tradition that the Fungs now in the Southern Fung, came from Sennar. Those of Fazoghli and Keili, Gubba and Beni Shangul, are reputed to have come in the remote past. There is very little to show that there was any Fung power or permanent influence at Gule or Ulu before the overthrow of the Fungs at Sennar. The Fung influence there starts in local tradition with the arrival of Idris Adlan, and I feel very sceptical of the chances of finding out the clue to the origins of the Fungs in the Roseires district. If the Shilluk theory is correct, then Bruce's account seems to be more probable than that they came by this route, but I think that the fact that there are Shilluk resemblances in the languages of certain tribes in the Southern Fung, is much more likely to be due to other influences than to be a relic of the Fung invasion which ended in the Empire of Sennar. The old legends of the White Nile Hassania and Husseinat are full of mention of the Shilluks whom the Hassania under Keiwat found on the White Nile as far north as Gebel Breima when they first came there from the North.

# REVIEWS.

FIGHTING-BRACELETS AND KINDRED WEAPONS IN AFRICA. *Riksmūseets Ethnografiska Avdelning. Smarre Meddelanden. No. 4. Stockholm.* 1927.
By K. G. LINDBLOM.

PROFESSOR LINDBLOM'S brochure on the distribution of the spiked wheel-trap was reviewed in *Sudan Notes and Records* (1929) because the Nile valley is its main provenance. His brochure on fighting-bracelets is noticed here for the same reason.

He divides fighting bracelets into two main groups. The first group is the *circular wrist-knife* or the *Turkana type*. It consists of " a ring-shaped, flat and thin iron disc, the edge of which has been ground to sharpness. . . . The inner side of the disc is covered with leather as a protection for the wrist, and the edge is sheathed in the same way when the weapon is not in use." This type is limited to Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic peoples. It has been recorded among the Suk, the Turkana, the Buma, the Murle, the Donyiro, the Reshiat, the Karamojo, the Lango (?), the Tobur (Naqua), the Acholi, the Madi (?), the Latuka, the Irenga (N.E. of the Latuka), the Bari (?), the Jibbeh, and the Mittu (?).

A number of these cases are very doubtful, as may be observed from the question marks against them, since descriptions are often inadequate to decide whether instruments mentioned by travellers can be classed in this group. Thus the Lango are given on the authority of the *British Museum Handbook* but Prof. Lindblom cautiously comments in a foot-note that Driberg makes no reference to the weapon in his monograph on this tribe. Mr. Driberg has since corrected this error (*Man*, December, 1929) and gives his opinion that the specimen in the British Museum must have come from an Acholi source, adding that the Acholi do not make these wristlets but obtain them from the Nilo-Hamitic tribes to their east (" As they are only occasionally worn, they cannot be said to belong even to Acholi culture "). It may be hoped that other mistakes will be corrected.

Prof. Lindblom's second group of fighting-bracelets is " an ordinary arm-ring of metal (generally iron) provided with one or more projections, preferably in the form of spikes . . ." These he calls spiked-bracelets and

records them for the Acholi, the Madi, the Latuko, the Irenga, the Jibbeh, the Dinka, the Shilluk, the Nuer, the Abukaya, the Mittu, the Bongo, and the Jur. There is no record of any kind of fighting-bracelets between the White Nile region and Lake Chad, though this fact has a limited significance since we know practically nothing about the ethnology of this area. We find the second type among a few West African tribes, where they are sometimes used for ceremonial purposes.

Other types of weapon described by Prof. Lindblom are the finger ring which is provided with a protruding knife-like blade and the claw-like finger-hook, but his account of these is not so clear or detailed as his description of the fighting-bracelets. The occurrence of these last, as we have seen, is limited to two groups in Africa, the larger group comprising a number of Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic peoples in a practically continuous area, and the smaller group comprising tribes in West Africa. They are not found among Bantu nor among Hamitic peoples (if we except the armed finger-rings of the S.E. Galla).

A great disadvantage under which a museum worker labours is amply illustrated by this brochure. He finds that it is often impossible to say with any degree of certainty to what use his specimens are put by the peoples from whom they are collected, and he consequently has to classify them by their form and not by their function. It may happen therefore, that he classifies in a single type weapons which appear to be the same in form but which are used for totally different purposes, and this may prove a fatal error if ethnological reconstruction is based upon it. It is not certain whether many fighting-bracelets are used as weapons at all, and it seems established that some are used as ornaments or in ritual games. Prof. Lindblom is well aware of this difficulty. His paper is well illustrated and is accompanied by a map showing the distribution of fighting-bracelets in Africa.

E. E. E.-P.

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LIKUNDU. Die Sektion der Zauberkraft, von Hermann Baumann, Berlin. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.* 1928. Pp. 73–85.

THE Azande are the only tribe in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, as far as is known, who believe that witchcraft has a concrete existence inside a man and can be discovered and removed by cutting open his abdomen. This belief is one of those culture-traits which so clearly link up the Azande

with the peoples of West Africa and enable us to say that they belong culturally to the west and not to the east of the continent.

Though they are the only tribe in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan who possess this belief we find it among most of their immediate neighbours to the south, the Logo, the Mangbetu, the Abarambo, the Ababua, and so on, and it is interesting to observe its distribution westwards along the lower Congo to the Atlantic. Baumann has collected together in this paper all the African data which bear on this belief in a corporeal substance as the seat of witchcraft. The essence of the belief is found in an identification of the idea of witchcraft with a definite, concrete, substance located in the innards, and in the custom of dissecting corpses to discover whether this substance, the Zande *mangu*, the Pangwe *evu*, the Lingala *likundu*, exists or not. This is the nuclear belief which we find in a large number of tribes in central and western Africa, the common factor which permits us to describe notions of witchcraft as belonging to the *likundu* type. In other respects there may be a wide divergence of belief centring around this nuclear idea. There are accretions in some tribes which we do not find in others, e.g., in the Lower Niger country, on the periphery of the *likundu* culture area (*Verbreitungsgebiet*), we find the belief in witch-substance located in the innards associated with a double-ego and with animal forms, an association lacking in the centre of the area of *likundu* beliefs.

This culture-centre (*Kerngebiet*) is the area from the lower Congo- and Ogowe peoples in the west to the Mangbetu and Logo in the east, and here the belief consists in a simple identification of witchcraft with a pathological condition of the innards. Baumann's description and accompanying map show that the *likundu* belief is found in a clearly demarcated and contiguous area, the only tribes which lie outside this enclosed area of distribution being the Wasafwa and the Konde to the north of Lake Nyasa.

But there are wide differences in the configuration of the belief in different tribes. In some (e.g., the Pangwe) we find the notion that witchcraft in a weak state is the basis of all skill and that it is only socially deleterious in stronger states. There are also differences between the ways in which a witch is identified, between the ways in which a post-mortem is carried out, and between the parts of the entrails in which witchcraft is looked for, in different tribes. Among some peoples witchcraft

is discovered in the inside of the witch; in others it is located inside his victim; while in yet others the slayer and the victim are the same individual since men sometimes die from their own too powerful witchcraft. But in spite of these differences the *likundu* notion is everywhere the same in its essential ideas. Baumann's paper is a very useful contribution to African ethnology.

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## Bari Grammar.

By the Rev. Father L. H. Spagnolo, F.S.C., Verona Mission Africane, 1933.

TEN years of devoted study lie behind the publication of this work, the first scientific study of the Bari Language. Hitherto the only grammar available to the English reader was Owen's—unacknowledged—translation of Mitterutzner's work of 1867. The Rejaf Language Conference of 1928 came in time to provide a systematised spelling, and with the acknowledged help given by Dr. Tucker, the Sudan Government Linguistic Expert, in the arrangement of his material, the finished product is worthy of the great pains expended on it. Gratitude must also be extended to the author for producing the whole in English, which must have added so greatly to the labour.

The actual make-up of the book will appear strange to English readers, and it would have been easier to read if the Bari had been printed in heavy Roman type rather than in Italics, while the brackets which invariably enclose the English equivalents, are unnecessary. Confusion may also arise from the fact that, under Nouns, the primary form is given first whether it be singular or plural. To avoid this it would have been preferable to have adhered to a uniform method of giving the singular of the Noun first and its Plural second. The author also appears unduly averse from foreign forms. In some cases indeed the recommended Bari renderings are academic rather than practical. The average Bari does not use "Pori" in the sense of "Bridge," and, when the author himself incorporates "Padre" and "Batismo," it seems an unnecessary circumlocution to use "Kadi rereket" for "Sigin" or "Jamet na Kulya" for "Lokiko."

These are, however, minor matters. Especially valuable is Father Spagnolo's schematisation of the Euphonic Laws. These do indeed

demand the inclusion of special symbols for the lax forms of the vowels, e, i, o and u, but the clarity of the resulting laws amply justifies this. With the noun, the singular or the plural may be the primary form from which the plural or the singular, as the case may be, is built up by the addition of suffixes. It greatly simplifies the learning of the language to know that these suffixes are determined by the value of the last vowel in the primary form. The same applies to verbs. Once the final vowel of the verb stem is known, the imperative, emphatic and adverbial forms follow automatically. The word " Kur," for example, may mean " to borrow " if pronounced with a long " u " or " to hoe " if pronounced with a lax " u." With a knowledge of the Euphonic Laws for verb suffixes, the compound forms can easily be determined.

The difficulties of gender are smoothed out by the introduction of " a physiological criterion." Inanimate objects which are hard, long or active, are masculine, e.g., stone, stick and hammer, while those which are hollow, soft or passive, are feminine, e.g., pot, water and chair. The exceptions to this rule are very few.

The verb plays a great part in Bari, and the meaning of the simple verb may be modified in a number of ways by the addition of adverbial suffixes. There are the Emphatic and Dative suffixes, a suffix to express " motion towards " and one to express " motion from," with others which further amplify its scope. These have all been carefully systematised.

The beginner might, however, on first approaching the language, omit the majority of these, to study them later when a certain fluency has been attained.

At the end of the grammar is a large section entitled Folklore, which contains Bari fables, traditions and proverbs, as well as a number of lists of kinship, clans, animals and the like. With a translation of this section, keys to the copious exercises—an admirable feature of the work—and the publication of the promised dictionary, there will be available not only an admirable guide to the study of the language but also an introduction to the customs and thought of the people. As Bari is spoken by seven tribes, approximately 110,000 people, there is, apart from the scientific value of this grammar, no need to dwell on its great practical value to the Missionary and the Government Official.

A.C.B.

## The Abyssinian at Home.

By C. H. Walker, late Sudan Civil Service and H. B. M. Consul for Western Ethiopia.

(*The Sheldon Press. 7s. 6d.*)

WE may be sure that anything written about Abyssinia by Mr. Walker will be worth reading, and in "The Abyssinian at Home" we are not disappointed. He has given us a unique book, consisting of a series of statements made by natives, taken down in Amharic, and, after translation, arranged under appropriate chapters. The Abyssinian, writes Mr. Walker in his preface, has been left to speak for himself.

The resulting style, which of necessity must be archaic in its simplicity, may weary some readers, but Mr. Walker has been wise to adhere to the Biblical style of expression natural to the Amharic language. In some cases, particularly in those chapters devoted to the Law, the simplicity of expression may, paradoxically, obscure the meaning, but elsewhere the impression left with the reader is that here are presented facts about Abyssinian life and customs and thought, at first hand and in the Abyssinian method of thinking. Probably in no other book is expressed so clearly the old Testament and yet Feudal atmosphere in which the Abyssinian of to-day lives.

The first half of the book deals with the Social and Religious side of Abyssinian life, and there are some interesting chapters on the Church, the Fasts and Festivals and the Ecclesiastics, all of which play such an important part. So simply and with such naïvete does the narrative run that little details, such as the amount of dollars to be given to the confessor, or the quantity of hydromel and grain which must be set aside for the Priest—details which in a more academic publication would be wearying—become matters of real interest. And whether in matters of Church or Law or Administration, the Abyssinian man in the street has always to remember the proper perquisite, be it beer or money or food, due to priest advocate and judge and officer of state.

There are some excellent Chapters on Land, Offices and Taxation, ingenuously called "Contributions."

The Chapters on Law are certainly a little difficult to follow, and although the atmosphere of the Abyssinian Courts is well maintained, it would be hard to give a lucid description of Abyssinian Legal Procedure after reading these notes. The truth, probably, is that the nature of Abyssinian Legal Procedure precludes lucidity of description. It is to be hoped, however, that in a future publication Mr. Walker will enlarge on this subject in his own words.

In fact, we must all await with interest the supplement to this book which we venture to suggest should be a commentary by Mr. Walker on Abyssinian life as portrayed therein.

Two things stand out after reading Mr. Walker's book. First, what a remarkable people are the Abyssinians to have evolved this social, religious and legal life, which, on the whole, is remarkably reasonable and civilised. What different stories could be told of the Abyssinian *not* at home, in the Sudan! Secondly, one cannot but compare the methods of the author, who after over 20 years' service in Abyssinia, is content to let the Abyssinian tell his own story, with those of other authors who, after visits limited sometimes to months or even weeks in Abyssinia, take it upon themselves to write with assurance, and as if with experience, their own opinions of that hidden country.

M. S. L.

*Nasr.*

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## *THE UGANDA JOURNAL*, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2.

WE have received from the Uganda Literary and Scientific Society copies of the first two numbers of the *Uganda Journal*, their newly founded periodical.

The promoters are to be heartily congratulated not only on their enterprise, but upon the high quality of its firstfruits. They pay us the compliment of saying that they have derived much of their inspiration from *Sudan Notes and Records*, and we are glad indeed to think that we have been instrumental in bringing into existence such an admirable contemporary.

The reviewer (in the second number) of our own Vol. XVI deplores the fact that people in Uganda are ignorant of, and out of touch with, the Sudan, and we have no hesitation in admitting that most of us here

are equally ignorant of Uganda—of its history, geography and ethnology. How many of us, for instance, know anything at all of that remarkable ruler, the Kabaka Mutesa ? Yet this is a question that one is bound to ask before one criticises the author of the notable article on him in the first number of the Journal, for referring to Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi, as " Mohammed Ali."

This criticism is, however, a digression from the point, which is that we and our Southern neighbours are undeniably ignorant of one another's country and that, as a first step towards a better knowledge of Uganda, no one can do better than read these first numbers of the *Uganda Journal.*

The longest article—and at the same time that of greatest interest to us in the Sudan—is that on " Mutesa of Buganda," by J. M. Gray. It supplies illuminating details of that somewhat obscure period between 1869 and 1881, during which Baker, Gordon and Emin Pasha successively attempted to extend the Khedive's dominions in the far South.

Having had our appetite whetted by this article, we are glad to find some further notes on Mutesa and his reign, written in a vivid and picturesque style by Ham Mukasa. These notes, printed as they are in the original Luganda of the author, and followed by an English translation, are one of the most striking features of the Journal.

The "early days" in Uganda are entertainingly described in Sir Albert Cook's reminiscences, and there are a number of scientific articles dealing with forests, botany, the mysterious salt lake, Katwe, and so forth, while the note on " An approach to Linguistics " is brief, but very much to the point.

Mr. Johnston's appeal for records of past outbreaks of locusts, at the end of the first number, serves to remind us that in locusts and the problem of their destruction, we have a common interest with Uganda, which is of paramount importance to both countries.

We are glad to announce that we have arranged to exchange *Sudan Notes and Records* for the *Uganda Journal,* and the latter will be available for reference in the Civil Secretary's library. Membership of the Uganda Literary and Scientific Society, which, for an annual subscription of Shs. 10, entitles subscribers to receive the Journal free, is " open to all races," and particulars may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, P. O. Kampala. A. W. M. D.

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