

Sudan Notes and Records.

Vol. XXII, 1939.

PART II.

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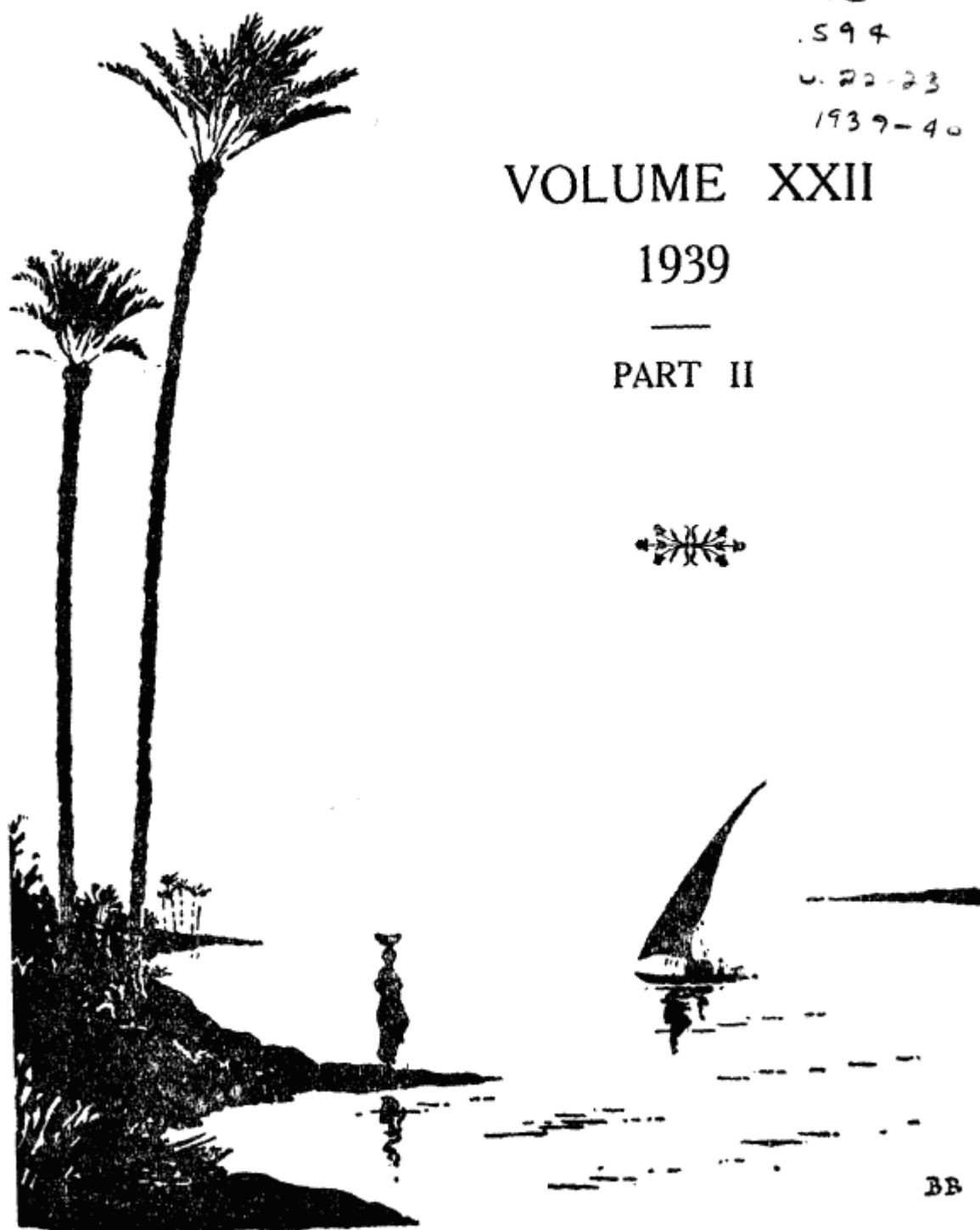
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Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet

adopted by the Editors of *Sudan Notes and Records*

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

VOWELS.

fatha	a,	lengthened	ā
kasra	i,	„	ī
ḍamma	u,	„	ū

DIPHTHONGS.

اِي—ai (as in aisle).
او—au (as in mauser).

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

The silent *t* (ط) 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), ḥosh.

Ei may be used as an alternative to *ē*.

Contin
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Vol. XXII.

Part II.

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BARI RAIN CULTS

By Captain R. C. Cooke, M.C.

AND

FUR RAIN CULTS AND CEREMONIES

By A. C. Beaton.

The Bari Cults.

THE following may be of some interest to those who have read Professor Seligman's article on the Bari in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Volume LVIII—1928, and are the results of my own investigations and of what I have personally seen since being in this district (the Central District of the old Mongalla Province).

My first experience of the Bari Rainmaker and of what authority he has among the people of his own tribe occurred in June 1929 at Rejaf. The local chief complained that a certain Köni lo Jada had 'tied up the rain' on account of a case about a woman and requested me to take some action. I sent for Köni lo Jada and informed him that there would be trouble if he did not produce rain in a very short time. Within twenty four hours he had produced a real good rain and everyone was delighted. I told him that he could now go home, but he elected to remain saying that he had some more rain to produce—and he had. No one was permitted to see the rites that he carried out.

Next year 1930, and again in June, rain was scarce everywhere in the district. One day Mödi Fitya, then chief at Shindiru and son of Fitya Lugör, the chief rainmaker among the Bari, arrived in my office with a complaint about the absence of rain and asked me to take

some action remarking that in 1929 rain had been produced by Köni lo Jada at my orders. I arranged a date on which I would be at Shindiru.

Before going there I had to go west to attend a Chiefs' court and on the way I met a large number of people walking down the road. I stopped and asked them where they were going and they told me that they were going to see my old friend Köni lo Jada as they required rain very badly. I sent a verbal message to him that he had better do his best before I returned in a few days time. On my return I noticed that he had evidently functioned as there was water everywhere and the villagers were all well satisfied. I then went on to Shindiru next day hoping to see Fitya Lugör perform the rain rites and in this I was not disappointed.

At 8.00 a.m. the following morning I met him at his shrine, which varies slightly from the photograph by Spire as given on plate XLVII figure 3 with Professor Seligman's article ; the rainstones themselves are kept in eleven old grindstones at the back of Fitya's house ; there are no upright stones surrounding it, but only a fence at the back. The iron rods were laid across the stones at right angles and crossing each other. In each grindstone there were several small stones of various kinds and colours (the prevailing ones being of green quartz), and among them two very obvious scent bottle stoppers. The stones, I was informed, were male, female, slaves and children. The male and female were sexed according to their shape, the long or pointed ones being male and the short ones etc. female. One large male stone and one large female stone particularly were of some importance and there was one large block of stone some six to eight inches long and some four inches wide covered with wartlike excrescences, which were, I was told, the children. There was water lying in the grindstones but I do not know if it always kept there or was due to rain. Some bead necklaces were observed hanging on the thorn bushes which protect the shrine and there was one large one which Fitya said his father used to wear.

The ceremony now began. First the *dupiet* (rainmaker's serf) removed the rods, which were put on one side against the fence,

and after taking the rainstones out of the grindstones cleared the water and dirt out of these receptacles. The rainstones were now washed with water from some small earthenware pots standing in the shrine and were then replaced carefully according to some form of pattern in their respective grindstones. I did not see Fitya Lugör wash any of the stones himself nor did I see any oil used, but he did alter stones here and there and very carefully placed in a certain position the large male and female stones already referred to. They were carefully arranged touching each other. The pattern in the grindstones looked somewhat like an horizontal section of a trifle with almonds sticking out from the side.

The stones being now arranged to his satisfaction, Fitya had the rods replaced. The *dupiet* now stood back and Fitya turned towards the east and murmured to himself for a short time while wringing his hands. He had no iron rod in his hands. I understand he used some such words as these, 'Ancestors of mine send rain into our midst'. When the incantations were over, a ram, which had all this time been standing tethered nearby, was held up and over the stones in the air. One man held its hind legs straight out while a second held its forelegs over the back of its neck in such a way as to keep its head still. An assistant now cut its throat with a knife and immediately caught the blood in a calabash. The ram was held in position until the blood had ceased flowing, when it was thrown on the ground and the ceremony was, I was told, over. I was also told that a black ram is the customary colour for the sacrifice, but that if a black one is not available, the nearest approach to black is substituted. In this case it was not a black ram as they had all been sacrificed. The goat was later eaten by those present.

Fitya Lugör now made passes across my eyes, down my face and round my neck with a sacred male stone in each hand, at the same time blowing in my face. This he informed me was to prevent any evil falling on my eyes after seeing the rainmaking ceremony. Some powerful medicine must have been made that June morning, as it rained later in the day when they had not had rain there for a

very long time. It has since been interesting to note that on each of my subsequent visits to Shindiru it has rained even in the dry weather.

Since being present at the above ceremony, I have made further enquiries about rainmaking and the following may be of interest. During the dry weather the rain stones are not taken indoors nor indeed during the wet weather when not in use. Custom varies as to what care is taken of them. Fitya Lugör and his son Mödi Fitya bury their stones in a hole about fifty yards from the former's house, in the rafters of which the iron rods are carefully stored. At Nyonki near Khor Karpeto where one Köni Tombe is rainmaker the stones are covered round with sticks. The late Chief Yokwe Köri, who lived to the south of Shindiru, kept his stones in the dry weather uncovered with earth but surrounded by stakes. At Ngangala, where one Kolaji Mödi practises in a small way, the stones were triply protected ; first there was a small pot inverted over them, then a pile of cinders and finally over all a large earthenware pot. He kindly uncovered them for me to see, doubtless as it was time for them to be brought into use. In the middle of the dry weather he would not be so willing to do so. At Liria the rainmaker Jada Rugang keeps his stones when not in use in a stake-formed shrine, but otherwise quite uncovered.

At neither Ngangala nor Liria did I have to undergo the process of being breathed upon, nor was there any suggestion that it was necessary for passes to be made over my head with the stones, perhaps because they had not yet been brought out from their dry weather quarters for actual use in a rain ceremony. At chief Yokwe Köri's however, after I had seen the stones, some protective passes were made over my head with a piece of grass which was snapped in two. The chief had just been buried that morning and as it is one of the rules that the sons of the rain chief assisting at the funeral ceremony may not walk on grass until the actual burial is over, on the pain of contracting guineaworm, there may be some sort of connection here, though I am sceptical. At any rate a piece of grass was used to avert any possible ill effect of seeing the rainstones.

There were also one or two other interesting points about the rainmaker at Nyonki. Hanging on the gravestick at the grave of Köni's father were the tethering cords of a number of goats that had been offered as sacrifices for rain. They were all in various stages of decay and it is said that they are left there until they rot away. Köni's father was reputed to be a very powerful rainmaker and his son is supposed to have inherited from him a special kind of rainstone. It is a kind of hermaphrodite with unusual powers, but although Köni showed me his stones I do not remember having seen it, though I may have missed it through not knowing what to look for. From a description of it the stone is male in that it is long and pointed in shape, but female in that it has breasts like a woman. On subsequent visits Köni has not been at home and I have been unable to get another look at his stones.

Köni Tombe also wore in his hair at the back of his head an iron wire ornament of a continuous loop design thus, about three inches long and one inch from top to bottom. This he said was part of his equipment. A similar decorative design is described by Professor Seligman as occurring on the sacred spears he saw at Belinian.

At Köni Tombe's shrine I also saw a length of fibre rope tied to some four bushes, forming three sides of a square. The fourth side was open and the idea was that the rain should be enticed into this enclosure and kept there. The use of a rope, but in rather a different way, is recorded by Spire (see page 470 of Professor Seligman's article).

There is no doubt that the Bari look on Fitya Lugör as their supreme rainmaker. In 1931 for instance Chief Lako Kirpa of Logo told me that he had sent his annual ram as usual to Fitya asking him for rain. The local rainmakers are naturally referred to first but if they fail to produce rain, immediate recourse is had to the Shindirü chief. Although Fitya has not had his teeth excised, a characteristic of the rain chief, he has ceased to conform to his forebears' habits of hirsuteness and nakedness, as he now wears his hair reasonably trim and goes about clothed.

A further piece of information I received from Fitya was that though he himself is not *monyekak* actually in Shindiru, he assists the local holder of that office, Leggi Lako, to perform the annual sacrifice for good crops, which actually takes place in his own house. Fitya is incidentally the *monyekak* of the area to the east of Shindiru. It is he and not Leggi Lako who assigns the areas to newcomers, etc. for cultivation even in Leggi Lako's *monyekakship*. The *monyekak*'s job is the performance of the sacrifice for good crops and the warding off of blight from the area for which he is responsible.

From the above it is clear that the salient points in Bari rain-making technique are as follows: the power of rainmaking is hereditary; a sacrificial offering is sent to the rainmaker with a request for rain; by performing a ceremony in which stones and iron rods and sometimes spears play some part the rainmaker causes rain to come; the blood of the beast and the undigested food from the top of the intestine are important; and the appeal for rain is addressed to the rainmaker's ancestors.

The Fur Rain Cults and Ceremonies.

The negroid people called the Fur live in the country about Jebel Marra, the cradle of their last line of Sultans which came to an abrupt end in 1916. They occupy a sweep of country in the province of Darfur from Jebel Si near Kutum along the Marra range and the land to its west and thence in a south-easterly direction to Nyala, an area fertile, well-watered and thickly-wooded.

The rainy season generally begins in June and reaches its peak in July and August, petering out by October and being followed by cool, dry conditions that last till the following May. The average rainfall in millimetres during the wet months is May 20, June 63, July 157, August 247, September 113 and October 21.

With its ample rainfall this area provides rich grazing throughout the year and water may be found quite close to the surface in almost all the riverbeds even in April and May. As a grain-producing country it is prolific, favouring dukhn on the sandier soils and white

grain in the heavier land along the river valleys. The natives take full advantage of these gifts of nature and are most industrious agriculturists, for in addition to their grain they grow a number of other crops like ladies-fingers, onions and chillies as well as tobacco and cotton, while in the Jebel Marra area, where there is running water all the year round, a clever system of irrigation has been devised to provide for the production of crops in the rainless season. The mean annual rainfall is about 580 millimetres and only one year in the last nine shows any appreciable falling short of that average. A famine is only to be feared when there is an invasion of locusts or when a Sultan like Ali Dinar extorts so much from the people that they have not sufficient food left for themselves.

Amid all this profusion and fertility a rain cult is somewhat of an anomaly, for the rainmaker flourishes where rainfall is apt to be capricious; but rain cults there are in practically every village and, although the Fur appear to be less exercised about the rains than the Bari of the south, who are always accusing someone of having 'poisoned the sky', 'tied up the rain' or 'willed sun', they do find it linguistically desirable to have a word for a dry period of fifteen days in the middle of the rains (*ɔra*) and they have their experts ready to perform the requisite sacrifice if the state of the weather demands it.

The existence of rain cults among the Fur is no new discovery,¹ but the following notes attempt to show the place taken in local village life by the ceremony and the extent to which the customs are still practised even by a professedly Muslim people. In the collection of this material the Fur language has been used as the villagers are better able to express themselves in their own tongue than in Arabic and on every possible occasion the local rain expert has been seen and has described the actual ceremony himself. As frequent reference will have to be made to local names, a word on the nomenclature of Fur offices and the like is necessary to avoid confusion.

(1) See Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pages 454, 455, where he cites articles by MacMichael and Sarsfield-Hall in *Sudan Notes and Records* Volume III.

Of a total Fur population of about 160,000 souls three quarters live in the Western District and it is with them that these notes are concerned. The administrative divisions of the district are called in both Fur and Arabic *Diyār* with the Fur name for the area added, in contradistinction to the Arab practice by which the tribal name is appended. Thus instead of Dar Homr we get Dar Dima *i.e.* the Dar called Dima and the usage probably obtains because the word Darfur has come to be applied to the whole province.

Each Dar is now subdivided into what are known as Dimligias, an Arabic derivative from the Fur word *Dilmɔŋ* meaning either the head of a fief or the person responsible for the celebration of certain rites. Such Dimligias correspond to the Arabic omodia. Before this government, each Dar was divided into fiefs (*Ro* plural *rota* in Fur and *Hakūra* plural *hawākīr* in Arabic) each consisting of a village or group of villages. The personal titles corresponding to these territorial divisions are Shartai (head of a Dar), Dimlig (head of a Dimligia), Malik or Dilmong (head of a fief) who may also be called Sagal (plural Sagala), and Wakil, now Sheikh, the headman of a village².

DURRI DIMLIGIA.

The rain expert in Fur is called a *tɔɔny* (plural *tɔɔnya*) or by circumlocution ' *Dilmɔŋ allkwiŋ aada fi*—the dimlig who performs the rain rites '. At Durri, a village seven miles northeast of Zalingei, he is Isagha Ibrahim a man of about fifty-five of the Foreŋa clan, who has inherited his powers from his father, and is assisted by Hawa Abo, the daughter of his father's sister Amjima, and a woman Dilu Idris of the Baasiŋa clan from the neighbouring village of Shawa, who has inherited the powers from her maternal grandmother.

For the description of the shrine and the ceremonies I have had to rely on statements made by the persons concerned, as they are chary of showing the shrine to strangers and as far as I can

(2) The Fur use the terms Sagal, Malik and Dilmɔŋ very loosely. It appears that the Sagal and Malik are the same, estate holders appointed by the Sultan in Fasher. The Dilmɔŋ may hold an estate, but is primarily concerned with the local rituals.

gather no stranger would be allowed to attend a performance. The shrine is said either to be a long way off or along a very difficult path and the spirits would be so disconcerted by the presence of a stranger that they would be likely to do him some mischief. The method I adopted in recording the ritual was to get the officiators to describe the ceremony in their own way and then to ask them a number of questions in elucidation, as they often omitted certain points altogether. I give the Durri practice exactly as I took it down, but the rest I have put in ordered narrative form so as to give as straightforward an account as possible.

In addition to the sacrificial animal two other foods are essential parts of most of the offerings; they are grain cooked in water (*lema*) which can be translated by the English thermity and doughcakes (*buus*) made by squeezing a handful of flour in a bowl of water until it takes on a nice consistency; the latter are used uncooked.

Isagha Ibrahim: "The headman tells the old woman to make rain. A ram is chosen and I cut its throat at the place of the ceremonies. I and some others go there and leave the heart, kidneys and liver there. Some doughcakes are made by the old woman, who says 'Let the rain come'. Rain will come soon afterwards". *Discussion*: The headman speaks for the village as a whole, since the elders will have been discussing for some time the delay in the rains or the long break in them. To select the sacrificial ram, the headman orders all the herds of the village to be collected in a close mass and a guest is invited to pick one at random. If a guest is not available, the selection is made by a small child who does not know to whom all the animals belong. Isagha takes the ram and the two women take some grain and flour to the rainshrine, which is east of Durri in the bush at a place where there are two ardeib trees (*Tamarindus Indicus*) haunted by a snake. After the cutting of the ram's throat, its blood is sprinkled about the shrine and its heart, liver and kidneys excised and left on the ground. Meantime the women have been making the thermity and doughcakes which are scattered about the shrine. The prayer for rain is then offered and the officiators return

home with the carcase of the ram which is cooked and eaten by the villagers. The time of the sacrifice is about 8.00 a.m., and rain falls shortly after the operators have returned—about noon. In July and August when rain rites are most likely to be performed, it is not uncommon for rain to fall in the forenoon, although early afternoon is more likely.

Isagha: "It is when the snake emerges from its hole that rain fails to fall, and it is the same at Zalingei. We leave the offerings for the snake to eat and after it has eaten them, it goes back into its hole and rain will fall."

Discussion: Isagha has not seen the snake himself. By 'emerge from its hole' he means 'stay outside its hole' and it is when it persists in doing this that the rain is held up.

Isagha: "At some shrines there are buried stones and when these are exposed, the rain ceases."

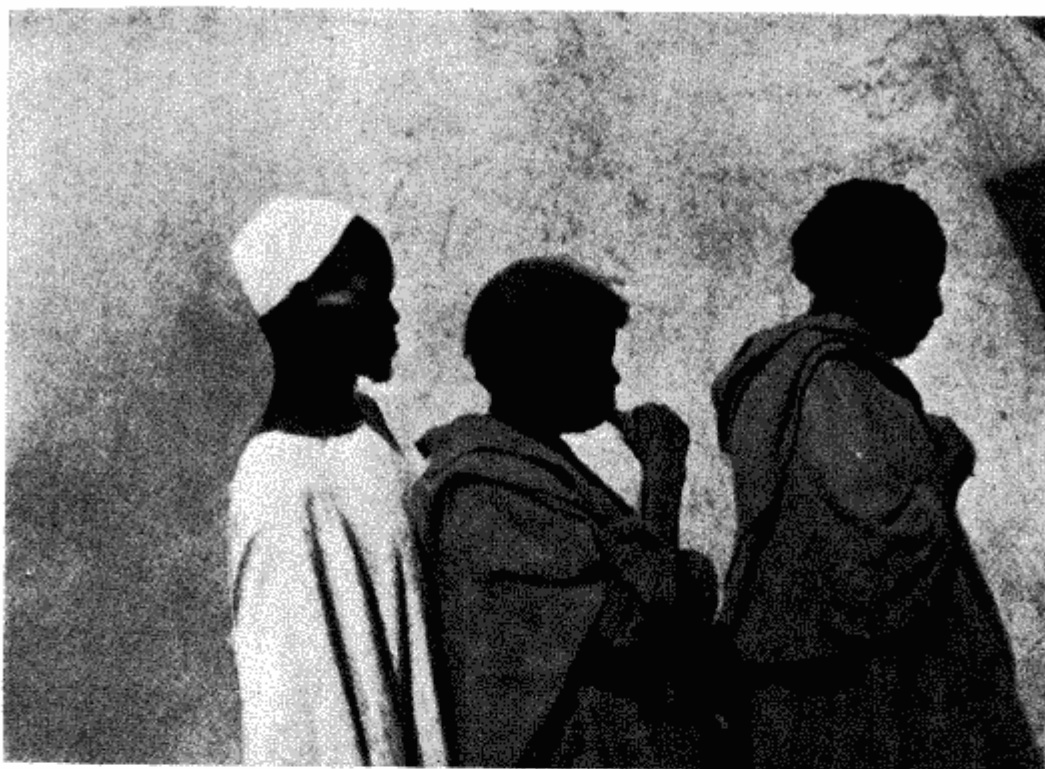
Tahir Sembe: "At other places there are barbed spears which emerge and prevent the rain from falling."

Discussion: Isagha has neither performed the ceremony himself nor been present at a performance, but his father instructed him in what he had to do as he was the eldest son. In the absence of a son the rites would be communicated to an eldest daughter or other close relative. The shrine is called *jibili* and the snake's hole is formed by the intertwining of the roots of the two trees. Isagha's father told him that the snake has never been seen wholly outside the hole, but only with its head lying outside. No payment of any kind is made to the rainmaker for his services, which are hereditary and cannot be conferred, bought or sold.

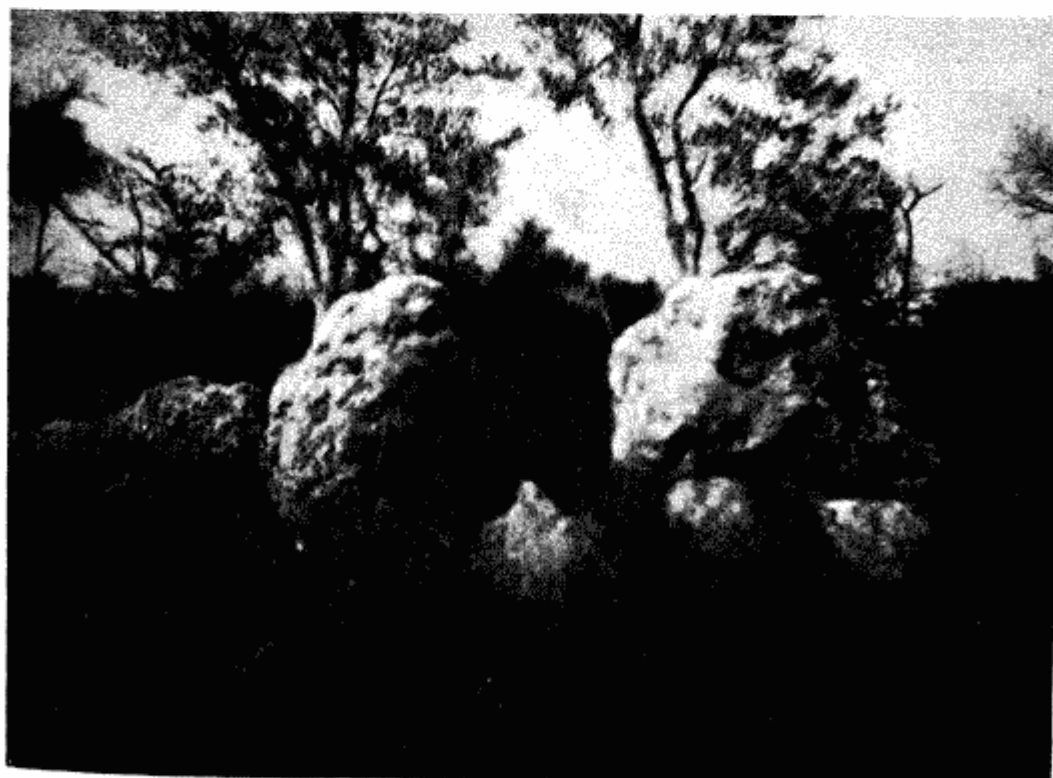
DUGO.

The people of the fief of Dugo subscribe to the important ceremony performed by the officiator who lives at Ka Bangara, including the people of Kunjar; the latter have however a minor cult of their own³.

(3) Shrine at Kunjar. Plate I.



MOHAMMED MUSA, FANI SHEIKH AND ZAMZAM BAHR, RAINMAKERS OF ARA.



SHRINE AT KUNJAR.

The more important rite and perhaps the most interesting in the whole of Dar Dima is that performed by Fiki Hamza Hassan at the grave of one of his ancestors. The ritual had previously been recorded by a native clerk working under the direction of Major Boustead,⁴ who was collecting information on the various Dimligias of Dima. The record in Arabic was a hearsay description taken down from a number of elders and runs in translation as follows, "The rainmakers of Hakūra Dugo are Ali Hassan and Fiki Hamza Hassan who are now at Ara village. When the rain is late or has stopped, they go to the tomb of Eisa Kul Barid, beside which grow two *heglig* trees (*Balanites Aegyptica*) to the right of the deserted village of Dugo. There they slay a black or dun goat as the case may be—only when there is no goat they bring a black or brown hen as a substitute. When it is slain, the blood and the best pieces of meat are put with some native beer and the dung (an obvious translator's error for the stomach content) of the goat on the grave. Then the people cry, 'O grandfather, ask God to let the rain fall for us, because the grain is nearly dead.' The intercession of their grandfather is successful for it rains as soon as they return to the village." I was greatly interested in this account for two reasons, first because native beer is poured into a pot and set on the grave of the Bari rainmaker and secondly because the stomach content of the goat is used in the Bari cult to smear the rainstones before they are arranged in the hollow grindstones.⁵ I was lucky in finding Fiki Hamza at Ka Bangara to give me a statement himself, "My brother Ali is dead. He used to carry out the ceremonial before me. I live at Ara now and am of the Morgeja clan, and the place of our rites is the grave of our ancestor Eisa Kul Barid, who about the time of Sultan Mohammed Fadl (*i.e.*, about 1800-1839) was Aba Dimang for twenty-eight years.

My brother Ali died some eight years ago and since then I have fulfilled the requirements of the rain service when it has been necessary.

(4) Similar records were made of a single ceremony from each of the Dimligias of Oda, North and South Kas.

(5) See J.R.A.I. Volume LVIII page 466.

When the rain is late or after breaking has failed, I send to the Aba Dimang, the head of the Lowland Dars, asking for a ram for sacrifice and am given a black ram. If the Aba Dimang is away from home, we make shift with a chicken of our own. In preparation for the making of the food offerings at the grave, my father's sister used to grind some grain in her own house, and since her death her daughters have continued in this service. I choose two or three old women at random from the villagers, not by age or clan or office, to go with me to make the thermity and doughcakes. They take a new food pot with them and get the water for making the cakes from the river *en route*, never from a waterpot in the house. I also choose two men to help me slay the ram. Its blood I catch in a new calabash and with it and the stomach content I smear the heart, liver and kidneys of the ram which I have cut into small pieces. I then sprinkle the blood about the grave and put on each of the stones surrounding it a piece of the treated meat with some of the grain and dough that the women have by now got ready. After this I deliver a prayer ;

“ ‘ *Dwiin uwo, au na kwii riŋo na kaan kire na kiin atineŋa kamia* ’—Our ancestor, let the rain fall so that the grain may come to fruition and thy descendants eat.” Meantime the villagers have assembled and appropriate chapters from the Koran have been read over in the village. As soon as my prayer is over, they approach and partake of the rest of the meat, which by now has been cooked, and the remainder of the doughcakes. The Koran is then read again while a grass shelter is being built over the grave. No beer is used in the ceremony and the food pot may be taken home and used. There is no rock, snake or spear connected with my ancestors' grave.

That is what happens when I perform the rain rites, but there is another ceremony which is carried out every time the Aba Dimang passes the grave. He never fails to offer a sacrifice for fear of the ill consequences of omitting to do so. In this case the ceremony is the same, but I offer up a different prayer. I say, “ ‘ *Diin atinesi sheitan atiba, jundi na je na deŋ gangaŋ komala na deŋ morle komala na deŋ biidi komala na je* ’—Let no evil spirit seize on thy descendant (the



MIRIAM AHMED OF TUMBU.



TAHIR SEMBE OF KOMORO.

Aba Dimang), allow him to continue on his way and let his bass drum roll and his fife blow and his tenor drum sound as he goes on his way." (The reference to musical instruments here is to two drummers and two fife-blowers who accompany the Aba Dimang and play a welcome to his guests).

The rites which I perform are hereditary and can only be acquired by right of birth ; they entitle me to receive no reward for my services."

Thus Fiki Hamza, rainmaker of the fief of Dugo.

THE FIEF OF KOMORO.

Komoro, which in Fur means 'We have grown fat,' is an apt name for a tract of country lying astride two rivers, the Gara and the Gende, and producing some of the richest cotton, grain and other crops for sandy soil in the district. As originally constituted this fief stretched from J. Diyer to J. Mada some way beyond the present government boundary between Dima and Wanna and although this boundary is observed for the purposes of administration the Komoro rain cult is still practised at the traditional site on J. Mada. There are a dozen villages in this rich fief which the size of the accompanying map does not admit of showing.

The rain technique is in the hands of Tahir Sembe,⁶ the member of the Central Fur Court who accompanied me on my trek round the Dima villages, and related to the Aba Dimang.

His duties as member of the Central Court require his presence in Zalingei and he is therefore unable to attend to the rain ceremonial ; in his absence his place is taken by his younger brother Bosh. Tahir's account of the ritual is, " In the ordinary way the ceremonies would be performed at the request of the people owing to a delay in the breaking of the rains, but if the rains had broken and then ceased for some considerable period, it would be because the snake had emerged from its hole and was holding up the rain. If I am in the neighbourhood, I carry out the rites, but when I am absent from home, my brother Bosh officiates. There are two shrines, one under a

(6) Plate II.

nabag tree (*Pandia Nilotica*) at the foot of J. Mada south of Burosibi and the second on the top of that hill. Both shrines are frequented by a certain large snake, which changes its colour from white to green year by year. We call it *dorgidölu* (etymologically *dorgi* is a testicle and *dölu* means a skin bucket) because it has one large testicle about as big as a skin bucket used for drawing water from a well. Sometimes it is to be seen at the lower shrine, but that is generally at the beginning of the rains before the ground is flooded or it may be after a long break in the rains when the ground has dried up again. If however rain has fallen, *Dorgidölu* goes up to the shrine on the hilltop, where it will usually be found if there is a break in the middle of the rains. Besides being able to change colour, it is also capable of a metamorphosis into three barbed spears and back again at will. In the normal course of events news is brought in by someone who happens to see the snake lying under the tree, from which I know that rain will not fall until I do what is required of me as rain expert. I myself saw *Dorgidölu* outside about six years ago and a year or so after Adam Musa, my father's sister's son saw three barbed spears sticking out of the ground under the tree and ran with the news to Bosh my brother who carried out the rites." At this point Adam Musa confirmed these facts and said he saw the spears projecting about a finger's length above ground and knowing that they were one of the manifestations of the snake ran at once to Tahir's brother.

"At the shrine on the top of J. Mada the snake has a hole under a flat rock, but when it is here it is not likely to be noticed by a passer by as people do not go up the hill. From the mere fact however of the cessation of the rain we know that the snake is lying outside its hole and must needs be placated. When the news is brought in, I send out word to all the villages where the people arrange to buy a ram and provide the grain and flour for the sacrificial offerings. I remember one year Adam Yasin of Gimmeiza brought me a greyish-brown goat which he had bought out of a collection made from all the villagers for the purpose of providing an offering. Sometimes of course it rains in some villages and not in others, in which case it will be the unlucky village from which the elders will order an offering

to be sent." Adam Yasin gives an account of his part in the events leading up to the performance of the rites, "I heard of the sighting of *Dorgidölu* from Tahir Sembe and bought a goat out of the proceeds of a collection by milliemes from all the villagers of Gimmeiza. As sheikh of the village I provided a basket of grain from my own store. Early in the morning accompanied by my son, who carries the grain, I took the goat to Tahir at Taringa and bade him offer the rain sacrifice. We returned straight to our village without waiting to see if the rites would be successful."

Tahir continues, "On receiving the offerings, my brother and I take them at once with some unstrained native beer (*murru*) from my house and a new food pot to whichever shrine is indicated. Here while Bosh prepares the grain with water taken from the river on the way, I slay the goat, catch its blood in a new white calabash and split the carcase in order to remove the liver, heart, kidneys, lungs and the undigested food from the stomach. The blood I sprinkle about the shrine and the meat, grain and beer I leave in their gourds and pots as an offering to *Dorgidölu*. As I set them out, I pray:

"All the people cry out that there is no rain, go into your hole and let the rain come and fall so that the grain may yield abundantly and the people may eat." On returning home I take one leg of the carcase for my children, but I do not eat any myself. The rest of the meat and the skin I give to anyone I meet on the road. The pots and gourds are left behind at the shrine; if they were brought back, a devil would seize the members of my family. The office of rain-maker at Komoro is unpaid, hereditary and cannot be bought or sold."

Such is the rain cult at Komoro. Tahir's reputation is such that the Arab population of Grumso a village on the river Melmel in Dar Wanna ask him to officiate for them at times of drought; here he makes doughcakes and offers up a prayer for rain at the village praying place.

Tahir Sembe showed me the lower shrine under the *nabag* tree at the foot of Mada and as we rode along to the site, I was afforded evidence of the people's belief in the existence of the curiously-formed

snake and its effect on the weather in the remarks shouted by Tahir to the tillers through whose fields we passed. After the interchange of the usual greetings, he would say, "Has *Dorgidölu* been seen this year?" to which the reply of some women would be, "No, he has not emerged this year." Or he might say, "Has *Dorgidölu* been out this rainy season?," to which some man would answer, "No, it has rained well this year."

THE FIEF OF IRIŊA.

Iriŋa means the estate of the people superior in numbers, a natural name for so large an area, containing over a dozen villages. In the north the people of Sarambanga attend the service at Daura or J. Obode; at Singita there used to be a cult at Um Gadein, where it is said that a huge hole would open at a time of drought, which would be filled with branches while the usual sacrifices were being offered with a prayer for rain, but the officiators are now all dead.

Further south in the neighbourhood of Tumbu there are three rituals all of which are observed on the same day. At J. Tawany Ahmed Abakr of the Morgeŋa clan, a man of sixty, offers a sacrifice to two snakes on the top of the hill early in the morning. One of the snakes is said to have a black body, a white neck and white hairs on its head and the other to have a black body with a white tip to its tail. The ceremony follows the usual lines.

At Jore a spear cult is observed by Osman Ismail of the Morgeŋa clan. He states that the spears were buried by one of his ancestors in Sultan Hussein's days, about 1839-1874. The rites are similar to those already described. His prayer is, '*kwiŋ uwōŋa aadaŋa al diō böri na kwii ēla na riŋo na kaŋ kire*'—My ancestral rites, go inside so that rain may come and fall and the grain bear." He has however never seen the spears and has not made the sacrifice.

When the rain is held up near Tumbu three holes about three inches across but of unfathomable depth open near an anthheap at a spot called Kaliisa. They are full of spirits. To these Miriam Ahmed⁷

(7) Plate II.

of the Keira clan takes a handful of the seed left over from the sowing, which she throws over the antheap and into the holes saying as she does so: "O prophet of God, go back into the hole and do not come out again; we are weak; let rain come and fall so that the grain may yield and the orphans eat. If you come out, lightning will strike you dead." The holes are then stuffed up with grass and rain falls soon afterwards. There is said to be a patron snake, but the officiator herself has never seen it. She performed the ceremony in 1937. This cult is interesting in that it is the only one I have come across at which any sort of threat is addressed to the spirit of the shrine.

THE FIEF OF TULUJE.

At Mija Musa Hassan of the Keira clan, an old man of sixty-five from Jebel Si, is the officiator for sacrifices made at a sandy spot near the village of Laggerau, where three barbed spears periodically appear above the ground at times of dearth of rain. Musa states, "The spears were buried by one of my ancestors many years ago. They obtrude about three or four inches, when the rains fail. On their appearance I prepare to perform the rites in connection with them. The last occasion was three years ago, when two Arabs noticed the spearpoints near their kraal. They provided two cocks as a sacrifice and I with my relative Mohammed Nur took some flour and water to make doughcakes. I made the cakes while Mohammed killed the cocks and sprinkled their blood on the spears. Palm leaves and 'dofe' branches were then piled over the points and stones laid on the top. I prayed:

"*'Kwiiṅ uwōṅ aadaṅa diṣ baṅṅi na kwii riṅṅ'*—'My ancestor's ritual, i.e., the spears, go inside and let the rain fall.'" In all seven cakes are set out as offerings, the rest with the carcasses are given to children to eat. I do not eat of them myself otherwise I should be possessed of devils; and in case I was taken blind the very day after seeing the spears. While the rites are being conducted, the villagers collect in the river bed and chant parts of the Koran. Rain falls at once. The ceremony is unremunerated and hereditary."

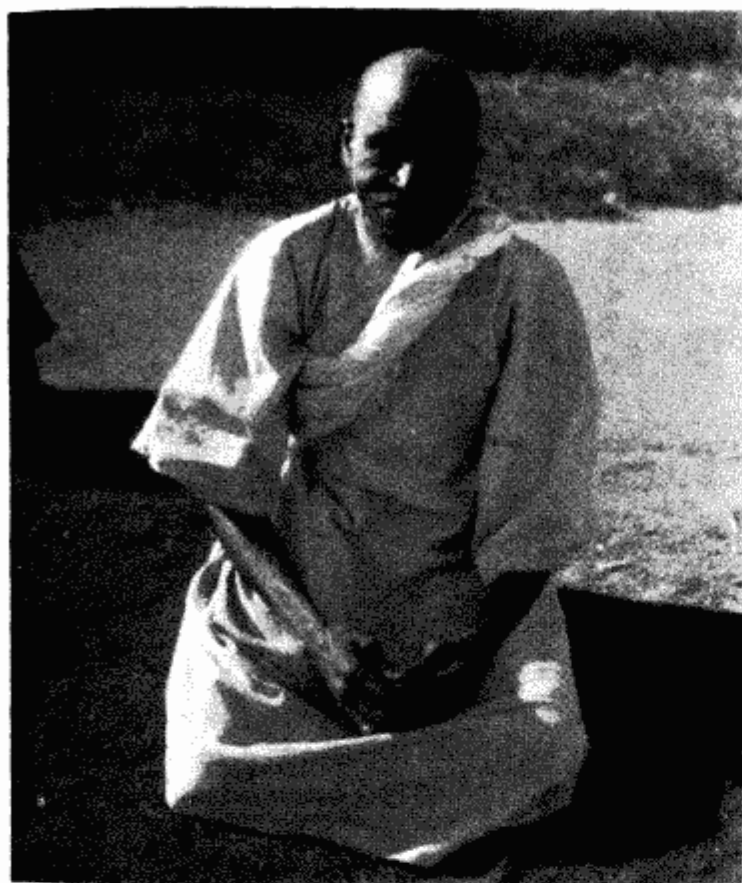
THE DIMILGIA OF ODA⁸

As the home of the Aba Dimang Oda is the most important of the Dimligias.

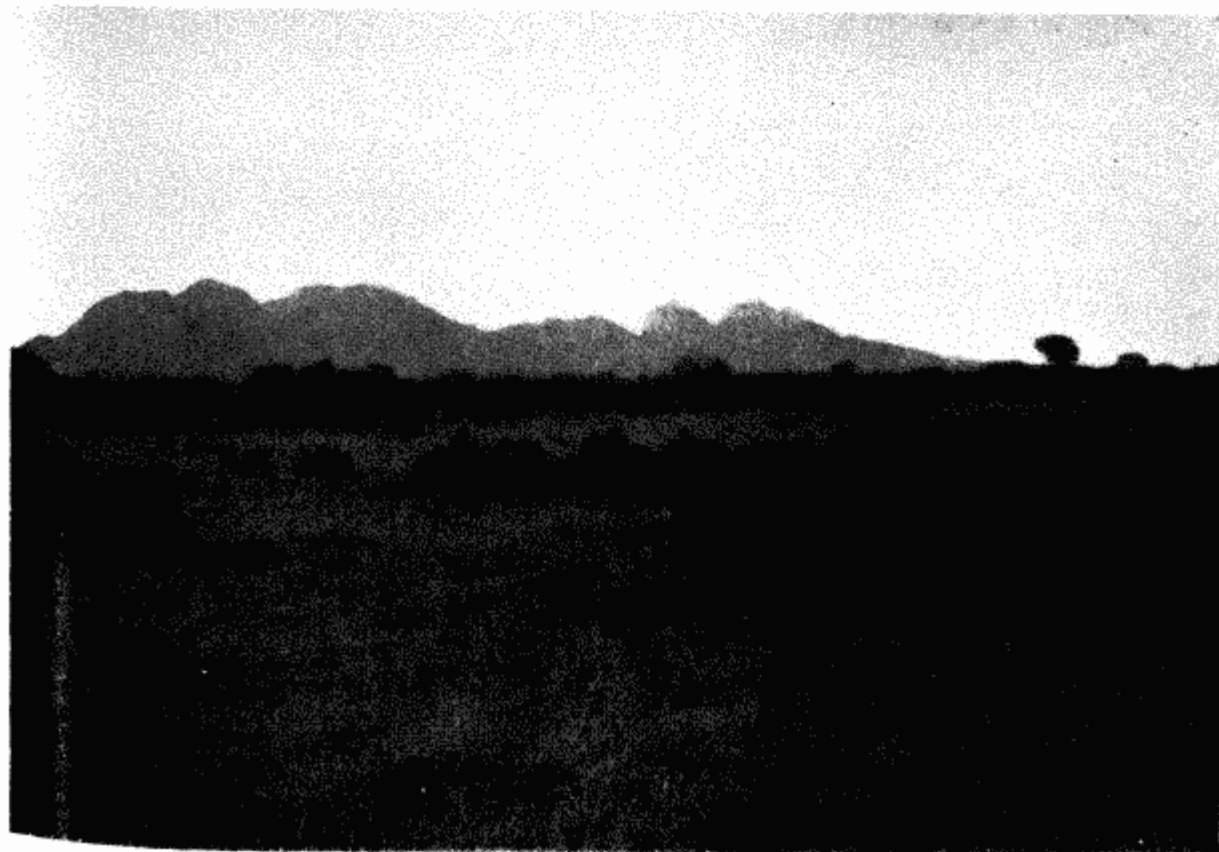
The rain ceremonies of Oda are to be found at the village of Gundulu, which in former times was the Aba Dimang's home, but which, until 1938 when two men settled there, had been deserted for many years. There are two shrines. One is under an heglig tree, which formerly stood at the back entrance to the Aba Dimang's enclosure; the other is on the top of Jebel Dasukurte. Saad el Nur Amdadi, now an old man of seventy, is the rain chief of Gundulu, where some time before 1916 he performed the rites under Mohammed Atim, father of the present Aba Dimang. The ritual follows the practice of other villages, as Saad el Nur describes it, with its sacrificial animal and doughcakes, the covering of the snake's hole with *dofe* twigs and the like. There are however slight variations due no doubt to the importance of the Aba Dimang as a member of the community. The meat offerings were two pigeons, a brown goat and a black ram, all provided by the Aba Dimang. The calabash for catching the blood was cut and hollowed out on the site. The excised portions included the spleen as well as the heart, liver and kidneys. If the Dimang was at home, the cakes were made of honey instead of water. The prayer for rain runs, "That God may bring rain and our land be not destroyed, go back into thy lair so that rain may fall and the grain yield and the orphans eat and grow big." The snake that eats the offerings is a very old black snake with a white head. Rain falls almost immediately after the ceremony. The cult is hereditary and unremunerated. Fadila Abdel Karim, who now lives at Gundulu states that his wife and children heard the snake crying out for the ceremonies to be performed this year (1938).

Although there are no rain ceremonies at the village of Oda itself, the hill of the same name lying to the west of the village is the scene of an important ceremony in connection with the induction of a new Aba Dimang. The office itself has always been something of a

8. See Plate III.



ABDEL RAHMAN MOHAMMED,
RAINMAKER OF KOROLE.



JEBEL ODA (FROM THE NORTH).

mystery. Its origin and place in the Sultan's hierarchy were elucidated for me by the aged Eisa Imam, to whom I have already referred in the discussion of the Dugo ritual, and who is the oldest member of the Morgeja clan. He gave me the family tree of the Aba Dimang and told me the story of the accession to power of his forbears.

In the days before the spread of Islam among the Fur, one Ahmed the Bornu came from the west and was detained in Darfur at the bidding of the Sultan either on his way to or his return from the pilgrimage. The reasons for his detention are twofold. He was in possession of rain powers which he brought with him from the west and was also recognised as a learned and holy man. He was asked to stay in order to teach the sons of the Sultan. Their names are given as Kunjar and Keir, from which are derived the present titles of two of the most important Fur clans, the Kunjara and the Keira. In the course of time Ahmed married the sister of Keir and years later Keir chanced one day to shave the head of their son, Adim Morge. He exclaimed as he finished, "Lo, I have shaved the head of the son of my sister, and will make him head over twelve Shartais," whereupon he appointed him Aba Dimang with control over the lowland Dars of the Fur. At present the Dars are eleven in number, Dima, Tilji, Aribi, Tebella, Zami Baya, Kulli, Zami Toya, Kobara, Fongoro, Suro and Nyoma, but as Dima was probably divided into two, that would make the dozen. Tahir Sembe says that his ancestor held the Shartaiship of the Komoro-Fore area under the name of Kerne Baya, the narrow Kerne and that Saad el Nur's forbears ruled over the area from Oda to Kubbum. The gift is at any rate not surprising as there is always close affection between a man and his sister's son. The Fur have a special word for the maternal uncle, who is called *mama* and another to denote the child of a sister, *dalan*; in the case of a nephew the boy would be referred to as *dalan de*—'the male child of a sister.' The custom is paralleled among the Bari of Mongalla Province in their *mananye*—*ñörinyi* relationship. When he grew up, Adim Morge went to live at Um Gadein near Singita, the cult of which has already been described, and founded the Morgeja clan, which

numbers so many rain chiefs among its ranks. Four generations later came the Eisa Kul Barid, whose grave is still venerated at Dugo, whenever rain is scarce or the reigning Aba Dimang passes by. Eisa was sent by his father to administer the estate of Dugo, remained there on becoming chief, died and was buried there. In his lifetime he was revered as a just and honourable man and owes his nickname, Kul Barid, to his patience and his desire to see everybody happy. I have as yet been unable to discover the exact meaning of Aba Dimang. Etymologically it should mean the Lord of Dima, but that is not the explanation the Fur give. They say the title refers to his office and he is variously spoken of as 'the Sultan's arm' on the analogy of the Sultan's neck (see Seligman *op. cit.* page 453) or as 'half a Sultan.' Neither explanation seems to tally with his position as Lord of twelve Dars but subordinate to the Magdum, unless his position was at its inception much more important and owes its loss of status to the emergence of a new office, that of the Magdum, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The masters of the ceremony are Tahir Sembe, rain chief of Komoro, Saad el Nur Umbadi, rain chief of Gundulu, and in his lifetime Udu Ismail who has no sons in Kas to succeed to his position. Tahir and Saad el Nur thus describe the ritual, "From Gundulu we and the new Aba Dimang followed by a number of old women and the villagers ride to Oda, where at a tree called *buradima* (the gimmeiza tree of Dima) the Imam of Oda sacrifices a greyish brown goat, bull and cow provided by the Aba Dimang, who, followed by Tahir, Saad el Nur and Udu in that order, jump first over the carcass of the goat, then over that of the bull and finally over that of the cow. We then go into a nearby cave one behind the other in the same order and when we are inside, I (Tahir) lean forward and seize the right hand of the Aba Dimang with my right hand, while the other two bend forward behind me. I then move the chief's hand about and say: "*Dwieŋ atine abauriŋiba kela agilaŋ kwiŋ awaida kani*"—"Do not reject your descendant, we have come to perform the rites due to you." Meantime one or two of the elders split open the carcass of the goat only and remove the heart, the kidneys and the

liver, while the old women make seven cakes of flour and honey mixed with water taken from the river Kalgo. The latter then cut up the excised portions of the goat, mix them with the blood which has been caught in a new calabash, and after sprinkling some of the honey and flour over the four principals and the shrine, set out the cakes with a little of the cut up meat on each. The remainder of the sacrificed meat is eaten by the attendant villagers. During the setting out of the offerings we, the four principals, ride away to a rocky knoll to the north of the mountain, where we find two drum sticks miraculously cast there by the devils of the hill. With these emblems of his acceptability we beat the Aba Dimang's drum (*kiiso*), which is of the wide-topped, narrow-based type and is also called a '*dingger*,' and ride back to Oda, where we race our horses up to and away from the cave and fire off our rifles to please the spirits of the mountain. We then retire to feast and drink. All the utensils except the calabash containing the blood are taken away and after the departure of all the participants a large snake emerges and eats the offerings." Thus the new Aba Dimang enters into his kingdom.

What follows is pure conjecture on my part, but I advance it as a possible theory to account for the position of the Aba Dimang. It is pertinent to enquire into the motives underlying the gift of the headship of a dozen Dars to the son of Ahmed the Bornawi. The holiness and wisdom of the father and the relationship of the son to his mother's brother may in part account for the generosity, but it seems very probable that the family possession of rain powers had something to do with the appointment. In latter days the Western District area was the Sultan's own preserve, from which he drew stores of corn and honey and cloth. Whether this was so in earlier times, I do not know, but if it was, it would be to the Sultan's own interest to do all he could to ensure the fertility of his estate. However that may be, Adim Morge settled in Dima with an important position and there are still a number of his male descendants, including Tahir Sembe on the female side, who hold the office of master of rain ceremonial. In more recent times it seems not unlikely that considerations of government necessitated the appointment of an administrative

Magdum, who henceforth rather overshadows the Aba Dimang, while the latter continues to hold office hereditarily by virtue of his sociological functions. That these are important is borne out by the fact that failure on his part to offer a sacrifice every time he passes the grave of his ancestor Eisa Kul Barid will result in drought and famine.

In addition to the cults recorded above I have notes on similar rites in the other fiefs of Dar Dima as well as a few from Dars Kerne, Nyoma, Tilgi and Turdi. These together with the records made under the direction of Major Boustead in other Dars show that the rain cult is observed certainly in every Dar and probably in most of the fiefs into which the Dars were at one time divided. In conclusion I would add a few observations by way of comparing them with the Bari rain cults, the only other ones with which I am at all familiar.

The first thing that strikes one is the difference in status of the performer of the ceremonies. Among the Bari he is a revered chief who emanates fertility and only descends into the arena of common affairs to adjudicate on difficult homicide cases, and while certain lesser chiefs run a danger of being speared by a drought-maddened mob, it is doubtful if Fitia Lugor would meet such a fate, whatever the state of the weather. With the Fur the emphasis is laid on the ritual rather than on the performer. The latter is the servant of the community, not one whose good services need to be conciliated. He acts in obedience to the behests of the elders and although his office is hereditary, it is what he does rather than his manner of doing it that is important. He in no way appears to be striving against hostile influences, but performs a sacrifice that almost inevitably brings desired results. He is accredited with no malignity of personality such as is the common attribute of at any rate the minor rain experts among the Bari and my informants were horrified at the idea that he could harbour any desire to hold up the rain; his sole *raison d'être* is to act on behalf of the people. Another difference is one of technique, for the Fur expert has no apparatus for his task in the way that the Bari chief makes play with stones and iron rods.

There are nevertheless a number of similarities. The offering of a sacrificial animal is common to both, as is the eating of the residue

by some of the persons present. Both rites include a prayer for rain addressed to the ancestral spirits, but whereas the Bari invocation is to the ancestors as disembodied spirits, in the Fur cult the ancestors are associated directly with the snakes, spears and trees of the shrine. The shrine too is the centre of the ritual among both tribes. The grave cults investigated but not recorded here are perhaps a later development, although I believe that the rather sketchy rain practices of the Moru have to do with a cleared grave. The spear also occurs in the Bari cult but as an implement in the hands of the officiator, not as the abode of the spirit.

With the tree and snake cults however the connection is most remarkable. Mr. J. N. Richardson was the first to discover sacred trees among the Bari (*see Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province page 34*). At his instigation I investigated one at Kursamba among the Mandari, a tribe cognate to the Bari, and found that the tree was regarded as the habitation of a sacred snake, to which a prayer for rain was addressed in a minor and local ceremony, although at times of real crisis the same tribe called in the Bari Chief.

Among the Fur it is the emergence of the snake or the spear from its natural resting place that holds up the rain and the placation of the spirits by the offering of a sacrifice is to restore the natural order of things and to bring the rain. The phallic symbolism of the ritual needs no emphasis and when the part played by the children in many of the rites is considered together with the wording of the prayers, it is evident that we are here concerned with the survival from pre-Islamic times of an old fertility cult devoted to ancestor worship. Whether this cult reached the Fur from the Hamitic peoples of the Nile valley is a question that requires considerable research among the tribes of the Bahr el Ghazal, before any nexus there may be can be established. It is however not beyond the bounds of possibility and would constitute an interesting subject for investigation. Meantime we must accept at its face value the legend that it was Ahmed the Bornawi who brought the rain gift to the Fur from the kingdoms of the west.

THE KAMBALA AND OTHER SEASONAL FESTIVALS OF THE KADUGLI AND MIRI NUBA.

By N. L. Corkill.

(WITH THREE PLATES).

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*" And the gristles of his youth
Hardened in his comely pow,
And he came to fighting growth,
Beat his bull and won his cow,
And flew his tail and trampled off
Past the tallest, vain enough."*

The Bull. Ralph Hodgson.

I. INTRODUCTION.

The material on which this paper is based came from various sources including Mek Mohammed Rahal of Kadugli, one of his sons, local medical orderlies and the writer's personal experience when stationed in Kadugli from 1931 to 1937. The story is thus an accidental composite and not a deliberate study and there must still be many interesting details unrevealed.

The Nuba communities involved, those of the hills of Kadugli and Miri are in a process of sophistication. Kadugli, a natural centre of the Nuba area, has a garrison, two cotton ginneries and an oil-mill, the largest market in the Nuba Mountains and the biggest colony of non-locally born officials and tradesfolk. Most of these are Mohammedan, and Kadugli has its mosque. The numerous lorries on the roads of the area are almost entirely Arab driven and the

local *lingua franca* is necessarily Arabic. As might therefore be expected the sophistication is in nature essentially Islamic and is more pronounced in the communities nearer Kadugli. The local dialects of the Kadugli and Miri hills are still used more commonly than Arabic in the actual hill villages but clothes are usual now in contrast with former nudity, pigs are only eaten in the remoter villages, Ramadhan is more or less observed, male circumcision is now the custom and Mek Mohammed Rahal of Kadugli has made the Pilgrimage.

As might be expected pagan practices are tending to drop into disuse, to be distorted, confused, adulterated or rationalised (with an Islamic bias), or, in short, are tending to lose their original forms and to become unimportant and vestigial. A ready example is the statement that the KAMBALA ceremony takes twenty-eight or thirty days; there can be no doubt of the original importance of the lunar twenty-eight. As usual the practices relating to agriculture are as tenacious of life as any.

2. THE FESTIVAL OF THE ANTELOPE.

According to one informant the Kadugli Nuba hold a SIBR EL DIBOIA¹ in February every year, "the KUJUR² takes it and it just dies", (*i.e.*, it is not obviously killed). Another informant said that "Kadugli and Miri have a SIBR EL DIBOIA for the rain before the rains." Another Kadugli informant insisted that it was held in June.

(1) The DIBOIA or UM DIQ-DIQ *Rhynchotragus sp.*, is common in the area and apparently is more frequently encountered near villages and cultivation than are gazelles. It eats young millet.

(2) KUJUR is the name used in the *lingua franca* of semi-arabised but basically pagan areas in the Sudan for witch-doctors, exorcisers, mediators with occult powers and magicians generally.

Musil (*The Ruwala* 1928, p. 609, New York: Geog. Soc. North Amer.) speaks of sorcerers among the Ruwala in Nejd as being called KARRAJ.

In Arabic, colloquialisms are sometimes evolved by the interchanging of the first two consonants of a word and changes in the usage of the K sounds may no doubt occur as easily as among the S group. It is suggested that the word KUJUR is derived from KHARAJA "gone out." The KUJUR is an exorciser or conjurer, he draws out or makes to go out spirits, ghosts, evils, disease etc., and the word-root is applied in the verb form to the act of being possessed (demoniacally) or going into a trance.

N.B.—The derivation of KUJUR appears to be obscure. There is no word of these 3 radicals in Arabic, the nearest KHAJAR meaning (according to Steingass) foul breath, voracious, or cowardly—attributes which are not peculiar to *Kujurs*. Rev. P. D. Kauczor in 'The Afitti Nuba of Jebel Daier' (S.N. & R. Vol. VI p. 4) says "The word *Kujur* is derived from the verb *Kuj* to be or hang on a thing, it thus means one upon whom the *aro* is or hangs. (Editor.)

Festivals called in Arabic *SIBR EL DIBOIA* are also held by the Nuba of Buram and those of Tira el Akhdar. They are held before the rainy season and it is important that the antelope shall not be obviously slaughtered; it must appear just to die.

A Miri informant from Cheroro gave the following details. The festival originated in the Korongo hills, a big lord of this festival having lived there at Angolo. Its purpose is to ensure the grain harvest. The following ceremony is that now (1938) practised at Cheroro, Shatt Damam, Shatt Safia, Shatt Tebeldia, Korongo Abdullah, Kafina, Tuna, Katcha, Tumma, Balangia, Suwalli, Kuderu and Tumba. The festival is held at the end of the dry season.

A fresh supply of millet beer is prepared. When this has been done, the males of the community arm themselves with sticks—firearms and cutting or stabbing weapons are not allowed—and taking their dogs go into the bush to secure a live and uninjured (*sic*) *DIBOIA*. When captured it is placed across the back of the neck and shoulders of the special *KUJUR* who is lord of this festival. He carries it to the village and places it beneath a *HEGLIG* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca* DEL) which is traditionally associated with this festival: "the people say: 'beneath that tree is grain'" Four women of the *KUJUR*'s household now bring four gourds of millet-beer. The *KUJUR*'s assistant (a traditional office) holds open the antelope's jaws and the beer is poured in. Thereafter the *KUJUR* splits open the belly with a knife and sprinkles the assembled people who apart from the four women just referred to, are all males, with the contents (*i.e.*, mainly with the ingested beer). The sprinkled males then go and wash themselves with water in front of their granaries. The flesh of the antelope is divided for consumption between male elders only.

The village community and visitors including women now collect on the dance ground, drums are beaten and dancing takes place, the women wearing a special wrist fringe called *SOLI* made from the bark of the *TEBELDI* tree (*Adansonia digitata* LINN). The *KUJUR* carrying a multi-barbed short spear of the type called in Arabic *KOKAB EL SHOK* in his right hand and a giraffe tail in his left, calls out "Allah bring

the rain—send it down on the people in their plots—sufficient for the Governments taxes—and to buy cows and a gun”.

When the people say “there is grain beneath that tree” they mean also “cucumbers, sesame, ground-nuts, beans and light millet.” They also mean these things are “in the ground beneath the tree.” It is worthy of note that the HEGDIG fruits prolifically as does also the TEBELDI.

The antelope thus appears as the Corn-spirit in the role so well illustrated in Frazers’ *Golden Bough*.³

3. THE RAIN CEREMONY.

The SIBR OF THE DIBOIA may be considered to comprise the ensuring of rain, but it seems possible, if not probable, if the early rains fail as they often do, and the young grain-shoots are in danger, that the local Lord of the Rain may be called upon to exercise his appropriate function. One informant specifically stated that “if the rains fall in the RASHASH (the early rains) then a rain ceremony may be held”. In 1937 in September the writer watched part of the Kambala Festival in Kalimo hill and was present when the local KUJUR, Lord of the Millet and the Rain, was beaten because the new millet-beer was small in quantity (*i.e.*, the season’s grain was poor). A bystander, gratuitously informative said “we beat him also if the rains are poor”.

It seems therefore that rain-making ceremonies may be brought into play as emergency measures but that normally the SIBR EL DIBOIA may be considered as securing adequate moisture together with the other phenomena associated with a vernal season.

4. THE FESTIVAL OF THE KAMBALA.

In the language of the Kadugli Nubas, the word KAMBALA apparently denotes an age grade of some 12 years, from about 10 to 25 being the range of ages involved. It is the name given to the

(3) Macmillan and Co. : London, Abridged Ed., 1923, pp. 447—462.

type of dance (which may be danced at any time), employed at the biggest annual festival and is applied also to the festival itself. In Arabic the festival is also referred to as the SIBR EL ESH or more specifically the SIBR EL NAGAD, the Festival of the Early Millet. It is held once a year, generally starting sometime in September, in the season called the DARAT in which the rains are closing, and when the NAGAD, the early quick-maturing millet, has ripened and is fit for consumption. It lasts twenty-eight days, a complete lunar cycle, in each community. A community starting later than another will finish proportionately later. In 1937 it appeared to start on the 25th of September.

The festival is said to have originated in the village Tillo⁴ of the Kadugli hill called Saburi "many" years ago. When the people of the principal Kadugli hill, Hagar el Mek, first wanted to celebrate this festival, their King, Mek Ando (the grandfather of the present king, Mek Mohammed Rahal), obtained the first ceremonial whip from Tillo. Tradition has it that the first Lord of the Whip in Tillo was one Lambi of a clan called Hadad.⁵

Kadugli and Miri informants in Kadugli said that the KAMBALA was held in the following three areas:—

- (1) All the villages of the Kadugli hills, mentioning specifically, Hagar el Mek, Tugo, Tillo, Kulba, Murta, Taferi, Damba, Kalimo, Hagar el Nar, Saburi, Laguri, Teisi um Danab, Korongo Abdullah, Tima, Balangia, Tuna, Kafina, Katcha and Semma.
- (2) All the villages of Miri Bara, mentioning specifically, Luba, Kadodo, Keiga el Khel, Kanda, Duju and Ngamurdu.
- (3) All the villages of Miri Juwa, mentioning specifically, Akhwal, Masang, Kufa, Kursi, Abu Sinun, Lima, Kanga, Cheroro, Sugalli, Kaderu, Khoiya, Kusli, Kosari, Tullukh and Teigo.

(4) The people of Tillo are understood to be of different origin and language from their neighbours.

(5) The word HADAD has a suspiciously Arabic ring about it.

In addition, the writer was told in 1934, by the Nubas of Tira el Akhdar that in the DARAT after the initial phases of their biennial⁶ ceremony of initiation (called in Arabic the GAT EL GIR), "all go to their villages and when the moon is next full play at TILLO. This is like the KAMBALA of the Miri Nuba. They bind bulls' horns on their head with head-cloths and dance. The girls watch only. Men have rattles on their legs and the hair of rams in armlets above the elbows."

The festival "is for the grain and the children" according to one informant and there seems to be little doubt that its function is to secure the vigorous survival and maturation of the growing assets of the community, in humans, stock-animals, and crops. Another informant said "If the festival is not held, there will be no luck, grain will fail, children will die and cattle will not multiply". In 1937 it was said that the Kadugli hill of Hagar el Mek had lost heavily in the previous season's meningitis epidemic because they had not held a full-dress festival of recent years, and it was said by another local Nuba that this year (1937) "there is to be a big KAMBALA because so many people died in the recent epidemic". Actually the festival has three very definite aspects or associations. The youths comprising the Kambala age group and initiates to it are ceremonially beaten, the millet is ceremonially involved and the age-grade wear horns of bulls or cows or both. Every youth must dance and be whipped yearly for six years. If he eats new grain before being whipped, when next whipped the whip will not fall on his back as intended but will curl round and blind him in one eye. "It is the ARO⁷ that does this."

A KUJUR is lord of the festival in each community. It has been noted above that the originator was one Lambi, of the village Tillo

(6) It is not clear whether this ceremony is biennial or triennial.

(7) ARO is *lingua franca* in the Nuba area for a concept apparently representing what may most conveniently be called the tribal ancestral spirit. The writer suggests it is a corruption of ER RUH, the Arabic for spirit or soul. (N.B.—This derivation from the Arabic is attractive and has occurred to many, as the word, ARO or ARRO is used in several Nuba language groups. But Rev. P. D. Kauczor in "The Afitti Nuba of Gebel Daier" (loc. cit) writes "The word for Ancestral spirit is ARO at Kudr, URI at Dilling and Ghulfan and KUNDI in the Afitti dialect. The word ARO or URI is probably identical with the URU which in Nilotic Nubian means king." *Editor*.)



THE MARISA CEREMONY IN THE KAMBALA FESTIVAL AT KALIMO. THE LORD OF THE FESTIVAL
(ALSO LORD OF THE MILLET AND THE RAIN) BEING BEATEN BECAUSE THE MARISA WAS LITTLE
(*i.e.* THE GRAIN HARVEST WAS POOR).

(means "skin") in the hill Saburi. Each year the festival is started by a certain KUJUR in Tillo. If he dies his son, it is said, will assume the office. In Kalimo in 1937 it was learned that the Lord of KAMBALA is also Lord of the Millet and Rain. The lord of the festival in Hagar el Mek is a KUJUR called Nar.

The festival starts at Tillo in Saburi and then passes to Hagar el Mek in Kadugli, from where it passes rapidly to the other Kadugli hills and those of Miri Bara and Miri Juwa. This happens so quickly that the festival, practically speaking, is on everywhere at the same time. It is said that the ancestors of Kadugli took their first bull and cow from Saburi who at that time possessed a whip.

In September the KUJUR who is the Lord of the Festival (SID EL SIBR) in Tillo makes a whip of plaited dom palm fibre. (The dom palm, *Hyphaene thebaica* Mart., it should be noted, fruits prolifically.) This whip⁸ which is called in Nuba⁹ FARIG, he places inside his hut in the thatch over the door, together with a head of the early maturing millet called NAGAD, a fruit of the plant called in Arabic, TIBISH EL SHOK (cucumber of prickles), and in Nuba, TIMMANDO NIMMI (has same meaning), and the skin of a slaughtered she-goat. The old whip, which has been replaced, is taken by the Kujur in company with three or four old men and thrown into running water. This whip is the primary one and the prototype of all others used during the festival. The falling of this whip is the signal for the ceremony to commence.

Enquiries are made as to the ripening of the early millet in all interested communities and the Kujur at the appropriate time will give the word for MARISA to be made (but not drunk) from the new millet. When the grain is ripe the whip will fall. Should it fall too early, it may be replaced. The festival lasts in Tillo twenty-eight days from its fall. The whip falls, the KUJUR seizes it, cracks it and cries out in a loud voice. "Males of from about 8-35" start making

(8) An identical whip is figured on the wall of the 3rd Dynasty Tomb of Ti at Sakkara in the hand of a man driving rams to tread in seed, a noteworthy circumstance. See Badaker's Egypt, 1929, p. 167.

(9) All Nuba words used are of the Kadugli language and not of that of Miri unless so stated.

leg rattles, called in Arabic KOSH KOSH and in Nuba MADENDI (a special name for them). They are made of the dried leaves of the dom and doleib palms and contain small stones, preferably white ones, to make them rattle.

The KUJUR then takes his own son and strikes him once with the whip, taking care that he does not strike him on the head. That evening the youths collect to dance. On their legs they wear the leg rattles already described. On their heads are bound with their head-clothes a pair of bulls' horns called IDO MA KAMBALA¹⁰ (Horns of the KAMBALA). "They are for strength" and are kept in the houses for use in successive years. They wear round their waists a fringe-skirt of grass. This skirt reaches to the knees and in the more sophisticated communities covers a pair of white cotton shorts. For this skirt, RAHAT in Arabic, the writer collected four names, TETAI, TINGIFFI, LIVFA and LOFO, the latter being also the name of the grass from which it is made. This grass, in Arabic GASH EL FAWA is said to grow in water-logged water-courses, to be tall and to have a fruiting head like millet. Over the skirt are worn some strips of sheep or goat skin called AIYANA (a special name) or TILLO (skin, *cf.* names of village in which ceremony commences and the name of the dance of horned youths in Tira el Akhdar). Disposed as armlets above each elbow are worn two rings made of cow tails. They are called SUKANA (a special name) or IDI MA FIYO (tail of cow). In their hands they may carry bells called KILENDI. They progress in file in a circle, stamping their feet in rhythm so that the rattles sound in unison. They do not sing but rather roar and low like cattle and from time to time clash their horns against those of a fellow celebrant.

The women of the community are disposed round them in an outer circle. They do not sing or clap their hands. They are not dressed in any peculiar way but hold cow-tails called TUMOI (cow-tail) mounted to sticks in their hands. They dance by moving their feet and bodies in rhythm but do not move their position. About thirty yards away is a ring of about forty elders each with a palm-fibre whip like that of the KUJUR. They beat on the back any youth who

(10) One informant gave the name of the horns as TENIDO ; TEN is probably a prefix.

chooses to dance round the inside of the ring. All youths however do this voluntarily because "their fathers do not allow them to refuse and also if they did refuse the girls would laugh at them". "Youths are beaten as much as possible." After this the youth is given a whip which he keeps for twenty-eight days. This "play" lasts a night and a morning.

The next morning two or three married men aged about 35 visit Hagar el Mek carrying the KUJUR's whip. They go to the appropriate local Kujur called the TAMSELLA MAFARI (Lord of the Whip; probably more correctly TAMSELLA MA FARIG) who gives them a she-goat. They return to Tillo and, it appears take the whip back with them. The KUJUR of Hagar el Mek calls out and cracks the whip and the festival starts in Hagar el Mek. It appears that three whips are now made in Hagar el Mek and sent out, one going via Murta to the Miri Juwa villages, one to the Miri Bara villages and the other via Kalimo to the remaining villages of the Kadugli hills. These three are brought back and put in running water "after twenty-eight or thirty days". The festival lasts twenty-eight days from its start in each community, not twenty-eight from the start in Saburi. No community may start the festival until they have given a goat in exchange for a whip to a community who have already similarly paid, and commenced their celebration.

The new grain is now ready for beer-making which has in fact been prepared against the falling of the whip. After the whip has fallen, much MARISA (millet-beer) is drunk. The first MARISA made is that by the KUJUR's wife. New millet of the early maturing type called NAGAD is used and in it is put a white fungus called in Nuba, KEFO, which grows on termite mounds, and the orange coloured thorny wild-fruit called in Arabic TIBISH EL SHOK (cucumber of thorns) and in Nuba TIMMANDO MIMMI (having the same meaning). The first to drink are the beaten youths—apparently the initiates.

It is customary for the beaten youths accompanied by some girls and apparently some elders (two were noted with a party of 11 youths) to supervise their activities, to visit neighbouring communities during the festival, to dance KAMBALA and to receive presents. For

example, on the fourth day, the celebrants from Tillo visit Hagar el Mek and receive MARISA and a goat from Mek Mohammed Rahal. One informant said "they go round all houses, singing and dancing ; two elders go with them and collect presents for them of money, clothes, food, hens, goats etc." They visit the houses of officials and the merchants' shops in the market. In 1935 a party from Damba came into the writer's garden, lowing like cattle, ringing bells and dancing. Their accompanying elders explained that this was "for the millet". The ages of the dancers ranged from 12 to 16. Parties of celebrants however go much farther afield, although the varying accounts of the extent of their journeys show that the custom is becoming obsolescent. According to one informant, Miri celebrants visit as far as Jebel Dagu in W. Kordofan, while the Kadugli celebrants visit the Moro, going as far as Um Dorein only. According to another informant the places visited by Kadugli youths are:—Jebel Moro, Debri, Um Heitun, Shwaia, Masakin, Dagig, the Shatts, Korongo, Otoro, Teis, Fama and Katcha. This may represent the extent of their visiting formerly. Now-a-days they are said to be only away from their homes a day or two at the most and to stay only a matter of half-an-hour in most places visited, just long enough to dance in front of the houses of the more wealthy only, who give them cattle, goats, etc., which they may slay and eat on the spot or drive home. Those visited do not dress specially or dance.

Those beaten during the festival include the new initiates, members of the grade KAMBALA initiated in previous years, and also apparently any old man who during the festival feels himself inspired under the influence of MARISA to declare that he must play KAMBALA. All other old men of his age group, *i.e.*, who were initiated with him must also play KAMBALA. If unwilling they pay a fine of a goat each.

So far there has been described the festival as it is held apart from its aspect of initiation.¹¹ A full festival is not held every year

(11) Wace, (Ill. Lond. News, 1936, p. 690, fig. 3), shows a winged goddess, Orthia, at whose altar Spartan boys were scourged. At *Sechu* or second initiation of boys among the Bechuana, they are lashed with long wands until they bleed. When they return from initiation they generally have scars to show. Livingstone, D., *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London, 1859. Abstract in *Anthologia Anthropologica, The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar*, Frazer, J. G., London, 1938, p. 91.



(a) FRONT VIEW.



(b) BACK VIEW.

YOUTH OF KAMBALA AGE-GRADE CARRYING OR WEARING THE CORRECT AGE-GRADE EQUIPMENT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE GOURD-PIPE WHICH PERTAINS TO THE FESTIVAL OF FIVE. THE WHITE DRAWERS ARE A SOPHISTICATION AS IS ALSO THE STRING OF AMULETS.

but only when there is a band of candidates. The ages of such appear to be between 10 and 25. The ceremony of initiation runs concurrently with the main KAMBALA ceremony, starting with the falling of the whip. The initiation ceremony takes ten or eleven days and includes a "MARISA ceremony" on the eighth day and a "wind ceremony" on the tenth or eleventh day.

Initiates live in the hut of the KUJUR who is lord of the festival, for the whole twenty-eight days of its duration. Apparently he beats each one of them at least once every day for the first three days.

On the third day the initiates are the first to drink of the new MARISA after each of them has been struck once by the KUJUR with any whip (not the special prototype already spoken of). Thereafter each boy may eat the new grain. They must not sleep near women nor move about unaccompanied. On the fourth day the mother of each boy makes MARISA in her own home and takes a she-goat. They are placed near her own door. The school of initiates dance in front of the house of each initiate's mother and the initiate concerned is again beaten with any whip by the accompanying elder, called in Arabic HARAS (watch, guard or escort). No details were collected regarding the exact nature of the HARAS or his function, he is probably merely the KUJUR's deputy. The goat is then slaughtered and the HARAS takes the blood on his fingers and anoints with it the boy's temples, shoulders and insteps. He then lays his bloody hands, first on the boy's nape and then over his eyes. Next he cuts strips of skin from the slaughtered goat and ties them below the boy's knees. The goat is then cut up; some is for the KUJUR and some for the house. The band now moves on to the house of the next initiate. Later women carry offerings of MARISA and portions of the meat, from each initiate's house to that of the KUJUR.

The initiates are now more or less confined to the KUJUR's house for fifteen days; this is until their wounds, which may be dressed, if necessary, with sesame oil and cotton, have healed. The unhealed wounds are "bad for the millet," "the wind will blow the millet down".

Meanwhile, two other ceremonies take place, but whether they take place every year in the KAMBALA or whether only in a full festival *i.e.*, when initiates are being inducted, is not clear to the writer. On 1.10.37 the writer visited Kalimo on what was said to be the eighth day of their festival and the day of the MARISA ceremony. About ten youths aged say 12 to 16 were dancing in a ring in the manner and dress already described. They all bore whip-marks but none were being beaten at the time—about two in the afternoon. Two smaller boys aged about 10 who were standing in the ring of onlookers were pointed out to the writer as initiation candidates. They were not dressed up. Their backs each bore the wounds of perhaps a dozen lashes, and they seemed very proud of them. In the centre of the dancing ring of youths were one or two dancing women carrying branches of the evergreen tree called in Arabic HABI¹². They were pointed out as mothers of the candidates for initiation. Other women present who were dancing carried only bare sticks in their hands which they continually moved up and down and they did not dance in the circle but rather sang and postured in the crowd just outside it.

About an hour later a large *burma* of MARISA was brought out ("no one may drink MARISA from new grain before this ceremony") and about fourteen elders with whips gathered round it. The local KUJUR who is lord of the KAMBALA, of the Millet and of the Rain, now suddenly appeared. He was dressed in an old military great coat, but over this at the back he had fastened the skin of a cow. Whether this was for protection from the whips or was of ritual importance was not clear. There was now a great deal of uproar, rushing about and merriment. One of the elders hit the KUJUR a violent crack on the back with a whip and the other elders with their whips violently flogged the ground round him. They explained to the writer "we are hitting him because the MARISA is too little" the inference being presumably that it had been a bad millet season. Another bystander said "we beat him also if the rains are poor". The KUJUR himself seemed quite happy about it all and buffooned the situation through.

(12) Presumably *Combretum* sp.



KAMBALA FESTIVAL. VISITING PARTY OF INITIATES FROM HAGAR EL MEK.
(POSED FOR EXHIBITION OF DETAIL.)



A SIMILAR PARTY.

Of the wind ceremony of the tenth or eleventh day the writer has no notes. Wind is an impressive phenomenon in the Nuba Mountains and in some places is extremely violent, especially at night. By its drying effect it may be supposed to favour ripening but in its destructive effect it is to be feared. In either case it is a factor to be controlled. Bull-roarers are in use in Kadugli and Miri as in most Nuba hills. They are swung "for the millet". The member of the KAMBALA age-grade figured in Plate II, who was asked to bring with him all articles pertaining to the festival brought with him the gourd pipe or bugle, a wind instrument called in Nuba SORRA. The use of such pipes in the Fire Festival is discussed below. Apparently it is not used in the KAMBALA Festival.

On the fifteenth day all initiates clothe and go about their tasks, though they still live in the KUJUR's house. On the twenty-seventh day the KUJUR's wife again makes MARISA and the KUJUR calls the initiates and tells them to go and hoe his cultivation the next day. This they do and return to his house where they dress again and for the last time play KAMBALA; there is no serious beating this time. At about four or five in the evening, they remove their grass skirts, goat-skin strips and leg rattles and take them in their hands together with their whips. The KUJUR goes in front and leads them with a branch of the thorny tree called in Arabic NABAG,¹³ in his hand, to an ant-colony. All have their festival equipment in one hand and a rock in the other. They place their equipment on the NABAG and the rocks on top of them. They are left to disintegrate by natural causes.

The band now returns to the KUJUR's house and on the way those not agile enough to escape may be beaten by anyone who meets them on the road and has a whip. They "play" a little again at the KUJUR's house and then sleep until morning. Early the next day the KUJUR mixes flour and water and with them sprinkles the house and each candidate. Then all is finished and they go to their homes and friends. On the twenty-ninth day the KUJUR discards his whip in running water. One stays in the KAMBALA grade for twelve years and is formally required to be scourged for six.

(13) *Ziziphus* sp.

5. THE FESTIVAL OF FIRE.

This is held in the DARAT *i.e.*, in December, the time of harvesting when grain is being brought into the granaries and at this time the flames can be seen at night for miles around serpentine their way up the hills. One informant said: "In the DARAT fire is thrown up to ward off disease".

The festival in Arabic is called SIBR EL NAR or SIBR EL BOKHSA, that is the Festival of Fire or the Festival of the Pipe. It is held after the KAMBALA when the millet is ready for storing. The responsible KUJUR collects two or three elders, goes to the cultivation, makes a fire with some pieces of dry wood, cooks some new beans and eats them. This is a "permission" for other people to go and collect their bean crop. The KUJUR then takes sufficient millet to make two burmas of MARISA and goes to his house. His people prepare it and that night he puts fire to the grass near his house at the foot of the hill. Seeing this all other people do likewise (*i.e.*, all householders)—at the same time women busy themselves preparing MARISA. The fire creeps up the hill and is seen by people afar off in other villages who do likewise. Next morning the MARISA is ready, the KUJUR brings some from his house, calls the old people and they all sit round the vessel containing it. The KUJUR asks "Allah to bless all and give them good crops next season". He then pours this MARISA on the ground. The remaining MARISA is drunk by all present and then dancing starts. The fire "drives away any curse or disease" coming to them. Others say it is merely a sign for other hills to start the same festival. The dance itself is as follows. There is one drummer drumming on a gourd drum with two sticks, and eight pipers playing curved pipes of gourd called in Arabic BOKHSA and in Nuba SORRA—they all vary in calibre so that each gives a different note. The band is in the centre and the men dance round it clockwise. The women dance round the men anti-clockwise. The girls have round their legs the same type of leg rattle that the youths wore in KAMBALA. The youths sing, the girls do not.

This fire festival has an interesting parallel in the Anthesteria festival of ancient Greece.¹⁴

(14) Harrison, G. E., (1922), *Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge University Press.

GLOSSARY.

(a) ARABIC.

ARO, ancestral spirit of a tribe or clan.	KOSH-KOSH, leg-rattles made of dom or doleib leaves with stones inside.
BUKHSÄ, a pipe or bugle of gourd.	MARISA, millet beer.
DARAT, Harvest season, roughly October to December.	NAGAD, an early maturing millet mostly red.
DIBOIA or UM DIQ DIQ, small antelope, <i>Rhynchotragus</i> sp.	NAR, fire.
DOLEIB, palm tree, <i>Borassus flabellifer</i> Linn.	RAHAT, the ceremonial grass skirt.
DOM, Palm tree, <i>Hyphaene thebaica</i> Mart.	RASHASH, Early rains, say May and June.
GASH EL FAWA, the LOFO grass of which grass ceremonial skirts are made.	SIBR, magic, ceremony or ritual.
JID, Individual tribal ancestor.	SOT, whip.
KUJUR, magician, sorcerer, priest, etc.	TIBISH EL SHOK, "cucumber of thorn," wild fruit put in ceremonial <i>marisa</i> .
	ZA'AF, dried leaf or fibre of palm-trees.

(b) KADUGLI NUBA.

AIYANA, special name for sheep skin strips worn over grass skirt in the KAMBALA Festival.	SORRA, pipe or bugle of gourd used ceremonially in the Festival.
FARIG, any whip of palm-fibre.	SUKANA, special name for 2 cows tails worn by initiates in the Festival, above the elbows.
IDI MAFIYO, "tail of cow," any cow tail, that worn above elbow in Festival.	TAMSELIÄ MAFARI, "Lord Whip," the Kujur responsible for the Festival.
IDO MA KAMBALA, "Horns of KAMBALA," those worn in Festival.	TENIDO, bulls horns, another term for IDO MA KAMBALA.
KAMBALA, Youth age-grade, their dance and the grain-festival.	TETAI, see LIVFA.
KEFO, a white fungus growing on termi-taries and placed in ceremonial <i>marisa</i> .	TILLO, name of village where KAMBALA Festival originated and commences, of a similar Festival among the Tira el Akhdar Nubas; also it means "skin," as of a slain beast.
KIENDI, any bell, that carried in Festival.	TIMMANDO MIMMI, "cucumber thorn," a wild fruit put in ceremonial <i>marisa</i> .
LIVFA and LOFO, also TETAI, the grass skirt and the grass from which it is made.	TINGIFFI, the grass skirt worn by the youths in the Festival.
MADENDI or MDENDI, leg rattles used in Festival.	TUMOI, cow-tail carried on stick in Festival.

GWEK, THE WITCH-DOCTOR AND THE PYRAMID OF DENKGUR.

By P. Coriat, M.B.E., D.C.M.

In 1929, there took place in the Upper Nile Province military and police operations described in Government records as "Nuer Settlement". Pacification of the turbulent clans inhabiting that part of the country was the main purpose of the "Settlement" but its cause and the events which led to Patrol S. 8 which preceded it arose out of the machinations of the Lau Nuer Witchdoctor Gwek Wundeng. It is with Gwek and the Pyramid of Dengkur with which he was associated that this narrative is chiefly concerned but no account of either would be complete without mention of Gwek's father Wundeng and an endeavour must be made to shed some light on the latter's history before any clear picture can be given of the former.

Fiction and fact are inseparable from the welter of myth and fable in which is hidden the story of Wundeng Bung. The most notorious and possibly the first of the Nuer *Kujurs* or Witchdoctors, who until recently have been so much to the fore in our contacts with these tribes, a great part of his early life and time must be conjecture but this brief sketch for which I make no claim to accuracy has been drawn from some of the more generally known of the countless tales related from many sources.

The son of a tribesman with the euphonic name of Bung, Wundeng¹ was born at Keij in the country of the Gatlak section of the Lau Nuer sometime between the years 1850 and 1860. His family belonged to a "Leopard Skin" clan and as such ranked as leaders in the Nuer hierarchy. By birth, therefore, his status was that of a full-blooded Nuer. There is, however, reason to believe that he was of partly Dinka extraction. Many of his relatives were Dinkas,

(1) For other references to Wundeng see Evans-Pritchard "The Nuer, Tribe and Clan, S.N. & R. Vol. XVIII pp.56-63 (spelt Ngundeng) : C. A. Willis "The cult of Deng" S.N. & R. Vol. XI p 200 (spelt Wondeng).—Ed.

he is known to have spoken the Dinka language fluently and he appears, throughout his life, to have been influenced by the manners and customs of that tribe. In character, if this can be judged by what we know of him, he was more typically Dinka than Nuer while the fact that his family held title to bear the "Leopard Skin" does not repudiate a Dinka origin, as few of the Nuer clans were of pure descent and the admixture of Dinka was strong among the Lau.

Legend has it that the young Wundeng was "possessed of God" long before his initiation as an adult, so that we may assume also that his apprenticeship as a Wizard was served under a Dinka master, as at that period of Nuer history magic was the prerogative of the "Leopard Skin" or "Man of the Cattle" and was severely restricted in its use to the rituals and ceremonies of tribal custom, whereas in Dinka land, magicians and sooth-sayers were so to speak common property. At a time when his contemporaries were learning how to use a fish spear, Wundeng was mumbling incantations and making sacrifices of other people's goats much to the dismay of his family and the neighbours. One of the more common of his boyish pranks was temporarily to deprive of the power of speech anyone from whom he took offence and it is related that his mother alone was immune from this form of wizardry. For a boy, even one who would eventually wear the "Leopard Skin," such an unusual predilection for the black arts was regarded as some extraordinary manifestation of the "Spirits", to be treated with the respect it deserved. Matters reached such a pass it is said that many of the inhabitants of Keij moved for their greater comfort to more distant homes. It was as well for them they did so while the going was good, as in later years it was more than life was worth to offend the Wundeng dignity.

When of an age, Wundeng underwent the usual tribal initiation ceremony whereby he became a fully fledged warrior and assumed the privilege of his family by donning the "Leopard Skin". Thereafter for a year or two he carried out the normal duties of his office; hearing disputes concerning land and assisting in the settlement of blood-feuds. Then tiring of dull routine he reverted to his magic.

"Leopard Skin" functions were relegated to the background while he added to his reputation as a worker of miracles. Before long he had become the most powerful individual in Lau and stories of his skill spread far beyond the confines of his own tribe. Many could testify to his cures of the sick and crippled, the potency of his spells and charms for procuring fertility in a barren woman or ridding one of a tiresome enemy, and the dire evil that befell anyone who so much as winked an eyelid at him. Fame brought wives and cattle in untold numbers but wealth alone did not satisfy him. It was by his success as a magician that he measured his ambition.

It is related that on the occasion of the birth of his eldest son Reth, he announced that the particular and potent Spirit by whom he was "possessed" and from whom he obtained his magical powers was one Dengkur. *Deng* is the Dinka name for the great spirit or Godhead. *Kur* in Nuer means War or Anger. Dengkur the God of War or the Wrathful God. A foreign sounding name to Nuer ears but adequate and awe-inspiring, and it was as the Dengkur that Wundeng became so widely known to the tribe of the Upper Nile.

It was soon after his *debut* as the Dengkur that Wundeng embarked on his greatest achievement, the construction of the huge earth work which became known as the Pyramid of Dengkur. How the idea of a Pyramid arose is a mystery but we may surmise that here again the conception was of Dinka origin. The grave shrine, a mound of earth 3 ft. by 4 ft. high, adorned with beads and trinkets was a common sight in the Dinka country, but unknown to the Nuer. Perhaps it was the Dinka shrine that gave Wundeng his inspiration but whatever its origin the great pyramidal mound of earth far surpassed anything seen or heard of by either Nuer or Dinka.

There were three phases of the work before the Pyramid was finished. The first consisted in the building of huts at Keij. Until these were completed clients were compelled to pay for Wundeng's services in grass, timber or building labour. For the whole of one winter season, it is said work on the huts was unceasing. The second phase which lasted for two years concerned the food supply. During

that period, no visitor or traveller, man, woman or child who did not wish to risk incurring the displeasure of the great Dengkur could visit or pass by the village of Keij without depositing in the store huts a handful of grain or a head of corn. When the granaries were full and an adequate food supply had been assured Wundeng entered upon the final stage. First, it is said, he shut himself up in his hut and refused to see or speak with anyone or to partake of food and drink for seven days. He then fell into a trance from which he did not awake until three days and three nights had passed. According to some accounts, he perched himself upon the roof of a cattle hut before falling into a state of insensibility, remaining on the top while vast crowds collected to see the performance. At the end of this period word was passed far and wide summoning all tribesmen of the Nuer clans to a gathering at Keij on the full moon of the month of the saving. Story has it that for days the plain of Keij was black with people. Blood feuds were forgotten. Not only from the Lau country but from the Garjak on the Abyssinian border, from the Gaweir of the Zeraf valley from the Nuong of the Jebel river and even from the Bul country north of the Bahr El Ghazal tribesmen foregathered at the behest of Wundeng. On the night of the full moon, in the light of a circle of fires Wundeng gave expression to the commands of the Spirit. Throughout the night he stood shouting exhortations to the assembled warriors. At dawn on the following morning he carried the first load of earth to the site he had chosen for his *Luak Kwoth* (House of God) and thus was begun the building of the Pyramid itself. From that hour until it was completed he supervised and controlled the work of thousands of Nuer. Mud was dug from adjacent pools and khors and carried in baskets to the ground where it was shaped and pounded to the required dimensions. As the mound rose in height, tiers of workers handed up the baskets to others above them. Bulls were brought from all over Nuer land and the meat was divided and eaten by the builders. When there was a shortage of bulls, corn was distributed from the granaries. Day after day the work continued. It is believed that four rain seasons passed before the *Bie Dengkur* (mound of Dengkur) was finished. A Pyramid of earth 60 feet high

and of great breadth resembling a sugar loaf with a bulging base. On its apex and round the base were planted elephant tusks and in the heart of the earthwork, put there by Wundeng during the course of the building were embedded the horns of a white bull, the entrails of a goat and an assortment of bones.

Soon after the Pyramid was built the slave-raiders made themselves felt in Lau and Wundeng's power began to wane. Twice are the slave bands said to have attacked Dengkur carrying off all the people and ivory they could lay their hands on. Villages were laid waste, tribal organisation was broken up and the clans were scattered to the remotest parts by the depredations of the Arabs. Nevertheless, although fear of the "Turk" became greater than fear of Wundeng, the Pyramid was kept in good repair and was a rallying ground for the warriors. In fact so prominent a place had it taken in the life of the tribe that even in 1927 there were many who believed that the new "Turk", small-pox, cattle disease and other horrors were due to neglect of the *Bie Dengkur* and the wrath of the Spirit.

Wundeng did not, so far as is known, try his hand against the Arabs, and his spies kept him sufficiently well informed to enable him to show a clean pair of heels when the "Turk" was in the vicinity. On occasions he visited the Pyramid though he had deserted his village. Alarms and escapes and a scattered people gave him little opportunity for the display of magic, but when he could he made encouraging prophecies and concocted plausible excuses for his impotence to stem the ravages of the foreigners.

It was during the Arab era that he had made for him by an old Anuak friend a brass pipe. The pipe was made secretly and its existence was not known until, during one of Wundeng's visits to the Pyramid when he was accompanied by a large following, it was seen, to the astonishment of the beholders, on the topmost point of the Pyramid with wreaths of smoke issuing from the bowl. The Pipe of Dengkur though seen by few became one of the greater of the Wundeng mysteries. Not only was its possessor said to be invulnerable but it had peculiar properties as a death-dealing instrument. At sacri-

fices and rites conducted by Wundeng cattle were struck dead by a mere wave of the Pipe and it was whispered that a few humans had also met their end in this way. Wundeng allowed it to be known that the Pipe had been bestowed on him by the Great Spirit and that it would, when the time arrived take its part in destroying the enemies of the Nuer and ridding the country of the hated "Turk".

There is little of interest to recount, though many are the stories told of the remaining years of Wundeng's life. He was still alive at the time of the occupation but took no part in the subsequent encounters with the new "Turk" although the Pyramid was twice visited by Government troops. As affairs in Lau resumed a more or less normal state after the departure of the Arabs, he again took up residence at Keij and continued to excel as a witchdoctor, but by that time other and smaller fry had begun to emulate his lead and he was too old or too weary to do more than organise raids against the Dinka. He died at Keij in March 1906.

In about 1883 a son was born to Wundeng by one of his many wives. He was named "Gwek" (the Frog) a fitting name for him in later years with his misshapen arms and legs, squat body and short toad-like head. The resemblance to a frog was enhanced by an unpleasant tendency to slaver at the mouth. A morose sullen lad, Gwek had been an unlikely person to succeed his father and after the latter's death it was believed that the "Spirit" had taken possession of the eldest son Reth. It was soon evident however that it was Gwek not Reth who had been adopted by the Dengkur. This was apparent by Gwek's peculiar antics, balancing on his head on the top of the Pyramid, yelling and chattering in an unknown tongue during the small hours of the night, turning himself into a goat and other habits of a similar nature. That there could be no mistake about the matter was made clear when he was seen to spend several days on the top of the Pyramid holding aloft the Pipe of Dengkur. Until then the Pipe had only been seen with Wundeng and it was believed to have returned to the 'Spirit' when the former died.

In his prime and when not in a trance Gwek had a stupid and rather sheepish air about him. Although not in the same class as his father



GWEK WUNDENG. TAKEN SHORTLY AFTER THE "BATTLE" (1929).
NOTE PIPE OF DENGKUR.



GWEK'S SACRED BULL AS IT FELL ON THE BATTLEFIELD (1929).
NOTE REMAINS OF PYRAMID IN DISTANCE.

in the magical line he inherited a good deal of the paternal cunning. He was particularly successful in curing barrenness (possibly because it was one of the more lucrative of his accomplishments) and an adept at falling into a trance. It was almost a daily occurrence for him to be "seized by the Spirit" when he would appear to be overcome by something very like an epileptic seizure. In these moods he would stand trembling and shaking in every limb, foam at the mouth and utter blood-curdling cries. Sometimes he would stand on the top of the Pyramid and yell to the full extent of his lungs and usually on these occasions the performance would conclude with an impassioned speech in which he would make vague prophecies for the future. Although many had seen Gwek on the top of the Pyramid, no one had been known to see him climb up or down. Possibly, at such times it was thought proper to look the other way. On the three occasions in 1923 and 1924 when I saw Gwek on the Pyramid each time he went up during the night, spent the day on the top and came down again the following night so I was unable to view either the ascent or descent. Climbing the Pyramid was not easy. In 1928 at the time of the S. 8 Patrol a trooper of the Cavalry and Mounted Rifles (now Shendi Horse) succeeded in getting up in his bare feet without much ado but when I followed suit after having discarded my boots, it was as much as I could do to reach half way, as the smooth surface offered no holds. To save an ignominious retreat I had to be hauled up the final pitch with the aid of the soldier's cummerbund. The last part of the return journey was accomplished by an involuntary and painful slide.

Two Patrols visited the Lau country in the early days of the administration but Gwek was not seen nor much heard of until 1918 when he organized an attack on a company of the 9th Sudanese under a Native Officer, which was on a reconnaissance from Duk Fadiat. The troops put up a good fight but were outnumbered and all killed. This and other incidents culminating in a series of raids on the Dinkas led to the Lau Patrol of 1918. Government forces were concentrated at Nyerol just south of the Dinka border and from there advanced into the country. Within a few miles of the Pyramid at Nyownyow the

column was attacked by a body of Nuer led by Gwek in person. A white bull was driven in front of the advancing tribesmen but a burst of machine gun fire made short work of the bovine advance guard and the beast fell with its head towards the Nuer. Such an unpropitious omen was the signal for immediate retreat and Gwek escaped in the rout, his followers suffering heavy casualties. There was no further resistance to the Government. The troops continued the march to the Pyramid and other parts of the country were visited before they returned home. At the conclusion of operations an attempt was made to administer the Lau by more frequent visits and a post was established at Nyerol but Gwek, like his father, kept at a distance.

In 1921 rumours of an impending raid by the Lau against the Dinka of Duk Fadiat (then a Government Station) caused a commotion on the Dinka border and produced a stream of complaints real and imaginary against the Nuer. To allay Dinka anxiety, Mr. H. C. Jackson then Deputy Governor of the Upper Nile Province made a tour of the Lau country, during the course of which he visited the Pyramid. He was accompanied by the Senior Medical Inspector, Mr. H. C. Footner, and travelled with a small escort of Police. On their arrival at the Pyramid, they were, contrary to expectation, met by Gwek in person but the moment Mr. Jackson dismounted from his horse Gwek became "possessed" and yelled solidly for half an hour. At the end of this exhibition, however, he behaved as the perfect host and during the ensuing long and useful discussion he denied any ill will towards the Dinka, gave assurances that he would be friendly to the Government and agreed to pay a yearly tribute of one bull. His one request which was acceded to was that a half brother of his, Bul Wundeng, a stupid and furtive looking youth should *Kab Bieni* (take the cloth) and act as his representative in any further dealings with the Government.

Nothing more was heard of Gwek until the April of 1923 at which time I was stationed at Ayod Post in the Gawair Nuer country. Owing to disturbing reports which were circulating of a tribal raid which Gwek intended to lead against the Dinka

on his southern border, I thought it necessary to make an unannounced call at the Pyramid. Accordingly I set off and after a three days' march arrived shortly after sunset one evening. A very cold welcome awaited me. Bul and several of the elders of the village came out to meet me but it was clear that I was not wanted. I was told that Gwek was at home but was engaged and unable to see me. There was a good deal of demur when I said I proposed to make a stay but after some discussion camp was pitched close by the Pyramid on the far side from the village and my party settled down for the night. The following morning just before dawn I was awakened by loud shouts and cries which seemed to emanate from some point high up on the Pyramid. The incessant noise prevented further sleep and the morning light disclosed Gwek standing erect on the top and still shouting raucously. For the whole of that day he remained in more or less the same attitude, shouting most of the time. A curious spectacle and a remarkable exhibition of endurance. Later in the morning Bul and other members of the family came to see me and suggested that I should call again in a year's time but I explained that I quite understood that Gwek was unable to confer to the best advantage when "possessed" and that I should wait in camp until the "Spirit" had retired. There was no sign of Gwek the next day nor on the three very long days which followed but on the fourth morning he appeared by my police lines leading an emaciated and hungry looking bull and followed by what appeared to be the entire population of Keij. After suitable introductions had been made the bull was presented as a gift, was accepted and carried off to its fate by the Police and Gwek and I moved to my tent where we settled down to talk to each other. Except for a slightly peeved air Gwek seemed quite ready to talk and by the evening we were almost affable together.

Further visits followed during the course of the next few years and on one occasion in 1925 Gwek visited District Headquarters which had by that time been moved to Abwong. He arrived with a small army of followers and laden with gifts. Much friendly

talk ensued and many protestations of good will to the Government were made before the conclusion of the visit. During this tranquil period there were few clashes with authority although some uneasiness was caused at times by minor raids against the Dinka and in 1926 relations became a little strained as a result of a habit Gwek had begun to acquire of making frequent tours in the neighbouring Jekaing Nuer country accompanied by tax evaders and other ne'er-do-wells.

Early in 1927 as an outcome of the policy of Devolution, Chiefs' Courts were set up among the Lau and a band of Chiefs' Police was formed to assist the Courts. The Police differed from the habitual nude state of the tribesmen only in that they wore an embossed white metal armlet. Whether it was the uniform or some other attraction the force became universally popular with the young warriors who found the work a new outlet for their energies. The success of the Police as a Government institution gave an impetus to the Courts which rapidly became the centre of tribal life. Hours could be spent arguing over the ownership of a prize cow or discussing tribal politics and a good audience was always assured. The fairness of the decisions given and the promptness with which they were enforced by the Chief's Police did not impress Gwek who began to find his income adversely affected. Many of those who would normally have turned to him in the hope of obtaining justice by payment of a small reward went instead to the Courts. Others who desired to effect some knavery by presenting him with a suitable gift found their efforts frustrated by these same Courts whose members were versed in all the wiles of the Witchdoctor.

Gwek bore for a while and then prepared to strike. Alarming rumours began to spread and gather weight. The Courts were a ruse of the "Turk" to destroy tribal custom. Chiefs' Police would be absorbed into the ranks of the "Turk's" soldiers. These and similar stories were freely discussed. Within a month there was a perceptible change. Chiefs evaded attendance at the Courts, Chiefs'

Police were absent when their services were needed and an atmosphere of general uneasiness prevailed until the end of the dry season when Gwek showed his hand for the first time. A new road had by then been cleared from the Sobat river at the mouth of the Khor Fulus to Kan on the southern edge of the Dinka border. It had been proposed to carry the road through the Lau country to the Duk Fadiat Dinka border and thus to open communications between Bor and the Sobat. In order to broach the subject of roads which I knew was not likely to be a popular one, I summoned a meeting of Chiefs and Elders to meet me at Nyerol. Gwek was also invited. I had expected a half hearted response but all the Chiefs and many of the Elders appeared: Gwek however, was not present. Disregarding his absence I set about the purpose of the meeting and explained the objects of a road and roads to the tribesmen but my attempts to raise an interest met with no response. There was a sullen and apathetic air about the meeting quite unlike the hearty gatherings common to the Nuer. It was while I was labouring heavily on the benefits conferred by easy communications that the sound of singing was heard. From the trees at the fringe of the camp emerged a group of Nuer 40 to 50 strong all singing heartily and led by an individual whom I soon recognized as Gwek. Advancing to the group of Chiefs who were seated in a semi-circle facing me, Gwek held up his hand for the chorus to cease and stepping past the men in front of him squatted down beside the senior Chiefs present. There was no surprise evinced at his arrival and as there was much ostentatious movement to the side to make way for him it was obvious that he had been expected. Gwek spoke no word and made no signal of any kind but sat staring at the ground in front of him. I retorted by ignoring the interruption and continuing my discourse on roads but I had not spoken for more than ten minutes before Gwek rose to his feet. "The Lau know not how to make roads. Drive your Dinkas. Let the road be for such as the Dinkas" and with that he stalked off accompanied by his chorus who again broke into song as they vanished from sight into the trees. I felt prompted to do

several things but chose the alternative I liked least by assuming an air of indifference to the episode. A desultory and uncomfortable quarter-hour followed after which, expressing the hope that the coming dry season would see the road well on its way to the south, I left the meeting.

Leave followed shortly after this but just before my departure, two Chief's Police came to see me. With some hesitance they explained that they were anxious for my safety and had come to tell me not to venture into the Lau without an escort of soldiers. They told a long story the gist of which was that Gwek intended to make war, that the opening of a road to the Dinka border had caused much alarm among the Nuer and that any continuation of the highway into the Lau country would be the signal for a general rising. They described how Gwek had reminded the people of a forgotten prophecy of Wundeng's that the Turk would many times defeat the Nuer in battle but that a time would come when the Turk would make a great white path through the Dinka country. When that path reached the Nuer border, a plant would sprout on the peak of the Dengkur pyramid. The plant would grow till it reached the height of a man. The Nuer would then rise and drive out the "Turk" for ever. The plant, my informants said, had been seen by all who visited the Pyramid. These two youths accompanied me to Malakal where they remained during my absence on leave and were with me subsequently throughout the operations of the S. 8 Patrol and the Nuer Settlement in the year following.

Nearly four months later I arrived in Khartoum on return from leave to hear that the District was in a state of revolt and that punitive measures were contemplated. Continuing my journey to Abwong by air I arrived at the Station within a day and there learned the full account of events during my absence. Gwek had sent his emissaries to all parts of Lau and to neighbouring Nuer tribes exhorting the warriors to prepare for a war against the "Turk." War drums had been beaten and hundreds of bulls slaughtered as sacrifices at the Pyramid. Dinkas on the Nuer

border had evacuated their homes and gone for protection to the Government Posts at Abwong and Duk Fayuil. Other reports alleged that two well known lesser Witchdoctors, Char Koryom and Pok Keirjok, had marched to the Pyramid with several hundred tribesmen to await Gwek's orders. As is usual at such times it was difficult to sift the grain from the chaff and in an endeavour to discover how far the state of excitement had spread I left for Nyerol with a troop of mounted Police as escort. I had hoped to make contact with some of the Chiefs whose sections were alleged to be disaffected but it was obvious before I reached the Dinka border that the trouble was real. Owing to the difficulty of ensuring protection at night I was compelled to turn back at Nyerol. Punitive action was unavoidable and Patrol S. 8 of 1928 was the outcome.

It is unnecessary to describe the operations which followed. Suffice it that a large body of slow-moving troops had the effect of frightening Gwek and dispersing his warriors. The young men went for their health to the territory of neighbouring tribes leaving the aged, the women and the children to greet the troops. There was no fighting and by the time the force had reached the Pyramid most of the Chiefs had submitted. Surprise raids on villages reported to be harbouring the Witchdoctors ceased to be a surprise by the time the objective was reached. The only diverting incident in a series of long and ineffective marches was the surrender of the Witchdoctor Char Koryom who gave himself up with his entire clan 200 strong after seeing a Royal Air Force aircraft fly over his camp. He was arrested, marched as a prisoner to the base camp at Nyerol and securely fastened with head ropes to a log of wood. He escaped, the night of his arrival, by freeing himself of his shackles and leaping over a line of sleeping men, a sentry with rifle and fixed bayonet and a stout 5 feet thorn zariba.

To round off the operations and impress the Nuer the Pyramid was demolished or partly demolished by the Engineer troops. After a week's hard work a charge of high explosive was lodged in the far end of a tunnel dug into the base of the Pyramid. Chiefs and their

followers were then assembled to watch it go off. They were told to keep their eyes on the Pyramid which would vanish with a reverberating bang when I dropped my handkerchief. The result was something of an anti-climax. A puff of white smoke and a few lumps of earth tumbling down the side was all they saw but fortunately, if one could judge from their expressions, the effect was adequate. Excavation into the bowels of the Pyramid produced nothing but the horns of a bull.

After the withdrawal of the troops affairs resumed their normal course but nothing was heard of Gwek and an undercurrent of uneasiness was apparent. It was not however until the rains that unrest broke out again. During the absence on leave of the District Commissioner, the Nuer attacked the station at Duk Fayuil after a large tribal raid into the Dinka country during which they carried off cattle and slaves in great numbers. Fortunately the Police Sergeant at Duk Fayuil, one "Kalam Sakit", belied his name to good effect as the Nuer were repelled with heavy casualties. The raiders were led by the Gaweir Nuer chief Dwal Diu who until then had taken no part in the earlier disturbances but there was clear proof that Gwek had been the influence behind Dwal's fall from grace.

It was evident that until Gwek could be arrested there could be no peaceful administration in the Nuer country and that unless a decisive lesson could be applied to the affected areas, the trouble was likely to be contagious. The difficulty was how to do so. The effect of past Patrols had not been lasting. The movements of large bodies of troops disturbed the country without giving the young tribesman a taste of the corrective medicine he needed. A display of force dispersed warrior bands but did not lessen their desire for plunder or war on tip-and-run lines. The Nuer Settlement supplied the answer.

The Nuer Settlement was the name given to a plan of operations whose purpose briefly was to effect the capture of Gwek and other Witchdoctors, to disperse rebellious elements, to prevent so far as possible a disruption in the normal life of the tribe and to ensure that all peaceful minded tribespeople should not be drawn into such



THE SURRENDER OF CHAR KORYOM (1929).



THE PYRAMID (1929).
CAVALRY TROOPER STANDING ON TOP.

active operations as might be necessary to secure the submission or defeat of Gwek and his followers. To carry out the plan three conditions were essential. The first was that only small bodies of the most mobile troops should be used under the guise of police rather than military operations. The second was that the military and political officers should act so far as possible on local initiative and guided by local conditions, free from any centralised plan of operations. The third was that certain defined areas in which there was ample water and grazing for cattle should be allocated under the control and supervision of political officers for the settlement of peaceful elements. A carefully worked out plan enabled all these conditions to be fulfilled. Two large areas were reserved for settlement. The one was on the Khor Fulus for the Gun section of the tribe and the other on the Sobat river for the Mor clans. Explicit instructions were issued by verbal explanation to all Chiefs and others whom it was possible to summon and by message to all parts of the Lau country. Directions were given for the movement of all able-bodied men, women and children with their cattle and chattels to camps within the two settlement areas. Ample time was allowed for the thousands of people and vast herds of cattle involved. It is as well to point out here that this forcible movement of population on such a large scale is not as horrifying as it sounds. All the Lau clans are semi-nomadic and a general exodus from rain season villages to distant dry season summer camping grounds is a normal part of tribal life. The tribesmen were warned that after the expiration of a time limit all men found outside the settlements were liable to arrest. It was hoped by such means to induce Gwek and his followers either to submit or to fight. At suitable places adjacent to each one of the areas a perimeter camp was constructed and garrisoned by a company of the Equatorial Corps. These were to afford protection to the occupants of the areas and to serve as bases of operations for the mobile troops. At each base a mobile column was formed consisting of troops of Cavalry and Mounted Rifles and Mounted Police. The Guncol column was to operate within the territory inhabited by the Gun section of the tribe in which was situated the Dengkur Pyramid.

The Morcol column for patrol of the Mor section country. The period of time allowed for the transfer of the clans to the settlement areas expired on February 1st, 1929. By that time nearly two thirds of the tribe had concentrated within these areas.

On the evening of the 31st January the Guncol force consisting of two troops of Cavalry and Mounted Rifles and one troop of Mounted Police moved out from the base camp on a night march to the Pyramid. The column was commanded by Captain G. Eastwood with Captain F. Goring-Johnstone as his second in command. Major Wyld and myself acted as political officers. From information that had been obtained it was believed that Gwek with a large following was at the Pyramid but it was not known whether he intended to offer resistance or would escape as he had done during Patrol S. 8. Owing to the uncertainty of Gwek's line of action it had been decided to march during the night but not to arrive at the Pyramid before daylight. In order that there should be no ineffectives all transport was left at the base. By midnight the force was within 5 miles of Dengkur and a halt was called until an hour before the dawn. Two Nuer walked in during the night with the information that large bodies of men had been converging on the Pyramid and that Gwek was preparing to attack the Government force whose arrival was expected. This was cheerful news and shortly after the march was resumed the sound of drums being beaten was heard in the distance. When the dawn came and the light grew clearer the peak of Dengkur Pyramid was visible in the far distance and before long our scouts could be seen signalling "enemy in sight in large numbers." Shortly they were galloping back to report large concentrations of Nuer. By 5.30 a.m. the Pyramid was in full view. Clustered at the base and massed in groups between the Government force and the Pyramid were large numbers of tribesmen. The din of war drums was incessant and several individuals were seen rushing to and fro between the larger groups brandishing spears. When within 400 yards of the Nuer the troops were halted and the order given to dismount and form square. The Nuer by this time were clearly visible. Dancing round war drums, rushing to and fro

violently flourishing their spears and uttering raucous war cries. There was no attempt to impede the troops so a further advance was made without altering formation, each man leading his horse. About 50 yards on a small bull was discovered lying trussed to a stake driven into the ground with its head directed to the advancing toops. The bull was released and the advance continued but the Nuer still forbore to attack. Within 250 yards of the Pyramid, Major Wyld and I cantered our horses out in an endeavour to draw the warriors but this had no effect on the dancing hordes and the column was again halted. Two shots were then fired over the heads of the mass. This produced an immediate result and with amazing rapidity the Nuer attack was launched. Two long lines of men rushed out to either flank in an attempt to surround the troops while the main body of Nuer in the centre advanced more slowly but singing lustily and driving ahead of them a solitary white bull. The order to fire was given. The leading men and the bull reached to within 120 yards of the square before they fell and within a few minutes the whole mass of Nuer were fleeing in all directions. A long pursuit over rough and broken ground followed. Gwek, arrayed in a leather skirt with an iron skewer clutched tight in his hand and a brass pipe, the pipe of Dengkur, lying beside him, was picked up dead beside the white bull.

There was little more work for the troops and within a month there was complete submission of the remaining clans. By the end of that dry season the Lau had forgotten Gwek and the Pyramid of Dengkur.

One of Gwek's chief songsters was wounded and captured at the battle of the Pyramid. From him it was learned that Gwek had told his followers that the bullets from the Government rifles would be as water and drop to the ground. On being questioned as to whether he believed in Gwek's magic power he scoffed at the idea. He was then asked why he had supported Gwek. "Would you" he said "if you have a master, turn on him in his hour of need?" Which is typical of the Nuer character.

THE WADER BIRDS IN THE SUDAN.

By J. B. Bowers.

There is little space in the notes which follow to generalize on the subject of bird migration. It is a mystery which experts are still trying to solve and for anyone who wishes to read more of it there is an excellent account in the third series of *Birds of the British Isles* by T. A. Coward.

Briefly let it be said that every year as the summer draws to its close and the natural food supplies grow less, a strange hereditary impulse drives the birds which have nested in the northern areas of the globe to journey south. Thousands of birds which have bred in the nesting grounds of Siberia, Scandinavia, Central Europe and the British Isles take part in this amazing odyssey, some wintering on the sea-coasts of Europe, others travelling on even to South Africa. Then with the coming of the Northern Spring the tide of migrants sweeps back again.

Of all these migrants the Wader birds are perhaps the most interesting, and I doubt if there are many places where their movements can be better watched than in Kordofan. The rain-floods attract them in their thousands; probably the vegetable clay and stagnant water cater better for their diet of worms than the silt of the Nile. There is water too in plenty as they travel south in August and September, and in good rain years it still lies in places like Sherkeila, Keilak and Burdia for their return in March and early April. It is in these four months that their numbers are greatest, for many seem to be birds of passage, journeying further south; at Sherkeila, however, even in the intermediate months there was never a shortage of winter residents.

I have written my notes on these less as a scientific record than for the possible benefit of the amateur enthusiast. They will have achieved their purpose if, as companion to a pair of field-glasses,

they help him to identify the waders, both migrant visitors and native Africans, which frequent the inland lakes of the Sudan. With this end in view therefore I have disregarded all scientific classification and arranged my notes on each species in approximate order of size (from bill tip to tail), while keeping together those which are most easily confused. The Waders are notorious for their bewildering changes of plumage and when, as so often happens, they are seen together comparisons of size may be a convenient guide.

The smallest Wader is the LITTLE STINT (length 6 in.). It is only six inches from beak to tail and conveniently near in stature to the wagtails, which are to be found in its usual haunts. A compact little bird with the variegated neutral brown upper parts and light breast typical of the wader family, as seen through field glasses its pointed slightly curved *bill and slender legs are dull black, while round the forehead and above each eye runs a pale line*, which at times appears almost white. And then as it flies away with a thin "peet-peet-peet" and a surprising turn of speed one sees that the *outermost feathers of the tail show white against a brown centre and a pale line runs along the upper surface of the wings*.

Of almost identical size and appearance is TEMMINCK'S STINT (length 6 in.). In close comparison it appears as a rather *darker bird with a faint brown bib* across its breast and little whiteness visible above the eye.

Both the Stints breed in the tundras of north Russia and Scandinavia and are common winter visitors to the Sudan. Here they are usually seen in little flocks, pattering about at the waters' edge chasing small insects or busily prodding for worms.

THE SANDERLING, (length $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.), when not seen side by side with the Stints might be confused with them, though it is nearly two inches longer in the body. Its plumage in winter is *almost aluminium grey with white underparts*, but traces of the summer breeding dress, darker brown with chestnut red markings may be visible on spring and autumn birds. It carries a rather *distinctive straight, dull black bill, slightly bulging at the tip*, and when flying displays a white



THE BLACK-WINGED STILT. (LENGTH, 13-in.)

wing bar like the Stints and white outer edges to its tail. The photograph I am afraid is a poor portrait of the bird, but it shows an interesting way of feeding, which I have never seen recorded before, and for which its strongly built beak is admirably suited. Instead of probing the mud for food as most of the waders do, this bird would continually run along with the tip of its bill in the sand ploughing a little furrow, and then every few feet, as the point of its miniature hoe registered contact with an unsuspecting worm, it would stop short to dig out and swallow its prize. The sanderling comes to the Sudan, though not I think in large numbers, from its breeding areas in Spitzbergen and Siberia.

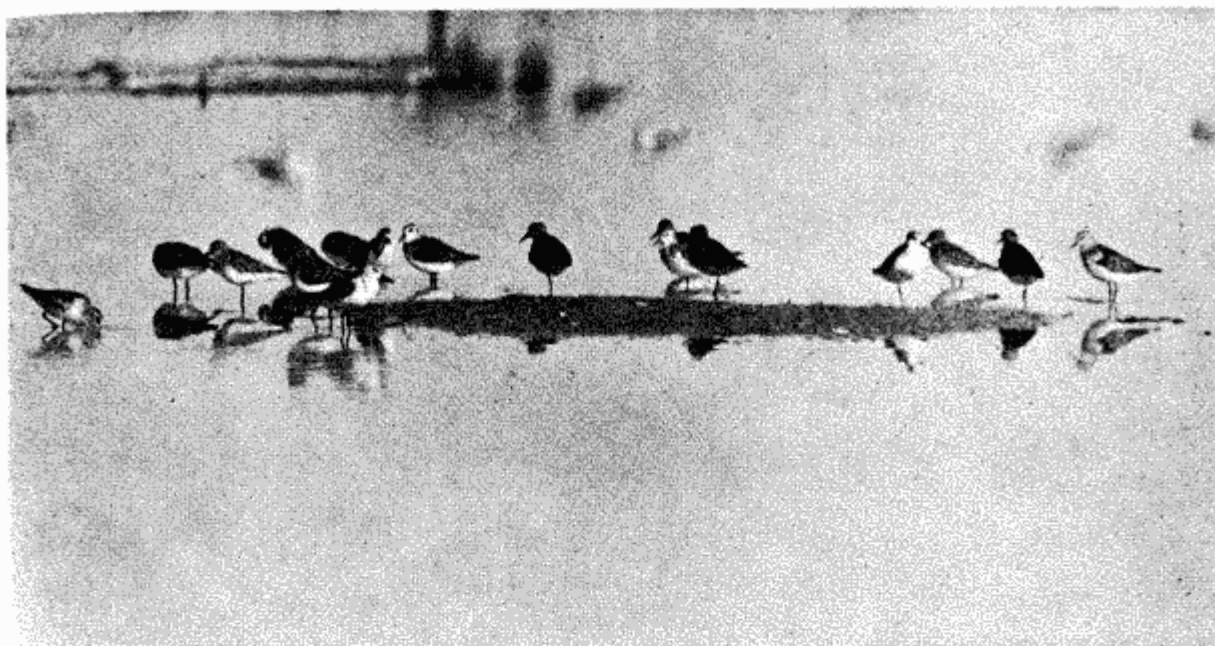
THE DUNLIN (length $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.) which breeds on the moorlands of Scotland and Europe is of similar build to the sanderling and in winter the same colour as Temminck's stint, and like them both shows a *white wing bar and white edged rump when in flight. Its bill, however, is more slender and tapering than the former birds' with a noticeable downward curve.* The male in summer dress has a neat black horse-shoe mark on its lower breast and I have seen traces of this on autumn visitors to Eastern Kordofan. Like all the smaller waders it seems to take conscious pleasure in its mastery of the art of flight, as it sweeps over the water twisting and banking with consummate grace and speed, uttering its single piping note. When any close packed flock of waders is in flight the same ecstatic twists and turns are seen, the whole squadron banking in formation and perfect time and glinting with a single flash as the sun catches the pale undersides of their wings. Experts have argued that such exact co-ordination must be the result of telepathic signals from the leader of the flock, but I have seen a Dunlin on the Northumberland coast fall into perfect step behind a swallow, which was hawking flies along a stream. He absent-mindedly followed every turn and twist of his leader's flight, keeping close behind his tail, until the swallow, resenting the unwelcome pursuit, looped into the air and descended behind him, which the astonished Dunlin took so much amiss that he plunged downwards and struck his breast with a resounding splash against the surface of the stream.

Another bird which is confusingly like the Dunlin and often keeps it company is the CURLEW SANDPIPER (length 8 in.). It has the same brown upper parts and pale speckled breast, but is a *taller bird with longer legs and bill, the latter very noticeably curved*, and may be unmistakeably distinguished from the dunlin as it flies away by its *pure white rump*. As a migrant it is widely travelled ranging from its arctic Siberian nesting grounds even as far as South Africa and Australia.

The five birds described above rarely stray more than a yards or so from the water's edge, and as often as not are to be seen paddling up to their breast feathers and probing the submerged mud for food, but not so the three members of the Plover family to be considered next, though they delight in the dry mud of the lake sides and the circular islands of clay that rise from a flooded field of wells. Their colouring is more or less alike—white collars around the neck, white underparts and small white patches on the forehead above the bill, their crowns and upper body plumage being rust brown, which appears in some lights to have almost a tinge of mauve.

The commonest, the RINGED PLOVER (length $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.) is a very well known bird on the English coast. Its most noticeable feature is a neat rounded *bib, black in the cock bird and dark brown in the hen*, which runs round the breast and neck below the collar. Horizontally *through the bill and eye runs another dark stripe*, while a third, visible above the white patch on the forehead, completes a well marked pattern on the face and breast. This, with the *yellow legs, and bill of yellow tipped with black*, makes it quite an easily distinguishable bird. It shows too when it flies a white diagonal stripe across the upper surface of its wings, and the tail when spread takes on an oval shape in which the white outer feathers and tip form a clear margin round a centre of neutral brown. Its long pointed wings carry it at tremendous speed, and as it flies it utters a single melancholy note, which can best be rendered "choueee."

The LITTLE RINGED PLOVER (length $6\frac{3}{4}$ in.), found breeding in England for the first time in 1938, can only be told from it by its



LITTLE STINTS AND TEMMINCK'S STINTS (THE DARKER BIRDS)
(LENGTH, 6-in.)



THE DUNLIN.
(LENGTH, $7\frac{1}{2}$ -in.)



THE SPUR-WINGED PLOVER.
(LENGTH, 12-in.)

smaller size, by the absence of a wing bar, and by its having only a spot of yellow scarcely visible below the bill. It seems too to be less fond of the water side than most of its tribe for I found large numbers scattered over the *hished* area of the Muglad landing ground all through the winter of 1938.

Of similar size to the last bird is the KENTISH PLOVER (length $6\frac{3}{4}$ in.), a very rare breeding species in England, but common enough as a migrant to the Sudan. It too has the *dark stripes through the eye and over the forehead, but only the beginnings of a bib, showing as two little patches on the shoulders* at the sides of the neck.

It is this feature which especially distinguishes it from the Ringed Plover as also do its *dull black bill and legs*.

Then there are three Plovers I have never seen, of similar appearance and size to the last three birds, the CASPIAN PLOVER (length $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.) and two African residents, the GREAT SAND PLOVER and KITTLITZ'S SAND PLOVER (length $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.). The last is described by Bannerman as having no collar but a dark band passing under the eye, down the sides of the neck and meeting below the nape at the back.

The GREY PHALAROPE (length 8 in.) is worthy of some brief remarks. It had never been recorded from the Sudan, but in February 1937 I watched a pair at Sherkeila. They were neat little pale grey birds, white underneath and on the face, with a short black streak running back from the eye, and short pointed bills. *They are swimmers rather than waders and rode buoyantly on the water*, necks carried vertically, like toy celluloid swans, as they zig-zagged busily about snatching the midges from the surface of the lake.

Next in order of size come those most attractive birds the SANDPIPERS. Three of them are rare passage migrants to the British Isles, but the Common Sandpiper is a frequent summer bird, nesting on many of the rivers and upland lakes. All are common in the Sudan, and the COMMON SANDPIPER (length 8 in.) is often the earliest of the autumn immigrants, arriving in August and taking up its abode on

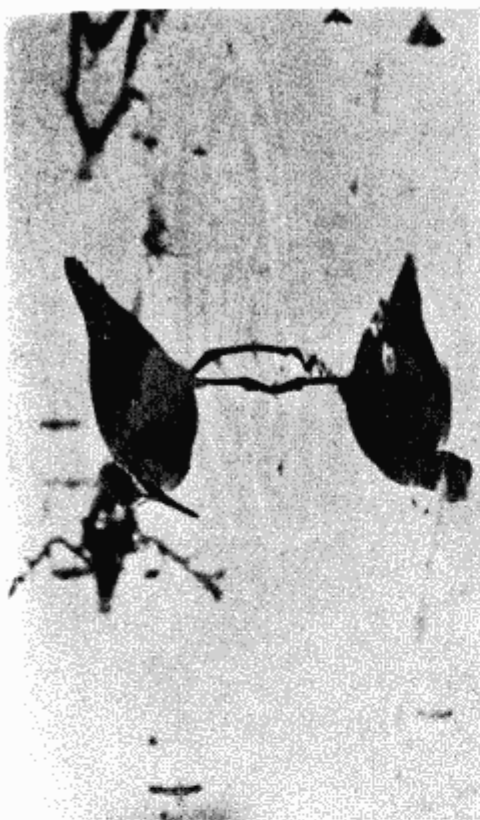
any stretch of water from the puddles in the sandy roads to the sand-banks of the Nile. Its upper plumage is olive brown as Bannerman puts it—"irregularly barred and marked with sepia," the lower breast white, merging towards the throat into a *vague buffish bib*. There is no mistaking the mannerisms of the Sandpiper, its rapid staccato wing-beats and whistle, described by one ornithologist as "twee-te, twee-te: twee-te, twee-te" or its restless *habit of wagging its hinder end up and down*, which makes it the trickiest of subjects for the bird photographer. It has too a *white bar on the hindmost edge of the wings*, which flashes clearly in flight, and a *pale margin round the outside of the tail*.

THE WOOD SANDPIPER (length 9 in.), a slightly taller, slimmer bird, has its upper plumage quite definitely freckled with alternate dark and pale marks, and can be told from the Common Sandpiper in flight by the *absence of a wing bar*, and by its *tail, pure white at the base and barred with black and white towards the tip*.

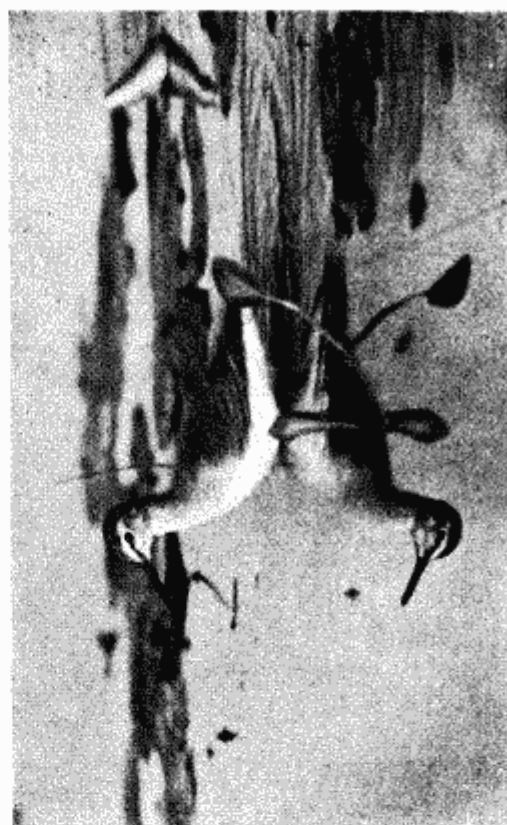
Distinguished from it again by its larger size and darker speckled greenish upper plumage is the GREEN SANDPIPER (length $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.), *unmistakable in flight by its having dark, almost black, under-surfaces to its wings*, a characteristic unusual among the wader birds, and a loud yelping note of alarm:—"Tuyee Tuyee Teee Teee."

The last of the Sandpipers, actually classed in a different genus, is the very common and extremely graceful MARSH SANDPIPER (length 10 in.), with its longer legs, and thin *tapered upward-tilted bill*. It has too a quite unmistakable *snow-white back and rump*, which just appear between the wings when at rest, and positively flash in the sun when the bird flies away uttering its shrill, clear whistling notes.

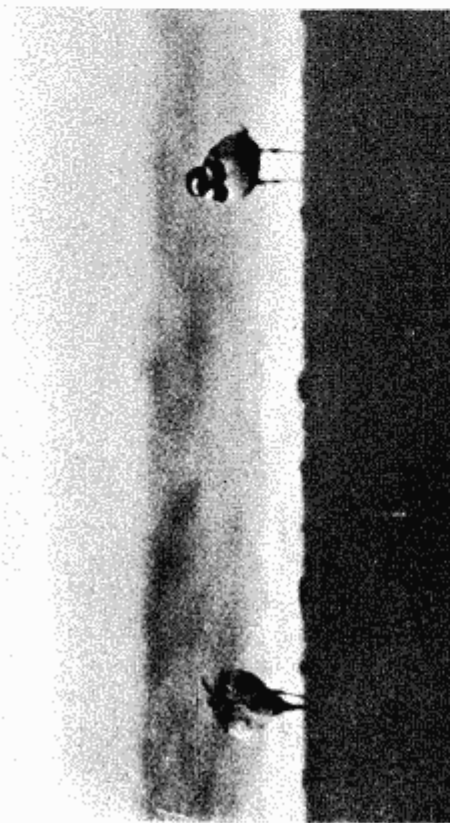
The MARSH SANDPIPERS are active little birds and I watched two in Um Ruaba taking a vigorous bath—or to put it more prosaically trying to rid themselves of lice. They skipped two or three feet into the air and plunged into the water with what could only truly be described as a series of "belly floppers."



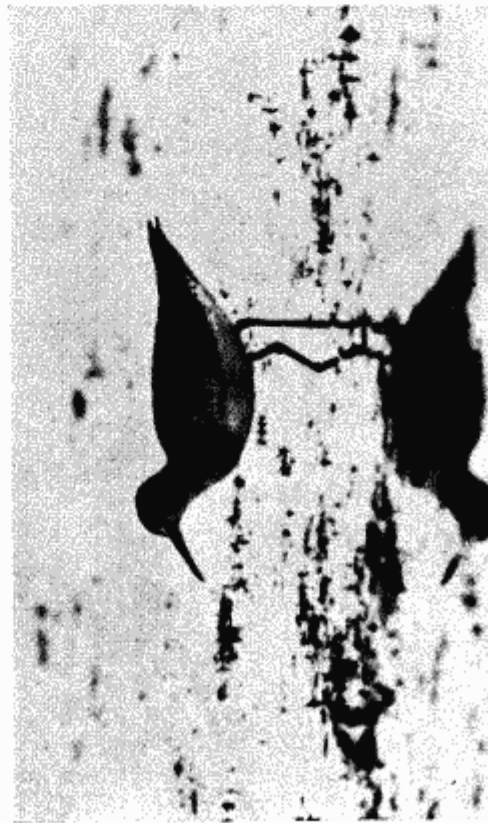
THE WOOD SANDPIPER.
(LENGTH, 9-in.)
Photograph by M. Longe.



THE COMMON SANDPIPER.
(LENGTH, 8-in.)



RINGED PLOVER ON THE RIGHT SHOWING THE FACIAL
MARKINGS. (LENGTH, 7½-in.)
THE OTHER BIRD IS A SANDERLING. (LENGTH, 7½-in.)



THE GREEN SANDPIPER.
(LENGTH, 9½-in.)

The COMMON SNIPE (length $10\frac{1}{2}$ in.) should perhaps be mentioned here, though it hardly needs description. It seems strange that a bird which can make its winter home in the snow and frost of a Scottish bog, will pass through Kordofan for the south; but that it certainly does, for while I could always rely on a breakfast of snipe in Um Ruaba, from August to October, they seem to decrease considerably in Eastern Kordofan as the year goes on, and must, I presume, have gone South.

The JACK SNIPE and GREAT SNIPE, (lengths $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. and 11 in.), its smaller and larger relatives, I have never met in Africa, but both are on the Sudanese list.

Snipe are by nature skulking birds, and though I have watched one on an open pool in Kordofan, plunging its long sensitive bill into the soft mud, I have found them most common in Dar Humr on the grass grown pools, often overgrown with trees. These it shares with the Green and Wood Sandpipers, which perhaps because they are the only Waders known to nest in trees, favour such places for their winter haunts. But the skulking habits of the Common Snipe seem to be abandoned towards sunset and I had wonderful sport with a gun at Um Ruaba and in Dar Humr as the Snipe rose in wisps of 2 or 3 and flew high overhead, always it seemed towards the setting sun. Where and why they go, when there is feeding ground close at hand, I have never yet made out.

The PAINTED SNIPE, (length $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.), a Snipe only in name, is a native African bird and not as uncommon as Admiral Lynes would lead us to believe. *Its bill is shorter and more curved* than a true snipe's and in its full plumage of *variegated buff-bluish and red-brown* it is quite as beautiful a bird as it appears from the picture in Bannerman's second volume of "*The Birds of Tropical West Africa.*"

Of all winter Waders the commonest seems to be the RUFF (length 10-12 in.) a one-time nesting visitor to Norfolk but now only a rare wanderer to the British Isles. These birds arrive early in the Sudan and are seen all through the winter in large packs. Their plumage being a nondescript grey-brown above and white below, they

are at first difficult to recognize, owing to the great difference in size between the sexes (Male 12 in. Female 10 in.), the variation in the colour of the *legs from greenish brown to orange yellow* and the occasional vestiges of breeding plumage with patches of white on the head and upper parts; but one soon comes to know the *small head, slightly downcurved bill*, the rather erect stance as the bird is alarmed and, in flight, the *white rump sharply divided by a central wedge of brown*.

A slightly larger bird than the Ruff is the REDSHANK (length 12 in.) common at all times of the year in England, less common as a winter visitor to the Sudan. It has very visible *orange-red legs, a longish bill of orange, tipped with brown*, brown upper parts and a pale speckled breast, a white rump, and a loud yelping whistle which it uses freely as an alarm call. It is one of the wariest of birds and shares with the sandpipers the habit of bowing and curtsying in moments of uneasiness, accompanying the demonstration with the inevitable and annoying alarm note.

The DUSKY REDSHANK (length 13 in.) is rarer than the Common Redshank, but I have seen it twice at Um Ruaba in the autumn. It is only to be distinguished by its larger size, its longer thinner bill and its *lack of the striking margin of white, which shows in flight on the back edge of the common Redshank's wing*.

But undoubtedly the most romantic object of every bird enthusiast's dreams is that wildest of all wild birds the GREENSHANK (length 13 in.), so much better described by its Latin name '*Glottis Nebularius*'—or the French—'*Chevalier Gris*.' The high corries of Sutherland, where it has its nesting territory, are the goal of every ambitious bird photographer, and unfortunately of the professional egg-collectors too. In the Sudan it is a tamer and commoner bird. I saw quite large flocks of Greenshank at Foja and Ermil in late August, 1938, but even here their whistling cries, which echo through the mists of Ben More in June, retain something of their wildness. Description would be redundant, for the Greenshank is an *exact counterpart on a larger scale of its small cousin, the Marsh Sandpiper, with the same white back and rump and upward tilted bill*.



THE RUFF.
(LENGTH, 10-12-in.)



THE REDSHANK.
(LENGTH, 12-in.)



THE GREENSHANK (LENGTH, 13-in) AND TWO MARSH
SANDPIPERS (LENGTH, 10-in.)



THE BLACK TAILED GODWIT.
(LENGTH, 17-20-in.)

Another handsome and common visitor to the Sudan is the BLACK-TAILED GODWIT once a resident of Norfolk and still common in Holland and Germany. It is a tall bird (17-20 in. in length) with long legs. The *bill is up to five inches from base to tip, slightly upward curving and of a noticeable flesh pink shade at the base, merging to brown at the tip.* The bird itself is ashy brown above and white, flecked with brown, on the neck and lower parts, and in spring and autumn traces of the cinnamon red breeding plumage may be seen on the head and breast. *The tail, as the name implies, is black, in contrast to the pure white rump; this, and an attractive pale bar edged with dark brown, which runs the length of the wings show clearly as the bird takes flight.*

I have never seen the slightly smaller BARTAILED GODWIT (length 14-18 in.) in the Sudan, but it is recorded. *The cross-striped tail and absence of wing bar* are features which separate it from its larger "brother."

At least two CURLEW (length 21-26 in.) spent the winter of 1936-37 in Eastern Kordofan. They are too well known in England to need more than reference to their size-length 21-26 inches of which 5-6 inches is taken up in the unmistakable down-curved bill. The Ibises, which are outside the scope of this article, can boast of similar bills, but the Curlew's smaller size and brown speckled plumage preclude any confusion with them, and only its smaller, but similar cousin the WHIMBREL (a 17 inch bird with a $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch bill) might be mistaken for it.

Of all the wader birds, one of the most attractive and most frequently seen, is the BLACK WINGED STILT (length 13 in.). Its classification by size would be misleading for while its body is no larger than that of the Greenshank its slender, *coral pink legs are of astonishing length* often as much as 9 inches. These and its striking *black and white plumage* and the straight pointed black bill, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from base to tip, make it quite unmistakable. It is a bird of wide breeding range, and those which nest in the Sudan may live side by side with flocks which have bred in Central Europe, France.

or Spain and even others (but this is only conjecture) which have travelled from the Cape.

There remain four of the plover tribe, without which any notes on the inland wader bird population of Kordofan would be incomplete. The first three are resident Africans, in size between the Ruff and the Godwits, but being distinctive birds and not easily confused with other waders, I have reserved mention of them until now.

The commonest of them is the familiar "Um Karoro," which rises with harsh cries from the sandy roads, showing *as it flies a striking pattern on the wings and tail—three broad bands, grey brown in front, white down the middle and black at the hindmost edge*. A little red wattle in front of the eye gives it its name—the RED WATTLED PLOVER (length 12 in.?).

The SPUR-WINGED PLOVER (length 12 in.?) too has a harsh unpleasant note. It is a common and gregarious waterside bird of which a photograph must suffice for identification.

Common also on the water is the SENEGAL WATTLED PLOVER (length 13 in.). Seen on the ground it is a nondescript buff-brown bird *with white on the crown, a black stripe down the chin, and a yellow wattle in front of the eye, but as soon as it flies one can clearly see the black and white tail and the wings tipped with black with a broad white diagonal stripe*.

Then as a rarer visitor comes the British GREEN PLOVER or LAPWING (length 12 in.) which I have never yet seen in the Sudan, but which should be well enough known as a common English bird.

There remains one bird, which is strictly outside the family discussed in these notes, but since it is called the EGYPTIAN 'PLOVER,' (length 9 in.) and is a familiar resident on every stretch of open waterside in the Sudan it must certainly not be omitted. It is a stocky bird with a distinctive pattern of *black lines on a background of grey blue above and buff beneath*. It runs at great speed and does not easily take wing, but, when it does, presents the appearance of a miniature monoplane, striped on the upper side with blue grey, black and white. It is known too as the CROCODILE BIRD, since it is said

to attend on the basking crocodiles and pick the food out of their teeth. † It may be that this is a myth, but it has many more authentic and interesting habits, one of which is to bury its eggs, and brood them by sitting on the surface of the sand above.

To complete my list of Sudan waders I must mention four other birds, not included above, since they are rare or primarily coastal visitors. The KNOT (length $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.) a stumpy *grey coloured bird with blackish legs and bill*, the *TURNSTONE of similar size and shape, but with yellowish legs and brown markings on the back and upper breast, varying to tortoiseshell and black in its breeding dress, and two larger distinctly *black and white birds* the AVOCET (length 18 in.) and the OYSTER CATCHER (length 16 in.). The first of these has a quite unmistakeable *upward tilted slender bill*, while the *bill and legs of the second are brilliant orange pink*.

And with these birds my notes on Sudanese waders are at an end. They are, I am afraid, like Sudanese meat, hard to distinguish and even harder to digest, but to anyone who has struggled through them I must offer an encouraging word. Birds, like human beings are easier to recognize when seen, than from even the most lucid descriptions; and with a good pair of field-glasses and a favourable light (by which I mean the sun behind one's back) even the waders can soon be told apart. Perhaps the best advice one can give at first is to scribble down a note of each bird that one sees, with the shape of its bill, and the colour pattern of its legs, beak and plumage, as it stands at rest, and finally the markings of its wings and tail in flight. It is then my optimistic hope that the characteristics printed in italics in this note may help to solve the puzzle. Once even this one family of birds is known there will be a wealth of interest in watching their habits and behaviour and a wealth of discoveries to be made about their movements, of special interest to the ornithologists at home, who only see migration from the other end.

†This habit was first recorded by Herodotus (Bk. II, ch. 48) circa 450 B.C. It has never been confirmed by any scientific observer.—Ed.

*Since writing this I watched a Turnstone at very close range on a little mud island in the Ermil floods (W. Kordofan) 15/10/1938.

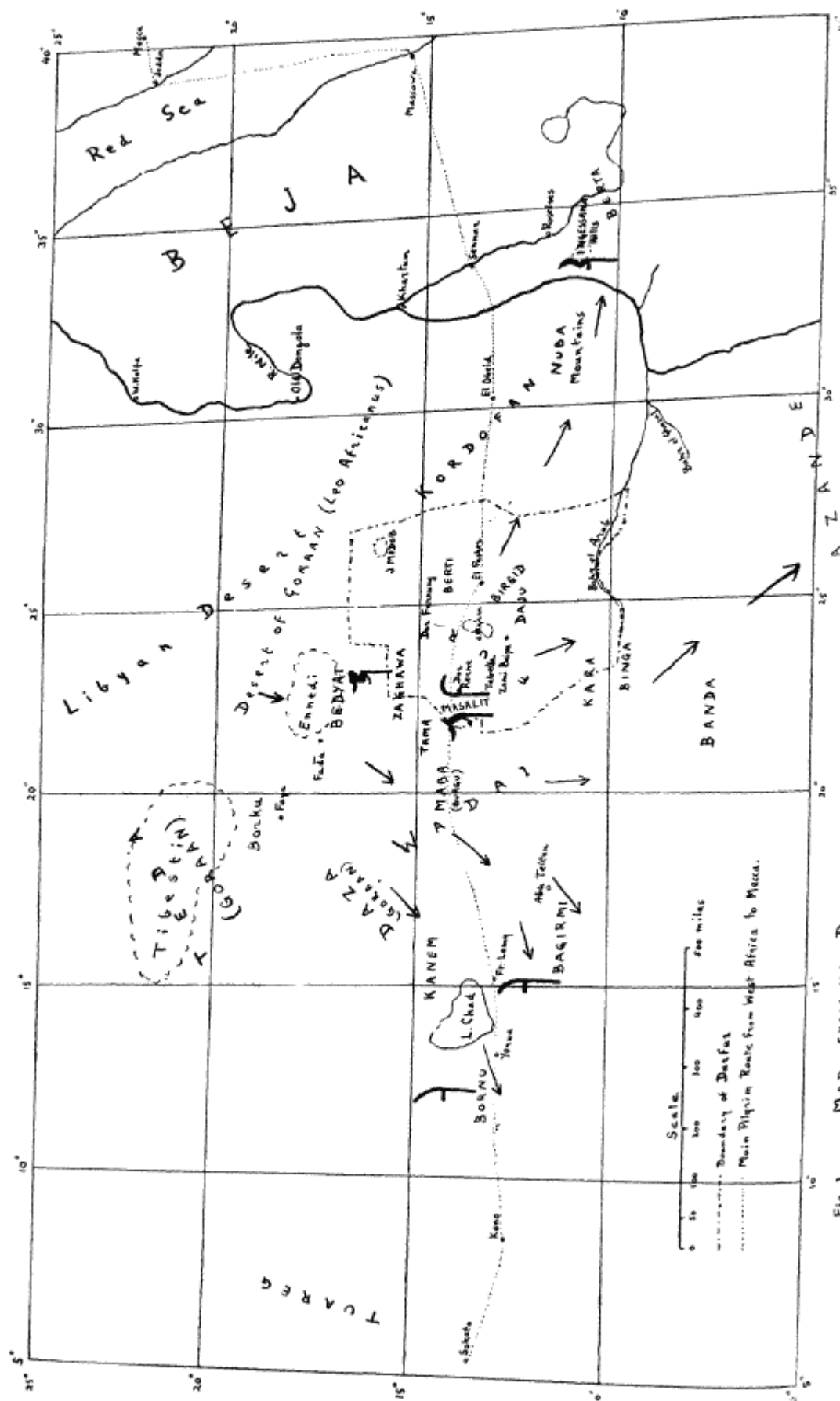


Fig. 1. MAP SHOWING DAKFUR AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY, ALSO DISTRIBUTION OF CERTAIN THROWING-KNIVES

THROWING-STICKS AND THROWING-KNIVES IN DARFUR.

By A. J. Arkell, M.B.E.

(Plates I to V).

Dr. Olderogge's note on *Survivals of the Throwing Knife in Darfur* (Man 1934, 128) and Nalder's note on *Throwing Knives in the Sudan* (S.N. & R. Vol. XVIII p. 297) encourage me to record such information as I have been able to collect about throwing-knives during five years in Darfur. I include also in this paper the throwing-sticks of Darfur, for I have no doubt that the two weapons are connected.¹ One has only to compare the throwing sticks on Plates I and II with the throwing knives on Plates III and IV to see that both weapons are of the same average length (just over 24 in.). In shape the throwing knife differs chiefly from the throwing stick in having a spur. There is no doubt whatever, as Nalder records of the Ingessana throwing knives, that the purpose of this spur is to enable the weapon to be carried on the shoulder without encumbering the hands.² See Plate IV no. 23 and the pictures on pp. 555, 589 and opposite p. 594 in Vol. II of Nachtigal's *Sahara und Sudan*. In my nos. 4, 6, 7, 11 and 12 particularly one can clearly see how the end of the spur has been turned up or blunted, so that it will not chafe the bare shoulder, although other examples may be, as Nalder has noted, so roughly made as not to ride comfortably on the shoulder.

If allowance is made for this spur, which is almost impossible to make in the natural wood, but is an easy and in fact essential improvement when the weapon is copied in iron and given sharp

(1) See, for example, Enc. Brit. (XI edn.), article on 'Boomerangs' by N.W. Thomas, Government Anthropologist to S. Nigeria:—"A weapon which has a close resemblance to the boomerang survives to the present day in North East Africa, whence it has spread in allied forms made of metal (throwing-knives)." See also P. Germann. *Afrikanische Wurfeisen und Wurfholzer im Volkmuseum zu Leipzig*. Jahrbuch Stadtisches Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, 1922, pp. 41-50.

(2) Natives of Darfur may frequently be seen to-day carrying their small-bladed axes in this fashion.

cutting edges, it will be seen that the throwing knives of Darfur can also be divided into the two main types, the simple (Plates III and IV nos. 4-9 and 11-20), and the T- (or, as the spur makes it, the F-) type (Plate III nos. 1 and 3),³ which occur among the throwing sticks, (for the simple type see Plate I, and for the T-type see Plate II).

And since the wooden weapon is proved, as would be expected, to be the earlier,⁴ by the discovery of throwing sticks in Ancient Egypt at a time before the use of iron had become common,⁵ a strong presumption is established that the throwing stick was the prototype of the throwing knife. The latter is the more deadly weapon of the two in war : in fact I can imagine few weapons other than firearms which would put a horse out of action more quickly than a throwing knife thrown at its legs.⁶

MacMichael figures diagrammatically three types of Darfur throwing stick on p. 113 of his *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*

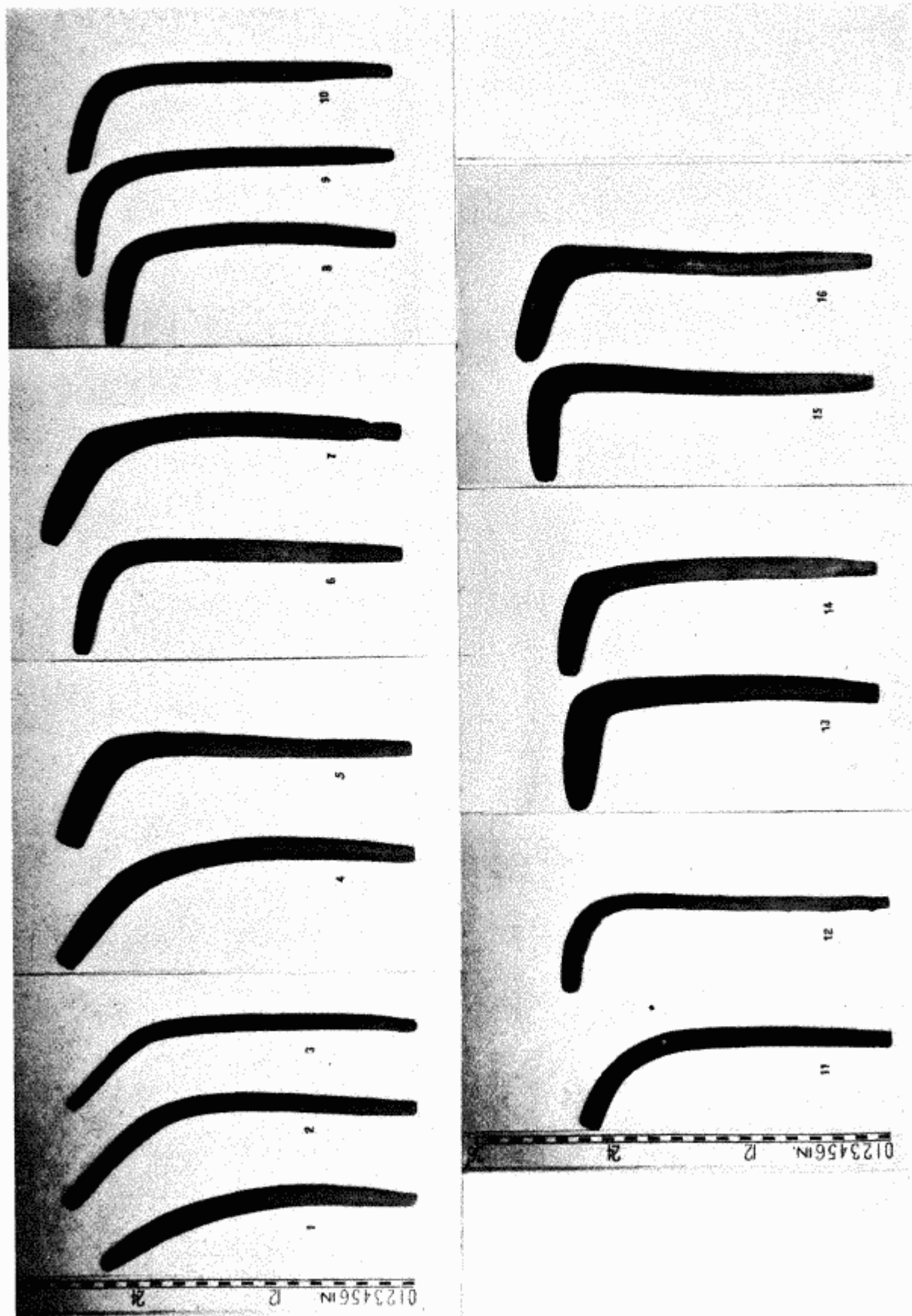
(3) I would in fact go so far as to suggest that in all Africa there are only these two main types of throwing knife, and that the Azande winged type is a later development of the other two types.

(4) The suggestion of the late Mr. E. S. Thomas that the desert men offering ostrich eggs and ostrich feathers to Akhnaton are carrying throwing knives in the picture in one of the tombs at El Amarna is probably incorrect, for at that time the use of iron had not become general, desert men are unlikely to have had their own peculiar weapon in bronze, and Mr. N. de G. Davies assures me that there is little doubt that the people depicted are carrying curved sticks (such as the Beja carry to-day) and axes. See E. S. Thomas *The African Throwing Knife* in J.R.A.I., LV (1925) and N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* II pl. XL and p. 42.

(5) The simple curved type of throwing stick from Kahun in Dyn. XII is figured in Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, Plates XLIII. V. 5 and LXIX. V. 18. Both the simple and T-types were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun. See Howard Carter Vol. III, Plate LXXVII. A. 2. The Egyptian examples seem to have been all about half the size of those used today in Darfur, and it is possible that they were specially made of small size for funerary use, or they may have been sporting weapons. While the throwing stick in Darfur is now only used for hunting small game, it was not so long ago a lethal weapon used in war. It is interesting to compare the binding on some of the examples from the tomb of Tutankhamun, which is stated by Howard Carter to be bark decoration, with the rawhide binding occasionally found on the throwing stick (as for example in Nos. 2 and 6 on my Plate I, where the binding is intended to strengthen cracked sticks).

(6) It was possibly the throwing knife more than anything that led to the extensive use of the padded armour which covered the horse completely down to its fetlocks, and which survived in the pageantry of Darfur down to the reign of Ali Dinar (1899-1916). A suit of this armour is now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

After writing the above I came across the following passage in Barth, *Travels in Central Africa*, Vol. III p. 198, where he is describing the Musgu of the Lake Chad area : "They generally carry only one spear, but several "góliyó's" or hand-bills, the latter being evidently their best weapon, not only in close fight, but even at a distance, as they are very expert in throwing this sharp and double pointed iron sideways, and frequently inflict severe wounds on the legs of horses as well as of men".



Vol. I, but there really are in Darfur only two main types, the simple throwing stick made from a single curved piece of wood (MacMichael's type (a)), and the T-shaped one, made from a piece of wood about two feet long and incorporating part of the parent branch so as to form the top of the T (MacMichael's types (b), and (c) which is only an uncommon variant of (b)).

The throwing stick is made from the wood of the following trees, *heglig* (*balanites aegyptiaca*), *arad* (*albizzia amara*), *kittir* (*acacia mellifera*), *hashāb* (*acacia Verek*), *inderāb*, *talh* (*acacia seyal*), *nabak el arab*⁷ (? *zizyphus mucronata*), and from the roots of the *sunt* tree (*acacia arabica*). Green wood only is used. The stick is cut roughly into shape, and then pressed flat with rocks. It is afterwards further shaved into shape with the blade of a metal spear head, the socket of which is used to get a purchase on the ground in order the better to cut the hard wood. After this operation the throwing stick should be soaked in oil, in order to give long life to the wood, but this is not always done. Only an expert can make a throwing stick that will fly straight. The most accurate throwers of throwing sticks in Darfur are the Masalit and the Tama on the western border.

The throwing stick when carefully made, as it used to be when it was a weapon used in war⁸ on which its owner's life might depend, and when, as such a weapon, it formed part of the pomp and display so dear to mediaeval Darfur, has sharp edges and is a thing of beauty, (see for example Plate I nos. 7, 13 and 15, and also no. 9, which is one of the throwing sticks actually used by the late sultan Ali Dinar for hunting). Rougher sticks are now good enough for lads who expect to use them for little more than knocking over guinea fowl. Our occupation has removed all opportunities for fighting, and the throwing stick is in consequence naturally beginning to degenerate (see for example Plate I, no. 12 and Plate II nos. 6, 7, 9 and 10).

(7) Not *nabak el kurna* (*zizyphus spina-Christi*). The Latin name of *inderab* is not given, as I do not think it is the same tree as the one indicated by that name in Broun and Massey's *Flora of the Sudan*.

(8) As recently as 1916 the late sultan Ali Dinar in a letter contemplating resistance to the Sudan Government, after mentioning the receipt of some rifles from the Senussi, wrote, "when the time comes, please God, we shall make war with spear and throwing-stick (*safarūq*)."

Minor variations of the two types appear to be associated with different tribes or sections of tribes, and an experienced native when shown a throwing stick, can at once identify it as belonging to a certain tribe or section.

The throwing sticks illustrated were all collected in Darfur, and mostly at El Fasher. One or two examples from Wadai and Kordofan are included to indicate that the distribution of the throwing stick is not confined to Darfur. Their provenance is as follows :—

- Plate I. No. 1. *Arikāla*, as used by the Maba or Burgu of Wadai.
 2. Ditto. This specimen is bound with the rawhide of a cow's tail, in order to prevent a crack from enlarging.
 3. Used by the nomad Fellata (Ibba and Ikka) of southern Darfur.
 4. *Sōla* (arabic *umm gerwal*) used by Tama of N. E. Wadai.
 5. Ditto.
 6. Ditto. An exceptionally well made specimen, bound with raw hide.
 7. Throwing stick used by the Fur Keira shartai of Dobo in Fasher district, having his brand cut on it.
 8. Used by Masalit: bought at Geneina.
 9. Used by the late sultan Ali Dinar of Darfur for hunting.
 10. Used by Hussein Abu Kowda, who tried to seize the Darfur throne in 1898, and was made 'sultan of the blacksmiths' by Ali Dinar.
 11. Used by Senyar from Mogororo in western Darfur.
 12. Used by Fur Moāgi of Tumi in the Jebel Si area.
 13. Used by Gawāma of El Fasher, with their brand on it.
 14. Used by Zaghawa Kobe of N.W. Darfur.
 15. Used by Berti Wāruṅa of Simiat in Fasher district: bound with hide.
 16. Used by Fur of Jebel Si.

T-Shaped Throwing Sticks.

- Plate II. No. 1. Used by Tungur of Jebel Hereiz.
 2. Used by Kibeid of Wadai.
 3. Used by Fur from Korare in Dar Kerne.
 4. Used by Sherafa (? originally Berti) of El Fasher.
 5. Used by Isirra of El Fasher.
 6. Ditto.
 7. Used by Fur of El Fasher.
 8. Used by Berti of El Fasher.
 9. Used by Abidia Kwicha of Dar Sereif in N. Darfur.
 10. Used by Fur of Dobo in Fasher district (a rough stick for hunting small game).
 11. From Kāga Serūg in W. Kordofan.
 12. From Kāga Katūl in W. Kordofan.
 13. Used by Kāra of S. W. Darfur.
 14. One of a number of wooden weapons (including swords, rifles etc.) covered with magical signs, made at Zernakh in W. Kordofan by a deranged woman who thought she was the Nebi Isa and wished to start a holy war.

The information concerning Darfur throwing knives in Nalder's note was collected by me for Mr. Dupuis, and anything that follows which in any way modifies that information should be taken to be my more considered opinion.

The throwing knife is, as Dr. Olderogge points out, without doubt primarily a war-weapon and was, as I have already suggested, probably invented by an ironworking people who had to defend themselves against the raids of people mounted on horses. It is not commonly seen in Darfur today, partly owing to the few opportunities for fighting that occur nowadays, and even more to the fact that it is looked on as an old-fashioned and inefficient weapon compared with the rifle, sword or spear. Dr. R. W. Felkin's⁹ statement that the Fur used

(9) Felkin. 'Notes on the For Tribe' Proceedings of Roy. Soc. of Edinburgh Vol. 13; 1884, p. 244.

throwing knives with unerring aim, indicates that they were more frequently used in his time than now. I have never seen nor heard of a throwing knife being thrown during more than ten years association with Darfur (since 1921), nor have I seen anyone wounded with one, though knife and spear wounds are comparatively common.

Pace Dr. Olderogge, who is apparently quoting Tunisi, the throwing knife is no longer used in the court rituals of the sultan, and has not been so used since Zubeir Pasha put a virtual end to the Darfur sultanate nearly sixty years ago, when he occupied Darfur in the name of the Turks, for I am satisfied after considerable enquiry that it was not used at any court ceremony during the reign of Ali Dinar.

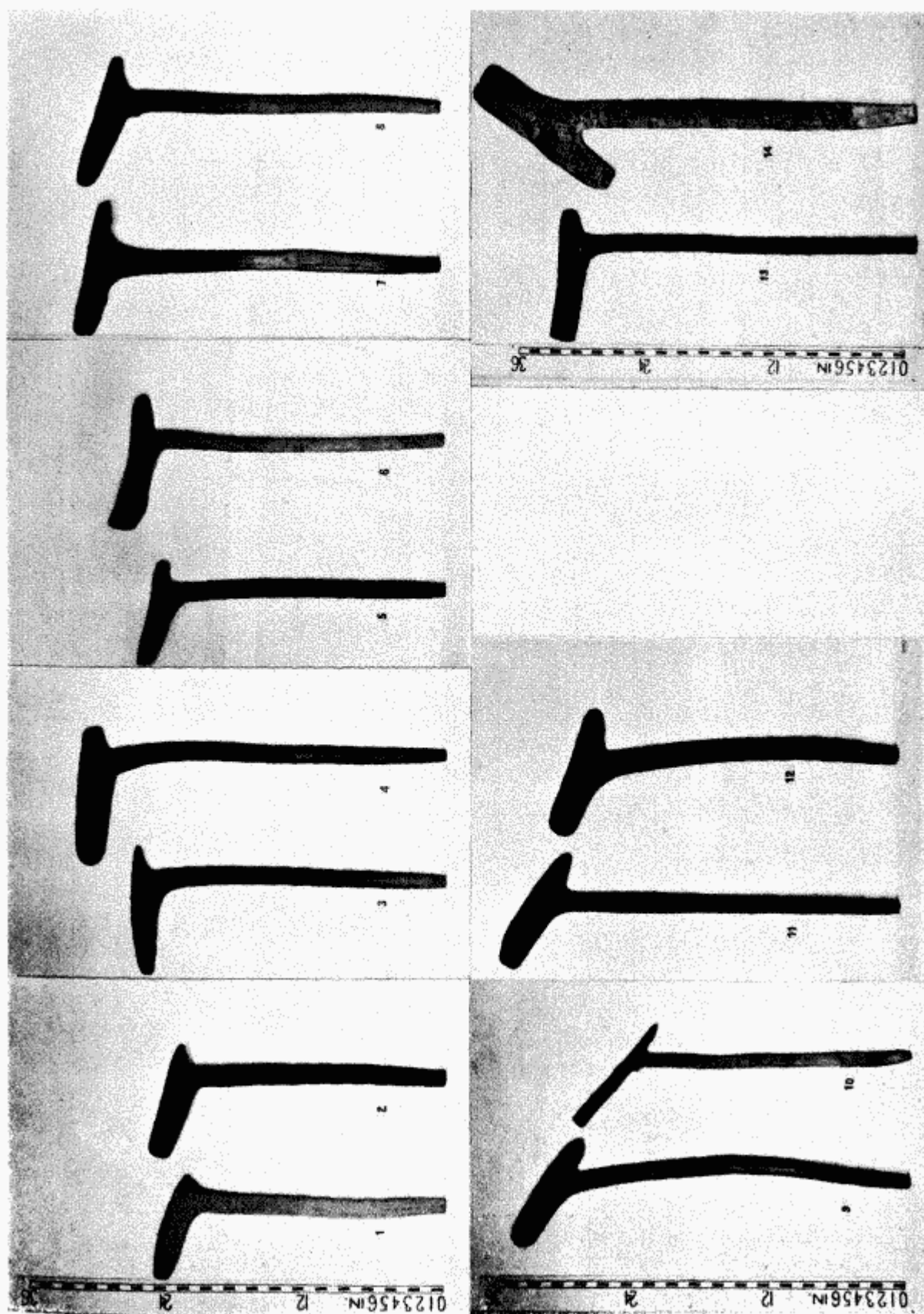
The present day distribution of the throwing knife in Darfur and neighbouring countries is indicated on the sketch map (Plate V).

It is carried occasionally by the Zaghawa in the N.W. corner of the province. The commonest type here is shown in Plate III no. 1 (compare S.N. & R. Vol. XVIII Plate X fig. 3). Throwing knives of this type are usually obtained from Ennedi (in French Equatorial Africa), where they are made by the Bedyat, whose skill in manufacturing this weapon is recorded by Nachtigal.¹⁰ Some sections of the Zaghawa are of Bedyat origin, and in fact Darfur Zaghawa say they do not often carry the throwing knife. It is a Bedyat weapon. The Bedyat adopted it from the Goraan (Dāza). The type of throwing knife under discussion is called by the Bedyat *gunna* (*genna* or *gennai* means 'knife' in Dāzagada, the language of the Dāza Goraan), and I have not been able to find anyone to confirm the informant who said that it is called *erdi*.

The throwing knife shown as no. 3 in Plate III is occasionally carried in Dar Zaghawa, where more rarely may be seen that shown as no. 2 in the same plate. This is also said to be of Bedyat make, and to be known as the *tirra*. I have only seen one example of no. 2, and it appears to be a simplified form of no. 1.

The throwing knife has gone out of fashion in Dar Berti, but I have been told by old men that when they were lads they occasionally obtained examples from the Bedyat.

(10) *Sahara und Sudan*. Vol. I p. 452.



It is not now carried by the Birgid ¹¹ or by the Dāju, negroids of central and southern Darfur. The Fur themselves are of mixed origin. The Fur in Jebel Marra, who largely represent remnants of the earlier negroid inhabitants of Darfur, only occasionally carry it, and they obtain it from Dar Tebella or further west.

The main centre of the throwing knife in Darfur is in the west, *i.e.*, in Dar Masalit and the neighbouring Fur dars of Kerne, Tebella and Zāmi Baiya. Here the type, of which several varieties are shown in Plate III, nos. 4 to 6 and 9, is the favourite. It is called in Fur *zungan dōwi*, 'the cock's tail'. The examples illustrated were made in Dar Masalit.

Plate III no. 7 is a straight example, produced by the same Masalit smith, which I thought was an imitation of a European bayonet until I found a Galūli arab at El Fasher carrying no. 8, which he had bought from a Kotoko (Musgu) man from Lake Chad, who was travelling through Darfur. See also Plate IV no. 23, which shows a Fur man at Kuilla village in Dar Wona, southern Jebel Marra, carrying a similar type throwing knife which he had obtained in Dar Kerne.

In these western Fur dars the type shown as no. 3 in Plate III is also highly valued, and I have seen it being carried in Dar Masalit also, by Masalit or by people from Wadai across the frontier. This form is called in Fur *tutu māni*, a name of doubtful meaning. I am informed by Mr. G. W. Bell that another form of this name *tundumani* is used in the Mesakin hills in the Nuba Mountains, where it is carried by virgins at *sibrs* and dances. These two types of throwing knife are said by reliable informants now to be chiefly carried in western Darfur by young men at dances to impress the fair sex. This may confirm the origin of the throwing knife as a war weapon, for swords or rifles are usually carried for this purpose throughout the Sudan today.

What may be called the plain Chad type of throwing knife (for examples see Plates III and IV nos. 11 to 20) is also said to be used in

(11) Nor according to Mr. G. W. Bell does it occur in the Nuba Mountains in those hills whose inhabitants speak Hill Nubian, to which language group the language of the Birgid also belongs.

this area, but not carried for swagger purposes by the young men. Old men occasionally carry it, and so do *fikis*, who are respected for their knowledge—often largely fictitious—of writing and the Koran; so also do *dumbaris*, the wizards who claim to be able to control locusts. Young men however sometimes use it as a (? cutting) weapon for killing fish in shallow water at night. The Fur are said to call this type *beru sambal*, ? = 'native throwing knife.'

The examples of the Chad types figured were all obtained at El Fasher from westerners, natives of Wadai, Bagirmi or Bornu, who were passing through on their way to Mecca as pilgrims or to the Nile in search of work. For the pilgrim route see the map (Plate V). Some of these Chad throwing knives have four marks (see fig. 2) on the spur or crosspiece, while others have no such marks. I have been told by various informants that these marks indicate Bornu manufacture, while the plain ones are made in Bagirmi. Plate III no. 14 is the only example with three such marks on the spur that I have seen, and I was informed that it was made in Bagirmi. Plate III no. 11 has no marks on the spur, and is said to have come from Bagirmi. No. 13 has the four marks and is said to have come from Bornu. Plate IV, no. 16 is said to have come from Bagirmi.

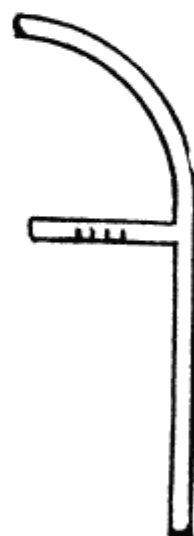
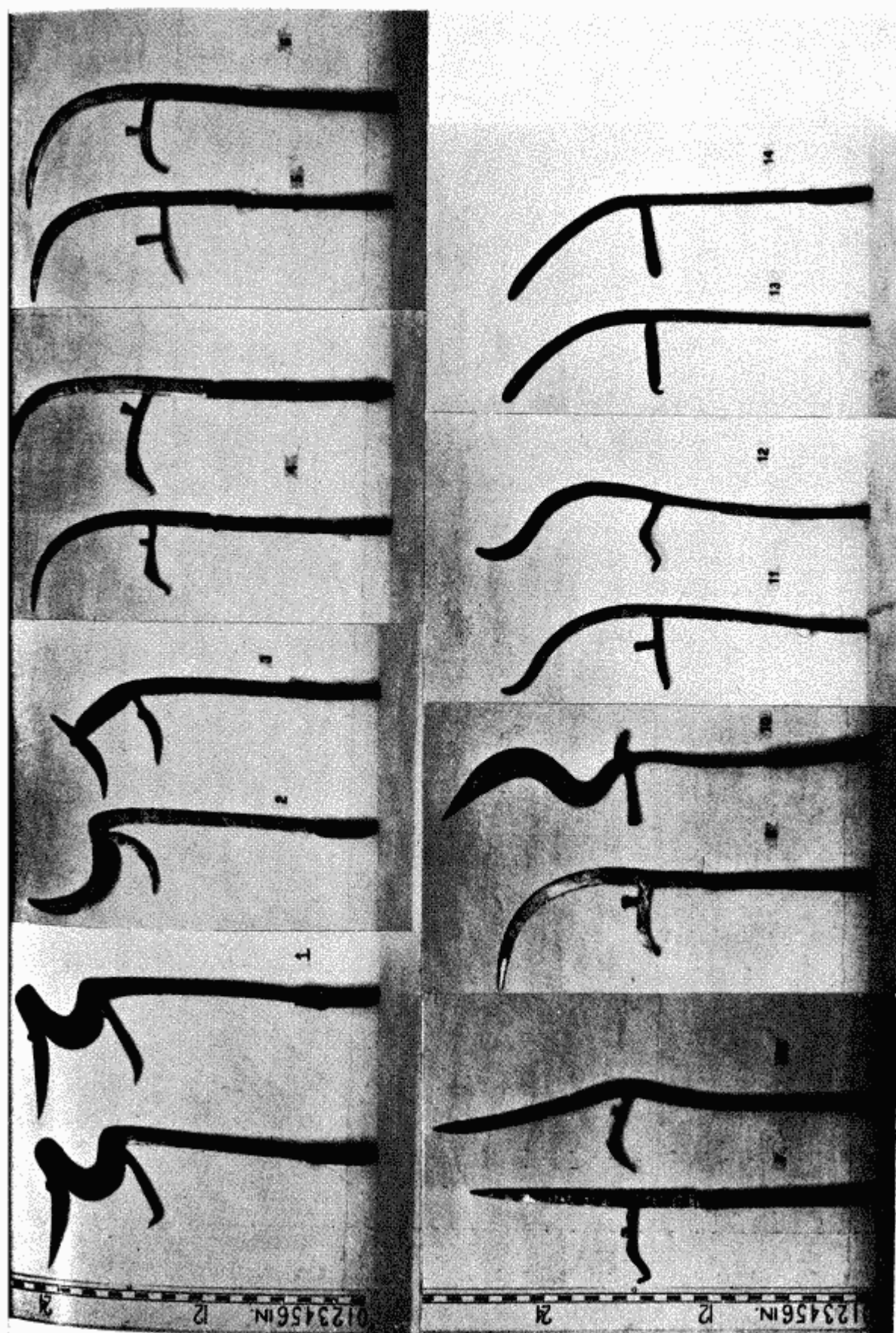


Fig. 2

To be certain about the meaning of these marks, further study on the spot where the throwing knives are made is necessary, but it is probable that they are put on the knives in order to show by whom they were made.

These Chad type throwing knives also bear other forms of identification marks. (In the descriptions that follow I use the term 'righthand side' of the throwing knife to indicate the side on which the upper half of the knife appears to curve to the right, and vice versa). Nos. 13, 18, 19 and 20 have a ridge down the centre, except below the



spur on the lefthand side, and no. 18 has no ridge on the lefthand side of the spur either.

Nos. 14, 15 and 17 have a similar ridge except below the spur on the righthand side, and in addition no. 17 has no ridge on the lefthand side of the spur.

No. 13, 18 and 19 have a series of indentations at right angles to the line of the ridge down the middle of the blade on the upper half of the knife and on the outer half of the righthand side of the spur. The righthand side of no. 20 has these indentations on the upper half of the blade and along most of the spur.

In no. 17, which is said to have been made at J. Abu Telfān in Wadai, these marks are slanting and not at right angles to the ridge, and they run along the righthand side of the upper half of the blade, and along nearly all the righthand side of the spur.

No. 15, which is said to have been made by Shuwa Arabs of Bornu, is stamped with criss-cross punch marks on the upper half of the blade and on the righthand side only of the outer half of the spur.

No. 16, which comes from Bagirmi, is more elaborate, having a waisted hand grip and a nick in the upper edge of the spur, and being ornamented with criss-cross hatching.

No. 21, which was made by Goraan (Tibu) Jagada of Borku, and was brought to El Fasher by a Goraani who called it *ngūlī* ('throwing knife,' *c.p.* the Kanuri name *goliyo* as given by Barth), appears to combine most of the distinctive features of no. 16, with the turned-up tip, here further exaggerated, which is found in some Bornu examples (*e.g.*, nos. 15, 19 and 20) and also is nos. 11 and 12 from Bagirmi and Abu Sharib in Wadai. This is an interesting form, for with no. 2 it seems to form a link between the simple curved 'Chad' type and the T-type represented by my nos. 1 and 3.

Plate IV no. 22 is a leather case containing three throwing knives which was being carried at El Fasher by the Bornu man shown on the same plate (no. 24). It contained two plain throwing knives (nos. 18

and 19) one of which has a slightly turned-up tip, both of which he said he had purchased at Fort Lamy, and also a third (no. 20) in which the turn up of the tip is further exaggerated, and which he had purchased at Yerwa in Bornu. This method of carrying several throwing knives in a leather case slung on the shoulder is not the original or usual way of carrying throwing knives. It was possibly invented in Nigeria. The usual way to carry the throwing knife is in the hand or balanced of the shoulder, as in Plate IV, no. 23.

The only type of throwing knife in Darfur of which I have heard, and have not yet been able to obtain a specimen, is that carried by the Kāra, who now frequent the Bahr el Arab in the extreme S.W. of Darfur, though there are indications that their original home was once much further north, in the region of the parallel 13° N.

The late Mr. E. S. Thomas mentions two alleged Tuareg examples of the throwing knife,¹² but I was told by members of the small Tuareg (Kinīn) colony near El Fasher that there is no word for 'throwing knife' in Tamashek, since the Tuareg never carry that weapon. It would therefore appear probable that the occurrence of these two throwing knives among the Tuareg was accidental.¹³

I have made numerous enquiries at El Fasher for iron sticks or throwing knives of the types figured by Tunisi and reproduced by Dr. Olderogge in his figs. 2, 3 and 4, and I am now sure that they do not exist. In fact the circumstances under which Tunisi wrote his books, in Egypt at the request of Dr. Perron some years after he had left Darfur, make it probable that his figures were not drawn from life but from memory, and so it will not be surprising if they are exaggerated geometrical versions of those forms of the throwing knife that are still the commonest in Darfur today. Thus Dr. Olderogge's no. 2 is no

(12) *Loc. cit.*, pp. 135, 139 and f.f.

(13) Mr. F. R. Rodd (*The People of the Veil*, p. 235) writes, "The Tuareg does not usually use the throwing iron with its many projecting knife-blades. Instances are not wanting in which these weapons have been used, but they are neither typical of the equipment of the Tuareg nor natural to his temperament. Where they have been used they have been consciously borrowed from some neighbouring or associated people, such as the Tebu, who use the throwing iron extensively"—(Ed.)

doubt Tunisi's attempt to represent the type shown as no. 3 in my Plate III; his fig. 3 must similarly be intended to represent the type of my nos. 4 to 6, while his fig. 4 is a representation of my no. II without the turned up tip, Tunisi's memory in figs. 3 and 4 having played tricks with him as to the number of spurs, unless more elaborate forms with an unnecessary number of spurs were specially made for ceremonial purposes. There is however no tradition in Darfur today of such special ceremonial throwing knives having ever existed, and I doubt whether they ever did exist.

In the Fur dars of Kerne, Tebella and Zami Baiya in western Darfur, at the feast held on the occasion of a circumcision, throwing-knives are still carried by elderly female relations of the boy circumcised. These women dress up as men and carry some kind of man's weapon, be it throwing-knife, spear, whip or the like. Normally on such an occasion the throwing knife is carried on the shoulder, but I am told that if more than one woman was carrying a throwing-knife, and two such women met in the dance, they would naturally wave and brandish them, and might clash them together.

This is all the evidence I have been able to find today of throwing knives having been carried or clashed by old women on religious or ceremonial occasions. Nachtigal¹⁴ does not describe them as musical instruments, but as royal insignia carried and clashed before the sultan by special officials.

I have found old men who remember in their youth seeing throwing-knives carried by eunuchs (not by old women) in procession in front of Harun (1876-77) and Abdullahi Dud Benga (1877-85), who attempted to maintain in western Darfur their claims to the sultanate during the dates shown after their names.

There is however no reason to disbelieve Tunisi's statement as to the use at an earlier date of throwing-knives by the old women of the sultan's *ahl el 'awaid*, 'the people of the (sc. pre-Islamic) customs'; (the word *habōba*, mentioned by Dr. Olderogge, means 'grandmother' in Sudan arabic, and is a title of respect for old women.)

(14) *Loc. cit.* III. 434.

Dr. Olderogge states that the throwing knife is still preserved both in the western and eastern regions of Darfur. He means of course that it is still in use in the countries west and east of Darfur. It is commoner to the west of Darfur than to the east. It is certainly not now common in Kordofan, though Pallme¹⁵ describes it as being generally used in the Nuba Mountains less than a century ago, being called *turbatsch*, and used in warding off sabre cuts and for throwing at the legs of an attacking enemy. In the same area today, according to a valuable paper of which the author Mr. G. W. Bell has kindly shown me an advance copy, it is widely known in the south east of the Nuba Mountains although not in large numbers, and nearly always for some magical purpose except in the three outlying hills of Kau, Werna and Fungor, where it is generally carried. Only about 150 miles as the crow flies separates these latter hills from those of the Ingessana, where the throwing knife is also generally used.

I agree with Nalder that the tradition recorded by Evans-Pritchard¹⁶ that the Ingessana learnt the art of making throwing knives from the west is likely to be correct, although one of their two main types (Nalder's fig. 1) appears to have been influenced by the type of throwing stick of which many elaborate forms prevail in the southern Gezira.

Nalder has drawn attention to the great similarity between Dr. Olderogge's fig. 1, which purports to be a Hausa throwing knife and the other main type of Ingessana throwing knife, of which I illustrate an example as no. 10 on Plate III; and since I have never heard that the Hausa have their own type of throwing knife, I would suggest that possibly Dr. Olderogge's figs. 1 and 5 have been transposed, and that possibly his fig. 1 is an Ingessana throwing knife—in addition to the great similarity, the handle appears to be bound with leather, as would be likely to be the case with an iron, but not with a wooden weapon—while his fig. 5 is possibly a wooden weapon, probably from the Berta or some other negroid tribe from the southern Gezira.

(15) Ignatius Pallme. *Travels in Kordofan*. London 1844 (transl.) p. 157.
See also F. D. Kingdon in S.N.R. XIX p. 194.

(16) S.N.R. X p. 79.

I have collected the following names for the iron throwing knife in dialects spoken in Darfur today:—

Zaghawa	<i>meri</i> (?akin to Teda <i>midschri</i> ¹⁷ as given by Nachtigal.)
Biḡa	<i>peiri</i>
Masalit	<i>somboro</i>
Fur	<i>sambal</i>
Kanuri	<i>ngario</i>
Dāza (Goraan)	<i>ngyili</i>
Māba (Burgu)	<i>ngirka</i>
Tama	<i>tūr</i>
Medob	<i>pōga</i> (? cp. Zande <i>pinga</i>)
Banda	<i>nando</i>
Sudan arabic	<i>korbaj hadid</i> ='iron whip'
Berti	<i>kebi safarōk</i> ='iron throwing stick'

The Fur name *sambal* no doubt explains the real origin of the names of various sections of Darfur tribes, such as Sambellaḡa, a section of the Tunjur-Fur of Dar Furnung, Sambelaḡi or Sumbinaḡi, a section of the Daju of southern Darfur, and Sambaḡāto, a section of Berti.¹⁸ Their ancestors were not, as they sometimes try to make out, Shenabla Arabs,¹⁹ but 'throwing knife men' either so called because they belonged originally to a people whose peculiar weapon was the throwing-knife, or more probably because they are descended from slaves of the sultans of Darfur, whose hereditary duty it was to carry throwing knives in procession before the sultan or in the royal hunt. Nachtigal mentioned the carriers of the royal throwing knives

(17) *Loc. cit.* I. 452.

(18) MacMichael. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan* I. p. 76 (n).

(19) I have sometimes wondered whether the Shenabla Arabs of Kordofan could owe their name to the throwing knife (*sambal* or *korbaḡ hadid*). Their tribal brand the *korbaḡ* seems more like the *korbaḡ hadid* than the ordinary hippo-hide whip (*korbaḡ*). If this were the case, there might be no connection between the Shenabla of Kordofan and the Arabs of the same name who are found in Damascus and eastern Egypt (see MacMichael. *loc. cit.* pp. 265-267). On the other hand the similarity of their name to the Fur name for throwing knife is more likely perhaps to have been a reason for their adopting the throwing knife as their tribal brand at some time when they were under the protection of the Fur sultans, as a kind of compliment to the Fur.

at the Darfur court, who marched before the sultan on his public appearances, struck the throwing knives together and brandished them in the air, and were led by the *Samballang Sagal* ('the chief of the throwing-knife men')²⁰. And there is in Dar Wona at the S.W. end of Jebel Marra a colony of Fur who call themselves *Alga* and *Sambalaga*, some of whose elders preserve the tradition that they are descended from slaves who used to blow the hunting horn (*alga*) and carry the throwing knives in the royal hunt.²¹

Nalder mentions the Bushongo, a people in the northern Congo whose name means 'the people of the throwing knife'. It is to be presumed that their name for the throwing knife (*shongo*) is connected with '*shanga-manga*', which is said by Nachtigal²² to be an Arab name for the throwing knife, and is also mentioned by Schweinfurth,²³ but which is not understood in Darfur today, where the word that most resembles it is *shanga* or *shanga shigi*, the name used for a certain type of barbed spear in the west of the province. In his book '*On the Trail of the Bushongo*' Mr. Torday gives his reasons for believing that the ruling sections of the Azande and of the Bushongo had a common origin in the Lake Chad region. The old name for the ruling section of the Bushongo appears to have been the Abira or Abila, and one wonders whether this name was connected with the name for the throwing knife used in Darfur by the Zaghawa (*meri*) and Biya (*peiri*), and possibly also with the name Beri, which the Zaghawa and Bedyat give themselves in their own language, and which is pronounced Beli by some of their western neighbours. Similarly the Avungara, the name of the ruling section of the Azande, might be connected with the Kanuri group of names for the throwing knife (*ngario* etc.), and so also mean 'throwing knife people'. The Azande now have numerous peculiar forms of the throwing knife, and it is possible that it was this new weapon the throwing knife which enabled the Avungara to make

(20) *Loc. cit.* Vol. III p. 434.

(21) S.N.R. Vol. XIX p. 322.

(22) *Loc. cit.* Vol. I, p. 452.

(23) Quoted by Nalder, *loc. cit.*

their conquests over their primitive negro subjects. If this surmise should be correct, the name Konjara, one of the names for the ruling Fur in Darfur, *may* also mean 'throwing knife people', the first syllable being the Fur word *kwa* ('people') plus *ngārio* the Kanuri word for 'throwing knife', which must on that theory later have given way to the local name *sambal*, as presumably the Zaghawa (Bedyat) name *meri* (possibly itself connected with the second syllable of the Fur word *sambal*) among the Bushongo gave place to the indigenous word *shongo*. This would then possibly explain the origin of the various words for 'chief' in the Barma group given by Gaudetroy-Demombynes.²⁴

The information from Darfur now recorded fills in, as Dr. Olderogge suspected, a gap in Thomas's map of the distribution of the throwing knife.²⁵ We have seen that it is probably a metal form of the throwing stick. It is likely that the throwing stick was the invention of the Hamitic ancestors of the Bega, the Goraan, and the Ancient Egyptians.²⁶ Both types of throwing stick were known in Ancient Egypt, but I do not know whether it was as generally used there as it is in Darfur to-day.²⁷ A curved stick, reminiscent of the simple type of throwing stick, is still characteristic of the Beja, and may be a modification of the throwing stick introduced since the Beja took to riding camels. It is likely that the centre of diffusion of the throwing stick in Africa was the north eastern Sudan, although that weapon may originally have been introduced from some Asiatic source beyond the Red Sea.

(24) *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes*. Part II. Section IV, p. 194 f.f.

The peculiar curved shape of the chief's knife found among the Kara, Banda, Azande, Mongbettu and various other tribes to the south of Darfur (see for example the Handbook to the Ethnological Collection in the British Museum 2nd. edn. fig. 222. b and Evans Pritchard *Witchcraft among the Azande*—frontispiece) may then derive its motif from the throwing knife.

(25) *Loc. cit.*, fig. 2 on p. 140.

(26) That the Beja and the Goraan have a common origin is still a tradition in N. Darfur. See MacMichael *loc. cit.* I p. 54 (n).

(The tradition is also recognized by certain of the Beja,—*Ed.*)

(27) See note 5 above. I am indebted to Professor Battiscombe Gunn for drawing my attention to the fact that Walther Wolf in *Die Bewaffnung des Altägyptischen Heeres* p. 7 n considers quite definitely that the throwing stick was never a military weapon of the Ancient Egyptians.

There is a tradition in Darfur that the Goraan came west from Nubia to Tibesti as a result of the coming of the Arabs to Nubia.

There is also a tradition that the throwing knife came to Darfur from the Goraan²⁸. It therefore seems at present most probable that the throwing knife was invented by the Goraan, who seem to have got their knowledge of iron making from Nubia, since the name by which their peculiar type of sword is known in Darfur (*jugadi*), and the name of the Jagada section from Borku mentioned above, are apparently connected with the Nubian word *jagade* meaning 'to smelt'.²⁹

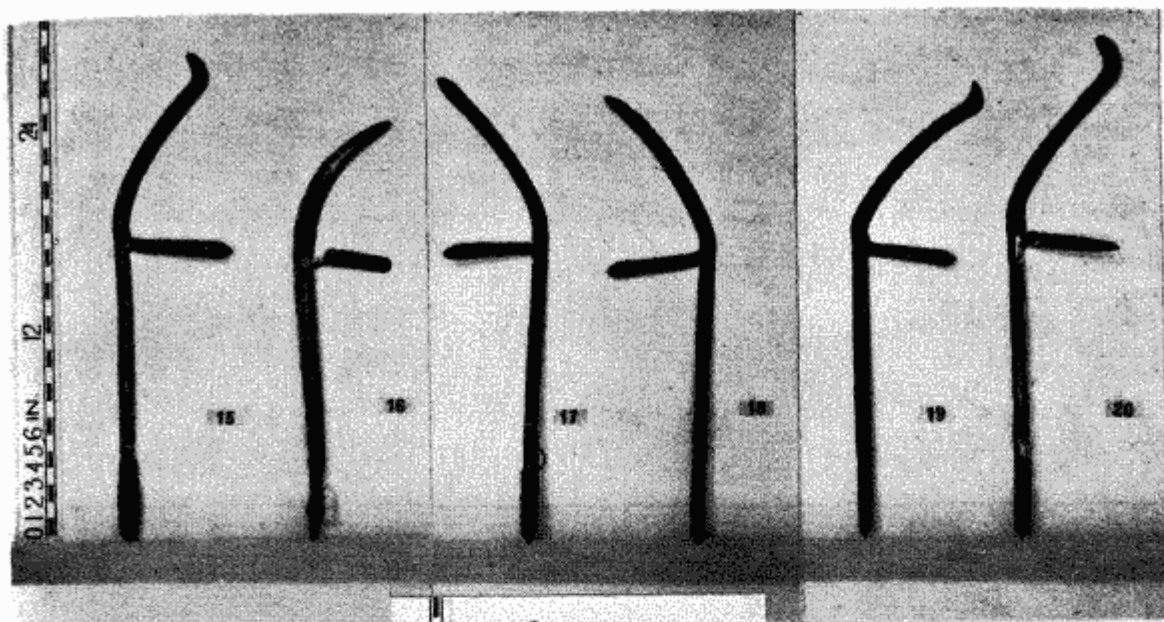
From the Goraan the type of throwing knife represented by nos. 1 and 3 in my Plate III has come into Darfur, while the simpler type, presumably the earlier form, appears to be associated in the Lake Chad area and in Western Darfur with more negroid peoples who probably were at one time in a servile relationship to the Goraan, from whom they were probably allowed to adopt it, although the more elaborate form was reserved for their overlords.

That the occurrence of the throwing knife in the Nuba Mountains is connected with its occurrence in Darfur is shown by the fact that the Fur name *sambal* is also found there. In his paper mentioned above Mr. G. W. Bell records that the throwing knife is known as *schambal* in Toicho Acheron and Koko Limon, and as *chambal* in Tasomi (both of which areas have a connection with the Mesakin hills, where as we have seen the Darfur name *tutu māni* occurs as *tundumani*), as *kambili* at Werna and as *kambi* at Lafofa.³⁰ And as we have seen tradition and geographical proximity combine to indicate that the throwing knife reached the Ingessana through the Nuba Mountains.

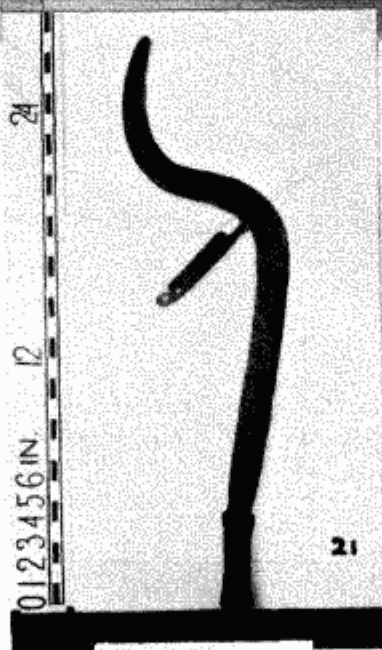
(28) An old Kabbashi showed Mr. Newbold in 1922 a throwing knife rather like No. 1 on Plate III which he said was taken from the Goraan during a raid. He also said that the throwing knife was originally a Goraan weapon. (Ed.)

(29) Reinisch. *Die Nuba Sprache*, Part II p. 56.

(30) The name *labari*, by which Mr. Bell states the throwing knife is known at Anderri in the Moro hills, may be connected with its Zaghawa name *meri*, while the name *ngargar*, by which he says it is known in Atoro may be connected with the Kanuri name *ngario*.



23.
A FUR MAN AT KUILLA
VILLAGE IN JEBEL MARRA
CARRYING A THROWING
KNIFE BALANCED ON HIS
SHOULDER.



24
A MAN FROM BORNU
CARRYING THE THREE
THROWING KNIVES IN A
LEATHER CASE SEEN ALSO
IN No. 22.

I thus suggest that from a centre of diffusion in Goraan country (?Tibesti) the throwing knife has spread over Wadai and Darfur as far south west as Lake Chad and eastern Nigeria,³¹ as far south as the Azande and the Bushongo, and eastwards through the Nuba Mountains to the Ingessana.³²

(31) Hambly, *Culture Areas of Nigeria*, p. 438.

(32) The arrows on the map (Plate V) indicate what I take to have been approximately the course of this diffusion.

The throwing knives and throwing sticks illustrated in this paper are on loan to the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology until such time as the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford is able to exhibit them.

THE KUBINAT

Old forts in the Fourth Cataract.

By Major G. W. Titherington.

On the quarter million map (Sheet 45 F. Merowe) just above the so-called Fourth Cataract of the Nile, though cataracts extend here for 100 miles, and 6 miles a little east of south of Um Rahau Railway station is marked Jebel Kalidob. Keilidob¹ is the local name of the Hyrax or rock-rabbit of which there is here an isolated colony on both banks of the river. To any one familiar with the animal's haunts this is a sufficient description of the country—a grim waste of tumbled sand-blasted boulders piled into little hills. The map shows a Fort on the right bank and actually there is a pair, situated opposite one another on each bank at a very narrow pass where the Nile is only 170 yards wide. Its level in some past age was here some 50 feet higher than now.

From a point whence they got their water from the river both run uphill to steep rocky bluffs at their inland ends taking skilful advantage of sheer rock outcrops. They are in a remarkable state of preservation owing to the absence of villages which would have, as usual, pillaged them for stone. The whole area is too hopelessly barren ever to have carried much population for miles either up or downstream. How these forts ever came to be built here is an interesting problem for they were formidable works needing immense labour with walls 18-20 feet high in places and 10 feet thick, enclosing about 3 acres each, though their inside accommodation is reduced by outcrops of boulders.

At the tail of Um Duras Island $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles upstream there is a red brick ruin and 2 miles downstream there is the traditional site of a church but one only has to see the country to realize that at no period could it have carried a population needing places of refuge of such size or capable of manning their defences.

Both forts and their surroundings are carpeted with pot-sherds and both the painted Christian and fine imported ware of the Roman period was seen but most of it is the coarse red ware made at all ages

1. *Kalidanob* or *Kalidob* is also the modern Beja word for the rock-rabbit.—*Ed.*

from Nile mud. There are red brick remains in each and both the flat square brick and the magnum type usually classified as Meroitic are there. No graffiti nor marks on the rocks were seen even round the water-gates and although there are plenty of rounded hand-stones often of white quartzite there are very few rubbing-bowls on the rocks.

The local people have no tradition about these forts but they say that their owners were very poor, which probably indicates the non-success of the vigorous treasure-hunting to which that on the right bank has evidently been subjected at no distant date. This is explained, as usual, by search for the rather mysterious *mārōg*² used to manure the crops all the way down the Nile. The best quality comes from ancient graves, a shameful fact which the cultivator prefers to conceal, hence perhaps the analysts' report that *mārōg* supplied to him had no manurial value whatever. However without it neither wheat nor dura will grow on the over-cropped *sagia* land.

Both forts are built of dry-stone walling with interior mud mortar in places. They were skilfully put up and show little sign of rebuilding or alteration, unlike all of the forts downstream. The Bastions, where they are not merely thrown out to deny a rock outcrop to the enemy, look like later additions and are not bonded in. All are solid except a half-moon one on the left bank which may have at one time been the main gate, later blocked as it pierced the weakest side which also needed a forework and a ditch cut across the slope. The fine inner wall across the top of the hill in this fort may have been an after-thought due to the danger of escalade up the steep rocks with much dead ground at that end. Why the fort on the right bank needed 10 gates (some now blocked) is strange but the ground is so broken all round and hence the view from the walls so restricted that their number may commemorate a disaster when some of the garrison got surprised outside and jammed round an insufficient gate. Until the spade produces evidence one may extend such fanciful conjectures to the origin of these forts.

2. The word *mārōg* is used throughout the greater part of the Northern Sudan as a general term for manure; but it is particularly used to denote a top-dressing of soil from which the surface roots of the crop extract the sustenance no longer obtainable from the overworked soil below. The damage done, in the search for *Mārōg*, to ancient graves and other sites is a matter of considerable concern.—Ed.

THE KUBINAT: OLD FORTS IN THE FOURTH CATARACT

REFERENCE

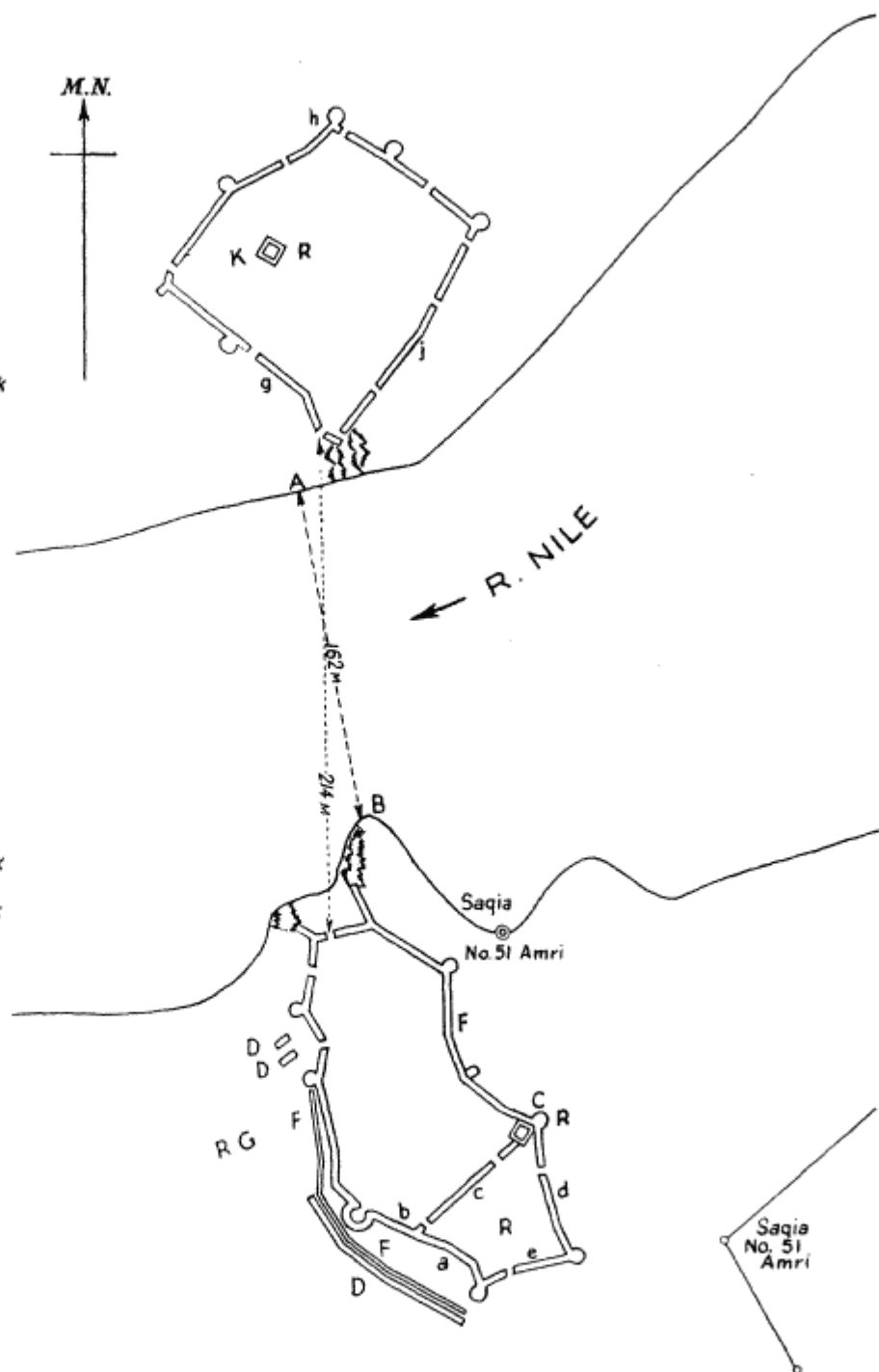
- R - Red bricks.
- F - Forework 6 ft. high, 6 ft. thick
- D - Ditches 9 ft. wide
- C - Commandant's house
- G - Graves
- K - Keep?

MEASUREMENTS

A to B = 168 Metres

Wall at :-

- | | |
|------------|----------------|
| a - 16 ft. | } 10 ft. thick |
| b - 18 ft. | |
| c - 22 ft. | |
| d - 6½ ft. | } 8 ft. thick |
| e - 7½ ft. | |
| f - 10 ft. | |
| g - 12 ft. | } 11 ft. thick |
| h - 15 ft. | |
| j - 7 ft. | |
| j - 7 ft. | } 7 ft. thick |



Saquia
No. 20
Amri

Scale 1 : 4500
0 50 100 200 300

M.S.O
Do/Cod
No. 10/38

A.M. Mahomed

The present reputation which the whole of the Fourth Cataract reach bears for being impossible of navigation is due to the unnautical habits of the natives both above and below it and their caricatures of boats. It was here too that in 1820 Mohammed Ali's army lost all but 9 of its fleet of 150 native boats. But in 1885 over 200 of the heavily laden whale-boats which formed the transport of the British Army ³ got up (and down again after the battle of Kirbeka) with little loss. In 1897 the gunboats were got through upstream. The Kingdom of Meroe, centred round Shendi, enjoyed wealth for centuries, much of it due to trade which would go by river in preference to the arduous desert passage or a rough stony track along the bank. In this long empty reach some halting places where there was safety from Blemmyes raiding from the desert would be needed and where the boats could refit, rest their crews and land their downstream cargoes of slaves for health purposes. There is another pair of forts at El Kab some 60 miles upstream. That the right bank fort has its lowest wall and three gates towards the river would indicate that this was the friendly direction. Immediately above and below the river splits into numerous rocky channels, difficult to the most skilled boatmen, so there was a good and strong site for an ancient Cape of Good Hope with a garrison maintained and provisioned from more fertile regions. There are also forts above Halfa in the Third Cataract area which were garrisoned from Ancient Egypt.

One wonders whether perhaps the wild beauty of the upstream view and the pleasant north wind may have influenced the builder of what I have called the Commandant's house on the left bank. Perhaps too some mercenary Captain returning home from Byzantium on leave or pension introduced the new bastions to the local Inspector-General of Fortifications.

The plan was kindly made by Abdel Azim Eff. Abdel Rahman of the Surveys Department who gave up his Bairam holiday and rode 50 miles to do it.

(3) 1/S. Staffs: 1/Black Watch; 2/D.C.L.I.; 2/Gordon Highlanders under Major-Gen. Earle.

A NEW USE FOR EMPTY CARTRIDGE CASES

By J. P. S. Daniell.

IT was I think one of those Fleet Street barons who said that if a man bites a dog, that is news. A similar novelty in the shape of a tax-payer living at Government expense has been noted among the blacksmiths of Fasher and is probably equally common in many other places in the Sudan.

Sitting idly playing with his bellows the blacksmith hears in the distance the rat-tat-tat of a machine gun and the more leisurely report of rifle fire. Instead of rushing headlong for the nearest A.R.P. shelter, which in any case is 500 miles away, he smiles to himself and moves quietly off with a large coloured handkerchief tucked under his hat to locate his prey. Already the blacksmith community is pricking up its ears and he has to move fast if he is to be in at the kill.

Scarcely has the bugler sounded the "Cease Fire" than a horde of men and boys of all ages rushes down onto the field firing area and starts the game of "Hunt the empty" which will bring them in a profit of 400% for their pains. The collection requires considerable searching, for most of the empties are picked up beforehand by the soldiers. Thirty empty .303 rounds will make a girl's bracelet and bracelets at 5 piastres will sell as quickly as they can be made.

With his handkerchief stuffed full of empties the blacksmith returns to his house. His actual method of manufacture shows from first to last both the opportunism and the skill of an African Autolycus.

Having collected his metal the blacksmith buys bees' wax (*shama' asl*) from traders who come in from the Zaghawa in the north, Zalingei in the west, from Jebel Marra and the south. For a piastre he can buy sufficient for the making of perhaps half a dozen bracelets. He moulds the wax with his fingers to the exact shape of the bracelet he wishes to make. The most usual design may best be described as "chunky":



Around this he applies a mixture of clay, sand, and pounded charcoal. A hole is left between the arms of the bracelet to facilitate handling it with the tongs during the smelting process.

At the top end where there is a gap between the tips of the bracelet a funnel is shaped and two small holes are left in the base of it connecting directly with the bees-wax model inside. Through these holes the bees'-wax will eventually be run off. This mould is known as the "home of the bracelet" (*beit es suwar*) and looks like this:



The *beit es suwar* is placed, ring-side down, in a charcoal fire whose action first bakes the clay mixture into earthenware and as it gets hotter melts the bees-wax, which is poured off through the two holes into a pot of cold water which stands beside the blacksmith as he works. The wax soon solidifies on the top of the water and can be taken off and used again. When the bees-wax melts and is poured off, it leaves behind it an empty mould inside the *beit es suwar* exactly like the original bees-wax bracelet. The blacksmith usually combines two such moulds in one, laying them side by side with a common funnel and four holes, to save labour.

Then he makes a bowl of the same mixture of clay, sand and powdered charcoal, which he bakes into earthenware in the fire.



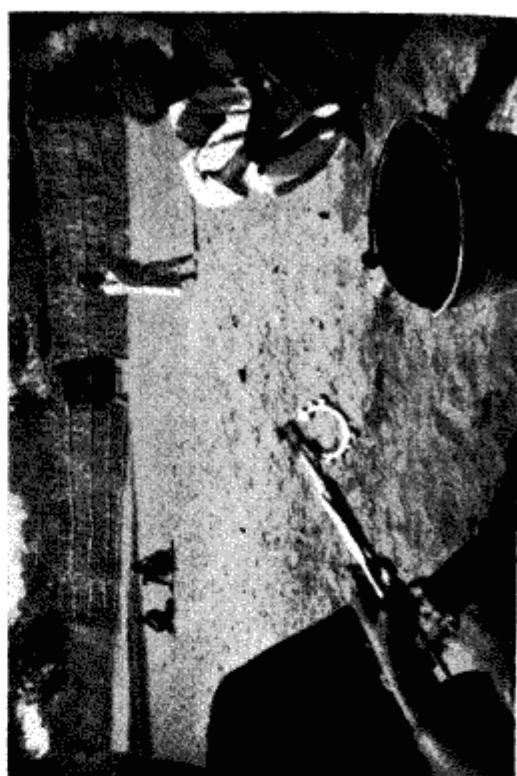
While this is cooling he reaches for his empty cartridges and sets to work to prepare the metal for smelting.

As they are picked up from the field the empties take up a great deal of room, so he gives them one or two firm blows on the top with

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS



B.



A



his hammer, which telescopes them into a mass of almost solid metal.



This is known as to *dagg* them and is the criterion by which the police in Fasher judge whether their possession is for an innocent purpose. Empty rounds that have not been "dagged" might be used again for making into illicit cartridges; but once an empty has reached the 'opera-hat' stage it has become irredeemably civilian and loses its military status.

The blacksmith now takes two finished bracelets and weighs his telescoped metal against them, allowing the unworked metal to outweigh the bracelets with plenty to spare. (Plate A). The metal is then piled into the earthenware bowl in the form of a cone and over this is fitted the funnel end of the *beit es suwar* thus:

The gap between them is plastered over (Plate B) and the combined mould and smelting pot is placed upright in the charcoal fire. More charcoal is heaped around it until only the top of the mould is visible.



While the smelting process is going on one can admire the effective ingenuity which has gone to make his bellows out of scrap iron boarded by the Motor Transport Workshops and bought in the market. Two iron pipes are joined by a wooden sleeve to a pair of goat skin bellows. The blacksmith says that the average life of a pair of bellows is two years. The pipes are weighted down by other bits of scrap iron and the bellows are worked by his eldest son, alternately depressing and inflating each skin like a concertina.

Soon the charcoal is glowing to a red heat and it is kept replenished during the 10 minutes which it takes to smelt the metal. At the end of this time the earthenware mould-cum-smelting-pot is lifted out of the fire by tongs which grip the ring at the top. It is placed (Plate C) upside down on the ringed end while the molten metal makes its way out of the bowl, through the funnel and into the mould by way of the holes through which the bees-wax was originally poured out.

The bowl half is then sprinkled with water and broken off, probably to be used again for a subsequent process, while the *beit es suwar* is first sprinkled with, and finally plunged into the pot of, cold water which soon begins to boil with the intense heat transmitted to it.

The mould is broken open to reveal two metal bracelets exactly similar to the bees-wax moulds with which the process began, though a dull gold in colour. They are only warm to the touch and are quite hard, the surface being later filed to reveal the brighter metal beneath. (Plate D).

The market for these bracelets is a "hot" one, yet the price of 5 piastres each allows the expert a handsome profit. Labour is provided by himself and his sons, so that in the Sudan of the twentieth century as in England in the seventeenth, the blacksmith "works at the anvil while the boy blows the bellows." For every 10 P.T. received by sale of a pair of bracelets his expenses are therefore only for raw materials and equipment. Charcoal costs a piastre for every pair of bracelets, and bees-wax possibly a *tarifa*. The metal is a present from the Government and his total profit on one process is perhaps 8 piastres, even allowing for wear and tear on bellows. His factory is a *rakuba* in an open space and his main stock in trade earth, air, fire and water. With the combined munificence of Nature and Government he makes a profit of 400% which runs Woolworth's itself pretty close, though he depends for his livelihood also on the vanity of woman. May be this is a constant factor.



CISTERNS AT IBN ABBAS ISLAND.

By Surgeon Lieutenant L. S. Anderson, R.N.

Recalling Major Hebbert's observations of the site of the ancient town of Badi, on Jeb El Rih, in "Notes and Records" Vol. XVIII. 1935, the following notes on some Cisterns at Ibn Abbas Island, 12 miles East of Aqiq, may be of interest.

The site, 800 yards east of the village on the west point of the island, has the appearance of an old quarry, with a face about ten feet high and sides gradually sloping off to ground level.

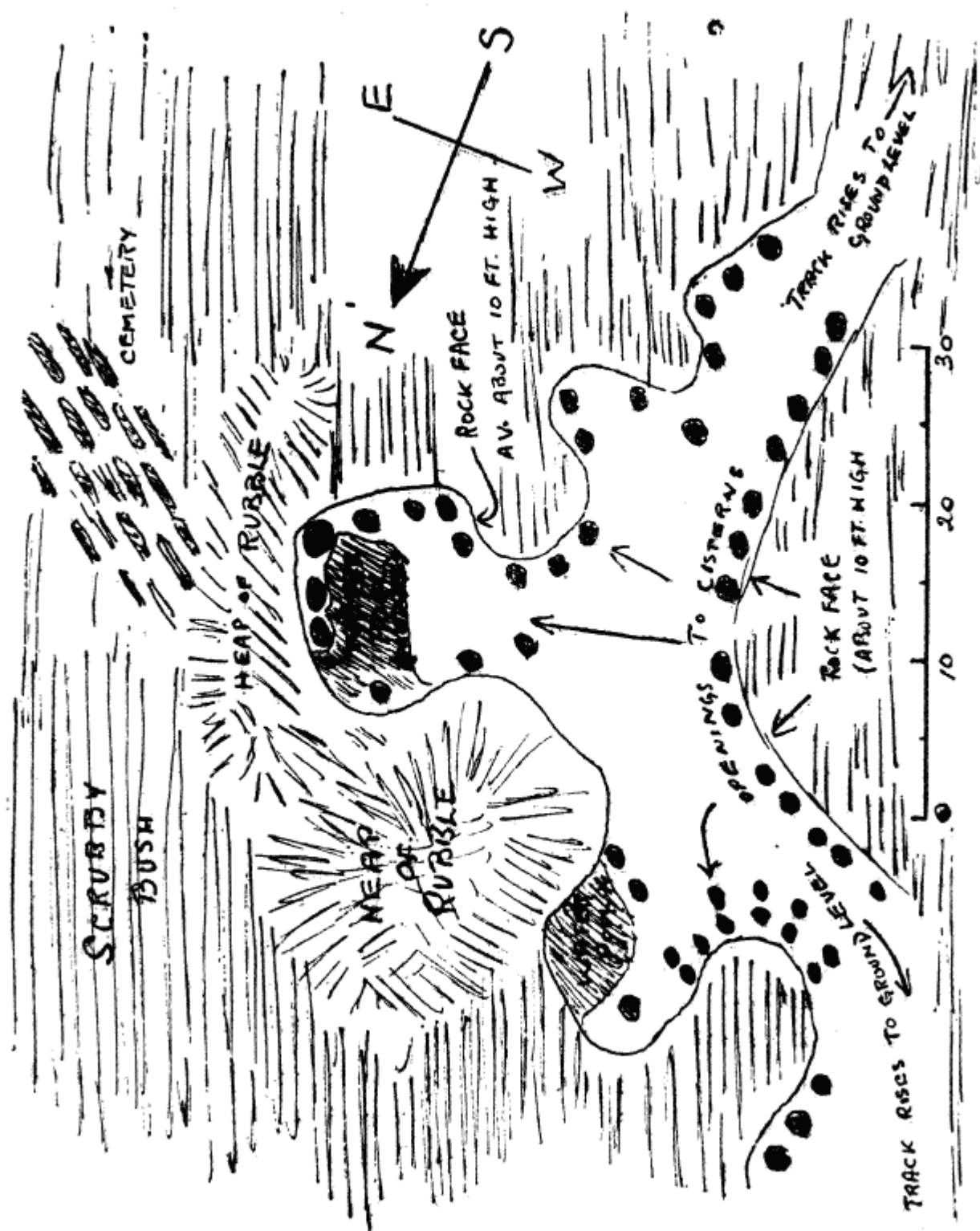
All along the base of the "quarry face" are the circular openings, some 3 feet in diameter and 52 in number, to the Cisterns, chiselled out of the level coral-limestone.

The Cisterns proper, opening out about six inches below the rock surface, are of a fairly constant depth—about 4 ft.—and have obviously been excavated with considerable care and accuracy by means of some tool which must have had a cutting edge about an inch wide.

In plan, the majority are of a lobular form as shown in the accompanying Diagram; none however attain to the dimensions of the big rectangular one at Badi, the largest here being 10 feet wide and running for 18 feet under the "quarry face," and the average area of all the Cisterns must be about 25 square feet. In two or three of the larger ones rock-pillars had been left in the hewing, presumably to support the thin limestone roof, and most of them showed peculiar ridges of rock about six inches high dividing their floors into two or three sections.

All of them contained sand to a depth of about 3 inches covered by an inch or so of brackish water, but the rock surface above had no soil covering, nor were there any traces of "hods," conduits, or roofs for the openings such as Major Hebbert found at Badi.

Unlike the Badi Cisterns, too, they are grouped together into one compact system instead of being distributed among the remains of

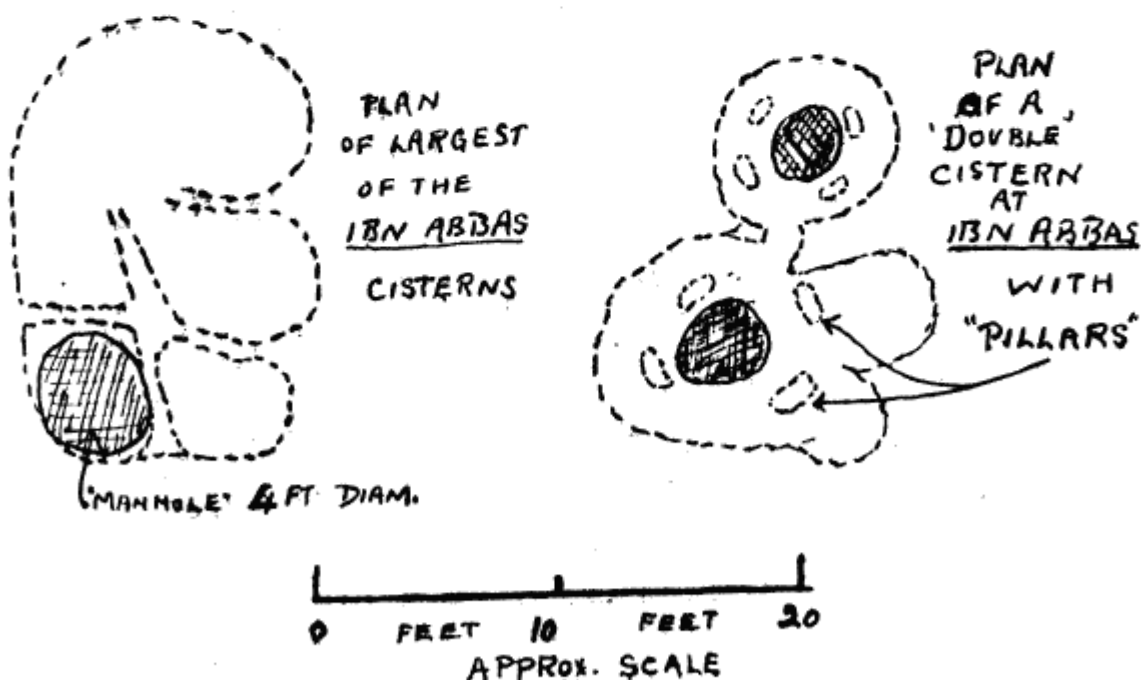


dwelling, which would point to it being an early form of "municipal undertaking," and since the total capacity is in the neighbourhood of 27,000 gallons it probably supplied the needs of a fair-sized township.

The complete absence of traces of any sort of catchment system suggests that the water was transported thither from some source on the mainland, as, indeed, is done at present for the score or so of natives who still inhabit the island.

The two muddy pools marked on the sketch-map appear to have been cut artificially, being about a foot in depth, and might have been used for watering camels, or other beasts. They were so placed as to have been easily filled from adjacent cisterns.

It would be interesting to know the age of these Cisterns and perhaps somebody versed in the archaeology of the district can put a date to them. Major Hebbert indicates clearly that they were in existence in 700 A.D.—but were they in use by the Ptolemaic merchants a few centuries B.C.?





CISTERN'S ON IBN ABBAS ISLAND

VIEW LOOKING EAST.

REVIEWS.

THE BIRDS OF TROPICAL WEST AFRICA

BY D. A. BANNERMAN, M.B.E., SC.D., M.A., F.R.S.E.

VOL. V.

(*Crown Agents for the Colonies* 1939, 22s 6d.)

The fifth volume of Mr. Bannerman's work was intended to include the remaining twelve families of the Order *Passeriformes*, but owing to the generous response by naturalists in West Africa to the author's request for field-notes, he has found it necessary to restrict the present volume to seven families—the *Sylviidae* (Warblers), *Hirundinidae* (Swallows), *Campephagidae* (Cuckoo-Shrikes), *Dicruridae* (Drongos), *Prionopidae* (Helmet-Shrikes), *Laniidae* (Shrikes), and *Oriolidae* (Orioles), and to carry over the *Paridae* (Tits), *Corvidae* (Crows), *Sturnidae* (Starlings) and *Zosteropidae* (White-eyes) to Volume VI. A seventh volume will be added to the series, to contain the Tree-creepers, Sunbirds, Weavers, Buntings and Finches, and will include an Appendix, bringing the whole work up to date.

All the families dealt with in this volume are represented in the Sudan, and the majority of Sudan species comprising them are included though in a number of cases the West African races only are described.

In a short review such as this, it would be impossible to enter into details of relative numbers of races described. The following numbers therefore concern species only.

Of the Warblers, 88 species are described, of which 44 occur in the Sudan. A further 17 species in the Sudan List are not described, the majority of which are winter visitors, though the more familiar Warblers which visit Britain are included. Of the very distinct Genus *Cisticola* (Grass Warblers) 19 species are described, which include 13 of the 14 Sudan species; an extensive illustrated key is given for this genus.

Twenty-seven swallows, martins and rough-wings are described, including 14 of the 16 Sudan species. Eight species of Cuckoo-shrikes (*Campephagidae*) are described including races of all the three Sudan species, one of which, *Coracina caesia pura* (Sharpe) has recently been added to the list.

Concerning the Drongos (*Dicruridae*) described, mention must be made of the placing of the Velvet-Mantled Drongo (*D. modestus*) and its races, as races of the Glossy-Backed Drongo (*D. adsimilis*).

These were included in the *Systema Avium Aethiopicarum* as forms of a distinct species. As a result of this re-arrangement, *D. modestus ugandae* (v. Som) (a race not described in this Volume), obtained by Major Cave near Yambio (*Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XXI p. 183 1938*) now becomes a race of *D. adsimilis* which is the common Drongo of the Sudan. The name *D. adsimilis divaricatus* (Licht.), given to the form occurring in the drier parts of Africa north of the Equator, has moreover been sunk, these birds now being included under *D. adsimilis adsimilis*.

Altogether 4 races of *D. adsimilis* are described here.

D. sharpei Oust. also obtained by Major Cave, lacks the forked tail so characteristic of *D. adsimilis*.

In the Helmet-Shrikes (*Prionopidae*), two species of *Prionops* are now known to occur in the Sudan, but only one is described in this work; nor is there a description of any species of *Eurocephalus* of which *E. rueppelli rueppelli* Bp. occurs in the Sudan.

P. concinnata Sund. is described as a race of *P. p. plumata* (Shaw).

Of the Shrikes (*Laniidae*), 37 species are described, and races of all but one of the species which occur in the Sudan are included. The exception is the Slate-Coloured Boubou, *Laniarius funebris funebris* (Hartl.) recently collected by Major Cave at Torit.

Emin's Red-Backed Shrike is now placed in the genus *Lanius*, as also is the European Red-backed Shrike *L. collurio collurio* (Linn.).

The two forms of Red-tailed Shrike in the Sudan List are now placed as races of *L. collurio* instead of under *Otomela cristatus*.

Only one race of the Great Grey Shrike (*L. excubitor*) is described, which is however not included amongst the 5 races represented in the Sudan.

In the Systematic Index p. XV, the Abyssinian Gonolek, *Laniarius erythrogaster* (Cretz.) is shown as a race of *L. barbarus barbarus* (Linn.), but on p. 384, it is given specific rank, reasons being given in the footnote.

L. barbarus barbarus, also described, has been obtained in southern Darfur since the compilation of Bowen's Catalogue of Sudan Birds in 1931.

Five species of Oriole are described, including three of the four now known to occur in the Sudan.

Eight of the nine coloured plates are from the brush of artists already known for their excellent illustrations in earlier volumes, Mr. G. E. Lodge's work being, as usual, particularly outstanding. The numerous line and half-tone drawings are, as before, the work of Mr. H. Grönvold. Two maps are included.

Altogether this volume maintains the very high standard set by its predecessors, and supplies the needs both of the specialist and the less serious-minded seeker after knowledge.

W. R.

WITCHCRAFT, ORACLES AND MAGIC AMONG THE AZANDE.

BY E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

WITH A FOREWORD BY

PROFESSOR C. G. SELIGMAN, F.R.C.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Dr. Evans-Pritchard confines himself conscientiously to the subjects announced in the title of his book. He admits that magic and religion are generally grouped together in theoretical discussion and that they have qualities in common, but finds that in Zande culture, religion can be more fitly described in connection with domestic life. He informs the reader that he is preparing a second volume to this end which will deal with family life and political institutions. In view of this conclusion the author contents himself with an introductory chapter only on Zande culture, so that the reader may form a mental picture of the predominating racial characteristics. He announces that the object of the book is to study the relationship of witchcraft, oracle and magic beliefs to one another and to show how they form an ideational system which is expressed in social behaviour. The book is divided into four parts dealing in turn with witchcraft, witch doctors, oracles and magic.

The Azande are the most north-easterly people who have the notion of witchcraft as a material substance in the belly ; so also is their culture the north-easterly limit of the distribution of the particular type of poison oracle that they use. The possession of witchcraft substance is believed to be hereditary, and it can be positively identified only by post mortem examination of the entrails. No one admits being a witch. Witches bewitch others when they hate them, by sending the soul of their witchcraft by night to devour the soul of their victims. It is believed that this witchcraft emanation may be seen at night passing on its errand in the form of a bright flashing light. It must be realized that belief in witchcraft surrounds every event in

life ; to quote Dr. Evans-Pritchard's words. " It is not less anticipated than adultery." An attack by witchcraft causes anger in the first place, rather than awe, therefore in some respects it may be said that its attributes are not very different from what more sophisticated people would call bad luck. It is arguable whether the Azande believe that every witch is conscious of being such. It seems that they admit that bewitching may be involuntary. A man believed to be a witch is not ostracised. A man may be a witch and yet a good fellow and do no harm. (Dr. Evans-Pritchard employs the term of witch for either sex.)

Action against witchcraft is socially controlled and only when the result is death can compensation or vengeance be extracted ; in other circumstances the process is to expose the witch and cause him to withdraw his baneful influence. The Zande belief in witchcraft does not contradict his empirical knowledge of right and wrong, cause and effect. He describes it by a metaphor saying that it is the "second spear." The man who pleaded witchcraft in mitigation of punishment for social offences would be laughed at.

The witch doctor is a diviner and a leech. A *seance* of witchdoctors is a public affirmation of the existence of witchcraft. They are part of the oracle system, as they provided questions for the oracle to answer. Witchdoctors largely act together and form what might almost be described as a medical trade union. They have no status except when functioning. The training and initiation of a novice is described in detail by Dr. Evans-Pritchard. It consists, briefly, in drinking medicines learning the nature and method of preparation of plants used for charms and leechcraft, in ritual burial and swallowing witchcraft phlegm.

In their character of diviners, witch doctors are called in to clear the air of witchcraft, they furnish only preliminary evidence of the identity of witches to place before the greater oracle for corroboration. Revelations are vouchsafed to them while engaged in a ritual dance held at the homestead concerned. These dances are of a highly fantastic and energetic character. The witch doctor works himself and his audience into a frenzy by his antics and the rhythm of drums,

rattles and bells; then falling into a semi-coma he makes his revelations, usually given in an incoherent and indefinite form. To increase the atmosphere of mystery he practices tricks with varying skill, such as shooting members of the audience with invisible shafts which he subsequently recovers from their bodies in the shape of small pieces of bone. Many Azande are sceptical of the honesty of witch doctors. They themselves know they cheat the layman but do not realize how they are cheated by their ignorance. The witch doctor is as firm a believer in witchcraft as any one else.

The poison oracle "Benge" is of primary importance in Zande life. The substance is believed to be chemically related to strychnine. Verdicts are obtained by its effects when administered to chickens. The plant from which it is obtained does not grow in the Sudan, it is a creeper found in the tropical rain forest of the Belgian Congo. No important venture is undertaken without authorization of "Benge" and it is consulted on all occasions regarded by the people as dangerous or of social importance. It is essential that Europeans working amongst this tribe should realize the importance of the poison oracle in Zande law. All death is murder (by witchcraft) and the murderer is revealed by the oracle.

In the old days "Benge" was the perfect test of innocence in adultery cases. In this connection Dr. Evans-Pritchard states "To-day all the husband has to do is to consult the oracle and then beat his wife until she produces evidence that a Government court will accept, an innocent man cannot prove his innocence." This statement cannot be accepted as correct. Government courts have long been aware of the danger and cases for adultery against persons whose names have been forced from a woman by beating are not permitted. Consultation of the poison oracle can only be made by persons who observe the taboos. Of these the most important is abstinence from sexual intercourse. For this reason married men usually perform the office. Youths are generally engaged in some illicit love affair. Women are debarred. The Zande says "The most jealous watch will not prevent a woman from committing adultery if she has a mind to

do so, and what woman has not?" The author goes on to say "I have little hesitation in affirming that the customary exclusion of women from any dealings with the poison oracle is the most evident symptom of their inferior social position and means of maintaining it." It will be realized that control of the poison oracle in the past gave the princes enormous power. The sole medium of legal action was the verdict of the oracle in cases of death and adultery. Cases are on record that "Benge" was formerly occasionally administered to boys and women in the same manner as to chickens but such cases were not frequent. The Azande do not think of "Benge" as a poison, they regard it as a magical property of infallible worth, provided it has been handled in the correct manner. In its use there is certainly no intentional cheating, its reputation of infallibility is protected by its position in the order of events. The author describes also the minor oracles in use. These are of trivial importance by comparison with "Benge."

It has already been said that all witchcraft is the outcome of hatred. A brief description of the course of action of a man who believes himself to be the victim of witchcraft will help the reader to understand the functions of witchdoctors and oracles. Let it be supposed that a Zande is suffering from a disease. Firstly he casts round in his mind for those whom he believes bear him a grudge. Probably he will think of several persons. He then calls in the witchdoctor who will narrow the list of possibles down to one or two. He will next make a public oration addressed in vague terms warning the witch or witches to remove their spell. If this has no effect he will arrange for consultation of the oracles. The oracles having confirmed his suspicions he takes a wing of the chicken which died to the home of the person concerned and sends it through his chief to the suspected witch. The messenger taking the wing will present it, perfectly politely. The suspected witch is expected to take water into his mouth and spray it upon the wing. This is a sign that if the suffering was caused by any witchcraft of his, he thereby removed it. It is not taken as an admission of guilt. Only failure to take this action would bring suspicion of admission of guilt upon him.

Magic amongst the Azande is of two kinds, good or legitimate magic, and sorcery or black magic. The witch and the sorcerer are clearly differentiated. The sorcerer uses the technique of magic and derives his powers from medicine, while the witch acts without rites and uses hereditary psychical powers. Both are the enemies of man. Good magic strikes only at criminals and brings just retribution, bad magic is used out of spite or malice against men who have broken no law or moral convention. Typical of good magic is "Bagbuduma" the executioner, which destroys murderers.

This is placed on all graves. Following a death and the placing of "Bagbuduma" on a grave if a possible witch dies who might have caused the death, the deceased's relative asks his chief to consult the oracles as to the name of the suspected witch to confirm his suspicions. If confirmed, "Bagbuduma" has accomplished its object. If the suspicion is not confirmed by the oracle, deceased's relative must wait and try again when some other possible witch dies and so on until an affirmative verdict is given. These verdicts remain secret between the chief concerned and his subject.

Legitimate or good medicines are also used to assure the fruitfulness of crops, success in every aspect of the chase, social activities, and against sickness.

The author claims that the use of magic except for the more notable varieties such as "Bagbuduma," and theft medicine, are largely confined to provincials and members of the conquered tribes who live at a distance from the courts of the chiefs, and that their use is regarded as superstition by many.

Both good and bad medicines frequently take the form of whistles made of roots or wood. Their agencies may be hired or purchased outright. There are many medicines that are known to all and universally owned. Many are of foreign importation. Dr. Evans-Pritchard believes that many of these may have been considered good or legitimate in their country of origin but have assumed an anti-social or black significance locally. This is a view with which I heartily agree and fully endorse. I would go even further, in believing that all

anti-social medicines wherever they appear would be found to be foreign importations if their source could be traced.

Apart from purely magical medicine there is a vast range of plants from which ointments, draughts and drops are distilled for leechcraft. While there can be no doubt whatever that the leech believes the magical rites or incantations surrounding the administration of these medicines to be as important as the actual drug itself, I should be unwilling to go so far as Dr. Evans-Pritchard who believes there is no therapeutic value in any Zande drug. He admits, in fact it cannot be disputed, that the Zande is often skilled in detecting the early symptoms of disease. The native leech makes use of the cupping horn and the enema, he realizes the value of counter irritants and of cauterizing ulcers. Some individuals enjoy a high reputation as bone setters and splint makers. The fact that some of their homoeopathic medicines are obviously absurd and that the Zande does not realize the difference between magical and empirical elements in leechcraft is in my view no reason to condemn without proof the whole of the Zande pharmacopoeia as worthless. This seems a line of research of considerable interest and possible value which might be taken up by a doctor as a hobby.

Dr. Evans-Pritchard deals with Secret or Closed Societies in the penultimate chapter of his book. "Biri" is the best known of these societies. He describes in detail the "Mani" society of which he became a member, he states that "Mani" may be considered typical of all. Both "Biri" and "Mani" have been declared illegal in the Sudan. The author states:—

"All these societies are of foreign origin, they are not incorporated into the Zande social organisation and may be regarded as subterranean and subversive, indicative of wide and deep social change. In so far as the magic of the associations is not redundant, it is directed against the vagaries of European rule. Azande faced with a power they can neither stand up against or avoid have found magic their last defence."

These societies are open to membership by both sexes. This is a revolutionary breakaway from custom amongst a race where segregation of the sexes is rigidly enforced. They are symptomatic of social disintegration as their magic is expected to provide results

usually only to be obtained at a prince's court. Starting as closed societies they have now become secret owing to Government opposition. Dr. Evans-Pritchard states that they still continue to flourish.

The anthropologist with no official status in native eyes is necessarily in a better position to obtain local confidences in such matters than one whose duty is to suppress them. I am however inclined to doubt if at this later period these societies could be said to flourish. That they exist and have sporadic revivals there is no doubt. Some years ago many chiefs joined these societies particularly "Biri" through fear; an unknown power is worse than one understood. There is no doubt that the chiefs felt that the societies were undermining their influence. Today I am doubtful whether many chiefs are active members; not infrequently they arrest and expose persons following the cult.

This review is a condensed precis of the book.

Except where otherwise stated I have expressed the author's views largely using his own words. It only remains to be said that the accuracy, patience and sympathy displayed by Dr. Evans-Pritchard in his investigations are worthy of the utmost admiration. The book is a valuable addition to the stock of available knowledge of the Zande people, and the second volume when it appears should prove no less interesting.

Both administrators and missionaries will find in this book the answers to innumerable questions which would otherwise puzzle them and remain unanswered unless they had the time and patience to make lengthy personal investigations. A realization of the true significance of the answers should help them to approach many difficulties in their work in a spirit of sympathetic understanding.

It is not quite clear why the author states "It is fortunate that Azande are so isolated that they have little incentive to grow marketable produce and little opportunity to sell their labour;" many would think that this handicap is most unfortunate. In these days it is realized that no African race can remain a museum specimen; certainly not the Azande who are adaptable and welcome novelty and change. I hope Dr. Evans-Pritchard will forgive this criticism which is in fact the only one I have to make of his admirable book.

J.W.G.W.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EDITOR,

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS,

DEAR SIR,

I see in Vol. XXI (1938) Part II, the question of the origin and meaning of the name Suakin has again been raised. Etymology is a fascinating study. When we consider two such words as the French *fils* and the Spanish *hijo*, so different in appearance and pronunciation, yet sons of the same parent, we may pause and reflect before deriding or scouting any history of any word however far-fetched it may seem. All the same, when there is a reasonable derivation based on known regular and euphonic variations, we are entitled to accept that origin and reject the fairy tale and doubt the specious explanation.

The derivation of the word Suakin from "seven ginns" seems to me to be parallel to the alleged meaning of Kamobsanha.* I have been informed that this is from Campo Santo, "because some Italians died and were buried there when the railway was made." There is however at this place a col through which the railway line was cut and the word for a col between two hills in Beḍawiet is *sanha* while in the same language there is a word *kamu* for the tree *Moerua crassifolia*—(*kamu* in the constructive case becomes *kamui* in the Hadandiwa dialect and *kamub* in the Ammar'ar dialect).

But to return to Suakin. The Arabic word *suq* (سوق) means place to which animals are *driven*, for sale, both the animals and the goods they carry, *i.e.*, a market. The Beḍawiet speaking people have adopted the word *suq*. They have adopted many other Arabic words of the classical language and there is good reason to believe that they did this in the early days of Islam, *cf.* the common word *yam* (يم) water; they have no (other) word of their own.

The Beḍawiet name for Suakin is *U Suk* THE market. This is the nominative case. The constructive or locative case is *isūkib*, and it must be borne in mind that when you ask one of these people a question (*e.g.*, What is the name of this place?) he gives the answer in the constructive case of which a feature is an addition of *t* to a feminine and *b* to a masculine name. This is why so many names of

* The fourth station from Port Sudan on the Khartoum line.—*Ed.*

places, tribes and so on are written, erroneously, by a foreigner with a *b* at the end. The name Derudeb is properly iDerude and Halaib iLei.

Now let me point out three common characteristics of the Beḍawiet language:—

1. The definite article undergoes many inflectional and euphonic changes and the form *i* is pronounced lightly, almost inaudibly.
2. Beḍawiet, like English, is very diphthongish in tendency. In this particular word *isūkib*, the *u* has a wide range with individual speakers and in different dialects, through *o* as in English note towards *au* in sauce.
3. In Beḍawiet many final consonants are occlusive and *-b* is one of them. Instead of parting and allowing a tiny explosion of breath on a final consonant, as in most languages, here the lips are shut tight and are held so for an appreciable space of time on a final consonant especially on a labial. The result is that final labials *-b* and *-m* become indistinguishable. Try it for yourself. Say *rib* and keep the lips shut on the *b*. A listener cannot tell whether you are saying *rib* or *rim*.

Here then we have iSo-okim (as heard for *isūkib*), the every day word used in Beḍawiet. And if this account of the word seems long and tortuous I must remark that it does but follow rules of which hundreds of examples might be cited, and I would refer again to the history of the development of *hijo* from *filius*.

Finally I leave it to your readers to decide for themselves whether Suakin is a Beḍawiet word or whether it is an Arabic term meaning "seven ginns" that Beḍawiet speakers have adopted because by a marvellous coincidence it is so near their own term for "The market place."

Yours faithfully,

E. M. ROPER.

(Editorial Note.—A full account of the various alleged derivations of SUAKIN or SUAKIM is given in Dr. J. F. E. Bloss's article "The Story of Suakin" pp. 272-3 S. N. & R. Vol. XIX 1936. The derivation given by Mr. Roper gains support if Suakin can be identified, as Leyden suggested in 1817, with the *SUCHÆ* of Pliny. The name is spelt variously on old maps).

KHARTOUM, 20TH APRIL 1939.

THE EDITOR,

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

DEAR SIR,

I was greatly interested in Major Boustead's Note on "The Youth and Last Days of Ali Dinar—A Fur View" which by coincidence appeared in the last issue of *Sudan Notes and Records* together with my article, "Darfur, 1916."

The latter does not deal in any detail with the character of Ali Dinar, but inferentially it presents (as historically I believe it should present) a very different picture from that seen through Fur eyes in 1939.

The "Government," whether it was looked on as conqueror or deliverer, was doubtless given the blackest picture of previous misrule. But making all allowance for subservient exaggeration in the darker shades then depicted I have not the slightest doubt that the picture now painted in such glowing colours is, to say the least of it, more allegorical than real. The picture was there for all to see, and the vision of 1916 was more objective than can be that of 1939.

I do not suggest that the true 1916 picture of the Sultan's character was all in darker tones. Up to his lights he exercised a sort of rough justice not altogether unsuitable to the conditions of his primitive realm and the people over whom he ruled. By the Arabs he was almost universally hated. By the Fur he was held in respect; but except possibly in a very small domestic circle that respect was based on fear and not on affection.

In particular I could produce facts to disprove the benevolent and paternal attitude attributed to his relations with the Fur Shartais during his last months in the wilderness and especially during his last few days of life. (The picture of his last night and his alleged knowledge of it is an attractive one but is at variance with the facts).

But these details are of minor importance. The main facts I believe are indisputable, and the interest lies in the emergence, in rather less than a generation, of a legendary Fur hero, the benevolent ruler and father of his people. The young Ali Dinar cannot wear the halo in view of his revolt against and slaughter of Abu Kheirat, the reigning Sultan himself "loved and respected by the Fur." His absence on service with the Dervishes in Omdurman affords a conveniently nebulous period for expiation and reformation; and from the date of his return we find him looked on now, through the rose-coloured spectacles of an embryo Fur nationalism, as the beloved ruler-father of a contented people in a golden age which never existed.

It is an evolutionary psychological illusion not confined to Darfur and its late Sultan. It may not be an unhealthy one, and (*pace* Odette Keun*) it would show some lack of imagination not to sympathise with it. But it is not without significance.

Yours faithfully,
J. A. GILLAN.

* "A Foreigner looks at the British Sudan," P. 10.

TO THE EDITOR,

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS,

KHARTOUM.

I have read with great interest Dr. H. M. Woodman's article "More Rare Birds of the Southern Bahr-el-Ghazal" in your issue Vol. XXI Part II pp. 315 *et seq.*, but I feel that I should call attention to one or two points in it.

On page 320 he states that I have recently become more familiar with the Black Wattled Hornbill, *Ceratogymna atrata* (Temm.) in the Torit District. This is not correct; my own note in Vol. XXI Part I p. 173 states that I have only seen one pair and that at Bendere, which is west of Yambio. He also gives particulars of three other hornbills, and on page 320 states:—"These four hornbills are all new to the Sudan list". One of these, however, *Bycanistes subcylindricus* (Scl.) has already been recorded on p. 99 Vol. I of Bowen's Catalogue of Sudan Birds.

I also think it a pity that Dr. Woodman does not follow the order and nomenclature of Mr. Sclater's "*Systema Avium Aethiopicarum*" which is recognised throughout the world as the standard authority in that respect. If he has reasons for not following it he should, I think, give them. Had he adhered to the "*Systema*" he would, for example have noticed that *Andropadus gracilirostris gracilirostris* Strickland which, incidentally, is recorded as *Stelgidillas gracilirostris gracilirostris* (Strickl.) in the "*Systema*", was also in my list. If he believes his specimens to be *S.g. chagwensis* (v. Someren), a race which has been rejected by Mr. Sclater and Dr. Bannerman, it would be interesting to know how large a series Dr. Woodman has examined in order to justify the retention of that race.

Sylvietta virens baraka Sharpe was recorded in my list though there is no indication of this in Dr. Woodman's notes.

Dr. Woodman might begin to wonder if I made no reference to *Atimastillas flavicollis soror* (Neum.) which is not in the "*Systema*", but this has been deemed a good race since that publication, vide Dr. Bannerman in Bulletin B.O.C. LIV p. 147 1934.

I am in complete agreement with Dr. Woodman that the collection of skins is a far easier matter than the collection of reliable field notes, but such notes may lose their value unless based on up-to-date systematic arrangement and nomenclature.

I may add that in the matter of technical correctness I am not free from blame myself, for my list showed the authors' names in brackets in all except one case, a printer's error which I had no opportunity of correcting. A study of the "*Systema*" would show where I am at fault.

Yours faithfully,

F. O. CAVE.

TO THE EDITOR,

DEAR SIR,

Major Titherington's story in his article in volume XXII of the man who was stung into unconsciousness by a swarm of bees prompted me to write down my first experience of Sudan bees in Um Ruaba in 1936.

While the District Commissioner was on leave bees had built what seemed to be a very strong nest between the corrugated zinc roof and the asbestos ceiling of his mosquito verandah. They had made several sallies against the women prisoners who came to sweep the garden and stung three of them, so we decided that they would have to be evicted. The only volunteer for the job was a guaranteed prisoner from Jebel Daier, a stalwart Nuba of about 35 years of age. I had often seen the Daier Nubas robbing the small black stingless bees which occupy every hollow tree in the mountain, but this man assured me that for the reward of the honey he would deal with the District Commissioner's nest of full sized ones.

Operations began inside the *namlia* about eight o'clock one night I went in to superintend the work of a carpenter who was to loosen the asbestos shells of the ceiling, but having been stung three times as soon as the work began, I retreated with the carpenter to look on from the other side of the mosquito gauze. Our Nubawi wearing only his prison shorts first pulled away a large section of the ceiling and then thrust his arm up to the shoulder into the space above. Within a second he was crawling with bees. The small smoking brand which he held seemed to take little effect, and for about half an hour he stood under the nest pulling out handfuls of honeycomb into a large tin basin, while infuriated bees swarmed down his face, in his beard and over his body. The table on which he stood was seething with them, and they climbed up his legs and into his trousers until his black skin seemed to be alive and moving; but beyond wiping them out of his eyes

he payed no heed to them, and kept up a running commentary to the watchers outside the gauze. After half an hour he came out of the *namlia* with about a gallon of honey and wax in his tub.

Having shaken most of the insects out of his trousers and beard he came over to us smiling happily, and on looking more closely at him we found that every square inch of his skin was bristling with minute greyish stings.

By this time half the occupants of the nest had gathered in a swarm outside the entrance under the verandah eaves, so to make sure that they would'nt give further trouble the indomitable Nubawi again stood on a table and shot at them with a 'flit' gun, even then standing straight underneath and allowing the infuriated swarm to fall over him, buzzing and stinging under the influence of the flit.

I spent a sleepless night wondering what penalties were decreed for abetting the suicide of a Government prisoner, but next morning I found the Nubawi happily at work, his skin still looking like a miniature pincushion.

I will leave the students of Medical Science or Native Magic to draw their conclusions from the facts I have recorded, but perhaps I should add that the three stings which drove me out of the *namlia* swelled up as painfully as any I have ever received from English bees.

J. B. BOWERS.

Nahud, Kordofan.

TO THE EDITOR,

DEAR SIR,

Among my notes on the history of Kassala which I compiled when at Khartoum, I found a reference to Jebel Mandera which seems to have escaped general attention. I traced the original work in the British Museum and it is not alluded to by Dr. Crowfoot in his paper "Old Sites in the Butana".

Prince Pueckler Muskau wrote a long account of his travels in Egypt and the Sudan (Egypt under Mohamet Ali, 3 vols, 1845). He arrived in Egypt on January 4th 1837 and travelled to the Sudan via the Nile. Mustafa Bey (later Governor of Kordofan) was then in Khartoum. Prince Pueckler Muskau was accompanied by a dragoman named Giovanni. I think this man was the celebrated Giovanni Finati whose biography was published by Sir Thomas Banks in 1830. During May and June Prince Pueckler Muskau was ill at Abu Haraz (Blue Nile). Giovanni travelled in the Butana and visited Jebel Geili and Mandera. He reported that he had seen some statues in a grotto at Jebel Liberi, a site about five hours journey N.E. of Mandera.

In the XVIIth century Mandera was the headquarters of Fatma, "Negusta Rum" of the Bega. She surrendered to Susenyos of Abyssinia when he invaded the Sudan during the reign of the Fung Sultan Rubat (1614-1642). This queen was reputed to be a descendant from the ancient royal line of Egypt. There is no mention of this ruler in the published poems and traditions of the Shukria but it is not impossible that she was a descendant of the old rulers of the Isle of Meroe.

During the reign of the Fung Sultan Adlan II (1778-1787) Jebel Mandera was the site of a great battle between the equestrian Rikabia tribe and the camel-herding Shukria tribe, in which the Rikabia were defeated and absorbed by the Shukria. Some of the armour and

weapons of the Rikabia were in the possession of the Shukria cavalry at the time of the Mahdist rebellion.

The tradition of a female ruler of the Bega is also to be found at Jebel Kassala (see Werne, " Wanderings in Africa " p. 207). Werne stated that Fakenda was a great ruin and the reputed seat of As-Sunia, a queen of the Halenga. When I was at Kassala in 1908 I walked over most of the outskirts of Kassala town and rode to Sabderat. I took a number of photographs but found no antiquities except the old (medieval) Moslem tombs at Maman (see Crowfoot, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. V. p. 83). I was informed when at Kassala that the ruins described by Werne were on the site of the present Mirghani mosque at Khatmia and that the reputed ancient irrigation works were contemporary with the erection of the ginning factory (*i.e.* during the American Civil war).

I should be glad to hear through your pages if the grotto at Jebel Liberi has been examined and if the site of Fakenda has been identified. I think Fakenda is more probably contemporary with the Maman ruins than ancient Meroe. The present Eritrean and Abyssinian political frontiers seem to have been based upon natural and cultural limits for some centuries past.

ARTHUR E. ROBINSON.

MUSEUMS IN KHARTOUM

ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM. (Closed to the public for the present).

One room in west wing of Gordon College (upper storey).

Entrance free.

Normal hours of admission :—

9-1 every day except Mondays and public holidays.

3-6 Saturdays and Sundays.

KHARTOUM MUSEUM (*Ethnological*).

On river front between Gordon College and River Hospital.

Entrance P.T. 2 (Season ticket, entitling bearer also to admission to Khalifa's House :— P.T. 10). Free to troops in uniform.

Hours of admission :—as for Antiquities Museum.

NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM (BIRDS). (Closed to the public for the present).

One room in west wing of Gordon College (upper storey).

Entrance free.

Normal hours of admission :— as for Antiquities Museum.

KHALIFA'S HOUSE MUSEUM, OMDURMAN.

(Historical—Old Government and Mahdia).

Entrance P.T. 2 (Season ticket :— P.T. 10). Free to troops in uniform.

Official hours of admission as above, but attendant lives on premises and admission can usually be obtained at any time.

The Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology (Mr. A. J. Arkell) whose office is at the Khartoum Museum (Phone 2809) welcomes enquiries about any of the above museums (except Natural History). Enquiries about the Natural History Museum should be addressed to the Curator, Natural History Museum (Mr. H. W. Bedford), Agricultural Research Institute, Wad Medani, or to his representative in Khartoum, the Entomologist, Khartoum North.

There are also small museums at Wadi Halfa, Merowe, and Suakin.