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**SUDAN NOTES  
AND RECORDS**

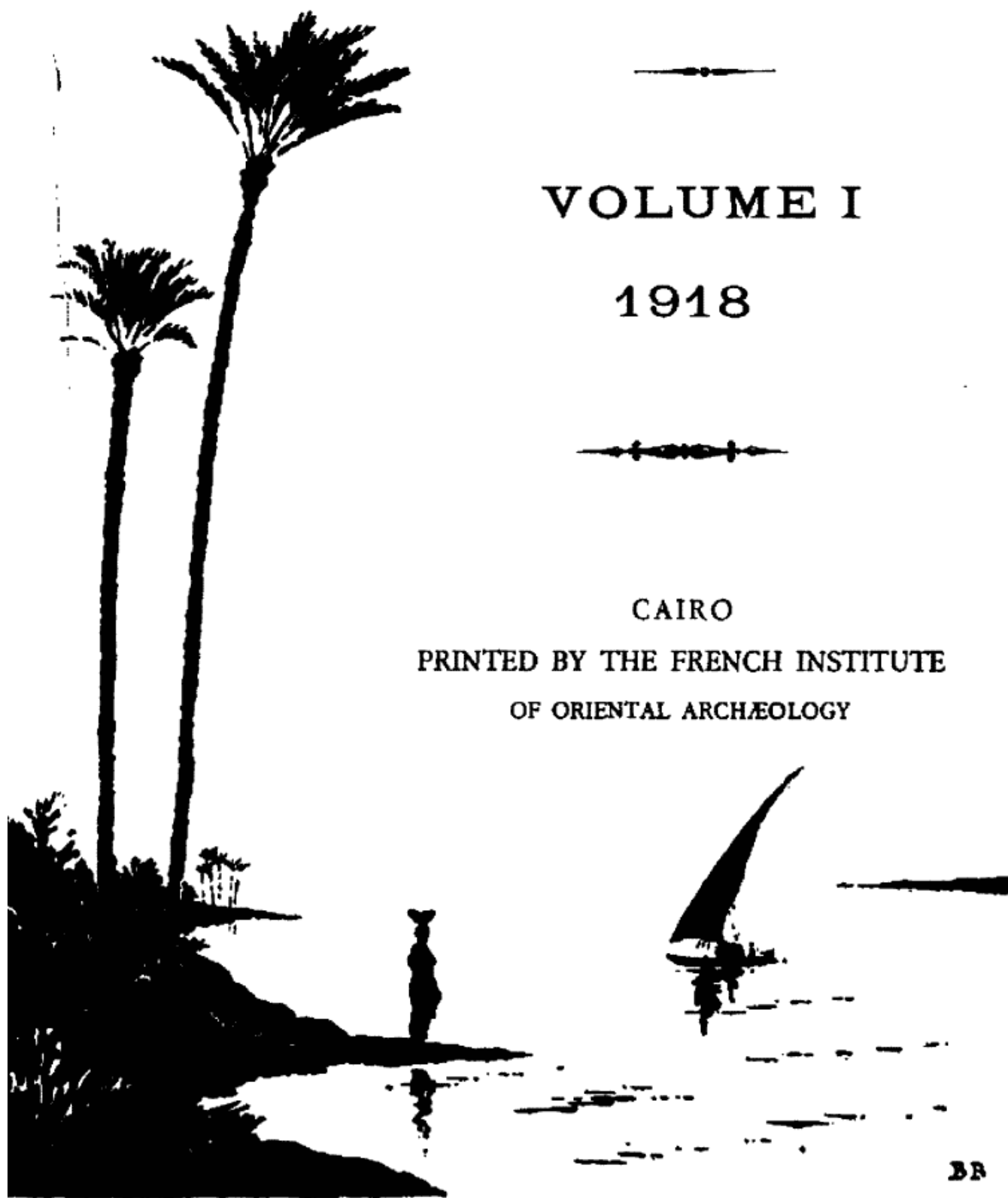
# SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

VOLUME I

1918

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# Transliteration of the Arabic alphabet

adopted by the Editors of «Sudan Notes and Records».

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

## Vowels.

fatha	a,	lengthened	ā
kasra	i,	—	ī
damma	u,	—	ū

## Diphthongs.

اِى	ai (as in aisle)	coll. ē
اِو	au (as in mauser)	coll. ō
The ل of the article always remains l.		
Silent ة (ā) to be omitted.		

## Notes.

1. The system will not be applied to well known names. Write Khartoum, Omdurman, instead of Khartūm, Umm Darmān.
2. In transliterating colloquial Arabic follow the pronunciation and not the spelling, giving the vowels their value as in Italian.

# SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

## FOREWORD

BY GENERAL SIR F. R. WINGATE.

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It was with the liveliest satisfaction and pleasure that I learned that the proposal to establish a scientific journal for the Sudan had matured. The need of such a publication is a very real one and the field of its study will be wide and, in a great measure, virgin soil. I say this without any disparagement of the really admirable work already performed by individuals (the names of several of whom I am glad to see on the Editorial Staff of the new journal) : but, having regard to the extent of the Sudan and to the obstacles to systematic research, it will be admitted that our knowledge of the country and its people requires to be extended in many directions.

Knowledge is power, in Africa and elsewhere, and if, as I confidently hope, this journal will be the means of recording and disseminating information that will conduce to a clearer outlook on the country and a better understanding of its natives, their past history, social conditions and future development, it will confer a lasting benefit not solely on those responsible for Government but also on the community at large.

There is one corner in particular of the wide field of research to which I suggest early and careful attention should be paid if valuable material is to be rescued from oblivion. The creeds — I refer of course chiefly to those parts of the country untouched by Islamic culture — the superstitions and the folk-lore of primitive tribesmen are subjects of the deepest interest in themselves and,

apart from their anthropological and ethnological values, are of importance as contributing to that sympathetic comprehension of the people and their mentality which is so essential to a successful administrator. There are, I think, few branches of research requiring more time and patience, more tact and conscientious application, than this : nor in view of the rapid spread of new ideas, with changed conditions and material advancement, is it a branch of study which can safely be deferred indefinitely. The membership of the Editorial Committee gives satisfactory assurance that no pains will be spared to render *Sudan Notes and Records* a really valuable publication and I, with all those interested in the country, wish it every possible success now and in the future.

REGINALD WINGATE.



**OUTLINE**  
**OF THE**  
**ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE SUDAN**

BY PROF. G. A. REISNER.

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**PART I. — EARLY TRADING CARAVANS**

(4000 TO 2000 B. C.)

The country called by the ancient Egyptians the «Southern Lands» included all the vague region of Egyptian influence which lay to the south towards Central and Eastern Africa. Among its inhabitants, the inscriptions name the red men of the famous land of Punt which lay perhaps on the Somali coast, the black men of the southern districts, the Nubians of the Nile valley; the Libyans of the western desert, and the nomads of the eastern desert. Thus the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan forms the greater part of the «Southern Lands» and indeed much the same part with nearly the same races, which was administered by the Egyptian officials of the New Empire. The northern part, now called Berber, Dongola and Halfa Provinces and Lower Nubia, is that whose history is most fully revealed by the Egyptian inscriptions. This territory was called in the earliest times «the land of the negroes», but later, the most frequent names were Ta-sety («land of the bow») and Kash. Kash is the Cush of the Bible, the Ethiopia of the classical writers. Strictly speaking, Kash was a smaller district, but the first independent kingdom which arose in this part of the world called itself the kingdom of Kash and ruled with shifting boundaries from Egypt to Central Africa. Thus the name Kash, or its equivalent, Ethiopia, may very properly be applied to all this region. /

Ethiopia is in natural resources the most poverty-stricken stretch of the Nile valley. The rock-hemmed river has left scattered alluvial deposits at the mouths of the lateral ravines and occasional wider banks of alluvial

soil where the rocks are more distant. The grazing lands are arid or difficult of access. The inhabitants, always called « wretched » by the Egyptians, have never initiated any industries worthy of mention. Yet, at times, the government of Ethiopia has been rich and prosperous, and always the men of Egypt, ancient Egyptians, Arabs, or Turks, have been drawn southwards to gain control of this poor land. The reason for these incongruous facts lies in the geographical situation. Ethiopia has always been the land of the trade-routes which run between Egypt and Central Africa, the land of the caravan roads along which passed the gold of Abyssinia, ostrich feathers, ivory, ebony, resins, oils, animal skins, captive wild animals, and above all the black slaves so greatly desired by the Oriental world. This peculiarity of its geographical situation is the great fact which underlies the whole history of Ethiopia.

As Ethiopia was the land of roads between Egypt and Central Africa, its history is inseparably bound up with that of Egypt and can only be understood in the light of the history of its great northern neighbour. The list of the Egyptian kings and dynasties begins with Menes, the uniter and first king of Upper and Lower Egypt. His date is reckoned by conservative methods at about 3300 B. C. With his reign begins the dynastic history of Egypt and much is already known of the long age before his time now called the Predynastic Period. Thousands of predynastic graves (see Part III, N° 1) <sup>(1)</sup> have been excavated in different parts of the valley from Cairo to Dakka and have provided a fair insight into the manner of life and the development of the culture. The period reaches back to a late neolithic age when men were still dependent on stone, bone, and wood for their weapons and implements. The earliest graves may be dated between 4000 and 4500 B. C. Even in the early part of the period, the Egyptians had obtained possession of quantities of copper ore and made from it a green cosmetic which was in use by all the tribes. The great event of the whole age was the discovery that this ore could be converted into a malleable metal, as far as we know the first discovery of that metal by man. Gold was already known and used especially for beads and various other ornaments such as cases for bow tips and the handles of flint knives, rings and

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<sup>(1)</sup> To appear in a later number.

bracelets. Copper seems to have been first used in similar ornaments as a substitute for gold, and the process of reducing the ore to metal may possibly have been discovered in some attempt at obtaining gold. The first

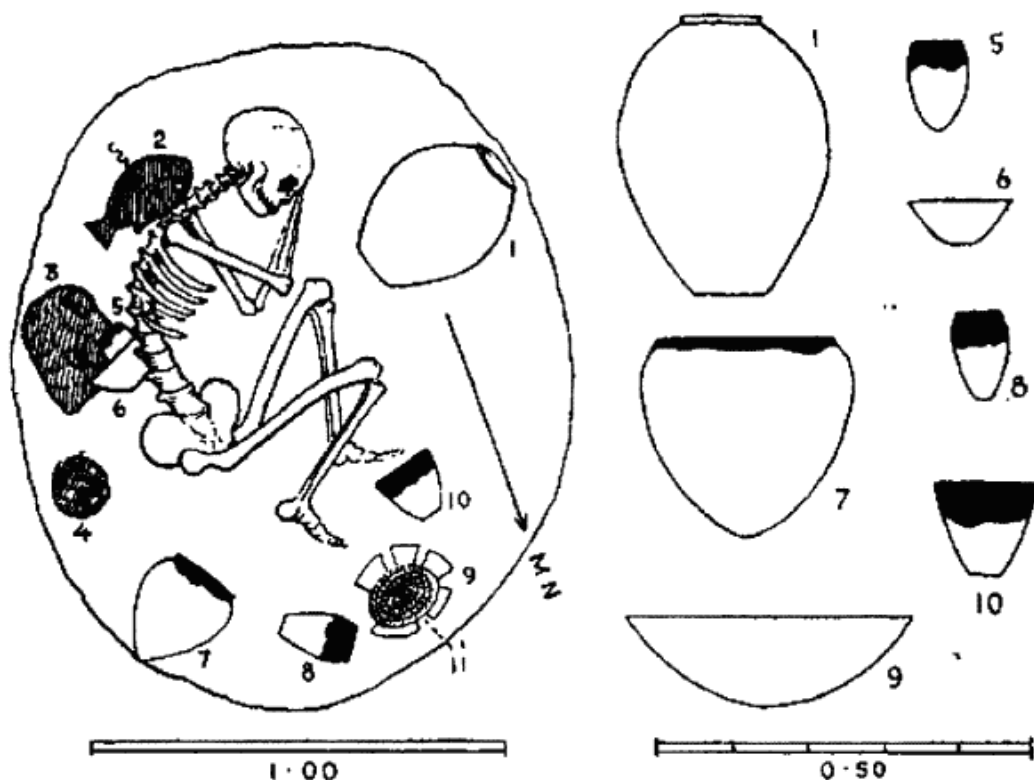


Fig. 1. — Predynastic grave, 17/65 at Khor Ambikol, slightly restored.

Objects :

1. Large red-polished jar, pottery.
2. Slate paint-palette in form of fish.
3. Rough grind-stone.
4. Rubbing stone for same.
5. Small pottery jar of black-topped red-polished ware.
6. Bowl of red-polished pottery.
7. Large pointed jar of black-topped red-polished ware.
8. Small jar like 5.
9. Large bowl of red-polished ware, with basket (11).
10. Beaker of black-topped red-polished pottery.
11. A flat basket lying on 9.

effective use of copper, which seems to have followed soon after the discovery of the metal, was for the manufacture of serviceable weapons, the prime necessity of early man. Copper tools were soon added to copper weapons. The increased power thus placed in the hands of the discoverers is manifest, — power over the neighbouring tribes, over wild animals,

and over the hard materials of the earth. We can only surmise the course of the revolution effected in the life of the Egyptian tribes, but within a century or so, this impelling discovery had brought the Egyptians to the first united monarchy and to the brink of the first great civilisation known to man.

The time of the first three dynasties, known as the Early Dynastic Period (about 3300 to 2900 B. C.), was marked by the development of writing, of the arts and crafts, and of mud-brick architecture, of all those technical methods and many of the forms which were to dominate all future work in Egypt. The time of the IV<sup>th</sup> to VI<sup>th</sup> dynasties, the Old Empire (about 2900 to 2500 B. C.), was the period of the development of sculpture and stone architecture. These six dynasties form the great creative period of the Egyptian arts and crafts. After that time, the Egyptian learned little more of technical processes and seldom strayed far from the traditions then established. The later history is rather a story of political and religious development.

During the Predynastic Period, our knowledge of Ethiopia is very scanty. The graves of the neolithic Egyptians have been found as far south as Dakka in Lower Nubia, but these were only just previous to the dynastic period in date. The early predynastic Egyptians do not seem to have lived so far south. In Egypt, however, the predynastic graves contain now and again a negro, while ivory and resins are abundant and figures of the elephant, the giraffe, and the ostrich appear in the drawings on the pottery. It may be concluded therefore that the trade routes to the south had been opened even in those early days. The material is meagre, affording a mere glimpse; but one is inclined to infer a Central Africa as it was centuries later and an Ethiopia already serving as a land of roads.

The first direct mention of the south in an Egyptian inscription occurs in a reference to the reign of Seneferuw, the builder of the second great stone pyramid (at Dashūr) and a great king of about 2900 B. C. Both in early dynastic Egypt and in Babylonia of the corresponding age, the years were designated, or named, by the chief events in each. One of the earliest uses for which writing was invented was the registration of these year names. Among the most ancient examples of hieroglyphic writing are the year-names written on little wooden or ivory tags found in the graves

of the kings of the first dynasty. Lists of year-names were prepared, probably in very early times, but the only one which has come down to us was written about the end of the V<sup>th</sup> dynasty (about 2600 B. C.), although it was certainly made up from earlier lists. This is the famous stone first discovered in the museum at Palermo whither it had been brought in some obscure manner from Egypt. Originally the Palermo stone had borne the year-names of all the reigns of the first five dynasties but only about a third of the stone is preserved. On that piece, one of the years of Seneferuw is named : «Year of the building of . . . ships of 100 eils (52 metres) of *mer*-wood, the devastation of the land of the negroes, the bringing of 7000 captives, men and women, and 200,000 head of cattle, large and small». In fuller terms, a military force had been embarked on a number of large Nile boats and sent on a raiding expedition to the «land of the negroes» whence it brought back 7000 male and female slaves and 200,000 head of cattle of all sorts. The only difficulty lies in the interpretation of the word negro (Egyptian : *nehsi*) and the resulting conclusion as to the situation of their land. At this time, Lower Nubia as far as Halfa was inhabited by Egyptians, or at any rate descendants of the neolithic Egyptians altered by an admixture of a negroid race. In the Middle Empire, some 500 years later, the population of Dongola Province was negroid but not negro, and yet Sesostris II, in his Semneh proclamation, forbade the «boats of the negroes» to pass Semneh except to go to a certain market place further north. The *nehsi* represented on the Egyptian monuments is a typical woolly-haired black man. Nevertheless it is quite clear that both Seneferuw and Sesostris used the term *nehsi* for the negroid Nubians as well as for the true negroes. Thus it is probable that Seneferuw harried what is now Halfa and Dongola Provinces.

It may be mentioned in passing that the grandchildren of this Seneferuw were buried in the great mastabah-tombs north of the second pyramid at Gizeh. In these tombs, a number of portrait heads in white limestone have been found representing the princes and princesses of that generation. Among these, in Mastabah G. 4440 the wife of one of the princes is plainly a negress. Other representations of negroes occur in the royal monuments of the V<sup>th</sup> dynasty found by the German expedition at Abusir. The products of the southland are depicted abundantly in the reliefs and paintings of the

IV<sup>th</sup> and V<sup>th</sup> dynasties, and some of them, such as ebony, ivory, resins and ostrich feathers, have been found in the graves of quite common people.

All this material points to certain permanent relations between Egypt and the south, but it is only the inscriptions of the VI<sup>th</sup> dynasty which permit a fuller comprehension of these relations. The great officials, in particular those of Elephantine, who led the caravans and the military expeditions, have left us a number of inscriptions on the walls of their tombs in the cliffs opposite Assuan and in other parts of Egypt relating their adventures in the «southern lands». The Archæological Survey of Nubia has given us a clear picture of the population and the conditions in Lower Nubia during this time which assists us in interpreting these accounts. The population had lost its Egyptian character, inherited from the predynastic period, and had become the curious negroid race which is hereafter known as the Nubian race. It was living in an impoverished condition in small agricultural settlements founded on the little patches of alluvial soil in the mouths of the side wadys. Except for an occasional bronze (or copper) awl and a few beads of Egyptian manufacture, the people were in a neolithic condition. The inscriptions show that the land was harried by the southern tribes up to the walls of Elephantine, the southern gate of Egypt. It may well be that earlier raids from the south had caused the disappearance of the older Egyptian population or its retirement behind the frontier fortress of Elephantine, and that Nubian tribes with little to lose had drifted in to win a precarious livelihood in the harried territory. One could always save his life by swimming the river or taking to the hills for a day or two. Egyptian expeditions were also passing on their way to the south, and Lower Nubia thus became a sort of no-man's land with no possibility of prosperity, — a land of no value to the Egyptians and of no use to the strong southern tribes except as a good place to surprise and loot caravans. Further south the conditions were very different but for our picture we must turn to the inscriptions and to the excavations at Kerma.

The Egyptian monarchy was now at a great height of magnificence. The divinity of the king as the living Horus was the basis of all court etiquette. The luxury and the ostentation of the palace was borne by a system of taxation based on a biennial census and by the income of vast personal

estates acquired doubtless by age-long violence. The power of the king, depending largely on these material resources, was supported by a number of great officials, many of them with a tribal following, and by a regular mercenary army. The Governor of the south, Weny, in his tomb at Abydos, gives an enlightening account of the levying of an army by Pepy I to make war on the Sinaitic Bedawin : « His Majesty made an army of many ten thousands of men, (taken) from all the southland southwards from Elephantine, and northwards from Aphroditopolis, from all the northland on both sides, from Sezer and from the fortresses, from Irthet of the negroes, Mazoi of the negroes, Iam of the negroes, from Wawat of the negroes, from Kauw of the negroes (and) from the land of the Temehuw (Libyans). His Majesty sent me at the head of this army, while the provincial princes, the royal seal bearers, the sole companions of the palace, the governors and the commandants of the south and the north, the caravan leaders, the high priests of the south and the north, and the overseers of the royal domains, were each at the head of a company of the south or the north, of the fortresses or of the towns which they commanded, or of the negroes of these foreign lands. »

Under these circumstances of wealth, luxury and power, the Egyptians naturally reached out their hands for all they desired from neighbouring lands, the oils and the cedar-wood of Syria, the turquoises and hard stones of Sinai, the slaves, the gold and the other products of the southern lands. The usual procedure appears to have been to send a royal expedition with a small military escort. In Sinai, the records of these expeditions are numerous enough, beginning as far back as the reign of King Semerkhet, the seventh king of the I<sup>st</sup> dynasty. The first authenticated expedition to Punt is recorded on the Palermo stone as taking place in the reign of Sabura of the V<sup>th</sup> dynasty and bringing back myrrh, electrum, and some kind of wood, but many expeditions to Punt must have taken place both before and after this time. As for Ethiopia, the most instructive account is that of the expeditions led by Harkhûf about 2570 B. C. : « The « Majesty of Merera, my Lord, sent me with my father, the sole companion, « the lector-priest, Iry, to Iam to open a road to that country. I did it in « seven months and brought back all the products thereof, . . . . . I was « greatly praised therefor. His Majesty sent me a second time and alone. I

« went forth on the road of Elephantine and came back through Irthet,  
 « Makher, Tereres, Irtheth in a matter of eight months. When I came down,  
 « I brought the products of this land in great abundance. Never had the  
 « like been brought to this country (Egypt). I came down from the district  
 « of the ruler of Sethuw and Irthet after I had opened up these lands. Never  
 « . . . , had any caravan leader done so who had gone to Iam before this.  
 « Then His Majesty sent me a third time to Iam. I went forth . . . . on  
 « the road of the Oasis and found the ruler of Iam had gone to the land  
 « of the Temehuw (Libyans) in the western quarter of the heavens. So I  
 « went after him to the land of the Temehuw and I pacified him so that he  
 « gave praise to all the gods for the king's sake . . . . (several unintel-  
 « ligible lines). Before Irthet and behind Sethuw, I found the ruler of  
 « Sethuw and Wawat . . . . I came down with 300 asses laden with  
 « incense, ebony, castor (?) -oil, *sat*-grain, leopard-skins, . . . . . ivory,  
 « throwing-sticks (?), every good gift. Then the ruler of Irthet, Sethuw and  
 « Wawat saw the strength of the company of Iam which came down with  
 « me to the court together with the soldiers sent with me (from Egypt),  
 « and so this ruler brought and gave me bulls and goats, and guided me  
 « into the mouth of the roads of the hills of Irthet (*i. e.* the *aqaba* of Irthet)  
 « because excellent was the watch which I kept more than any caravan  
 « leader who had ever been sent to Iam. »

Harkhûf made other journeys to the south and he reproduces a letter  
 which Pepy II sent to meet him at Assuan on his return from one of them.  
 Harkhûf had sent word to the king that he was bringing back a dancing  
 dwarf « like the dwarf which the sealer of the god, Ba-wer-ded, had  
 brought from Punt in the time of King Isesy ». The king in his delight  
 replied urging great care that the dwarf might not fall into the river or  
 meet with any other accident on the journey down to Memphis.

The inscription of the caravan leader, Pepynekht, of the time of this  
 same Pepy II, gives a picture of a different kind of an expedition : « His  
 « Majesty my lord sent me to devastate Wawat and Irthet, and I acted so  
 « that my Lord praised me. I slaughtered a great number there, children  
 « of the chief and excellent leaders of his court, and I brought away a  
 « great number of living captives, for I was a hero at the head of many  
 « mighty warriors. His Majesty satisfied his desire therein in every expedi-



« lion upon which he sent me. Then His Majesty sent me to pacify these  
 « lands and I did it so that my lord praised me more than anything. I  
 « brought the two rulers of these lands to court in safety, and living cattle  
 « and goats which they . . . . . to court, together with the children of  
 « the chief and the court leaders who were with them. »

The inscription of Sebni, of about the same time, gives a still different view of these early expeditions to the south : in the mutilated beginning lines, it is related that a ship's captain named Yentef brought word that the father of Sebni had died while on an expedition to the south and that Sebni set forth « with a troop of my estate and 100 asses laden with « ointment, honey, clothing, and faience objects of every sort in order to « make presents (?) in these countries. Now these were the countries of the « negroes . . . . . I sent men who were in the Door (of the south) and I made « letters to give information that I was come forth to bring back my father « who was dead in Wawat and Wetheth. I set at rest these lands . . . . . I « found this sole companion (his father) on an ass and I caused him to be « borne by the company of my estate. I made for him a coffin . . . . . I « brought him with me out of these lands . . . . . I came down to « Wawat and Wethek, while the royal . . . . . Iry, with two men of my estate « were (sent) in advance bearing incense, . . . . ., and a tusk of 3 ells to « bring word that the best one was a tusk of 5 ells (about 260 cm.) and « that I was bringing my father and all the products which he had brought « from these lands. » Further on Sebni tells how he handed in the goods brought by the expedition, to the royal store-house in the presence of the members of the expedition, apparently as an evidence of his honesty.

Add to these inscriptions the fact that the rocks of Nubia as far as Semneh bear the graffiti of dozens of caravan leaders and we get a clear idea of the remarkable traffic between Egypt and the Sudan in the third millennium before Christ. It is more difficult to determine how far south these expeditions penetrated. Harkhûf took eight months on his second journey to Iam. How far could a donkey caravan go and come back in eight months? Even with all the delays of trading and treating with native chiefs, Harkhûf must have reached Dongola province. The actual travelling time of a slow moving caravan is less than a month between Assuan and New Dongola (el-Ordi). In the troubled times of 1820-1821, Cailliaud,

delayed by the negligence and the ill-will of Turkish officials and by frequent stops to examine and plan ancient ruins, went from Assuan to Dongola in 50 days, to Gebel Barkal in 78 days and to Berber in 104. But owing to delays of the Egyptian army and to 14 days stay at Meroe, Cailiaud took 211 days to reach Sennar. Harkhûf took 240 days for his whole journey. There would have been no difficulty so far as the mere travelling goes, in reaching Sennar in that time and returning to Egypt. But we have no means of knowing the length of the delays caused by negotiations with local chiefs and by the actual trading operations. Perhaps the nearest parallel to these operations would be the trading expeditions of the Arabs in East and Central Africa described by the European travellers previous to the partition of that country. It is quite clear that most of the products brought back, whatever their origin, might have been obtained in trade anywhere between Dongola province and Sennar. From the excavations at Kerma, it is known that resins of several kinds, ivory, ebony, and ostrich feathers were abundant there about 2000 B. C. even among the native population. To sum the matter up, I doubt whether the Egyptians of the old Empire went as far as Sennar, and I infer that their advance, if it reached so far, would have been along the Blue, not the White, Nile.

Two further references in the inscription of Weny and two rock inscriptions of King Menera must be mentioned in order to complete the material. Weny says in line 42 : « Never had the visit to Ibhet and Elephantine been made with only one war-ship in the time of any king ». Ibhet is not far south of Elephantine. In line 45, he says : « His Majesty sent me to excavate 5 canals in the southland, to make 3 freighters and 4 towing boats of acacia wood from Wawat while the chiefs of the lands of Irthet, Wawat, lam, and Mazoi brought wood therefor. I did the whole thing in one year, launched and loaded with great granite blocks for the pyramid called *Menera-kha-nefer*. » The two royal inscriptions are on the rocks on the east bank at Phile and record a visit (or visits) of King Menera and that « the rulers of Mazoi, Irthet, and Wawat kissed the earth and gave praise greatly ».

From these inscriptions it appears that the country southwards of Assuan was inhabited by a series of tribes whom the Egyptians designated as negroes. The names of the Wawat and the Mazoi are known in later

inscriptions and there can be no doubt that these tribes lived in the districts between Dongola and Assuan. Our present evidence is that they were not true negroes. All these tribes, schooled by experience, feared and respected the king of Egypt, and they were quite content to take presents from the official expeditions and to pass them in safety. But occasionally, too grasping, or badly treated, they fell upon and plundered an expedition and had to be punished by a military force sent for this purpose. In our day, we all understand fully the nature of these conditions. The references of Speke in his journal to the trading-stations, the caravans and the wars of the Arab traders of Zanzibar are particularly instructive. One imagines Harkhûf and the chief of Iam, sitting on Egyptian stools, and discussing, like Speke and the chief of Karagwé, men and gods and all visible things. The tale of the divinity of the king of Egypt and the building of his pyramid, the magnificence of his court, and the order of his administration, lost nothing in the telling and did not fail to stir in the chief the desire to send his sons to Memphis to see and to learn. One imagines the later returns of Harkhûf to Iam and the greetings between him and his old friend. It was such friendships which opened the roads to the trading caravans and kept them open for many generations. Equally easy of mental reconstruction is the affair of Pepy-nekht who first acting as leader of an army broke the power of the chief of Wawat and Irthet and then returned to make peace with him, in order to reopen the trade routes. The chief, whose influence over his own people had been shattered by defeat, came in chastened and humble mood, probably with his garments hanging in disarray as an outward mark of his mood, to place himself at the mercy of the Egyptian and to swear unending loyalty to the king of Egypt. He and his children were taken to the Egyptian court to impress them with the greatness of Egypt, and while the children were probably kept as hostages, the chief himself was sent back to Wawat to serve the roads as before.

The goods sought in the south were resins, woods, ivory, oils, certain special grains, incense, myrrh, and leopard skins (the ceremonial dress of the Old Empire). Gold, which became so prominent in the later inscriptions, is never mentioned. In exchange, the Egyptians brought faience objects, presumably amulets and beads (always one of the chief commodities in Africa), ointment, honey and woven cloth. It may be mentioned

that at Kerma there is a mud-brick building, probably an old trading station, under the Middle Empire Fort, near which we found fragments of a large number of alabaster ointment jars inscribed with the name of Popy I. Fragments of larger stone vessels were also found which may have contained honey. In all probability, copper implements and weapons also formed part of the stock in trade of the Egyptians. The goods were carried on donkeys, and if we may judge by the Kerma evidence, stations of mud-brick were built at one or two points where the expeditions made their head-quarters for longer periods. The collection of the «good gifts» sent to Egypt appears to have been by barter and trade, but of course the military expeditions simply looted the country or exacted tribute. Their chief profit was in captive slaves and in cattle. The military expeditions do not seem to have been numerous and in the long run they could not have been so profitable as the trading expeditions.

Such was the condition of affairs in Ethiopia during the Old Empire, down to about 2500 B. C. Then follows a time in Egypt when the central government was weakened and a period of general poverty prevailed, which lasted for three or four centuries. During this period nothing is known of conditions in Ethiopia. Certainly the tribes lost their fear of Egypt and free of foreign interference strengthened their tribal organisations or fought among themselves after the manner of the African tribes of the nineteenth century of our era. Trade is to the interest of all concerned and trading caravans almost everywhere among primitive races have enjoyed a certain measure of tolerance or even active protection. It is probable therefore that the intercourse between Egypt and Central Africa was maintained somehow, either by Egyptian or by Nubian caravans. Possibly the Nubian merchants came down by boat to Halfa or Assuan, a very ancient market for southern goods, and the Egyptians came south to meet them. The large and prosperous Nubian population found at Kerma in the Middle Empire must have been gaining headway during this intermediate period, and the natural conclusion is that all the Ethiopian tribes securing for themselves a larger share of the profits of the trade between Egypt and the south became prosperous and fairly strong.

Towards the end of this period between the Old and the Middle Empires, Egypt began to recover both politically and economically. Northern

Egypt felt the revival first and the rulers of Heracleopolis (X<sup>th</sup> dynasty) made a successful effort at the domination of the whole country. But in the end, the southern provinces united under the Theban princes proved the stronger, and King Mentuhotep I (XI<sup>th</sup> dynasty) of Thebes re-established the monarchy of united Egypt. From the time of Pepy II of the VI<sup>th</sup> dynasty to that of Mentuhotep I, no mention of Ethiopia has been found in the Egyptian monuments. Even in the time of Mentuhotep I, there is only a relief from a temple at Jebelēn (between Luxor and Edfu) representing the king smiting four of his enemies, one of whom seems to be an Egyptian, while the other three are named «Nubians», «Asiatics» and «Libyans».

The accompanying inscription, referring to the king, reads (according to Prof. Breasted) : «Binding the chiefs of the Two Lands, capturing the South and Northland, the highlands and the two regions, the Nine Bows and the Two lands». These epithets of the king, taken with the pictures of the defeated enemies, would seem to indicate that Mentuhotep I had made an effort, perhaps successful, to curb the independence of the Ethiopian tribes. This inference is supported by the next notice which appears in an inscription of Mentuhotep II on the rocks near Assuan (recorded by Prof. Petrie) : «Year 41 under Nebkherura (Mentuhotep II), came the royal treasurer, the sole companion, the overseer of the sealers, Khety, born of Sitra; ships to Wawat, . . . . .». Without doubt, the traffic with the south was being maintained much as it was in the Old Empire. The phrase «ships to Wawat» may, however, be significant. Hereafter it is by ship and not by donkey caravan that the communications with the south are to be chiefly maintained. It may be doubted whether the high sounding-words of the inscription of Mentuhotep I refer to anything more than a punitive expedition, but the power of Egypt was growing and the time was at hand when Ethiopia was to pass under the administration of resident Egyptian officials.

GEORGE A. REISNER.

# SCENT AND SIGHT AMONGST GAME AND OTHER ANIMALS

BY MAJOR C. H. STIGAND.

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Most persons know that the sense of smell plays an important part in the life of such game animals as the hollow-horned ruminants, the carnivores and the pachyderms. Not all perhaps realize that this sense is so predominant that — in the daytime at least — the sense of sight plays, by comparison, an unimportant and subsidiary role. The average mammal is almost wholly guided by scent, whilst searching for food or prey, in avoiding its enemies and in seeking a mate and breeding.

With the great majority of mammals the power of vision is poor during the daytime — with some, such as the elephant and rhino, sight seems almost non-existent. Their eyes appear to be especially adapted to obtain a maximum power in the dark; at night they see well — much better than the average human being — and this power enables them to move about freely in the dark without fear of running into obstacles.

Any poacher, or mole-catcher, knows that if he touches his snares, or traps, with the bare hand nothing will come near them. A hare, or mole can recognise the human scent clinging to such things many hours afterwards and whilst some distance from them. The animal's nose warns it, whereas if there is no scent — as when gloves have been used in setting the traps — his eyes generally fail to show him anything peculiar about the snare and so he is caught. Every huntsman knows that his hounds hunt purely by scent until within a few feet of their prey. A hare may double close in front of a pack and the pack overshoot the trail and have to pick it up again by casting. If any one of the hounds used its sight it could not fail to have seen where the hare had gone.

Many of the greater game, notably elephant and buffalo, can wind their chief enemy — man — at an immense distance when the breeze is favourable. In a dry country water is detected by the same sense. In following

a spoor across the wind one has noticed the track suddenly turn at right angles up the wind and proceed unerringly to some little mud hole, or rainpool a mile or so distant.

Selous mentions an incident which occurred in a drought in, I think, Khama's country. A herd of cattle were driven to a waterhole and it was found to have dried. At that moment a light breeze sprang up, the animals tossed up their heads and started up-wind whilst their herdsman, not being able to turn them, followed behind. After travelling for a considerable distance they arrived exhausted at a waterhole which neither the cattle nor the natives had visited before.

An animal in danger seems to depend almost entirely on scent — a dangerous scent conveys an instantaneous warning to the brain and the animal bolts without hesitation. If an animal sees anything suspicious it generally looks for a little, then bolts a short distance and then often turns to look again. On hearing anything it will generally wait for confirmatory evidence, unless it was anything very startling, such as a rifle report. Elephant on being disturbed by a rifle shot will stampede down wind for about a thousand yards, or a mile, and then stop, turn round and take the wind for half a minute or more. After this pause they will, as a rule, go off more leisurely but for an immense distance. So invariably do elephants stop for this testing of the wind, after being alarmed by sound, that, if one races behind them directly after firing one can generally count on getting up for another shot in about five minutes. However, this practice, when followed in thick grass or bush, is apt to lead one into the most disagreeable situations.

Game animals practically always graze up-wind and bolt down-wind, depending on their range of scent to keep them out of any danger threatened. After bolting to a safe distance they will circle round and come up wind again to some spot they have ascertained free from noxious scent.

Animals which lie in open country depend to a greater extent on sight for the detection of their enemies but even so I have proved their vision defective on so many occasions that I feel sure that they cannot focus well, or see anything clearly in daylight. They are often quick enough to pick up a moving object but such objects must appear to them blurred and without defined outline — they tell by the manner of its moving

whether it is friend or foe, whether familiar or strange. If the object is distant they have to watch it for a considerable time; a stationary object defeats them.

I believe that the average hollow-horned ruminant would walk up within a few yards of any stationary object — even if it was a man or a lion — without detecting it, provided such object was absolutely motionless and the breeze was in the right direction. Such unfortunate rencontres seldom occur owing to the animal's almost invariable habit of grazing upwind or, at least, guarding itself against surprise, like the steamer fearful of the submarine, by taking a zigzag course. Sometimes they will omit taking such precautions and I have occasionally had animals walking up within a few yards of me when I have been sitting or standing quite still. I have had hartebeest, duiker, warthog, bushpig, waterbuck, lion and several other kinds of game within a few yards of me and quite unaware of my presence until I moved, fired or the wind betrayed me. With the blinder game, such as elephant and rhino, it is not generally necessary to keep still, so long as one makes no noise or rapid movement. I have also known of cases where hartebeest and zebra have been killed by lion under such conditions that it is only possible to assume that they walked up within the lion's springing distance.

If gazelle, or other animals in captivity, be observed it can be noticed how blind and unable to detect still objects by shape or colour are the majority. For instance some food it is fond of, such as a banana, is dropped within a few inches of a warthog's nose, where it must be visible to any normal vision. Yet the warthog quarters the ground, sniffing backwards and forwards, for an appreciable time before finding it. This seems to show that in finding its food it is dependent on scent alone and offers one explanation of the fact that animals practically always graze upwind, although considerations of safety also would account for this.

Horses and mules do not seem to see well, they cannot distinguish a stationary object, such as a motionless rhino, but are filled with alarm if they get its wind, or smell its spoor. Even in detecting moving objects they seem very slow. I could tell the moment a certain mule of mine had sighted a rhino, as he suddenly stopped dead and stared at it. It was not often that he saw one although there were plenty about.



Horses do not shy at, or try to avoid distant stationary objects — it is only when they get within a few yards of an alarming object that they shy. Although much of this is affectation some at least is genuine and seems to prove that they are unable to see such objects clearly until close up to them. Coming from Fasher to Nahud on a camel which shied and made a *détour* to pass every dead camel on the road, I had several opportunities of estimating the range at which he could distinguish these, to him, alarming objects. Whereas I could recognise a dead camel at perhaps a thousand yards distance, he would give a start and then bolt off the road at thirty yards or so.

The other day I was observing my mule plucking grass as we rode along. The grass was of two kinds, a fine and a coarse one, and the mule would only eat the former. Once having noticed the difference I found no difficulty in distinguishing a clump of the one kind from a clump of the other twenty yards ahead. Not so the mule, everytime he wanted a fresh mouthful he made for the nearest clump and put his nose into it, then if it was the right kind he plucked it whilst if it was the wrong kind he turned away in disgust to look for another clump. It seemed obvious that he had sufficient vision to detect a clump, but not that clear focus which would enable him to distinguish a fine from a coarse grass.

As regards mating, scent is all important, the male as a rule locates the female by scent and knows in that way when she is ready for mating. Many of the antelope have scent-secreting glands, on face, foot or elsewhere, which are supposed to be of purely sexual utility.

The he-goat rushes round a zariba, sniffing the females alternately, to see if any are ready for his attentions. He sniffs at, say, a speckled she-goat and evidently decides that she is of no use. He then sniffs a second and next to this the speckled one again, having failed to notice that it is the same goat which has moved to a different part of the zariba. If she moves about much he perhaps comes back to her half a dozen times before he has inspected all the other females. If sight played any part in this proceeding, he would surely be able to distinguish every member of his particular herd and know that there was only one speckled one amongst them.

As to sight at night, it is undoubted that most mammals see at this

time very much better than the human being. It is inconceivable that herds could stampede wildly over difficult country on a dark night, without breaking neck or limb, or even falling unless they could see where they are going. A horse can see well at night, it can pick its way and often stumbles less than in the daytime. Practically all mammals, except apes, are nocturnal — either purely nocturnal, such as the carnivores, porcupines, rats, etc., or partly nocturnal such as elephants and the hollow horned ruminants, which graze and court chiefly at night but also graze during the day. Of the latter I believe the buffalo is the least nocturnal as it seems to lie down for part of the night.

If sight plays an important part in the life of the ordinary mammal, it is because it is of the kind adapted to the dark rather than to the light. In fact, the sight of the majority is of a kind, rarely and imperfectly known amongst human beings, called, I believe, *nyctalopia*; the sign of which is an immensely enlarged pupil and the effect is that the sufferer is almost blind in a bright light and can see well in twilight or the dark.

If the eye of a gazelle or antelope be examined, it will be seen that the pupil is out of all proportion to that of the human eye — a condition shared by the owl. Most birds, on the other hand, are diurnal in habits, like ourselves, and seem to see as much as we do except that their sight, particularly in the raptorial, is much longer ranged.

C. H. STIGAND.

THE  
SAKIA IN DONGOLA PROVINCE

BY W. NICHOLLS.

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The word «Sakia» (*Sāqiyah*), which literally means a Water-Wheel used for irrigating land, is now in Dongola Province more generally used to denote not only the Wheel itself but also the plot of land which it is used to irrigate.

For cultivation purposes every sakia must have a *şamad* or overseer (except in some parts of Dar El Shaigia). This *şamad* may or may not have any share in the ownership of the land. In many cases, especially where the owners of the land do not themselves work it, a suitable man is put in to act as *şamad* and receives a fixed share of the crop as his remuneration. Care must be taken not to confuse this cultivation overseer or «*şamad moiya*» as he is called, with the *şamad* appointed by the owner of the sakia and registered in the Government books as the headman of the sakia, who is responsible for the collection of the tax from the various owners and for its payment to Government.

They may be one and the same person in many instances but it is not necessary that they should be.

The people who work under the *şamad* and assist him in the cultivation and watering of the land are called the *turābla* (plural of *turbāl*) and there is also the boy who drives the oxen which turn the wheel, and who is called the *auretti*.

The *şamad* is responsible for (a) the working of the water-wheel (b) the making of the *ḥēḏān* (plural of *ḥōḏ*) or small basins into which the land to be cultivated is divided up for the purpose of watering it and (c) the sowing of the seeds.

All the other work of the sakia is performed by the *turābla* alone

except the following duties in which the şamad takes his share with the turābla :

1. The clearing of the kōdēk or excavation in the river bank, beneath the water-wheel, from which the water is drawn.

This work is generally performed at the tettig (the midday interval).

The şamad's particular share in this is the clearing of the gawatti which is the well in the kōdēk into which the pots of the water-wheel dip.

2. Frightening off the birds from the crops. Many devices are adopted for this purpose. The most usual is to erect high wooden platforms here and there among the crops joined together by ropes from which are suspended old tin cans and various oddments which when shaken make a noise. Each platform has its tenant, generally a child, who now and then pulls the ropes. Another device is a thick rope which is cracked like a whip. When wielded by a skilful hand it produces a very loud report, like that of a gun.

3. Clearing the gadwal (or water conduit), called in Dongolawi malti, of weeds and grass. The şamads special charge in this work is the main conduit of the sakia (El gadwal el dakar), which is cleared every eight days; the turābla looking after the subsidiary gadwals.

After the main gadwal has been cleared of weeds and grass the şamad drags a large stone, called the maltin ochil to which a rope has been attached, along the bed of it in order to smooth it out and facilitate the flow of the water along it.

4. If the wheel has to be worked by night as well as by day, as is very often done when there is a large area under cultivation, the şamad and the turābla share this extra work.

The night work is divided into two shifts of approximately four hours each; the first, beginning shortly after sunset and called the 'İshā, being done by the şamad and the second, called the Figrāwi which begins at about 1 a. m., being carried out by the turābla.

This work during the day is done by the aurretti.

5. When any heavy work has to be undertaken which the şamad and his turābla cannot do alone, such as making a new main gadwal or when

a crop has to be put down quickly, a crowd of neighbours is summoned in to help. This crowd is called a faza'.

The faza' does not receive any pay or wages but is supplied with food and drink by the şamad and the turābla, each supplying half.

Sometimes a sheep is slaughtered but there is always a plentiful supply of merisa (native beer). This is a *sine qua non*.

We have thus considered the duties to be performed by each of the persons who work on the sakia. The next point to consider is the remuneration which each of them receives for his toil.

Remuneration is always in the form of a share in the crop except in the case of the aurette who is generally hired at a monthly wage, usually amounting to from 15 to 20 piastres. Of course when the şamad and the turābla have children of their own capable of doing this work, no aurette is hired, the work being done by the children in turn.

To examine the question of the division of the crop we will take firstly the most difficult instances, that is when neither the turābla nor the şamad have any share in the ownership of the land, or the wheel or the bulls and when the seeds have had to be borrowed.

Then when the division of the crop takes place the first call upon it is the repayment of the man from whom the seeds were borrowed.

The actual amount he receives will have been arranged at the time of borrowing, such as an ardeb and a half for each ardeb borrowed or any other amount as previously fixed.

Then one sixth of the crop is set apart for the owners of the land, one fifth for the owner of the wheel and, as the şamad is merely a «şamad moiya», one eighth is set apart for him as his remuneration.

This roughly disposes of half of the crop. The other half is divided up between the turābla and the owners of the bulls on the arrangement that each bull receives half a turbāl's share.

Thus when there are four turābla and eight bulls, a very usual number, the turābla receive one-quarter of the crop and the owner of the bulls receives one-quarter.

In Argo the number of turābla seldom or never exceeds four and the usual arrangement is for each of the turābla to produce a bull and the şamad to produce one for each one the turābla produce.

The amount paid for the hire of the water-wheel varies sometimes, as if there is a shortage of wheels and a good demand for them, the owners of them naturally put up their prices. The same is also the case with the amount paid for the hire of land; in the case of high permanent land (called *barjök*), which is difficult to water and not very fertile the landlord may get as little as one-tenth of the crop as rent while in the case of newly-formed alluvial land (called *gurēr*) he may get as much as one quarter of the crop. Among the *Shaigia* also the «*šamad*» is very often dispensed with and all the *turābla* work together without any headman.

There are many minor claims on the *sakia* to be satisfied from the crop such as the *ra'is* of the ferry-boat who generally receives 8 *hōds*, the *bašir* or native carpenter who keeps the wheel in repair, the Arab who makes and supplies the baskets for carrying the manure (*marōg* or *sibākh*), the persons who supply the donkeys for carrying the manure, in case the cultivators have none of their own, and the blacksmith who repairs the hoes (*tōriya* or *fās*). These latter four though sometimes paid in money are very often remunerated in kind, a certain number of *hōds* being set apart for them.

The payment of the tax is always a matter of arrangement between the land owners and cultivators; a very usual arrangement being that the cultivators pay half the tax on the land cultivated while the landlords pay the other half and also all the tax on the uncultivated land (called «*būr tax*»).

The above cultivation arrangements are very much simplified in the case when the *šamad* is the owner of the land and the wheel. In this case the *turābla* supply half the bulls and half the seeds and pay half the tax on the cultivated land while the *šamad* supplies half the bulls, half the seeds and the *auretti* and pays half the tax on the cultivated land and all the *būr tax*. All the crops are then halved the *šamad* taking one half and the *turābla* the other.

W. NICHOLLS.

# ARABIC NURSERY RHYMES

BY S. HILLELSON.

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The specimens of nursery lore presented in the following pages require only a few words of introduction and comment. They were obtained from school boys at the Gordon College and are known to everybody in this part of the country. As might be expected the texts of these jingles are not in any way fixed, but are quoted in many different versions, though it did not seem worth while to note any variants. Our material is rather fragmentary, but for fuller details about child life and the manners and customs of the nursery one would have to go to the womenfolk, a source of information that is not easily accessible to the inquisitive official. Perhaps the specimens given in this number will bring in further examples from other contributors in different parts of the country.

Students of folklore know that nothing is so universally distributed among the human race as the simple tales and jingles of childhood. Whether the common fund is the inheritance of a common origin, or whether the stories have wandered from tribe to tribe, and if so by what routes, these are questions not easily solved. A glance at the Arabic specimens is sufficient to show that they also belong to the common stock. But for the accidents of local colour they bear a very close resemblance to the nursery rhymes of Europe, and numbers 3 and 4 definitely belong to a very common group the English versions of which are familiar to everyone. It is perhaps worth mentioning that one of the oldest known examples of this type belongs to the Semitic East: it is the Aramaic story of the goat (Khad gadyā) which has found its way into the Passover service of the Jews.

1

*Yā tāli' esh-shedera*  
*ḥalābat el-'ashara*

*hāt lei<sup>(1)</sup> ma'āk bagara*  
*tahlib tā'ashshini*

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<sup>(1)</sup> Pronounced with the diphthong.

<i>fi ma' laga sinī</i>	<i>el ma' laga inkasarat</i>
<i>min ba'ashshinī?</i>	<i>raurrahte bēt Allāh</i>
<i>ligēt ḥabīb Allāh</i>	<i>gā'id lo fōg bambar<sup>(1)</sup></i>
<i>giddāmo ḥamām akḥḥar</i>	<i>yīṭa'im lo fi sukkar</i>
<i>yā rētni kān dugto</i>	<i>ḥatta en-nabī zurto.</i>

Oh you going to the forest,	bring me home a cow
with milk enough for ten;	then milk her and give me my supper
in a chiua spoon.	The spoon is broken,
who will give me my supper?	I went to the house of God,
I found the Beloved of God,	sitting on a stool,
a grey pigeon before him,	he feeds it on sugar,
wish I had tasted it,	I would have made pilgrimage to the
	Prophet.

Another version of the same rhyme was quoted with the following introductory lines :

<i>Gumriya dibāsa</i>	<i>um ḥalḡan miwāsa</i>	
<i>ḡal lek el-Khalifa</i>	<i>ḡiffi marisa</i>	
<i>fi ḡar'a nadīfa</i>	<i>nishrab negōḡi<sup>(2)</sup></i>	<i>fi ḥillat Selōḡi</i>
Dove and pigeon	with the soft throat	
the khalifa said to you :	make marisa	
in a clean gourd,	that we may drink and	
	make merry	in the village of Selogi

## 2

<i>Eṭ-ṭer el-khuḡārī</i>	<i>ab rishan birārī</i>
<i>afirrak w atwika</i>	<i>ashūf shebābī fika.</i>
<i>shebābī nūr el-wādī</i>	<i>el laḡemar<sup>(3)</sup> u bādī.</i>
<i>Zaghāwa<sup>(4)</sup> ḡarabōna</i>	<i>u sheddō jemālun<sup>(5)</sup> jōna</i>
<i>dabaḡna lēhum zarzar</i>	<i>zarzar mā kafāhum,</i>
<i>kafāhum jōt Allāh<sup>(6)</sup>.</i>	

(1) A stool with a seat of rope like an angarib

(2) Meaning uncertain.

(3) Note the reduplication of the *l*; this is a regular feature in Sudan Arabic.

(4) A tribe in Kordofan and Darfur.

(5) *Jemālun* = جمالون : the *h* is silent.

(6) *Jōt Allāh* = جود الله said to be a crested bird.



*jôt Allāh yāb goṭīya* <sup>(1)</sup>      *ḥumārik, yā Rogaiya.*  
*Rogaiya bitt ahanna* <sup>(2)</sup>      *um sha'ran mitanna.*

The grey bird with shining feathers;  
 I will spread your wings and fold them, I behold my delight in you; My delight is  
 the light of the valley, the red and shining. The Zaghawa made war upon us, they  
 saddled their camels and attacked us. We killed sparrows for them, but sparrows  
 did not satisfy them. The hoopoo satisfied them; Oh hoopoo of the hut; your  
 donkey, Rogaiya. Rogaiya is our daughter, she with the curly hair.

3. -- A LULLABY <sup>(3)</sup>.

<i>Dōha yā Dōha</i>	<i>Dōha shāl bēt Makka</i>	<i>jāb lei ma'aho kaku</i>
<i>el-kāka fil-makhzan</i>		<i>el-makhzan 'ā'iz mustāḥ,</i>
<i>el-mustāḥ 'ind en-najjār</i>		<i>en-najjār 'ā'iz gaddūm,</i>
<i>el-gaddūm 'ind el ḥaddād</i>		<i>el-ḥaddād 'ā'iz fulūs,</i>
<i>el-fulūs 'ind es-sultān</i>		<i>es-sultān 'ā'iz 'arūs,</i>
<i>el-'arūs 'ā'iza mandīl</i>		<i>el-mandīl 'ind el-juhḥāl,</i>
<i>el-juhḥāl 'ā'izin leban</i>		<i>el-leban taḥt el-bagara.</i>
<i>el-bagar 'ā'iz ḥashīsh</i>		<i>el-ḥashīsh taḥt el-jubāl,</i>
<i>el-jubāl 'ā'izin maṭar,</i>		<i>yā rabb, tajīb el-maṭar.</i>

<i>Dōha, oh Dōha, Dōha went to God's house at Mecca, he brought me back some cake.</i>	
The cake is in the cupboard,	the cupboard wants a key.
The carpenter has the key,	the carpenter wants an adze.
The smith has the adze,	the smith wants money.
The king has got the money,	the king wants a bride.
The bride wants a kerchief,	the babies have the kerchief.
The babies want milk,	the cow has the milk.
The cows want grass,	the grass is at the foot of the hills.
The hills want rain,	Lord Thou givest rain.

## 4. -- THE GOAT THAT WOULD NOT GO HOME.

*Kān fi ghanamāyatēn, es-sughaiyara isema* <sup>(4)</sup> *Krēt,*  
*el-kabira tamrug tākul el-gashsh es-samiḥ u tekhalli ukhta* <sup>(5)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> *Gotiyah*, pl. *gatali*: a grass tuft.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ahanna* = اهنا.

<sup>(3)</sup> This is said to be of Egypt origin, but is fairly well known in the Sudan.

<sup>(4)</sup> = كريت.

<sup>(5)</sup> = اختها.

*teramrim fil wisākhāt.*

*Ba'dēn Krēt galet le ukhta : allā tekhallīnī amrug ma'āki?*

*wakit maraget u ligat el-khudār es-samiḥ abat mā tırja' el bēt.*

1. *Ba'dēn ukhta kōraket : yā-l-marfa'in, yā-l-marfa'in, ta'al ukul Krēt.  
Krēt mā lehā? Abat mā tinzil el-bēt.  
Abēt mā bākul Krēt.*
2. *Yā kilāb, ta'ālū imbahū fil marfa'in.  
El marfa'in shin sawwa? Abā yākul Krēt. Krēt shin sawwat?  
Abat tūshī l-bēt. Abēna.*
3. *Yā 'l-aṣāya, ta'ālī duggi 'l-kilāb. El-kilāb shin sawwō?  
Abō ye'addō 'l-marfa'in. El marfa'in shin sawwa?  
Abā yākul Krēt. Krēt shin sawwat? Abat teshūl el-bēt.*
4. *En-nār ta'ālī ukul 'l-aṣāya. El-aṣāya shin sawwat?  
Abat ma tedugg el-kilāb etc.*
5. *El-moiya ta'ālī itfi 'n-nār. En-nār shin sawwat?  
Abat tākul el-aṣāya, etc.*
6. *El-jemel, ta'al jerjīb el-moiya. El-moiya shin sawwat?  
Abat tūfi 'n-nār etc.*
7. *Esh-shuwāl ta'al, taggil el-jemel. El-jemel shin sawwa?  
Abā mā yishrab el-moiya, etc.*
8. *El-fār, ta'al gidd esh-shuwāl. Esh-shuwāl shin sawwa?  
Abā ma yeḥammil el-jemel, etc.*
9. *El-kadis, ta'al ukul el-fār.  
El-kadis gal bākul el-fār,  
el-fār gal begidd esh-shuwāl,  
esh-shuwāl gal beḥammil el-jemel,  
el-jemel gal bashrab el-moiya,  
el-moiya galet batfi 'n-nār,  
en-nār galet bākul el-aṣāya,  
el-aṣāya galet bedugg el-kilāb,  
el-kilāb galan benimbah el-marfa'in,  
el-marfa'in gal bākul Krēt.  
Krēt raja'at el bēt.*

It will be sufficient to give a translation :

There were two goats, a little one and a big one, the name of the little one was Krēt.

The big one used to go out to eat the luscious grass and left her sister to rummage among the filth at home.

One day Krēt said to her sister won't you let me go out with you? When she was outside she enjoyed the pleasant herbage so much that she refused to go home.

1. Then her sister called out : Hyena, come and eat Krēt.  
What is the matter with Krēt?  
Krēt won't go home.  
Won't eat Krēt.
  2. Dogs, come and bark at the hyena. What has the hyena done?  
Won't eat Krēt.  
What has Krēt done? Won't go home. Won't.     >  
.....
  8. Mouse, come and gnaw the sack, .....
- Sack won't burden camel, camel won't drink water, water won't put out fire, fire won't burn stick, stick won't beat dogs, dogs won't bark at Hyena, hyena won't eat Krēt, Krēt won't go home.
9. Cat, come and eat mouse,  
The cat said : Right I'll eat the mouse,  
Mouse said : I'll gnaw sack. Sack said : I'll burden camel. Camel said : I'll drink water. Water said : I'll put out fire. Fire said : I'll burn stick. Stick said : I'll beat dogs. Dogs said : we'll bark at hyena. Hyena said : I'll eat Krēt.  
Krēt went home.

S. HILLELSON.

# NUBIAN ELEMENTS IN DARFUR

BY H. A. MACMICHAEL.

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When the Arabs, after the conquest of Egypt in the middle of the vii<sup>th</sup> century, turned their attention southward to the Sudan, they found their way blocked beyond Aswan by the Christian Kingdom of Dongola, which extended upstream for some short distance beyond the junction of the Blue and White Niles.

The organization of this Kingdom was very loosely knit and its people were not homogeneous. The inhabitants of the southern districts were to all intents and purposes negroes : their northern neighbours, living in what are now the provinces of Halfa and Dongola, though much mixed with negro, appear to have had very much more in common with the ancient Egyptian element and to have represented in part the old red-black stock of the Nile valley.

In the extreme north of Nubia, round Aswan itself, the immigrant Arabs in the course of the following centuries amalgamated with the local Nubians, a process greatly facilitated by the existence of a matrilinear system among the latter, for by judiciously marrying into the ruling family of Nubians the Arab ensured the power passing in a single generation to his own son.

Thus came into being the Kenūz (*sing.* Kanzi) of the present day. The Aulād Kanz were originally a branch of the Rabī'a Arabs from Yemāma, who, having entered Egypt in the middle of the ix<sup>th</sup> century, eventually settled round Aswan<sup>(1)</sup>; but so completely did they coalesce with the Nubian element that gradually they ceased to speak Arabic as their native tongue and became all but indistinguishable from their neighbours.

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<sup>(1)</sup> QUATREMERRE, *Mémoires...*, II, 84-85.

Thousands of other Arabs also settled in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia and at the time when the Kingdom of Dongola finally collapsed before the arms of the Mamluks of Egypt the fusion of races in its more northerly districts was rapidly becoming complete.

Broadly speaking it was the Arabs of Juhaina, a powerful Kaḥtānite tribe from the Hejaz, and various branches of the Ismailitic Quraish, the Prophet's own tribe, that were most plentifully represented in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia, though these were accompanied by many other Arab tribes, particularly by branches of Qais 'Ailān (*e. g.* Fezāra), Rabī'a, etc., and by semi-arabicized Berbers, notably Howāra and Luāta.

The Juhaina tended to remain nomadic and many offshoots of them found their way in the xiv<sup>th</sup>, xv<sup>th</sup> and following centuries into the Gezira, Kordofan and Darfur, and there became the founders of some of the largest Arab tribes of the present day, camel-owners and Baqqāra.

The Quraish, on the other hand, do not appear to have gone far afield. They tended to settle among and intermarry with the Nubian or Barābra peoples and so became largely responsible for the Danāgla and soi-disant Ja'lin stocks whose habitat proper is now in Dongola and Berber provinces.

In this latter case the religious prestige attaching to the name of Quraish has by a natural process led those Nubian tribes who were brought into contact with them to claim descent from one or another member of the Prophet's own section of the Benī 'Abbās (Quraish), and hence it arises that, though the Danagla Ja'lin, etc., may represent an admixture between the Barābra stock and a score or more of Arab tribes it is only the relationship with the Quraish upon which they lay any stress in their traditional pedigrees, and the pretensions of the Ja'lin, to be descended from the Benī 'Abbās are universally accepted throughout the Sudan at the present day.

Now the linguistic resemblances which were noticed in the xix<sup>th</sup> century as existing between the Barābra and the inhabitants of the most northerly group of Nuba hills in southern Kordofan, reinforced by the similarity between the names Nuba and Nubia, led to a misconception which was radically unsound. It was suggested that the Nuba of Southern Kordofan and the Nubians of Nubia were racially identical or very closely

cognate, and that the latter had once had their home in the mountains of the south. As a matter of fact it is difficult to conceive of two peoples who differ more profoundly in all essential respects, and physically they are almost the antithesis of one another. It has been assumed and for the purposes of this argument it need not be denied that the stock to which the Nuba of the south belong did at one time, previously to the Assyrian conquest of Egypt, spread over the Gezira and occupy Nubia by force of arms and even conquer Egypt and for something less than a century rule it, but, even if this be allowed, it would remain true that the wave of negro aggression was shortlived and that in time it duly ebbed. It may even have been responsible for the name of Nuba, but it certainly cannot be held accountable for the light-coloured lightly built race that now lives in Nubia.

The facts appear to be that for centuries after the time of the Arab conquest of Dongola, if not earlier, there was a more or less continuous flow of slightly arabicized Barābra emigration from Nubia to the fertile country, well suited to cattle-breeding and cultivation, which lies to the south of the latitude of El Obeid. So there came into being the semi-negroid Bedairia, Jawama'a, Tomam, Tumbab and other tribes which inhabit that neighbourhood and pretend to a Ja'li descent in the knowledge that, if that be granted, the Quraish connexion will be assumed to follow.

Now this connexion between the Nubian (Barābra) tribes and those of southern Kordofan is a more or less accepted fact, but, to the best of my belief, little if any evidence has been adduced to show that the emigrant Barābra penetrated in those early days in any numbers so far afield as Darfur.

Of course it is common knowledge that the royal houses of Darfur and Wadai lay claim to a Ja'li descent—in the former case, illogically, through the Benī Hilāl—but even if this were accepted it would prove no more than that certain individuals from the Nile found their way so far westwards and by virtue of their superior attainments and religious pretensions succeeded in getting the direction of affairs into their own hands. But a theory to the effect that Barabra settled in Darfur wholesale would rightly have been regarded as entirely unproved.

The object of this paper is to adduce certain evidence which may remove

the theory from the realms of pure hypothesis and make it at least a presentable assumption.

A word must be said first concerning the population of Darfur and the lines of approach to it from the valley of the Nile.

As regards the latter point : there have never been any natural difficulties to overcome between the Nile and Darfur to one travelling along the line of the Baqqāra country south of the latitude of El Obeid, but this lies too far south to be relevant to the purpose of this paper. From Central Kordofan the direct approach to Central Darfur must have been extremely difficult until the Kunjāra Sultans (Fūr) in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century opened the line of great rock-hewn wells from El Fasher towards the Kāga hills, because eastern Darfur and western Kordofan were practically waterless. The Ḥamar did not systematically develop the system of storing water in baobabs until about the end of the same century, and wells were not opened at El Nahūd until the Mahdist era. Consequently the ordinary road from El Fasher to El Obeid, instead of running as it does now, used in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century to turn slightly north from Jebel el Ḥilla and pass through Kernak, Kāga Surrūg and Fōga to Kāga Sōderi and Katūl and thence turn south-east through Bāra to El Obeid; and it was this line that was invariably followed, in default of any other sufficiently well watered, by the invading forces of Darfur.

Now from Kāga and Katūl it is also quite feasible to travel east-north-east along the line of Jebels Abū Ḥadīd and Um Durrāg and El Ḥarāza to the river. In fact, the great Wadi el Muqaddam, which must in prehistoric times have been an artery of the Nile, rises not far east of El Ḥarāza and runs into the Nile near Korti, and this Wadi, containing water at a shallow depth all along its course, provides an easy passage to and from the Nile.

The traditions, and the very existence, of the large and long established Dongolawi colony, known as the Dōalib, at El Ḥarāza provide evidence that the Wadi el Muqaddam was so used.

Another great Wadi which runs into the Nile some 40 miles from the mouth of the Wadi el Muqaddam is the Wadi el Melik, so called, it is said, because it was reckoned the appanage of the ruler of Darfur. This Wadi rises in the neighbourhood of Fōga near the Darfur border and runs north-east direct to Debba. Wells can be dug in it at a succession of points

and in the rainy season it is flooded for a great part of its length. There is reason to suppose from the existence of old deserted stone villages and the abundance of baobabs in the vicinity of the Wadi el Melik that five hundred years ago the rainfall was heavier and the country therefore more easy of transit. There is ample evidence of early racial movements from Dongola southwestwards by way of the Wadi el Muqaddam, El Harāza and Kāga and it would not be unnatural to suppose that the Wadi el Melik was also used. The journey westwards from Kāga, supposing there were no wells in the somewhat arid stretch which has to be crossed before the really fertile districts of Darfur (viz. all but the eastern district) are entered, could always have been performed with ease between July and the end of the year, when the rainwater was still standing.

The only other lines of approach from the Nile to Darfur that need be considered are the caravan roads that run from Assiut and Esna through the oasis of Selīma and Bir Natrōn (*El Malḥa*) direct to Mīdōb, and that which starts from New Dongola and passes through Elai to the same place. These however were primarily trade routes crossing vast desert spaces, and there is at present no evidence that they were, or could have been, channels of tribal migration.

As regards the more important tribes that at present inhabit Darfur, it is only necessary to make a few general remarks.

In the north-eastern corner is the large range of the Mīdōb hills. Southwest of them are the Tagābo hills peopled by the negroid Berti. This tribe has linguistic affinities with the Zaghāwa who live west of it and a vague traditional connexion with the «Arab» tribes of Kordofan and the Ja'lin, and Howāra of the Nile valley. Its country extends to within a day or so of El Fasher, but within the last half century many Berti have also settled, for the sake of cultivation, in the sandy and undulating but poorly watered country which lies east of El Fasher and comprises much of western Kordofan.

West of Jebel Mīdōb and the Berti live the Zaghāwa. These are neither Arabs nor negroes proper but rather a Tibbu race from the north-west. Excepting Jebel Mīdōb the whole northern boundary of Darfur is held by the Zaghāwa and they also extend in the north-west to the borders of Dār Qimr and Dār Tāma, buffer states between Darfur and Wadai.



In the more southerly parts of their country the Zaghāwa villages are much mixed with those of the Tunjur. These latter are not easy to place, but they appear to have entered Darfur as Arabs, some 400 or 500 years ago, either from Tunis or, far more probably, by way of Dongola<sup>(1)</sup>, and to have become subsequently negrified. Traditionally they are always connected with the Benī Hilāl of «Abū Zaid», who, having been brought over to Egypt by the Fatimites at the beginning of the xi<sup>th</sup> century, settled for the most part in the Berber country to the west but are known to have pushed in some numbers up the Nile Valley to the Sudan.

The Tunjur were the ruling race in Northern Darfur for a time in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, but they mostly moved on to the west through Wadai, and those that remain in Darfur have nothing but scattered villages among the Zaghāwa in the north and the Fūr in the central districts.

The Fūr themselves are a negro race inhabiting primarily the great range of Jebel Marra, which with Jebel Sī and the other hundred smaller hills that lie near them, forms the main watershed or backbone of the whole province. Until the first half of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century they were savage mountaineers but they were then brought into touch with Muhammadan Arab influences from the east and were converted to Islam. Their early Sultans ruled from Turra in Jebel Marra, but in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century they not only conquered all the plains on either side of the Marra range but overran Kordofan, and the Sultan Tirāb carried his victorious arms so far afield as Shendi, Metemma and Omdurman. The credit for this work of conquest is entirely due to the royal Kunjāra branch of Fūr, who represent the semi-Arabicized element. The wilder and more backward Fūr still live in Jebels Marra and Sī and in the southwestern corner of Darfur. The Kunjāra, though mixed with other branches, are mostly east of the main range or round Kebkebīa.

To the east of the southern part of Marra, that is to say some three to six days south of El Fasher, live a group consisting of Birqed, Baiqo and Dāgu.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cp. BARTH, vol. III, chap. LI, p. 430.

The last-named were the paramount power in southern and central Darfur before the advent of the Tunjur. They claim to have come from the east and there is some evidence that their original home may have been in Southern Sennar and Fazōghli. Other Dāgu are in Southern Kordofan in the so-called «Messirīa» jebels, and the Dāgu also form the population of Dār Sula in Southern Wadai. The name «Fininga» by which they call themselves may possibly be connected with «Funj».

The traditions of the Baiqo as to their origin resemble those of the Dāgu.

It is with the Birqed that this paper is chiefly concerned.

Of the Arab tribes, Baqqāra in the south and Maḥāmīd Zayādīa, etc., in the north, there is no need to say anything but that, excepting the case of certain of the Baqqāra — who are racially identical with those of Southern Kordofan — they are few and poor. They were more numerous until the Dervish days, but the Fūr Sultans have always disliked and oppressed them and the Dervishes all but exterminated them.

On the west Darfur proper is bounded by the buffer states of Sūla, Maṣālīḡ Qimr and Tāma. Sula is now a part of Wadai. Both it and the other three «Dārs» were, under the old Egyptian Government and by the Dervishes, counted a part of Darfur.

Beyond them is Wadai.

On the north the Zaghāwa of Darfur march with the wild Bedayāt and Quraʿān of the Ennedi highlands.

On the south, beyond the Baqqāra, are the Dinka and Fertit negroes of the Baḥr el Ghazāl.

On the east is Kordofan with a sedentary population of negroid Arabs and various nomadic Arab tribes.

Arabic is the lingua franca of Darfur and, practically speaking, it is only in Jebels Marra and Sī and in some of the villages west of them that it is not understood.

Arabs apart, the Qimr and the Tunjur are the only people among those mentioned who speak Arabic only. Each of the other tribes has its own dialect, though in some cases, more especially in the east and near El Fasher, they speak only Arabic and have forgotten their proper tongue. Further afield they talk among themselves in their proper tongue and,

when conversant with Arabic, use the latter for intercourse with their neighbours.

But an interesting fact emerges in this connexion. Whereas the language of the Fūr is distinct from any other Darfur dialect and, so far as I can judge, from any of those spoken by the Fertit tribes to the south, and Zaghāwa belongs to the Tibbu family, and Berti seems cognate to it, the dialects of Jebel Midōb and of the Birqed both bear quite obvious resemblances to those spoken by the Barābra of Nubia. The Dāgu and Baiqo speak dialects which are, generally speaking, distinct in vocabulary, but approximate now and then to that of the Birqed.

Now it is notorious that linguistic affinities between two parties do not necessarily imply community of racial origin, but none the less it is clear that they can only be explained by the fact of the parties having at one time or another been brought into close and prolonged contact — unless they are in fact of the same stock.

Some account of the people of Midōb and the Birqed must precede any attempt to decide in what way the linguistic affinities between them and the Barābra are to be explained.

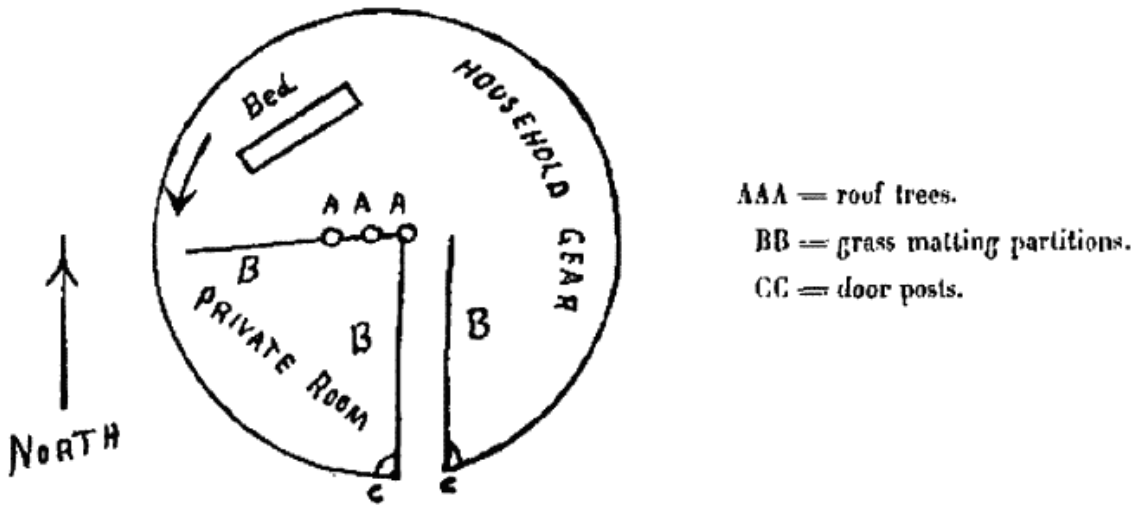
Jebel Midōb lies about 400 miles west of Khartoum and 350 miles west-south-west of Debba, the point at which the Wadi el Melik joins the Nile. It consists of a jumbled mass of hills of volcanic origin between 100 and 200 miles in circumference. None of them rise to any great height and they are intersected by innumerable small valleys. The water supply in the dry season is from moderately shallow wells dug in these valleys. In the rains and early winter the people water from pools and *geltis* (cavities in the rocks on the hill sides).

They are a semi-nomadic folk : that is to say for the greater part of the year they constantly shift camp from place to place in and about the hills according to the grazing facilities; and in the rains, though a few folk remain stationary in villages for the sake of cultivation the great majority are away with the flocks in the great uninhabited area lying east of Midōb and west of the Wadi el Melik, where the Kabābīsh Arabs send their camels and sheep at the same season from the opposite side. They are primarily herders of sheep and goats and have very little cultivation and keep no fowls. They buy most of their corn from the Berti to the south.

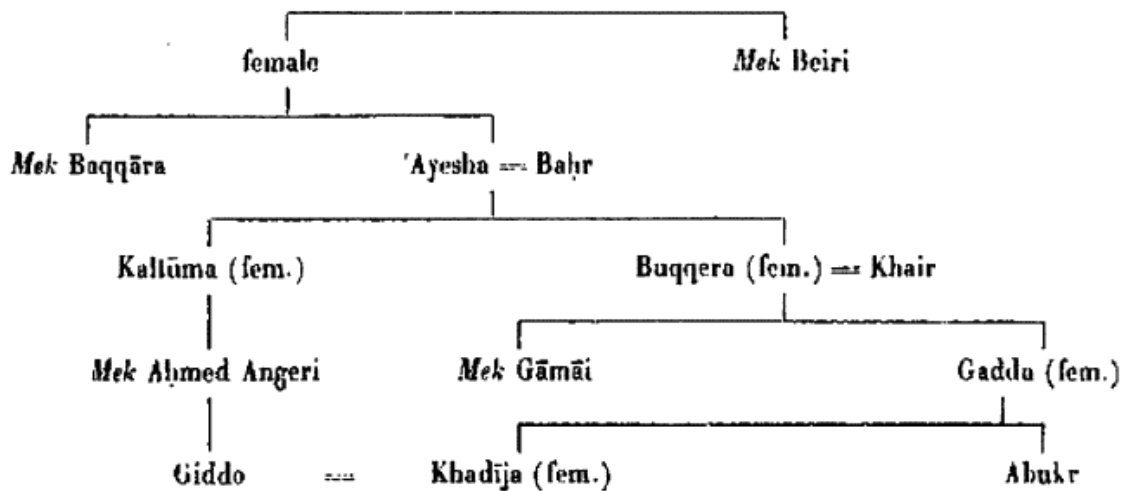
The huts which compose a Midōbi village are of a design which is unique in my experience of the Sudan. In appearance they look from a distance like large rounded boulders or beehives. On closer approach they seem to resemble, but on a larger scale, the round grass huts of the Fellāta of West Africa, or else the similarly shaped shelters of palm-matting built by the Shukriya and the Arabs east of the Blue Nile. But in fact they are quite distinct in design and composition from either. As having no permanent value they are naturally built in a ramshackle manner, and when the site is changed they are generally abandoned. In shape they are circular and in content slightly larger than the ordinary village *tukl* of the Sudan. The sides are formed of long boughs stuck in the ground so as to lean slightly inwards. If they are curved rather than straight so much the better as the curve provides additional room in the house. These boughs do not converge at their tops so as actually to meet — this would make the house too small — but the space between their tops is filled in by interlacing many other shorter boughs horizontally from fork to fork in such a way that the whole appears at this stage like the framework of a birds nest upside down. Support and stability are given to the whole structure by two or more stout roof-trees, forked at the tops, which are planted side by side two or three feet apart near the centre of the hut. Smaller boughs and sticks of any shape and kind are thrust in among the forks of the larger boughs and the interstices are plugged with bunches of grass and cornstalks laid on without any design and held in place by more forked sticks and boughs.

The doorway opens to the south and is low and formed of two *shaibas* or stout forked posts. The interior is not left open and unpartitioned as in the case of a *tukl*. On entering the door one advances along a kind of gangway which extends as far as the roof-trees. This gangway consists of a high partition of grass-matting (*Sherqānīa*) on either side reaching nearly to the roof. On one side the partition is continued along the line of the roof-trees, at right angles to the outer wall of the hut in such a way as to form a private room in its angle. On the other side the partition ends near the centre of the hut. The household gear is kept in the open part of the hut or stuffed into the interstices of the roof.

The general plan of the hut may best be explained by a diagram thus :



The villages are all on the plain but usually near the foot of the hills. The people are Muhammadans but there are plentiful traces of more ancient manners and beliefs. For instance a matrilinear system of succession and inheritance is still followed and on the death of a *mek* he is succeeded by his sister's son. «The bone», they say, «is from the mother, the flesh from the father». There are two *meks* in Midob, one of the northern portion of the range (Urti section), the other of the southern portion (Shelkōta section). The following genealogical tree, as supplied by the latter, explains itself



The latest *meks* in order of succession have been Beiri Baqqāra Ahmed Angeri and Gāma'i wad Khair (the present *mek*), and the last named will

be succeeded by Abukr. Aḥmed Angeri and Gāma'i, being sons of sisters are reckoned «brethren», but Kaltūma being the elder sister Aḥmed succeeded first.

In the matter of inheritance it is usual nowadays, in order to conform to Islamic practice while preserving the ancient customs, for a man before his death to give his wealth to his sons, and the sister's son finds nothing left to inherit.

The well-to-do men carry a sword the rest are content with a few spears or a knobbed stick. The throwing stick or boomerang, universal in the rest of Darfur, is not used at Mīdōb.

Circumcision of both sexes is practised.

Marriage with the daughter of the father's brother, usual among the nomadic Arabs to the east, is taboo at Mīdōb, though the same does not apply to the daughter of the mother's brother. It is a matter of indifference whether a man marries a girl from his own section of the tribe or not.

Two annual festivals are held by the southern Mīdōbīs. The first takes place when the corn is ripe and the first few heads are being cut but before the general reaping. On this occasion the young men and the girls go to Khor Odingār and camp there for fifteen days enjoying themselves with dancing and horseplay (*e. g.* the girls plait the boys' hair). The older folk merely act the part of spectators and bring out the food and drink for the others.

The second fête-day is a harvest festival. The young men have their heads anointed and go to Khor Tat and take part in manly sports, running and riding, etc. The women and girls look on. In the evening each young man has to jump over the Khor, and then all go home. Some ten to twenty days later the performance is repeated, but I was unable to find out what factor decided the exact date of this subsequent occasion.

Just before the rains a ceremony is also held at the holy rock of Udru, a broken unshaped block of granite some 2 1/2 feet high lying at the foot of Jebel Udru (called by the Arabs Mogrān), a large prominent detached hill on the south side of Mīdōb. The holy rock is called Telli (northern dialect) or Delli (southern dialect), and the same word in Mīdōbī dialect means «God».

Over it is built a rough hut of boughs, which is repaired yearly before the ceremony but left in bad repair for the greater part of the year. The rock, when I saw it in July 1917, was still covered with milk stains. Another smaller boulder near by had similar stains upon it and some stones and cow-dung on the top of it. This second boulder was referred to as the son or brother of the larger one and the reasons of its having also been honoured was said to be that the hut built over the big boulder had so consistently fallen to pieces that the people thought the rock was perhaps annoyed at the neglect shown to the smaller boulder; so of late years they had taken to making offerings to both. The stones and cow-dung had been deposited by children in play. The ceremony at Udru is performed by certain old women of the Ordarti section who inherit the privilege from mother to daughter. The offerings of milk, fat, flour, meat, etc., are handed by the votaries to these old women and by them placed on the rock. The rest of the people stand some away off and pass the time dancing and jumping and singing.

There is said to be another holy stone at which similar rainmaking ceremonies are held a day's journey away to the east at Jebel Abu Nuqta (in Midōb), but this I did not visit. It is also called Telli (Delli).

Elsewhere in Darfur, among Fūr, Zaghāwa and others, analogous ceremonies are held with the object of ensuring good rains, and in every case the medium is an old woman and offerings are made at some particular stone or tree. It should also be noted here that traces of a similar practice were noticed by Professor Seligman a few years ago at Kāga.

The three main sections into which the Midōbīs are divided are the Urti (in the northern hills), the Torti (or Dorti), and Shelkōta (in the southern hills), but there are also certain well-defined subdivisions such as the Ordarti, the Genāna (who seem to have an Arab strain), the Turkeddi, the Usutti and the Kāgeddi.

All alike claim to be by origin Maḥas from Dongola but they preserve no written record nor definite oral tradition as to the time at which they settled at Midōb nor as to the circumstances of their migration.

They call themselves *Tiddi* (not \*Midōb\*), a word which in the Berti language means \*white\*, but one hesitates to see more in this than a mere accident.

The old burial grounds at Midōb are always at the foot of the hills and the sites are marked by rough cairns of stones. Exactly similar cairns occur between Midōb and the Wadi el Melik, at Kāga and Katūl, on the Wadi el Muqaddam, in the hills immediately west of Omdurman and again in the hills between the Blue Nile and Abu Dileig.

The dialect spoken at Midōb is a form of Barābra, but more will be said of this in dealing with the Birqed dialect.

Let us now turn to the Birqed.

They are known to the Fūr by the name of Kajjara and their country — also known as Kajjara in the days of the Fūr Sultanate — lies to the east of Jebel Marra between Jebel El Ḥaraiz and Dar Rizeiqāt (Baqqāra). Their immediate neighbours are the Dāgu, the Baiqo and the Tunjur. There is also a small but long-established colony of Birqed a day's journey to the north-east of El Fasher at Turza.

At the beginning of the xix<sup>th</sup> century there were also some Birqed in Wadai — one supposes the wadi which forms a boundary between Dār Maṣāliḥ and Wadai and which appears variously on the maps as Kajja or Kaja or Kia may be named after them — and these El Tunisi spoke of as « traîtres, brutaux, pillards . . . la honte et la plaie du Ouadây ». « C'est de cette peuplade », he added, « que sortent les ouvriers en fer et les chasseurs. » The ironworker in Darfur, by the way, is as much despised throughout the length and breadth of the country as anywhere else in central or eastern Africa or eastern Asia. So too the Birqed of Darfur to El Tunisi were « traîtres, voleurs et rapaces à l'excès, sans crainte de Dieu ni du Prophète<sup>(1)</sup> ».

Barth merely mentions them (« Birkit ») among the negro tribe on the Wadai-Darfur frontier<sup>(2)</sup>.

Nachtigal says<sup>(3)</sup>: « This tribe, composed of the slaves of the Sultan (of Wadai) has remained free of racial admixture. The Birguid are very dark (« gris foncés »), more so than the Mabas, and are of a negro type and have the character and customs of the Central Africans, and speak a language entirely peculiar to themselves. »

<sup>(1)</sup> EL-TUNISI, *Voyage au Darfour*, p. 133-136, and *Voyage au Ouadây*, p. 249-250.


<sup>(2)</sup> *Travels*, vol. III, p. 543 (App. 7).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Voyage au Ouadai*, p. 67.



The main divisions of the Birqed in Darfur at present are as follows :

Madargarkei. The ruling house. The cattle brand of this section is , which represents a war drum and sticks.

The Serār Buqqa ( «cattle folk» ) section of Nuba at Jebel el Harāza in Northern Kordofan similarly use a brand  representing a (smaller) round war-drum and stick.

Tuddagei. Said to be Benī Hilāl by origin.

Sirindikei.

Togongei. Said to be Benī Hilāl by origin.

Kamunḡa.

Mirowgei.

Kuldukei.

Izmandikei.

Turingei.

Fileikei.

'Eraiḡāt. That is some Arab 'Eraiḡāt (Baqqāra) living with the Birqed.

Tongolkei.

Kagurtigei.

Morolkei.

Sasulkei.

The component parts of these divisions are, in the view of other tribes than the Birqed themselves, largely adulterated by alien elements.

In the palmy days of the Darfur Sultanate the Birqed country was the appanage of the Fūr dignitary known as the Urundulu. The latter employed four *mulūk* as farmers of revenue there<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Birqed, unlike the Baiḡo, Dāḡu, Zaghāwa, Borqu, Mīma and Tunjur had, it seems, no «Sultan» of their own<sup>(2)</sup>, and it is stated at the present day that they had only a «shartai», or local «'omda» at the head of their tribe. Consequently, it may be presumed, they had no *nahūs* (royal war drum).

Their country was known as «Kajjar» and the Birqed are still known to the Fūr as Kajjara, to the Dāḡu as Kagarūgei, and to the Baiḡo as Kajargei. They call themselves Murgi.

<sup>(1)</sup> TUNISI, *Voyage au Darfour*, p. 137.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 138, where no Birqed Sultan is mentioned.

A few Birqed also live in Kordofan south of El Obeid and it is traditionally reported in Northern Kordofan that about the beginning of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century they were the ruling people in the hills of Kāga and Katūl but were ousted by the Bedairia.

The tendency among their neighbours near El Obeid is to class the Birqed, with the Tomām and Tumbāb, who have already been mentioned as negrified tribes with pretensions to a Nubian-Ja'li connexion, as of Hamaj or Nuba descent.

It was in collecting a small vocabulary of Birqed words in Darfur in 1917 that I noticed two interesting facts. In the first place the Birqed (of Turza) mentioned that the people to whom they were most nearly related in Darfur were those of Jebel Midōb, and in the second the dialect of the southern Birqed — those at Turza only speak Arabic — bears an obvious similarity to the Nubian and Kanzī vocabularies collected by Burckhardt.

It will be remembered that the people of Midōb claim to be an ancient colony of Maḥas and Danagla from Nubia and that their language resembles that of the Barābra. It would seem that the Birqed too found their way into Darfur from Nubia,

Their connexion with Midōb, the similarity between the names Kajjara (Kajargei, etc.) and Kāja or Kāga (which applies to the whole long broken chain of hills from Katūl to Jebel el Hilla) and Kageddi (a subtribe of Midōb), the local tradition at Kāga that the Birqed once ruled there and at Katūl, and possibly the occurrence of old ironworks at El Ḥarāza, all suggest that it was by way of Northern Kordofan that the Birqed may have come.

There are only faint indications as to the possible period of their arrival. It has been noticed that two of the Birqed subtribes call themselves Benī Hilāl by origin. El Tunisi too usually groups the Birqed with the Tunjur. The traditional connexion between the Tunjur and the Benī Hilāl is strong, however difficult it be to define its details, and the Birqed seem to be implicated in this ethnological embroglio.

Since there is no trace of the Tunjur having ever spoken any tongue but Arabic, whereas the Birqed still speak a dialect as well, and since the Birqed are socially indistinguishable from the Dāgu, who preceded the

Tunjur in Darfur, and since the Birqed have forgotten everything about their Nubian connexion and are generally regarded as having lived in south-central Darfur from time immemorial, whereas it is common knowledge that the Tunjur immigrated and are not indigenous, it appears likely that the Birqed reached Darfur before the Tunjur immigration.

The Tunjur came in the xv<sup>th</sup> or xvi<sup>th</sup> century and the Birqed may have left Nubia soon after the dismemberment of the Christian Kingdom in the xiv<sup>th</sup> century, or even earlier.

The so-called Hilālī sections of Birqed may be no more than Tunjur who joined them in Darfur or may represent Benī Hilāl elements who joined the Birqed in the same way as others joined the Tunjur.

There is even extant what I believe may be a vii<sup>th</sup> century reference to the Birqed (Kajjara) when they were still in Nubia. Immediately after Ibn Selīm's account of the Sudan Maqrīzī places the following passage<sup>(1)</sup>: « J'ai vu aussi dans une lettre adressée par certaines tribus à l'émir des croyants 'Ali ben Abou Taleb », — that is to say the latter must have been written within twenty years of the conquest of Egypt — « qu'il était fait mention des Bedjahs et des Kadjahs lesquels sont très méchants, mais peu pillards<sup>(2)</sup>. Les Bedjahs sont ainsi; quant aux Kadjahs, on n'en connaît que ce qu'en dit 'Abdullah ben Ahmed l'historien de Nubie<sup>(3)</sup>. »

'Abdulla ibn Ahmed is more generally known as Ibn Selim el Aswānī, who wrote between 975 and 996 A.D., but what he had to say about the Kajja (Kajjara?) we do not know because the extracts from his work quoted by Maqrīzī contain no mention of them.

I have only learnt a few score words of the Birqed and Mīdōb dialects, but the percentage among these of words that are clearly of Barābra origin is high. The following are examples :

<sup>(1)</sup> Ed. Bouriant.

<sup>(2)</sup> Burckhardt translates (*Nubia*, p. 509) « Warlike nations who do not make much booty ».

<sup>(3)</sup> Burckhardt translates « But I know not who the Kedja are ».

ENGLISH.	MĪDŪB.	BIRQED.	BARĀBRA <sup>(1)</sup> .	REMARKS.
One.....	pirrki	meirti	wērum (K), wērun (D), wēra (F. M.)	
Two.....	uddi	ullu	āwum (K), ōwun (D), ōwo (F. M.)	
Three.....	tāsi, or, dāsi	tizzit	tōskum (K), tōskin (D), tīsko (F. M.)	
Four.....	ēgi	keimzi	kēmsum (K), Kēmsin (D), Kēmsō (F. M.)	
Five.....	tēchi, or dēchi	tishi	dijum (K), dijīn (D), dīja (F. M.)	
Six.....	korrehi	korshi	gōrjum (K), gōrjin (D), gōrjo (F. M.)	
Seven.....	ollotli	koldi	kōllādum (K) Kōllādin (D), Kōllōda (F. M.)	
Eight.....	iddi	ittu	īduum (K), īduwin (D), īduwo (F. M.)	
Nine.....	ukuddi	ijmoldi	īskodum (K), īskodin (D), ōskoda (F. M.)	
Ten.....	timmigi	timmun	dīnnaum (K), dīnnaan (D), dīm (F. M.)	
A hundred..	iramil	mia (Ar) meirta	īmīl wērum (K), īmīl wērun (D), īmīl wēra (F. M.)	
Iron.....	teasi	sirti	šārti (K. D.), (īrlīssi (F. M.))	Dāgu of Sula «isingi»
Hair.....	tēdi	tillē	dīlti (K. D.), šingīrti (F. M.)	Tāma, «Kurra»
Mountain...	ōr	kūr	kūlla (D), (kit (F. M.))	Tāma «Kollongalatt»
A stone....	ulli	kuldi	kūln (K. D.), (kit (F. M.))	Dāgu of Sula «tchat- chung»; Tāma «tatt»
A woman...	iddi	ein	ēn (K. D.), idēn (F. M.)	
Boy.....	'utchi	otontti	tēndi, tōd (K. D.)	

<sup>(1)</sup> Taken from Leo Rehwisen's *Die Nuba-Sprache*, publ. Vienna 1879. K = Kanzi, M = Mahas, D = Dongolawi, F = Feddiche (i. e. Sukkot). Brackets are placed round words that are apparently formed from a separate root.

ENGLISH.	MĪDŪB.	DIRQED.	BARĀBRA.	REMARKS.
Green.....	tessē	(?)	dēssi	
Red.....	kayli	Kayle	gel	
Black.....	uddi	ūdia	ūrum	
White.....	addē	aylē	āro (K. D.), (nūllu (F. M.))	
Mother.....	iya	ennon	ēn	Tāma, «nunun».
Name.....	urri	einerē	ēri (K. D.), iangis (F. M.)	Dāgu of Sula, «angē»; Tāma, «ugāt».
Horse.....	porriyi	(Kisi)	(Kaj (K. D.)), mūrta (M. F.)	Dāgu of Sula, «murte»; Tāma, «firrat»; Fūr, «murta»; Berti, «burto»; Zaghāwa, «hūrtē»; Fejali, «mārda»; Gōlo, «mroto»; Fertū <sup>(1)</sup> , «murta»; Kamāmīl, «mūrta»; Galla, «fārdan».
Mouth.....	āl	enagul	agil (K. D.), Ak (F. M.)	Dāgu of Sula, ūkē; Tāma, «kull».
Father.....	abba	embabōn	ambāb (K. D.), ābo (F. M.)	Dāgu of Sula, «bā».
They.....	(ung'a)	tir	tir (K. D.), ter (F. M.)	
He.....	(ōn)	ter	ter (K. D.), tar (F. M.)	
Meat.....	(osongyé)	kōzi	kūsu (K. D.), (ārj (F. M.))	
Winter.....	itchi	kizidi	kis (K. D.), (ōrim (F. M.))	
Milk.....	itcirri	eshi	iji (K. D.), ingīssi (F. M.)	
Star.....	(ongyedī)	weindi	wišši (K. D.), wūji (F. M.)	

<sup>(1)</sup> Sic Reinisch, the Digga tribe of Fertū use «murta», the Bada «bertan», the Kara «mutta», the Sāra «sindān», the Gula «unda».

ENGLISH.	MĪDŪB.	BIRQED.	BARĀBRA.	REMARKS.			
Water . . . . .	urtchi, ushi	eigi	ēssi (K. D.), āman (F. M.)	Bueckhardt gives «amauga» as = «river» in Nuba and «essig» in Kanzi.			
Watercourse ( <i>ktor</i> ).	(?)	mānīti	ur (K. D. F. M.)		Tāma, «ugurr».		
Head . . . . .	orr	urr	(bānu (K. D.)), kaj (F. M.)			Dāgu of Sula, «katchē»; Baiqo, «kadt- chinē». Dāgu of Darfur, «kachinē».	
Donkey . . . . .	utchi	(Kusuldi)	wel, or uel (K. D.), (mug (F. M.))				If my memory is not at fault the word for «man» in the Dilling group of hills (S. of Kordofan) resembles «Kortoge». Similarly the first two syllables of «Kordofan» were held, I think by Rūppell, to be derived from a Nuba word for «man». The Dāgu of Sula use «yōgi».
Dog . . . . .	pewrl	meil	ōgid, or, ōgij, or, id				
Man . . . . .	(ett, or, irr)	Kortogé	īu (K. D.), iw (F. M.)	Dāgu of Sula, «teinyi»; Tāma, «tei».			
Corn . . . . .	urti, urdi, ūdi	uzzē	ū		Tāma, «ārr».		
Cow . . . . .	tur	tei	āru (K. D.), āru (M), ōlli (F)				
Rain . . . . .	arri	āli					

H. A. MACMICHAEL.

## EDITORIAL.

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The Fore-word which His Excellency the High Commissioner has most kindly written for this number, relieves us from the task of explaining why this paper has been started and, in a measure, what subject matter we hope to provide. A few words, however, may be offered on some of what Sterne would have called our «antenatal accidents». «My Tristram's misfortunes, said Mr. Shandy, began nine months before ever he came into the world» and the troubles of our embryonic life began more than nine months ago.

In the first place there has been trouble over the printing, because so long as the War lasts it is out of the question for a dozen excellent reasons to print in England : happily we have found at Cairo in the French Institute of Archæology a printing house which has been for years turning out works of the highest scientific character, and, with the permission of the French Government, we have signed a contract which will both ensure our appearance in seemly form, and save us from employing any labour which would otherwise have been better occupied.

Our second trouble was over the contents of our early numbers : we count ourselves fortunate in having secured from Professor Reisner of Harvard a series of papers on the ancient history of the Sudan, about which, in the course of excavations extending over many years, he has discovered more than any living person : later numbers will give accounts of his finds at Kerma, Nuri and Jebel Barkal. Major Stigand writes upon Natural History, which will be illustrated in later numbers by papers upon Nile Fishes by Mr. Pekkola. Mr. Nicholls' paper on the Sakia in Dongola shows what a highly organised system of cooperative farming this purely native institution represents, and will, we hope, be followed by other studies of a similar nature : Mr. Hillelson's note on Nursery Rhymes is of obvious human and linguistic interest, while in the last article Mr. MacMichael discusses migrations into Darfur as only he can. Our table of contents touches therefore most of the objects for which this paper was specially started, but there is one grave lacuna : we have received nothing at present from the Pagan South, and though Colonel Logan, Major Stigand and Dr. Oyler have promised papers dealing with the Beirs, the Nuers,

and the Shilluks, respectively, we must appeal to residents in the Southern Provinces for generous support lest one of our principal objects, and one specially signalized in the Foreword, fail of fulfilment. In succeeding numbers we hope to expand greatly the Section headed «Notes and Correspondence», and it is for this Section that we appeal for contributions however informal to those who cannot give us more.

The last trouble which calls for mention here is the old and much debated question of transliteration. We have printed on the inside of the cover an alphabet for the transliteration in Roman characters of Arabic words and names. We do not propose to apply the system to names which have assumed already a familiar conventional form : we shall write El Obeid and Mecca, for instance, instead of Al 'Ubaiyaḍ and Makka, though in this and in other matters we are prepared to relax our rules for contributors who conscientiously object to the compromise we propose, reserving to ourselves the right in such cases to insert in brackets our own version after that adopted by the contributor.

Also, it must be remembered that our alphabet, designed to represent the sounds and letters of classical Arabic, cannot be used without the necessary modifications to represent the colloquial. The spoken dialects all show certain phonetic divergences from the classical, which it is the more important to record because natives when writing the vernacular often try to assimilate the spelling to that of the classical, and there is further a wide range of dialectical variations in different parts, peculiarities of local pronunciation, curiosities of vocabulary and grammar, which are of real linguistic interest and should be recorded with the nearest possible degree of phonetic accuracy.

The alphabet will not, of course, be found adequate for the scientific transliteration of Negroid languages, and we suggest that, as no uniform system seems yet to have found general acceptance, contributors dealing with these languages should follow a system analogous to that adopted for Arabic : sounds which find no place in our Alphabet would be represented by the Roman letters which most nearly suggest them with a diacritical mark, a dash or a dot, above or below, a note being added to explain the exact nature of the sound : *e. g.* ṛ might be used to represent the interdental *r* in Dinka and Shilluk.



## REVIEWS.

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*The Nile-Congo Watershed*, by MAJOR CUTHBERT CHRISTY, p. 199 f  
(*The Geographical Journal*, London, September, 1917).

This is the report of a journey made in 1915-1916 from Rejaf *via* Meridi, Yambio and Tembura to Deim Zubeir, which for the last hundred miles at least passed through country which was «practically unmapped and almost unknown». As the country was also largely uninhabited, Major Christy has not much to say about the people, but he seems to have been favourably impressed both with the intelligence of those he did come across and with the fertility of the land. The most important discovery made was that the «Nile-Congo divide, from the Lado Enclave north-westward as far at least as Deim Bekeir, is not merely high ground composed of iron-stone hills, broken ridges, and nullahs, but is a continuous and more or less level strip of bush-covered country, sometimes as much as 2 miles in width but often only a few yards». Major Christy thinks that this watershed will provide an ideal route for one section of the Cape to Cairo railway, joining Rejaf or Wadelai *via* Darfur with the Khartoum—El-Obeid line which, he prematurely assures us, «is being extended as fast as possible to el Fasher». This may be, but the Sudan is not deficient in continuous level strips of bush-covered country which it may be more profitable to exploit first.

J. W. C.

*The Imatong-Agora Mountains*, by H. PELLEW WRIGHT, p. 283 f  
(*The Geographical Journal*, London, October, 1917).

Mr. Pellew Wright, District Commissioner in the Northern Province of Uganda, visited in September 1916 with Captain Somerset and Captain Worsley a hitherto unexplored range of mountains on the frontier between Uganda and the Sudan. Hostile natives, heavy rains and swollen rivers made travel very difficult, and the country with its mountains rising over 8000 feet would obviously repay further exploration under more favourable conditions. The writer mentions elephant and pig, colobus and blue monkeys, magnificent tree ferns, maidenhair and plentiful flowers.

J. W. C.

*The Physical Character of the Arabs*, by C. G. SELIGMAN, p. 214 f  
(*The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, London, 1917).

This paper deals chiefly with Arab skull forms in Arabia, which are of two quite different types, long in the north and round in the south, the latter conforming in part at least with a known Mesopotamian type. Prof. Seligman devotes a few paragraphs to the Kababish, who are very mixed, the richest divisions tending to contain the highest proportion of members with negroid characters, because they have possessed the largest number of slaves.

J. W. C.

*Butterflies of Southern Kordofan collected by Capt. R. S. Wilson, Lancashire Regiment*, by G. B. LONGSTAFF, M. A., M. D., F. L. S. (*Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond.*, 1916.—Part II, p. 269-288).

In this paper the author deals with a collection of 223 specimens made by Capt. (now Major) R. S. Wilson in the Nuba Mountains in 1904 and presented by Capt. C. A. Willis to the Hope Collection at Oxford. The collection consisted of representatives of 62 species of butterflies and one moth and included one species and two varieties new to science. Dr. Longstaff visited the Sudan in 1909 and again in 1912 when he made collections of butterflies on the White Nile. These are referred to in his *Butterfly hunting in many lands* (1912, p. 415-423) and in a paper entitled *The butterflies of the White Nile: a study in geographical distribution* (*Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond.*, 1913, p. 11-56).

H. H. K.

## NOTES.

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### BLUE NILE PROVINCE.

#### *The charm of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥusaina*

*«embroidered with names of the djinns, a miraculous weaving».*

The rising of Wad Ḥabōba of the Ḥalawīn tribe is of recent memory. Muḥammad Aḥmad el-Ṣadiq who is believed to have been one of the two who murdered Mr. Scott-Moncrieff was killed in the fighting, and on his body was found a charm which appears of sufficient interest to merit reproduction in these pages. It is written on ordinary native paper in a careless and ugly hand : apparently the efficacy of the charm lies in the words themselves and does not in any way depend on the choice of the writing materials or the manner of the writing. The document of which we give the text and an English translation speaks for itself : a few points of interest may be noted by way of introduction.

The object of the charm is to «bind» the senses of the «rulers» so that they may remain unaware of the brewing sedition and powerless to prevent it. The word used for «binding» (*'uqad*) has an old-established association with magic : at the present day in the Sudan the tying of knots and breathing or spitting on them is a common incident of magical practices, and in the Koran we read of «the evil of women that blow upon knots» (*el-naffāthāti fi 'l-'uqad*, Kor. 113).

The text of the charm is a jumble of magical invocations and verses from the Koran. Characteristic features are the threefold repetition of words and phrases and the invocation of jinn by name. It would be idle to seek any particular significance in the names of Dōsem, Ḥōsem and Brāsem : the effect aimed at is to create an atmosphere of mystery; and many similar names of the jinn — all equally devoid of meaning — could be quoted from the popular books on magic. The Koranic verses are chosen with some appropriateness to the object of the charm, but without any reference to their context. In the translation we have followed Palmer's version of the Koran.

«In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. God bless our Lord Muḥammad and his people and followers.

«Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds, the merciful, the compassionate, the ruler of the day of judgment! Thee we serve and Thee we ask

«for aid» (Kor., i, 1). Thou hast bound the heavens to smoke and hast bound clouds to rain and hast bound rain to air, and hast bound air to the sun, and hast bound the sun to plants, and hast bound plants to the running water, and hast bound the mudir Qundus (Dickinson) and the mamur Muḥammad Ḥilmī and the tongue of the ḥukmdār ‘Abd-el-Ghanī and the mu‘āwin ‘Abd el-Khāliq, and hast bound the tongue of all the rulers, the sons of Eve, and hast strengthened the strength of the bond, and hast bound Abraham and Isaac and hast made dumb, made dumb, made dumb so that they may not speak except with good. Your good is between your eyes, and your evil and your evil is under your feet. If thou speakest evil, I will return the words on you. In the name of Dōsem, in the name of Dōsem, Dōsem, Ḥōsem, Ḥōsem, Ḥōsem, Brāsem, Brāsem, Brāsem, deafness, deafness, deafness, dumbness, dumbness, dumbness, blindness, blindness, blindness, so that they may not speak except for good. God has sealed the tongue of the mudir Qundus, the mamur Muḥammad Ḥilmī, and the ḥukmdār ‘Abd el-Ghanī. «On their eyes «is dimness and for them is grievous woe» (Kor., ii, 6). «And if we please we «could put out their eyes and they would race along the road : and then how «could they see? and if we pleased we would transform them in their places «and they should not be able to go on nor yet return» (Kor., xxxvi, 66). Bind oh ‘Anqūd, all the tongues, by the truth of the Loving, the Worshipped. «At «this new discourse then do ye wonder? and do ye laugh and not weep? and «ye divert yourselves the while. But adore God and serve him» (Kor., liii, 59).

«Fear not, thou art safe from the unjust people» (Kor., xxviii, 26). «Fear «not, verily I am with you twain. I hear and see» (Kor., xx, 46). «God loves «not publicity of evil speech, unless one has been wronged, for God both «hears and knows» (Kor., iv, 147). O God, accept the words of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥusaina, whose speech is acceptable. And the prayers and blessings of God on our Lord Muḥammad and on his followers.»

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ  
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ أَيْبَاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَأَيْبَاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ  
 عَقَدْتَ السَّمَاءَ بَدِخَانَهُ وَعَقَدْتَ السَّحَابَ بِالْمَطَرِ وَعَقَدْتَ الْمَطَرَ بِالْهَوَى وَعَقَدْتَ الْهَوَى  
 بِالشَّمْسِ وَعَقَدْتَ الشَّمْسَ بِالنَّبَاتِ وَعَقَدْتَ النَّبَاتَ بِالمَاءِ الْجَارِي وَعَقَدْتَ المَدِيرَ قَدَسَ  
 وَالْمَامُورَ مُحَمَّدَ حَلِيٍّ وَلِسَانَ الحَكِيمِ عَبدِ الغَنِيِّ وَالْمَعَاوِنَ عَبدِ الخَالِقِ وَعَقَدْتَ لِسَانَ

جميع الحكام أولاد حوى وشددت شدة الوثاق وعقدت ابراهيم واصحاق واصممت واصممت واصممت فلا يتكلمون الا بخير خيركم بين عينيكم وشركم وشركم تحت قدميكم ان تكلمت بالسوء رددت الكلام عليكم باسم دوسم باسم دوسم دوسم حوسم حوسم حوسم دراسم دراسم صم صم بكم بكم عى عى فهم لا يتكلمون الا بخير ختم الله على لسان المدير قندس والمأمور محمد حلمى والحكيد<sup>(1)</sup> والحكيدار عبد الغنى وعلى سمعهم وعلى ابصارهم غشاوة ولهم عذاب اليم ولو نشاء لطمسنا على اعينهم فاستبقوا الصراط فانى يبصرون ولو نشاء لمسخناهم على مكانهم فما استطاعوا مضيا ولا يرجعون اعقد يا عنقود جميع اللسن بحق الودود المعبود اثن هذا الحديث تعجبون وتضحكون ولا تبكون وانتم سامدون فاعبدوا الله واعبدوا لا تخف نجوت من القوم الظالمين لا تخافا اذنى معكما اسمع وأرى لا يجب الله الجهر بالسوء من القول الا من ظلم وكان الله سميعا عليما اللهم اقبل كلمت صالح بن حسينه مقبول القول وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم

W. S. and S. H.

#### KHARTOUM PROVINCE.

##### *The sign of the cross.*

According to the local chronicles Christianity only ceased to be the official religion of this district some 400 years ago when Soba was destroyed by the founder of the Fung Dynasty, and there are two or three superstitious practices still prevalent here which can hardly be explained except as survivals from the Christian period.

For example, when a child is born it is the custom on the first day to mark a small cross, they call it *salib*, upon the child's forehead and lines upon the eyebrows : the marks are made with black grease or with *koḥl* which is also put on the eyelids as a charm against the evil eye. On a chair by the side of the mother's bed the people put a copy of the Koran, a knife,

(1) Thus in the original : we have strictly preserved the form and spelling of the original.

a kohl-pot and an iron kohl-pencil and they beat the last against the knife in the evening and the morning to frighten away the Jinn, which is the object also of the Cross and the Koran. On the seventh day when a sheep is sacrificed they sometimes mark the cross with blood, and they renew it with either blood or grease or kohl for the first forty days.

Another use of the cross is as a protection for milk which is allowed to stand over night : according to orthodox Muslim practice, if the milk is not covered, a piece of straw should be laid across the vessel in which it is kept to protect it from Jinn, but in Omdurman and elsewhere it is the custom to lay two pieces of straw in the shape of a cross. Similarly on sweets which are made in the morning for a banquet or wedding feast, it is the custom to make a cross in almonds again with the alleged object of protecting them during the day.

Yet another superstitious use of the same sign I saw once in a village near Khartoum North. I was with a local Sheikh at the time and a woman with a boy about ten years old came out to ask for the Sheikh's blessing, the boy having a large white cross of the Greek pattern chalked on his stomach, which was explained by the Sheikh as a common charm for pain in that region.

These practices are all common, though not of course universal, in Omdurman, the Gezira and Kordofan, and perhaps some of our readers will inform us whether they are found in other districts or not? Do they exist, for example, in Kassala or the Red Sea Province or among the Dongolawis?

J. W. C.

#### MONGALLA PROVINCE.

We have received two photographs and a note from Captain P. M. Brett, R. A. M. C., which we hope to utilise on a future occasion.

# SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

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Volume I.

No 2.

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## OUTLINE OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE SUDAN BY PROF. G. A. REISNER.

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### PART II. — THE EGYPTIAN OCCUPATION OF ETHIOPIA DURING THE MIDDLE EMPIRE (2000 TO 1600 B. C.)

The strong man of the time of Mentuhotep IV was the vizier, Amenemhat. After a struggle, Amenemhat became king of Egypt and founded the powerful XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty. This dynasty was a time of the greatest prosperity. Its kings built the second group of great pyramids, those at Dāshūr, Lisht, and in the Fayyūm; but these are cheaper in material and in construction than those of the IV<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The outstanding feature of the period, however, and that which is of most concern for the history of Ethiopia, was the organisation of the administration. The division of Egypt into nomes, or provinces, had during the paralysis of the central authority of the preceding centuries, gained an unwonted importance, and affected deeply the reorganisation under the new dynasty. These nomes, in the settled ages in which we know them, were divisions of the civil administration, but they had their separate dialects and their separate gods, often of a totem character, and can be traced back to the early predynastic period. In a land so lacking in geographical features, such divisions, persisting through the whole of Egyptian history, rest in all probability on very early, but enduring, tribal divisions. When the older military monarchy gave

way, the tribal system was the only organisation left. For a long time, each tribe, or nome, fended for itself, led by its hereditary chief. The national recovery which preceded the XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty came about through the growth of tribal confederacies for mutual protection and then for mutual profit. As the confederation movement grew, the land was finally divided between two great groups of tribes, the northern and the southern. In the struggle between these two groups, the southern confederation conquered the northern, and during the XI<sup>th</sup> dynasty, the chief of the southern confederation became king of a reunited Egypt. Thus when Amenemhat I set himself on the throne, his power was based first, on his position as chief of the ruling family of the Theban nome, or tribe, and second, on the victorious confederation of southern tribes for mutual benefit. As a matter of necessity, the existence of the tribal units was recognized in his reorganisation of the administration. The tribal chiefs, or nomarchs, were wisely aided to maintain their hereditary claims; the old boundaries of the nomes were restored, and any encroachment of one nome on another strongly repressed. During the greater part of the period the nomarchs ruled almost as kings in their districts. They made themselves great rock-cut tombs in the cliffs, especially at Beni Hassan, Bersheh, and Assiut, and the greater part of our information about the period comes from the remarkable scenes and inscriptions recorded on the walls of these tombs. The nomarch seems to dominate our picture of Egypt of the XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty. He served as the leader of foreign expeditions, and as the governor of Ethiopia; he brought up the levies from his nome for purposes of war, collected the royal revenues in his nome, and administered all the chief religious and civil offices. But the power of the king was over all, guaranteeing peace between the nomarchs and keeping them in their places. The royal domains were still large and a percentage of the cattle and other produce was still payable to the crown. Probably these were the same royal rights as those of the Old Empire based on claims to provincial lands which had been seized by the nomarchs during the period of anarchy and were now reclaimed by the king. Although the revenues from the royal domain and other sources appear to have been collected by the nomarchs, a large body of royal officials was needed for the general administration. A standing army was also maintained for garrison duty and



for attendance on the king. For war, the army was increased by the provincial levies brought up by the nomarchs.

It is quite clear that the government of the XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty was well organised and stable. The seven kings from Amenemhat I to Amenemhat IV, all in the direct line of descent, ruled 208 years, an average of 29.7 years; probably the highest dynastic average in Egypt. The list of kings was as follows :

Amenemhat I,	2000-1970 B. C.				
Sesostris I,	1980-1935 B. C.,	10 years	co-regent	with his	father.
Amenemhat II,	1938-1903 B. C.,	3	—	—	—
Sesostris II,	1906-1887 B. C.,	3	—	—	—
Sesostris III,	1887-1849 B. C.				
Amenemhat III,	1849-1801 B. C.,	x	—	—	—
Amenemhat IV,	1801-1792 B. C.,	x	—	—	—
Sebekneferura,	1792-1788 B. C.,	a queen.			

The dates are probably correct to within four years as they are based on references to the date of the Sothic festival given by contemporary papyri found in the Fayyūm. In addition to the long reigns of the kings, the inscriptions and the other remains prove that order and justice were well established. The canals were kept in good condition. The crafts and industries were practised in protected security. The monuments, — the statues, the reliefs, the obelisks, and the pyramids, — of these kings indicate great wealth and the command of artisans of the greatest skill. On the other hand, the tombs of the great officials and even of the common people are larger and more richly furnished than those of any previous period. Thus the prosperity seems to be not only greater than ever before, but more widely distributed. In other words, the service rendered by the monarchy in maintaining order was rewarded with a less proportion of the national income than in the Old Empire. The internal revenue of the king appears, however, to have been largely increased by the income from foreign trade and from foreign conquests. Perhaps as a direct result of the increased importance for the treasury of the foreign income, the exploitation of the neighbouring foreign lands, in particular of the Sudan, was organized on a permanent basis. With strong kings such as these of the XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty, no interference of local foreign chiefs with the mining and

the trading expeditions was to be tolerated. Unruly tribes were savagely crushed. Strong forts were built at all strategic points along the lines of communication, such as Kubban and Dakka, to control the road to the Wādī Alāqi gold mines, at Buhēn (Halfa), at Semna and Kumma to control the traffic from the south, and at Kerma to protect the southern trading stations. Fortunately in the case of Semna, several copies on stone have been preserved of the royal decree for the regulation of the river traffic. Much also was done to improve the navigation, especially of the First Cataract, which seems always to have been a more serious obstacle than the Second. The Libyans, the Arabs of Sināi, the Palestinian tribes, and the nomads of the eastern desert, as well as the Ethiopians, were all dealt with by force. For the first time, the king led his army in person into the Sudan, and established settled garrisons for the control of that country.

Such were the general political and economical conditions which led to the occupation of the Sudan by the Egyptians of the XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty, but the influence of the personal qualities of the royal family and the great nomarchs can not be ignored. There are no more striking faces among all the sculptured portraits of Egypt than those of the kings of this period, — striking for their cold intelligence and almost brutal power. Still more enlightening for the character of the founder of the dynasty are the instructions which Amenemhat prepared for his son, Sesostris I. This document was so much admired that it has come down to us in seven copies, all made several centuries later. Speaking to his son, Amenemhat says :  
 « Shine as a god. Hearken to that which I say to thee that thou mayest be  
 « king of the earth, that thou mayest be ruler of the lands, that thou  
 « mayest increase thy prosperity. Guard thyself against all subordinates.  
 « That cometh to pass, to whose terrors no thought has been given. Approach  
 « them not alone. Fill not thy heart with a brother; know not a friend; nor  
 « make thyself intimates, whercin is no end. When thou sleepest, guard  
 « for thyself thy own heart; for a man has no people in the day of evil.  
 « I gave to the beggar; I nourished the orphan; I admitted the insignificant  
 « as well as him who was great of account; but he who ate my bread made  
 « insurrection; he to whom I gave my hand, aroused fear therein; they  
 « who put on my fine linen looked upon me as . . . . ; they who anointed

« themselves with my myrrh. . . . . » « I sent to  
 « Elephantine, I reached the Delta; I stood on the borders of the land,  
 « I inspected its interior. I carried forward the boundaries by my bravery,  
 « by my deeds; I was one who cultivated grain and loved the harvest-god.  
 « The Nile greeted me in every. . . . .; none was hungry in my years;  
 « none thirsted then. They dwelt in peace through that which I did, con-  
 « versing concerning me. All that I commanded was carried out. I captured  
 « lions; I took crocodiles. I seized the people of Wawat (Nubia); I captur-  
 « ed the Mazoi (Nubians). I caused the Bedawin to go like hounds. » These  
 are the words of a strong-hearted, wordly-wise old man, who has seen  
 clearly the dangers of oriental favouritism and court intrigue and marks out  
 a path for his son in which he is to walk alone, utilizing all ranks of men  
 and keeping all in their places. As he and his successors took the precau-  
 tion to admit the crown-prince to a co-regency and to instruct him in time  
 in the principles of government, it may be assumed that the teaching of  
 Amenemhat was actually in practice by this family for five or six genera-  
 tions.

Of almost equal interest are the tomb inscriptions which portray the  
 point of view of the great nomarchs who played a great part in the sub-  
 jugation and the administration of the Sudan at this time. As an example,  
 Ameny, baron of Beni Hassan (Oryx Nome), speaks of himself as follows :  
 « I was aimiable and greatly loved, a ruler beloved of his city. For years,  
 « I was ruler in the Oryx nome and all the dues of the royal domain were  
 « in my charge. The overseers of the royal herds of the Oryx nome paid  
 « me 3000 oxen with their yokes. I was praised for it in the palace every  
 « year of controlling the herds. I brought all their dues to the palace,  
 « without having any arrears against me in any office of his. The whole of  
 « the Oryx nome served me in peaceful ways(?). There was no man's daugh-  
 « ter whom I abused, no widow whom I oppressed. There was no peasant  
 « whom I turned out of his (land), no shepherd whom I kept away (from  
 « his grazing ground). There was no overseer of serfs whose people I took  
 « for public works. There were none wretched in my time, nor hungry in  
 « my days. When years of famine came, I ploughed all the fields of the Oryx  
 « nome as far as its southern and its northern borders and kept its people  
 « alive, furnishing food so that none was hungry. I gave to the widow as

«to the married woman; I did not favour the great more than the little  
 «man in all which I gave. Then came great Niles, bringing grain and all  
 «things, but I did not collect the arrears from the fields.» In another  
 place, speaking of his youth, Ameny says : «I followed my lord (Sesostris I)  
 «when he sailed upstream to overthrow his enemies among the four bar-  
 «barians. I sailed upstream as the commander-in-chief of the soldiers of  
 «the Oryx nome, as the representative of (my) aged father in accordance  
 «with his favour in the palace and his preference at court. I traversed  
 «Kash, sailing upstream, and fetched the borders of the land. I brought  
 «the dues of my lord, and my praise reached the skies. Then His Majesty  
 «returned in safety, having overthrown his enemies in wretched Kash;  
 «and I came with him, a man of experience. There was no loss among  
 «my soldiers.»

When the Egyptian inscriptions are examined, they reveal only three serious military expeditions to the Sudan of which we can be sure. These were as follows :

- (1) Year 29 of Amenemhat I (1971 B. C.) Rock inscription at Korosko.  
 General terms in the teaching of Amenemhat I.  
 General terms in the tomb of the nomarch Khnumhotep at Beni Hassan.

Interval of 9 years.

- (2) Year 18 of Sesostris I (1962 B. C.) Buhen stela of the general named Mentuhotep.  
 Tomb inscription of the nomarch Sarenpowet of Elephantine.  
 Tomb inscription of the nomarch Ameny of Beni Hassan.

Interval of 83 years.

- (3) Year 8 of Sesostris III (1879 B. C.) Canal inscription on Sehel.  
 Elephantine stela, fort inscription.  
 First Semna stela of year 8.  
 Second Semna stela of year 16.

Interval to end of dynasty, 111 years.

There may have been others but of that I am unable at present to find any proof. It has been supposed from certain other inscriptions that Sesostris III made three more campaigns, in his 12<sup>th</sup>, his 16<sup>th</sup> and his 19<sup>th</sup>

years, but this conclusion is based, I think, partly on badly preserved texts and partly on a misunderstanding of the context of the other inscriptions. Moreover, it is altogether improbable that a great king like Sesostris III should have needed more than one campaign to reduce «wretched Kash» to abject submission. In his day the chain of forts extended as far as Kerma, called by the Egyptians *Inebuw-Amenemhat* «the Walls of Amenemhat», and the country was held so strongly that nothing less than a general rising could have broken the grip of the regular garrisons. As the general rising of the year 8 was put down with fire and the sword, it is not very likely that the «wretched and weak-hearted» Ethiopians could have gathered the strength for three more general rebellions in the space of the next ten years.

Fortunately, the excavations in Lower Nubia and at Kerma, together with the examination of the rock graffiti along the Nile, give a more intimate view of the occupation of the Sudan than the bare official records of the three military campaigns.

The conditions in Lower Nubia remained practically unchanged during the whole of the XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The district between Semna and Elephantine, protected by the forts at Koshtamna, Kubban, Buben (Halfa), Semna and other places, became populous and prosperous. Every lateral valley had its village or group of huts. Every square metre of alluvial soil appears to have been cultivated. The people were Nubians, perhaps descended in part from the harried population of the Old Empire, but increased by immigrants from the more exposed districts south of Semna. Culturally, they were still in an uncivilized state, nearly neolithic. They were sowers and herdsmen, hunters and fishermen. The only crafts were pot-making, cloth and mat-weaving, and basket-making, — all carried out by hand with the simplest of tools. No doubt they also gained some profit from the traffic and in the service of the Egyptians. The markets at Iken (near Halfa) and at Assuan were probably visited by traders from Egypt as well as by Ethiopians from beyond Semna. Egyptian officials were continually passing. The greater part of this traffic was by boat and must have required the frequent services of the local boatmen who alone would have been familiar with the changing river channel. Cases of oppressive exactions may have occurred, but such proceedings were discouraged by the higher officials.

We may be sure that the Nubians learned how to get their profit out of the situation just as they do to-day. In fact, the conditions in Lower Nubia were then much as they are at the present time; and the population was in about the same state of civilisation as it is now. Then the more prosperous might have had a few objects of Egyptian manufacture, — a blue faience bowl, an alabaster pot, a string of amulets, or a set of bronze tools, — and nearly every one managed to have a large Egyptian water-jar. Now, it is a china plate, a few silver-plated spoons (usually with the mark of some Cairo hotel), a bottle of cheap perfume, Venetian beads, or a sewing machine, while petroleum tins may be found in every hut. In both cases these products of a more advanced race only emphasize the cultural incompetence of the local population. Of course, at each of the forts, there was an Egyptian garrison under an officer with the usual group of scribes and minor officials, often accompanied by their families. One imagines them as small isolated communities, grumbling over their pay and their lonely situation and meeting at the little local «club» to play the Egyptian board-games and drink a beer which was much like the modern *būza*.

South of Semna, things were very different. At Inebuw-Amenemhat (Kerma) at the northern end of Dongola Province, the old Egyptian trading station was maintained during the greater part of the reign of Amenemhat I. But in 1971 B. C. the year before his last year, Amenemhat found it necessary to lead a punitive expedition into the Sudan. The chief record of this expedition is a brief dated inscription on the rocks at Korosko at the beginning of the caravan road across the desert to Abu Hamed. The nomarch, Khnumhotep of Beni Hassan, accompanied this expedition which appears from the *Teachings of Amenemhat* to have been the chief foreign expedition of the reign. The tribes of Wawat and the Mazoi, who seem to have been the object of the expedition, lay between Kerma and Assuan and probably began the trouble by blockading the roads to the south and plundering the official caravans. After breaking the power of these tribes, Amenemhat built the fort at Kerma (the mud-brick ruin, now called the «Western Deffūfa») and named it Inebuw-Amenemhat «the Walls of Amenemhat» just as the fort built in the north to restrain the Bedawin was called Inebuw-Hega «the Walls of the Ruler». Amenemhat

appears also to have set a garrison at Kerma and to have appointed an Egyptian governor. This governor died at his post and was buried with Egyptian burial furniture in the large tumulus, K IV, at Kerma, but by some unfortunate chance, no object bearing his name was found during the excavations.

Nine years later, in 1962 B. C., in the reign of Sesostris I, the king was again obliged to lead an expedition to the south. The rising may have been occasioned by the death of the Egyptian governor appointed by Amenemhat I. Possibly he was assassinated. The chief reference for the expedition is a stela set up at Buhen (Halfa) by a general, named Mentuhotep. In the relief above, the war-god, Montu of Thebes, is represented saying to Sesostris I : «I have brought for thee all the countries which are in Ta-sety (Ethiopia) under thy feet, oh good god», and leading to him ten captives, each of which bears the name of an Ethiopian town or district. In the mutilated inscription below, there is mention of a successful campaign and the laying waste of the country. The same campaign is recorded in the tomb inscriptions of the nomarch, Sarenpowet of Elephantine, and the nomarch, Ameny of Beni Hassan (see above). Ameny says they sailed through Kash to the furthest borders of the land. This expedition, led by Sesostris in person, manifestly resulted in a thorough subjugation of the whole country, certainly as far as the upstream end of Dongola Province and perhaps well into Berber Province.

Of passing interest is the fact that originally the figure of the general, Mentuhotep, was carved behind the figure of the king but has been replaced by the figure of Horus. Mentuhotep, who had served as general under Sesostris I in the campaign, had apparently been left at Halfa when the king returned and found time to have this stela prepared. Perhaps as Prof. Breasted thinks, he made himself too prominent on a record of a personal campaign of the king's and so fell into disfavour; or some later official, or the crown-prince Amenemhat, who came by a few years later may have had a dislike for Mentuhotep or may have taken offence at his prominence on the stela.

This campaign of the year 1962 was the first real conquest of the Sudan. The fort at Inebuw-Amenemhat was enlarged and Hepzefa, nomarch of Assiut, was appointed governor. The garrison was strengthened

and a strong centre of Egyptian civilisation established. Egyptian craftsmen of all sorts were brought up as well as the usual staff of scribes and officials. For the 83 years from 1962 to 1879, no military expedition to Nubia is mentioned. Through the rest of the reign of Sesostris I, the whole of the reigns of Amenemhat II and Sesostris II, and the first 8 years of Sesostris III, the Egyptian occupation continued its peaceful course. During this time, the nomarch, Ameny of Beni Hassan, who had come up with the king on the campaign of 1962, made two more trips, both peaceful, to the Sudan. The first time, in the reign of Sesostris I, accompanied by 400 of his provincial retainers, Ameny came up with the crown-prince (later, Amenemhat II) to fetch gold, and the second time, in the reign of Amenemhat II, accompanied by 600 men, he came up with the crown-prince of that time (later, Sesostris II) to bring ore for Coptos. Probably neither of these expeditions went beyond Wādī Alaqī, and the military escort was more of a guard of honour than a real necessity.

In the reign of Amenemhat II, a certain assistant treasurer (*wakīl* of the minister of finance), named Sabathor, mentions on his grave stela, among other official journeys, his trips to Ethiopia in the following words: «I visited the mine-land (Sināi), and I forced the (Nubian) chiefs to wash gold. I brought malachite (from Sināi), and I reached Nubia of the negroes. I went overthrowing by the fear of the lord of the two lands (the king of Egypt). I came to He; I went around its islands, and brought away its products.» Another official, named Ankh, cut three inscriptions on the rocks near the temple of Amāda, each marking an official visit to Nubia, one in the 44<sup>th</sup> year of Sesostris I (1936 B. C.), one in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Amenemhat II (1933 B. C.) and the third in the 24<sup>th</sup> year of the same king (1914 B. C.). A rock inscription near Assuan records that an official, named Hupu, passed there in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Sesostris II (1903 B. C.) on a tour of inspection among the fortresses of Wawat (Lower Nubia). On the rocks along the Nile between Assuan and Semna, many other graffiti have been found which were made by Egyptians visiting Ethiopia during this period, but unfortunately none of them are exactly dated.

Meanwhile, the Egyptian settlement at Inebuw-Amenemhat (Kerma) prospered under the governorship of Hepzefa, nomarch of Assiout, and produced a curious local culture, the effect of the Egyptian character



working with local ideas, forms, and materials. The Egyptian artisans developed a remarkable series of crafts, the products of which were distributed throughout Ethiopia and as far as Middle Egypt. The crude black-topped, red polished pottery of the Nubians was taken up, and the Egyptians, working like the Nubians by hand with the same materials and the same technical methods, produced an extremely fine-grained, hard, thin ware, the finest ever produced in the Nile valley. Slight changes in the outlines under the eye of the Egyptian artisan yielded graceful well-proportioned forms never attained by the Nubian potters. Other types of pottery, black and red polished bottles, black polished jugs and bowls decorated with white-filled incised patterns, and other vessels, were also produced. The manufactured articles chiefly exported to Egypt were the beakers and smaller bottles, and their influence can be definitely traced in the Egyptian pottery of the New Empire, the succeeding Egyptian period. Of almost equal importance was the manufacture of faience and glazed stone objects. The forms of the faience vessels followed those of the pottery and the decoration in black lines on a light blue background consisted not only of the spirals, flowers, birds and animals of Egyptian decorative art, but also of shaded triangles and other designs taken from the Nubian decorated pottery. The glazing of stone, especially quartzite, reached a perfection of which we find no trace in Egypt. Parts of a glazed quartzite bed were found, the largest piece of which must have measured  $150 \times 30 \times 7$  cent., but the most beautiful products of the stone-glazer were the blue and the green glazed crystal and quartzite beads. These beads mixed with red carnelian, and gold beads, were made up into necklaces of striking colours. Gold was very abundant, and so common that it was used for the most surprising purposes. In several cases, ordinary Egyptian officers had the legs of their funerary angarechs cased in gold. Probably the gold-smiths produced objects equal to those of Egypt, but unfortunately the very abundance of the gold has caused its loss to us. The plundering of these graves was so profitable that not one has escaped, and consequently the gold objects recovered were few in number. Wood working and the making of stools, chairs and angarechs were highly developed. The angarechs had the legs carved like the legs of bulls and the foot-board was often decorated with ivory or bronze inlays. The

designs included rosettes, triangles, ostriches, ostrich chicks, flying vultures, bustards, giraffes, winged giraffes, gazelles, goats nibbling a bush, donkeys, hyenas, ant-bears, two-horned rhinoceroses, elephants, crocodiles, and other animals. The work is Egyptian, but the animals are many of them unknown to the Egyptian craftsmen in Egypt. Cloth weaving was also practised much as in Egypt but the decoration of the garments took on special local forms. The use of bead-work for decorating garments was known in Egypt, but the use of the local glazed beads permitted unusual effects. The use of the *rahaṭ* and other leather garments, skirts and caps, was probably peculiar to the Sudan, while the decoration of these garments with pieces of mica sewn in was certainly un-Egyptian. These pieces of mica were cut in much the same forms as the ivory pieces used in the inlays in wood. The scarabs and other seals in use also showed both Egyptian designs and local geometrical patterns. Alongside this mass of Egypto-Nubian material, the sculpture was, except for the material, strictly Egyptian. Fragments of several hundred statues and statuettes were found, all of typical Egyptian forms and technique, with Egyptian inscriptions and Egyptian names and titles. The material alone was local and came mostly from the cataract-region to the north. All these remarkable objects are clearly the work of Egyptian artisans working at Kerma on local material, using both Egyptian methods and local technical processes, and utilizing the strange forms of animals, plants, and patterns which they saw for the first time here in the Sudan. Nothing brings out more clearly the peculiar technical genius of the ancient Egyptian. It was his most enduring quality, appearing in the works of the early predynastic period, traceable through the whole development of Egyptian art, and here reappearing in this isolated outpost in the Sudan.

The manners and customs of these isolated Egyptians at Inebuw-Amenhat must also have been modified in many ways by their environment, but little is discoverable aside from the burial customs. The burial customs are startling in their deviation from Egyptian practice, in the form of the burial to begin with but more especially in the use of human sacrifice. A large Nubian cemetery adjoined the Egyptian cemetery on the north and this gave us a view of the Nubian practices whose influence appears to have produced the changes in the Egyptian customs. In the Nubian cemetery,

each great chief was buried in a large circular pit about a metre deep over which a tumulus of earth was heaped up to a height of one or two metres above the desert surface. The tumulus was outlined with a circular band of dark stones set on edge and covered with black and white pebbles, apparently to keep the earth from blowing away. Around this tumulus, often encroaching on it, the members of the family and the adherents of the chief were later buried in smaller subsidiary graves. Thus the grave of each chief is the centre of a small cemetery of 20 to 60 subsidiary graves. In each grave, whether large or small, the body lay on its right side with its head to the east on a wooden angareeb near the middle of the grave with the usual personal equipment, — garments, bead-necklaces and bracelets, wooden head-rest, decorated cap, ostrich-feather fan, leather girdle with sword or dagger, sandals, and other objects. Around the sides were stacked a large outfit of household pottery and often a few alabaster jars with perfume, honey and oil. Thus the dead man was supplied with all the necessities of life for the use of his spirit in the other world. So far the Nubian practice is in accord with the Egyptian and with very widespread ideas of life after death although the orientation and the use of the angareeb are especially characteristic of Nubia. But the Nubians carried this idea to its logical conclusion and placed with the dead man his wives and favourite servants that they also might serve him in the other world. One young girl of the better class lay in the arms of an old negro woman, while an older girl lay on the ground behind the angareeb. We give this the ugly name of human sacrifice, taking no adequate account of the categorical imperative of primitive people and the duller sensibilities of half savage man. There are many examples in Africa and Asia of customs similar to the Nubian by which the wives and favourites of a man sacrifice themselves to accompany his spirit to the other world; and I have no doubt that previous to the coming of the Egyptians, the Nubian wives and servants had in obedience to custom laid themselves with their dead lord under the ox-hide to be suffocated when the grave was filled in. In Egypt, human sacrifice was not the custom. It is supposed that a sculptured representation of a ceremony called *tekenu* may refer to some such custom. In this representation, something tied up in a skin is being dragged on a sledge while men in a peculiar dress accompany it dancing. But in the

graves themselves, there is no trace of human sacrifice and even the sacrificial animals appear merely as joints of meat and dressed fowl not as whole animals. The Egyptian tomb also was of a type far different from the Nubian. The rectangular burial chamber was deep underground, at



Fig. 1. . . Plan of a part of the sacrificial corridor of K IV, the tomb of the first Egyptian governor. Plundered.

the foot of a vertical or a sloping shaft, while the visible part was either a rectangular *mastaba* or a rock-cut chamber with offering stela and pictures of offerings. But here at Inebuw-Amenemhat, the water-table was too near the surface to permit the use of deep shafts and the mountains were too distant to be used for rock-cut chambers. So the Egyptians made their tombs on the Nubian plan even to the grouping of subsidiary graves

around the big tumuli of the governors. The tomb of Hepzefa, for example, was a great circular tumulus of earth 90 metres in diameter and 3 metres high in the centre, held in place by a multitude of cross-walls of

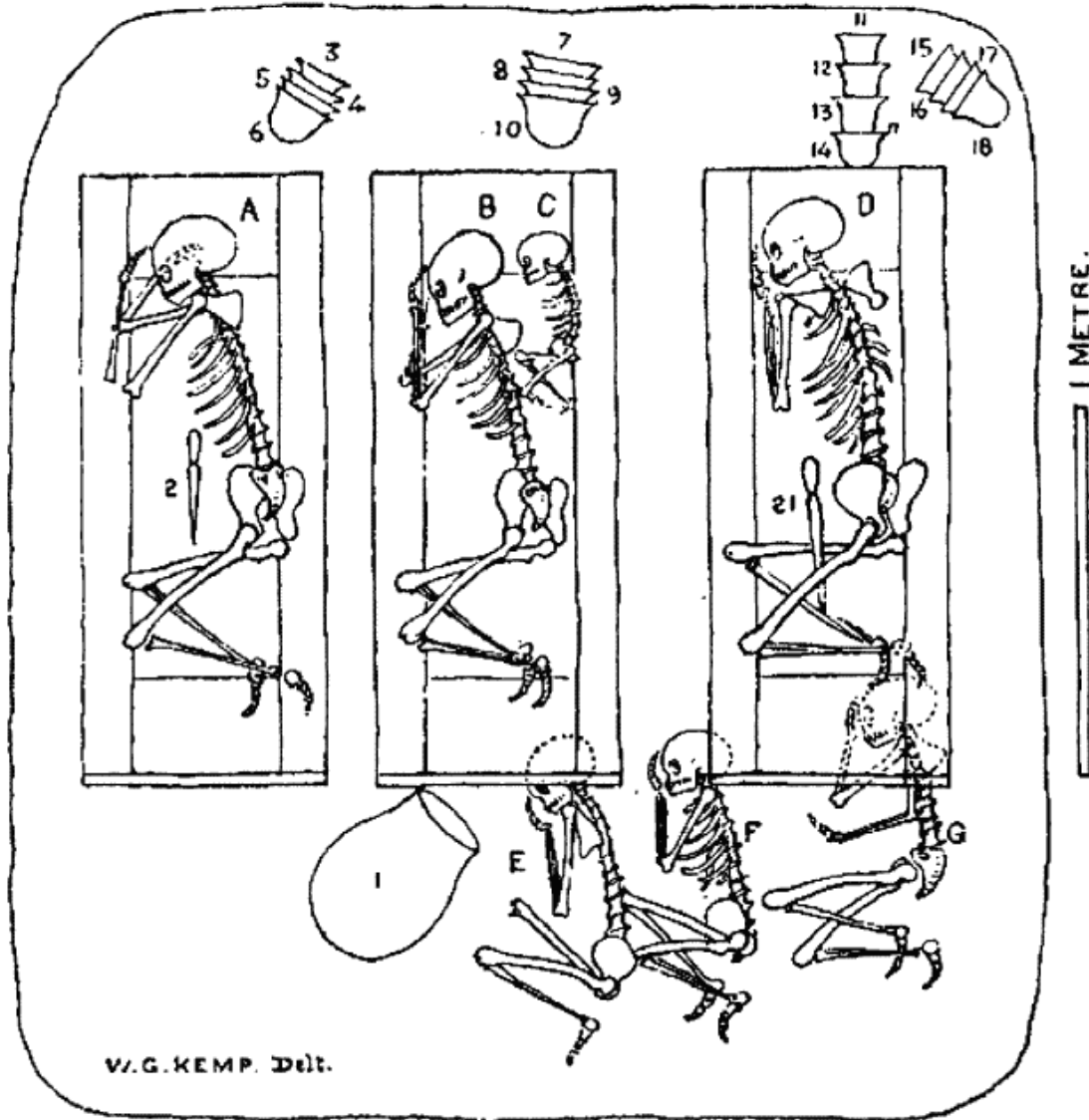


Fig. 9. — Plan of grave K 425, the subsidiary grave of an Egyptian officer, buried in the tumulus of K IV. Body A, a male (attendant) with dagger; body B, a woman with a baby (C); body D, the chief burial; bodies E, F, G, females. Object 1, a large pot; objects 3-18, four stacks of black-topped, red-polished beakers. Plundered grave.

mud-brick and covered with a layer of mud-brick over which were strewn pebbles as over the Nubian mounds. Through the middle of the tumulus ran a corridor about 1 m. 50 cent. wide, between two long mud-brick walls. In the middle of the southern side of the corridor, a doorway led

to an ante-chamber and this to the main burial chamber, both built of mud-brick with the usual Egyptian barrel-vaulted roof. The floor of the chambers and the corridor was the old desert surface, but the place for the actual burial was sunk about 50 centimetres below the surface. Here the body of Hepzefa had been laid with the usual Egyptian equipment of models of boats and household scenes, but the particulars have been destroyed by plundering. Outside in the corridor lay the skeletons of about 350 people, male and female, each with some small personal equipment and some with a few household pots. The filling of the corridor had been left until after the burial and the placing of the human sacrifices. The earth had then been thrown in over all these and the mud-brick floor carried over the whole. During the time of Hepzefa, the Egyptians had made their tombs, to the number of about 70, in the tumulus of his predecessor, K. IV, on both sides of the burial corridor. After the death of Hepzefa, they buried in his tumulus. These subsidiary Egyptian graves kept to the rectangular form of Egypt but otherwise were entirely on the model of the Nubian graves. The Egyptian lay on an angareeb on his right side with his head east and the usual equipment of head-rest, fan, sword, sandals, stone vessels and pottery. At his feet lay a ram buried whole and around him were from 2 to 30 males and females all covered by the great ox-hide which was laid over the burial.

The first Egyptian governor who died in the Sudan was buried in tumulus K. IV. Over 100 people were buried alive in the corridor of his tomb. His name was not found, but he had probably ruled the province about 9 years. It is quite possible that his Nubian wives and favourite slaves may have felt in duty bound to follow the usual custom and die with him. However that may be, the Egyptians certainly adopted this along with other Nubian burial customs and hundreds of people laid themselves down to die in the corridors of the tombs of the governors. There are hundreds of ox-skulls buried around the southern edge of each of the large tumuli which must have come from the cattle slaughtered for the great funeral feast. Possibly these human sacrifices were stupefied by some drug during the feasting and went to their death with little pain and no reluctance to change a servitude of the living body for a servitude of the spirit.

In this far away outpost, Hepzefa, nomarch of Assiut and chief priest of the temple of Wepwat, god of Assiut, was sent by Sesostris I, probably about 1961 B. C. After a number of years, he appears to have died early in the reign of Amenemhat II, and he was buried according to the barbarous Nubian custom in tumulus K. III. But before leaving Assiut, he had planned a burial in the Egyptian manner worthy of a nomarch of the highest rank. He had caused a great rock-cut tomb of seven chambers to be hollowed in the cliff above Assiut, had had the designs for the decoration painted on the walls and the sculpture of the inmost chamber finished, when he was sent away. He had also engaged a funerary priest bound by the terms of a liberal endowment and had made contracts with the priests and officials of Assiut for the supply of offerings, torches, and special services for the benefit of his *ka*. At the foot of the pathway which led to his tomb in the cliff, he had made a garden with a small chapel in which stood a little portable statue of himself. Dying in Inebuw-Amenemhat, this statue was left as the sole representative in Assiut of his *ka*, and at the last he wrote to his *ka*-priest in Assiut as follows: «The hereditary prince, the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, he says to his *ka*-priest: «' See, all these things for which I have contracted with these priests are «' under thy oversight; for it is the *ka*-priest of a man who causes his «' property and his offerings to flourish. See, I have brought to your «' knowledge these things which I have given to these priests in return for «' those things which they have granted to me. Guard lest any of them be «' revoked. Mayest thou let thy son and heir who shall act for me as *ka*- «' priest hear every word of my lists of what they have given to me. See, «' I have endowed thee with land, with serfs, with cattle, with gardens, «' and with everything like any exalted man of Assiut in order that thou «' mayest carry out my service with a willing heart. Thou art over all affairs «' which I have given into thy hand. See, they are before thee in writing. «' These things shall belong to thy one son, thy beloved, the chosen of «' thy children, who shall act as my *ka*-priest (after thee) as a provision «' which I have established for him but not permitting that he shall divide «' it among his children, according to these instructions which I have «' given thee.' » Later, the *ka*-priest had these contracts with the priests carved on the walls of the unfinished tomb at Assiut. They are ten in

number and provide for the complete annual round of mortuary services and offerings for the statue of Hepzefa, — the daily offerings of bread and beer and the special offerings and services of the great feast days. As some similar ceremonies may have been carried out in the Egyptian cemetery of Inebuw-Amenemhat and the two temples near the cemetery, the description given of the ceremonies of one of the great feast-days in Assiut may be taken as typical of such services. On the evening before, the statue had been carried from the chapel in the garden to the temple of Wepwat. On New Year's day, in the early morning before daybreak, there was a ceremony of torch lighting in the temple. The priests of Wepwat gave the *ka*-priest of Hepzefa 10 loaves of white bread as offerings for the statue. A torch properly blessed was delivered by the wardrobe-keeper and lighted for Hepzefa. A procession was then formed headed by the *ka*-priest and his servants carrying the statue and followed by the priest of Wepwat. The priests followed as far as the northwestern corner of the temple and then turned back to perform similar services for other honoured dead. The little procession went on to the temple of Anubis which was near the foot of the cliff where it was joined by the overseer of the cemetery and the desert guards with a torch furnished by the chief priest of the temple of Anubis. Then they went on to the cemetery, to the tomb of Hepzefa in the cliff, set down the statue, and the *ka*-priest received from the overseer of the cemetery and the 9 desert guards an offering of 11 large jars of beer, 550 rolls of common bread and 55 rolls of white bread. One is to think of the hill-side twinkling with the lights of many such little processions. Later in the morning, the offerings were probably distributed to the poor. The two mud-brick temples in the Egyptian cemetery at Inebuw-Amenemhat were clearly temples of the gods of the dead, and here also torches may have been lighted and processions formed as at Assiut.

It is at present impossible to name the successors of Hepzefa at Inebuw-Amenemhat, but for many years after his death, the Egyptian officials were left undisturbed in the exploitation of the mines and the trade of Ethiopia. It was not until the 7<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> year of Sesostris III (1879 B. C.) that a great revolt finally broke out. The causes have of course escaped us, but were probably increasing exactions of the Egyptians, and growing discontent of the higher class Ethiopians, fired by the plunder of some



official caravan or the surprise of some outpost. In the winter of the year 8-9, the king led an army in person to the Sudan and put down the revolt with fire and sword. The references in the Egyptian inscriptions are nume-

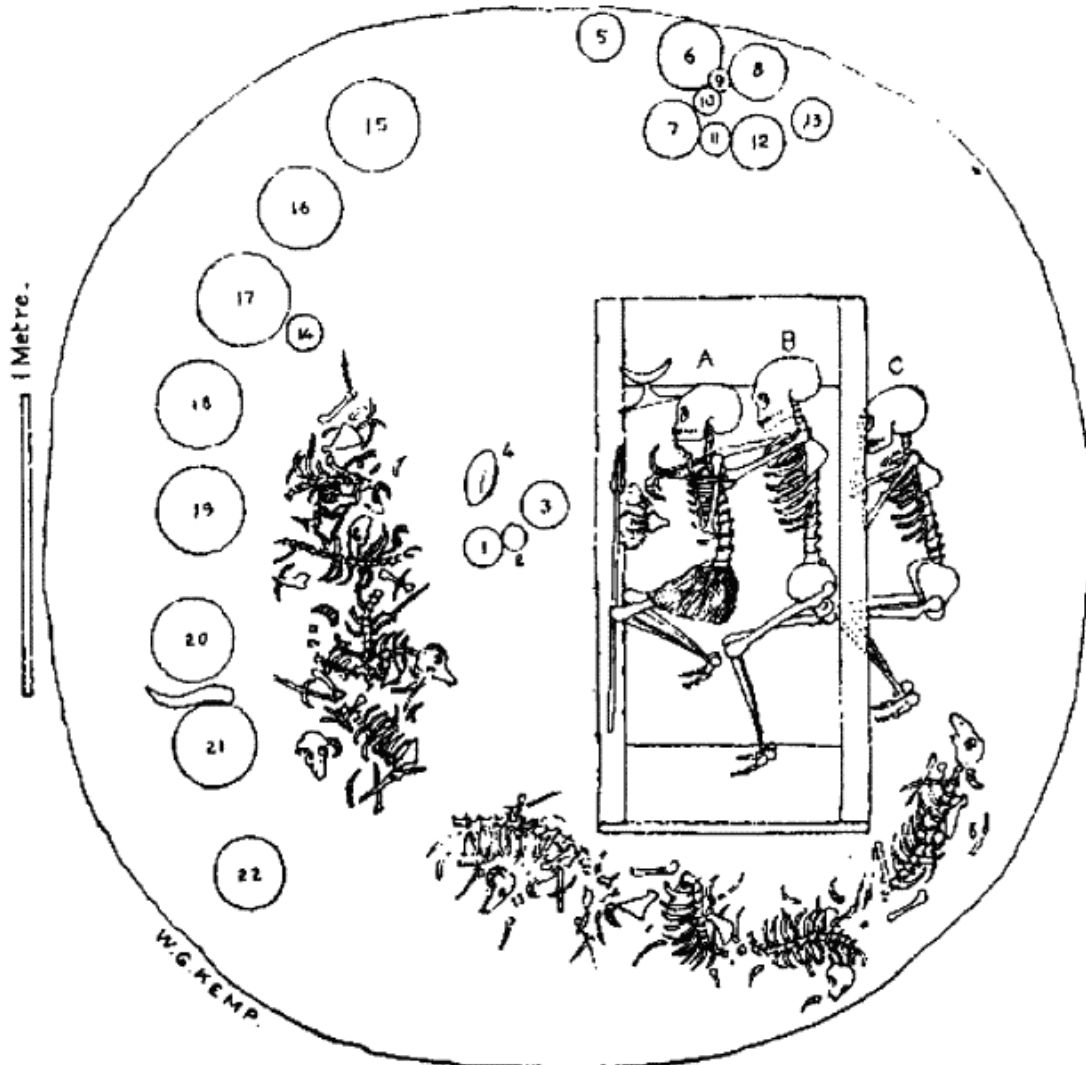


Fig. 3. -- A Nubian grave, K 5611, subsidiary to the Nubian tumulus LVI and from its proximity to the main grave probably the grave of a daughter. Body A, the chief burial, a young girl, clad in a beaded leather skirt, with headrest, ceremonial spear, and ostrich-feather fan. She rests in the arms of B, an aged negress. Body C, a girl, lying on the ground. All three were covered with an ox-hide. There are also 8 goats. Object 1, a gold rimmed copper bowl; 9, an alabaster jar; the rest are pottery vessels. An undisturbed burial.

rous and conclusive. Near the Island of Sehel in the First Cataract, a channel, 75 metres long, 10 metres wide, and 7 m. 50 cent. deep, was cleared for the passage of ships in the year 8 «when the king sailed

upstream to overthrow Kash<sup>n</sup> and the channel was named « Beautiful are the roads of Khakauwra (Sesostris III) ». An inscription of the year 9 records building operations carried out in the fort at Elephantine in accordance with orders issued by the king « when he journeyed to overthrow Kash, the wretched ». In the year 8, the king also set up a stela at Semna inscribed with the order that « no negro should pass, by water or by land, « either ship or herds of the negroes, except a negro who shall come to « trade at Iken or on an embassy. These shall be well treated but without « allowing a ship of the negroes to pass Semna going downstream forever. » In another stela of the year 16, also set up at Semna, Sesostris III describes his manner of dealing with the Ethiopians and refers in all probability to this campaign of the year 8 : « for they (the negroes) are not men of « strength but poor and weak of heart. My Majesty has seen it without « boasting. I have seized their wives and carried off their dependants. I « have gone forth to their wells and smitten their bulls. I have pulled up « their corn and set fire to it. By the life of my father, I speak the truth. » The booty appears to have been considerable, for an inscription by an official named Ikhernefret informs us that a large share of the booty including especially a certain amount of gold was set aside for the adornment of the temple of Osiris at Abydos.

Sesostris III, having quelled the revolt, made Semna-Kumma the chief point for controlling the traffic. He built several great mud-brick forts and other buildings and established certain festivals to keep up the memory of his punitive campaign. Thus his name became so identified with Semna and the breaking of the power of the southern tribes that both Thothmes III (1501-1447 B. C.) and Tirhaqa (668-663 B. C.) made memorials to him at Semna. Some time during the New Empire a private man at Toshkeh even went so far as to deify Sesostris and to include him as a god in a shrine which he built for the Syrian god, Reshep, Sesostris III and the local Horus.

After the time of Sesostris III until the New Empire, no mention of Ethiopia is found in the Egyptian inscriptions, but at Semna, the rock inscriptions recording the levels of the high Niles extend through the reigns of Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV and for four years of Sekhemkhuwtauwira of the XIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty. At Inebuw-Amenemhat, about 60

Egyptians were buried in the subsidiary graves of the mound of Hepzefa, the funerary temples were restored, and the tumuli V to IX, XII to XVI were made, each with from 5 to 50 subsidiary burials. In the 33<sup>rd</sup> year of Amenemhat III, the prince, sole companion, and chief sealer, Yentef, was sent to Inebuw-Amenemhat with a force from Elephantine « on account « of his value in enlarging the boundaries (of Egypt) and the excellence « of his character », according to the inscription which he left in the temple, K II; but whether he came as governor or for some temporary purpose is not clear. It is certain, however, that the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan continued, probably with only minor troubles with the nomads and other lawless inhabitants. In the reign of the same Sekhemkhuwtauwira, in whose time terminated the records of Nile levels at Semna, the last of the great Egyptian governors was buried in tumulus K X at Inebuw-Amenemhat. But the Egyptians maintained themselves in the province many years after the death of this governor; for over 100 Egyptians were buried in the subsidiary graves of his tumulus. Two centuries had now elapsed since Amenemhat I founded Inebuw-Amenemhat and over 150 years since the development of the local arts and crafts had reached their height under the administration of Hepzefa. It is therefore not surprising to find that in the graves of K X, the objects show a certain deterioration. The black-topped, red-polished pottery was especially affected. The beakers had become wider and deeper and in some cases the colouring was obtained by painting and not by firing. This point is important because it is this degenerate pottery which was used at the time of the last occupation of the fort, the Western Delfusa. The fort and the surrounding offices had been burnt out at the end of their last occupation and this pottery was found on the floors under the layer of ashes and coals. Now, this fort had been the centre of administration and so over a thousand seal-impressions in mud were found which had come from sealed receptacles and letters opened in the offices. Fortunately several of these seal impressions bore the names of the so-called « Shepherd Kings » (Hyksos) who came from Western Asia and ruled over Egypt for about a century (from about 1660-1560). At this time then (about 1600 B. C.) the fort of Inebuw-Amenemhat, the administrative centre of the province, was burned out and never rebuilt. It had been in use 360 years and the mass stands to-day worn and cracked by the

weather, and undermined by treasure-seekers, but still rising ten metres above the surrounding desert. Except for a few walls near the fort, the town has been worn completely away; and only the broken pottery, the bits of animal bones, the broken bread-grinders, and fragments of other household utensils scattered over a few square miles of denuded desert remain to mark the site.

In conclusion, the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan of the Middle Empire lasted nearly four centuries, from about 2000 to about 1600 B. C. During that time, at least three serious military campaigns were carried out by the king of Egypt in person, and the armed strength of Ethiopia was completely broken by the third of these in 1879. The line of communications was held by a series of forts and garrisons which reached as far as the lower end of the present Dongola Province, and at several of these, notably at Semna and at Kerma, regular colonies of Egyptians were established for administrative purposes. The most important colony seems at present to have been at Kerma, called Inebuw-Amenembat, where the Egyptians developed a special local civilisation, a curious modification of the culture of Egypt deeply affected by local forms, materials, and customs. The object of the occupation was the control of the gold mines and especially of the trade with the whole of the Sudan. The proceeds were a perquisite of the royal treasury and this made the occupation a matter of special interest to the king. The mines of Wādī Alāqi and at other places in the eastern desert were worked by forced Ethiopian labour; but it is probable that a quantity of gold also came down in trade from the alluvial gold fields near the Abyssinian frontier. The other objects which came down in trade were ebony, ivory, ostrich-feathers, ostrich eggs, leopard skins, resins, myrrh, some special plant products, and slaves. Just what objects went up from Egypt for the Sudan is unknown, but the demand would naturally have been for coloured faience beads and amulets, woven fabrics, weapons, and scented oils. Curiously enough most of these things were manufactured at Inebuw-Amenemhat and the factories of this colony may have supplied the trade. Our information on this point is deficient. At the settlement itself, the few objects imported from Egypt include alabaster jars, a small amount of wheel-made pottery of which there was a local imitation, and probably either bronze or manufactured objects of

bronze. The wide field of the Sudan remains unexplored for its evidence on this trade. It is not quite clear but it is probable that the whole trade was in the hands of the royal officials and that they were required to send a certain amount, a sort of tribute, every year to the royal treasury. In any case, whatever private loadings went through, either on animals or, as was more usual, on ships, must have been required to pay a tax to the Egyptian local administration. The chief station for the control of this business was Inebuw-Amenemhat (Kerma). It may well be imagined that the Egyptian governor and his officials had to depend on «perquisites» for their livelihood and managed to pay themselves well for their isolation. The manifest prosperity, the abundance of gold, at Kerma proves this conclusively. It was undoubtedly the power given to the Egyptian officials by the profits of the traffic and the ability to supply the demands of the southern trade from the local factories which enabled the Egyptian settlement at Kerma to maintain itself through the period of disorganisation in Egypt which culminated in the conquest of Lower Egypt by the Hyksos. Towards the end, the annual tribute may have been entirely withheld, and the local governor may have ruled as an independent king. However that may be, the end of the settlement of Inebuw-Amenemhat was approaching. It is probable that the Ethiopians became aware that the king of Egypt was no longer to be feared, that they rose suddenly, took the fort by assault, and dealt with the Egyptian garrison after the manner of Central Africa. Thus ended after four hundred years the first Egyptian occupation of the Sudan. But Ethiopia remained the land of gold and of trade routes, and the first king to gain the mastery of a united Egypt was bound by the force of circumstances to clear away the confusion of local tribal control.

GEORGE A. REISNER.

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NOTE. — The translations of the documents referring to the Middle Empire are to be found in Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 1.

# ROTATION OF CROPS

## IN GUM GARDENS OF THE WHITE NILE

BY W. R. G. BOND.

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Where the Gum Belt approaches the White Nile, the country consists of a dead flat plain of hard clay, on the surface of which rest numerous sand-ridges of various shapes and sizes.

The flat plain is covered with Kitr, Tally, and other trees, or consists of open grass-land; it affords grazing for large herds of cattle, and there its agricultural importance ends. It is upon the sand-ridges that the crops are sown, and on which the gum is produced.

The succession of crops, fallow, and gum gardens, really forms a slow rotation of crops, which is not only of interest economically, but must be clearly understood by those engaged in the administration of the district, as the rights over the land are often in different hands in different stages of the cycle.

It is probable that this rotation of crops is largely characteristic of gum areas generally, but owing to the poorness of the soil in this region, the land soon becomes exhausted under any one crop; this rotation is therefore fairly rapid, and its various stages are here well marked.

It may be of interest to describe them in some detail, but it is necessary to point out that these remarks only apply to an area, which may be roughly described as lying 15 miles to the North and South of the Kosti-El Obeid railway, and for a distance of some 80 miles West of Kosti. Even towards the fringes of this area, changes are noticeable in soil conditions, which no doubt result in different local customs.

The cycle starts from Ghufār, which is virgin soil, or land so long out of cultivation that no traces of previous reclamation remain. Very little virgin soil now remains, and what is usually referred to by natives as Ghufār, is old bār, which will be referred to later.

Ghufār is characterized by rather sparse grasses and a few stunted heglig (heglig).

It is cleared and burnt, and is sown in the first year, as a rule, to dukhn, with occasional patches of dura. It is now known as *Bildāt*.

**BILDĀT.** — How many years the land may be cultivated in succession depends on a variety of circumstances, but it may be taken as from 4 to 10 years.

Towards the close of this period, the land becomes exhausted or *bārid*, and also infested with a purple flowered plant called *būda* which is parasitic on the roots of cereals, like «Money» or «Eyebright» on crops in England.

The deeper rooted simsim, which is not attacked by *būda*, is more and more planted as a change crop; and eventually when the land is exhausted, the cultivators move to another set of sand-ridges. The deserted land is known as *Serāya*.

**SERĀYA.** — *Serāya* begins as bare dusty looking soil, but two very different plants find it congenial. One is the spiky *heskanit*, and as this detestable grass takes hold, it dominates all other herbage, and continues through much of the two stages next to be described. *Heskanit* only germinates on recently worked land, and it is this land, which is going out of cultivation, which leaves such indelible memories in the minds of travellers. Failing recent cultivation, it makes its home mainly on the loose soil at the sides of roads, or on the loose earth thrown out of porcupine or other animal burrows. The other plant which finds these conditions to suit it, is the Gum Acacia, and many wind-borne seeds germinate alongside the *heskanit*.

They are at first little noticeable, but about the third or fourth year they are a metre high, and the pale green of their leaves dominates the dead yellow of the grass. These young gum trees are known as *shigl*, and the land in this state is called after them.

**SHIGL.** — As will be realized, the passage from *serāya* to *shigl* is a gradual one, and *serāya* and *shigl* together represent a continuous phase,

during which the immature gum trees are growing on the fallow of the earlier cultivation. The shigl stage lasts 3 or 4 years, and the change into the next stage is equally gradual from a botanical point of view, but economically it is a very marked one, for in native opinion the trees are now fit to tap, and the long pause between the corn period and the gum-producing period is over.

The trees are now tapped, and the land is known by the somewhat ludicrous name of *Geneina* (jinēna) or gum-garden. The only thing in a garden that it can be compared to is an overgrown and neglected gooseberry bed.

**GENEINA.** — The length of this phase depends on so many factors that it is difficult to estimate, and it will be the subject of further argument, but in the meanwhile it may be put at 6-10 years.

The maximum yield of gum is in the first 6 years, after which some of the weaker trees, especially if heavily tapped, begin to die. It has already been pointed out that gum trees only germinate on freshly worked and cleared soil, so that a gum garden does not renew itself. All the trees are of the same age, and tend to die about the same time. The same applies to *heskanit*, which gradually becomes replaced by denser growing grasses. The fallen trees prevent close grazing, and the conditions become more suitable for the spread of forest fires than at any previous period. Natives treat these fires with equanimity for two reasons; firstly because they usually occur when the gum gardens are dying, and thus clear the land for future cultivation, with a minimum of trouble; secondly because standing crops, however dry, seem to enjoy a remarkable immunity from destruction by fire. This is due to the spacing between the plants, and the careful hoeing of all weeds between, but it is a curious sight to see what appear to be tinder-dry crops standing like islands in the blackened track of a forest fire. Suppose however that no fire occurs, the gum trees die down, and leave only a few slow growing trees like *hejlj*, which have not been weakened by tapping.

**BÜR.** — The land is now approaching the state of *ghufar*, with which the cycle began, and is often referred to as such but is more properly



known as *Būr*. The cultivated area elsewhere may be becoming *bārid*, and the cultivators urge that the land should be cleared and cultivated. The gum trees are not entirely extinct, and the gum interests point out that «there is life in the old dog yet». This is one of the many questions that may be referred to the Inspector, usually in the form of each party claiming the land as their own to do what they like with.

On the decision depends whether the land is to be still considered as

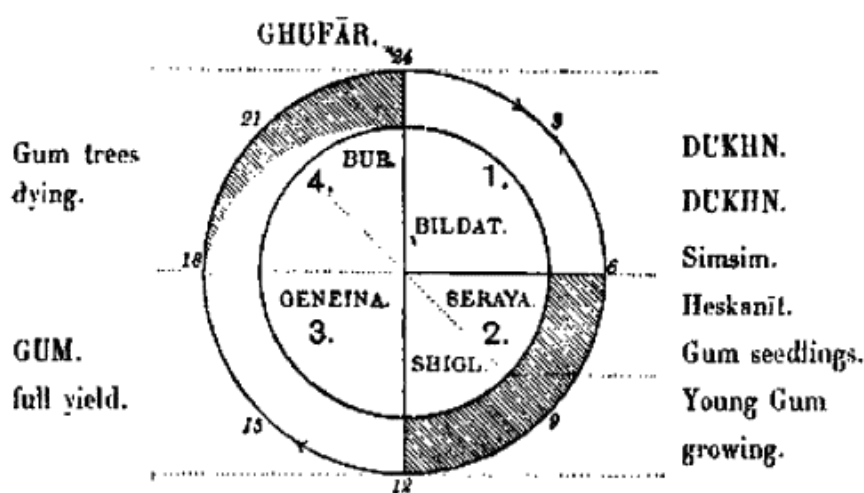


Diagram n° 1

Showing 24 years Rotation, Shaded Area-Non productive, Blank Area-productive.

Geneina, or as *Būr* (practically the same as *ghufār*), and therefore fit for clearance and cultivation, so beginning the rotation afresh.

A timely forest fire would of course settle the question.

A brief résumé of the above shows that there are four periods :

1. The cultivation period (Productive);
2. The fallow period (Non-productive);
3. The gum period (Productive);
4. The deteriorating period (Semi-productive).

Diagram 1 represents a scheme in which each period lasts 6 years, or one quarter of a total rotation of 24 years. This is by no means an impossible sequence of events (see diagram 1).

An examination of this diagram shows that the first quarter produces corn, the second quarter, which is shaded, produces nothing; the third

quarter produces the maximum of gum, and the fourth quarter produces gum in a diminishing degree.

A good deal of attention has been devoted by the Government to extending the productive, in comparison to the non-productive, periods of the rotation.

No one would suggest the curtailment of the corn producing stage, and the exhaustion of the soil prevents its prolongation. The growth of the young gum trees in the second stage cannot be accelerated. Therefore most attention has been devoted to trying to prolong the third or Geneina stage, that is to say the period of maximum gum production.

The special attention paid to this stage is partly due, no doubt, to the fact that gum being entirely an article of export figures largely in traffic, customs, forestry, and economic returns, and thus enjoys an undue share of the limelight, whereas the corn is largely consumed locally, and tends to escape notice. The means adopted for this purpose have been two :

- 1° Fire protection;
- 2° Regulation of tapping.

The first is expensive, the second reduces the production, since the production of gum seems to be a reaction against illtreatment (in this case tapping), and the less the illtreatment, the less the gum. This is a crude statement, but perhaps it may pass.

One of the purposes of this paper is to suggest that, in the district specially referred

to, the opposite policy may, perhaps, be the best. Suppose that the gum trees have been heavily tapped for the first 6 years, and the maximum amount of gum produced, and suppose that, in the absence of fire protection, a fire has occurred at the eighteenth year, which is a point where, from the nature of the herbage, a fire is likely to occur; then we eliminate the half productive period of diminishing gum yield, and speed up the whole cycle. This state of affairs is shown in diagram 2.

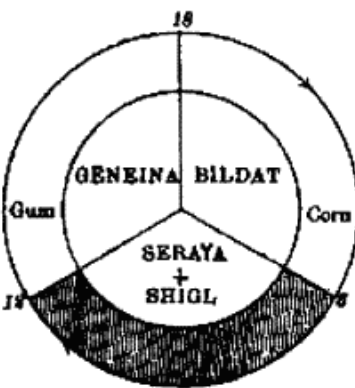


Diagram n° 2.

18 years cycle

Where geneina is burnt at end of maximum yield.

Shaded Area Unproductive.

This diagram shows a cycle of 18 years, 6 years corn, 6 years fallow,

and 6 years maximum gum yield. For the purposes of comparison let us assume that in the first diagram, the fourth period (of diminishing gum yield) may be taken as equal to 3 years of full production and 3 years non-productive, instead of 6 years half production. Then the conditions shown in the diagrams, if the rotation continued regularly for 72 years, would show the following results :

	CORN.	UNPRO- DUCTIVE.	GUM.	TOTAL.
	years.	years.	years.	years.
Diagram 1 : 24 years cycle.....	18	27	27	72
Diagram 2 : 18 years cycle.....	24	24	24	72

That is to say, the expensive and difficult policy of fire protection and control of tapping has much reduced the corn period, has slightly increased the non-productive period, and has slightly increased the gum period; but as this last increase has partly been produced by restricted tapping it is questionable if the total yield of gum has really been augmented. Of course in real practice, the conditions are infinitely more complicated and varied than appears from the diagrams, and it would require years of careful study to find out the exact scheme of rotation, which gave the best results; but it has been thought worth while to emphasize one view, which has hitherto received rather less attention than it deserves, namely that the sooner gum trees are burnt down, or the sooner they are tapped to death, the quicker the whole rotation, and the sooner the gum period comes round again.

It has already been pointed out that there are different rights of ownership at different stages, and it may be of interest to notice them.

Ghufār has no individual owner, but belongs to the tribe or section on whose land it lies. When it becomes bildāt, it requires many more hands to cultivate it than at any other stage of the cycle; there are therefore a

good many immigrants from other villages or districts. Local custom allows the Sheikh or other prominent person to take ground rent or *tu-gundī*, but as, for reasons that will appear later, it is the Sheikh's desire to encourage as many immigrants as possible, this is sometimes remitted. Whoever clears the land has the right to it for the whole cultivation period whatever may happen afterwards, but as the *simsim* growing increases, this, being light work, is often given to the older women. Others are often allowed as a favour to grow *simsim* on a man's land, but it is interesting to note that this planting of *simsim* does not in any way effect the rights of those who originally cleared the land. When the land is exhausted, the village moves bodily to a new set of sand-ridges. It is usually held that if the cultivators hail from the village, they are entitled to the gum garden which will eventually spring up on their clearance; but that aliens are cultivators only. They would probably have a right to land to cultivate in the new village, but must hand over the old *Serāya* to whoever introduced them on to the land. Hence a good many prospective gum gardens revert to the sheikh, who is sometimes, by the way, not the sheikh officially recognised by the Government. As to whether they are his personal property, or held by him in trust for the community depends on the personality of the sheikh. It is now easy to see why sheikhs welcome immigrant cultivators.

When the gum garden matures, the owner may either tap it himself, or more often hires it out to another. The gum is collected in the summer, when water conditions are difficult; it is not everyone therefore who cares to collect it.

The rent takes the form of a cash payment and a share in the gum. The cash payment is often P. T. 10, and must be paid before a tree is tapped. It is often in the nature of a seal to the bargain, for in native opinion, no bargain is binding where no money has actually changed hands. This payment is called *khashm el fās*. The owner of an average garden would perhaps receive one *kantar* (100 lbs) of the gum.

When the garden, in its turn, becomes exhausted, the owner would probably cultivate it himself, or get a stranger to do so for him, so as to retain the gum garden in his own hands; but before strangers may be introduced, land must be found somewhere for all the natives of the village.

It has been pointed out that villages move bodily.

There are no permanent deep wells in this area : pools abound after the rains, and shallow wells are dug at places like Gedid. But Gedid fails in some years, and as its name shows it is a «new» site, and replaced Menawel, which in turn replaced Kanferia, which, though once of great importance, no longer appears on the map. Thus there is nothing to fix a village in one place, and in fact natives do not occupy villages for most of the year, but move about in camps or *serāgs* with their cattle. In the rains they make tukl villages on the sand-ridges which happen at the time to be under cultivation, the villages in fact move round in accordance with the rotation of crops, and this is why a map showing villages, indicates, a few years later, only the land which has recently gone out of cultivation, and is therefore in the *serāya* stage, the most deserted in the cycle. Moreover if roads are cleared, their direction must be totally altered every 6 years or so, if they are to lead to the populated areas.

The only permanent features of the area are the sand-ridges and the pools, each of which has a name. Only those in fairly close touch with the district can tell where the centres of population are at a given time, and this is directly due to the rotation of crops.

W. R. G. BOND.

# SEASONAL OCCURRENCE AND EDIBILITY OF FISH AT KHARTOUM

BY WAINO PEKKOLA.

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**INTRODUCTORY.** — During the last four years I have spent much time in the study of the fish fauna of the Nile and I think that some, at all events, of the information which I have acquired may possibly be of interest to residents in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

The fish fauna in the Nile is rich in different species, but, more especially, in the great abundance of certain individuals.

At present nearly 200 species are known to exist in the Nile system, but only a small number of these occur in the rivers near Khartoum and still fewer are constantly present throughout the year. Some fish, which are common in the summer, are absent in the winter and some appear during the flood, being more or less scarce during the hot months. Seasonal changes often cause the fish to move from south to north with the current of the river, but, for purposes of breeding, they often travel against that current from north to south.

Fish is not much used for food at present in the Sudan. The native is not a born fisherman, he is not a sportsman, and it is only in places, where he can sell fish, that he shows any keenness for fishing. The Negroes, Shilluks and Dinkas seem to be more engaged in fishing than the Sudan Arab, though their tackle is rather primitive being generally only a spear. This the fisherman throws while walking in shallow waters, mostly trusting to chance. Sometimes when watching their fishing it seemed to me that it took a long time before a fish was impaled on the end of the spear but it does not matter how long it takes them to catch fish for a meal as time is of no great importance to these people. If the fish were not so

enormously abundant in these waters, they would hardly get anything. Far better fishermen are crocodiles and pelicans. Many kilogrammes of fish must be needed to satisfy the appetite of a monster some four metres in length and crocodiles are rather numerous in the Upper White Nile. The pelicans consume yet more fish. One often sees large gatherings of these birds in shallow waters and great flocks, with hundreds in a flock, must eat enormous quantities of fish. Besides pelicans there many other fish-eating birds, such as herons, cormorants, darters, fine-looking sea-eagles, etc. Yet man should use much more fish for his food because the flesh of many of the fish is very appetising and often excellent, while his requirements would not appreciably diminish their numbers.

In order to make this paper more interesting to the reader I have inserted a few diagrams showing the principal features of some of the more important fish.

**SILURIDÆ.** — No family is so abundantly represented in the rivers near Khartoum, as the *Siluridæ*, generally called Cat-Fishes, of which 15 genera occur in the Nile-System and many of these are very common at Khartoum.

The commonest member of this family is *Synodontis schall*, which extends from the mouth of the Nile to the Great Lakes and is found on the market at Khartoum all the year round. It is generally the first fish which a sportsman catches with his hook, and when taken out of water it makes a loud noise with its pectoral fins. The flesh is soft and tasteless, but the fish is much used for food among the poorer population. The native name of this fish is *gargūr*.

Another species of this genus, *Synodontis membranaceus*, though not rare, is never found in large numbers on the market and during the cold months it is very seldom to be seen. Being a somewhat peculiar looking fish, it is easily recognised as the body is high, strongly compressed, silvery grey above, black below while it has a very broad, black maxillary barbel. For food it is practically worthless. By the fishermen it is called *gargūr galabāya* or only *galabāya*.

Several other species of *Synodontis* are occasionally brought to the market, but some of these are very rare.

Almost as common as the previous genus is *Bagrus*, also a Silurid, which includes two species *B. bayad* and *B. docmac*, both are of great value as food. The former is known by the natives *Bayād* or *Bayāḍa* and the latter *Kabarōs*.

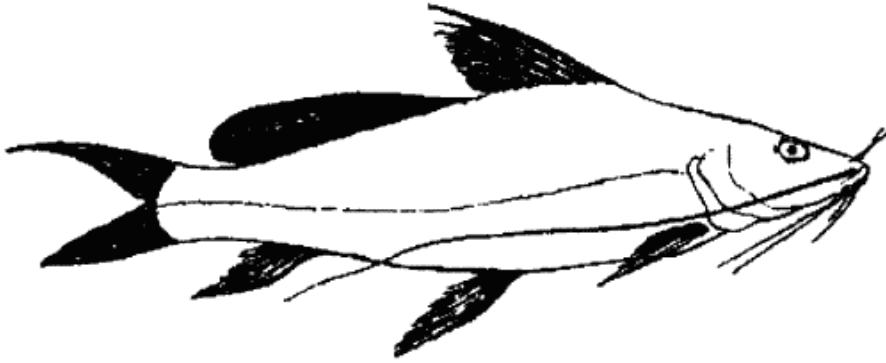


Diagram 1. — *Bagrus bayad* Forskal 1775 to illustrate the general characters of the Cat-Fish family *Siluridæ*.

These are common at any period of the year except during November and December when only small numbers are seen. They reach the length of about a metre and their flesh is very good.

During the high Nile, especially in August, September and October, large quantities of a Silurid fish, *Clarias anguillaris*, known to the natives as *Garmūt* and *Balbūt*, are brought to the market. It is common throughout the year, but its members greatly increase during the flood.

At Khartoum one seldom sees such large specimens as those which I got in the Upper White Nile, but I did not measure my two largest because both had lost their caudal end — one close to the anal opening — whilst escaping from the mouth of a crocodile. The largest head which I have dried is 35 centimetres long and 25 1/2 centimetres broad, indicating a total length of about 1 1/2 metres and this is of interest because there is no record of any individual of this species reaching such a size. Being a strong fish, it affords excellent sport, but the flesh of the larger ones is so very unappetising that even the Shilluks, when offered, refused to accept it. The smaller individuals, up to half a metre in length, do not taste so bad when fried and are much used for food at Khartoum.

*Heterobranchus bidorsalis* called by the natives *Surta* at a first glance bears a great resemblance to *Clarias anguillaris*, but is easily distinguished



having the dorsal fin divided into two parts while in *Clarias* it is single. It occurs all the year round at Khartoum but is rather uncommon and I have seen more than two or three specimens of this fish in a morning in the market. As a food it is not much better than *Clarias anguillaris*.

Absolutely worthless for food is a large headed Silurid, *Clarotes laticeps*, a common fish at any period of the year, but much less so than *Clarias anguillaris*. The native name is *Bamseka* and large specimens reaching nearly one metre in length are often obtained from the market. Its head is very compressed and the mouth being enormously wide is easily recognisable.

On the other hand, *Auchenoglanis occidentalis*, also a Silurid, has an elongated, pointed snout and a very small terminal mouth, surrounded with numerous long barbels. By the fishermen it is generally called *Homār el Hūt* «fish donkey». It grows to the length of a metre and occurs at Khartoum throughout the year but always in small numbers. As a food it is not much better than *Clarotes*.

During the autumn months a small Silurid, *Schilbe mystus*, called by the natives *Shilba* or *Shilbāya*, is brought to the market in large numbers. Though common at any period of the year, it is only during the highest flood that it is present in great quantities. The usual size of shilba is some 30 centimetres and as a food it is one of the best fish. Its conspecies is *S. uranoscopus*, but it is much rarer.

Of the same value as a food as shilba there is another small Silurid, *Eutropius niloticus*, which differs from the previous genus in its small dorsal adipose fin. It is present throughout the year but is never plentiful. By the fishermen it is distinguished from shilba as *Shilbāya ‘arabī* and *Um Dankis*.

Among the other small Silurids one often sees a small, generally some 20 centimetres long, golden yellow *Chrysichthys auratus*, called by the natives *Abū riyāl*. In small numbers it occurs throughout the year, but for food it is quite unimportant.

To the Cat-fish family there belongs an interesting, electric fish, *Malopterurus electricus*, well known to the ancient Egyptians. The electric organ is situated close under the skin, being part of the integument and produces a powerful current — even a small specimen can give a strong shock. It

occurs at Khartoum during the greater part of the year, but is never numerous on the market. It is more common in the summer than in the winter, and during March and April 1914, when I was particularly looking for this fish, it was entirely absent. *Barada*, as the fish is called by the natives, attains the length of half a metre or a little more; my largest specimen measured 58 centimetres. It is used by the natives for food, but the flesh is not appetising. The skin with the electric tissue is never eaten, but dried and used for medical purposes.

**MORMYRIDÆ.** --- Almost as abundantly represented at Khartoum as the cat-fish is the family *Mormyridæ*, though specifically it is not so numerous as these fish. All the members of this family are African fish, of which 7 genera occur in the Nile-system while species of each appear in the rivers near Khartoum. Many of the Mormyrids are peculiar looking fish — the head and snout being sometimes much elongated and pointed with a small mouth and the form of the body is very variable. All the Mormyrids have an enormously developed cerebellum and an electric organ in the caudal region. Many of these fish attain a great size and for food they are of some importance.

The commonest representative of this family is *Hyperopisus bebe*, called by the natives *Sawiya*, which can be obtained from the market throughout the year. Though it occurs at any period of the year it is only during the spring that large quantities are daily seen on the market. It reaches the



Diagram 2. — *Mormyrus caschive* L. 1762 to illustrate the general characters of the family *Mormyridæ*.

length of half a metre — my largest specimen measured 53 centimetres. The flesh, especially that of large specimens, is not bad and is much used for food at Khartoum.

Almost as common as the previous is *Mormyrus caschive* and *M. kannume*,

but the latter is less plentiful than the former. Both are large fish attaining more than a metre in length. The fishermen do not make any distinction between these species which they call *Khashm el Banāt* «mouth of girls».

By the same name is known a conspecies *M. hasselquistii* which is rather scarce and occurs only during the summer and spring. The flesh of these fish, as that of other Mormyrids, though not delicate, is appetising but they are seldom used by the European population at Khartoum for food.

One of the largest Mormyrids, *Gymnarchus niloticus*, which attains a size of one metre in length, is also common, but is to be met in the market in large numbers only during the spring and summer, though it is never so abundantly represented as *Mormyrus caschive*. The only native name I have heard is *wir*. Though the fish is provided with a well developed electric organ, it cannot give a shock to man. I have hooked a specimen the length of a metre, but it did not give me the slightest shock either in the water or when taken into the boat. Here may be mentioned the peculiar movement of the dorsal fin, which the fish always shows, when taken out of water. It consists of a series of waves running along the fin forwards from the caudal end. The eggs, which are very large, are much esteemed by the natives and, when fried, they taste very like fowl's eggs.

A large Mormyrid, which has never previously been reported from the Sudan is *Mormyrops anguilloides*. It is to be met at Khartoum during the winter and is of very rare occurrence, but, in the spring, its numbers greatly increase and in May and June it is daily on the market, though never in large quantities. It attains a length of more than one metre and is called by the fishermen *Tersa*. The flesh of this fish is perhaps the best of all the large Mormyrids and the spawn is valued by the fishermen as food.

Several other small Mormyrids occur at Khartoum and of these *Petrocephalus bana* called by the natives *Rās el Hajar* is very common but for food these are of no importance.

CYPRINIDÆ. — Genus *Labeo*, which belongs to the large *Cyprinidæ* family, is represented at Khartoum by four species and three of these

occur very regularly at any period of the year. The commonest, *Labeo niloticus* and *L. horie*, are very alike and but few fishermen can distinguish one from the other. The former is called *Dabs nitāya* and the latter, with larger scales, *Dabs dakar*. They grow up to nearly one metre, but the usual size is only half of this. Less plentiful than these is *Labeo coubie* called by the natives *Tutkum*. It grows to the same length as the previous species.

Boulenger (*Zoology of Egypt: The Fishes of the Nile*, p. 161) says that the flesh of *Labeo* is absolutely worthless in Egypt, but at Khartoum these fish are commonly used for food among the Europeans and the larger ones, when fried, are quite appetising.

The fourth species, *Labeo forskalii*, native name *Massās*, is but scarce — there are one or two specimens occasionally seen on the market.

A large Cyprinid also found in Khartoum is *Barbus bynni* — the largest I have measured was  $7\frac{1}{4}$  centimetres long. It occurs throughout the year but is never very abundant on the market. The flesh of this fish is very good. The native name is *binnī*.

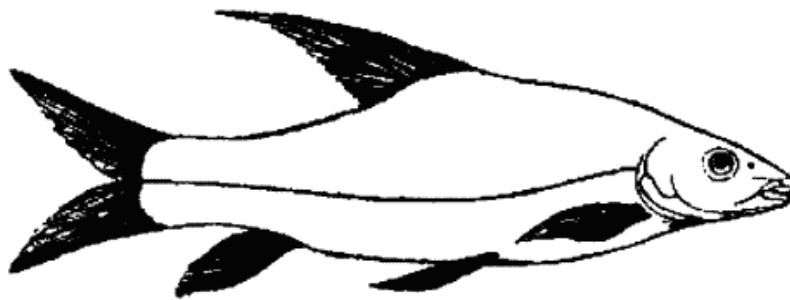


Diagram 3. — *Barbus bynni* Forskal 1775 to illustrate the general characters of the genus *Cyprinidæ*.

Two small Cyprinids, *Barilius niloticus* and *Chelaethiops bibie*, have also good flesh and at some places in the Sudan they are caught in large numbers, but at Khartoum the fishermen do not pay much attention to them, though they are very common.

CHARACINIDÆ. — There are some other small fish which are excellent for food. These belong to the *Characinidæ* family. Two genera *Hydrocyon*

and *Alestes* are common at any period of the year but especially so during August, September and October when large quantities of the former are brought to the market. Genus *Hydrocyon* is represented by three species, viz., *H. forskalii*, *H. lineatus* and *H. brevis* — all known by the fishermen as «Kās». Only the first mentioned is common. Of *Alestes* there are four representatives *A. dentex*, *A. baremose*, *A. nurse* and *A. macrolepidotus*. The two former are called by the natives *Kauwāra baludī* and the two latter *Kauwāra safsaf*.



Diagram 4. — *Alestes baremose* Joannis 1835 to illustrate the general characters of the family *Characinidæ*.

All these fish have a delicate flesh. The Greeks salt these fish and though their method is very primitive the taste is rather nice but if salted in a proper manner I believe that the fish would be excellent.

Besides the above-mentioned *Characinidæ*, there is another common member of this family at Khartoum, *Distichodus niloticus* called by the natives *Khrēsh*. It is a large fish attaining more than half a metre in length and occurs throughout the year. The smaller ones taste well, but the flesh of the very large ones, though nice-looking (being of reddish colour), is not appetising. Two other species, *Distichodus brevipinnis* and *D. engycephalus*, are to be met on the market at any period of the year, but being scarce, they have no economical value.

Regularly all the year round a silvery white fish *Citharinus citharus*, also a Characinid, is to be found in small numbers in the market. It is easily recognised, having a very strongly compressed, high body. One often sees specimens of the length of half a metre but smaller ones are much more common. The Arabic name is *Bit koiya*. As a food it is almost worthless, the flesh being soft and tasteless.

SERRANIDÆ. — The largest fish of the Nile is *Lates niloticus* which belongs to the family *Serranidæ*.

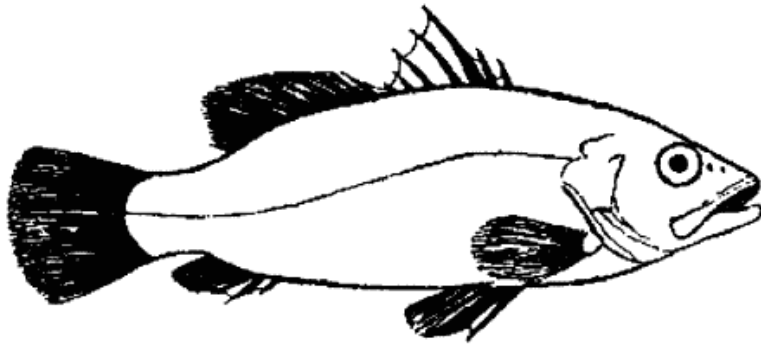


Diagram 5. — *Lates niloticus* Cuv. and Val. 1828 to illustrate the general characters of the family *Serranidæ*.

It is easily recognised, being the only fish resembling a perch. Usually it measures some 1 m. 50 cent. long, and specimens of the weight of 100 kilogrammes or even more are not very rare on the market. Smaller ones occur sometimes in large numbers, especially during the early spring months. The natives call it 'ijl. Hardly any other fish has better flesh than a medium sized individual of this species.

CICHLIDÆ. — To the same suborder *Acanthopterygii* belongs *Tilapia nilotica*, a member of the family *Cichlidæ*.

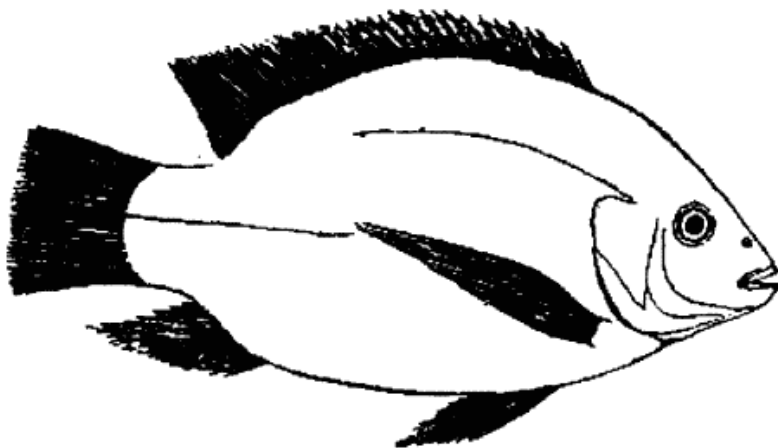


Diagram 6. — *Tilapia nilotica* L. 1757 to illustrate the general characters of the family *Cichlidæ*.

This fish has a very wide distribution extending from the Sea of Gallilee and the River Jordan all over the Nile-system. At Khartoum it is very

common at any period of the year. It is generally known by the natives as *Bult* or *Bultî*. The flesh is very good, but caught in swampy places and in marshy lagoons it is a bit earthy.

Other species of this genus are *T. zillii* which, though not very common, occurs throughout the year, and *T. galilæa*, which has as wide distribution as the first mentioned but is much scarcer than *T. zillii*.

**POLYPTERIDÆ.** — The most characteristic fish of the Nile is *Polypterus*, a member of the *Crossopterygii*, which in Devonian times were very strongly represented, but, at present, there are but few survivors. The larvæ of *Polypterus* are provided with large external opercular gills, like the larval *Batrachians*, with which they show an affinity even in other respects.

At Khartoum there commonly occurs only one species *Polypterus endlicheri*. It is never abundantly represented, and during the winter is very rare. The fish is called by the natives *Am kakkör*, *Dabib* or *Dabib el Hât* (*whale snake*). It attains the length of some 70 centimetres, but for food it is quite worthless and is used only by the poorest people.

Two other species, *Polypterus bichir* and *P. senegalus*, are very seldom met with in Khartoum. The former has the same native name as *T. endlicheri*, but the latter is called *Emsir*.

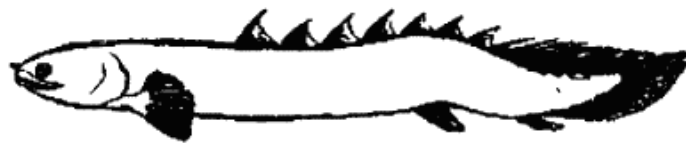


Diagram 7. — *Polypterus senegalus* Cuv. 1829  
to illustrate the general characters of the family *Polypteridæ*.

**OSTEOGLOSSIDÆ.** — As worthless for food as the previous genus is *Heterotis niloticus*, a fish with very large scales and the only representative of the family *Osteoglossidæ*. It grows to the length of some 80 centimetres and occurs in Khartoum in small numbers all the year round, but the large ones are very rarely seen on the market. The native name is *Nök*.

TETRODONTIDÆ. — A remarkable fish *Tetrodon fahaka* of the order *Plectognathi*, occurs occasionally at Khartoum throughout the year.

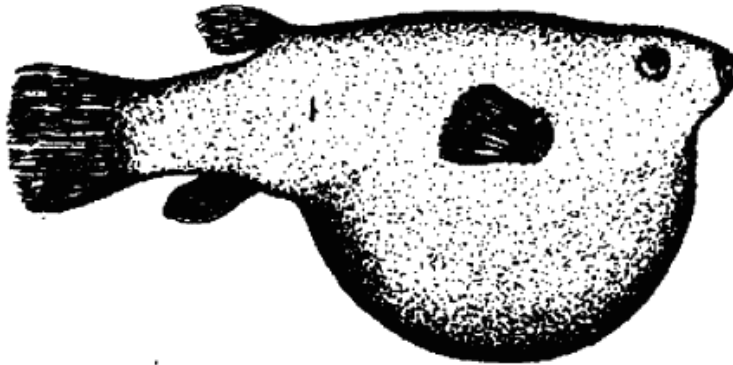


Diagram 8. — *Tetrodon fahaka* Steindachner 1870 to illustrate the general characters of the family *Tetrodontidæ*.

It has a peculiar habit in that it can inflate itself so much with air that it assumes a globe shape. The body is covered with spines, which in a large specimen are rather sharp. The native name is *Tambëra* and *Abū zantakhā*. The Shilluks often spear large specimens of some 45 centimetres, but neither they nor the Arabs use it for food, on the contrary it is said to be poisonous.

ANGUILLIDÆ. — The common eel, *Anguilla vulgaris*, has never previously been reported in Khartoum, but is known to ascend as far as the second cataract. During every winter I have seen some on the market at Khartoum but never in the summer. Whether or not it is common during the cold months is difficult to say as, with the nets used by the fishermen, an eel is not easily caught and the hooks, generally used, are too big for this fish. The fishermen have not any special name for the eel, but they call it *Dabib* «snake».

SUMMARY. — Several species of fish are commonly met with in the market at Khartoum throughout the year, but only a few of these are valuable for food. As examples of these fish, species of the genera *Bagrus*, *Lates*, and *Tilapia* take the first place as their flesh is very good. The species of *Alestes* take the second place as their flesh is also excellent when fried.

The salting of fish is at present but little used in the Sudan, but many of the small species of the genera *Barbus* and *Alestes* would be valuable as food if salted in a proper manner.

W. PEKKOLA.



**THE RAHAD.**  
**A NOTE ON NAVIGATION**  
**AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE RIVER**  
**BY C. H. PAGE.**

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The problem of rendering the Rahad available for navigation during the flood season as a commercial proposition and putting the upper reaches of the river with their not inconsiderable quantities of gum and agricultural produce in touch with the markets of the Sudan has engaged considerable attention of late years.

It was of course wellknown that the river could be navigated; in August 1904, for example, Mr. Armbruster in the *Amara* penetrated as far south as Meshra Abid, 420 miles from its confluence with the Blue Nile, but the enterprise was attended by such difficulty and risk of damage to craft, especially on the return journey, that it was doubtful whether the game was worth the candle. The danger and difficulty were due to a combination of rapid current, innumerable sharp bends, hidden rocks in the river bed and the presence throughout almost the entire journey of trees not only overhanging the river but growing in the riverbed.

In 1915, the late Lieut. Huntly Walsh R. N. set out to investigate the conditions prevailing with the idea of either condemning the river from the point of view of commercial transport or of suggesting means of rendering navigation a matter of less difficulty and danger.

He started the journey in the tug *Viper* towing two barges, on the 28<sup>th</sup> July when the Roseires gauge showed a reading of 16.10, but after a few hours steaming was compelled to stop and tie up owing to the shallowness of the water.

During the next few days the river rose slightly and he managed to proceed a few miles daily until on the 4<sup>th</sup> August there was a sudden rise of over a metre and he was able to go at full speed to Sherif Yacub.

He reported that from Sherif Yacub to Ein el Luciga both banks were fringed with sunt trees and a thick undergrowth of *sidr*, the branches of the sunt trees extending into the river and making navigation slow and difficult.

About 8 hours steaming above Ein el Luciga he found a ridge of rock running into the river from the right bank, at that time uncovered, and extending to within 20 yards of the left bank. Here the current was so strong that it was necessary to assist the engines by putting a wire out forward and heaving on the winch and a certain amount of tree cutting was required owing to the narrowness of the passage.

From this point up to about six hours from Mefaza the sunt trees caused more and more trouble and when an occasional broad reach was encountered (and he plaintively remarks that they were few and far between) it came as a welcome relief to tree cutting and forcing a way under overhanging branches of sunt trees. A sunt tree, it may be remarked in passing, is not a comfortable obstacle upon which to use force, for the same reason that a porcupine is not a suitable pet on which to lavish caresses.

Near Matu the current becomes stronger owing to small islands which appeared to be of recent growth and may be due to sunt trees springing up in the bed of the river and consequent silting.

In the last 16 miles to Mefaza the surrounding country is quite different in character: the banks are lower and the ground back from the river is swampy and there is a marked absence of trees: the river is extremely tortuous and there are many awkward bends.

Mefaza was reached on this occasion 16 days after leaving the confluence with the Blue Nile, six of which were accounted for by delays due to shallow water at the beginning of the expedition.

Cargo was taken on board the barges at Mefaza, though owing to the difficulty experienced from overhanging branches, it had to be stowed entirely under-deck.

The return journey began and the troubles which had beset the upstream journey increased in number and magnitude.

Huntly Walsh describes how he first of all tried to ease the tug and barges down stream stern first and found it a failure. Other methods were adopted with a consistent lack of success and finally the rudders were

removed from the barges and they were allowed to drift singly with four men on each to do what they could, and apparently that was not much, to steer them clear of trouble. Their efforts were confined to pole work and owing to the depth of the water poles were not of much assistance and it was necessary for the tug to keep upstream of the barges to clear them when they got into difficulties from which they could not extricate themselves.

The journey down stream took 13 days and much damage above water was caused to the barges, though it was not sufficiently serious to entail delay for repairs.

In the following year a further experimental trip was made with the *Puma* and 6 barges to Mefaza. The river in that year was considerably higher than in 1915 and a great deal of damage was done to the barges owing to collision with trees.

These two experiments made it obvious that if the river was to be navigated successfully and as a commercial proposition a considerable amount of clearing was inevitable wherever trees occurred in the bed of the river at bends and in narrow parts or where they overhung the fairway from the banks.

However the country served by the Rahad is so fertile and rich in possibilities and land transport so costly and inadequate that it seemed worth while to persevere with the problem of transport by river.

Accordingly in January 1917 a working party was sent up to clear the trees which obstructed navigation, starting at Ein el Lueiga. The work was carried on to within a few miles of Tenedba and a vast improvement was effected by this means and by the removal of some of the most prominent rocks.

Work was hampered and curtailed by scarcity of water as the Rahad, which is entirely fed by the summer rains and has no lakes or natural reservoirs on which to draw, in the dry season degenerates into a series of pools frequently many miles apart, between which the bed is perfectly dry and even wells sunk in the river bed fail to produce enough to supply the workmen and transport animals.

When the flood rose in 1917, I decided to investigate conditions on the spot to test the value of the work already done, ascertain what remained to be done and review the possibilities of the river as a whole.

A first attempt made in the *Panther* on the 30<sup>th</sup> July proved abortive owing to insufficient depth of water in the river.

A second start was made a fortnight later in the stern-wheel steamer *Lord Cromer*.

Entering the Rahad on the 13<sup>th</sup> August, I reached Mefaza on the afternoon of the 24<sup>th</sup> August, some delays occurring because the steamer which was undergoing reconstruction had been hurriedly prepared for the expedition and was not complete, and, as was to be expected, there were mishaps: three working days were lost in cutting away trees obstructing the passage of the steamer.

The *Puma* arrived at Mefaza the same day and I continued the journey up-stream on her as far as Khor Simsim.

The river between Mefaza and Hawata presents no difficulties to navigation with the exception of a few trees near Mefaza. From Hawata to Khor Simsim there are a few trees and islands in the first seven or eight miles but afterwards it is a fine river and easier to navigate than the Bahr el Gebel.

I was much struck by the almost entire absence of animal life, with the exception of monkeys and a few birds, though waranas, scorpions and snakes abounded, especially snakes, of which large numbers measuring in some cases as much as 10 feet in length, fell from the overhanging trees on to the boats.

The most troublesome thing we had to contend with was a blister caterpillar, about five eighths of an inch in length, which raised blisters wherever it crawled. These blisters were very irritating but scratching only made them swell more and the fingers so employed transferred the poison to other parts of the body, as more scratching was inevitable. The most effective antidote discovered was Scrubbs Ammonia<sup>(1)</sup>.

I saw no mosquitoes and there were no flying pests to make night hideous.

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<sup>(1)</sup> We are indebted to Mr. H. H. King for the following note.

Dermatitis caused by the hairs from caterpillars is by no means rare. These hairs are frequently barbed, when they may work their way deep into the skin, and in some cases contain poison. One of the best known of these poisonous hairy caterpillars is the larva of the browntail moth, *Euproctis chrysorrhæa*, a pest of considerable importance to fruit and forest trees in Europe and the United States, Rogers and

South of Mefaza crocodiles were very numerous and again south of Hawata they simply swarmed and were very large and unusually vicious. It was a common sight to see as many as three charging the steamer like torpedoes, and one morning while they were doing this I killed sixteen of them. On one occasion when the sailors were pulling one on board, other crocodiles came and fought for it and took possession.

I noticed two crocodiles with very short wide snouts quite unlike others that I have seen in the Nile.

The whole river as far as Khor Simsim is densely wooded and from the confluence up to Abu Sheaba both banks are fringed with large sunt trees increasing in density and size. Near Abu Sheaba they become thinner until the clearing round Mefaza is reached, and again south of Mefaza they become very dense up to a few miles south of Hawata where the fringe of trees recedes a few yards from the banks, which are covered by scrub so dense as to render them invisible.

The predominating tree southward is the Gemaiza.

In this reach there were miles of castor oil plant and cotton on the water's edge.

The valley of the Rahad, as far as I could see, appears to be one vast plain, practically dead level and must be some 1000 square miles in extent. The height of the river banks where visible, did not seem to vary more than five or six feet.

With the exception of Sherif Yacub there are no villages until Tenedba is reached and thence to Hawata there are only isolated villages

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Burgess<sup>(a)</sup> record a number of cases of serious illness among men engaged in combating the browntail moth, due to the poison hairs from both larvæ and adults. In New South Wales<sup>(b)</sup> the deaths of horses have been attributed to their having grazed over pasturage swarming with the hairy caterpillars of the moth *Ocinara lewinæ*. The poison hairs in this case caused ulceration of the tongue, gums and interior of the mouth generally.

Caution should always be observed when handling hairy caterpillars and it is inadvisable to pitch camp under trees heavily infested with caterpillars of this description.

<sup>(a)</sup> ROOSE, D. M., and BURGESS, A. F., *Report on the field work against the gypsy moth and the browntail moth*, U. S. Dept. of Agric. Bull. 87, 1910, p. 25.

<sup>(b)</sup> FENSCOTT, W. W., *Agric. Gazette N. S. W.*, 1911, pp. 443-447.

populated largely by Fellata. The chief cause of this scarcity of population north of Mefaza seems to be the absence of water in the dry season. I was told that the country south of Mefaza had been denuded of its population by the dervishes, which statement is confirmed by Sir Samuel Baker's account of this part of the Rahad in 1862 (*Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, chap. XXI).

There seems to be an almost unlimited supply of good sunt timber on the Rahad and the trees are the largest of any description that I have seen in the country.

One of the crying needs of these rich upper reaches of the Rahad is population to make the most of its agricultural possibilities and, once that is found, cheap transport for the produce. The former can only be induced to remain there if an adequate water supply is secured in the dry season, the latter I am convinced can be provided, partly by the evolution of river craft specially adapted to the conditions of navigation and partly by the more complete clearance of obstructions and dangers to navigation from the channel, or, were the means available, by the construction of a series of dams and locks which would serve the double purpose of providing a permanent waterway and a permanent water supply.

The chief obstructions at present are shallow water near the confluence with the Blue Nile, rocks at intervals up to 20 miles south of Ein, el Lu-eiga and the innumerable trees on the banks and in the bed of the river.

The shallows can be dredged and the rocks removed, but any increase in the section of a river with so steep a slope as that of the Rahad, would increase the outflow and shorten the period, already all too short, during which there is sufficient water to render navigation feasible.

The obstructing trees can, and I hope will be cleared ere long and the Khor Abu Noara is being cleared and the distance will be shortened by some miles as a consequence, cutting off a part of the river where the trees are thickest.

The map now reproduced is the result of numerous compass readings made during my expedition, and though neither complete nor accurate in detail gives a good idea of the winding course of the river.



I. — The Rahad in the dry season near Ein el Lueiga.



II. — During Flood near Matu.

## APPENDIX.

## PARTICULARS OF VARIOUS STEAMERS EMPLOYED.

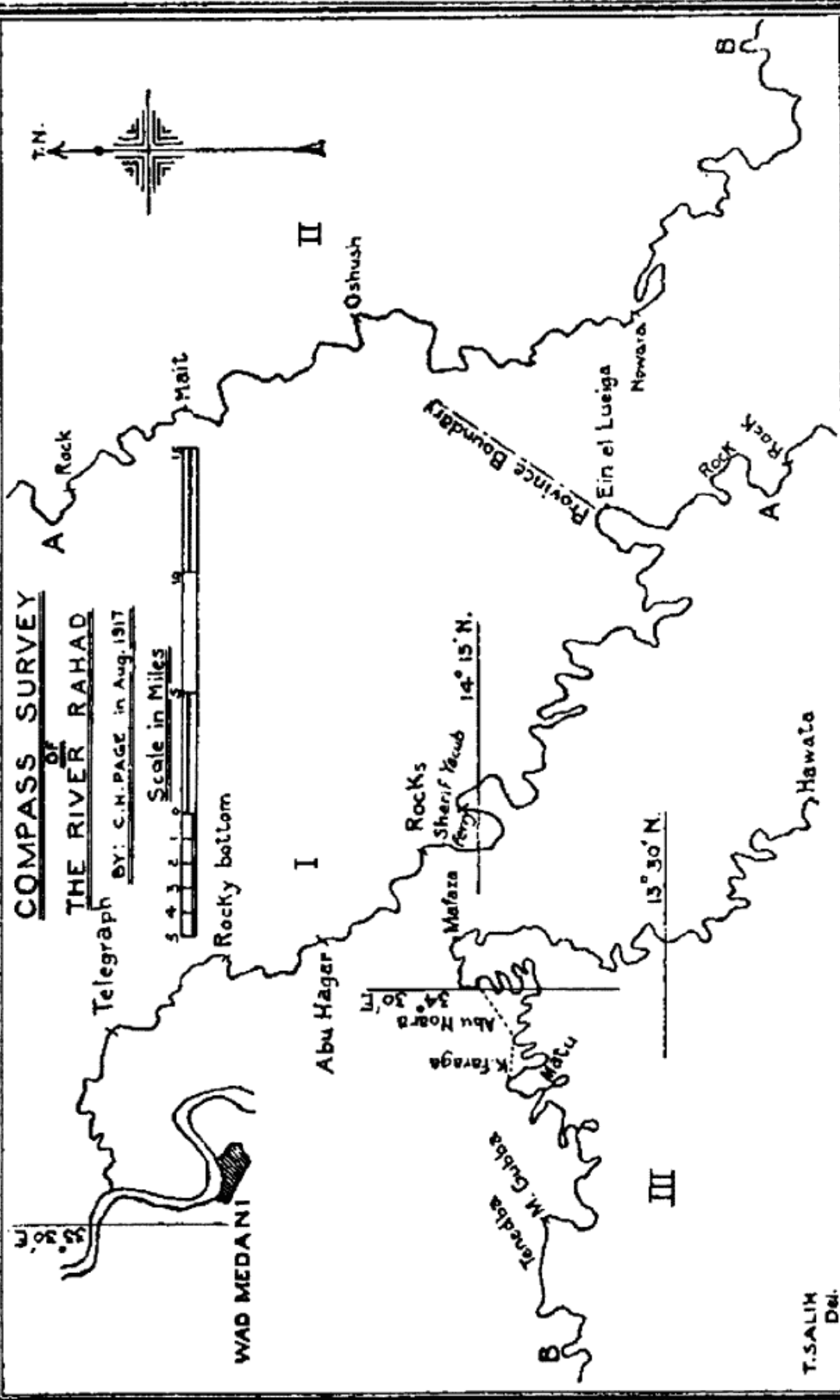
NAME.	BEAM.	LENGTH.	DRAUGHT.	HORSEPOWER.
—	—	—	—	—
<i>Amara</i> . . . . .	20'.0"	101'	3'	90
<i>Viper</i> . . . . .	10'.6"	43'	5'	120
<i>Puma</i> . . . . .	16'	80'	6'	350
<i>Panther</i> . . . . .	"	"	"	"
<i>Lord Cromer</i> . . . . .	18'	102'	2'.6"	60



**COMPASS SURVEY**  
**OF**  
**THE RIVER RAHAD**

BY: C.H. PAGE in Aug. 1917

Scale in Miles



T.SALIH  
Del.

# NIKAWNG

## AND THE SHILLUK MIGRATION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

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The minor details of the Shilluk stories concerning Nikawng vary slightly in different localities, and even the same person may vary his tale a little, when repeating it a second time. Such variations are to be expected in a land where the history has been preserved by word of mouth. They have no ultimate authority to quote except the word of the old men. However the main facts are always the same.

Nikawng was the son of Okwa, Okwa was the son of Moel, Moel was the son of Kolo, Kolo was the son of Omaro, and Omaro was the son of a mysterious river cow. His mother was Nikia the sister of the crocodile.

None of the Shilluks has ever seen the land of his nativity, and they fear that should they ever go there their presumption would be punished by death. They are hazy as to the location of the land, except that in a general way it is up the Nile. They speak of it as the end of the earth, or some call it the head of the earth. It is known as the land of Duwot, and also as the country of Kero. In that land death was not known. When a person became feeble through great age, he was thrown out in the cattle yard, or in the road near it, and the cows would trample him until he had been reduced to the size of an infant, and then he would grow to manhood again.

When Okwa ceased to be king of the country, Nikawng was a candidate for the kingship. He was defeated by his half brother, Duwot. Being unwilling to give allegiance to his half brother, he left the country. The parting was dramatic. As he started to stalk off, Duwot called to him to look behind him. He merely turned his head, and Duwot threw a long sharpened stick after him. It is the same tool that the Shilluks still use for

planting their crops, but it was the symbol of death. It was a warning to Nikawng that he was going to a land where death reigned. The sharpened stick was to be used in digging the graves of his dead. He accepted the stick in a defiant manner. He said : « Some of my people will die, and those who remain will increase before they die ». One of his friends started to run after him to plead with him to remain, but Duwot warned him that he must choose between Duwot and Nikawng. As he seemed to hesitate, Nikawng called without looking back for him to go back to Duwot.

The list of his followers from the land of Duwot frequently varies, but many mention the following as companions of Nikawng in his exile. His sons Bur and Shall went with him, as did his father's wife Ungwedo. Three uncles accompanied him, Moiny, Nyuado and Juok. Three faithful servants are mentioned, Ubogo, Ujul and Mielo. The story often infers that he had other followers, but they are not mentioned by name.

As he journeyed he came to the land of Tura ruled over by the king Dim, who had magical powers. He stopped for a time in the land, and married the daughter of Dim. To this marriage a son was born, who was named Dok. As a lad Dok was very mischievous, and he made trouble for the unfortunate person, who had to watch him. One day a woman, who was taking care of Dok made the unguarded wish that he might soon grow up. The wish was answered in a startling manner, by his immediately attaining immense size. His mischievous proclivities increased as his size. He quarrelled with his cousins, and beat some of them very severely. Dim said : « Nikawng is a fool, but Dok is full of talk » (meaning that he was a man of ideas). Dim then started a contest with Nikawng and Dok. He first hid all the fire so that they could not cook their food. Dok retaliated by striking all the people with blindness. Dim complained to his wives : « Why did Dok blind the people? ». They replied : « Why did you hide the fire? ». He then said : « Let them have fire ». Dok restored sight to the people, but Dim renewed the contest. His next move was to prevent the rain from falling on the fields of Dok and Nikawng. Dok's reply was to strike all of Dim's cattle with blindness. Dim was distressed because he could get no milk, and he again complained to his wives saying : « Why did Dok and Nikawng blind my cattle? ». His wives answered : « Why did you withhold the rain? ». He then said : « Let them have rain », and

his cows were healed. Many give that contest as taking place between Nikawng, and Duwot before Nikawng left his early home.

Defeated in his contest with Dok, Dim determined to be more careful in the next move, and he told his wives to call the old men for a conference. When the conference was opened, he stated the object of the gathering. He said : «Nikawng is hard headed, I want to kill Dok». They then discussed ways and means of accomplishing that feat, and it was decided that after Dok had thrown down his harp before retiring in the evening, they would spear him. It chanced that Dok had a friend present at the conference, and after the plans had been made the conspirators turned to him, and told him that he was to have the honour of killing Dok. Evidently he was a stranger in the country, for when they spoke to him he pretended to be deaf, and they believed him. He made haste to inform Dok of the plot against his life. Dok took a large piece of ambach, and fashioned an image of a man from it. He made it as much like himself as possible, and after it was finished he put all his ornaments on it, and fastened it upright in his house. In the evening he played on his harp as usual. After he finished playing he threw the harp down with a thud, and then he vanished from the room. The would-be assassins heard the sound, and made haste to put their plans into execution. They threw several spears into the image, and it made a sound as though a person had been struck. The image fell, and they ran away thinking that they had killed Dok.

The people gave themselves over to dancing and rejoicing in honour of Dok's death. Dim seemed to take delight in the proceedings, and as a jest he suggested that they have a mourning for Dok. The suggestion pleased the young men well, and they started to hold their mourning. They were singing over and over the same words, «Son of my daughter, Dok son of Nikawng died». They were singing and dancing with great gusto when Dok appeared in their midst. The people were terribly frightened for two causes, in the first place they thought they had seen a spirit, and in the second place, if Dok was really alive they feared his vengeance.

Ubogo went to Nikawng, and told him that the land of Tura was a bad place for them. He was grieved at the dishonour cast on Dok, and he insisted that they leave that land, and go elsewhere. He said that Bur and

Shall were timid, and that all the responsibility for the conflict, and all the fighting would fall on Dok and Nikawng. He was afraid that Dok would be killed. Nikawng agreed with him, and they again started on their wanderings.

The people had not gone far when they came to the sudd. They had many boats, but they were not able to get a way through the tangled river grasses, which had choked the river. Ubogo told Nikawng that if a man should be sacrificed at the edge of the sudd it would open for them. Nikawng told Dok to bring one of his servants to sacrifice him. The suggestion made Dok angry, and he asked Nikawng if he thought that his servants were chickens to be killed in that way. At that point Ubogo stepped forward saying: "I have eaten, my children are with you. Slay me." They killed him near the edge of the sudd, and when his blood ran into the water, the sudd parted, and the people had a safe passage.

Nikawng reached a place the natives call Kofal. It was a wide place along the river. Nikawng said, Dok and Bur are both headstrong, and brave, and for that reason they will never be able to live in peace if they remain together, and so he sent Bur away to found a country of his own. He said there was no need to send Shall away because he was a coward.

As Bur was leaving Nikawng gave him the mother of Dok, and they started away together. When Dok learned of that fact he was very angry, and he pursued Bur to kill him. He overtook them, and was going to kill Bur, but Dok's mother saved him by taking him on her lap like a baby, and then Dok was afraid to strike him. Baffled in his effort to vent his wrath on Bur he hurried back to talk to Nikawng. He was very angry and Nikawng sought to placate him. He said to Nikawng: "Why did you give my mother away?" Nikawng then offered him wives, but he refused, and then he offered him cattle to comfort him for the loss of his mother, but again he refused, and Nikawng asked him what he desired as a recompense for the loss of his mother. He said to his father: "I want your daughter for a wife." His request was granted. He thus became the son-in-law of his own father. A child was born to this union, and Nikawng was very much surprised. He said to Dok: "I thought you would fear to take my daughter." He replied by asking: "Is not your daughter also a woman?" For this reason Shilluk young men sometimes

take a wife belonging to the father of the man. Also it gave rise to the custom of the king, taking one of the daughters of the king, when he is being crowned.

Nikawng then came to the Shilluk country. He found the land inhabited, but he was successful in driving out the original inhabitants. The land he took was too large for the people he had with him and he had to get more people to dwell in his land. Conquered peoples to some extent became subjects, and helped to hold the land, but he was not restricted to prisoners. Many people are to be found, who would not be recognized as men, by the ordinary person, but the keen eyes of Nikawng saw that they were people in spite of the fact that they were masquerading as animals.

Each group taken became the head of a subtribe in the tribe. Each follower of Nikawng from his ancestral home became the founder of a subtribe, but they were few in number compared with the number he brought in. Over seventy subtribes are recognized. A few will be given as typical.

Nikawng saw a very active fish. He recognized it instantly as a man in disguise. He tried to take it, but he was disappointed, and he went to get the assistance of Dok. He was able to catch the fish. In his hand it turned to a serpent, and later to a man, and it retained its human form, and he became a colonist under Nikawng.

Nikawng was bitten by a red ant. He was not able to find it. He called Dok in to assist him. Dok went to the place at night, and waited till the ants came out, and began to talk. He then seized them, and they became people.

One day Nikawng was out hunting. On a patch of burned ground he saw some people hunting with dogs. He tried to approach them, but when he came near they would enter the ground with their dogs, and come to the surface farther on. After he was discouraged about catching them he called Dok to his assistance. The next day Dok went after them. He took dogs, hoping to take them in the chase, but he could not get near to them, and their dogs fought his dogs and chased them away. He went home baffled, but not discouraged. The next day he went in his boat, which would glide over the newly burned ground very swiftly. The people saw him and entered the earth, but he sent his boat on at a great speed,

and as they emerged from the ground he caught them, and threw them into the boat. He filled his boat with captives. He finally found that their dogs were their wives in disguise.

One day Dok heard some peculiar noises in a well. He knew that the well was inhabited by men. So that night he went to the well with his servants, and watched. The little men went to call on some women. While they were away, Dok filled the well very carefully so that they could not get back in. On their return he caught them. When he seized them they became rats, then they changed to moons, only to turn to the sun later on, and then they became snakes, after that they became water, and then mud, and finally they turned to small stones. Dok had lost patience, and he called for a hammer to see if what he had was real stone. That scared them, and they cried out, and became men.

Two celestial beings, a man and a woman, quarrelled over the great wooden pestle that the woman used for grinding dura. The woman wanted to grind, and the man wanted to use it in the cow barn. They fought over it, and in their struggle they fell to earth. Nikawng caught them, and made them colonize. The woman taught the people to make the native beer.

One day Nikawng baited a hook with bread, and put it in the river. He caught a man, who indignantly asked: "Why do you catch men?" Nikawng replied: "If I do not catch people, how can I build up my country?" In Nikawng's hands he made many changes, in turn he was a snake, crocodile, lion, leopard, hyena, turtle, a great serpent, and as Nikawng was undismayed he became a man, and remained a man.

One day Nikawng saw some people in a boat. He gave chase, but they could submerge their boat and travel under water. They were too difficult for Nikawng. Dok came to his aid and made a net. The people were taken, and settled in his country.

Many other stories are current of the people he captured, and held as slaves to build up the country. One day he saw a mysterious gourd. It moved about in a mysterious manner. He took it and cut it open. In the gourd he found a man, an ostrich, and a crow.

When Nikawng was getting the country settled, he got into trouble with the sun. It took place thus. Whenever Nikawng founded a new village he sacrificed an ox. A cow, which had seen many of its offspring sacrificed

felt indignant, and ran away to the land of the sun. Nikawng sent Mielo to hunt the cow, and he found her in the land of the sun.

Mielo had a difficult journey getting to the sun, but finally he reached that land. He found that the sun set in seven shallow ponds. It entered the first with great heat, and the water boiled and splashed, in the second pool there was less boiling, and by the time he emerged from the seventh pool he was cooled from the heat of day, and went to his house, where his wives remained. He spent the night in his house, and in the morning arose for a new day. Mielo was amazed at the might of the sun and his servants. He was able to secure the cow, and hastened home. (A few maintain that he failed to get the cow.)

Mielo returned to report to Nikawng, and the king asked where he had found the cow, and he replied : « In the land of the sun ». Nikawng was surprised, and said : « Does the sun have a land? ». Mielo replied : « Yes, and he has a son named Garu, who is as strong as your son Dok ». Dok heard that statement, and was displeased that any one should be made equal to him in might. Dok immediately started to have a contest with Garu. He called his servants, and went to the land of the sun. When Nikawng learned that Dok had gone to fight the sun, he was afraid for his son, and he started to help him. He had some of his wives carry jars of water, and others took bundles of long grass. When Dok reached the land of the sun he met two of Garu's wives, and started to make love to them. They asked if he did not fear Garu, and he said no. Just then Garu appeared, and the fight was on. The stories told of the fight vary, but one is, that each cast a spear, and in each case they missed. One struck a lizard, and the other a chameleon. They grappled, and Dok was able to get Garu down. Garu was wearing a fine silver bracelet, which Dok wanted, but he did not want to take the time to get it off, and so he cut off Garu's thumb so that he could remove the bracelet readily. (Others say he cut off the whole hand.) The sun high in the heavens saw the fight, and in great anger he came to the assistance of his son. Dok started to beat a hasty retreat, as he saw that he was in a very serious position. The great heat was overcoming his followers, and he was in flight when he met Nikawng coming to the rescue. Nikawng took the long grass, and dipped it in the water. He then took his stand, and ordered the sun to



retreat, and he threatened to cut off the feet of the sun. Some say that the sun retreated, but others say that Nikawng cut off his feet (rays), and he fell to the earth, and wallowed on the ground. Nikawng said to Mielo : « I am busy fighting the sun, you take some of the water, and revive those who have fallen ». By sprinkling water on them Mielo was able to restore Dok's fallen followers.

The immediate result of the battle was a success for Dok and Nikawng. They carried off eight wives of the sun, and great herds of cattle. However it brought bad results. The sun was displeased, and went to God, and said : « Did you not appoint me to rule the world? How can I rule the world while Dok is cutting off my son's hands, and Nikawng is cutting off my feet? » God said that he would consider the matter.

One day Dok was out hunting, and he came to a great tree out on the plain. Many animals were assembled there. A voice called to Dok to bring his father. When Nikawng was brought, God announced the penalty to be inflicted on them for fighting against the sun. He said that their people would be compelled to pay tribute, and that is the reason that the Shil-luks are required to pay their taxes to the government.

According to one story, Nikawng was not deceived by their flattery. He had killed a hippopotamus, and the people had feasted until they were satisfied. They went through a war dance in front of him, and said : « If war should come against you, we would die in front of you in your defence ». Nikawng said : « You would all run away ». He killed another hippopotamus, and after they had feasted again they made the same statement. He again told them that they would flee. He told them to get into his large boat, and he started across the river. Suddenly great waves arose, and the river was divided by a great serpent that reared its head from the water, and came towards Nikawng's boat. All of the people leaped out of the boat into the river except one man, who remained to defend Nikawng. He seized the serpent by its neck, and struggled with it, until Nikawng told him to release it. Nikawng told the man that in the future, when a cow dedicated to Nikawng should be killed, that the neck was to belong to him, and to his descendants. If no descendant of that man is present, when a sacred cow is killed the neck is left on the ground. If some other person should eat it he would die.

Nikawng was successful in making war against the neighbouring tribes, and under his leadership the Shilluks gained many important victories, but even successful warfare may become tiresome. Some of the people were killed, and they became tired of the burdens imposed on them on account of the wars, and they complained of the hardships imposed upon them. Many more murmured secretly. Nikawng was grieved at their complaining, and so he determined to leave them. He announced to them that Dok would succeed him as king, and then he disappeared, but no one saw him go, and they do not know the manner of his going. They maintain very strongly that he did not die. They use many different expressions in telling of the departure of Nikawng. «He returned to his country.» «He went up.» «He was lost.» «He went like the wind.» «He became wind.» «He went in the wind.» «He went and lives.» These expressions indicate a little of their belief, and also show its indefiniteness. They say that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish.

Other signs were manifested, and many victories were won by Nikawng while he led the Shilluks. He was an inventor, and many of the things in every day use by the natives were first made by Nikawng.

His power over the race increased after his departure. He returns, and walks in the country of his people. His spirit may return, and entering a man, through him give warning and advice about the future.

An oft repeated phrase in their song to Nikawng indicates their feeling towards him, «Return to your village, your village is ruined».

To them he was more than man, and less than God, and he now stands between them and God to act as intercessor.

D. S. OYLER.

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NOTE. — Some of our readers may be interested in comparing the narrative here printed with the stories published in Westermann's *The Shilluk People*, Philadelphia and Berlin, 1912, pp. 155 et seq., where Shilluk texts are given as well as a literal translation. Westermann acknowledges in this work the assistance which he received from Mr. Oyler and other missionaries at Doleib Hill, and where variants occur it may be assumed that Mr. Oyler has good reasons for the version here given.

# WARRIOR CLASSES OF THE NUERS

BY MAJOR C. H. STIGAND.

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Amongst the Nuers is found an organisation of warriors which resembles that of the Masai. Every five or six years all the youths and elder boys are collected to form a new class of warriors, the arrangements being made by the Wut Ghók<sup>(1)</sup>, or cattle chief.

On an appointed day the youths are laid out in rows, face downwards, on the ground and a little hole is scraped in the earth under the forehead of each. Certain medicine men are detailed and each given a batch of prospective warriors. The medicine man passes down the line of his batch, cutting the forehead of each youth in turn with a razor and letting the blood drip into the hole prepared. These slashes across the forehead are the marks of the tribe.

The youths of each village are then secluded in huts set apart on one side of the village and no adult man, girl or woman may visit them. Oxen are brought for slaughter, about one bull for every ten boys. The conscripts are kept a month in seclusion during which time they eat meat, minced up by spears, fat and butter — they are allowed no solid food. A name is then given to the class, the name being the same for all members of a section of Nuers who have gone through this ceremony at the same period.

At the end of the month's seclusion, their wounds having healed, the conscripts come out and the father of each gives his son a spear and an ox. The boy has now become a man, or warrior. He is after this called by

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<sup>(1)</sup> Each section, or division of Nuers has three chiefly offices, viz. Kwar Mon (land chief), Wut Ghók (cattle chief) and Ngul (leader). Sometimes one of these offices is held by two men, e.g. there are two Wut Ghók amongst the Garjak and two Ngul amongst Garjek.

the name of his ox<sup>(1)</sup> when addressed by any of his class, but by his own name if addressed by any other. The ox becomes his pet ox and the leader of his herd; even when it dies he retains its name.

The newly made warrior may not marry until relieved by the next class. At the end of about six years a new class is called up to undergo these ceremonies. When finished they are trained by the old class; the training includes mock battles, fighting with sticks and pelting one another with balls of dried clay — to learn quickness in avoiding spear thrusts.

After two years the training is complete, the old class then retire and gradually get married whilst the new class having finished their training go back to live in their villages.

In any small squabble this class are supposed to be sufficient to look after the interests of the clan or section. In the event of war with another tribe the older classes, as many of them as are thought sufficient, are called out.

The classes of the Garjok Nuers, so far as tradition extends, are as follows :

1. Riāgh.
2. Juok.
3. Shōt Bōr
4. Ger Loish
5. Yuwaish
6. Yil Bith.
7. Ngōm Finy.
8. Shwēt Shwor (there are no survivors of this or any of the above classes).
9. La Jāk (Yār Adyu Mut of Shieng Minyāl near Nasser east, is said to be the only survivor of this class still living).
10. Tut (the old chief Logāng of Gwāndōm belongs to this class and there are a few old men still surviving).
11. Bai Loish.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *E. g.* supposing his father presented him with a black ox with white belly and white back, the name of such an ox is Kir and so the man would be called Kir by his fellow warriors.

12. Mäker (this class fought with the Anuaks and, it is said, remained warriors for ten to fifteen years, there being no one to relieve them before).

Interval (during which Mäker class serve after having done their six years).

13. Däng Gunga.

14. Shār Boi.

15. Līt Gaish (called up in 1915. This class is just completing its training, when the former class, Shār Boi, will go out and marry).

It is said that about fifty years ago the Garjok women were smitten with childlessness and that for many years they bore no male children. At last, about 40 years ago, they made pilgrimages to Dengkur's mound in the Lau



Pyramid of earth built by Dengkur  
in the Lau country.

Photo. by El Kaim. Hon. B. Forbes Bey.

country, which had already obtained a reputation for sanctity. They took presents of tusks of ivory, beads, cattle for slaughter, etc., with them, and it was at this time that the great collection of tusks, stuck in the earth round the mound and adorning its top, were acquired.

Their prayers were granted and they bore children again but an interval of eight or ten years without children had already elapsed.

The Mäker class were the last children born before the childless period and so, when their six years of service were over, they had to stop on as warriors for another period of six years or more as there were none to replace them. Then, when the children born as the result of the prayers at Dengkur's reached maturity, the Däng Gunga class, they were able to retire. Mäker therefore married very late in life, a few of the sons of Mäker were big enough to call up with the present class Līt Gaish, but the majority are still too young and will be called up with the next class.

C. H. STIGAND.

# CUSTOMS OF THE RUBĀṬĀB

BY J. W. CROWFOOT.

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Some months ago I asked a native Sheikh to write me an account of the customs and ceremonies practised in his own tribe, which happened to be the Rubāṭāb, on all the important occasions of a man's life from the cradle to the grave. On his own initiative the Sheikh prefaced the account with a section on the general characteristics of the Rubāṭāb and another on their cult of holy men and the wonderful, feeling no doubt that something of the kind was desirable for a proper understanding of their customs. His judgment on this point was probably correct and, though I have rearranged the order of some of his remarks and omitted a few paragraphs which seemed to be of less interest, the following pages contain little more than a translation of the Sheikh's account.

The title of the paper may suggest that the subject is narrower than is really the case, for the customs described are by no means confined to the Rubāṭāb. On the contrary, they may be regarded as common to most of the tribes which are settled on the banks of the main Nile in the provinces of Khartoum, Berber and Dongola, and emigrants from this region have carried them still further afield, up the Blue and White Niles, and inland into the towns of Kordofan and Kassala, where Ja'lin, Shaigia (Shā'iqīya), and Danāgla form so large an element in the population. The points wherein the Rubāṭāb differ from their neighbours and whereon consequently they pride themselves most, are not their customs but their character and way of life, the roughness and simplicity of which they compare with that of the ancient Arabs.

The Sheikh himself is a man of about fifty years in age. Being the husband of more than one wife and the father of a great many children, he must often have witnessed the ceremonies which he describes and can speak with authority from a great fund of personal experience. I have of course controlled his statements wherever possible, and though many more details might doubtless be added I question whether any serious

mistakes will be found in his account, which seems to me to warrant a very favourable verdict upon his judgment and intelligence. He seems to fly instinctively to the real essentials and to record them with a humorous terseness which is as welcome as it is uncommon. In particular one values the many glimpses which he gives of the attitude of public opinion on all manner of things, the workings of a very active and, in this case, very censorious tribal conscience, and of his own attitude towards it: these critical judgments scattered broadcast through his paper give it an intimacy which is often wanting in anthropological disquisitions.

The tribal culture described is, like other cultures in other countries, a more or less closely organised body of custom which has grown by assimilating a number of diverse elements, and it would be an interesting study to try to distinguish some at least of these different elements, to track them down to earlier homes and place them chronologically in a known historical sequence, but for the present I will rest content with mere description and leave this speculative matter for a more convenient season.

### I. — GENERAL TRAITS.

Although their own country <sup>(1)</sup> is poor and a livelihood is hard to come by in it, the Rubāṭāb love it and make satires on those who go away, and even when they do live elsewhere they cling to their own dialect. In matters of food and clothing they are austere, and hold it better to save against hard times than to live deliciously: the proverb "white wings, black inside" (*abyaḍ jināḥ wa aswad marāḥ*) they apply to those who think otherwise. They expect the son to walk in his father's footsteps, to follow the same craft and keep the same customs. Their women do not veil themselves and they enter one another's houses without asking permission.

They are continually upbraiding one another and fault finding, and one or two families rarely meet together at a wedding or a funeral without some fault finding: when this happens the offending party sends a friend with a complaint to the offender who is brought before a special meeting

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<sup>(1)</sup> The country of the Rubāṭāb corresponds roughly to the inspectorate of Abu Hamed.

and bidden sit down : the party which is declared at the meeting to be in the right either breaks off all acquaintance with the other, or accepts a present called the *ḡiba* from him and pardons him. Acceptance of a present under these circumstances is not considered disgraceful, and the custom which is unknown elsewhere among the Arabs of the Sudan may have been borrowed from the Bishārīn. They are very jealous of one another, and especially their Sheikhs, religious leaders and learned men. Unnatural vices are unknown, adultery is rare, so also are drinking and smoking. The entertainment they offer guests is limited both in quality and duration. Theft is considered the worst of crimes and the thief is universally despised.

Inheritances are not as a rule divided but held jointly by all the heirs. They keep their pedigrees carefully and teach them to their sons, and strangers are distinguished as such however long they may have lived among the Rubāṭāb. They rarely keep concubines and the son of a slave woman is despised.

The Rubāṭāb are generally intelligent and are famed for their sharpness in repartee : they are quick tempered and readier to take revenge than to forgive. Both men and women pride themselves on bearing flogging and branding with fire. They are fond of games and physical exercises, especially wrestling and swimming : all the men and most of the women can swim and they despise anyone who is carried downstream by the current. They are fond of making and reciting poems in praise or blame of one another. Education is confined to the religious families, other men's children are wanted for cultivation : at four years old a child feeds the cattle, at five he grazes the sheep, from seven till ten he loads the donkeys with manure and drives the Sakia, and from ten years onwards he works as a labourer. A boy looks down upon his sister however much older she may be, and when a woman greets a man she kisses his hand and takes off her shoes, whereas he may kiss her on the forehead.

The management of the household is left entirely in the wife's hands, and the husband must consult her before disposing of any of his household goods. Further, he should bear with all her caprices, and if she abuses him he is expected to laugh at it and is not despised for so doing [as he would be if he allowed a man to abuse him]. The husband is absolutely



forbidden to beat his wife whatever her offence : intolerable offences he should report to her guardian and the guardian will beat her and she be proud of it, whereas if the husband beats her himself, the guardian is deeply affronted and can exact compensation. The woman expects to share as an equal partner in all that concerns the common life, but she ought not to show love for her husband even in private, or pity for him if he is sick, or sorrow if he goes away on a journey or divorces her, and it is reckoned disgraceful for a woman to weep in public over her husband's death. A woman is allowed to travel by herself with other men, if she has good reason for doing so, whether by land or swimming in the river, and she may represent her husband at a visit of condolence.

A woman accused of adultery is tried by the ordeal of fire, as follows : an axe, heated red hot in the fire, is put in the hands of the accused, who must move it about from hand to hand and carry it round the whole gathering of people, until everyone has seen it, then if there is no mark on her hands she is acquitted, but if there is a mark she is pronounced guilty, and secretly killed by her guardian though the guardian may be a woman herself : history records the case of a woman having been killed in these circumstances by her own sister.

The women's jewellery is like that of the Bishārīn, but they do not comb their hair in the same way. In general, they have no love for womanishness or its display.

The chief crafts of the Rubāṭāb are the plaiting of mats and baskets from dom-leaves, the weaving of ropes and cutting dom-leaves for sale : those who migrate usually ply rafts and are as famous for this as the Shaigia are for building in mud or the Dongolawis for sailing.

## II. — THE CULT OF HOLY MEN

### AND THE WONDERFUL.

Every clan believes in some Holy Man to whom gifts are made on the occasions of the shaving of children's heads, their circumcision and marriage, and the people believe that delay in paying those gifts will harm the child, unless they have some excuse, and that non-payment will result in the child's death. They believe also that offerings at the graves reach

the dead and are eaten by them, and that whosoever takes anything that has been put on the tomb of a Holy Man will be harmed immediately. The religious rules laid down by past generations must, they think, be followed blindly without any change whatever.

Absurd stories of miracles wrought by a wali (Holy Man) they hold are to be believed, however incomprehensible or even impossible they may be, and whoever advances reasonable arguments against their truth is assailed as irreligious. They believe, for example, in four Holy brothers called the Aulād el Bōsb who built a Mosque on the Island of Artal with a roof resting on four stone columns which these Holy Men brought from China. Each column is of a single stone, circular and like marble in colour, and the tale runs that the youngest of the four was left behind by the others as they flew with the stones, and was consequently laughed at by them and grew angry and flung his stone down so that it broke : then he went back and at once brought another which was different from the other three in shape and colour, and no one however deep he digs, can find out how far down in the earth these columns are fixed. This same Mosque is also said to have ninety nine windows through not one of which the sun can enter, and the broken column is still lying by the Mosque and the people get blessings from it.

They hold oaths by Walis in reverence and fear, and prefer swearing by the Holy Volume.

If a man visits a graveyard where several Walis are buried and wishes to make a general offering to them all, he puts it in a pot which is specially set there for this purpose, called a Lamma. Childless men and women and unmarried women make vows to Walis to obtain the fulfilment of their desires, and virgins take tassels off their Raḥaṭs and tie them round the flags on a Wali's grave. Whoever gets hold of the flag of a Wali will see his desire fulfilled and such a flag will protect any object from theft. Whoever commits an offence and flies to the tomb of a Wali secures pardon for his offence, but he is called a coward, and his act counted craven and disgraceful. A madman is either taken to the tomb of a Wali to be cured, or else to a living Holy man, who utters mystic prayers over him, beats him with whips, and keeps him from all good food and sometimes from any food at all for the space of some days.

The people believe also in women of the jinn called *Hūris* who have white skins and long flowing hair and live in the river. A *Hūri* sometimes comes out of the river, invisible to all save one who is seized by her and dragged to the Nile, calling out for help to his comrades : his comrades seize hold of him but after pulling vainly against the *Hūri* desist at last; palm branches break off in the man's hands if he clutches at them. The people pretend that some men have returned years later and told them that the *Hūris* have houses and villages under the Nile, and that there are men living to-day among the *Rubātāb* to whom this has happened.

They pretend also that a true Sherif (descendant of the Prophet) is untouched by fire, and that there is a family of Sherifs in the *Rubātāb* country, called the *Baridāb*, who can pick a needle out of a pot of boiling water, and that some of them can cook meat upon their hands.

Also that a *Walī* can swallow his enemy flesh and bones, one of the *Walīs* being called *Fikī Sulīmān Ballā' el Rijāl* : and that another, called *Fikī 'Ijal*, orders a hippopotamus to come out of the river and turn his *Sakia* like a bull; when the hippopotamus refuses to work, he beats it with a wooden sword one cubit long and it turns the wheel at once.

### III. — CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

**MARRIAGE. PRELIMINARIES.** — A girl is expected to marry the son of her father's brother, whatever disparity in wealth or age there may be between them, and she may be beaten until she consents : a boy also who declines his cousin's hand may be treated in the same way. Custom also prescribes that if her husband dies the widow should marry his next of kin even though he may be a child and she has to wait for him to grow up : otherwise she forfeits all rights to her husband's property and children. When the choice of a wife is not thus taken out of his own hands, a man looks for a wife who has either wealth or honourable connexions or a reputation for good and careful management.

Betrothals are made in the first place by the fathers of the two parties, without consultation with their respective wives : the father of the girl next informs his wife and, if the proposed bridegroom is his brother's son, the wife's consent is not necessary, but if he is a stranger her consent is

required. Once the betrothal is settled, the future bridegroom avoids feeding with his future father-in-law or meeting him, and the future bride is kept away from the bridegroom. He sends her clothes and money and unguents and must render services to her people without right to any return of what he has expended if he should change his mind, though if the bride's people change their mind he has a right to compensation.

His father meanwhile has to provide both the Mahr and the Ṭu'ma. The Mahr is a gift of date trees and land settled by the father of the bridegroom upon the bride for the joint maintenance of the couple, without prejudice to his son's inheriting further from the rest of his estate. The Ṭu'ma is money given by him to the father of the bride according to agreement, primarily to enable the latter to provide for his daughter's requirements and her jewellery, but he may keep part for himself without discredit if he is in real need. Before money was introduced the payments were made in lengths of cotton (jīwiri).

WEDDINGS. — A great feature in their weddings is the dancing to the accompaniment of songs, drums and hand-clapping. The men and women fall into two lines opposite one another under trees by day and in the open at night : two men step out, clap their hands and stamp in time with the Rubāba, and then one of the women, who is called for by name, steps out with face and hair uncovered and moves her head and breast about to the rhythm of the music and the clapping. She dances for a quarter of an hour or so and then goes back to her companions without being touched by any of the men, strangers even may look on provided they do no more. Drums (Dilūkas) are used only at the Saira which is the procession of the bridegroom from his own village to the bride's : the boys and girls from the latter meet the bridegroom's party outside their village and challenge the new arrivals, the boys and girls in each party respectively engage in a sort of mock battle with one another to the great amusement of their elders. No claims for compensation are admitted in respect of any hurt sustained in these games<sup>(1)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> This is not the case further south I believe, where serious injuries are sometimes inflicted.

Previous to this there has been a feast (the *Jirtiq*) in the house of the bridegroom's father, called among the *Rubātāb* the *Ḍahaba*, elsewhere the *Ḥinna*<sup>1</sup>. At this feast an *angarib*, spread with fine bed-spreads and white matting, is set in the middle for the bridegroom to sit on, and a woman poet sings of the virtues of the bridegroom and his fathers, but with strict regard to the truth as known to her audience who would otherwise interrupt her and depart. This song is called the *Sūmār*, and while it is being sung the bridegroom's women-folk bring a necklace of *sōmīt* beads<sup>(1)</sup>, called a *kanār* and a bracelet made of the same beads mixed with *rakhīmī* beads, fishbone beads and *killī* beads, which they put on the bridegroom, all the women trilling until the place re-echoes. Then the guests make their offerings to the bridegroom's parents, the men to his father and the women to the mother. These offerings are put in a plate in the middle, each man who wishes to make a present seizing hold of a sword which is put by the plate, challenging those opposite him and then returning to deposit his gift. The man in charge of the plate announces the amount given, the women trill and the men form into lines and begin sword play.

After the *Saira* a feast takes place in the bride's house. The food mostly consists of *dura* flour mixed with water and allowed to turn slightly sour, served in deep bowls covered with fine *kisra* and offered with a soup, the whole being called *Kallakāb*, but the better class people are served separately with wheaten *kisra* and dried *bamia*.

The contract is drawn up according to the Law, and is read out by a religious man to ensure a blessing upon it. The bridegroom's father gives the dowry agreed on, the agreement being sometimes reached finally at this meeting, and the bride's father announces what he will give his daughter, if he gives her anything at all, as is usual.

After the feast and the reading of the contract most of the guests go away, only near relations of the bridegroom staying on for the next five days or so which is known as the week at the expense of the bride's family.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Sōmīt* beads are long tubular glass beads with black brown and white stripes : *rakhīmī* beads are white shells, and *killī* are black beads made of wood like small nuts. The ceremonial use of necklaces and bracelets in this country is very old, as can be seen on the ancient Ethiopian monuments and in the objects found in old tombs.

Those who remain next ask the mother of the bride for the «Cutting of the Raḥaṭ» which takes place as follows : the bride comes in dressed in her finest clothing and wearing the leather tasseled Raḥaṭ over everything else, and the bridegroom counts seven of the tassels and tugs at them until he has broken them off, all the women present trilling. This is counted the most important part of the wedding and only takes place when the bride is a virgin. Among the Rubātāb the bride does not dance before men, because they are not good at dancing without the rubāb.

After the cutting of the Raḥaṭ the bride stays for about a week in her mother's house, according as the mother wishes — there is no Ḥadāna<sup>(1)</sup> among them — and then they arrange the gaila (qīla) which is the first night the bridegroom sleeps alone with a virgin wife : she is presented to him at night by one of her old relations and spends the day following with him «gailing» together. A special payment is made for this gaila which is called the loosening of the Girdle (*Ḥall el Ḥizāmīya*). After the gaila the bride remains 2/4 hours with the mother and 2/4 with her husband alternately for 40 days and under no circumstances must the relations or neighbours hear any conversation between the bride and her husband throughout this period. During this time too the husband may only leave the house when nature compels him and that not during the hour before sunrise and the hour after sunset (the Ḥamarain) at which times they beat irons together to drive away the jinn. The bridegroom is massaged with unguents morning and evening, so that when he goes out at the end of the 40 days, his clothes look as if they had been drowned in unguents and a strong man can wring grease out of them, a proof of generosity on which his mother-in-law may justly pride herself. The bride is meanwhile fumigated with ṭalḥ smoke night and morning until her upper skin peels

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<sup>(1)</sup> The Ḥadāna as practised in Omdurman has been described to me as follows : «Before sunrise and after sunset the newly married couple lie side by side on a mat in the middle of the room holding one another, but not moving at all or uttering any sound, and their women-folk gather round and continue singing until the sun has risen or the night is quite dark, with the object of keeping away the jinn». The dangerous character of these two periods of the day, known here as the Ḥamarain — the hours when the sky is flushed with red — has been already referred to in this journal (*S. N. and R.*, p. 56) and will be referred to more than once in the sequel.

off and girls once dark turn quite pale in colour : also her lower lip and upper gums are tattooed green. After the 40 days the bride lives in the apartment<sup>(1)</sup> assigned to her husband and proceeds to get from him the « Gift for Talking » (*Rishwat el takallim*), which she takes to her mother who gives her permission to meet and converse with her husband. Then the newly married couple are independent, though their way of life remains for a whole year under the control of the bride's mother and at the expense of her father, for she cannot move with her husband to his own house until the end of at least one year<sup>(2)</sup>.

DUTIES OF A MAN AND HIS PARENTS-IN-LAW. — A woman should not meet her daughter's husband nor mix with him in any social gathering or on a boat or on the road unless it is unavoidable : she must spread no scandal about him nor grumble when he is sick or in straitened circumstances; on the contrary, she must make every effort to help him and urge her daughter to be complaisant towards him lest he take a second wife, which is held among the Rubāṭāb to be almost as disgraceful as adultery. She must look after her daughter's children without reward, and if her own husband is wealthy she must treat them in every respect like her own children, and should claim no special credit for so doing. In his turn the man must respect his wife's mother so deeply that if anyone demands something with an oath in her name, he must accede to the request however hard it may be. He should not meet her face to face, nor speak to her except through a third party or behind a screen. When travelling with his wife's relatives he should not ride an animal out of respect for them : he should not eat out of the same dish with his wife's father, nor eat nor drink in the sight of her mother, nor she in his sight, unless it is absolutely unavoidable : nor should he before others sit on a bed in the presence of his father-in-law.

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<sup>(1)</sup> This is an independent mud house generally with an enclosure wall of its own inside the family compound.

<sup>(2)</sup> This is in sharp contrast with Egyptian practice and would seem to point back to a period when, as we know from other sources, descent was reckoned through the mother.

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH. — When a woman is with child, her husband ought to provide whatever she desires in the way of food and scents, because it is believed that these desires spring from the child, and that any delay or failure to satisfy them will be marked by a mole on the child after birth and the woman also may suffer in health and even miscarry, whence the phrase « she miscarried because of such and such a thing », an event which is considered very disgraceful among the Rubāṭāb, the women taunting one another about it.

When a woman's pangs are beginning, a rope is hung down from the roof of the house and the woman takes hold of it and kneels down, supported by women on both sides, so that the midwife can sit in front to deliver the child, hence the expression « such a one is kneeling » or « such a one is holding the rope ». Even at a first birth the mother does not utter any cries. When the infant is born, the midwife pays the greatest care to the removal of the after-birth which is buried either in the house or just outside it, and the mother is immediately given a pint of semn to drink and is lifted on an angarib, all her wrappings being laid under the angarib for 40 days <sup>(1)</sup> after which they are washed and hung on a green tree. When the child's cord is cut, a present is made by the father or grandfather or some relative, whence the phrase « His cord was cut for so much ». On the morning after the birth a lamb, called the Ḥurrāra, is sacrificed in order that the mother's belly may be filled with meat and fat : the midwife receives the hide, the head and foot of the lamb and scented grease only, not as in some parts clothes and money, and the feast made from the lamb is confined to women, it being disgraceful for a man to join in it. After childbirth the mother is fumigated and fed well for 60 days after which she returns to her household duties and to intercourse with her husband. Mothers suckle their own children and no free woman will suckle another's child for money : if the mother is ill, a relation or neighbour will suckle it with her own without payment, and if the illness lasts or the mother dies or becomes pregnant before the child is weaned,

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<sup>(1)</sup> Compare *Leviticus*, Chapter XII. Among many riverain tribes there is a ceremony of considerable interest performed 40 days after child-birth to which I hope to return later : it is called the Ḥaqq el Arba'in.



the child is fed with boiled goatsmilk only or else suckled directly from the teat of a goat after it has been washed and fumigated with talḥ smoke. Suckling lasts not more than two years nor less than one. A woman will not suckle a child before men, nor will she suckle it when she is coming out of the heat until she has washed her breasts and got cool, however much the infant may cry.

NAMING OF THE CHILD AND SHAVING OF THE HEAD, ETC. — On the seventh day after birth, a ewe chosen as prescribed by the Religious Law, is sacrificed for the ceremony of the naming of the child but the Rubāṭab do not follow the Law precisely in the distribution of meat to their neighbours, but make a small banquet of it like an ordinary wedding feast. Usually a child is named after some great personage whether alive or dead, in the hope that he may grow like his namesake : if the person in question is alive, he gives a present to the boy's father. If, however, the mother has conceived by reason of a vow to a Holy man or a visit to his tomb or a charm, the child is named after the Holy man in question.

The birth-hair is not shaved until the proper dues fixed by family tradition have been paid to the special Holy man of the village or clan. However times may change, no change whatever is made in these dues and one finds people still offering a Holy man seven little beads weighing half a roll and a hank of cotton yarn. Some people make a large wheaten loaf for the barber who shaves the child's head and the barber may eat this all himself or share it with others as he likes. Some also sacrifice a small kid which they divide into equal portions among all present, the child and the mother each receiving a portion, no one who is late receiving anything : the mother also gets the head and the hide of the kid in addition to her own portion and the child's. Others prepare a pot of wheat, soaked in water with salt, then roasted until it is crisp, broken in pieces and served with broken dates.

The Gambur (Qanbūr) is a lock of hair which is left on the boy's head generally to one side but sometimes in the middle, for the following reason. The people imagine that the child will die under the Holy Man's wrath if his hair is shaved before the dues fixed by custom or vow are paid, and consequently when the rest of the boy's head is shaved this lock is left

uncut if the dues have not yet been paid either because the Holy man lives a long way off or the parents are too poor. Consequently one sometimes sees boys in their teens still wearing the Gambur<sup>(1)</sup>.

Various teething troubles are diagnosed as the result of growths, called the *Ḥā'ifat*<sup>(2)</sup>, in the places where the eye-teeth should appear. In such cases among the Rubāṭāb the local «doctor» is usually called in to dig out the *Ḥā'ifat* with a hooked awl, a very painful operation which often results in the child's having no eye-teeth at all. Others cauterize the bottom of the spine, and others, especially round about Omdurman vow four piastres, one for each tooth, to Sheikh Khōgali of Khartoum North to save their child from this trouble.

**TRIBAL MARKS.** — The *Shilūkh* are lines cut with a razor on the cheeks of a child to distinguish the tribe to which he belongs. Among the Dongolawis and the Shaigiā these marks usually consist of three horizontal scars, the middle one in line with the mouth : among the Rubāṭāb and the Ja'lin the lines are vertical, the scars in the case of the Rubāṭāb being rather larger and closer together than with the Ja'lin : the 'Abdallāb draw a single horizontal line through the middle of the three vertical lines as cut by the Ja'lin. The scars on girls faces are considered most beautiful when they are wide and deep.

Some more modern marks have come into use in this area, such as the «ladder of Sheikh el Ṭaiyib» which is shaped either like a capital H or a square; the «hammers of Wad Badr» shaped like a capital T; the crows-foot (*Darb el Ṭēr*) which is often combined with other marks [and is said to be used as a sign of mourning for the loss of a dear relative : the staff

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<sup>(1)</sup> A Holy man with a very large «practice» told me that, when the proper dues have been paid him, he himself snips off the tip of the Gambur and hands the boy over to the barber to shave. The same informant quoted a tradition that the Prophet once told Fatima to cut off the birth-hair of her children and give the weight of it in gold as an alms to the poor : the custom is evidently very old, and this tradition seems to represent an unsuccessful attempt to divert to the poor what was then as now the perquisite of a privileged class.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ḥā'if* is colloquial Sudanese Arabic and means useless or insignificant.

of Sheikh Hasan wad Hassūna which is like the hammer of Badr]. Of these marks, the ladder of Sheikh el Ṭaiyib was originally used by his descendants, but has been adopted by the Samāniya Ṭarīqa and also largely by the Gamī'ab, the Gamū'iya and the Sarūrāb<sup>(1)</sup>: the hammers of Wad Badr or Sheikh el 'Obaid similarly were originally the Sheikh's animal wasms and extended first to his descendants and then to his followers.

CIRCUMCISION. — In the Sudan circumcision is called the Ṭahūr, and among the Rubāṭab it is usually performed on boys between the ages of fourteen and sixteen<sup>(2)</sup>. A feast is made in the boy's house in accordance with the means of his parents or rather generally above their means, many guests being invited. In the afternoon the boy takes his place among his boy friends and the men and women present stand in semicircles round, and the best angarib is made ready. Then the Ṭahḥār (or circumciser) comes in with a razor and carries out the operation<sup>(3)</sup>.

Throughout this operation the boy is expected to hold his head up, and when his comrades shout *Abshir* to him as they do loudly again and again, he must reply *Ānā bāshir*: if he drops his head or does not reply or turns pale or shrinks at all, he is counted a coward and a disgrace to himself and his family.

Then with his member in his left hand and a sword or spear in his right hand, he goes first to the row of women and shakes the weapon at them, smiling as if nothing had happened or as if he were happier than usual, and the women reply by trilling: and next he comes over to the men strutting with a sort of goosetstep, and often pretends to jump forward as if to wrestle with an opponent: if the bleeding has any effect on his general strength, he is disgraced. After he has thus proved his valour and paid the proper compliments, he sits down on the angarib besides his

<sup>(1)</sup> Three branches of the Ja'lin.

<sup>(2)</sup> The age at which the operation is performed and the character of the ceremony bring it into line with initiation ceremonies elsewhere. Many nomad tribes in the Sudan circumcise in infancy like the Jews.

<sup>(3)</sup> For a full description of various modes of operation, see Anderson in *Wellcome Research Laboratories Report*, 1908, pp. 318, 319.

*vizier*; his vizier holds a sword and the boy himself sits cracking a whip, and the men draw themselves up in two lines facing one another to play and wrangle as at weddings, while the boy's mother dances without stopping in the middle of them.

On the third day they set about the treatment of the wound which they open and wash with water that has been boiled, to cleanse it very thoroughly from any dirt or matter. Then they burn some bits of palm leaf and powder them up very fine and spread them on a rag which they tie round the wound. Then they wet the wound with boiling water and wind it round again with a rag covered with the same powder and pinned with a thorn instead of a pin. The wound now burns as if a live coal had been put on it, and his comrades watch the boy's expression to see his powers of endurance: if he utters any cry, he is disgraced and lampooned. For fifteen days the wound is dressed daily in this way and every two days afterwards until it is healed. When it is healed they make a very black compound out of grease and soot and smear it over the healed scar for fear lest any part should heal and not turn black, in which case he would be mocked as one who had gone white, of which they are exceedingly ashamed.

The mother of the boy feeds him up very carefully and massages him with grease morning and evening, and he is not allowed to go out either just before sunrise or just after sunset (the *Hamarain*), and in some cases is not allowed to talk.

Girls are usually circumcised without any feast, and they too rarely utter any cry at the pain of the operation.

**FUNERALS.** — Mourning and lamentations over the dead are carried to an extravagant length both by men and women, the latter tear their hair and rend their garments, thereby exposing their persons in an unseemly way. Anyone who pays a visit of condolence, however respectable or learned he may be, is expected to lament and groan like the relatives of the deceased: otherwise he is cut. This custom is, however, now on the decline.

Offerings are made to the dead on the morrow after his decease or at least within two or three days, because they believe that these offerings

remove the earth from the mouth of the buried man. Then they hold the mourning reception (the *farāsh*) for three days, after which strangers go away and only the near relatives wait on to receive anyone who may come from a distance to condole. And it is considered disgraceful for a widow to weep or show her grief for a dead husband before other women, because she is thought thereby to be manifesting either distrust of her guardian or excessive love for her husband.

Like other Arabs in the Sudan the *Rubātāb* make offerings to the dead on the last Thursday in *Ramaḍān*, offerings, that is, of meat and food and soaked dates given by the living to the souls of the dead : these offerings are eaten partly on the Thursday afternoon by children who go from house to house to collect them, and partly in the evening by men when they break their fast. The people imagine that this food reaches the dead who are supposed to collect round it and eat it in joy and happiness, and that consequently a dead man whose living heirs have offered no food remains sorrowful among the dead that night and reproaches his living relations for their meanness. They call this the Feast of the dead (*'Ashā' al Maiyitūn*).

J. W. CROWFOOT.

## NOTES.

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### BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVINCE.

#### *Divination.*

The following came to my notice recently at a Dinka trial for murder.

The accused in his defence stated that his nephew had contracted syphilis; as the boy was only 5 or 6 years old, he consulted a "Kugur" to find out who had given it to him. The Kugur told him that a woman named Medina was the cause of it, Medina had been dead for 5 years, so the accused sent for her son and told him that his mother had given the boy syphilis.

Medina's son did not think it was true, but to prove it he said "I will cut the head off a chicken in the boy's house, and then put the body on the ground, and if the chicken runs out of the house and returns again and spatters blood on the boy, I will know that Medina was the cause of the disease".

This programme was duly carried out. The chicken did return to the house and ceased its struggles on the boy's bed covering him with blood. The accused then said "I was then very angry and I went and killed Medina's grandson".

E. F. N. B.

Rumbek, February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918.

### RED SEA PROVINCE.

#### *Botanical Note.*

Not being a Botanist, I have no knowledge of the distribution and habitat of the fern *Ophioglossum* and should like to know whether the locality and habitat in which I found it to-day are as extraordinary as they appear to me. The locality is the southern end of the Rawaya Peninsula near latitude 21° N. The ground is coral gravel with sand in shallow depressions to which a desert flora is generally confined, though in places even on the rock *statice plumbaginoides* and other plants occur.

At the south end of the peninsula is a hill 126 feet high, conspicuous enough in such a low lying country, especially as the east side is a bold cliff. Coral lies over gypsum, both forming a waterworn gravel of Archaean rock. Desert bushes grow in the hollows of this cliff but a peculiarity of the place

is the occurrence of bright green bushes along the top of the cliff, almost the only flora, certainly the only bushes found where there is no obvious drainage channel. The plain is quite devoid of any sort of tree or bush. I imagine their roots are near the junctions of coral and gypsum and that the latter rock holds up the water which issues gradually on the cliff face.

It was here I found the *Ophioglossum* growing in a patch of disintegrated coral a few feet below the edge of the cliff. Its presence astonished me as much as if I had come across a gorgeous orchid (say *odontoglossum* if a play on words may be permitted).

Another strange habitat was occupied by some specimens of the "lily" *Pancreatium tortuosum*, vulgarly known, I presume by those who have not seen its lovely sweet scented flower, as the "curly onion". Several specimens were found among coral clinkers away from watercourses and one right on the top of the hill which otherwise is perfectly bare.

The water supply on which this vegetation exists is two or three showers in a good year and none at all in others. This year there were two showers about 6 weeks ago, not a liberal supply for a fern!

C. C.

Xmas Day, 1917.

Mrs. Crowfoot has sent us the following note on the above :

Dr. Crossland's discovery of an *Ophioglossum* on the Rawaya Peninsular is of some interest, as this fern has not been previously noted in the Sudan. Unfortunately the specimen sent is immature, but Mr. Massey thinks it is almost certainly identical with our own English Adder's tongue (*O. vulgatum*) a widely distributed species.



*Ophioglossum vulgatum* L.,  
from Red Sea coast.

I have referred the difficult question of water supply to Mr. Grabham, who says that coral is very porous and it is easy to imagine water being thrown out along the junction where the coral rests on gypsum. He also points out the heavy dews and humid atmosphere of the Red Sea Coast and no doubt these sources of supply are quite enough to account for desert bushes as described and other highly specialized coast vegetation, including the *Pancreatium*, with its large storage bulb. The presence of a fern there seems more remarkable, but I hope the following remarks,

based on information supplied by Mr. Massey may give some explanation of it.

The *Ophioglossum* belongs to a family which actually seems to prefer fairly dry situations. Engler says of the nine African species - nearly all inhabit short-grassed pastures - and one in especial likes - dry grassy places -. In England, *O. vulgatum* is often found in localities subject to drought, such as hilly chalk pastures. Like the bracken ferns, this family rarely increases by means of its spores; the young ferns grow freely, if slowly, from buds formed on a perennial root stock.

But a specialization peculiar to the *Ophioglossum* suggests that in the matter of reproduction from spores it also has unusual powers of resisting drought. When under favourable circumstances the organ called prothallus develops from the spore, it is not, as in most ferns, a flat green leafy structure growing on the surface of the ground, but a subterranean, tuberous long-lived body. Further the sexual cells are developed from tissues buried deeply in this body, and the resulting embryo may lead a subterranean existence for several years.

I suggest then that given one good year, two or three showers may easily provide enough water for cell development in the little moisture holding "tuber", and the resulting embryo live happily on until the coming of the next good year.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### *Scent and Sight amongst game and other animals.*

In connexion with Major Stigand's interesting paper in the 1<sup>st</sup> Number, the following notes, which I have had by me for some time, may be of interest. A young Jackal kept as a pet, used to have great difficulty in finding pieces of meat thrown on to a white-tiled floor, where they seemed easy enough to see. Owing to the still air in the room, the scent diffused evenly, and gave no sense of direction. The Jackal would sniff excitedly all round the meat, before finding it, and I have seen wild jackals do the same on a still day. Scent, as every fox-hunter knows, is usually most concentrated in the layer of air just above the ground, and anyone, who gardens, knows how the scents of flowers increase when one stoops over one's work. I am inclined to think that the trunk of the Elephant, and the long snouts of the Rhino, Tapirs, Pigs and Warthogs, are intended partly to put the animals into easy communication with this scent-bearing layer; but I have not been able to study these animals in their wild state.

It is probably because they live permanently above this scent layer, that arboreal animals have, as a rule, weak powers of scent. The truly arboreal Monkeys have much less sense of smell than the ground living Baboons, and among the Carnivora the arboreal Genets have larger eyes and ears in comparison to their noses, than the terrestrial Mongooses; a fact reflected in their habits.

All the "cat-like" Carnivora hunt by scent less than the "Dogs" except, for obvious reasons, the Hyena, which, though a "cat", has, owing to this habit, come to resemble somewhat in its whole body such aberrant "dogs" as the Hunting Dog.

Man perhaps inherits his weak powers of smell from arboreal ancestors, but no doubt this sense has further deteriorated owing to his erect habit which raises his nose above the scent layer. Nearly all other Mammals can test without trouble with their noses, the ground on which they are about to step; a Man doing so would excite comment, so he uses his eyes instead.

Birds, as Major Stigand hints, are very deficient in the sense of smell. This

is probably due to the fact that their powers of flight raise them habitually above the scent layer, and that their rapid movements prevent them catching faint taints in the air. For the same reasons, the flying Mammals — the Bats — rely, in catching their prey, not on scent, but on hearing, and on a highly developed tactile sense in the expanded ears and other membranes. Bats however unlike Birds rely on scent for purposes of sexual attraction, hence possibly the dull colours of Bats as compared with Birds. Scents to attract flying animals must be very strong; thus flowers, to attract flying insects, develop scents so strong as to appeal forcibly even to the dull olfactory sense of Man.

A curious comment on Man's weak powers in this respect is afforded by the scarcity of words in the vocabulary to describe scents as compared, for instance, to sounds, tastes, or colours. Even the verb "to smell" now means "to cause" or "to perceive" a scent, a confusion of ideas, which no dog could imagine.

Nevertheless that Man once had a much stronger sense of smell is suggested by the often remarked vividness of memories recalled by familiar scents.

B.

### *Varia.*

Suakin, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

I do not know if the similarity between Anuak, Shilluk, Obbo and possibly other dialects has been observed. Sir Samuel Baker in his book *Victoria Nyanza* quotes one or two words spoken in the district West of the Lado Enclave which are obviously allied to Anuak, and Speke's *Journal* also contains words used by the people of Madi, S. W. of Gondokoro, which seem of the same origin, mixed with Galla. This latter is comprehensible in view of Speke's notes on the immigration of Gallas into Uganda.

This similarity was brought to my notice by the fact of Professor Westermann, after studying Shilluk at Doleib Hill, being able without much difficulty to converse with an Anuak boy on a Gambela steamer. This is the more curious when it is remembered that between the Shilluks and Anuaks there live the Nuers, whose dialect I believe is dissimilar.

Appended are some suggestions that might be of interest :

1. Distribution in the Sudan of hard and soft  $\text{ç}$  Mr. L. F. Nalder told me that he thought the correct pronunciation of this letter is explosive "dy".

2. Transposition of consonants in colloquial Arabic, e. g. *istibalya* = hospital, *Kishtener* (Kitchener), *i'nal* = curse = for *i'lan*.

3. Why are certain words written with  $\text{چ}$  but pronounced *sh*? E. g. *shawish*, *shunta*, *shawal*. *Shawish* may have been written with the Turkish  $\text{چ}$ . What of the others?

Although outside the scope of the *Notes and Records*, I may mention observing at Gambela Gallas holding up mirrors on the roofs of adjoining tukls while my house was burning, with the object of protecting the buildings they were on. Is this known in any part of the Sudan?

Regarding the note to *negōgi* (*Nursery Rhymes*, p. 26) = meaning uncertain, it may be an onomatopœic word. *Gogo* is said to represent the sound made by doves when the mates fly up to the branches of trees after drinking, and therefore the meaning may include conjugal exchange of verbal endearments.

F. R. HULBERT.

[The relationship between Shilluk and other African languages has been discussed by Westermann in *The Shilluk people, its language and folklore*, p. 30 ff. Some of his conclusions are as follows :

Anywak or Anuak is not a separate language, but a dialect of Shilluk. It has been somewhat influenced by Nuer. . . but it is possible without much difficulty to converse with an Anywak man in Shilluk.

Shilluk belongs to a sub-group of the Sudan languages called the Niloto-Sudanic group, of which Dinka and Nuer also are members. ~ Dinka and Nuer differ in their phonology and structure but slightly from the Shilluk dialects . . . . . but to a considerable extent the vocabularies differ, so that both are to be considered as separate languages. They are nearer related to each other than to Shilluk. ~

We believe that  $\text{چ}$  in the mouth of a Sudan Arab has a sound which is intermediate between hard *g* in *go* and *j* in *just*. The sound also exists in Nubian (Berberine) and has been recorded as occurring in other Arabic dialects (Lindberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, vol. I, p. 53g : « Quelquefois et dans quelques contrées en Haḍramout  $\text{چ}$  est prononcé avec un son entre  $\text{ج}$  (*j*) et *g*. Ce n'est ni l'un ni l'autre »). The sound in question is articulated in the « front » i. e. it is formed by the front part of the tongue and the hard palate; it is therefore nearly related to both *d* and *y*, and we

agree with Mr. Nalder that it very nearly corresponds to *dy*. The close relationship existing between ج and *d* may further be illustrated by words like *dēsh* and *dahsh* corresponding to classical جيش and حش, and by the fact that ج and س are not infrequently rhymed together in colloquial poetry.

Transposition of consonants is by no means rare in Arabic dialects. We suggest that in the first two examples quoted by our correspondent it is due to the difficulty experienced in pronouncing a foreign word, while *in'al* instead of *il'an* is a « euphemism » analogous to the mispronunciation of certain words in English oaths.

The three words mentioned by our correspondent as written with ج, but pronounced *sh* are of Turkish origin, in which language they are written with چ which has the sound of *ch* in church. The Turkish چوال, we believe, in its turn is derived from the Persian where it has the form جوال. As the sound of *ch* is foreign to Arabic, *sh* was substituted in pronunciation, while the spelling retains a reminiscence of the original چ, but we believe it is now usual to spell these words with ش. A somewhat analogous case is the word *zābit*, which though of Arabic origin and written with ضى, retains the Turkish pronunciation of that letter, because it re-entered modern Arabic by way of Turkish.

Since printing *Nursery Rhymes* we have made inquiries about *yegōgi*. Our correspondent is right in suggesting that it means the cooing sound of doves. In addition to this it has the secondary meaning « to sing » and is used in the colloquial as a synonym of *yeghannī* or *yedōbī*. The correct translation of the line in the nursery rhyme is : - that we may drink and sing -.

We are unable to express an opinion about the Galla custom mentioned by Mr. Hulbert. Perhaps some of our up-country readers can contribute notes on the subject.]

### *Transliteration.*

Port Sudan, February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

With regard to the system adopted for the transliteration of the Arabic alphabet and the recording of the sounds of other languages it will be noted that if the rules given be followed, the *a* sound of « father » in written Arabic will be represented by *ā* while for spoken languages the same sound is to be represented by *a*. For written Arabic the sound *i* as in « fit » is to be represented by *i* whilst for spoken languages this represents the vowel sound in

‘feet’ which for Classical Arabic is represented by *i*, and the same remarks applying to *u* and *ū*.

As the accurate recording of the sounds of the unwritten languages of the Sudan is as important as the transliteration of Classical Arabic, I beg to suggest that the system recommended by the Royal Geographical Society be adopted and the system for transliterating Classical Arabic be brought into line with this.

This system is practically the representation of vowel sounds by the Italian vowels, but as in Italian the vowels have not always the same value, I would suggest that the vowel sounds to be represented be shewn by examples from English words in brackets after them and a table printed under that already given for the transliteration of Classical Arabic.

NOEL E. WATERFIELD.

[It appears that our correspondents criticism rests on a misapprehension; — our system of transliteration is the same for classical Arabic and for the unwritten languages of the Sudan, except in so far as the latter possess sounds which occur neither in Arabic nor in English or Italian, as for instance the inter-dental consonants of the Nilotic languages. The editors’ suggestion for dealing with such exotic sounds will be found in the last paragraph of the editorial in our first number, and as they are not covered by the system of the R. G. S., the adoption of the latter would not tend towards their more accurate notation.

As far as the vowels are concerned there does not seem to be any real divergence between our correspondents suggestion and our own view. We adopt the Italian *values* both for classical Arabic and for spoken languages and mark the *quantity* of the long vowels by the sign  $\bar{\quad}$  over the letter. We thus arrive at the following table :

a as in Ital. fatto	ā as in father
e as in men	ē as in Ital. nero (Engl. a in fate)
i as in bit	ī as in Ital. grido (Engl. ee in feet)
o as in hot	ō as in tone
u as in full	ū as in Ital. luna (Engl. oo in moon).

It did not appear worth while to print this table on the inside of the cover, as we believe that it follows as a matter of course from an application of the principles laid down for classical Arabic.

It is true that this table of vowel-sounds is not phonetically complete, as it makes no provision for intermediate sounds like the *a* in *hat*, or the Arabic "helping-vowel" or the Amharic sounds which Mr. Armbruster expresses by *q̣* and *ω*, and many others. Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics* enumerates 72 different vowel-sounds — most of which can probably be heard in the Sudan, but it would serve no useful purpose to lay down a special sign for each — nor is this done by the R. G. S. Where such sounds have to be recorded we follow the principle stated in the editorial of the last number.

We have carefully examined the "Notes on the transliteration of Arabic names for the 1 M map" in the *Geogr. Journal* for Febr. 1917 and find that the system advocated there is quite unsuitable for our purposes. The following quotation will be sufficient to indicate its severely practical and unscientific character: "For the 1 M map we omit all signs, accents, and diacritical marks whatever in Arabic names".

Finally we would point out that our system is identical in all essentials with that adopted by the Egyptian Government and by the Royal Asiatic Society; it thus has the recommendation that it brings us into line with Egyptian official publications and with the vast majority of English-speaking orientalists.]

# SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

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Volume I.

No 3.

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## INSTALLATION OF THE RET OF THE CHOL (KING OF THE SHILLUKS) BY P. MUNRO.

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In writing the following description of the above event I have attempted to adhere as strictly as possible to what was actually observed. This is more difficult than it appears for two reasons : first it is almost impossible to keep the mind oblivious of the innumerable traditions which have attached themselves to the ceremony and which are set forth in the main by Seligman<sup>(1)</sup> and Westermann<sup>(2)</sup>, and secondly the constant ebb and flow of the very large company present make accurate observation of detail in some cases almost impossible.

The small discrepancies noted in the actual ceremony as compared with the account of the same as given by Seligman p. 224 are, in my opinion, probably due to the fact that any enquirer would certainly be told of any existing traditions as regards various separate installations. The main essentials are the same, but in small details each installation probably varies in accordance with its special circumstances. For the sake of clearness I have divided this article into two sections : *a*) Necessary preliminary remarks; *b*) The actual narrative.

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<sup>(1)</sup> SELIGMAN Vol. B., *General Science*, 4<sup>th</sup> Report of Wellcome Research Laboratories, p. 216 et seq.

<sup>(2)</sup> WESTERMANN, *The Shilluk People*.

## A. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The previous Ret Fadiet wad Kwadker died on February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Retship of whom however only two were of real interest : Shoti wad Ajang who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Retship, and Fafiti wad Yor whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shoti's position was much weakened by two factors : a) by his presumptuous attitude which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Ret to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and b) by the fact that his father Ajang was never legitimate Ret, having never entered Fashoda, but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Ret Kwadker. (N. B. The Shilluk rule of Retship makes it essential for the new Ret to be the son of a previous legitimate Ret, thus Shoti did not have the proper qualification.) Fafiti wad Yor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Retship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, during which time, although the Ret-to-be utters judgements, he is merely voicing the matured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Fafiti himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Ret as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of grave insecurity. Fafiti therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang<sup>(1)</sup> to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers and also ambatch for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Jebelein and that

<sup>(1)</sup> Nyakang. The semi divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. SELIGMAN, p. 216. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of ambatch, covered with light blue cloth, and with a roundish mass of ostrich feathers as a head.



any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11<sup>th</sup> January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4<sup>th</sup> morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal<sup>(1)</sup> only arrived on the 16<sup>th</sup> instead of two days earlier.

## B. --- NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17<sup>th</sup>, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang<sup>(2)</sup> from outside, and the temporary huts<sup>(3)</sup> built for the Ret.

<sup>(1)</sup> Kwa (descendants of) Mal stated by WESTERMANN, p. 128 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their home is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that dally in following the Ret.

<sup>(2)</sup> The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

<sup>(3)</sup> About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

and also the official residence of the Ret<sup>(1)</sup>. About 11 a.m. loud drumming in the distance gave us the first intimation that Nyakang was en route from its shrine in Nyagir and was now approaching Fashoda. In the distance on the slight slope north of Fashoda a large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dak<sup>(2)</sup> borne aloft in the centre. Hundreds of Shilluk warriors were in attendance on Nyakang and its people. The men of Golbaing and Nyagir were acting as flank guards, and the whole array with the sun on its spears was most impressive. Once and again according to correct tradition Nyakang turned back and retraced its way to very near its starting point in Nyagir. This I understood to be indicative of Nyakang's uncertainty as to whether it would accept the new Ret and bestow on him its divine protection. The pauses and returns of the concourse became more frequent, but shorter in time and during them the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing. About this time a small band of four warriors sent by Fafiti appeared in Fashoda and proceeded to circle round it two or three times with the peculiar dancing stride of the Shilluks. This band was shortly increased to six in number, and finally took its stand on Nyakang's road. The blowing of a horn announced the appearance of the Ret's army from Akwom, a great crowd of warriors. They came on apace until near the small khor about a quarter of a mile south of Fashoda — they were chiefly from the Southern sections, although Kodok itself immediately surrounded the Ret. It was impossible to see Fafiti himself as yet owing to the crowd.

The small party of six above mentioned now plays its part as a post between the Ret and Nyakang. The messengers all ran at full speed and appeared to be changed at the half way post. They are taking offers from the Ret to Nyakang. At first Nyakang refuses them, and turns back. Eventually

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<sup>(1)</sup> His house consists of four fine built huts enclosed in a fence. The western hut is known as Du-Kot', and in it are kept the sacred stool, the spear, the sword and the shield. The Eastern hut is for the Ret's wives, and the other two are used for any thing the Ret likes. The stool etc. are brought out for the ceremony and redeposited in Du-Kot' afterwards.

<sup>(2)</sup> Dak is the son of Nyakang : his effigy is much taller and thinner in body, but smaller in head than that of Nyakang. Both effigies are in charge of Ador son of Akol Adong of Akurwa.

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry straws symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm upwards and chanting *ya bia, ya bia* "come come".

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Fafiti was taken across in his toror (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fafiti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Fafiti, who in accordance with custom was dressed in the ordinary Shilluk lau (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel<sup>(1)</sup>. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

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<sup>(1)</sup> Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their daughters to the king. The girl is known as *Nya Kwer* (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of taxes).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kelo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the Tuki (hearth stones). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill).

his followers immediately put to flight the Ret's Army with whips, and the Ret is captured by Nyakang. The Ret is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fafiti could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers flaunted on his head.

After a pause Nyakang and the Ret, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fashoda. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been enwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Ret, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Ret is lifted up and carried at full length by the Ororo<sup>(1)</sup> in company with Nyakang which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and the clothes are stripped of the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be kept as mementos. Nyakang and the Ret are then carried to the Shrine of Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white dammur with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Ret is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Ret, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Ororo. This class seems full of mystery: cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., §§ 10, 23, and 27. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was «Kwaret». According to Fafiti, they were the men of Odak son of Nyakang: a fight occurred between them and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children were left. At this time Duwat should have become Ret, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Duwat came to his own, and he then took from these others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Duwat's time no one has become an Ororo although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are: a) to carry the Ret; b) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Ret they make the shroud. The Ret on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Ororo.

Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view.

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient cronies, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for: he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniaret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him.

Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary tukls and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Ororo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu<sup>(1)</sup> on the threshold of his "temporary hut". He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound.

I was told Fafiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Nyel Wak and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 128 clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler of Doleib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom.

Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20<sup>th</sup> and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me by him : « Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the « temporary hut » during the night of the 19<sup>th</sup>. On the 20<sup>th</sup> in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks<sup>(1)</sup>. When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the « battle » was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

« Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

« The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases. »

P. MUNRO.

Malakal, February 1918.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Seligman (p. 224) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17<sup>th</sup> at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

# THE LOTUKO

BY MAJOR THE HON. FITZ. R. R. SOMERSET.

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The following notes refer, almost entirely, to the Lotuko proper. The Lotuko, or "Deaf Men", it seems probable, were the last wave of a series of invasions from the east, or south-east, each wave driving into the mountains those of the previous wave that it did not exterminate or absorb.

What race they found here is difficult to say, but from indications in some of the mountain dialects it seems possible they were Acholis, or people akin to them.

The Lotuko themselves have no traditions of an extraneous origin. Their original settlement, they say, was at Iliu, near the south end of the Lopit Mountains. From there lack of water drove them to Matāri, near Logurun, where, at a period which by their genealogies should be about a hundred years ago, they were ruled by a Chief called Ngalamitiko, who figures largely in their lore.

When this Chief grew old, the people wished to replace him by his son, Lóghurak. He urged them to wait till he was dead. They refused, so he sent his dog with a message to the Chief of the Akara, urging him to destroy Matāri. He then died, and after the Akara came with a vast army, destroyed Matāri, and slaughtered the Lotuko till the blood flowed in streams. The survivors fled in different directions and settled more or less in the places they now occupy, that is to say the banks of the River Ghos from Lopi to Loronyo, and the small hills between the Lopit and Dongatolo Mountains. Torit is a more recent settlement.

After this, their history is a usual one of internecine warfare varied by combined raids on Boya, Imatong, etc.

The defeated candidates for power often made common cause with the Arab slave raiders, the old Government or the Dervishes, as the case happened to be.

It is stated that Chief Kōjang (Baker's Moy) was ejected by his half brother Kamirū (Baker's Comoro) and reinstated by the old Government, and that Kamirū was speared when trying to reach Gondokoro.

The Dervishes do not appear to have made a long stay here. The Lotuko claim to have defeated them several times with great slaughter, and they certainly have many Dervish guns in their possession.

Besides political divisions the Lotuko are divided internally into six clans, or *kang*, each reputed to be descended from a common ancestor. Each *kang* has its particular animal, such as the elephant and the hyena, into which it is believed that the members are changed after death. They do not however refrain from killing these animals on this account.

The names of the *kang* are Lōmia, Lowūdo, Lōmini, Kidongi, Marābat, and Kōbu. The last three together form the *kang* Igāgu which I believe to represent the original Lotuko stock.

The Lōmia and Lowūdo still exist as separate tribes, the former in southern Lopit, and the latter along the River Kināti, north of Torit, so it seems probable that these *kang* represent the absorbed portion of these tribes. The *kang* Lōmini were possibly the earlier inhabitants of Logúrūn, etc.

WAR. — The war equipment of a Lotuko includes a helmet of human hair, sewn together and plastered with red ochre. It is decorated with brass ornaments and a plume of feathers of a kind of weaver bird.

The shield, usually of buffalo hide, is bleached white, and three or four small-bladed spears are carried.

Formerly among the Lotuko, as among many other tribes, a man was not considered to be really a man until he had killed his man -- or woman, and there are few, if any, middle aged men who do not boast of a cognomen such as «The killer of the man sitting by the fire». The idea, it may be added, is not yet extinct.

A man would not deliberately attack one of his own *kang* even in battle, but if he killed him in the heat of action no blame was attached.

I am told that the introduction of fire-arms largely reduced the casualties in battle. Actions were fought at much longer range than was the case with spears, so that the side that ran away got a much longer start.



The widespread custom of women performing war dances, etc., with the idea of assisting the men does not exist among the Lotuko, who believe that a drum beaten in the village will cause the death of one of their own men in the field.

Every sixteen years is held the *nongopira*, or ceremonial making of fire. Two straight sticks are cut. If they are weak or crooked so will be the men or women of the next generation. All fires in the village are extinguished and relighted with the fire made with these sticks.

On this occasion the men of the younger generation take over the duties of military service from their seniors. They are given a collective name which they endeavour to make renowned in song. Men above or below the age fight as volunteers.

CHIEFS. — The principal functions of a *kobu*, or chief, is to make rain, but among the Lotuko, as distinct from other tribes of the district with whom the *kobu* seldom has any power outside his function, the chiefs have always had a good deal of political power.

No one can be a really efficient rain-maker who is not descended from rain-makers on both sides. Chiefs always marry as principal wife the daughter of a chief or rain-maker. Women have equal power with the men in this respect, and there are three female rain-makers in the district. If the stock fails, a descent on the female side is preferred.

MARRIAGE. — The Lotuko practice exogamy. A member of the *nkang Lómia*, *Lowūdo* or *Lómíni* may only marry into the *Igágu* group, and vice versa. This rule is sometimes broken, but if his wife should prove barren, or his children die the breaker considers that he has only himself to blame.

The price paid for a wife is usually about seventy sheep or their equivalent in other things. A feast is held but there is no ceremony. The bride's father keeps about half the price paid and distributes the remainder among his and the bride's mother's relations. It is customary for young men to work at the cultivation, etc., of their father-in-law for about two years. Mothers-in-law are treated with great respect, particular forms of speech having to be used by their sons-in-law when addressing them. A

woman generally refuses to live with a man whom she thinks does not treat her properly. Divorce is therefore common.

**SUPERSTITIONS.** --- The Lotuko believe in an invisible power called *naijok*, a neuter form. It is conceived chiefly as bringing death and disease. Everything not understood, however, is ascribed to *naijok*.

Once when I offered a chief some onion seed he asked with surprise if the *naijok* of the onion existed here. The expression *orogho naijok* "bad luck" is a common one. The word is also used for menstruation, and a derivative *noloiok* for hiccoughs.

It is said that human victims, chiefly of the "kang Lōmini", were formerly sacrificed to the River Ghos, but that the practice was abolished by Chief Ngalamitiko.

In every village the hereditary headman sacrifices a bull or a goat at the beginning of each cultivating season and also at the rebuilding of the village, in the event of an epidemic, etc.

It is believed that angry words used on the occasion of the sacrifice for good crops will adversely affect the crops.

When a sacrifice is made to drive away disease, the victim's skin is cut into strips, which are worn by all the villagers.

In November is held the *nalām* or ceremonial hunt, the nature of the ensuing year being prognosticated from the characteristics of the first animal killed.

Children born with one testicle are buried alive. It is believed if allowed to live they will cause the death of all their male relatives.

**MAGICIANS.** — Magicians (*Ibwōni*, fem. *Neibwōni*) are found in every village.

Some behave like ordinary people, others smear themselves with dirt, belch loudly and repeatedly, and roll their eyes and pretend to throw fits.

Rain-makers apply to magicians if their usual methods fail.

I once saw a female magician operating on a sick person. She started to rub the patient's stomach with an empty gourd, and while continuing to do so gradually filled the gourd with leaves. Suddenly she made a grab amongst the leaves and produced a dead snake which she alleged

had emerged from the patient's interior. She was paid a goat for this effort.

A good deal in the way of spells can be accomplished without the aid of a magician. A spell for causing death is called *nakitu*. The commonest are to dig up a person's footprint from his doorway and keep it in an earthen pot, and to sprinkle ashes in his drinking water.

There are various spells for causing death to persons who interfere with crops, flocks and articles left in the open. In the latter case charred twigs of a particular tree are laid by the article.

If a woman's apron be stolen, she will be barren till it is restored.

To undo the effect of these spells recourse must be had to a magician.

The evil-eye is believed in, and it is firmly believed, even by the people concerned, that certain persons are able to turn themselves into leopards and hyenas. I once had a case before me in which it was alleged that a certain man kept the bones of his father and other relatives on the premises, and on the receipt of a fee would turn them into a flock of leopards and send them to devour the flocks of the person named by the payer.

LAND-OWNERS. — Nearly all cultivated lands, streams, hills, etc., near which villages have long existed have their owners. These are hereditary, and I believe them to be descendants of an earlier tribe.

One man of the *ɔkang Lōmini* owns nearly all the *natōrit* or river land, from which Torit is named, and can blight the crops of anyone who cultivates there without paying him a sheep.

The owner of the fishing pool near Torit can cause crocodiles to devour whoever fishes there without paying him his due.

Last year the people of Labalwa were much troubled by leopards, they sent for the owner of the hill, then an absentee, and he after consulting with the magician sprinkled charcoal on the foot-prints of the leopards, thereby preventing their return.

Barring the landlord's claim, ground is considered to belong to the man who first cleared it. When a man dies, his widow is allowed the use of his land for one year, after which it passes to the male heirs.

BLOOD FINES. — Any person who kills another person, either by

design or accident, pays a girl to the relatives of the deceased. Compensation for injury is paid in sheep.

One «Lopil» found a man trying to steal his sheep. He drove him away, and on his way home he was killed by a person unknown. His relatives sued «Lopil», who admitted liability.

**CULTIVATION.** — The chief crops grown by the Lotuko are dura, ground nuts, sesame, and maize.

The hill tribes grow dura, telebun, dukhn, sweet potatoes, a kind of yam, and tobacco.

Clearing the ground with the axe is done by the men only, after which men and women work side by side with the hoe. Among the hill tribes the women as a rule do not use the hoe. Most of the weeding and harvesting is done by the women, and all the threshing, except that newly married men help to thresh the corn of their fathers-in-law.

**VILLAGES.** — The houses are larger than is the case with most tribes. They are built close together, with a stout ebony and bamboo palisade between them. Each man has his sheep pen adjoining his house. They keep their houses and yards very clean, but throw all refuse into the streets, which soon become several feet higher than the yards.

Each quarter of the village has its dancing place, with a clump of ebony stakes in the middle on which the drums are hung. At one side is a large house in which the drums are kept and where unmarried men and strangers sleep. A fig tree is usually planted at one side, under which is a log platform where the men sit in the evening. There are also platforms at the street corners where the women and youths collect. Everyone smokes.

**CLOTHING.** — The men are quite naked and do not take readily to clothes. Even such people as office interpreters throw off all clothes as soon as their work is finished.

The women wear a large tanned sheep-skin apron behind and a smaller one in front.

Red ochre is largely used for decoration and is also applied to sores.

The Lotuko are naturally an independant race intolerant of authority.

The chiefs, now that they can no longer consolidate their power by war, are in most cases rapidly losing it.

Women occupy a higher position than in most African tribes. A regular courtship before marriage is the rule, and socially women are considered nearly on a level with the men.

Slavery in any form is unknown.

The Lotuko are fairly industrious, but little economical development can be expected among them till they acquire a taste for trade goods. At present they buy little but salt and iron.

FITZ. R. R. SOMERSET.

# NATURAL HISTORY NOTES

BY B.

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## I. — SOME NESTING HABITS OF BIRDS IN THE SUDAN.

One of the first things one must naturally mention in writing notes on birds nests in the Sudan, are the elaborate nests of the Weaver birds. These are so complicated that they need practice in building. These practice nests always begin with a ring of plaited grass, on the one side of which will be built the hollow nest for the eggs and on the other the tubular entrance. They are built by the cockbirds only, apparently as a means of attracting the females attention, and are often built in the middle of thick bushes. The real nest is built by both birds usually hanging from the extreme end of a twig and often overhanging water as a protection from enemies.

Even more remarkable are the nests of the small palm swift which are built upside down. They consist of a pad of feathers stuck with saliva on to the lower surface of the broad leaves of the Dom and similar palms. The pads are quite flat, except for a small rim at the lower edge. The hen bird lays the eggs, two in number, while clinging to the pad of feathers back downwards. The eggs are stuck firmly to the pad, and partly resting on the rim or ledge; this ledge is quite insufficient to support them and but for being glued to the pad they would fall to the ground. When the eggs hatch, the hen bird presses the young upwards with her body against the pad of feathers into which they fix their claws. Their whole development takes place with the young birds hanging back downwards by their feet, and it must add to their difficulty in maintaining their balance, that when they let go of the pad, and take their first flight, they also for the first time in their lives turn over and assume a right-way-up position.

Quantities of these nests may be seen in the summer months in Khartoum under the leaves of the dom-palm just in front of the Sudan Club door, and also on a Latana palm near the big tebeldi in the Palace garden; they are well worth examining. The object of the position is obviously to secure protection from heavy rains, and under the tent-like leaves the nests are in fact quite secure.

The great danger to eggs in Europe is that of being chilled, hence the warm lining in the nests of the earlier breeding birds. No such danger occurs in the Sudan. I have in fact collected eggs of the small fantail warbler, and put them aside in a tin box till I had leisure to blow them. Some two or three days later I found they had hatched. Luckily I was able to restore them to the nest and noticed some time later that the young birds were none the worse.

I have had a similar experience with a spur winged plover.

The plovers lay their eggs on shingle or sandbanks, and the hen bird sits closely, not to keep the eggs warm, but cool, by protecting them from the scorching sun.

The hen bird will not leave them for long in the heat of the day, and by watching her return with field glasses the nest may be located.

It is not even then easy to find in some cases, as the Nile plover and the little ringed plover bury their eggs in the sand. On leaving the nest the hen bird with a few strokes of her beak rakes the sand over all traces of the nest, and it needs careful marking of the place, and some practice before one can rake one's fingers through the sand and expose the eggs.

A friend once described to me how when walking across a sandbank he heard a squeak, and after some search, found only the beak and eyes of a young ringplover sticking out of the sand.

The old birds are said to carry water to the nests, and it is a fact that the sand round the eggs is often moist.

A large number of birds in the Northern Sudan are burrowers, hoopoes, bee-eaters, sandmartins, kingfishers, etc., and owing to the lack of bush or trees a still larger proportion are ground builders. One would have thought that these nests on the ground ran great risks, especially when one thinks of the number of enemies in search of them : snakes,

waranas, hawks in great variety, cats, foxes, fennecs, jackals, genets, mongooses, etc.

Nevertheless it is a feature of these birds that they lay very few eggs at a time. The finch-larks (*Pyrrola*) usually lay only one, and the larks rarely more than two.

When in the course of a sparrow campaign some hundred of nests were destroyed, the usual number of eggs was found to be one or two, instead of five or six as would have been the case in England.

It therefore appears that the winter climate of England is a more disastrous enemy, than any amount of carnivorous animals. None of the plovers have been able to break away from their general habit of laying four eggs, and the Egyptian goose which one would have thought well capable of looking after itself lays nine to eleven eggs in a feather lined nest.

This may be a survival of a time long past, when like other geese it nested in a far northern and more rigorous climate.

The great danger to these ground building birds seems to be that of being trampled upon by cattle or goats, and perhaps one reason for laying only one egg in a nest is the old one of not putting all ones eggs in one basket.

The hen bird protects her eggs by remaining sitting on them and no animal will willingly tread on another if its attention is attracted to it.

Birds know the difference between animals and man in this respect. Once when riding a camel, I flushed a party of sandgrouse, two old birds and a few very small chickens. The old birds walked ostentatiously along with the young birds between them, seeming to try and attract the camels attention. When I dismounted the old birds gave a warning cry and flew to a short distance, the young ones immediately squatting on the ground and concealing themselves. On remounting the old birds flew back at once, and again walked along in a conspicuous bunch, knowing quite well that if the camel saw them, he would avoid treading on them. This performance was repeated several times.

Except the sparrow — which, as someone has said, is more of a parasite than a bird — and perhaps the European nightjar, the white or barn owl is the only bird I can think of that nests both in England and the Sudan,



but this owl seems equally at home from the Arctic to the Equator and varies little either in appearance or habits wherever it is found.

## II. — THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF THE WHITE ANT.

The entry of Europeans into the Sudan, with their prejudices in favour of permanent residences, has given the white ant a bad name.

The importance of these animals is however rarely appreciated.

In Europe the climate is usually moist, and dead vegetable matter is liable to attack by saprophytic algæ which produce the rapid disintegration, which is generally called «rotting». Further the enormous amount of dead vegetation which is removed from the surface of the ground and consumed by earthworms has been realized ever since the classic researches of Darwin.

On the other hand, a characteristic feature of the Sudan is the rapid growth of vegetation for a short period (due to seasonal rains or artificial irrigation) which is followed by a more or less prolonged period of drought and desiccation.

In this period of drought, the organisms which produce «rot» in Europe cannot thrive, and earthworms are only found at the extreme edge of the Nile or occasionally in artificial water-channels or *gadwals*.

After each period of active vegetation, there is an accumulation of dead grass, leaves and branches, which forms a dry litter of debris and which, in the absence of any agents for removal, would smother the young growth in the next season. The place of the organisms which perform this duty in Europe, is, in the Sudan, taken by the white ant which laboriously, and almost ubiquitously, removes this waste material, and prepares the ground for a new vegetative period. However annoying they may prove to the European, they cause little annoyance to the native of the country. He usually builds a cheap and temporary house for a season only, and by the time the white ants attack it, he has usually finished with it, and takes no further interest in its existence or decay.

The damage done to trees or plants in a garden is really small; anyone

must often have noticed a healthy tree with the plaster of mud on the bark which indicates that white ants are at work beneath; but if this layer is knocked off, the white ants will be found only to be attacking the dry outside layer of the bark which is of no further use to the tree, and which would in many cases scale off as a natural process of growth.

In fact, in many cases the removal of this dead layer helps the stem of the tree to expand freely, and has the same effect as the longitudinal cuts, sometimes made by gardeners to prevent the state known in England as being «hidebound».

When plants are attacked by white ants it is usually when they are weakened by drought or disease, and in that case the sooner they are removed and replaced by more healthy specimens the less the waste of time and disappointment.

However destructive they may be to badly stored agricultural produce, white ants do not appear among the large and growing lists of pests which attack healthy crops. Green peas, for instance, are never touched, but the dry peasticks for their support need constant replacing.

Against the depredations of white ants must be set the fact that but for their activity the whole of the fertile parts of the Sudan, would, in a very few years, be covered with an impenetrable blanket of dead vegetation; and the only alternative agency, which would clear this out of the way of future growth would be fire.

In the circumstances imagined to exist in their absence, it is more than likely that fire would tend to get out of hand, and do more damage even than can be attributed to white ants.

In the southern parts of the Sudan, fire is largely used to destroy the dead grasses of the year before; so largely in fact that it has been said that one of the great difficulties of obtaining good photographs of wild game lies in the pall of smoke, which hangs over the ground at times, and reduces the illumination necessary for rapid photographic exposures.

It would be interesting to know whether, owing to the moisture of the soil, or for some other reason, white ants are not so common as they are farther North, or whether perhaps the period of drought is so short that they have not time to clear away the dense vegetation between one season

of active growth and the next. It is a curious point that in most of the Northern Sudan «ant-hills» are unknown.

It may be that these ant-hills are only built in places liable to considerable inundation, as a means of escape from the level of saturation of soil. Perhaps someone with an experience of parts of the country where these ant-hills are common could throw light on this point.

B.

# THE KHAWĀLDA TRIBE

BY H. C. JACKSON.

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The Khawālda tribe is an offshoot of the Ja'lin and thus claims to be of the stock of the Abbasids by descent from a common ancestor 'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad, though in more than one instance the connection can only be established on the mother's side.

The founder of the Khawālda tribe was a man called Khālid from whom were descended Khamīs, Saḥal, Ḥamad el Rifi, Shāwir, Jamāl, Sinaṭa, Muḥammad el Aṣqa' and Shama'un. These men were the ancestors of the eight subsections : Khamīsab, Saḥalāb, Riyāfa, Shawāwra, Jammalāb, Sinaṭāb, Ṣaqā'iba and Shama'un, that make up the tribe.

There are several different theories as to the origin of the term Ja'lin. According to some natives, Ibrahīm el Hāshimi collected the people together and made them — *ja'al* — all into one tribe: a less common explanation is to the effect that the people whom Ibrahīm united were very lightcoloured whereas he was himself swarthy like a black-beetle (*ju'al*), and his followers were thus given this nickname in much the same way as the Fung Sultan — Bādi the Third — who reigned in the beginning of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, was distinguished from the rest of the Dark Sultans by the sobriquet of el Aḥmer, the red or lightcoloured. This ingenious derivation will however probably find favour with few.

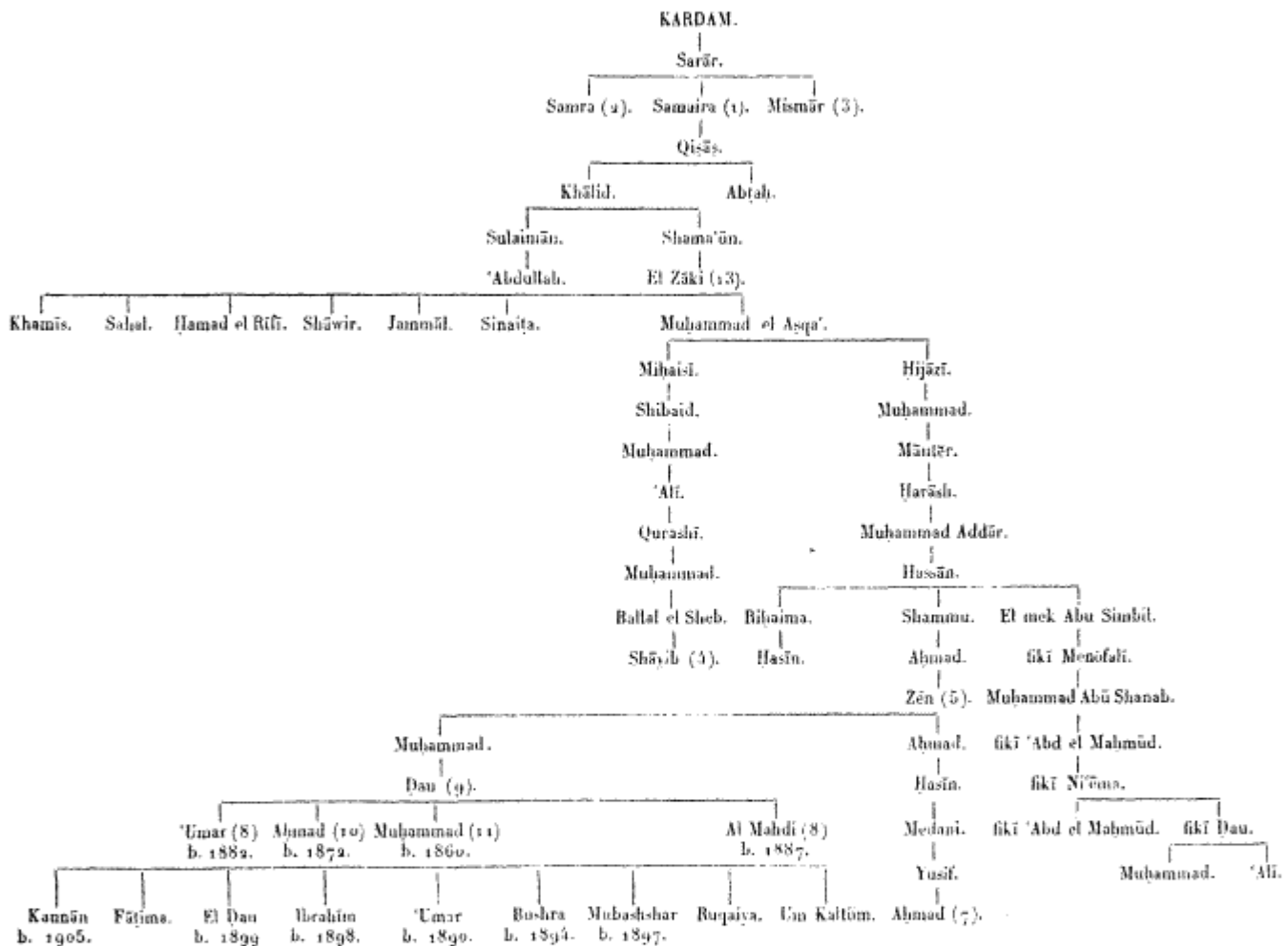
A genealogical table given below shows the relationship of the Khawālda and Ja'lin as well as the connection between these two tribes and such others as the Bedairia and Baṭāḥin. Genealogical tables, at any rate in the Gezira, must be accepted with considerable reserve owing to the fact that an enterprising individual visited the neighbourhood of the Blue Nile in the third quarter of last century and distributed pedigrees broadcast in return for hard cash: unfortunately accuracy was only a secondary consideration and, to a large extent, the imagination of the genealogist was only limited by the generosity or otherwise of his patrons. But, though

individuals may attempt to establish a claim to bluer blood than they are entitled to, there is no reason to doubt that the main relationship of one tribe to another is as the natives believe it to be. The fact of a common ancestry is often appealed to when one tribe is attacked by another or wishes to take joint action with its blood relations. Thus when Moḥammed Abu Iḱailik of the Gamu'ia tribe — a subsection of the Ja'lin — wished to depose the Fung kings about the year 1765 A. D., he called upon the Khawālda to help him on the ground that the Khawālda and Gamu'ia were both offshoots from the common stock of Ja'lin. And again, some thirty seven years later, when the Baṭāḱin — who are the descendants of Abṭaḱ, the brother of Khālid — were attacked by the Shukriya and Hadendowa, they asked for aid from the Khawālda owing to their consanguinity. The commonly accepted belief, a century and a half ago, that such relationship did as a matter of fact exist is more valuable testimony than a genealogical table that may or may not be genuine.

The Khawālda are a subdivision of the Qiṣaṣ tribe, and it was under this name that they originally made their way into the Sudan by way of Egypt. At what exact date is uncertain, but, as there are apparently fourteen generations between 'Omar, Moḥammed and Kbalid, and forty in all between the present day and that of 'Abbās, the Khawālda would appear to have entered the Sudan at any rate before the middle of the xv<sup>th</sup> century. Their first halting place is said to have been Jebel el Ferōg (hill of separation) between Maḱas and Dongola, where the Arabs on their way from Egypt stopped before scattering to their new homes in the Sudan. The Riyāfa section did not accompany the rest of the Khawālda, but stopped behind in Egypt until Moḥammed el Aṣqa' returned to fetch them : owing to this act of Mūḥammad's, it was settled that if at any time there was trouble between the various members of the tribe, the Riyāfa and Ṣaqā'iba were always to be allies.

The struggle between the Benī 'Abbās and Benī Omaiya in the middle of the viii<sup>th</sup> century resulted in various Arab tribes crossing from Arabia to the Sudan and from that time onwards the Sudan became a home for immigrants from the East. Towards the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century these Arabs were in sufficient numbers to make their strength felt : moreover the gradually increasing taxation imposed by the Anags (by which term the Christian

**GENEALOGICAL TABLE**  
SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE KHAWĀLDA AND JA'LĪN.



(1) Ancestor of Khawālda, Ghodiyāt, Baḥjīn, Qanan, Maidiya, Kurtūn. -- (2) From him are descended Bedair (founder of the Bedairiya), 'Abd el Raḥmān (founder of Shuwaiḥīl), Terāif (Terāifiya), etc. -- (3) Ancestor of Sa'd el Farīd (Ahmada, etc.) -- (4), (5), (6), (11) see text. -- (7) Died of cerebro-spinal meningitis in 1914, this branch of the family now being extinct. -- (8) Fikis at Naweila. -- (9) Used to be a fairly well-known fikī. -- (10) Formerly omāda but resigned in 1914. -- (11) The remnants of this section live now at Sherāfīb in Wad Medani district.

rulers of Soba are usually referred to) which culminated in a demand for all male camels and all male horses created universal discontent amongst the Arabs. 'Amāra Dúnkas, who afterwards became the first of the Fung kings, organised the inhabitants of what are to-day the Blue Nile and Sennar Provinces, while 'Abdullah Jamā collected people from the Northern Sudan. In response to his call to arms the Khawālda, amongst other tribes, came from Dongola to join in the attack and, after the Christian kingdom had been overthrown and that of the Fungs had taken its place, most of the Khawālda settled round Awatib --- near Kabushīa in Shendi District. A few however either returned to Toweilab — in Dongola Province — where they now are, or, possibly, did not accompany the rest of the tribe on its way south.

Thus, somewhere about the year 1500 A. D. we find the majority of the Khawālda in Shendi District (a stronghold of the Ja'lin) with a few of the Sinaīṭāb section in Dongola : others had however remained behind in Egypt where they are said to lead a nomadic life in the neighbourhood of Tanta and a few of the tribe, under the name of Qaşuş, are supposed to be in the Hejaz with these exceptions the bulk of the Khawālda had, by the beginning of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, settled in the district that was to be their home for nearly three hundred years.

When the Khawālda first came into the neighbourhood of Shendi, they led, as most — if not all — of the Arabs of that time a wandering life and grazed their animals in a country bounded approximately by Jebel Geifi, Jebel Nasūf, el Mukharfash, and Um Aṭrūn, their immediate neighbours being their Baṭāḥīn relations who came with them from the northern Sudan to Abu Deleig, which is now the headquarters of their tribe. Shortly after the middle of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, the Fung Sultans gradually began to lose the influence that they had wielded for so long over the unruly tribes within their domain and a certain Moḥammed Abu Likailik decided to usurp their position. He collected various discontented natives who laboured under the common delusion that any change of Government must necessarily be for the better. Some of the Khawālda tribe had in the course of two centuries and a half made their way, first of all to Abu 'Uruf wad Bulad — in Kamlin district — and then to the neighbourhood of Abu 'Ushar — approximately half way between Khartoum and Wad Medani. Moḥammed Abu Likailik asked the Khawālda — for the reasons given

above — to help him overthrow the kingdom of the Fungs and promised them as a reward the ownership of land near Nueila (Nuwaila). The Khawālda jumped at the offer and after Muḥammad Abu Likailik had attained his ends, this section of the Khawālda settled in a district some 15 miles north-east of Monāgil, where excellent grazing existed for their flocks and herds.

The Fungs very soon ceased to exercise any sort of control over the tribes which had previously acknowledged their authority and a period of internecine warfare followed. In the general chaos that accompanied the downfall of the old kingdom many tribes saw a suitable opportunity for attacking their neighbours. The Baṭāḥīn — who are the most notorious cattle thieves in the Sudan — looted some animals belonging to Mek Nimr — the reigning chief of Shendi — an act that was to have unforeseen results. The tribesmen of the latter wished to retaliate, but Mek Nimr objected saying that the Baṭāḥīn and the Ja'līn were related and the ties of blood were too strong to permit of his fighting his relations. His attitude was not however quite consistent with his later behaviour, for when, about the year 1803 A. D., the Shukriya and Hadendowa attacked the Baṭāḥīn — for the truly Germanic reason that the former coveted the grazing grounds of the latter — and the Baṭāḥīn appealed to Mek Nimr for help on the ground of a common ancestry the offence to his amour-propre some years before blinded Mek Nimr to the relationship. The Khawālda, however, answered the call of the blood, and went to the help of the Baṭāḥīn only to be severely defeated at El Dabbaghāt, near Abu Deleig, and ousted from their possessions. They, accordingly, made their way across the Blue Nile to join their relations who were now established in their new territory round Nueila.

Their troubles were not, by any means over : the influx of a considerable number of immigrants was most displeasing to the other inhabitants of the district who did not view with equanimity the eating up of their grazing by strange herds. The usual disputes that are so common a feature of Arab life at once commenced and it was not long before the various tribes came to blows. The Kawahla and Gamu'ia were the tribes most affected by the arrival of the Khawālda and, though the Gamu'ia and Khawālda had previously been allied in their successful attack on the Fungs,



this fact did not prevent the Gamū'ia from fighting against their former friends. Under the leadership of Mek Idrīs el Mehaina (who was killed about the year 1821 by the Turks) the Kawahla and Gamū'ia made their way to the bush country round Nueila and demanded the Khawālda cattle. The Khawālda somewhat naturally refused to part with their animals, alleging that such a course of action would not find favour in the eyes of their women. A fight ensued in which Zēn wad Aḥmed (5)<sup>(1)</sup> of the Khawālda was killed. The invaders however failed in their attempt to loot the Khawālda cattle thanks to the interposition of a certain fiki called Ni'ōma wad fiki 'Abd el Maḥmūd (6)<sup>(1)</sup> who seized a handful of gravel and threw it in the direction of the Khawālda cattle, telling them to lie down. This the animals very obligingly did while the fight raged round them: unfortunately the donkeys, with the independence of their kind, refused to listen to the holy man's words and paid the penalty of their impiety by being driven off.

Another Fiki at Zingaha then composed a rhyme which was sung by the Khawālda and may be roughly translated as follows:

Oh uncle, pray, what do you here  
 Who are to jewelled maids so dear?  
 You say you never run away, but, victor in the battle,  
 Unsheathe your sword in righteous cause: then why steal our cattle?

*Mālak hina gā'id yā khāl?  
 ma gult el Mehaina bijālis un'aqāl,  
 wa mā gult bitahrīm tajīb el fal?  
 dēnak sēf ḥārif lā taḡūl kasb 'ajāl.*

Mek Mehaina was infuriated at this song and at once returned and killed the offending fiki as well as 83 of the Khawālda tribe who retaliated with another verse:

The Mek Mehaina should be in dire disgrace,  
 He killed the holy fiki and fired his holy place.

*El Mek el Mehaina yadūq bishātū el ḥāl,  
 katal el fiki wadda el masid el nār.*

<sup>(1)</sup> These numbers refer to the genealogical table given below.

But not to be outdone the followers of Mek Meḥaina burst into poetry also :

The Mek Meḥaina is the noblest of his race,  
He raped the fiki's mother and fired his holy place.

*Et Mek el Meḥaina yaḏūq daraḡāt el dār,  
Nāk um el fiki wadda el masīd el nār.*

These hymns of hate did nothing to allay popular feeling and some enterprising members of the Khawālda tribe determined to visit the White Nile. Chief amongst them was Ḥasīn wad Riḥaima Moḥammed whose prowess is remembered with pride to this day by his descendants. On one occasion he went to the White Nile with three companions, Naṣir, Kalamūn, and 'Atamūla, but encountered no one there. On the way back Ḥasīn killed a gazelle only to find that he had no tinder with which to light a fire and cook the game. Kalamūn was despatched to some Arabs who were to be seen camping near at hand. After conversing with them a short time the latter somewhat indiscreetly informed him that they were of the Kawahla tribe and were on their way to attack the Khawālda : Kalamūn thanked them for their information and borrowed a light which he put in his pipe. After supper Kalamūn proposed that they should round up as many Khawālda as possible and light the Kawahla : Ḥasīn objected and next morning the four men, aided by their four slaves who had accompanied them, attacked the whole Kawahla party. Ḥasīn killed the chieftain of the Kawahla and carried off a girl whom he later made his wife. The Kawahla ran away on the death of their leader leaving booty in the hands of Ḥasīn and his followers.

Some five or six years later the illfeeling between the two tribes once more came to a head. There happened to be a Khawālda woman, named Bint el Ṭelaiḡa, living in a Kawahla village. On one occasion a wake was being held over a deceased member of the Maṭārfa section of the Kawahla tribe and some young men, being excited by the dancing and songs that followed the burial, began to abuse the Khawālda. Bint el Ṭelaiḡa very pluckily remonstrated and the sheikh of the Kawahla somewhat ungallantly cut the lady's head off. The Kawahla took the head and threw it at the feet of some of the Khawālda leaders who at once assembled their tribe and set

out to attack the Kawahla. A bloody battle ensued at Wad Nauwa, near 'Asir in Wad Medani district. Losses were heavy on both sides and when the fight was over, the Khawālda collected the dead Kawahla and put them down a well. So numerous were the dead that the feet of many of the Kawahla protruded over the top. The remains of this well can be seen to this day and affords an unusual instance of a deliberate attempt on the part of Arabs to poison a well.

Ḥasīn won a great reputation for bravery and appears to have been somewhat of a humourist. At 'Abbūd, an important village about six miles south-east of Monāgil, lived some prominent members of the Kawahla family. Ḥasīn's habit was to visit this village by night and scratch his back against the straw walls of a native house in imitation of a cow. The good wife of the house thereupon ordered her husband to drive the offending creature away and the simpleminded man, thinking to encounter a cow or a goat, sleepily left his house, only to have his head cut off by the enterprising Ḥasīn who was lurking outside. In this way twelve of the Kawahla are said to have met an untimely fate.

This intertribal warfare was typical of the state of affairs that followed the break up of the Fung kingdom and though the Ḥamejs, who took over the administration of the Sudan from the Fungs, attempted to deal with the general lawlessness that prevailed they were only very partially successful and, when Ismail Pasha invaded the Gezira in 1821, he found the tribes so disordered and divided by petty jealousies that no attempt was made by them to sink their differences and combine against him. The Khawālda once more saw in the arrival of the Turkish troops an opportunity of extending their influence and led what they themselves euphemistically describe as punitive expeditions on the Turkish behalf: their enemies have other less complimentary terms in which they characterise the behaviour of the Khawālda.

Few others of the tribe have attained to any prominence or left their mark upon the records of the time though Shāyib wad Ballal el Shēb (4) was renowned for his wealth. When a man called el Arbāb Dafallah had his daughter demanded in marriage by the Vizier Moḥammed 'Adlān he somewhat artfully sent her to Shāyib's house for the wedding ceremonies. These lasted forty days and on each day so great was the number of the

Vizier's retainers and so gargantuan their appetites that it was necessary to slaughter 100 bulls, 41 camels and 82 sheep — according to my totally unreliable informer : this however did not exhaust the resources of Shāyib whose maṭmūra (grain store) was so broad and deep that even when the forty days were passed the store was only depleted to a depth of one cubit.

In more recent times the chief men have been Yūsif Medani and Muḥammad el Ḍau. The former was Nāzir of the tribe until his death in the year 1882 when he was succeeded by the latter who is the head of his tribe at the present time. Muḥammad el Ḍau is a typical example of the freebooting instincts of his tribe and fought against the Abyssinians and Italians. During the Mahdia he collected most of the members of his tribe who were still scattered in isolated villages and settled them round Nucila. A few of the Shawāwra section however live at Ferigāb, in Mesellemia district, and some Jammālab, still graze their camels along the Atbara river : Muḥammad el Ḍau, as a matter of fact, keeps his own camels there though he is of the Ṣaqā'iba section. Apart from these and a few Khawālda in Toweilāb, and Tanta, practically the whole of the Khawālda tribe is now domiciled on the borders between Monagil and Wad Medani districts where they occupy some fifty villages.

Just before the battle of Omdurman Muḥammad el Ḍau was summoned to go and meet the Khalifa, but he was at that time only a lukewarm adherent of the Mahdiists owing to having quarrelled with Aḥmed Faḍil. Muḥammad el Ḍau at first refused to obey the order but, on receipt of an irate letter from the Khalifa, he made his way slowly as far as Gedīd, near Khartoum, where he loitered until the battle was over : he then surrendered to Slatin Pasha and was taken before Lord Kitchener by whom he was confirmed in his position as head of the Khawālda tribe.

H. C. JACKSON.

# THE PEOPLE OF ABŪ JARĪD

BY S. HILLELSON.

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The unpublished diaries of Emin Pasha, quoted in *Der Islam*, vol. IV, p. 160, refer under the date of 4 October 1881, to "quite peculiar usages and a peculiar religious sect (Djemaat Abu Djerid) and very curious expressions used by the Arabs of the Blue Nile". It seemed worth while to make inquiries about this unknown "sect", and the following account of its beliefs and practices is perhaps not without interest as illustrating a phase of the popular Islam of the unlearned which, as is well known, differs in many respects from the official religion of the schools.

Much of the information contained in the following pages is derived from a short account of the sect which was composed at my request by sh. Abu'l-Qāsim b. Daf'allah el-Sharafdinābī, who possesses an intimate knowledge of the people of Abū Jarīd, and who has taken considerable pains to achieve accuracy and completeness. Supplementary information was obtained through personal enquiries among sheikhs of the sect inhabiting the small village of Khudr near the mouth of the Rahad opposite Wad Medani. Sh. Aḥmad Khudr and al Na'im al-Nūr of the Rawāshīda section of the Juhaina, occupy a prominent position in their community as direct descendants of a certain Muḥammad al-Rashidī, who was a companion and early disciple of Abū Jarīd: their statements therefore possess considerable authority which is only impaired to a certain extent by the fact that they regarded the motives of my inquiries with some suspicion, and were more anxious to defend their community against current slanders than to elucidate historical facts.

The people of Abū Jarīd are generally known in the Sudan as *Zabāla'a* (pl. of *zabla'* = deceived or foolish people; see the root *zablah* in Dozy's *Supplement* and Spiro's *Vocabulary*). They are referred to under this name in Na'im Bey Shuqair's *History of the Sudan* (vol. I, p. 57), where the following account of their beliefs and practices is given.

« The Zabāla'a live in the jazīra of Sennar and in the district between the rivers Rahad and Dinder. They number about 5000 men and resemble the other Arabs in their habits and characteristics; but they differ from their neighbours in religion and form a separate sect, which used to be known in the Sudan as the fifth-religion (*al-milla al-khāmisa*). They believe that the founder of their sect Abū Jarīd is an apostle of God and recognise no prophet beside him. They have erected a monument on his tomb which is at the village of Bunzoga on the east bank of the Blue Nile between Karkōj and Roseires, and there they assemble for their zikr every Sunday and Tuesday evening, on which occasions they repeat their profession of faith: there is no God but God, Abū Jarīd is the prophet of God. Every year in the month of Ṣafar their shaikhs retire into khalwas for the purpose of devotional exercises, each remaining in his khalwa for seven days during which time they are guarded by sentries to prevent people from intruding on their seclusion. At the end of the seven days the shaikh leaves his khalwa and assembles his followers, men and women, who form a circle for the zikr. It is stated that on the occasion of these assemblies they indulge in sexual promiscuity; after the zikr, men and women kiss the hands of the shaikh who chooses one of the women for himself whereupon everybody follows his example; then they disperse. The Zabāla'a women are the most beautiful women of the Sudan, they are said to be of white complexion with a tinge of red. All the Zabāla'a are addicted to a life of ease and effeminacy; thus it appears that the men grease their bodies and use perfumes like women. They avoid intermarrying with the Arabs, and the feeling is reciprocated by the latter. But the Arabs believe them to be wizards and go to them for medical advice. »

Cf. also E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Egyptian Sudan*, vol. II, p. 439, where Shuqair's account is quoted in an abridged form.

The account just quoted is of value only as representing the popular opinion of the sect which is current among their neighbours: we have endeavoured to get beyond hearsay evidence, and to treat of the subject in the light of authentic documents and in relation to similar phenomena in the religious history of the Sudan.

## ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY.

It appears that the establishment of the Funj kingdom early in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century was followed by a period of missionary activity and revivalism. The Sennar chronicle states (and the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>(1)</sup> confirms the statement in almost the same words) that towards the beginning of the Funj dynasty religious learning was at a low ebb; even the law of 'idda was unknown, and a woman might be divorced and contract a new marriage on the same day. But towards the middle of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century there arose a religious teacher called Maḥmūd al-'Arakī who taught the people the law of 'idda and other observances. Other names famous in the religious history of the country belong to the same period: we may mention the Aulād Jābir (Ibrāhīm and 'Abd al-Raḥmān), Ḥasan wad Ḥassūna who is said to have come from Spain, and Daf'allah al-'Arakī, the saint of Abū Ḥarāz. It is noteworthy that tradition assigns a foreign origin to many of these religious reformers: it seems probable that the establishment of a new Muslim state attracted to the country an influx of wandering scholars and holy men who found a fertile soil for their teaching. The most notable result was the introduction of Ṣūfī teaching which at that period had degenerated into crude superstition and miracle-mongering, and the establishment in the Sudan of Darwīsh ṭarīqa's which speedily developed new branches and offshoots with local associations. Tāj al-dīn al-Behārī, a holy man from Baghdad, is said to have initiated disciples into the brotherhood of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, and the ṭarīqa of al-Shādhilī likewise gained ground. It is interesting to note that the foreign influences do not, as might have been expected, point to intercourse with Egypt; the origin of the revival is to be sought at Mecca and its most potent agency is the pilgrimage.

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<sup>(1)</sup> The Sennar chronicle is the well-known history of the Funj by 'Abd al-Dālī which we quote from its abridged version in Na'ūm Bey Shuqair's *History*. The *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* of Wad Daif Allah is a biographical dictionary of the scholars and holy men of the Sudan composed towards the end of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century. We hope to give a detailed account of it on another occasion.

The sect or *ṭarīqa* of Abū Jarīd dates its origin from this period of religious activity and foreign influence : it arose among the disciples of 'Abd Allāh al-'Arakī, son of the more famous Daf'allah. Sh. Abu'l-Qāsim gives the following account of the circumstances under which it was founded :

« Although this community is called after Abū Jarīd, he was neither the founder nor the head of the sect. The name of the true founder is sherīf Abokr. It is related that shaikh 'Abd Allāh al-'Arakī performed the pilgrimage many times. On one occasion he returned accompanied by seven Meccan sharīfs who made their home in the Sudan and all of whom attained to fame as religious men. One of the seven was Maḥmūd al-gharīb, a sherīf of the lineage of Ḥusain, who attached himself to 'Abd Allāh al-'Arakī and received from him his learning and his *ṭarīqa*. Sharīf Maḥmūd married a woman at Abū Harāz who bore him a son called Abokr; after the death of his father Abokr lived the life of a devotee, frequented *khalwas* and « studied the names » without the mediation of a shaikh or spiritual director, although he was without learning and illiterate. Then the devils led him astray and taught him their revelation and the blowing upon knots and similar practices whereby the members of his *ṭarīqa* are deceived to this day.

« His first follower was Abū Jarīd who had been a shaikh in the Shādhiya brotherhood. This man belonged to the Kināna tribe, and his real name was Ādam b. 'Abd Allāh. His people are beduins who during the summer live in the southern parts of the country between the two Niles near the hills known as Jebel Debba, J. Mazmūm, J. 'Abl and J. Jerēwa; during the rainy season they migrate to the Buṭāna.

« Another account says that sherīf Abokr did not live as a devotee or frequent *khalwas*, but that he associated with some Nubas who were expert in the magical arts and taught him their knowledge. All accounts agree that Abokr was the true founder and Abū Jarīd his disciple. »

It will be seen later on that shaikh Abu'l-Qāsim's statement regarding the preeminence of Abokr is to some extent borne out by the facts. There is however some conflict of evidence concerning Abū Jarīd's birth and parentage, and the tradition related by the people of Ḥillat Khudr states



that he was Abokr's younger brother and after his death succeeded him as his naqib. They also make mention of a third brother, Kirēn, who took a prominent part in the early history of the sect and whose descendants, like those of Abokr and Abū Jarīd, are known as khalifas until the present day. There is every reason to believe that the authorities responsible for the second version are better informed.

Two traditions are current in explanation of the name Abū Jarīd : the first relates that one of the kings of Sennar put Ādam's powers to the test by asking him to produce a palm branch (jarīd) at a place where there were no palm trees, and the shaikh conjured up an elephant laden with palm branches. The other story states that once upon a time Ādam was the guest of some of his disciples when they were raided by hostile Arabs: they had neither horses nor arms for their defence, but the holy man turned their donkeys into chargers and a bundle of palm sticks which happened to be there into spears. Thus they defeated their enemies, and the horses and sticks returned to their original shape.

We are able to fix the date of Abokr and Abū Jarīd with a fair approach to exactness. The *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* contains a lengthy account of 'Abd Allāh al-'Arakī, the shaikh of Maḥmūd al-gharīb : he is stated to have been a disciple of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir, who flourished during the reign of 'Amāra Abū Sakakīn (1555-1563); he is the author of a metrical version of the 'Aqīda al-qubrā and the Muqaddīma of al-Sanūsī which he completed in A. H. 1007 = A. D. 1599. Abokr and Abū Jarīd, the sons of his younger contemporary, must therefore belong to the first half of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century. The date is confirmed by the pedigree of the present great khalīfa of the sect, sherīf al-Imām who traces his descent from Abokr through the following links : al-Imām b. Busāṭī b. Maḥmūd b. Busāṭī b. Raḥma b. al-Imām b. Raḥma b. Abokr; by reckoning a generation as equivalent to 40 years we likewise arrive at the first half of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century as the approximate date of Abokr's birth.

The new heresy is said to have gained many adherents in its early days; after the death of Abokr, Abū Jarīd carried on a missionary campaign and found followers among the Kināna and some sections of the Shukrīya, notably the Tāfab, the Maṣūrāb and the 'Awāmira. Shaikh Abu'l-Qāsim states that the spread of the heresy, which threatened to assume dangerous

dimensions, was checked by the opposition which it encountered at the hands of Farah wad Taktök. This interesting personage, whose tomb near Sennar is a well-known place of pilgrimage, and whose quaint and witty sayings are still quoted in the Sudan, is said to have met the heads of the sect in a disputation in the course of which he refuted their heresies «by logical and traditional arguments as well as by manifest miracles». He derided the adherents of Abū Jarīd in the saying: *ḥivān abu tōra el-'ashara mā yigrū es-sūra* «disciples of Abu Tōra<sup>(1)</sup>, ten between them can't recite a chapter of the Koran».

No further details are available with regard to the personal history of the heresiarchs, and authorities differ as to their burial-place. Abokr is said to be buried at Gedaref, but some believe that he ascended to heaven in a cloud and that he will return in the fullness of time. The tomb of Abū Jarīd is believed by some to be at Bunzoga, but others say that he was buried at Gedaref, and it is stated that even now there is at Gedaref a place called Gaḥat Abū Jarīd to the east of Ḥillat Wad Abu Sin. The tomb of the third brother Kirēn is said to be at Mafāza.

## BELIEFS AND PRACTICES.

The data for an appreciation of the religious tenets held by the sect are not complete. The people with whom we are concerned are not theologians interested in dogmatic speculation or capable of putting their teaching in a literary form; it cannot be assumed that they possess a definite creed which might be stated in the terms of dogmatic theology and which would define their divergence from the agreement of Islam. Abu'l-Qāsim states that they possess a secret doctrine which is only revealed to those initiated into their ṭarīqa and about the nature of which we are naturally left in ignorance. The points which require elucidation are the beliefs held concerning the persons and authority of Abokr and Abū Jarīd, and the form of their zikr and the practices connected with it.

<sup>(1)</sup> I do not know the meaning of this phrase.

We may at once dismiss Shuqair Bey's statement that they declare Abū Jarīd to be an apostle of God and recognise no prophet beside him : Whatever their secret doctrine about Abū Jarīd may be, it is certain at any rate that they do not depart from the Muslim faith to the extent of rejecting the mission of Muḥammad and the authority of the Koran. According to their own statement, their community is not a sect but a ṭarīqa : « We are Muslims, they are quoted as saying, believing that there is no God but God and that Muḥammad is the apostle of God. And we believe that prayer is an obligation imposed upon us by God, likewise payment of the poortax and the fast of Ramaḍān and the pilgrimage to God's holy house for those that find the means thereto. Our ṭarīqa is that of al-Shādhilī and is based on a strong chain of tradition handed down through our saiyyids and going back directly to the imām al-Shādhilī himself. »

It is clear on the other hand that this assertion of blameless orthodoxy overstates the case. Membership of a ṭarīqa and the boundless veneration of a particular holy man, and even the most extravagant claims about his virtue and holiness, do not in the Sudan mark off a set of men as a distinct community differing from their fellow-tribesmen and neighbours : the mere fact that they form a distinct society marrying only amongst themselves and avoiding intercourse with others, is sufficient proof to their unorthodox position. Nor can the suspicion and dislike in which they are held by their neighbours be lightly dismissed as resting on no foundation. Thy themselves are quoted as saying that they possess an esoteric knowledge taught by the prophet, while the ordinary fikī's have only the exoteric doctrine; for this reason, it is alleged, they neglect the study of the Koran.

Direct evidence to their beliefs is afforded by a few fragments of hymns (anāshīd) which the followers of Abū Jarīd are accustomed to recite at their zikrs. As they are of considerable interest in various ways I propose to quote them in full, it should be stated however that only the first was directly obtained from the «Zabāla'a» shaikhs while numbers 2 and 3 were communicated by people who are not themselves members of this community.

## 1

*Khā'ifak yā Abokr bilāk mā li makhāfa* <sup>(1)</sup>  
*itt gā'id gūṣṣat el-'ōg ab telī wa liṣāfa*  
*fī rās esh-shā'āgīb el bisnid eṭ-tāfa*  
*fd-duyūr 'abdan kā'b lēho ḥifāfa.*

*Khā'ifak yā Abokr tulwī 'alai be dērak* <sup>(2)</sup>  
*itt mihna u gauwī ma li wasīla ghērak*  
*kam 'ajjazta 'ājiz be libāsak wa khēlak*  
*u kam gaddarta gādīr, ya 'l-walī hal nishkī lak.*

*Esh-shēkh Abokr 'ajabī el-berīdo dawām*  
*baḥer el-māliḥ el mā beyigta'o el-'auwām*  
*sīd rāyat ej-jōkh 'alēk es-salām.*

*Aulād Ab Jarīd mā fihum safīhan 'ūtil*  
*aulād Ab Jarīd mā itkhammajat fil-bāṭil.*  
*Mīn mitīl Ab Rogāb gabro ye'ashshī 'l-khātīr,*  
*mīn mitīl Ab Rogāb fōgna rawāgum sātīr.*

## 2

*El-bōb lin-nabī wa 'l-bōb jibtaho bin-nam,*  
*wā wajdi wakīl aṭrā er-rashīd Ādam*  
*ej jarjar nakhīlo u sīsabāno baram*  
*en najjam el-ḥagīga u mā 'shtaghal be galam.*

*El-bōb lin-nabī wa 'l-bōb jibtuho be nabā,*  
*wā wajdi wakīl yaṭrā 'alaiya Allāh*  
*ej jarjar nakhīlo u sīsabāno barā*  
*en najjam el-ḥagīga u mā 'shtaghal yigrā.*

## 3

*Amrak yā Ab Jarīd kulle yōm bezīd,*  
*el yābā 't-tarīg utrudōho bā'id.*

<sup>(1)</sup> The words used in this verse belong to the vocabulary of the old ballads: *telī* and *liṣāfa* are the head-piece and breast plate of horse-armour, *shā'gūb* = battle-line, *'ōg* = party of horsemen.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Dēr*, lit. is the broad surface on the rim of a ship's side, on which sailors walk from one end of the boat to another.

*el-ḥagīga māha biz-zūr  
sīda māho sinkīt ḥōr  
u mā ragad ma'lūl.*

## 1

I fear thee, Abokr, but for thee I have no fear,  
thou leadest the ranks of horsemen which are decked in shining armour,  
at the head of the battle lines propping the camel saddle;  
but at home a humble devotee with unkempt hair.

I fear thee, Abokr, lest thou turnest against me with thy ship;  
thou art a test and strong, but for thee I have no means of salvation.  
How many hast thou humbled to dust with thy armour and thy horses,  
and how many hast thou raised to power, oh our saint. Shall we  
not address our complaints to thee?

Shaikh Abokr is my wonder whom I love for ever,  
an ocean which no swimmer can cross;  
the lord of a cloth banner, peace be upon thee.

Among the children of Abū Jarīd there is none that is stupid or useless;  
the children of Abū Jarīd do not go astray on the path of evil.  
Who is like unto Abu Rogāb? his grave provides food for the traveller.  
Who is like unto Abu Rogāb? he is a protecting roof above us.

## 2

I long for the Prophet and express my longing in song.  
Ah for my passion when I think of Ādam, the rightly-guided,  
to whom the palm-tree bowed down, for whom the sisaban flowered,  
who made manifest the Truth, though he never wrote with a pen.

I long for the Prophet and loudly proclaim my longing;  
ah for my passion when the thought of God comes over me,  
to whom the palm-tree bowed down, whom the sisaban followed,  
who made manifest the truth, but never read in books.

## 3

Thy might, Abū Jarīd, grows from day to day.  
He who denies the Path thrust him forth far.  
The Truth is not a fraud,  
he who possesses it is not like the hump of a bull  
and never lies confounded.

The first and third fragments are typical specimens of the extravagant praise which the devotees of the Sudan lavish on their shaikhs, but there is nothing in them to which the orthodox could take exception. A fourth hymn devoted to the praises of the Prophet and the Imām Mālik which was communicated by the shaikhs of Khudr, has been omitted, because its tone is merely Muslim and not in any way characteristic of the sect. But the second fragment merits special attention, because its language seems to hint at a doctrine which, if not without parallel in the history of Islam, must certainly be characterised as heretical. The adoration of the palm-tree, which in our fragment is appropriated to Abū Jarīd, is well known to Muslim tradition as one of the miracles of Muḥammad. The names of God and the Prophet and of Abū Jarīd are placed together in a way which suggests that the three are in some mystical way regarded as identical, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that we have here a reflex of the extravagant doctrines of the earlier ṣūfī's like al-Ḥallāj whose famous saying «I am the Truth» brought upon him the wrath of the orthodox. The following passage from the introduction to Mr. R. A. Nicholson's *Divāni Shamsi Tabrīz* illustrates the doctrine as held by the Persian mystics of an earlier age: «Among the religious-philosophical sects of the period... the doctrine was generally held that Man, if he be left to his own devices, will inevitably go astray; therefore he must choose a master to guide him in the right path. The Master is God's representative, his actions are God's actions in spirit he is one with God. His blasphemies and immoralities, nay, his very crimes, are not only condoned but glorified: darkness cannot proceed from the sun, nor evil from God.» It is on the basis of this doctrine that Holy men claim to be incarnations of prophets, or to hold mystic communion with the Deity, and regard themselves as beyond the restrictions of the religious and moral. It is a far cry from al-Ḥallāj and Shamsi Tabrīz to the Kināna Nomads of the Blue Nile, but a point of contact is supplied by the Darwish orders which, as we have seen, made their appearance in the Funj kingdom in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century. It should be remembered that the religious atmosphere of a ṭarīqa is highly emotional and ecstatic, and that the excitement of the zikr, stimulated by music and dancing, is conducive to extravagances of language which would probably be repudiated by many of the devotees in their calmer moments. The shaikhs of Khudr,

while stoutly denying the imputation of heresy, made the following significant statement : It is related of Abū Jarīd that in a state of mystical exaltation he used ecstatic language (*shataḥ*) and claimed to be a prophet of God, but this story is denied by all his present followers.

To sum up : it appears highly probable that there exists a secret doctrine ascribing to Abū Jarīd the character of a prophet or some other exalted rank. This doctrine is not formulated in a definite creed or taught in the terms of a theological system; the followers of Abū Jarīd regard themselves as illuminati possessing an esoteric revelation which enables them to dispense with the book learning of the schools, but they do not reject the authority of the Koran or regard themselves as outside the pale of Islam. In its historical origins their doctrine seems to go back to the extreme wing of Ṣūfism.

The following point requires elucidation : tradition ascribes the foundation of the sect to Abokr, and his descendants until the present day are regarded as superior in rank to those of Abū Jarīd; but the doctrine assigns only to the latter super-human rank without making any such claim, so far as is known, on behalf of his shaikh. My informants have nothing to say in explanation of this discrepancy <sup>(1)</sup>.

### THE ZIKR.

The evidence about the practices connected with the zikr again consists of the apologetic statements made by the Zabāla'a shaikhs, and the unconfirmed gossip of their neighbours. The reader will have to draw his own conclusions.

The zikr's are held twice a week on Fridays and Mondays <sup>(2)</sup>, as well as on the occasion of weddings and feasts and at the home coming of a tra-

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<sup>(1)</sup> The cases of John the Baptist, and of the Bāb may be quoted as parallel instances where the forerunner has been overshadowed by the greater prophet who came after him. But the parallel is not complete, as among the people of Abū Jarīd the forerunner Abokr and his descendants continue to enjoy a degree of veneration superior to that of Abū Jarīd.

<sup>(2)</sup> Thus shaikh Abu 'l-Qāsim, but Shuqair Bey mentions Sunday and Tuesday.

veller. The devotional exercises are based on those of the Shādhiliya ṭarīqa, and each of the following formulas is repeated 200 times : *astaghfir Allāh*; *salla 'ala al-nabī*; *subhān Allāh*; *lā ilāhu illa 'llāh*, and *Allāhu akbar*. They sing or recite hymns in praise of the Prophet and of their own shaikhs and gradually work themselves into a state of religious emotion; the following description is quoted from shaikh Abu 'l-Qāsim : « At their zikrs they recite aloud and they use words not understood by anyone such as : *hū el-bū hūli hūli hū*, and similar expressions in various forms whereby they work themselves into enthusiastic excitement and trances. If one of them falls into a trance he leaves his seat and begins to talk eloquently, not like the speech used by the darwishes. I heard one of them in a trance call out the following words : *esh-shūkk fīho mushkūk*, whereby he meant : may he who is ashamed of his ṭarīqa or his worship (lit. : a doubter) have a mushkūk thrust into his body (the mushkūk is a piece of wood with a broad blade used for smoothing down gum or grain in a basket). »

The mysterious language used in their trances is called *hayūt*, and they believe that Abokr learned it from the angels.

It is reminiscent of the statements, met with in Sūfi lives, that saints in their ecstatic « states » talk Syriac or Hebrew although ignorant of these languages in their ordinary condition.

The allegation of sexual licence in connection with the zikr is hard to prove or disprove, as the profane are excluded from these meetings. It is generally stated that these orgies take place after each bi-weekly service, though according to one authority they are allowed to the general public only at the great annual meeting while no such restriction applies to the shaikhs. The people of Khudr deny the existence of this custom, but admit that it may have occurred « in the old days ». It is admitted that women are present at the zikr, but only for the purpose of serving food and milk to the fugarā. Shaikh Abu 'l-Qāsim relates as follows : The alleged sexual promiscuity after the zikr is denied emphatically by their shaikhs, but the following thing we have seen ourselves : all their women are present at the zikr each bringing with her some dilka and fat. The shaikh's 'angarib is placed outside the circle and he chooses one of the women to grease his body and rub him with her dilka. The woman selected for this service boasts of it before her sisters and indulges in erotic



gestures. Sometimes the shaikh is served in this manner by a second and even a third woman. The women thus distinguished remain in attendance on the shaikh and perform any service that may be required of them such as bringing coffee or water. The other women meanwhile devote themselves to the dance of the zikr wearing their best finery and perfumed with the costliest scents. But it is a fact that this evil practice is nowadays general in all ṭarīqas and it is hardly just to single this community out for censure. "

It is a common-place of religious history that secret and heretical sects are particularly liable to be charged with immoral practices, and an interesting parallel is afforded by the Noṣairi's of Syria whose orgies are described by the Comte de Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, vol. II, p. 920). The secret character of such communities makes it generally impossible to ascertain the truth, but there is no doubt that antinomian tendencies are not foreign to certain Darwīsh ṭarīqas<sup>(1)</sup>. It is stated that the followers of Abū Jarīd do not practise seclusion of their women-folk, as far as members of the sect are concerned : a guest may be entertained by the lady of the house in the absence of her husband, and it is considered a breach of etiquette for the husband to show any signs of suspicion. This is regarded by the Arabs as a proof of their moral laxity, but the Zabāla'a justify the custom by pointing out that the members of their community are bound to each other by sacred pledges of brotherhood and have complete confidence in each other. Adultery, they say, is exceedingly rare; if it does occur, the offenders are expelled from the community, and can only be taken back after making a public act of confession and repentance and giving up all their property to the shaikh.

### MIRACLES.

The shaikhs of Abū Jarīd claim the gift of miracles, and their powers are believed in by many natives of the Sudan; their followers regard these

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<sup>(1)</sup> Antinomian ṣūlism was known in the Sudan. The author of the *Kitāb al-ʿĀbaqāt* mentions shaikhs who followed the Malāmīya doctrine of which he gives the following definition : وهم طائفة من الصوفية يفعلون اللوم في الشرع فتنكر عليهم العامة فيعتبونهم بذلك.

miraculous doings as *karamāt* while others ascribe them to black magic, and class all *Zabāla'a* as *saḥarīr*. Shaikh Abu 'l-Qāsim has collected a number of stories under this head which we will give in his own words, in order to preserve the air of authenticity in which he has clothed them :

« As for supernatural occurrences (*waqā'ī khāriqat al-'āda*) which happen through the agency of members of this sect, I will relate both what I have witnessed myself and what I have heard from others, and in the latter case I will mention my authorities; for the eye witness is more trustworthy than one who relates by hearsay.

In the year 1292 a crocodile appeared at the *meshra'* of *Ḥudēba*<sup>(1)</sup> and killed one of the *Ja'īn* living in *Ḥillat Abu 'l-Ḥasan* whose name was 'Alī *Abarūwa*; previously it had destroyed many animals. Now the east side of the river (*Rahad*) was dry and rainless and devoid of vegetation, while the *jazīra* between the *Rahad* and the Blue Nile had had rain and was covered with grass. The people therefore wanted to cross the river with their cattle, but were afraid of the crocodile. They invoked the assistance of sh. *Abokr Ḥasab Allāh*. The shaikh came and sat down under a tree by the side of the *Rahad*. He told the people to bring him some clay, out of which he fashioned the shape of a crocodile; and tied its mouth with a strip of fibre which he took from a *la'ūt* shrub<sup>(2)</sup>. Then he told the people to drive their cattle into the river, because the crocodile would not hurt either them or their animals; if any harm resulted he would be responsible. At the same time he called out with a loud voice : *Yā Abū 'Abdallah amsik kalbak* « Abu Abdallah, take your dog away ». Then there happened one of the most wonderful scenes I ever saw : the people were overjoyed because they believed his word implicitly; they drove their cattle into the river swimming behind and in front of the animals without fear of the beast of prey which had killed their brother on the day before. After a little we saw the crocodile appearing and it had its mouth tied with a strip of fibre like the clay image. It was swimming in the river and would from time to time lift its head out of the water and put it on the hindquarters or the back

<sup>(1)</sup> *Meshra' al-Hideiba* is marked on the map, on the *Rahad* close to the village of *Khudr*.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Acacia Nubica*.

of a cow or even touch a man, and continued doing so until every body had crossed. Then the herdsmen went off with their cattle but some of the men recrossed the river and the same thing happened as before, until they came back to us on the east bank.

Further in the year 1295 I met a man whose story was as follows : he went to sh. Busāṭī in the village of Umm Katīra to ask for help in his trouble; he was an orphan and had been brought up by his uncle who was prosperous, while he himself was very poor. Now his uncle had an only daughter whom he had promised him in marriage; but her mother objected to this match on account of his poverty, and she succeeded in persuading her husband to give up his first plan. The girl thereupon was betrothed to another man who paid the dowry and it was arranged that he was to marry her after twenty days. After telling this story in my presence the young man paid sh. Busāṭī 10 Mejdī dollars and engaged himself to pay another 40 dollars, if he should attain his desire and marry his cousin and prevent the marriage which was to take place after twenty days. Sh. Busāṭī took the ten dollars and gave him three knots of silk thread tied together like chain mail, and told him to bury one in the tomb of an unknown man, to put the second into a piece of bread or meat and give it to a dog to eat, and to put the third into his skull cap (*tāqīya*). I did not meet this man again until after the lapse of two years, and then he told me with much joy that he actually had married his cousin and been blessed with a son. At my request he told me the story in full detail : The day fixed for the girl's wedding to the other man had come, the *lailat el-dukhāl* was being celebrated and crowds of people were assembled to attend the wedding. The father of the bride got up and asked a certain man who was known to both parties to perform the marriage ceremony. At this moment the father of the bridegroom arose and swore by the threefold divorce that he would not allow this marriage to be completed. The father of the bride immediately replied with the same binding oath that he would never marry his daughter to the son of the man who had sworn that oath, and immediately returned the dowry which had been paid. At the same time he entreated the wedding guests not to leave their seats and brought in the dishes which had been prepared for the marriage feast. After they had eaten he asked for me and took me by the hand and

bade me sit in front of the Qādī, without telling me what he intended to do. And in the end my uncle himself paid the dowry and married me to my cousin, and we have lived happily ever after.

Further I heard the following story from a certain El-Töm El-Zōn who was an eye-witness : there was a sheikh of this sect called Al-Bashīr wad Raḥm el-Sindābī el-Dhobyānī; this man was informed by his disciples that the fiki el-Daglāshī had prevented them from crossing the Blue Nile at the ford which was opposite the fikis village (which was called el-Dāī) saying : you are Zabāla'a and heretics and you shall not cross by my ford, unless you acknowledge that you are wrong and pay a piastre each. Sh. Bashīr greatly incensed at this, went down to the river at a place where the water was very deep and where there was no ford. Then he said to the fiki el-Daglāshī : if we ford the river at this spot will you admit that there is no fault in us? The fiki replied : if you cross the river at this spot we will acknowledge that you have the divine grace (*karāma*) and believe in your baraka. Then sh. Bashīr told his people to build him a hut by the river which they did immediately; he entered this hut and ordered his disciples to drive a peg into the ground by the side of the river. When this was done we forthwith saw the river surging to the right and the left as if it was excited, until we saw the sand and soil of the bottom appear with no more water upon it than would cover the lower part of the leg; but the ford which had been by the village of the fiki el-Daglāshī had become deep water. Bashīr told his people to cross the river with their cattle and children and dogs, and the water did not go beyond their knees and thus they reached the other bank. Then the shaikh had the peg removed again whereupon the river returned to its original condition : and the ford was once more at its original place by the village of the fiki el-Daglāshī.

The following story I heard from a reliable truthful man called Ādam Ṭeraifī. The relator's people had a cow which would not approach her newly born calf and butted everybody that came near her, and bolted at the approach of the calf. His father consulted sh. Busāī who breathed upon a rope made of fibre and told him to tie that rope to the cows horns, or, if that was impossible to her, tail. So they tied it to her tail unawares and she got up in her usual way to charge them, but as she got up she suddenly became perfectly quiet, and when her calf was brought she suckled

it and did not move from the spot until she had been milked. She never afterwards returned to her former vice.

Then there is the story about the way they have of separating their cows from the calves which I have heard from many witnesses credible and otherwise : when the cows come back from pasture and the calves run out to meet their mothers one of the community draws a line on the ground with his stick in order to separate the cows from their young : this has the effect that the cows remain confined to their side of the line and the calves to theirs, until the cows have been milked and the line obliterated. Then they are allowed to come together and to suckle their young.

The following story I heard from a man whom I regard as trustworthy : He was in love with a married woman who was very beautiful and chaste, and although he spent a considerable sum of money in the hope of gaining her love, she refused to have anything to do with him. So he put his case to shaikh Ganāwa wad Sārīr al-Tāfabī and presented him with a certain sum of money. The shaikh tied a piece of silk thread in the manner of chain mail and told him to affix this knot to his skull cap. Then at night when there was no sound of voice or footstep that woman came to him perfumed and dressed after the manner of one who meets her lover, and he possessed her and continued to meet her every night for a period of seven nights. Then he began to reflect how this thing had come to pass. It occurred to him how strange it was that this chaste and honest woman had forgotten her honour which had been dearer to her than life itself, and stooped to a life of shame which she always had scorned, putting off the garments of modesty and chastity in which she had been clothed. These reflections caused him to repent of his conduct and he burned the silken knot. Then he waited for her at night, but she did not come at the usual time; he waited a second night, again in vain. On the morning after the third night he asked her why she had ceased visiting him, but the woman exhibited the greatest surprise and denied that there had ever been anything between them, and though he reminded her of many details and mentioned many incidents in proof of his story, she persisted that she had no recollection of any of these things. But it occurred to her that this thing actually had happened as stated, but only as it were in a dream and that she was not in possession of her ordinary consciousness at the time. The

woman finally asked him to keep the matter secret, and took a solemn oath that she would not again do this thing, and if he came to her again that she would either kill herself or him.

But enough of these stories; if I were to tell what I know by hearsay only my tale would be wearisome».

## ORGANISATION AND DISTRIBUTION.

The organisation of the followers of Abū Jarīd corresponds to that of a *ṭarīqa*: the descendants of Abokr, Abū Jarīd and Kirēn bear the title of khalifa, other prominent shaikhs of the sect are known as muqaddams, while the rest of the community call themselves fugarā. The khalifas are treated by their followers with the utmost deference and respect and appear to exercise unlimited authority: the representative of Abokr ranks higher than the khalifa of Abū Jarīd from whom he exacts the same tributes of respect which are expected from the humblest follower. Abu 'l-Qāsim relates that he witnessed a meeting of the two khalifas in A. H. 1292: the lesser light showed his veneration of his spiritual chief in the most grotesque manner<sup>(1)</sup> — «he was in his hands as a corpse is in the hands of the washers of the dead» — but when the great man had gone he received the same tributes of admiration from his own disciples.

The three khalifas have the right to appoint muqaddams and to admit new converts.

The great khalifa at the present day is el-sherif el-Imām b. Busāṭī, seventh in descent from Abokr. He lives at Ḥillat el-Giwōzāt in Singa district. The khalifa of Abū Jarīd lives in the same part of the country and is called Sh. Aḥmad el-Nūr. The representative of Kirēn, Maḥmūd el-Nā'ir, lives near Karkōj.

Materials are not available for even an approximate estimate of the number of their followers. Na'ūm Bey Shuqair gives the number of the Zabāla'a as 5000 souls, but without adducing any evidence. There is reason to believe that the sect has lost much ground in the last fifty years.

(1) يتلقى ما يخرج من اخامته وبصاقه يحج بهما بطنه ووجهه بتصد التبرك.

We are informed that before the Mahdiyya there were settlements of Zabāla'a at Abū 'Ushar in the Blue Nile Province and at Sōba near Khartoum. At the present time the sect seems to be confined to Sennar Province and the Butāna. We hear of Zabāla'a shaikhs among the Kināna and certain sections of the Shukriya ('Awāmira, Tāfab and Maṣūrab). The Belilab ferīg is said to be entirely Zabāla'a; unfortunately my informant does not state to which tribe this ferīg belongs<sup>(1)</sup>.

Abu 'I-Qāsim states that the fame of their orgiastic rites coupled with the reputation for beauty which the Zabāla'a women enjoy, occasionally attracts new converts, but apart from this, the community is recruited only through the initiation of their own children.

Members of the sect are not known as such by any outward sign, but they are said to salute each other with a peculiar kind of handshake: « each grasps the other man's hand and puts his nose to it sniffing and smelling it with a sharp indrawing of the breath until a sound is heard like the rattle of a slaughtered bull ». Their manner of life and their occupations do not differ in any way from that of the other tribesmen, but their religion forbids them tobacco and strong drink, and they are said to refrain from all intercourse with people who indulge in these stimulants.

S. HILLELSON.

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<sup>(1)</sup> For some of the information in this paragraph I am indebted to the Sennar Province authorities, through the courtesy of the Intelligence Department.

## REVIEWS.

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*Méthode pratique pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé au Ouadaï et à l'est du Tchad*, by HENRI CARBOU, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1913.

A belated notice of M. Carbou's book is justified by the fact that its subject is of unusual interest to students of Arabic dialects and of Sudan Arabic in particular. Very little is known about the speech of the western Sudan and M. Carbou's grammar is to be welcomed as breaking fresh ground. The book consists of a grammatical sketch, an extensive vocabulary arranged according to subjects, and four songs with transliteration and translation into French. We learn with interest that Wadai tribes like the Tunjur, Aulād Rāshid and Mahamīd, speak a dialect which is in all essentials identical with the Baggāra Arabic of Kordofan, a fact of some importance for the history of Arab migrations.

We should have liked more texts and a commentary on the songs which present many puzzles. M. Carbou's transliteration is somewhat sketchy and sometimes his ear seems to be at fault as when he writes «dugud» and «assa» where we hear «dugut» and «hassa'», or «tumsa» for «timsāh». But the book gives a good idea of a little known dialect, and we recommend it to the attention of officials in this country who are brought into contact with the Baggāra tribes; the vocabulary especially will be found of considerable practical use.

*Egyptian colloquial Arabic. A conversation grammar and reader*,  
by W. H. T. GAIRDNER, Cambridge, 1917.

Canon Gairdner's *Egyptian colloquial Arabic* covers ground which has been traversed by not a few predecessors; its raison d'être is the application to Arabic of «the modern methods now used in the teaching of living languages». The characteristic features of the method are the use of Arabic as the medium of instruction from the very outset, the deduction of the grammatical rules from examples taken from the living language and the insistence on the importance of conversation between teacher and pupil. As will be seen,



the method presupposes the existence of a competent teacher, and it appears that good results were obtained by it at the Cairo Study Centre. It is perhaps less suitable on that ground for students up country who have to rely on their own efforts, or on inexperienced teachers of the type generally found in out stations. But we believe that students of this class who are not absolute beginners will find in Canon Gairdner's book an excellent guide to a more extensive knowledge of the colloquial than is possessed by the average resident in Egypt, if they will take the trouble to get over the initial difficulty caused by the manner of presentation.

We cannot help regretting that the author has chosen the International Phonetic Alphabet for the transliteration. We are not convinced by the arguments with which he defends his choice, that the advantages gained outweigh the fact that unfamiliar signs are apt to confuse the beginner, and we do not feel that Willmore's well-established system is as unsound as Canon Gairdner declares it to be. Personally we are of opinion that while an exact method of transliteration is indispensable in the teaching of colloquial Arabic, the use of the Arabic character should not be entirely left aside. It is not impossible that the colloquial, or a modified form of it, will tend to become a literary medium; and some of the pieces in Canon Gairdner's excellent reader prove that it is not unsuited for the purpose. But we feel certain that if it is ever used as a literary language, the alphabet chosen will not be the International Phonetic Alphabet.

S. H.


## NOTES.

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### DARFUR PROVINCE.

#### *Stone worship among the Zaghawa.*

With reference to Mr. MacMichael's article in volume I, n° 1, *Sudan Notes and Records*, the following extract from my diary may be of interest to readers: 27<sup>th</sup> February, 1917. In the afternoon I rode over to Idugili, a collection of rocks lying 7 miles north of Mashat (in Northern Darfur). The word Idugili in the Bæli (Zaghawa) dialect means "Gods village", and after a severe cross examination, the Sheikh of Dus admitted, though very unwillingly, that a form of rock worship took place there annually. The ride was up hill all the way, over sandy soil sparsely covered with grass. At length I found myself at the top of the hill confronted by a remarkable rocky outcrop, a sort of natural Stenness or Stonehenge; on all sides one had a magnificent view of undulating grassy country intersected by khors whose course was marked by the foliage of large trees.

The Sheikh led me past various rocks many of which were sufficiently striking in shape to have inspired worship themselves, and eventually brought me to a rocky rampart up which we scrambled, arriving in front of a cave, or rather tunnel, through a mass of rock. This tunnel has a large opening 8' high at the north end and a small one about 3' high at the south end; the length of the tunnel is about 20'. On the floor was a considerable amount of straw and debris, and on the roof a greyish white patch, the remains of an offering of flour and water which had been plastered to the roof. Rounding the east corner of the tunnel rock I came upon a large isolated and roughly rectangular rock with a circular entrance about 8' high. Entering this, I found myself in a remarkable cavern with four openings to north, south, east and west, each being about 8' high. The roof of this cavern is about 10' high and the length from east to west 35', and north to south 25'. Scattered over the roof were small patches of dried dung, apparently donkeys', which had been thrown up when wet. On the north-west part of the roof and wall were numerous designs made with charcoal, one of which  I identified as the mark of the Dikein, a subdivision of the Woeki (Southern) division of the

Bæli (Zaghawa). On one part of the roof was a large greyish greasy patch obviously butter or some other form of fat. On the north side of the west entrance there is a shelf in the rock between 4' and 5' high. This is worn into a series of small cup shaped depressions varying from 4 to 20 ounces capacity, numbering perhaps 40 in all; they lie in rough parallel rows. These cups are perfectly smooth inside and each contains a number of small white pebbles.

Similar pebbles occur in the rock formation itself, usually in layers. Leaving the cave by the western opening, I entered a rock girdled space about 20 yards in diameter covered with gravel. In the centre of this is a well 6' deep but containing no water at that time. Turning to the south, as I emerged from the western opening of the cave I encountered another tunnel through a large mass of rock. On the left side as one enters this the rock has been worn perfectly smooth in a series of parallel vertical groves 1' to 2' long, like, fluting on a pillar, but tapering above and below; in each of these grooves were two parallel lines made with charcoal.

Retracing my steps through the large cavern, I descended the rocky rampart and walked about 100 yards to the south where the Sheikh showed me another large cave into which I could ride with my pony. This is known as the Maida be or Blacksmith house.

The following is a brief account of the ceremony at Idugili :

Once during the year towards the end of the dry season, i. e., about May, the young men and maidens and a certain number of young married women proceed to Idugili, taking with them fat, flour, and milk. On arrival at Idugili the party divides, the young men going to the most northerly tunnel and the maidens to the vaulted cavern with the four openings. Some of the flour and milk is sent to the young men's cave, they eat part of it and offer the rest by smearing it on to a particular part of the roof called *Ha gweila* (Stone, holy).

The maidens in their cave take, first, fat in an earthenware jar and smear it on the holy stone in a particular place chanting the while :

*!Ha gweila bodiu keidi; idn suts ri tegele.*  
Stone, holy, fat, give I, god, cave, into, descends.

secondly, milk in a plaited grass vessel which they splash on the roof, and thirdly, flour and milk in a grass platter which they smear on the roof with similar chants.

It is during this ceremony that the dung gets thrown on to the roof probably by the very small children. When the offerings are over they play games with the pebbles. I could not extract much about this from the Sheikh, but apparently the girls take a handful of pebbles from one cup saying *Ki geri tibo*, and put them in another cup saying *Ki geri tobo*. Having all gone through this luck ceremony, they say *O ki boerr* = milk, this, leave-, and depart with the words *Be geri tau* = house other, into, we (go)~. The pebble game is called *Shile*.

They now join the young men and all go to the *Maida be* (Blacksmith house), where they perform the *Hula*, singing and dancing, the girls clapping their hands and the boys jumping in the air.

At other places in the *Bæli* (Zaghawa) country venerable trees and particular stones were pointed out at which similar ceremonies took place, but in no case were there such striking natural surroundings as at *Idugili*.

Spear heads are blessed in the same way before proceeding on a raid and other reasons given for the performance of the ceremony before rocks and trees are to procure children, to have increase in flocks and herds, and to ensure a bountiful harvest.

BASIL SPENCE.

## KHARTOUM PROVINCE.

### *Women's customs in Omdurman.*

#### CEREMONIES AT DEATHS, BIRTHS AND MARRIAGES.

Visiting ceremonies for different occasions play a great part in the lives of Sudanese women, and each occasion has different modes of action and speech and set phrases suitable both for visited and visitors.

For example, on the occasion of the death of a young married woman in the Sudan after the first washing of the body which is called *khurûj el-rûh* = the departure of the spirit~, the body is covered with a silk striped cloth, or the best available, and is left while the friends begin their mourning, by putting ashes on their heads, beating a *dilûka*, screaming and dancing up and down. The sound of the *dilûka* is quite different from the *dilûka* beaten on joyous occasions; the mourners in the extravagance of grief sometimes

run madly into the street in a state of frenzy. Then the mourners gather all the dead girl's clothes together, place them on an angarib and dance round them. They next dress themselves in these garments and continue dancing and beating the dilūka. The clothes are given away to the poor later on. Sometimes gourd basins (gar'a) are turned upside down in a large flat tin of water, and are beaten instead of a dilūka in cases of mourning.

A second washing occurs after the *bikā* «weeping» and just before the body is carried out for burial; at both these washings the elder women, near relatives to the dead, are present. A young married woman's room is closed after the mourning, and is not opened again till a year later. The ceremony of dancing round the clothes only takes place on the death of young people, boys or girls, but it is also done occasionally on the death of an old man if he is well known or famous.

The first salutation after the funeral are *el baraka fikum* «a blessing upon you», or *di ed-dunya wa hālaha; mā bāgi illa Allāh* «nothing remains but God», or *Ed-dunya fāniya* «the world passes away». The correct answer to all is *El hamdu lillāh* «praise be to God», or *di irādet Allāh* «this is the will of God».

If a visitor enters a house of mourning, she goes up to the mourners silently, sitting on the ground before each one and embraces them, and weeps with them, uttering no word of salutation. She goes round to each person in the company doing the same, and until this is finished she speaks no word; then she salutes the friends whom she knows in the company. For instance, once when I entered the house of a Coptic Priest in Old Cairo, at a time of mourning, the women took no notice whatever of my presence except that they increased their cries, but after a few minutes the senior mourners of the party turned to the others, signing them to leave off and saying *bas, bas*, after which they all greeted me quite cheerfully. I was struck by the extreme suddenness of the cries ceasing.

Again on entering a house where there is a newly born child you should say *mabrūk* «a blessing on it», or *el-hamdu lillāh 'ala salāmtik* «praise God for your safe keeping or welfare». In Egypt, if a boy is born a visitor should not ask to see it for fear she might put the evil eye on it, but in the Sudan this is not the case. (In Egypt a blue bead to avert the evil eye is tied on the child's hair or round the neck, blue being the only efficacious colour against the evil eye.) On first speaking you should mention the name of God or the Prophet to avert evil consequence from the child, and you must take care to say *Allāh yekhalliho laki* «may the Lord keep him to you».

The following incident which happened at Atbara may be mentioned in

this connection. A man brought his two sons to see me. They had been absent some time and he was very proud of them. I duly saluted them, and then turned to the father and said "May the Lord preserve them to you". A few days after the father fell down in the road and cut his face badly. Being our servant he came to me, and I bound it up and sent him to the hospital to get the wound stitched. On asking him afterwards how the accident occurred, he said : "It was the evil eye, Lady, someone envied me my sons". I remarked I had said to him "May the Lord preserve them, oh Osman", and he said : "Yes it was not you, Lady, I told my wife at the time, that the lady had said, may God preserve them". The man afterwards told me that he always called his sons his nephews, so that the evil spirit should not know who they were, and work evil on them.

If a child survives in a family where all the children have died previously, the mother sometimes sells the child to one of her friends for P. T. 50 or P. T. 100, and the purchaser is called the child's mother or mistress and clothes him from the day of his birth until he is a man and marries, when she gives him a handsome present, and the connection is severed. The same occurs for a girl also both in Egypt and the Sudan.

Or under the same circumstances the mother of the surviving child may go round to her friends 40 days after the birth and beg pieces of material, sugar and bread, and other things for the child. The pieces of material are made into a garment for the child, the patches being considered as good against the evil eye, to deceive the spirit into thinking that the child is poor and unimportant, and that it does not belong to its mother.

If a child should be very ill, and yet recovers, the parents sometimes change its name to deceive the spirits.

#### TWINS.

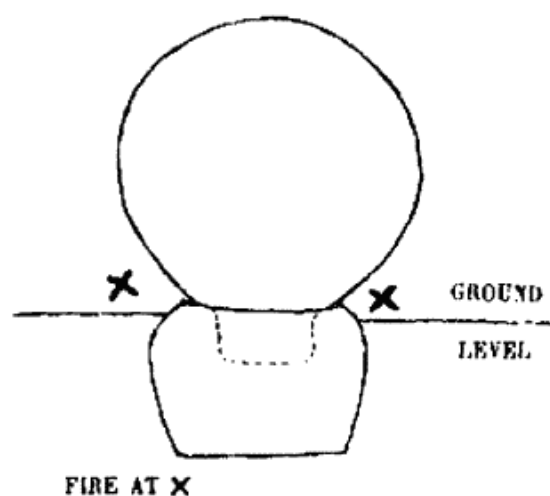
Twin children are supposed to have one spirit between them, and should one get ill, the people think that the other will fall ill also. Should one twin die, the parents have marks cut in the face of the living child so that the dead twin shall not take away the living one.

The Sudanese imagine that the spirit of twins goes out of the body at night into the body of a cat or a dog or a bird, therefore people are often afraid of striking these animals at night for fear of killing the children.

## KORDOFAN PROVINCE.

*A simple form of Distillatio per Descensum in the Sudan.*

The Kababish obtain tar (*quṭrān*) from the seeds of the water melon by a simple process of *distillatio per descensum* which is clearly of foreign origin, though no memory of its introduction now exists. Two pottery vessels are used, one a squat wide-mouthed pot, the other larger and more or less glo-



bular with a short neck having an internal diameter of about two inches. The smaller pot is buried in sand, so that only its rim projects above the surface. The larger pot is charged, being rather more than half filled with melon seeds. The neck is lightly packed with a loosely compacted mass of grass stalks, and the vessel is inverted so that its neck projects into the smaller wider pot as in the figure. A small fire is made under the shoulder of the larger pot, the melon seeds carbonize and the easily condensable products of combustion diffuse through

the grass plug and condense in the lower vessel as a watery fluid, darker than golden syrup but showing a bronze-gold tint in a thin layer. The melon seeds are commonly brought from Kaja and the neighbouring hills where a charge is said to be worth three or four piastres.

The object of this note is to seek information concerning processes of distillation in the Sudan and their distribution. *Distillatio per descensum* was a common alchemical process and it may be conjectured that it was practised in Egypt whence it reached the Sudan. On the other hand, the simplicity and crudeness of the apparatus used by the Kababish may be thought to militate against its alchemical origin.

C. G. SELIGMAN.

## NUBA MOUNTAINS PROVINCE.

*Some instances of Nuba Magic.*

The following examples of the use of Magic have all come under my personal observation. Each one can be compared with sets collected from all

parts of the world and all stages of civilisation in Sir J. G. Frazer's great book *The Golden Bough*.

As an example of Direct Magic, a plea to the invisible powers, the Wind Stone of Kadugli is very clear. The stone is the home of the winds and, as such, is carefully protected by a zeriba of thorns. It is a boulder, some hundred feet from the foot of the hill, about sixteen feet in diameter and ten feet high. Upon the north face is a long narrow crack which does not extend through the entire mass, and five feet above the ground, upon this crack is a depression four inches in diameter. During calm weather if a man or woman wants a light breeze to winnow grain, he or she goes to the rock and removes a part of the zeriba. A small fire is then lit near at hand and from it a flaming branch is held in the hole. Whereupon the wind is driven from its resting place by the heat and blows with a force that varies according to the amount of pain it has endured. A certain Kugur, malicious in himself or bribed to malice, was able in the past to raise a gale that would destroy the standing crops in any district marked down by him; and he knew a certain powerful incantation and muttered it while burning the wind out. The sooty blackening upon the rock face shows how popular this idea has been. How it originated is unknown, but it is certain that hot air rising through the crack above the hole makes a slight whistling sound, like wind in trees, and some intelligent observer may have noted that fact when he accidentally lit a fire in the shelter of the boulder. Where there was whistling of this sort must, of course, have been the hiding place of the wind.

Somewhere near the place, on some inaccessible rock upon Jebel Kadugli, the Elixir Tree is reported to be growing. It is also stated to be growing on the top of Jebel Kassala and, I was told in both places, that there is only one in the world. The Hawazma Arabs who camp near Kadugli know, however, that if a man could find and reach the tree, break off one branch, and descend to the plain again without having called on the name of Allah for protection when attacked by the Afrits who guard the tree, then he could turn water into gold by striking it with the branch; but only he could perform this miracle, and once only.

When the Nubas of Tira Mandi washed the gravels around their hill for gold, the Spirit of the hill had to be sacrificed to before a nugget, a piece of any appreciable size, could be removed from its place of discovery. The sacrifice depended upon the weight of the nugget. A little bit about the size of a grain of wheat meant that the blood of a fowl must be spilled on the ground around, and their tradition has it that the fortunate discoverer of a lump of



gold about the size of a chicken had to kill two bulls, by order of the Kugur of the period, before he could claim his treasure from the mountain. Without this drenching with blood the ground would not "grow" more gold during the next rains. Since the finder feasted his friends and, of course, the Kugur, with meat, the ceremony, even if it lost its magic meaning, was hardly likely to fall into decay, when most of these people became Mohammedan.

A similar sacrifice to the spirit of the place, perhaps, was observed when some labourers from Khartoum discovered a certain plant in the Bahr el Ghazal. This is called 'irg 'allali and has a surface root resembling ginger in appearance. It has a fragrant smell; but its great benefit is, that when worn upon the arm, it keeps off the evil eye. The men who dug it up and divided it were careful to scatter dura in the hole and put back the soil. Otherwise the ground would drag back the power of the root if it has nothing given to it in exchange.

At Jebel Shwai in the Nuba Mountains Province I witnessed the start and return of a hunting party. About forty young men came down to the plains from their village a thousand feet above and when they reached the foot of the hill, the behaviour of the chief dog of their pack caused a magic ceremony to be performed. The dog, tired with its descent, jumping from rock to rock, sat down to rest. The hunters immediately gathered around, planted their spears in the ground, and remained motionless and silent until the dog moved. Each man then patted the ground where it had lain. In this way, I was told, they ensured that the small game they chased and ran down would stand still when it saw them, by sympathy with their actions. The reasoning is, however, obscure.

- Although the following is not an example of Nuba Magic, it may be quoted here because of the parallel idea shown.

Near Lau in the Bahr el Ghazal I shot and severely wounded a water-buck which ran away into the high, dense grass. Some friendly Atwot Dinkas helped me to track it. Whenever they found a smear of blood upon the grass stalks they seized a bundle, bent it down and tied it into a knot and were careful to twist the stained part of the grass. This action they performed six or seven times during the early part of the miles tracking, in order that one "charm" at least might succeed. The explanation given was: that just as the blood was tied in a knot so would the animal be tied in a knot; it would become bewildered, not know where to fly, and would stand still. I have no doubt that they were quite satisfied, for we found the buck lying down and nearly dead.

S. C. DUNN.

## SENNAR PROVINCE.

*A Sennar marriage custom.*

A curious marriage custom exists in Sennar Province, chiefly among the Fungs, which is called *Sirg en-nar* or "stealing the fire". I have questioned many natives about it, but none of them can offer any explanation as to its origin or meaning, and I have not been able to discover any tradition which throws any light upon it. The custom is as follows :

On the final night of the marriage festivities, when the time comes for the bridegroom to proceed to the bride's house, an escort is provided for him formed of youths bearing torches. These torches are made of bamboo poles with bundles of rags steeped in oil fastened on one end.

For the bridegroom's procession these torches must not be lit except with fire taken from the bride's house. The bride's relatives must keep a fire lighted at her house but must make every effort to prevent the bridegroom's people from taking any of it away to light their torches with. Generally a band of youths from among her relatives is told off to act as "Guardians of the fire" and it is their duty, not only to prevent any of the other party from taking a lighted ember from it, but also if any of them do succeed in taking one to pursue him and either seize it from him or put it out.

When the bride's and the bridegroom's villages are close to one another, the latter's party arrange a system of outposts stationed at intervals along the road between the two villages. These outposts are chosen from among the swiftest runners of the village. When the outposts have been placed, one of the bridegroom's friends enters the bride's village by a round-about route and gradually finds his way to the fire at her house. Arrived there he mingles with the crowd of onlookers and slowly works his way to the front where he talks with the people in the immediate neighbourhood of the fire as though the "fire stealing" were no concern of his. Having thus disarmed suspicion, he bides his time until a favourable opportunity presents itself, when he seizes a glowing ember and hands or hurls it to the nearest outpost who is concealed close at hand. It is then passed along the line of outposts at full speed until it reaches the bridegroom's village, unless, of course, it happens to be intercepted by the "Guardians of the fire" in which case a fresh attempt has to be made.

Sometimes instead of the above tactics a large party of the bridegroom's supporters march boldly up to the fire and endeavour to carry it at a rush.

When the villages are far apart the bridegroom's party proceed with their torches until within about a half or quarter of a mile of the bride's village when a halt is made. The «fire stealers» are then sent forward and the same procedure as described above takes place.

If the bridegroom's party do not succeed in getting fire from the bride's house wherewith to light their torches, on their arrival there they are greeted with booing and laughter and become the laughing stock of the country side for some time afterwards.

One of the hardest things for a native to bear is being laughed at, so naturally every effort is made to avoid it.

Various modifications of this custom exist in other parts of the Sudan and it would be extremely interesting if the origin of it could be traced.

W. NICHOLLS.

(In *The Magic Art*, Volume II (*The Golden Bough*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition), Frazer quotes various examples of the use of fire as a fertility charm in marriage ritual (page 230) and also of fire being taken among the Herero from the chief's hearth by the founder of a new village (p. 216) which is a rather different but apparently related conception. Some such practice combined with the widely spread custom of marriages by capture of unwilling brides, may underlay the Sennar custom to which we can find no exact parallel.)

Ed.

### *Crocodile charmers.*

Among the West African folks who wander through the Sudan on their pilgrimage to Mecca one occasionally finds members of the Hausa — speaking tribe «Kabbi». They are a race of fishermen and live for the most part in a large city called Argungo, about one day's journey west of Sokoto.

They are recognisable by curious marks on the face, ten long cuts spreading out in fan shape from the corner of the mouth on the right side and nine on the left and meeting vertical cuts on each side of the brow.

The people have a curious power over crocodiles, which they pull out of the water alive, the crocodile apparently being subject to their influence. The crocodile of the snapshot was taken out of the Dinder river in my presence and was very much alive but quite under the spell of his captors.

He was afterwards cut up and eaten.



Crocodile charmers.

The secret of this power is said to be a certain 'urug compounded of herbs found in the forests of Nigeria and its composition is known only to the old men of the tribe. The 'urug is smeared on the body and a small portion is eaten by the fishermen before entering the water. A line is stretched across the stream with baited hooks attached and so the fish are caught, the fishermen walking up and down beside the line. If an inquisitive crocodile comes up to the line, one man seizes it by the jaws and another by the tail and they drag it alive to the shore. If it is a very large crocodile, a rope is tied to its tail and several men are required to pull it up the bank. This method had to be adopted with a crocodile 16 feet long which happened to be caught one day when a sub-mamur was staying at the village.

I tried to obtain a sample of the 'urug, but the fishermen were unwilling to give me any. It is said by some that the new born infants of the tribe are smeared with the 'urug a few days after birth and left on the edge of a crocodile-infested river for seven days. If the child is a genuine offspring of Kabbi parents, the crocodiles will leave it alone, otherwise they will devour it. One Kabbi, however, whom I asked, denied this story.

Naturally the secret is closely kept by the members of the tribe and other Hausa and Pulo natives are as much frightened of crocodiles as are ordinary Arabs. In the year 1914 the pools in a large stretch of the Dinder river were cleared of crocodiles by three or four men of this tribe who are living at the large Fallata village on this river.

ERIC R. J. HUSSEY.

## SOBAT-PIBOR DISTRICT.

### *Poisoned fish.*

The Sobat Pibor District has this last autumn and winter experienced the highest floods known to Europeans. From September to January the station of Akobo was surrounded by water and a rise of one foot more than the maximum would have completely submerged the entire Fort and last small refuge of the Harimat, hamla and cattle; only the tops of a few dabbas throughout the known part of the District would then have remained above water. It is, by the way, to one of these on the Pibor River that the Military Headquarter and garrison are now being transferred.

With the subsidence of the waters troubles did not however cease. On the 12<sup>th</sup> March thousands of large fish weighing anything between one to eighty

pounds came floating dead and dying down the Pibor River and the Anuak population turned out « en masse » to spear them.

They killed enormous quantities, and the women were busy for three days drying and transporting the fish to their houses.

On the second day of the appearance of the fish, marabout storks, egrets and pelicans arrived in their thousands.

On March 23<sup>rd</sup> matters became worse as millions of smaller fish that had apparently been unable to get down the river so quick came floating down in a putrid and mangled condition, covering at times the whole surface of the river; they were covered with a red slime and had turned to a brown colour having been dead some 4 or 5 days. The stench became most offensive and the river water was unfit for even the Anuaks to drink. By the greatest of good fortune the Military W. Dept. engaged in digging a well on the new site had struck water at a depth of 47 feet the evening before and the Garrison were able to draw on this new supply.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> March the Akobo River began to develop the same unpleasant features and on the following day similar swarms of brown dead fish appeared. Unfortunately the current in both rivers suddenly fell to less than half a mile per hour and the surface of the water along the banks of the station became lined with 10 to 15 feet of decomposing fish.

The smell exceeded anything previously experienced : fires of an aromatic material, common in transport lines, were kept burning in the Officers mess and in the houses of those whose delicacy of scent was outraged to the extent of actual nausea, and meals became a trial as it was difficult to believe one was not eating a series of rotten fish courses. The water from the Akobo River now became undrinkable, but providentially the Pibor River had cleared sufficiently to supply our needs.

H. H. The Sultan's Holiday was spent at Akobo in clearing some 600 yards of the river banks by pushing the unsavoury lining into midstream where it slowly drifted away with the assistance of a south wind.

The thousands of marabout storks and pelicans did noble work and undoubtedly saved us many days continuance of this unpleasant condition. The cause of this sudden fish mortality is unknown, and I should much like to know to what it may be attributed. It is common knowledge that this epidemic is of annual occurrence in many of the small tributaries of the Upper Nile, but never has it been known to be so great in this district.

My own opinion is that it is either caused by a sudden increase of water temperature in shallow places due to the rapid fall of the rivers or else to

the final influx from overflowed banks and Khors of water poisoned by long-decayed vegetable matter.

The following species of dead fish were noticed : *Abu Shanab*, *Bamsēka*, *Khashm el Bint*, *'Igl*, *Kas*, *Beyāda*, *Barāda*, *Tambana*, *Dabsa*, *Gargūr*, *Krēsh* and *Homār el-hūt*.

Incidentally it is curious that no *Gurmūt*, *Wir*, *Nōk* or *Bulṭ* were seen dead and they are said to obtain their immunity by burrowing into the mud, should the water conditions become bad.

C. R. BACON.

Akobo, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

## UPPER NILE PROVINCE.

### *The Dabba* <sup>(1)</sup> *of the Sudd Area.*

All over the sudd area, situated on the flat and absolutely level cotton soil, are found little sandy mounds or *dabbas*, on which villages are situated, thereby escaping the usual inundations. If one digs down into one of these one finds fish and animal bones and then comes through to the black cotton soil beneath.

It seemed to me evident that these mounds are artificial caused by generations of dwellers, in the same way as the "kitchen midden", but the difference in soil puzzled me. It was only after walking ten hours over cotton soil, flooded to the height of my knees in water, that I got a clue to the formation of the *dabba*; for, when I took off my boots, I found a handful of white sand in each boot. Taking a lump of stiff clay I crumbled it up in water. The clay dissolved and floated away, leaving a residue of fine white sand.

It now seems clear that the *dabba* is formed in this way -- every year black mud is dug and brought up for the building of huts. The heavy rains dissolve and wash out the clay leaving a residue of sand. Next year more black soil is brought up and is similarly washed away. The residue of sand from hundreds of years of hut building, combined with bones, woodash and other refuse, has in course of time built up these sandy mounds, the soil of which is less affected by the rains and does not wash away and crack as does the cotton soil.

<sup>(1)</sup> The local natives of course do not use this word. The Nuer word is *wich*.

Of course, in some cases the *dabba* may have been intentionally started by banking up a mound of cotton soil on which to live above the flood level. The clay of such a mound would gradually be washed out leaving the sand. I use the word "sand" when applied to the *dabba* relatively. There is generally a sprinkling of pure sand on the top, but the soil itself on the top of the mound consists probably of a mixture of about half sand and half clay. As one sinks deeper the soil seems to grow darker, until one reaches the pure, black cotton soil beneath.

C. H. STIGAND.

### *Dengkur earth Pyramid.*

We have received by telegram a further note from Major Stigand with regard to the above, a photograph of which appears on page 118 :

"Dengkur earth pyramid is covered with short grass, stakes of wood and old tusks stuck on the top and there is a circle of tusks around the base.

"From memory I estimate the height of the mound at about 50 feet and the slope as  $\frac{1}{2}$  giving a base diameter of 100 feet."



## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### *Limitation of Invention in native races.*

I remember reading somewhere that the fact that American Indians had never got beyond propelling their canoes by paddles showed a strange limitation of their inventive faculty. The canoe had been perfected by them, but the farther step, the mechanical advantage of oars, seemed beyond their mental powers.

A short reflection shows that the mental characteristics of the race have no direct bearing on the subject.

A semi-migratory people utilising primeval streams has no possible use for oars, and that is the whole solution.

Similarly here on the Red Sea coast, when famine drove some Ababda from the north as far south as Dongonab, I noticed that they brought rotary corn mills with them. On discussing the advantage of these mills with the natives, who grind their corn by rubbing it with a roller shaped stone over a flat one, I was met with Oh that's an Ababda concern, we don't use it.

It seemed that these wretchedly poor Ababda had, after all, attained a step in civilisation above that of my own people.

I was wrong; the people here have excellent reasons for sticking to their primitive grinders. For one thing the two rubbing stones hardly weigh a third the weight of the rotary mill, and they grind a finer meal. (I may remark that the ordinary dura flour supplied by regular millers is too coarse for Bishari taste.)

Again some races of sailors are noted for their skill in sailing outrigger canoes or catamarans, others have not adopted the invention. It is not used here for instance, though universal in Zanzibar where the general native intelligence is no higher.

The limitation of invention is not a matter of intelligence in this case either, but outriggers would simply be an intolerable obstruction to men who rarely go to sea without doing more or less diving, whether for pearl oysters or to secure fish that have been speared, or to fix or free an anchor. The lack of timber is another consideration. That it is not lack of invention is shown by the fact that I have seen a boy fit outriggers to his toy boat and that the

watchman of the salt works, who uses his canoe solely for transport, has fitted it with a leeboard.

When I first engaged Danagla ghaffirs I fitted their hut with the usual native plankbeds. They turned up each with his angarib, an extraordinary luxury to natives here.

I will admit that these Danagla are generally more civilised than the natives. They come from a settled country. I doubt if they are more intelligent, and it would hardly be evidence of sense for a native to start one of his frequent migrations with an angarib balanced across his donkey's back!

Why does a native exasperate me by having only one end to a string by which he ties up a bag or reefs a sail?

Pure cussedness? not a bit, the bags he is used to tying up contain water and he's more clever at tying them up than I am.

Why do native vessels have round bottoms that stupidly won't stand upright on the table? Because they're intended to stand either on the fire or on a softish earth floor.

These instances are trivial in themselves, but I think that we amateur anthropologists might take warning from them and be slow to condemn a native people for lack of invention until we really understand the reasons for sticking to their own old way of doing things. We may remember that there was no use in inventing bicycles till we had macadamised roads, and pneumatic tyres were little use till those roads were kept in order by steam rollers.

C. CROSSLAND.

Dongonab (Red Sea), February 1918.

### *A motor journey from Kassala.*

We have received from Mr. Joseph Rhodes the following brief account of a journey made by motor car from Kassala to Khartoum by way of Gedaref and Wad Medani :

« This is the first occasion on which a motor car has done this journey, though a car has travelled from Wad Medani to Gedaref, and the journey from Atbara to Kassala has been accomplished.

« This journey marks a further stage in the development of motoring in the Sudan. The previous motor journeys in this country have been mostly by Ford cars, and their carrying capacity is small. They also required to carry a large quantity of water which takes space.

\*The car used was a 25-35 H. P. F. I. A. T. with a waggon body, and an extra large radiator. It was fitted with double wheels behind and carried two spare wheels. The weight of the car was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons and the estimated weight of the load including the six passengers was 3 tons. This was made up of stores, kit, twenty spare tyres, tools and car spares, water, 150 gallons petrol, timber and tools for handling the car in soft sand, etc.

\*This make of car has been used with success in Tripoli and a very large fan is incorporated in the fly-wheel which keeps the cool air passing through the radiator. The amount of water required during the journey was negligible.

\*A start was made at 8 a. m. on February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1918 and the first difficulty was the loose sand in the bed of the Gash which at the time was dry, and about 500 yards wide at the point of crossing. The wheels here sunk in to a depth of from 9 inches to one foot, but the difficulty was overcome by the use of two rolls of strong closely-woven wire netting. This netting — in lengths of 7 yards — was laid on the ground with the ends under the driving wheels, and the start then enabled the car to travel 40 or 50 yards before the sand clogged the wheels again. Repetition of this expedient enabled the car to reach the further bank on low gear after 50 minutes.

\*The road was good as far as the Atbara and we were able to proceed at full speed. The bed of the river is covered with large stones and we travelled gently over these to the water. The maximum depth of water was about fifteen inches and we went through with no more inconvenience than was caused by the water splashing through the floor boards, and no difficulty whatever. A native proceeded with us to point out the shallowest part. There is a steep ascent from the Atbara valley and at Khasm el Girba there is a deep gorge which took an hour to get across after considerable spade work, and the use of the wire netting over the soft sand in the valley. That evening a village 17 miles from Gedaref was reached, and the night was spent there, some delay having been caused by a burst tyre and damage to the under shield of the car by falling foul of a boulder.

\*The road on from Gedaref is very bad, over cracked cotton soil, but an average speed of 14 miles per hour was maintained without discomfort. Fau was reached soon after midday and a telephone message sent to Wad Medani. In the afternoon we travelled through wooded country parallel to the River Rahad and arrived at Sherif Yacub in the evening.

\*Next morning we crossed the dry bed of the Rahad without trouble on low gear. The Sheikh of the village came with us to show us the best place to get

the car across but he became so bewildered on the car that he lost his head and was useless until we persuaded him to run on ahead.

«On reaching the Blue Nile, we found the Governor of the Province had arranged for our crossing, and a gang of men and a barge, were waiting to assist us. We were unable to ride up the steep bank on the other side and had to be helped up by men hauling on two ropes from the front axle. We left Wad Medani at noon and had a clear run at full speed practically all the way through the Gezira to Khartoum which was reached at 6.30 p. m.

«The journey, which is exactly 400 miles and takes 12 days on camel, had been accomplished in 3 1/2 days.»

### *Nursery rhymes.*

Khartoum, March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

I enclose transliteration and translation of three lullabies which may be of interest as parallels to the nursery rhymes.

S. ATIYAH.

1

*El nōm el nōm          bakrik bil dōm*  
*ḥabbōhtak jat min el bildāt*  
*jābat lēk talat gangarāt*  
*yā nōm ta'āl          sakkit el juhhāl.*

2

*Shambōra gumta gambōra* (if the baby is a boy)  
*Shambarti gumti gambarti* (if the baby is a girl)  
*jiti min jubal Barti*  
*u ṣarafiṭi u akalti u sharabti*

3

(Said while rocking a baby up and down.)

*Kedi u kedi Ab Kannān kibir*  
*shāl Um sidir          jāb el farkhāt u kibir, kibir.*  
*farash el sabatāt u kibir*  
*Ab Kannān kibir, Ab Kannān kibir, kamān kibir.*

1

Sleep, O sleep.          I will give you a dom fruit.  
Your grandmother has come back from the fields  
and brought you three dura heads.  
Come, O sleep          and silence the little ones.

## 2

O you small-limbed one, you have got up,  
 you have come from the mountains of Barti (you are gold)  
 you have spent money and you ate and drank.  
 (may you grow up to do so).

*Scent and Sight amongst game and other animals.*

Dongonab (Red Sea), February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

My experience of the sight of ibex and gazelle in captivity forms an exception to the rule given in Major Stigand's very interesting and conclusive paper. They become practically blind as soon as the sun sets and at times when twilight or moonlight makes every object distinct to ourselves both ibex and gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*) stumble about their hosh in a ludicrous way.

They are fed twice a day, at noon and in the evening. By daylight they dash directly up to the white dishes containing their dura, in twilight or moonlight they may walk right over a dish. That ibex cannot move about freely at night among rocks is shown by the gingerly way in which at night they cross the piles of stones in their hosh over which they scamper like cats by daylight. Should they become excited or frightened at night there is great risk of their doing themselves serious damage by running into fences, tripping over projecting beams and so on which they would either avoid or leap by day.

The explanation seems to me connected with the fact that Major Stigand's examples are all inhabitants of countries infested with carnivores. I imagine that a leopard or lion could kill every ibex and gazelle in this country as soon as he met it, scent or no scent. It would be interesting to know whether ibex and wolves exist in the same habitat in eg. Spain, or leopards and ibex in the mountains towards Abyssinia, or do ibex disappear when the lion or leopard country is reached? Or are ibex confined to higher parts of hills that leopards do not ascend?

It is interesting to see how my tame ibex on liberation from their hosh make for any slight elevation in sight eg. my verandah, a pile of timber or a stone pier. To ascend a hill seems to be their most powerful instinct on these occasions, though these ibex have been in captivity practically all their lives. Gazelles never show this.

That gazelle *dorcas* shows extraordinary curiosity is well known, but the following incident is somewhat striking.

I had taken a party of men for rifle practice to the foot of a cliff against which the target was set up. After about an hour's firing I went over the cliff

for a stroll and found that a gazelle had been watching proceedings from the top. Bear in mind too that the range was 100 yards and the rifles ancient Remingtons.

The wind was light and we were to leeward.

C. CROSSLAND.

### *Sign of the cross.*

Dongonab (Red Sea), February 11<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

New born children in Dongonab are marked with a cross on the forehead with kohl as a guard against the evil eye.

In zār ceremonies the cross is sometimes made in blood on adults if the spirit should so direct, but the blood is generally rubbed on all over, and drunk.

Milk vessels are closed by a slip of wood being placed across them, one piece only. A cut melon will not be eaten unless left in contact with the knife, for the same reasons, that otherwise a snake may have crawled upon it.

If my memory is correct, De Castro, writing in 1554, states that when he travelled up this coast Abyssinian Christianity extended as far as Suakin, north of Suakin being Mohammedan.

However forcibly one is struck by finding the sign of the cross so unexpectedly, one must remember that it is the easiest sign or charm to make or draw and may not be of Christian origin in all cases.

C. CROSSLAND.

### *Circumcision among the Rubāṭāb.*

Khartoum, May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

In connection with Mr. Crowfoot's article on the Rubāṭāb, your readers may be interested to learn that the powder used in dressing the wound after circumcision is made of a kind of soot called *duk*, which is found in the ceilings of native houses.

From this custom is derived the Arab saying: *duk el bēt, ana jannēt* (*jannēt* = became mad, i. e. with pain).

My informant fully corroborated the painfulness of the treatment.

U.

# SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

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Volume I.

N<sup>o</sup> 4.

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## OUTLINE OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE SUDAN

BY PROF. G. A. REISNER.

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### PART III. — THE EGYPTIANIZATION OF ETHIOPIA

(1600 TO 1090 B. C.)

From the beginning, the history of Ethiopia has been considered as a pendant to the history of Egypt. With the xvi<sup>th</sup> century B. C., a point is reached where neither the history of Ethiopia nor of any other country, large or small, can be fully understood except as part of the general history of the ancient world. For several thousand years, two centres of power and two widely differing types of civilization had been forming in the two great valley regions, that of the Nile and that of the Two Rivers, or Mesopotamia. In spite of certain similarities in the physical basis of life in the two valleys, the differences in climate, in conditions of agriculture, and in available natural resources, affected deeply the manner of life and the manifestations of the artistic, the religious, and the political activities of the two civilizations. Added to this effect, the geographical environment of Mesopotamia with its political and commercial contacts with hardy mountaineers and with daring and energetic traders offered to Babylonia a widening experience which was denied to Egypt lying isolated between its two deserts. Racially the populations of both countries were branches of the Proto-Semitic family, but there was a considerable difference in the admixture of foreign elements. In Egypt, the Semitic element

was mixed with an Hamitic (Libyan) addition, and it was this mixed race which invented the hieroglyphic writing and created the art, the religion, and the type of civilization which is called Egyptian. In Mesopotamia, on the contrary, an aboriginal race called Sumerians, of unknown racial connections, invented the cuneiform writing and set up the basis of a great civilization; but about the time when Menes united Upper and Lower Egypt into one kingdom, the Sumerians were conquered and absorbed by a race of Semites who made the work of the Sumerians their own. It was this mixed Sumero-Semitic race which developed the old Sumerian beginnings into the civilization known as Babylonian. Assyria was only a younger offshoot of Babylonia which for a time overshadowed the mother country.

Long before the xvi<sup>th</sup> century B. C., the Babylonians had swept over Western Asia as far as Palestine, and all this region was steeped in Babylonian culture. All correspondence, whether relating to diplomatic negotiations and foreign commerce or to internal affairs, was carried out in the Babylonian cuneiform script. Babylonian was the usual language employed, but some peoples wrote their own language in the cuneiform script and have thus presented the modern world with two or three languages of which it knows the words but not their meanings. This Babylonization of Western Asia was the result of a great imperial movement issuing from Mesopotamia. Involved in war with its neighbours at a much earlier period, Babylonia was the first of the two great powers to discover the profits of conquest. The foreign relations of antiquity, in spite of an abundance of oriental intrigue, were guided by the most primitive of principles, the same in fact which the German statesmen have taken in their passion for the simplification of the world. Every nation took what it could from its neighbours. Plunder and tribute were the desirable and praiseworthy objects of all foreign policy. The only difference of opinion which ever arose was as to the most effective method of holding a conquered country in submission and of utilizing its annual production for the benefit of the conqueror. It is unnecessary to trace the development of opinion on this point through the experiences of the different world powers of antiquity down to the wonderfully efficient system of administration produced by the Byzantine Empire. In the days of the Babylonian and the Egyptian empires, the methods were much like those revived by the Germans in our time. Easily



cowed countries were held as allied vassals under their own kings; recalcitrant kings were replaced by rivals or by nobles of the conquering race; open and obstinate enemies were subjected to wholesale deportations; hostages were taken; prisoners were slaughtered or enslaved; and frightfulness was practiced in all its forms. Modern conditions, of course, offer opportunities for refinements of cruelty unknown to the ancients but with impalement, burning, and flaying alive, they did all that was possible for them. The deportations, which sometimes included all the freemen of a country, had in that time an added purpose, based on the prevalent system of national gods. The national god was a local god, and no nation could hope for prosperity in peace or success in war without the support of its local national god. When a nation triumphed over another, the god of the conqueror was thought to have overcome the god of the conquered. A deported nation was robbed of its national god by the removal from its habitat and became guests (*gârim*) of the god of the locality in which it was settled. As mere guests of a strange god, the people were deprived of hope of divine protection and lost all courage for resistance. This belief in the power of the national god affected the course of ancient history at every turn, in particular the familiar story of the two Hebrew kingdoms and the development of Hebrew monotheism. Its effect on the Egyptian empire and the fate of Ethiopia will appear in the following pages.

The general course of the rise of the New Empire in Egypt is tolerably clear. In the civil disorganization in which the middle Empire had terminated, certain Asiatic tribes swarmed into the Delta and overran Lower Egypt. From their stronghold at Avaris, they dominated the whole country, but Thebes and the southern provinces appear to have maintained some semblance of independence. The name «Hyksos» which is applied to these invaders comes from the Hebrew historian Josephus, who, quoting from the lost history of Egypt written in Greek by the Egyptian priest Manetho, gives a short account of the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos, their kings, and their expulsion. The Hyksos kings themselves have left almost nothing, — a few names inserted on the monuments of older kings of Egypt, and a number of short seal-inscriptions cut on scarabs of the period. The names of only seven kings are given in the fragments from Manetho's history; nearly twenty are found on the scarabs and monuments.

As the Hyksos period, according to the best established calculations, was only about 100 years in duration, it is necessary to conclude that many of these twenty names belonged to men of subordinate rank, men who did not rule the whole Hyksos territory in Egypt. The chief names are as follows :

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS AND SCARABS.
Solitis . . . . .	Khanzer.
Bnon . . . . .	Yakobher.
Arakhnan . . . . .	
Apophis . . . . .	-- Apepy (three kings of this name).
Iannis . . . . .	Khayan.
Arakhles . . . . .	A'arkra.
Aseth . . . . .	-- Sheshi.

Seal-impressions found at the fort of Inebuw-Amenemhat show that scarab-seals with the name of the Hyksos kings, Apophis and Sheshi, were in use by officials as far south as Kerma. Along with these, were seals with the name of the Hyksos vassal, Sekenenra, the Egyptian prince of Thebes.

Of the manner of the Hyksos government, we know nothing nor need we take too seriously the later comments of the Egyptians. The Hyksos were foreigners, they levied tribute from north and south, and they were probably as arrogant and exacting as the usual Oriental over-lord. It was the more distant southland which gathered its strength for an attempt to free Egypt of the Hyksos, and if we may believe an Egyptian tale current some centuries later, it was a characteristic piece of Oriental insolence on the part of Apophis which led to the outbreak of the war. This tale is contained in a fragmentary condition in the Sallier papyrus and relates that Apophis sent a message to Sekenenra, the Egyptian prince of Thebes, to say that he (Apophis) could not sleep at night because of the noise made by the hippopotami in the garden pool at Thebes. I imagine that Apophis, uneasy at signs of growing prosperity at Thebes, had been listening after the oriental manner to tales of the boasting of Sekenenra about his pool of hippopotami and other things, and with a characteristic touch of eastern wit thought to assert his political superiority by ordering the hippopotami to be killed. At any rate the story appealed to the mind of the Egyptians and so we find it handed down for centuries after the events described.

Thus the beginning of the inevitable conflict between the prince of Thebes and the invader who lay in his fortress at Avaris is obscure as is also the course of the fighting for some time. It is only during the final struggle that the Egyptian monuments offer contemporaneous evidence. Two of the Egyptian officers who served in that war have left accounts of it in the biographies carved on the walls of their tombs at El-Kab. These two men were the nomarch, Ahmes Pennekhbet, and a naval officer named Ahmes son of Abana (mother). Baba, the father of Ahmes son of Abana, had been an officer under Sekenenra, and Ahmes son of Abana was himself an officer of Ahmes I son of Sekenenra. In his tomb inscription, Ahmes son of Abana mentions three battles which took place during the siege of Avaris and its capture by King Ahmes. After the fall of Avaris, he accompanied the king at the siege and capture of Sharuhén in Palestine, while Ahmes Pennekhbet took part in a later campaign which reached further north into Syria. It is clear that after years of warfare, which probably began under Sekenenra and Apophis, King Ahmes shut the Hyksos up in Avaris, and took the city by siege. He then captured Sharuhén, the Palestinian stronghold of the Hyksos and pursued the remnants of that broken people into Syria. Thus Egypt was not only cleared of the Asiatics but also freed from the danger of another invasion.

The Hyksos war was far reaching in its effect on the course of both Egyptian and Ethiopian history. The army of Thebes became a skilled force of veterans. The Prince of Thebes, Ahmes I, became king of a united Egypt and founded the XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The military successes and especially the Palestinian campaign had brought in a great booty and taught the Thebans the profits of victorious warfare. Not only did Thebes become the dominant political power in Egypt, but Theban culture and the Theban religion likewise spread through the Two Lands. This process was greatly facilitated by the fact that King Ahmes and his successors gave to the priest-hood of their god, Amon-Ra, a fair share of the booty which they believed was due to his divine assistance. It was perhaps inevitable that Amon-Ra, the god of the royal family, should assume the place of a national god; but the Amon-priesthood, enriched by the spoils of war and offering especially prosperous careers to the scribes, attracted the ablest of the free Egyptians in large numbers, and in time took on an importance

which was to rival and then overcome royalty itself. When Ethiopia dropped into the hands of the Egyptians, the religion of Amon-Ra spread southwards and dominated that country during the later Ethiopian monarchies of Napata and Meroe.

Soon after the Syrian campaign, Ahmes I turned his attention to Ethiopia. In his memorial stone, found in Karnak, he says that "his sword was in Khentheneser (Nubia) and his terror in the lands of the Syrians". More explicitly, Ahmes son of Abana relates that "after His Majesty had slaughtered the Asiatics, he sailed upstream to Khentheneser (Nubia) to strike down the Nubians. His Majesty made great slaughter among them. Then I brought away booty there, two living men and three hands (i. e., cut from slain enemies). The king rewarded me again with gold, and gave me two female slaves. His Majesty came back downstream and his heart was joyous over his great victory, for he had seized the southern and the northern lands." The list of gifts to Amon which are recorded on the Karnak stone indicate that the profits of even these early wars were considerable. Nevertheless the territorial gain was small. Of all the plundered lands, only Wawat (Lower Nubia) was placed under an Egyptian governor; but this modest measure was *the beginning of the imperial expansion of the New Empire*.

The only man who is known to have held the post of governor of Wawat, was Hormeni, the prince of Hierakonpolis. On his tombstone he says: "I passed many years as prince of Hierakonopolis, during which I brought its tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands. I was praised and no fault found. I attained old age in Wawat and was a favourite of my lord. I came downstream every year with its (Wawat's) tribute to the king. I came forth true of voice: no balance was found against me." There may have been other governors of Wawat but the long life of Hormeni probably covered the whole period from the Nubian war under Ahmes I to the further expansion under Amenophis I. The appointment of Hormeni was doubtless a favour shown to a district (Hierakonpolis) whose people had been loyal to the Theban fortunes during the Hyksos war and during Ahmes' early struggles with internal enemies.

The Asiatic wars of Amenophis I (1557-1540 B. C.) are not recorded on the few monuments of his reign which have been preserved; but his

Ethiopian and Libyan campaigns are mentioned in the tomb inscriptions of El-Kab. Both Ahmes Pennekhbet and Ahmes son of Abana served in an expedition to Kush, and Ahmes Pennekhbet, in one to Libya. These expeditions resulted in territorial expansions and the appointment of two governors, one in Kush and one in the Oasis. Kush was completely conquered; and Amenophis I appointed the first of the long line of Egyptian viceroys who ruled Ethiopia during the XVIII<sup>th</sup> and XIX<sup>th</sup> dynasties with the title of «king's son, governor of the Southern Lands».

The name of this first viceroy of Ethiopia was Thury. He had held the post of commandant of Buhen from the time of Ahmes I, and according to his inscription on a rock at Semneh, he was already «king's son» in the Southern Lands in the seventh year of Amenophis I (about 1550 B. C.). That was in all probability the year of his appointment, just after the campaign which placed Kush as well as Wawat in Egyptian hands and necessitated a reorganization of the administration of the south. Thury was still viceroy of Ethiopia when Thothmes I succeeded Amenophis I, and he has left us carved on stone two copies of the letter sent by Thothmes I announcing his accession and promulgating his official names: «Command of the king to the king's son, the governor of the southern lands, Thury. Behold this letter of His Majesty is brought to you to inform you that His Majesty (to whom be life, prosperity and health) has appeared as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the throne of Horus of the living, without his like forever. I have made my titulary as follows:

[TITLE.]	[NAME.]	[TRANSLATION.]
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«The Horus» . . . . .	<i>Ka-uekht-mery-Ma'at</i> . . .	[Strong bull, beloved of Truth.]
«The Lord of the Two Crowns».	<i>Kha-em-neseret-a'a-pehti</i> .	[Appearing with the uræus, great in strength.]
«The Horus Conqueror of Set».	<i>Nefer-renput-seankh-ibur</i> .	[Good in years, causing hearts to live.]
«The King of Upper and Lower Egypt» . . . . .	<i>A'a-kheper-ka-Ra</i> . . . . .	[Great in the manifestation of the ka is Ra.]
«The Son of the Sun» . . . . .	<i>Thothmes</i> . . . . .	[Thoth has begotten (him).]

living for ever and ever. Thou shalt cause offerings to be made to the gods of Elephantine, the head of the South, giving praise to the overlord (to whom be life, prosperity, and health), the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Thothmes (I), endowed with life. Cause the oath to be taken in the name of My Majesty (to whom be life, prosperity, and health), born of the royal mother, Seniseneb. This is sent to inform you of it and that the royal household is well and prosperous. Year 1, third month of the second season, 21<sup>st</sup> day, day of the coronation.» Similar notices were sent, of course, to the governor of the Oases and to the provincial officials in Egypt, and one can imagine the bustle in the posts along the river in Halfa and Dongola provinces, the processions to the local temples, the offerings, the oaths of allegiance, the discussions of the right of inheritance through Seniseneb, and the speculation as what was happening in Egypt. The Ethiopian chiefs seem to have taken their own view of the situation for within a few months the country rose in revolt and the first military expedition of Thothmes I was to Kush to put down this revolt.

The first year of the reign of Thothmes I began in the 7<sup>th</sup> month of the year (about 1540 B. C.). About 14 months later, Thothmes at the head of his army had reached Tangur about 40 kilometres above Semneh, and five months after that, he had an inscription cut on the rocks at Tombos (near Kerma) in which he describes his complete victory over the Ethiopians. But the king appears to have remained in the Sudan seven months longer, probably engaged in pacifying the country and organizing the administration. The record of his return to Egypt is contained in three rock inscriptions, two on the island of Sehel (at Assuan) and one a little north of Assuan. All three bear the same date, the third year of reign, the second month of the calendar year, the 22<sup>nd</sup> day, with a mention of the return of the king from Kush after overthrowing his enemies, and were signed by the king's son, Thury. One of the Sehel inscriptions is of unusual interest : «Year 3, 1<sup>st</sup> month of the 3<sup>rd</sup> season, day 22, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Thothmes I, endowed with life. His Majesty commanded the digging of this canal after he had found it choked with stones and no ship sailed on it. He sailed downstream upon it with joyful heart, having slaughtered his enemies. (Signed) : The Viceroy, Thury.» On his way to Kush, the king,

finding the canal fallen into disuse, had commanded Thury to reopen it and found his order carried out when he came back downstream a year later. This is probably the same canal, measuring 75 metres long by 10 wide by 7 1/2 deep, whose restoration is recorded in the Sebel inscription of Sesostris III, nearly 350 years before.

The El-Kab veterans, Ahmes Pennekhbet and Ahmes son of Abana, both accompanied Thothmes I on this expedition to Kush, and Ahmes Pennekhbet brought away five prisoners. The other Ahmes, acting as commander of the fleet, appears to have had no opportunity of taking plunder; but his account gives us two enlightening pieces of information: "I sailed the (ship of the) King of Upper and Lower Egypt when he went upstream to Nubia in order to punish the disorder of the mountain districts and to suppress the raiding of the desert regions". After the victory, "His Majesty came downstream with all countries in his grasp and this wretched Nubian chief hanging head downwards on the prow of the royal barge. (Thus), we landed at Thebes."

The canal inscriptions give the last reported act of Thury as viceroy of Ethiopia. His failure to keep the country quiet had without doubt incurred the royal disfavour and marked him as unsuitable for continuance in office. I suppose that he was replaced by his successor, Seni, even before the return of the king to Egypt. His name appears once more on the funerary monument of the Vezier, Weser, at Gebel Silsileh, made in the reign of Hatshepsut. Thus he seems to have been alive at that late date and to have still used the courtesy-title of viceroy of Kush. His successor, the viceroy Seni, has left two inscriptions in the temple of Semneh. One of these states that Seni was appointed to some minor office by Ahmes I, was promoted to be overseer of the granaries of Amon by Amenophis I, and to be viceroy of Ethiopia by Thothmes I. The inscription is incomplete but it also mentions honours conferred by Thothmes II. The second inscription in another part of the temple was cut in the time of Thothmes II and furnishes definite proof that Seni served as viceroy in the reign of that king (i. e. until after 1501 B. C.). Thus Seni had an official career of nearly 60 years, of which over 35 must have been passed as viceroy of Ethiopia.

After the conquest of Kush, Thothmes I turned to Western Asia. Easily

overcoming all opposition, he penetrated as far as the Euphrates and brought back a tremendous booty part of which was duly dedicated to Amon and turned over to the Amon-priesthood. Our old friends, Ahmes Pennekhbet and Ahmes son of Abana, fought in this war also. The son of Abana had helped drive the Hyksos from Egypt and had held a command in all the wars of Ahmes I, Amenophis I, and Thothmes I from Dongola Province in the south to the valley of the Euphrates in the north, and this was his last campaign. He returned in safety but he says: "I am bent and aged, but I am honoured as at the beginning. I desire that (I may enter?) and be at rest in the tomb which I myself have made." The inscription ends with a list of the presents, including the names of the 9 male and 10 female slaves, which he had received from the kings whom he had served.

The end of the reign of Thothmes I and the succeeding decade was marked by a confused struggle for the throne of Egypt which has perhaps not yet been satisfactorily untangled. Thothmes I, Thothmes II, Hatshepsut and her husband, Thothmes III, all took part in this struggle which was fostered by the intrigues of the Amon-priesthood. In the end Hatshepsut emerged as victor and reigned with Thothmes III as her consort. On her death, about 1480 B. C., Thothmes III came into his own and reigned alone for over 30 years. These were the years of the culmination of the greatest of the Egyptian empires. Thothmes III made nearly annual campaigns into Western Asia. Almost yearly some new region was plundered. The thoroughly conquered districts were held by governors, sometimes natives, sometimes Egyptians, appointed by the king of Egypt and forced to pay a large tribute from the annual production. Like all oriental taxation, the tribute varied from year to year, probably depending as much on the success of more or less fictitious excuses as on variations in local prosperity. The objects sent to Egypt were slaves, horses, cattle, oil, wine, cedarwood, and especially manufactured articles of gold and electrum. A due share of both tribute and booty was assigned, of course, to the priests.

In Ethiopia, Seni had been succeeded by a man named Nehi. In the Annals of Thothmes III, the yearly tribute sent by Nehi from Ethiopia is given under the separate headings of Kush and Wawat. Owing to the



bad preservation of the inscription, which is on the walls of the temple of Karnak, only the tribute of the years 32-34, 37-39, 41 and 42 can be wholly or partially ascertained. In each of these years, the gold, slaves, and cattle are enumerated, but a general clause is always added, saying: «in addition to the ships loaded with ivory, ebony, panther-skins, and all the good products of this land, and also the harvest of this land». The following table gives only the three classes which were especially enumerated. The Egyptian *deben* (= 91 grammes) is here estimated at a value of L. E. 12; a slave, at L. E. 10; and a head of cattle, at L. E. 5. These estimates make no claim to exactitude in view of our ignorance of ancient relative values but they may serve to an approximate idea of the income from Ethiopia (see p. 228).

The following points are to be noted :

1. Kush, or southern Ethiopia, produced more slaves and cattle than Wawat, or northern Ethiopia, but less gold. The Egyptian inscriptions distinguish between «gold of the mountain» and «gold of the water». The latter is no doubt alluvial gold. The Wawat gold must have come from the mines in the eastern desert. The Kush gold is stated in a list of the property of the temple of Medinet Habu to have been of both sorts. The mountain gold of Kush came no doubt also from mines in the eastern desert, from Um Nabardi or southwards; but the alluvial gold of Kush came probably from the river deposits on the Abyssinian frontier and was obtained in trade.

2. In spite of the fragmentary state of the figures, the income from Kush, exclusive of the unenumerated items, remained fairly steady at between L. E. 5,000 and L. E. 6,000.

3. The income from Wawat, also exclusive of the unenumerated items was during the years 32-34, also about L. E. 5,000-L. E. 6,000, but for the years 38-42, it jumped to between L. E. 30,000 and L. E. 40,000. This increase was due to the larger yield of gold. Either some unusually rich vein was struck, or a more intensive exploitation was carried on.

4. Including all products, the total income from Ethiopia for the years 32-34 was probably not much over L. E. 20,000; but during years 38-42, it may well have averaged over L. E. 50,000. This was net income

## LIST OF THE TRIBUTE FROM ETHIOPIA IN THE REIGN OF TROTUMS III.

FROM.	YEAR.	GOLD, DEBEN.	SLAVES.	CATTLE.	TOTAL INCOME.
Kush . . . . .	32 . . .	destroyed . . . . .	16 (L. E. 160) . . . .	343 (L. E. 1,715) . . . .	
Wawat . . . . .	32 . . .	— . . . . .	5 (L. E. 50) . . . . .	97 (L. E. 460) . . . . .	
Kush . . . . .	33 . . .	157.2 (L. E. 1,886) . . . . .	134 (L. E. 1,340) . . . .	419 (L. E. 2,095) . . . .	(L. E. 5,321).
Wawat . . . . .	33 . . .	destroyed . . . . .	20 (L. E. 200) . . . . .	103 (L. E. 515) . . . . .	
Kush . . . . .	34 . . .	300 + (L. E. 3,600+) . . . . .	94 (L. E. 940) . . . . .	275 (L. E. 1,375) . . . .	(L. E. 5,915+).
Wawat . . . . .	34 . . .	534 (L. E. 6,408) . . . . .	10 (L. E. 100) . . . . .	destroyed . . . . .	(L. E. 6,508+).
Kush . . . . .	37 . . .	70.1 (L. E. 841) . . . . .	10 + (L. E. 100+) . . . .	destroyed . . . . .	
Wawat . . . . .	37 . . .	destroyed . . . . .	34 (L. E. 340) . . . . .	94 (L. E. 470) . . . . .	
Kush . . . . .	38 . . .	100 + (L. E. 1,200+) . . . . .	36 (L. E. 360) . . . . .	306 (L. E. 1,530) . . . .	(L. E. 3,090+).
Wawat . . . . .	38 . . .	2644 (L. E. 31,728) . . . . .	16 (L. E. 160) . . . . .	78 (L. E. 390) . . . . .	(L. E. 32,278).
Kush . . . . .	39 . . .	144.1 (L. E. 1,729) . . . . .	101 (L. E. 1,010) . . . .	destroyed . . . . .	(L. E. 2,739+).
Wawat . . . . .	39 . . .	destroyed . . . . .	destroyed . . . . .	89 (L. E. 445) . . . . .	
Kush . . . . .	41 . . .	195.2 (L. E. 2,342) . . . . .	21 (L. E. 210) . . . . .	destroyed . . . . .	(L. E. 2,552+).
Wawat . . . . .	41 . . .	3144.3 (L. E. 37,732) . . . . .	none . . . . .	114 (L. E. 570) . . . . .	(L. E. 38,302).
Kush . . . . .	42 . . .	destroyed . . . . .	destroyed . . . . .	destroyed . . . . .	
Wawat . . . . .	42 . . .	2374.1 (L. E. 28,489) . . . . .	— . . . . .	— . . . . .	(L. E. 28,489+).

after the Egyptian officials had taken what they were in the habit of taking. These two figures, minimum L. E. 20,000 and maximum L. E. 50,000, probably represent the approximate limits of the net income from Ethiopia during the New Empire, after paying all costs of administration.

Corresponding to this division of the tribute, the administration of the country was also divided into Kush and Wawat, each under a special agent, or sub-governor, of the viceroy. Six inscriptions, made on the rocks of Lower Nubia by sub-governors of Wawat, have been found and yield the names of four of them, Amenemipt, Meri, Penno, and Hor. None of the names of the sub-governors of Kush is known; but an unnamed sub-governor of Kush is pictured in the tomb of Huwy, the viceroy of Tutankhamon (No. 7).

The tribute of Ethiopia included not merely the products of the mines worked by the government and the revenue from taxation, but also the income from the trade with the rest of the Sudan and the tribute paid by the tribes within the sphere of influence of the viceroy. The temple inscriptions of Thothmes III give a list of about 355 tribes and districts outside Ethiopia which were supposed to pay tribute, but this was merely a huge boast, which was copied with absurd mistakes and great confusion. There is no record of any military expedition beyond Kush, nor indeed of any official trading expedition under military escort like those maritime expeditions which went to Punt on the African coast near Bab-el-Mandeb. The Punt expeditions, however, went by way of Kosseir and were directed from Thebes. The attempt to identify the names of Sudan districts given by Thothmes III with modern names used in the Sudan breaks down completely, and indeed, in a country so overwhelmed by Arab and other migratory tribes, names largely tribal in character could hardly have been kept for over two thousand years. The name of Berbera, alone, may be identified with any confidence; but Berber owing to its geographical situation was then as now the «Key of the Sudan», the centre of great caravan roads leading to Egypt, to Dongola, to the Red Sea and to Punt, and to the head waters or all the Nile system. Known to caravan leaders to the ends of the Egyptian world, its old name may perhaps have been preserved in spite of local vicissitudes. Although the names of the ancient list cannot

be identified with modern names, the approximate situation of the tribes and districts is ascertainable from the contemporary Egyptian inscriptions and from an examination of the consonants used in the names. The consonants mark some names as negro, some as Semitic (coastal), some as Libyan, and a few as Egyptian. As a result it may be said that the Egyptian scribes knew the ancient names of the important tribes and tribal districts along the Nile as far as Khartoum and perhaps beyond, through the eastern desert and the islands of the seas from Kosseir to Somaliland, through the region between the Atbara and the Blue Nile, and finally up the western desert to the Mediterranean. With the occupation of Ethiopia proper, the Egyptians had secured control of all the roads by which intercourse with these districts was carried on, and with that control they rested content.

The alluvial gold, the ivory, the ebony, the gums, and other raw materials contained in the lists of the tribute of Kush, as distinguished from Wawat, must have come in part from beyond the borders of the territory administered by the viceroys, and could have been obtained only by trade or a tax on trade. It must be concluded, then, that a considerable traffic was maintained with Central Africa and the Abyssinian districts either officially or by periodical private caravans. Something must have passed in exchange. Perhaps, the bulk of the exported goods was grain, salt, cloth, and similar perishable supplies, but in an Africa, not materially different from the modern Africa, the demand must have been great for bronze weapons and the gaudy amulets and beads manufactured so cheaply by the Egyptians, objects which may have resisted decay even to this day. It is therefore not beyond a reasonable hope that future excavations in the southern districts of the Sudan may some day yield absolute evidence of the extent of this trade.

From the time of Thothmes III to the end of the XX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Egypt kept a firm hold on Ethiopia. The payment of the government dues was interrupted by an occasional revolt in the earlier years, but later was made continuously with a submissive spirit. One of the favourite scenes in the tombs of the great officials of the time is the payment of the tribute of Ethiopia with pictures of wild Africans and strange animals. The administration of the viceroys was unbroken as may be seen from the following

list, from Thury to Herihor, from which only one or two names may have escaped :

A. --- VICEROYS OF ETHIOPIA IN DYNASTY XVIII, 1548-1315 B. C.

TITLE : "King's son, Governor of the Southern Lands".

1. *Thury* . . . . . 1548-1537, under Amenophis I and Thothmes I.
2. *Seni* . . . . . 1537-1500, under Thothmes I and Thothmes II.
3. *Nehi* . . . . . 1500-ca. 1453, under Hatshepsut and Thothmes III.
4. *Wesersatet* . . . . . Ca. 1453-ca. 1412, under Amenophis II and Thothmes IV.

TITLE : "King's son of Kush, Governor of the Southern Lands".

5. *Merymes* . . . . . Ca. 1412-ca. 1370, under Thothmes IV and Amenophis III.
6. *Thothmes* . . . . . Ca. 1370-ca. 1358, under Amenophis IV Ikhenaten.
7. *Huwy* . . . . . Ca. 1358-ca. 1350, under Tutankhamon.
8. *Paser* . . . . . Ca. 1350-ca. 1315, under Eye and Haremheb.

B. --- VICEROYS OF ETHIOPIA IN DYNASTY XIX, 1315-1200 B. C.

TITLE : "King's son of Kush, Governor of the Southern Lands".

9. *Amenemipt* . . . . . Ca. 1315-ca. 1290, under Ramses I, Sethos I and the joint reign of Sethos I and Ramses II.
10. *Yuni* . . . . . Ca. 1290-ca. 1280, under the joint reign of Sethos I and Ramses II and in the early years of Ramses II. This man is the Regent Ani of Ebers' novel *Uarda*.

The order of the three following viceroys of Ramses II, 1292-1225, is uncertain :

11. *Heganecht* . . . . . Under Ramses II.
12. *Sethauw* . . . . . Under Ramses II from before 1354 to after 1348. The greatest viceroy of this reign.
13. *Paser II* . . . . . Under Ramses II.
14. *Messumy* . . . . . Ca. 1225-ca. 1209, under Merneptah, Amenmeses, and Sethos II.
15. *Sety* . . . . . Ca. 1209-1203, under Siptah.
16. *Hori I* . . . . . 1203-ca. 1180, under Siptah, Setackht, and Ramses III.

## G. — VICEROYS OF ETHIOPIA IN DYNASTY XX, 1200-1190 B. C.

17. *Hori II.* . . . . Son of Hori I. Ca. 1180-ca. 1160, under Ramses III, Ramses IV and Ramses V.
18. *Wentawat.* . . . Ca. 1160-ca. 1142, under Ramses VI, Ramses VII, and Ramses VIII.
19. *Ramsesuekht.* . . Ca. 1142-ca. 1122, under Ramses IX.
20. *Panehsi* . . . . . Ca. 1122-ca. 1100, under Ramses X and Ramses XI.
21. *Herihor* . . . . . Ca. 1100-1090, under Ramses XI until he became king himself about 1090 B. C.

The history of Egypt during the period covered by these viceroys can be given only in the barest outline in this article. The outstanding features were first the enormous increase in the wealth and power of the monarchy through the relentless exploitation of the foreign conquests, and second the consequent internal struggles for the kingship.

In all absolute monarchies, and even in modern republics, the position of head of the state has always been a source of strife in which the emoluments of power have stirred the activities of men quite as often as the legitimate motives of statesmanship. In Egypt of the New Empire, this strife was intensified by the unusual material power of the priesthood. It may well be doubted whether the Egyptians were either more religious or more fanatical in their religion than other peoples. The power of the priesthood rested as ever on the organization of that body and on its endowed resources; and these depended on the fact that the gods, and especially the national god, Amon-Ra, were given the credit for the national successes and were assigned a large share of the booty and the tribute. The amount received depended on the generosity of the king and thus the priests came to have an unusual interest in the personality who occupied the throne. The great events in the resulting political development were :

1. The interference of the Amon-priesthood in the succession to Thothmes I, about 1500 B. C., which led to the struggle between the aged Thothmes I, Thothmes II, Hatshepsut and Thothmes III.

2. The attempt of Amenophis IV, Akhenaten, to break the power of the Amon-priesthood by replacing Amon-Ra with Aten (the sun's disc).

He destroyed the names of Amon in all inscriptions in the temples, on the monuments, and even in the tombs, sparing not even the name of his father. He shifted the capital of Egypt from Thebes to a new city, called Akhetaten (Tel Amarna), the capital of Ethiopia from Napata to Gematen (Kawa). He began new temples to Aten but in the meantime the Aten worship was no doubt carried on in the old temples. Complete information is lacking, but apparently the Amon-priesthood was shorn of its power and much of its property.

3. On the death of Akhenaten without male heir, his sons-in-law fought for the succession. The weakened Amon-priesthood, still strong at least in personnel, joined forces with Tutankhaten, helped him to the throne as Tutankhamon and recovered partially their old position.

4. The confusion of the end of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty was cleared up by one of the strong soldiers of Egypt, Haremheb. The foreign income of Egypt was renewed and the Amon-priesthood recovered so fully its former influence during the XIX<sup>th</sup> and XX<sup>th</sup> Dynasties that in the reign of Ramses III (1198-1167 B. C.) at least one-seventh of all the cultivable land was temple property and free of taxation. The temples also owned 107,000 slaves (about 1/50<sup>th</sup> of the population), half a million head of cattle, a fleet of 88 vessels, and 169 towns in Ethiopia, Syria, and Egypt. In addition, the temple treasuries held a considerable accumulation of gold and silver. Of all this vast property, the Amon-priesthood administered more than half and influenced the administration of most of the rest.

5. Because of the enormous accumulation of wealth in the hands of the priestly organization, that body gathered in the strongest men in the country. Their unscrupulous use of the temple oracles to enforce their punitive decisions and their political desires turned the state into a sort of theocracy in which the king, in spite of his divinity and his strong traditional position, was quite unable to enforce his will except with the consent of the High-Priest of Amon. Finally the High-Priest, Herihor, assumed the throne himself, probably on the basis of some hereditary claim, and thereafter a solution was sought in keeping the High Priesthood in the immediate family of the king. In the meantime, however, the Egyptian

Government, distracted by its internal politics, had lost all its foreign possessions, except Ethiopia.

The details of the government of the viceroys of Ethiopia after Nchi, the viceroy of Thothmes III, must also be passed over in silence. The records of the military campaigns, of the digging of wells on the roads to the gold-mines, of the clearing of the old canal at the First Cataract, of the biographies of officials, of the dedications of temples, and of the memorials on the rocks of Nubia, if they could be given here, would add a deep human interest to the dry list of viceroys. The tombs of some of the viceroys are known and objects from their tomb-furniture may be seen in Cairo and in some of the great cities of Europe. In particular, the tomb of Huwy (Viceroy No. 7) is at Qurnet Murrai (Thebes) and may still be visited. On its walls, Huwy is represented, summoned into the presence of his sovereign, Tutankhamon, to receive his appointment as viceroy of Ethiopia, or in modern terms, Governor-General of the Sudan. The Overseer of the Treasury says to him: "This is the seal from the Pharaoh, who assigns to you the territory from El-Kab to Napata". Another official hands the seal to Huwy, saying: "Take the seal, O King's Son of Kush". Other scenes depict the departure of Huwy by ship for Napata, and the bringing of shiploads of tribute to Thebes. One other document must be mentioned, — a papyrus in Turin, which contains a copy of a letter sent by Ramses XI, the last king of his name, to the viceroy Panehsi (No. 20) ordering him "to go after the butler of the Pharaoh and cause him to proceed with the business of the Pharaoh which he was sent to do in the southern lands". The business was not very important, being merely the fetching of certain materials for pious works. It is curious that of all the vast correspondence which the government of Ethiopia must have entailed, only the coronation announcement sent to Thury, the first viceroy, and this trivial letter to Panehsi, the next to the last viceroy of the New Empire, should have been preserved.

The office of viceroy of Ethiopia was from the beginning practically a life appointment. The appointees were often men who had gained experience of the southland in other capacities, and the length of their terms of office speaks well for the general wisdom of the selections and the



efficiency of the trained Egyptian official of this period. The territory nominally under the viceroy included the three southernmost *mudiriats*, the so-called *nomes*, of Egypt, but the tax-lists in the tomb of the vezier, Rekmira, prove that these three *nomes* actually paid their taxes to Thebes. The real territory of the viceroy, therefore, included only Kush and Wawat (Lower Nubia to south of Phile, Halfa, and Dongola Provinces), that is, the land of the mines, and of the roads to the mines and to the whole Sudan. Thus, by the geographical position of the country, the duties of the viceroy included all relations, whether commercial or political, with the negroid and negro tribes beyond the borders of Kush. He managed all the diplomatic business, the cultivation of friendly relations with the tribes, and the despatch of delegations to Thebes as well as the working of the gold mines and the gathering of the products of the Southern Lands. Whatever form was taken by his activity, the great purpose of his office was to supply the king of Egypt with cattle, slaves, gums, hides, hard woods, ivory, ostrich-eggs and feathers, and above all, with gold. Ethiopia supplied the gold of Egypt, and as King Assurballit wrote to Akhenaten in a cuneiform letter found at Tel-Amarna (Akhetaten), "gold was as common as dust in the land of Egypt". The phraseology is, of course, oriental. The king of Assyria was begging for a present of the precious metal, but it expresses a fact known to all Western Asia, that Egypt was the richest of all lands in the production of gold. Now not only was the greater part of the gold production of Egypt under the control of the viceroy of Ethiopia, a fact which in itself was sufficient to give great importance to that official, but as time went on the Ethiopian income became the only foreign source of revenue. The income from Western Asia grew less as ground was yielded to the Hittites and the pressing northern tribes, and finally ceased. Even the internal revenue was seriously diminished by the enormous non-taxable estates of the temples, and the Ethiopian tribute must have been of vital importance to the monarchy. Thus the viceroys were great men in Egypt and received large rewards from the kings; but there is no evidence that any of them ever rose to a higher position either that of vezier or of high-priest of Amon, or ever played a political role, until the time of Herihor, the last in the above list. He was High-Priest of Amon and took the office of viceroy apparently merely as a

preliminary move in his assumption of the kingship. Probably he never visited Ethiopia at all, but as had become customary in the later times he administered his province through deputies.

Thury, the first Egyptian governor of the Southern Lands during the New Empire, was appointed about 1548 B. C., and Herihor, the 22<sup>nd</sup> known viceroy, became king of Egypt about 1090. Thus, for 558 years, five and a half centuries, Ethiopia was governed by Egyptian officials and paid tribute to Egypt. In the early years, there were occasional revolts of the tribes, but gradually the troubles were reduced to mere brigandage and raiding by the more or less nomadic parts of the population. This changed attitude was due however as much to peaceful penetration as to the fierce demonstrations of power given by the kings of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty and to the deportation of large bodies of the people to form slave colonies attached to the Egyptian temples. The Egyptians followed up their military and political occupation by filling the land with Egyptians, — soldiers, officials, priests, merchants, and craftsmen. Southwards of Phile, temples were made, decorated, and maintained at Kalabsha, Gerf Husein, Kubban, Es-Sebua, Amada, Derr, Ibrim, Abu Simbel, Halfa (Buhen), Semneh, Soleb, Delgo (Sesi), Kawa, Gebel Barkal, and other places. Each of these was a centre of propaganda, a community of scribes learned in Egyptian medicine, law, and religion and of artisans trained in every ancient craft. These men, by their intelligence and the greater physical comfort of their existence, impressed on the Ethiopian mind day by day the superiority of the Egyptian race and the futility of a conflict with them. The better agricultural areas at least as far south as Semneh were assigned to the support of the temples and turned over to immigrants from Egypt and their descendants for cultivation. In addition, each of the more important communities had its administrative post, consisting of officials, clerks, and soldiers who were responsible to the viceroy. The viceroy himself with his personal staff probably shifted his quarters from El-Kab or Elephantine to Semneh or Napata as the season or the necessities of the administration made it seem advisable. His duties included the working of the gold mines in the eastern desert, the collection of the harvest and trade taxes, and of course, the maintenance of order. All these activities and influences taught the Ethiopians not only the hopelessness of resistance

but also the advantages of an ordered life. Most of the Egyptians were permanently domiciled in the country and had brought their families with them. The decimated tribes grew into a completely submissive population, were affected racially by intermarriage with the ruling class, and became more or less Egyptianized. The country as a whole was thoroughly Egyptianized, especially in the religion. The names of the local gods were remembered, and all the gods of the Egyptian pantheon were called upon in their special functions, but the great god was Amon-Ra, the god of the Theban family who had conquered so much of the world, the god of the Hohenzollerns of antiquity. He dwelt in the midst of the «Holy Mount» which we now call Gebel Barkal, and in the days to come, his oracles were to decide the fates of even the kings of Ethiopia.

Thus the long Egyptian occupation under the viceroys of the New Empire left Ethiopia unaltered as the land of roads, the intermediary in the trade with the uncivilized southland. The geographical situation was the same, but in all else, Ethiopia was a changed land. The mines of the eastern desert had been exploited to the utmost and were now approaching exhaustion. The population included a large ruling class of intelligent and energetic Egyptians to which the remnants of the native race were entirely subordinated. Individual natives, of course, rose to place and power, for the near Orient has always been democratic in its recognition of ability, but these men were in all essentials Egyptians, in speech, in training, and in thought. All the learning, — law, medicine, literature, and religion, — was taken from the papyrus rolls of the Egyptians. Every manifestation of public and private life was modelled by preference on Egyptian lines. Thus in the days of Herihor, Ethiopia had finally become an integral part of Egypt itself, and in the centuries to come, this Egypt of the South was to rear its own family of kings, to overcome its conqueror, and to be accepted by the classical world as the original home of the Egyptians and of Amon-Ra, their god.

G. A. REISNER.

# THE BEIRS

BY COL. M. H. LOGAN.

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The Beirs known to the neighbouring tribes as Agibba inhabit the centre and southern part of the Sobat-Pibor District and the geographical limits within which this people reside may be defined by the following boundaries :

- On the north, latitude 7.30;
- On the west, longitude 32;
- On the south, latitude 6;
- On the east, the Boma plateau.

They have for their neighbours the following tribes : on the north-west, the Lau Nuers; on the west and south-west, the Dinkas; on the south, the Tabosans; on the south-east, the Turkhanas; on the north-east, the Anuaks; and on the east, the Abyssinians (*vide map*).

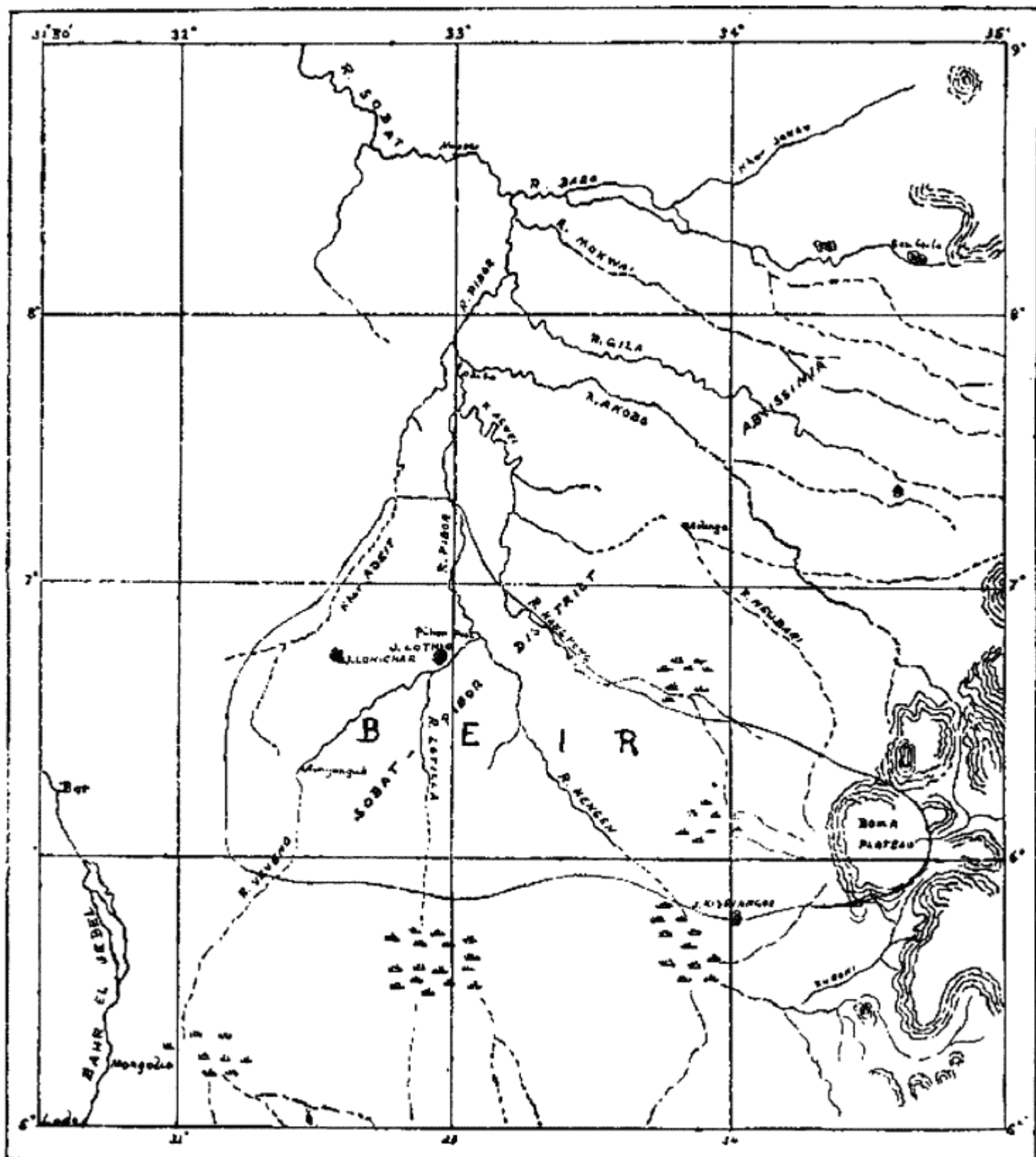
According to Professor Westermann (*The Shilluk people*), the Beirs are a division of the Shilluk tribe whose original habitat was along the shores of the Bahr El Jebel. It is probable that the Beri, Beir and Ber are identical, Beri being the plural Ber, and it is not improbable that the Jur and the Belanda are in near relationship with the Beir.

The Beir language, as far as it is at present known, contains a number of words common to the Shilluk language and is undoubtedly a dialect or division of the latter.

Of the Beri Emin Pasha wrote «they speak the same language as the Shilluks».

The Kapeyta people living on the Boma plateau are said to be a branch of the Beirs.

The Beir country may be best generally described as an open cotton soil plain intersected with many rivers and khors originating in unknown swamps. The principal river is the Pibor fed by the Kengen from the south-east, by the Lotilla from the south, and by the Veveno from the



south-west. The most important khors are the Adeit on the west boundary and the Kong-kong, into which flows the Kalbat, on the east.

Until the foot hills of the Boma plateau are reached only a few rocky jebels break the monotony of the plains and of them Jebel Lothir is at present the best known. This hill is situated about a mile distant from the left bank of the R. Lotilla and 12 miles south-west of Pibor Post. Approximately 500 feet high it overlooks the country as far as the eye can see and from it are visible two smaller jebels towards the west known as Lokichar.

General Gordon is said to have travelled up the Pibor river as far as this jebel Lothir and thence westwards to the Nile, probably in the direction of Bor.

There are numerous dabbas or sandy mounds along the river banks. The dabbas are formed presumably of debris and rubbish deposited over a period of many years by former generations of natives. They are to be found as large as 200 yards by 160 yards and may be as much as 8 feet higher than the surrounding country. Judging by their number, it is probable that at some past time the country was much more thickly populated. The Beirs usually have their permanent villages on these mounds.

Along the rivers are belts of thick bush varying in depth from 100 yards to half a mile and composed of nabbak thorn, kuk and heglig trees with a continuous line of yoey trees close to the water's edge. The Pibor river is often spoken of as the Bahr El Yoey. Clumps of fine ardeib, dabka and johghan trees are met at intervals along the Pibor river with a few scattered gemeiza and um shultur trees. It is noticeable that heglig and habile trees are usually found on ground not liable to be flooded annually.

The route most commonly used to reach the Beir country is that following the Pibor river southwards from its junction with the Sobat river. Small stern-wheel steamers can usually reach Pibor Post during the months July to December, and with an exceptionally high river such as in 1917 it is probable that a steamer could get within a few miles of Mongalla up the river Veveno. The chief obstacle to the exploration and navigation of these rivers is the rapid growth of thick sudd. A dry season route from Bor to Ainyangak on the river Veveno is sometimes used but water is scarce.

During the height of the 1917 floods only the tops of dabbas throughout what was known of the Sobat-Pibor District remained above water. Those natives who did not occupy a jebel or dabba lived either in trees or on their house tops. Game was drowned in thousands.

According to our present knowledge, the Beirs form some six sections under representative sheikhs who have considerable influence over their people. They are a pastoral race and in consequence their mode and habits of life are subordinated to the requirements of their cattle. During the rainy season, which commences about the beginning of May, they live in their permanent villages which, as already stated, are for the most part built on the numerous sandy dabbas along the river banks. Here they cultivate a fair amount of durra, but after the cessation of the rains in October as soon as good grazing for their cattle fails, they migrate up or down the various rivers in search of new pastures and construct rough temporary shelters of grass built in the shape of a bee-hive and about 6 feet high.

As a rule this migration commences in December when the grass is dry enough for burning. Once they commence to move it is exceedingly difficult to keep touch with them as they do not follow their own chief; but some villages, and even families of a village, will separate and follow a line of their own, perhaps in the territory of another chief.

The Beir is not the simple pastoral savage that he appears at first contact. He is possessed of much natural cunning which is often concealed beneath an appearance of simplicity. He is a born liar and prevaricator of the truth and anything that he says must be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. He often resorts to the artistic device of telling half the truth so that he may mislead his hearers more than if he had uttered a direct falsehood.

In common with the rest of the human race he has a distinct inclination to want always to acquire something for nothing. This is particularly noticeable in his dealings with the Government, his invariable attitude being to get every thing possible out of the Government and to do nothing in return.

Though he does not wear clothing, he is particularly vain about his personal appearance and goes to absurd extremes of dandyism, his energies

in this direction being concentrated mainly on the adornment of his head-dress.

He has no conception of «the dignity of labour» as understood by modern democracies, though possessed of that innate and inherent dislike of work, which is common to all native. In his case, however, this dislike is accentuated and developed to such a degree that he regards all work as being beneath his dignity and fit to be performed only by women.

The care of cattle, fishing, hunting, eating, drinking, sleeping, the adornment of his person and the propagation of his species are the only matters to which he devotes his energy and attention. Manual labour he steadfastly regards as degrading to his manhood. He is at times unable to differentiate between *meum* and *tuum* where the property of other people is concerned, though fully alive to the difference when the property in question happens to be his own.

Individually he is brave enough, though collectively he does not appear to be particularly warlike. He is apt to take advantage of kind treatment if it is not made clear to him that the continuation of such treatment depends on his own behaviour.

As a guide he is unreliable even when he asserts he knows the way. As a rule he appears to know little of the country outside his own particular district and there are occasions when he does not know even that. He is useful in inhabited districts as he acquires information as to the route from the local inhabitants, but even then it is necessary to keep a careful check on him. His general ignorance of his own country is amazing.

He is of a cheerful but improvident disposition, regarding only the present and taking no thought for the future. This is particularly noticeable as regards his dura supplies which last for only a limited period. He is quick to take offence but his anger is not lasting. His women-kind are modest in demeanour and appear to be virtuous when single, but there is much immorality amongst them when married. The Beir however does not appear to look on adultery in a very serious light more especially when it does not concern his own family. He is, in fact, apt to look on it rather in the nature of a joke against the husband concerned, even though in his own phrasology he dubs an adulterer «a thief of women». To give



him credit for some morality it is only fair to state that the chief offenders are as a rule unmarried men, and that immorality amongst married men appears to be either rare or unknown.

They have at times been employed as carriers, but they dislike carrying loads and will only do so when food is very scarce and they can obtain durra or biscuit in payment. Their villages, as a rule, being close to the river, the Beirs suffer considerably from thirst when there is a shortage of water. The women are better workers than the men and are far more willing. The principal inducement to work is the promise of food and they will eat any portion of an animal however decomposed it may be. They are intelligent and quickly pick up Arabic words and imitate the actions and calls of the different animals with great skill.

It is often most exasperating work to make them undertake to do a thing, but once they have agreed to do it they may be counted on to carry out their word and any breach of the same is regarded very unfavourably by the others.

As regards their dress, such as it is, the Beirs are undoubtedly a vain race. The women wear for the most part a leather apron or loin cloth suspended from one shoulder. The height of fashion is to insert into the inside of the lower lip a large half moon shaped bit of wood which has the effect of protruding it some two inches. Ears are loaded with clusters of blue beads, brass and iron rings and are, in consequence, very much pulled down and disfigured.

Strings of beads are also worn round the neck and the colour of these varies very much according to the fashion in vogue. Almost invariably the women walk with a light forked stick about 4 feet long which is often ornamented with carving.

The young men, as a rule, wear iron collars which they keep well polished. Great attention is paid by them to the dressing of the hair which is called a *nebukot* when the coiffure is finished. The hair is woven close and shaped to form a curve somewhat like a brimmed hat, which besides being very picturesque affords good shade. The brim is often further ornamented with brass wire and beads. The full head-dress is very fine indeed and consists of the addition of ostrich feathers secured with a broad band of red and white beads across the forehead. Giraffe tails, portions of Zebra skin,



Beir.                      Fig. 1.                      Anuak.  
Nuer.



Fig. 2. — Typical Beirs.

and ivory arm rings are frequently added to their general "get-up". Every young man carries on one of his wrists a small stool which acts as a neck rest at night to keep his elaborate head-dress off the ground.

An old man, when considered as such, wears his hair plain. The sign of being grown up is the possession of a spear.

Villages are formed by the common agreement of the people to live together. The families are not necessarily under one chief and there is no compulsion to remain in the village.

Their houses are usually bee-hive shaped grass huts, very strongly built. The framework consists of stout yoccy saplings bent over and interwoven: this is then covered over with a thick grass thatch closely bound to the framework with strips of bark. The doorways do not open directly into the hut but from a kind of porch built out at right angles to the hut. A house often has a small emergency entrance or exit which is very difficult to locate. Some huts are very much larger than others and these are then used to house the cattle and are frequently shared by the family as well. The moving of a village is, as a rule, made by common consent, but those who elect to stay may do so. Every family has one or more fish weirs, each family having four baskets. Enormous catches of fish are made when the rivers are low.

The cattle of a village is all herded together but the man with the largest number makes the arrangement for the pasturing. When the Beirs are stationary, the following is more or less their system of grazing cattle.

- 1.0 a. m. . . . cattle go out grazing.
- 3.30 — . . . cattle return to zariba and are milked at 5.30 a. m.
- 6.30 — . . . cattle go out grazing.
- 1.0 p. m. . . . cattle return to zariba for rest.
- 3.00 — . . . cattle go out again for grazing.
- 7.00 — . . . cattle return to zariba for milking: fires are made  
and all bedded down.

Small boys have charge of the cattle by day, the young men at night. The object of nearly all raids is the capture of cattle and should it become known that a chief is organising a raid men under other chiefs will attach

themselves to him. The leader of a raid usually takes a half of all captured beasts and the remainder are divided among his followers.

They frequently punch with needles the root of the horns of young heifers and then bind the horns with thongs to make them grow in a narrow prong shape towards the front of the skull.

The Beir cattle are shorter in the leg and thicker built than those of the Nuers. Sheep of the fat tailed variety and goats are fairly plentiful. The Beirs do not keep fowls.

Beirs have hitherto possessed very few canoes and these have been of the roughest and clumsiest type made from kuk or johghan trees, but it is probable that more will be built after their recent experiences of floods. It is curious to know that very few Beirs can swim.

The Beir believes in a supreme being or God, whom he calls Tummu. Tummu is said to be resident in the sky. He is worshipped by means of offerings of fish, sheep, etc., placed at the foot of certain trees. The Beir, too, often refers to rain as Tummu, and when rain is coming he says "Tummu is coming". Beyond this vague idea of a supreme being he does not appear to have any definite ideas regarding religion.

Their form of oath is to break a straw between their fingers. The salutation is as follows :

Q. How are you? — A. Very well.

Q. How are the cattle? — A. Well.

Q. How are your women? — A. Well.

Q. How are your children? — A. Well.

Q. How are the dogs? — A. Well.

Good.

A father meeting his son or daughter after an absence, puts his hand on his victim's head and spits lightly in his or her face, then he puts his hand first in one of his arm pits and then in the other and touches the child's nose and chest. In the case of sickness they consult a medicine man, the procedure usually being to light a fire while the medicine man makes a stroking motion over the part affected : he then suddenly plucks out the evil and casts it into the fire : meanwhile the relatives and friends shout

and scream. This ceremony takes place shortly after dark and continues for an hour. The pay of a medicine man — who may also be a woman — usually consists of the hinder part of an ox.

In the event of death the corpse is taken outside the village at sun-rise or sun-set. No grave is made but the body is simply laid on the ground at a distance from the village with its back towards it. A stool is placed under the neck and a bowl of water is put alongside for the vultures to drink from after consuming the flesh.

The children of the deceased shave their heads and drink hot water on the forenoon of the day of burial and cold water in the afternoon : they are, also, prohibited from drinking the blood of game for one month. The body of a chief is covered with wood and thorns.

In marriage the man selects his lady and finds out her views which are final. If she agrees he goes to interview her father; he takes cattle with him and remains some four days at the father's village, if it should be a different one to his own. The settling of the price usually takes some time and varies from 4 to 12 bulls.

If the girl is still young, she stays with her father until she is old enough to leave him.

There is no marriage ceremony, but an animal is, as a rule, killed and eaten.

It is the duty of a son-in-law, when he has killed game and has more than he requires, to supply his parents and parents-in-law.

If there are no children after a period varying from 4 to 15 years of marriage, the man may return the woman to her father and demand the repayment, in cattle, of the price he originally paid for her and a recompense for any game that he may have supplied.

All disputes in these matters are referred to the chief.

If a woman is lazy, her husband beats her, and if she commits adultery he may overlook the first and perhaps the second offence, but after that, if she commits herself again, he returns her to her father and claims restitution of the dowry. In the event of their being any children of the marriage, the husband keeps them and forfeits a certain number of the cattle originally paid.

A divorced woman would never be bought again, but may re-marry

without a dowry. Theft is punished by flogging and any offender twice convicted is driven from the village.

Heritage is arranged for by the following simple rules : On the death of a man his belongings, and if he is a chief the chiefship, descend to his eldest son, and failing a son to his eldest brother. A woman cannot inherit.

As previously noted, the Beirs grow a certain amount of red durra which is sown after the first few rain falls, the ground having been cleaned and prepared during January and February.

The crop is reaped five months later, the stalks being cut by spear and if rains are protracted a second crop is thus obtained.

The durra is grown in patches close to the village and surrounded by a thorn zariba : inside the zariba each family has its own particular plot. After the end of the rain the Beirs subsist for 2 months on durra, 3 months on game, 3 months on fish and *lalob*, the fruit of the Heglig-tree, and the remainder of the year is eked out by occasional fish and milk with such durra as remains to them. At the beginning of the rains they employ their dogs, of which they own a considerable number, in running down hartebeest and waterbuck.

As they depend very largely on game for food, they make a speciality of hunting. Their favourite method is to make a zariba in the scrub close to the river bank so as to ensure that the game can only pass down to the river to drink through gaps which are specially left open in the zariba. They themselves at night sleep inside the thorn fence and at dawn are ready to close the gaps.

A drive is then carried out along the river bank. The scheme is generally arranged by several villages in cooperation. The hunting is usually done by pairs who club together all game killed during the season. If one man spears and kills a beast it belongs to him : if two spear an animal, the first spear takes the hinder part and the second the forepart. More than two men never hunt the same animal.

Game traps are frequently used. These are made of a noose secured at the end of a strong *yoey* sapling bent down to form a spring. The traps are placed at gaps in a long continuous thorn fence built along the river banks in the dry weather.

Animals nose their way at night along this fence in their endeavour to

get down to the river to drink and on trying to pass through a gap in which a trap has been set release the noose from its retaining peg and are caught usually by a hind leg and slung up.

It may be of interest to note here the different kinds of game to be met with in the Beir country. These are elephant — buffalo — hartebeest (tetal) — waterbuck — white eared cob — giraffe — roan antelope — zebra — lion — leopard — wart-hog — reedbuck — Mongalla gazelle and oribi.

An occasional hippopotamus gets as far as 40 miles south of Akobo up the Pibor river. Hyenas and jackals are common. Seven or eight different species of goose, duck and teal, can be shot, and guinea fowl abound along the river banks. The majority of the above animals are common along the eastern boundary of the Beir country, where they are not unduly hunted. The rivers and larger khors are full of crocodiles and fish.

The Beirs are divided into the following four classes of warriors, excluding those of the Marua hills and Boma Plateau :

1. Gumlangarak.....	Age 18 to 27.	Strength	1,000
2. Widthwidthi.....	— 27 — 30	—	900
3. Chumalimm.....	— 30 — 40	—	800
4. Kamuth.....	— 40 — 60	—	400
		TOTAL.....	<u>3,100</u>

The Gumlangarak are called up every six years, are trained by the retiring Gumlangarak and serve in that class for six years. They constitute the striking force of the Beirs, and are used exclusively for all minor operations such as raids. They are not allowed to marry until they have been relieved by the calling-up of the new Gumlangarak.

With the exception of the Beirs of the Boma Plateau, who are said to be armed with rifles, the majority of the Beirs are armed with spears, and carry small shields and circular wrist knives. They undoubtedly possess some rifles, the result of gun-running, but, as they invariably conceal them, it is impossible to estimate the number in their possession. It appears, however, to be small and almost negligible.

Shields are made of giraffe, buffalo, cattle and zebra hide.

Most of their spears are kept as sharp as razors and have leather sheaths

to protect the edge. When attacking with a spear, they commonly make a feint at the head and strike for the stomach.

A characteristic of the Beirs in warfare is their preference for fighting at night. At daylight they will retire but will attack again at sundown creeping through the grass in crescent formation, with their bodies smeared with mud. They usually aim at the enemy's line of retreat and are said not to fire the grass which is a common ruse de guerre among natives.

These notes are largely based on the personal observations of the writer, but much of the information has been obtained through Major Maclaine, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, and the late Major Hutton, R.M.A., during the years 1912-1913. The notes have been revised and added to by Major Bacon, Royal West Surrey Regiment, the present Administrator of the Sobat River District, and Captain J. P. Shelley, The King's Own (Royal Lancaster Regiment). It should be borne in mind however that our knowledge of these people is still incomplete, but it is hoped that this part of the Sudan will soon be more opened up, and the people brought into closer touch with the Government.

M. H. LOGAN.



**SOME NOTES**  
ON  
**THE ZANDE TRIBE**  
**AS FOUND IN THE MERIDI DISTRICT**  
**(BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVINCE)**  
BY MAJOR R. G. C. BROCK.

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On first arrival in the Sudan one always hears a great deal about the Nyam Nyam (or as it is generally incorrectly pronounced Yum Yum) tribe, which one is told inhabits the Southern Bahr El Ghazal. As a matter of fact the name is quite meaningless, there being no such tribe. The Bahr El Ghazal Handbook says that the name is probably of onomatopœic origin and was originally applied to the unknown conglomeration of people whose cannibal propensities were a matter of common report. It now seems to have become the general name in the Sudan for the Azande, though it is not used by the Officials in the South of the Province, who have to differentiate between many different tribes all of whom are described further north as Nyam Nyam. This name, being as I have said completely meaningless, might well be discarded.

I wish to make it clear that these notes only profess to apply to the Azande as found in the Meridi District, though they probably do not differ greatly from the customs of the tribe as found in the Yambio and Tembura Districts. The true Azande live in the Belgian Congo : they spread from the south-west, conquering and absorbing all other tribes in their path, and in a north easterly direction had reached what is now the Meridi District when the reoccupation of the Southern Bahr El Ghazal in 1905 stopped their further advance. The tribes who occupied the country to the west of Meridi, notably the Abangbinda and Abugaru — the latter the Babuckur of Schweinfurth — have become completely merged with the

Azande, and probably some of the customs described here may have originally come from these tribes.

It might also be mentioned here that a tribe officially called Makraka or Makaraka, a few of whom live in the Meridi District and others in the Yei River District, Mongalla Province, and in the Belgian Congo, are really Azande. A section of this tribe in the old days objected to the rule of the Avungera, the royal and governing race of the Azande, and broke away to the east. The name Makraka was given to them by one of the tribes whose country they occupied and signifying eaters of human flesh <sup>(1)</sup>.

**BIRTH.** — A pregnant woman will not eat the meat of waterbuck or a kind of sweet potato called *mene*. It is said that these foods will cause a miscarriage.

There is no special ceremony at the birth of a child. After four days the infant's cord is cut. Immediately after this is done, a fire of green leaves is made at the threshold of the house where the child was born and its mother with the child in her arms sits in the smoke for about half an hour. This is said to make the child strong. The remains of the fire are not thrown away but carefully placed on one of the paths leading to the village; if this is not done, the child will suffer ill health. After sitting in the smoke, the mother and her women friends partake of the ordinary porridge-like food of the country mixed with a special sauce made of the leaves of a small weed called *sesere*.

Children are suckled for quite two years and during this time the mother will not eat the same foods as were forbidden her during pregnancy. Until the child is weaned the husband will have no intercourse with his wife. I might also mention a custom peculiar to the Makraka of only having intercourse with a wife who is pregnant, at the time of a new moon.

**CIRCUMCISION.** — Girls are not circumcized. All boys are at about the age of 12 or upwards. This has been the custom from the earliest times and is not Islamic in its origin.

The operation is performed by men who make a profession of it. The

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<sup>(1)</sup> Dr JUNKER, vol. I, p. 480, says that the name was given to the tribe calling itself Idiô by the original inhabitants of the country.

boy — or boys as several generally arrange to club together — is taken to a previously chosen spot in the grass away from all villages, where a temporary house has already been built, and circumcized in the presence of his male relations, but not of his father. They are thought none the worse of if they show any signs of pain during the operation. The boys remain living in the house for about 6 months, each with an attendant whose business it is to dress their wound and instruct them in the special circumcision dance. The dancing takes place at night. During the day the boys may walk abroad but must not return to their own villages. While under instruction, the boys wear a kind of abbreviated ballet skirt made of dried banana leaves cut into thin strips and may only eat the meat of waterbuck, buffalo and cane rat.

When all the boys are considered to be proficient in the dance, which is a complicated one of about 12 different figures, they return in the afternoon of an appointed day to the village of one of their fathers. The circumcision dance goes on until about an hour before sunset when the boys are taken away by their relations, men and women, washed, dressed in a new *rokko* (a loin cloth made from the bark of a fig tree) and ornamented with beads, bracelets, etc. They return to the village carried on the shoulders of their dancing masters. Over their heads, in order to cover their faces, is put a grass mat wound in cylinder shape. Fresh leaves are spread on the ground and on them are placed stools for the boys to sit. In front of each boy is put a grass hat and into these relations and friends place their offerings of spears, bracelets, rings, etc., and perhaps money; anyone doing so may raise the mat and look at the boys' face. The man who performed the operation is present and when he considers the offerings, which are divided between him and the boys' instructors, are sufficient he gives each boy a black sticky mess, either rolled into small balls or on the end of a stick, to eat. This ensures a numerous offspring to the boys. The mats are then removed from the boys' heads and they are liberally anointed with oil. The remainder of the magic potion is given to the boys' fathers and attendants and, if any still remains over, to other favoured men by whom it is eagerly sought after. The boys then don the grass hats and the circumcision dance is resumed and kept up during the night with the help of plenty of strong drink. For the first part of the time the boys'

sisters or other female relations dance close to them carrying the stools and grass mats, the latter of which are held over the boys' head like a canopy. All the different articles — *rokkos*, stools, mats and hats — are new for the occasion. The boys will continue to wear their festive kit for several days after the conclusion of the dance.

The circumcision dance is often danced at other times by grown men and women for amusement and, well done, is well worth watching.

**MARRIAGE.** — There are no special ceremonies connected with marriage. The prospective husband pays spears to the woman's nearest relation, the usual number being 20 but it may be more, and I have known cases where a man has paid 40 spears and two women for the pleasure of marrying one. Sometimes two men arrange to marry each others sisters, this being a convenient arrangement when they have no spears to pay. A man will often begin paying for a girl when she is still an infant; this as may be imagined is productive of many disputes as an enterprising father will accept spears from several men for one of his daughters. Men when asked if they have any evidence as to the number of spears they paid will produce a piece of string with a number of knots in it and consider it to be irrefutable evidence.

Women were also paid in the old days as compensation for adultery and sometimes for lesser offences. A case once came under my notice where a man had been made to pay 3 women as compensation for killing a Chief's dog.

**DEATH.** — There are no outward signs of mourning except for widows. At the moment of their husband's death they tear off their clothes and ornaments and remain so until his burial. They cut their hair short and keep it so for about a year. During this time they do not eat the meat of hartebeeste, kob, gazelle or elephant, believing that they would die if they did so. They wear some threads of a certain grass tied round their neck in the belief that if they unwittingly eat the flesh of any of the above animals it will save them from any ill effects. When a married man dies, his village is at once deserted and never again entered by his wives and all domestic articles, which he used such as drinking and food utensils, beds and stools, are broken up.

Mourning parties are held and are much like Irish wakes. Any relation may give one, the chief requisite being a sufficiency of grain with which to make strong drink. These parties last several days and may be held several times and for a year or more after the death occurred. The women sit in a house and wail while the men dance. The host provides food and drink and the guests pay him some spears for his hospitality.

In the old days people were buried in a sitting position with their chins on their knees. Immediately over the body a roof of wood and grass was placed and the grave then filled in, a pile of stones being placed on the top. Nothing more is done to the grave in the way of keeping it in good order or the ground round it clean. The present mode of burial is to dig a recess on one side of the grave in which the body is placed and enclosed with timber and grass. Men are buried facing east and women facing west. The reason for this is that a man, when he gets up in the morning, always looks first to the east to see if dawn is near, and a woman, when the sun is about to set, goes to fetch wood and water to prepare the evening meal.

The Azande are divided up into different clans and most of these believe that they return to the earth in the form of some animal. The animals affected are lion (only the biggest Chiefs of the royal race), leopard, python, snake, wart-hog and rat, and one clan believe they return as lightning. After the animal, whatever it may be, dies, that is the end of all things. Men will not kill the animal they believe they turn into except in self defence. The animal is supposed to make its way out of the grave in a very diminutive form a few months after the person's death, and to remain near the grave until it has attained full size. My Colour Sergeant of Police, a sensible man and more or less civilized, assured me one day that he had been to the grave of one of his sisters and seen a leopard — he is a Makraka and they all believe they return as leopards — the size of his little finger sitting on the top of the grave. It is not believed that any communication can be held with the animal nor is any food placed near the grave for its use.

Before burial a piece of one finger nail and of one toe nail and a little hair from the head is removed. The reason for this is explained later.

In the old days when an Avungera Chief died, some of his favourite

wives were buried alive with him, their arms and legs being broken before they were placed in the grave.

**DRESS, ORNAMENTS, ETC.** — Before cloth was introduced, the men either wore skins or the *rokko*, the latter the bark cloth previously mentioned. This latter is prepared with oil and beaten out with a piece of ivory cut off the end of an elephant's tusk, the end where it is cut off being grooved in a criss-cross fashion which makes a pattern on the cloth. It is either left in its natural yellowish brown colour or dyed red or black according to the fashion of the moment. Great care is taken in the correct wearing of the *rokko* with respect to its folds and which side overlaps the other. It is held round the body by a belt and drawn up between the legs, the ends either being carried right up to the arm pits or turned down over the thighs. The fig tree from which the bark is taken is found in most mens' villages and they always plant cuttings from the trees when starting a new village. The bark grows again at once, growing downwards from the top of the cut.

Women in default of clothes wear a bunch of leaves fore and aft but aft the leaves may often, especially when dancing, be replaced by a curtain made of dried banana leaves cut into thin strips, the tops being gathered together and made into a sort of rosette.

Hats woven from split grass greenish white in colour are much worn. They are round at the bottom with a square top and always have various patterns worked round the crown with blackened grass. The hats have narrow brims or not according to the prevailing fashion and this also governs the arrangements of feathers without which no hat is complete. A short time ago the mode was a bunch of feathers at one side; now a semicircle of cocks tail feathers are worn at one side, a white tip being placed at the end of each feather with beeswax which causes them to nod in unison when the wearer is dancing. Occasionally one sees a man wearing a small hat about the size and shape of a tea cup, which is pinned on to the back of his head and reminds one of the old time clown with a diminutive top hat stuck to the top of his head.

Much care and ingenuity is shown in the wearing of the hair, both by men and women, it being shaven or plaited in many different patterns.

Women sometimes plait their hair on a framework, either like a halo round their heads or like a round dish with a narrow base on top of their heads.

Beads are not much worn, the favourite sort being the hexagonal dark blue kind, called in the Sudan *Zeilan*. Rings are beaten out of the brass and copper wire bought from the merchants.

Necklaces made out of dogs teeth were worn in the old days but are rarely seen now.

They are very fond of painting patterns on their bodies and faces with a black dye obtained from the fruit of a tree called *Mbianga*, which has a flower like a gardenia. A red dye, made by pounding the wood of a tree called *Surruku*, is also used for ornamenting the body, but the use of this is dying out except by women who put it on their hair.

The teeth are filed in one of two ways; either all the front teeth in both jaws are filed to a point or the inner sides of the two front teeth in the upper jaw are filed away so as to make a triangular opening, the point of the triangle being upwards. The latter is the commonest way and is done by both men and women.

The Azande never wholly remove any of their teeth like some other tribes.

The ears are often pierced by both men and women. The old custom was to make one hole on the upper edge of the ear, close to the head, in which a stalk of grass was placed: nowadays several holes may be made all round the outer edge of the ear and rings or grass stalks worn in them.

Tattooing -- or it might perhaps be better described as scarifying -- is universally practised by both sexes, various patterns being made all over the body.

**ARMS.** — In the old days, when on the war path the Azande carried several spears, a shield, a throwing knife (*pinga*) and a kind of billhook (*manguda*) and some small two bladed knives were worn on the belt. Bows and arrows were not used. The shield was made of plaited reeds not of hide; the *pinga* is best described as a narrow shaft of iron with sharp projections sticking out from each side at alternative points so that when it was thrown, one of these projections, which were about four or six inches long, was bound to hit the object aimed at; the *manguda* is like a

billhook only with the top edge carried forward into a long sharp point. The *pinga* is not often seen now nor are shields, but the other arms mentioned are still largely made by the natives though now that spears are sold by the merchants the locally made ones are generally objected to when offered as payment for a wife or as compensation.

The Azande always attacked just before dawn, having reconnoitred the path to the village they wished to attack beforehand.

**HUNTING.** — This is carried out either by burning the grass, digging pits or with nets. Sharp stakes are placed at the bottom of the pits. In the dry weather when the grass is down the nets are stretched on uprights across a khor and the game driven on to them and speared when entangled. Buffalo are largely killed in this way. In the rains when the grass is high a cleared space is made in a suitable spot, and net stretched on the far side and the game driven towards it. To catch dig-digs, the meat of which is especially prized, a narrow path is cleared in the grass and the dig-dig, when frightened, always seems to make for these paths and is caught in the net stretched across it. At other times a trap made of a heavy piece of timber is put in the path and the dig-dig running underneath releases the log which falls on it.

Guinea fowl are caught by thin nets placed where they are known to feed.

Before the practice was forbidden a large number of elephants were killed by burning the grass. The Azande are now gradually learning to spear elephant from the so-called Gebelawi tribes who are very clever at it. Men sit up in trees, not large trees, but what are really little more than big bushes. Before getting into the tree the man takes a bunch of leaves or grass with which he wipes the sweat off his body: these he throws down in front of the tree in the direction in which the herd is being driven. The elephant, attracted by the scent, keeps his trunk near the ground and so his head down and does not notice the man in the tree. Spears heavily weighted are used and plunged into the elephant's back, which never seems to connect the spear with the tree but rushes straight ahead. It is however considered quite useless to spear an elephant unless the spears have been smeared with a certain poison. This poison is also considered to be quite ineffective unless obtained from certain people who are supposed



to know the secret of the preparation and who receive some of the tusks obtained as payment.

If any man kills a lion or leopard in self defence, a big dance is held owing to these animals being supposed to be the re-incarnation of the Avungera royal race.

When Avungera Chiefs, who have rifles, go shooting their rifles are always carried by their wives. A case occurred here not long ago of a Chief going after elephant with two of his women. When he got up to the elephant, he sent the women up trees and one was killed and one injured by the elephants pulling down the trees in which they were.

Fish are killed by throwing into the water the pounded up leaves of a shrub. After several hours the fish come to the surface dead. The water is not rendered unfit for drinking.

DANCES. — In distinction to the circumcision dance the ordinary Zande dance is a very dull affair. The men stand in a circle moving their feet in time to the drums and swaying their bodies and heads from side to side : the forearms are held parallel to the ground with the palms of the hands upwards. At times the whole circle goes round in file. The women dance with the men, generally inside the circle. Men may actually dance with a woman or not according to what is the fashion of the moment.

Two drums are used : one of wood and made from a single tree trunk hollowed out, the wood being of different thicknesses on each side so as to give different notes ; the other a hollowed out piece of wood with a piece of skin stretched across it.

Singing accompanies the dancing ; the songs, which may be topical but which are more often rather obscene are constantly changed and composed by certain men, who make a profession of it and teach them to young men and boys. These latter attend all the dances in the vicinity and are much in request. The different songs require different ways of beating the drums and all have a chorus in which everyone joins.

Dancing is more general at night than by day and the full moon is the favourite time. Big dances may however go on for several days and nights without intermission especially if there is a sufficiency of strong drink provided by the host.

**PUNISHMENTS.** — Thieves were often punished by having their ears cut off and their backs scored with a knife, large permanent scars being left. Another punishment was to break open an ant-hill and tie the offender on the top of it, intense pain being caused by the armies of soldier ants that would swarm over him.

Men suspected of witchcraft, and also occasionally thieves, might be confined in their house and burnt alive.

Men committing adultery, especially with their Chiefs' wives, if not killed outright were emasculated and in addition had their hands, ears and lips cut off. One still comes across these unfortunate men, very often in the train of the Chief who caused them to be punished in this way and for whom they seem to have no resentment. It is wonderful that they ever recovered from such treatment, but I am told they generally did if some of their friends were close at hand to bathe the wounds with boiling water.

A lesser punishment for adultery was the payment of a woman and spears, the Chief deciding the case taking the spears for his trouble and the complainant the woman.

**MEDICINES AND CHARMS.** — Certain men — not the witch doctors — are supposed to be wise in medicines and they sell their cures to the people. They have reputed cures for chest complaints, venereal diseases and dysentery but know no purgatives. The cures for venereal are certainly efficacious in quickly removing any outward signs of syphilis or gonorrhœa though the former disease is not, of course, permanently cured. For headaches they practise cupping, small incisions being made on the temples and the horn of a hartebeeste or eland used for the cupping. I have seen burns treated with fat on which are thickly sprinkled the hairs of a hare.

For pains in the back, small incisions are made and the burnt bones of a hyena rubbed in.

Various bones and pieces of certain kinds of wood are tied on the wrists and ankles as charms against sickness, the bones of a tortoise being especially used to tie round the ankles with the idea of strengthening the legs.

**CONSULTING THE AUGURIES.** — The usual and almost universal way is by

*bengye*. This is the name of a poison obtained from the root of a shrub usually found growing in Khors; it is rarely found in the Bahr El Ghazal and mostly comes from the Belgian Congo.

The root is ground up and becomes a reddish powder which is given to small chickens. We will suppose the question to be submitted to *Bengye* is whether a man Boweri has committed adultery with a woman Nfranza. The Chief or the person consulting *Bengye* takes a chicken, and having mixed a little of the powder with water, gives it to the chicken, which he holds between his toes. He then harangues the chicken in the following terms: "Oh chicken, *Bengye* is inside you: if Boweri committed adultery with Nfranza you must die quickly". This is repeated with variations several times. Some more *Bengye* is given to the chicken and the harangue repeated. The chicken having died or not as the case may be, another is taken and given the *Bengye*. It is then addressed as follows: "If *Bengye* told the truth when in your brother you must live to prove it. So if Boweri committed adultery with Nfranza you must live." If *Bengye* should contradict itself, the whole process is repeated until a definite answer one way or the other is obtained. On the occasion that I saw the performance, the first chicken became extremely unwell and collapsed, but after a few minutes recovered and was none the worse. The second chicken died at once. It is very rarely that people do not accept *Bengye's* verdict. It is consulted on every matter, not only to find a criminal, but on such trivial matters as to find out if a man will have a successful days hunting or whether his crops will do well. It is also always consulted in cases of death by suspected witchcraft as described further on. In the old days people frequently drank *Bengye*, to prove their innocence.

Another way of consulting the auguries is by *Ewa*. Two pieces of wood of this name are taken; one is shaped like a small stool on legs, and the other like a flat cover of a dish with a handle on top. The upper surface of the former and the lower of the latter are quite smooth: a few drops of water are dropped on the former and the upper rubbed over it. If it passes backwards and forwards without sticking the enterprise, whatever it may be, will be successful.

There is another way if a man wishes to know if he will have a safe journey. Some pieces of wood of two kinds, *Poyo* and *Duppa* are taken

and thrown down on a path; they are left there about 12 hours. If after this time white ants have attacked the *Poyo* and left the *Duppa* alone all will be well but should they attack both or leave both alone or attack the wrong wood the journey is abandoned. Should the answer be favourable he then takes some more pieces of the same woods and sticks them into a white ant-hill to see if the first answer is confirmed; if it is not he will not set out on his journey.

Schweinfurth also mentions another way by plunging a cock continually into water until it is insensible and then seeing if it recovers. This however does not seem to be practised at the present day.

WITCHCRAFT AND WITCH DOCTORS. — No matter what a person dies of, he or she is supposed to have been bewitched. Certain people are supposed to be afflicted with *mangu*, which is described as being like a mouth with large sharp teeth. People thus afflicted — they are called *Borromangu* — are said to be the cause of everyone's death, not maliciously but involuntarily. I mentioned further back that when a person dies, a portion of one finger nail and one toe nail and some hair are always removed before burial. These are used to find out who has bewitched the deceased. If the relations think they know who is the *Borromangu* responsible, they go to their Chief and ask him to consult *Bengye*, telling him the name of the person they suspect. The toe and finger nails and hair are placed near the chickens during the ceremony should *Bengye* confirm their suspicions the relations demand compensation from the *Borromangu* or his relations which is paid without demur; in the old days the *Borromangu* would probably be killed out of hand. Should the relations not have suspicions of anyone in particular, they consult *Bengye* to see if they should call in the services of a witch doctor. If they receive an affirmative answer, they give the finger and toe nails and hair to him and ask him to find out who is the guilty party. He does this with a kind of wood called *Mbuddumu* which he places on the grave; this much the people know but his future procedure is only known to himself. After a considerable time he denounces the *Borromangu* responsible and receives payment in spears for his trouble. The witch doctor makes certain of not making a mistake as he only denounces a person who has died and in whose inside *mangu* has

been found. If a person is ill and is supposed to have been bewitched by a *Borromangu* and *Bengye* affirms the suspicions as to who the latter is, the relations of the sick person will go to the *Borromangu* and telling him that *Bengye* has denounced him, demand some of his spittle. This is rubbed over the body of the sick person and is supposed generally, but not infallibly, to cure him.

What *mangu* is of course a matter of conjecture. That something is found in the stomach of a *Borromangu* is I think undoubted. A former Inspector here records that when a postmortem was being done in the Hospital he invited a Chief in to see if *mangu* was present: the Chief said "Yes" and pointed to the appendix. This however seems doubtful as I believe everyone has an appendix and that it is an insignificant thing that could hardly be likened to a mouth with teeth, but it seems possible that a person suffering from appendicitis, perhaps accompanied by an internal abscess, might be considered a *Borromangu* I have often tried to obtain the body of one of these people for examination in the Hospital, but have not heard of their death before it was too late.

A man is considered to be able to inherit *mangu* from his father and a woman from her mother but not necessarily.

Cases sometimes come before the Inspector where a *Borromangu*, while still alive, has been said to have caused the death of someone and has paid compensation. On his death his stomach has been opened and no *mangu* found whereon his relations demand the spears back.

*Mangu* is supposed to be responsible for other things than causing death. I have had cases where a man has accused another of causing game to eat his crops and of a man saying that one of his wives with *mangu* has caused the others to be barren.

Witch doctors are said to be able to bring rain. I have seen two ways in which they are supposed to be able to do this. Sometimes a whistle made out of a certain kind of wood is blown and the witch doctor raises his hand several times in the direction in which the rain will come; they also during rain collect rain water in a small vessel with a narrow neck, this is sealed up and when rain is wanted opened and the water stirred with a stick of a particular wood.

Witch doctors are also consulted on small matters as to the success of

a days hunting or of one's crops. On these occasions a drum is beaten in a certain way and the witch doctor dances, stamping his feet and rolling his head: after a time he stops the drum and groans, holding his stomach and showing the whites of his eyes. He may then give the answer to the question asked him or signal to the drum beater to start again. The people consider that something in his stomach is actually talking and while talking he always behaves as if he was suffering from a severe pain in it.

**Poisons.** — In addition to *Bengye*, there are other kinds of poison known, and there is little doubt that even now many people die from them. It is believed that a man can be poisoned by shaking hands with another who has placed poison on his palms, he having previously taken an antidote, or by a man stepping on poison sprinkled on the ground outside his house. One nearly always sees certain plants growing close to people's houses which they tell you are antidotes for poison.

The use of a certain kind of poison is interesting and is reputed to have been largely used in the old days, especially by Chiefs, to protect their wives from the attention of their admirers. The poison was smeared on the penis before a man had intercourse with his wife and was thus introduced into the woman; anyone else having intercourse with the woman would be infected and his penis gradually eaten away by the action of the poison, which is also said to cause a skin disease causing death. The husband, before using the poison, would take an antidote, but it is not supposed to affect the woman who would not require any antidote.

The poison would also be used by a woman who had a grudge against her husband; she would get some other man to introduce the poison into her, probably the man she wished to marry and who would encourage her to the act. At this moment there is a man in hospital here with his penis in a dreadful state, which he says has been caused by one of his wives acting thus. Whatever is the matter with him, he is not suffering from syphilis to which disease his affliction might be attributed.

R. G. C. BROCK.

# JEBEL MARRA

## AND THE DERIBA LAKES

BY J. A. GILLAN.

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An opportunity, for which I had long been hoping, to climb J. Marra and visit the mysterious lakes of Deriba presented itself to Captain Hobbs and myself while on patrol in that neighbourhood in March 1918. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the ascent to the top has never previously been made by any traveller or Government Official, though Zubeir Pasha is reported to have got as far as the lakes.

It must be remembered that J. Marra is not a single hill or mountain, but a range, extending some 35 miles from east to west. From north to south the Jebel proper may be reckoned at some 40 miles, but its northern boundary is difficult to define, and the same range under different names extends at a lower altitude a considerable distance further north. The most prominent peak (though not, as it afterwards turned out, the highest) is at the extreme south-west corner of the range, and it was near this peak that the lakes were reported to lie.

At Kallokiting, a Fur village about 20 miles S. S. E. from the peak as the crow flies, but 40 miles by road, preparations were made for the ascent, Jebel donkeys being hired for transport of absolute necessities and the party taking to their feet. An easy morning shid over gently rising ground took us to a crossing of Wadi Gundi, whose dry sandy bed we had left 10 miles below and which we now found as a clear, running stream, falling over miniature waterfalls and forming deep rock pools. From here the track, leaving W. Gundi well to the west becomes considerably steeper and the going worse. The country is rocky and barren, and there was no sign of present day habitation, though the extent of old cultivation terracing points to a large population at an earlier period.

Fifteen miles from Kallokiting and about 1600 feet above the plain, the

nature of the country gradually changes, the barren rocks and scrubby thorn giving way to short mountain grass and numerous rock plants; and a few miles further on a present day village area is reached. At one of these villages, Babrei, we spent the night.

The Jebel Fur villages are all built more or less on the same plan. The whole village is surrounded by a rough stone wall about 2-3 feet thick, topped by a palisade of stakes and brush-wood to a total height of about eight feet, while inside, each villager has an enclosure of the same nature though of rather less strength. The entrance, both to the village and to the inner hoshes, is formed by a gateway of heavy timber, closed at night or in case of attack, by stout, upright poles placed side by side, and inserted slot-wise through the lintel of the gateway. The houses themselves are of the ordinary tukl shape, the walls being of untrimmed stone and the roofs of grass. Usually there is attached a store room also built of stone with a low, flat mud roof.

Near the village there is often a leopard trap. This is a sort of tunnel built of large stones, with a heavy wooden door at either end made in portcullis fashion. The doors are held up by ropes passed over the top and down through a hole in the roof into the tunnel where they are fixed to the bait. On the bait being seized the ropes are released and the doors fall down imprisoning the leopard. In the morning he is finished off by spears thrust through the interstices in the stones.

Leaving Babrei the track becomes very broken and difficult; at one point passing along a narrow ledge where a false step would mean a sheer drop of 200 or 300 feet, at another winding its way through deep water-worn passages in the rock only 2 or 3 feet wide. The ease with which the hamla donkeys, born and bred on the Jebel, surmounted all obstacles was little short of marvellous. The Jebel in this neighbourhood shows a curious mixture of hard rock and soft decomposed limelike rock, very susceptible to water action, and this mixture, I imagine, is largely responsible for the extraordinary medley of precipitous crags and ravines met with here. Four hours hard marching brought us to the source of Wadi Gundi, and climbing a steep ridge of rocky hills, we found ourselves on the edge of the basin which contains the lakes of Deriba.

The two lakes of Deriba lie at 1700 feet above the plain and about 4700



feet above sea level, in an oval amphitheatre some three miles by four, the walls of which are a complete ring of hills varying in height from 800 to 2000 feet above the level of the lakes. At the south-west edge of this ring is the highest group of peaks which formed our object. The larger and lower of the two lakes lies at the north-east side of the basin and measures about 1950 by 1350 yards. We had not time to take soundings, but, except perhaps at the north end where it lies close under the mountain ring, I should imagine it is of no great depth. The water is a dirty greenish colour and very salt to the taste, while the banks are white with salt incrustation. This lake is called by the natives the «female». The «male» or upper lake, which lies  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile to the south-west and measures approximately 1550 by 900 yards, is much more imposing and picturesque in its situation. It is obviously of volcanic formation and lies in a crater the rocky walls of which rise abruptly from the water's surface to a height varying from 400 to 700 feet, except for one small gap about 100 feet above the lake which is the only easy means of approach to it. This crater itself lies within the larger amphitheatre and occupies its south-west corner. The water is clear and tastes of sulphur, and the depth must be very considerable. I took a bottle of this water with a view to analysis, but unfortunately it was broken a few days later.

As the description implies, neither of the lakes has any visible outlet and the question of inflow and absorption appears to require more scientific enquiry and comment than I am in a position to make. In both lakes the difference between the March water level and the clearly defined high water mark was between 18 inches and 2 feet. In the case of the upper lake this small variation is perhaps fairly easily explained. The precipitous sides of the crater form a comparatively small drainage area, while the depth of the water presumably minimises evaporation. The absence of salt may possibly point to a subterranean outflow, and the sulphurous nature of the water presupposes the likelihood of perennial springs, both of which would tend to keep the level fairly constant. On the other hand, the drainage area of the lower lake consists of the whole basin of the high encircling hills, which have a perimeter of some 12 miles (less the crater of the upper lake), and the inflow during the rains must be enormous. One would suppose that owing to the marshy nature of the shores and the apparent shallowness of

the water the evaporation would be correspondingly greater. Nevertheless, as indicated, the difference between high water mark and the March level was extremely small.

The lakes, especially the upper one, are regarded by the Jebel Fur with great awe, and few if any of those who were with us had ever actually seen them before, though their reputation is widespread. Those in the know profess to tell by the light and colour on the water that its attitude is, and we were seriously warned that if the waters took a dislike to us they would rise and overwhelm us. Fortunately they seemed to regard our visit favourably. At the same time there are some natural grounds for superstition; and the whole scene, with the lakes and surrounding ring of mountains, presented a somewhat weird picture during an early thunderstorm which happened to take place one night during our visit.

When Ali Dinar was fleeing before Major Huddleston's force in October in 1916, he sent envoys to consult the oracle of the lakes and bring him some of the water. The story is that the waters arose and refused to allow the envoys to approach; the truth no doubt being that the envoys were overcome with superstitious awe, and themselves refused to approach the waters. We bathed twice in the upper lake. On the first occasion we were alone, and on our return to camp the local notables politely but firmly refused to believe our report. Next day an official bathing parade was held, and most of the escort who could swim also took to the water, in front of all the local natives. Afterwards a few of the bolder spirits were persuaded to come down to the water's edge and wash their heads, but nothing would persuade them to venture further.

The climb from the lakes to the main south-west peak occupied  $4 \frac{3}{4}$  hours. After crossing the southern side of the basin there followed on almost precipitous climb of about 1000 feet to the top of the encircling ridge. From there as long as one kept along the top of the ridge the going was comparatively easy, but a traverse to cut off a corner or skirt a peak at once involved one in difficulties. On arriving at our objective we found that two other peaks,  $\frac{1}{3}$  a mile and  $\frac{1}{4}$  miles distant, appeared to the eye to be some 50 or 100 feet higher. The peak we visited, and on which we built a cairn, is however much the most prominent as viewed from the plain and is called by the natives the «original» Jebel Marra. The aneroid

barometer was only adjusted to register 5000 feet, so even its approximate indication of height failed us. Very approximately this peak is some 1900 or 2020 feet above the lakes which would put it in the neighbourhood of 6650 feet above sea level. The Nurnya peak, 20 miles to the north-east in the heart of the Jebel, is probably higher than all of these south-west peaks.

During the ascent we saw two female greater kudu and many kudu tracks, but apart from these and a number of baboons animal life is conspicuous by its absence on the higher slopes. A solitary pair of crowned crane and a few duck were seen on the lakes.

Agriculturally J. Marra has great possibilities. There are numerous running streams the whole year round, which are even now dammed to a certain extent to irrigate crops and vegetables; and excellent wheat is grown as a rain crop on the terraces. The Jebel Fur, though not at present fit to be classed among the world's workers, are considerably in advance of their brothers and the Arabs of the plain, both as builders and cultivators; and, given better transport facilities and experience of the value of money, there is no reason why they should not in time become an important agricultural asset to the Sudan.

I am indebted to Captain Hobbs for figures as to heights and the measurement of the lakes.

J. A. GILLAN.

# SACRED LITTERS

## AMONG THE SEMITES WITH REFERENCE TO THE UTFA OF THE KABABISH

BY M<sup>rs</sup> SELIGMAN.

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The importance attached by the Kababish to the ceremonial trappings of the litters in which their women ride led me to examine the use of litters generally among the Arabs. The comparison of the *otfa*, *utfa* or *atafa*<sup>(1)</sup> with the *maḥmal* immediately suggested itself, and on examining the literature I found that the comparison had already been made by both Doughty and Burckhardt. Even the resemblance between the *utfa* and the Ark of the Covenant, though not generally recognised, had been pointed out by Rogers in a letter to the Academy in 1883. New facts having come to light since this date, and the records being scattered, it has seemed worth while to bring together the data which suggest that in certain particulars the *utfa* represents the Ark of the Covenant. Moreover, certain aspects of the sacredness of the ark seem to have persisted to the present day in the *merkab* of the Arabs of Moab (the *utfa* of the Arabian tribes) and in the *maḥmal* which is still held sacred in Egypt and Syria.

It is to these litters that I shall specially refer as well as to the *utfa* of the Kababish, though in the case of the latter, only the name and pomp have survived.

The Kababish are perhaps the richest and most important tribe of camel-owning Arabs in the Sudan. They may number some 20,000 souls, and their territory stretches from the neighbourhood of Omdurman westwards to the Kordofan-Darfur border. They are nomads, but their wanderings are well ordered and determined by the water supply. The tribe is divided into a number of sections and the sheikh of each of these directs the movements of his people. During the rains their movements are more or less free, but at the beginning of the dry season localities are sought where wells are dug which may be expected to hold out throughout the

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<sup>(1)</sup> = *'utfa* (عطفا).

dry season, and here the Kababish settle. When camp is shifted, the women of importance ride in covered litters called *utfa*. In each family the eldest unmarried daughter also has a special litter called the *tongoh*. The *tongoh* differs from the *utfa* in that the seat of the former is raised above the camel's back to form a cradle.

The unmarried daughter (often a mere child) sits in this, while an attendant usually sits below on the pads of the *tongoh*. The wooden framework of both *utfa* and *tongoh* is called the *shebrīya*. Figure 1 shows the framework of a *tongoh* with its cradle perched aloft. The *utfa* is built in a similar way, but the litter is much broader and its occupant sits upon pads directly over the camel's back.

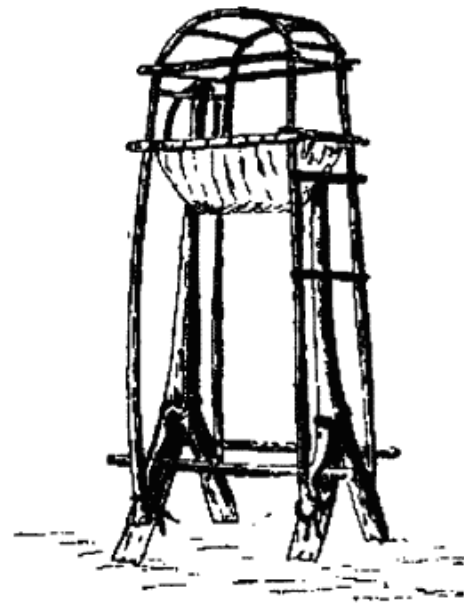


Fig. 1. — *Tongoh*.

The *shebrīya* is put in position on the camel's back resting on stuffed pads called *khusur* and the *mufara* are slung over poles attached to the sides of the *shebrīya*. The *mufara* are enormous bags of bull hide, they may be ornamented with narrow strips of leather, and have below a series of wide flaps about 9 inches deep and six wide. Though they are in theory saddle-bags, they are far too large and heavy to be filled, and only a few odd things, such as onions and sugar, can be put in them: they hang like great skirts down the camel's flanks to within six inches or a foot of the ground. Next the *shelil* are tied on to the poles at the side of the *shebrīya*.

These are mats made of very fine leather strips woven firmly together and sewn with cowrie shells, usually in triangular patterns (pl. I, fig. 1 shows a very handsome *shelil*). Over these are hung the *hasāir* and *girbān*, highly ceremonial leather saddle-bags; the former are square and have wool worked flaps, and the latter are sheep-skin bags of the usual shape, but the leather of which they are made is soft and tanned to a whitish colour. Nothing is put in them on the journey, though when hung up in the tent small articles would be put away in them. The *dobaya*, which

are put on next, are similar to the girbān, but are pinkish in colour and have wide mouths. Both the tongoh and utfa have cloths stretched over the framework and a strip of cloth hangs in front to form a curtain, so that the occupants are completely hidden from view. The camel bearing the tongoh has two lebab or martingales, both decorated with cowrie shells, and one bearing bells. The camel, whether it bears utfa or tongoh, is decked with gonāgir, head ornaments consisting of leather straps with three raised cones covered with cowries, while from the centre of each cone tufts of ostrich feathers project. The afrat are similar ornaments, two of which are borne by each camel, one hanging from each side of the back of the shebriya. The wasāda is a long yellow mat, narrow in the centre and broad at each end, from which hangs a fringe of leather strips, it is ornamented with rings of white metal, usually cast from old tins. One is carried at the back of the utfa and one on each side of the tongoh.

The rasn is the head rope which is knotted round the camel's head, one end of which forms the guiding rein. The ceremonial rasn is made of plaited leather, and to the end of it is attached a strip of leather ornamented with cowries, which passes round the camel's head below the ears and from which hangs a heavy fringe of very finely cut leather.

The camel that bears the utfa carries one pair of id el faiq<sup>(1)</sup> while that bearing the tongoh has two pairs. Each id el faiq is composed of three tassels, the fringes are similar to those of the rasn and the shelil, the heads and straps are decorated with cowries.

To each shebriya is lashed a vertical stick from which a flag or buraqa flies. These are long and narrow, divided into two strips, ornamented with bars of ostrich feathers and bearing long fringes<sup>(2)</sup>.

Besides all these trappings, on either side of the utfa are tied a number of vessels of different shapes made of leather and basket-work called the 'adad<sup>(3)</sup>. Some of these are used, others are elaborate and ceremonial

<sup>(1)</sup> دِقَّة «milk collected in the udder», doubtless referring to the shape of the tassels.

<sup>(2)</sup> No importance was attached to the patterns on the flags and though the idea that these might once have represented tribal standards naturally suggested itself no evidence for this could be found.

<sup>(3)</sup> 'Adad means outfit and probably applies to all the camel trappings as well as to the vessels enumerated here.

representations of objects in daily use. The 'adad includes vessels called by the following names : umra, karoiya, bot'a and kabota<sup>(1)</sup>.

Strands of leather are introduced into the basket work of the kabota to form triangular patterns and the neck is covered with soft leather which projects as an irregular sleeve beyond the mouth of the vessel. When hung up in the tent, small articles of value are kept in the kabota. Large wooden bowls (qudan) which are highly prized are also carried on the utfa.

The camel bearing the tongoh carries none of these goods, but it has more trappings and it is noticeable that its shelil is far more ornate than that belonging to the utfa. Everything on the camel bearing the tongoh will -- when she marries -- become the property of the girl riding it; indeed of such importance are these valuables on the tongoh that no girl could get married until her mother had provided them for her, and the fact that a girl rides in a tongoh is a public sign that she is approaching the marriageable age. When she is married her husband must provide an utfa for her and the old tongoh will be broken up unless she has a sister to use it.

The photographs and descriptions refer to the utfa and tongoh of Mohamed el Tom, brother of the Sheikh of the Kababish. It is probable that few other families, except that of the Sheikh himself, could boast such a complete or so highly ornamented a set of camel trappings. Yet no family would be entirely without them, and in the poorest tent some of them would be seen hanging at the back.

On our way to the feriq at Showa where the Nurab divisions of the Kababish were encamped for the dry season we passed a couple of women who appeared to be travelling alone, they had only one camel and a donkey, but the utfa was fully decked and the women were encamped in its shade. These women were evidently "moving house", for it is only then that the utfa is used.

The utfa and tongoh protect the women from the sun and seclude them from view. This would account sufficiently for their origin, were it not for their decoration with objects of merely ceremonial value, and the use of

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<sup>(1)</sup> I have written these words as I heard them. I have been unable to find their derivation and should be grateful for any information.

the word *utfa* which, among the Arabs of Arabia meant not merely a litter, but a special ceremonial litter, tantamount to the standard of the tribe. Moreover, it seems probable that the *maḥmal* sent yearly to Mecca from Cairo and Damascus, and formerly from Bagdad and the Yemen, is its modern representative.

The word *utfa* may be derived from *عطف* «to guide the reins»; this derivation becomes more significant when Doughty's explanation of the *Atafa* is considered. According to Doughty, the *Atafa* is a young woman who sits in her litter and encourages her tribesmen to battle. The following is his description of a *rahla*, i. e. a section of Arabs travelling « . . . . upon other camels sat the Harb daughters, in their saddle litters, crated frames, trapped with wavering tongues of coloured cloths and long lappets of camel leather. In the tribes of my former acquaintance such bravery is only of a few sheikhly housewives; but these were B. Salem, tribesfolk that are well clad amongst nomads. It seemed that anyone of them might have been an *Atafa* . . . . . she that from her saddle frame warbles the battle note, with a passionate sweetness, which kindles the manly hearts of the young tribesmen (and the Arabs are full of a wild sensibility). They see her, each one as his spouse, without the veil, and decked as on the day of her marriage! The *Atafa* is a sheikh's daughter; . . . it were infamous to kill the *Atafa*; yet when shots fly her camel may fall or run furiously and the maiden standard is in peril<sup>(1)</sup>. »

Lady Anne Blunt gives the following description of the *utfa*. It is « a gigantic camel howdar, used by the Ro'ala, whenever they expect a pitched battle, and then only. It is a huge cage of bamboo, covered with ostrich feathers, and probably as old as the date of their coming from Nejd, for ostriches are not found I believe north of Jebel Shammar. A *Del'ul* carries the *utfa* in which a girl is placed, whose business it is to sing during the fight and encourage the combatants by her words . . . . . it is a belief that with the loss of the *utfa* the Ro'ala tribe would perish. Formerly each large Bedouin tribe had one of these . . . . . now only the Ro'ala and Ibn Haddal<sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Arabia Deserta*, vol. II, p. 304.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, 1879, vol. II, p. 146.



Burckhardt, however, describes the *otfe* **اوتفة** not as a litter but as a standard. «The other sort of banner is called *otfe* **اوتفة**; this consists of two side pieces of board, of an oblong form, about five feet high, ornamented like the other with ostrich feathers. Such is now used by the Teyar, the Chief of Would Aly. . . . The guide of the camel, that carries either a *merkeb* or an *otfe*, is never an adult free-born Arab, but a boy, and old woman, or a slave; for it is thought beneath the dignity of a man to sing or howl the cry called **زغاريط** with which the guide animates those who accompany the standard to battle. All the horsemen assemble around it; and the principal efforts of both parties are directed against the respective *merkeb* or *otfe* of the enemy. A captured banner is borne in triumph to the tent of the victorious sheikh<sup>(1)</sup>.»

Though Doughty writes of the *otfa* as a woman and Burckhardt considers it a standard, there is no doubt that they both refer to the same old Arabian custom. This custom was unknown to the Kababish. The difference in the spelling is easily accounted for as it requires a well trained ear to distinguish between the dental and palatal *t*, but that Doughty's spelling is correct can hardly be doubted.

The importance of the *merkab* (*otfe*) may be seen by the following story told by Burckhardt. «I may here be allowed to mention the name of a modern hero, whose praise is recorded in hundreds of poems, and whose feats in arms have been reported to me by many ocular witnesses. Gedoua Ibn Gheyân el Shamsy is known to have slain thirty of his enemies in one encounter; he prided himself in having never been put to flight, and the booty which he took was immense. But his friends alone benefited by this, for he himself continued always poor. His life at last was sacrificed to his valour. A war broke out in the year 1790, between the Ibn Fadhel and Ibn Esmeyr tribes, while most of the Aenezes engaged themselves on one side or the other. After many partial encounters, the two sheikhs, each

<sup>(1)</sup> *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. I, p. 145-146. The *merkab* is a standard of another shape, but of similar importance.

Gailliaud (*Voyage à Meroé*, vol. II, p. 55), describing a battle between the Egyptian army and the Shaigie, says: «Une jeune fille chaykyé, montée sur un chameau richement harnaché, donne le signal du combat en faisant entendre des espèces de roucoulements familiers aux Arabes».

with about five thousand horsemen, met near Mezerib, a small town on the Hadj road, nearly fifty miles from Damascus, on the plains of Hauran, and both determined on a general battle that should terminate the war. The armies were drawn up in sight of each other, and some slight skirmishing had commenced, when Gedoua (or, as the Bedouins in their dialect called him, Djedoua) formed the generous resolution of sacrificing his life for the glory of his tribe. He rode up to Ibn Esmeyr, under whose banner the Shamsy then fought, took off his coat of mail, and his clothes to his shirt, and approaching the chief, kissed his beard, thereby indicating that he devoted his life to him. He then quitted the ranks of his friends, and without any arms besides his sabre, drove his mare furiously against the enemy. His valour being well known to the troops of both parties, every one waited with anxious expectation the result of his enterprise. The strength of his arm soon opened a way among the hostile ranks; he penetrated to their standard, or merkeb, which was carried in the centre; felled to the ground the camel that bore it by a stroke on its thigh: then wheeled round, and had already regained the open space between the two armies, when he was killed by a shot from a metras, or foot soldier. His friends had seen the merkeb fall, rushed with a loud cheer upon their enemies, and completely routed them; above five hundred foot soldiers having been slain on that day. Whenever the merkeb falls, the battle is considered as lost by the party to whom it had belonged <sup>(1)</sup>.

Among the Arabs of Moab the *utfā* is in use at the present day. M. Jaussen speaks of it as *otfa* or *merkeb* indifferently, while it will be noted that the woman's litter is called *dollah* <sup>(2)</sup>. The sacrifice of a camel, mentioned by M. Jaussen, is interesting and serves as an indication of the sacredness and antiquity of the *utfā*.

The Eben Sa'alan have preserved the merkeb which is kept in the sheikh's tent. M. Jaussen has not yet seen this, but among the tents of the Sehour

<sup>(1)</sup> *The Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. I, pp. 135-137.

<sup>(2)</sup> Among the Kababish the virgin rides in the *tongoh*, and the woman's litter is called the *utfā*, yet from M. Jaussen's description the *utfā* resembles the *tongoh* of the Kababish rather than the *utfā*. It is probable that the words have become transposed among the Kababish and that the *utfā* should represent virgin's litter.

he met a member of the Eben Sa'alan tribe called the Ma'behel, who told him that the merkeb resembled a dollah in general shape. The latter looks somewhat like a boat placed upon a camel: it is five metres long and one metre wide, the average height being one and a half metres. In the middle, above the camel's hump, the occupant sits in a kind of cradle. In this the women of the Eben Sa'alan travel at ease as do the Sammar. The dollah must not be confused with the merkeb, the two long horizontal sticks which give the former the appearance of a boat and assist in balancing the structure occupy a vertical position in the merkeb, so that the latter seen from the front looks like the side view of the dollah. In war the merkab, taken from the sheikh's tent, is carefully ornamented with ostrich feathers and a great variety of shells, and placed upon a strong and richly decked riding camel. The sheikh himself leads out his daughter, dressed as a bride. She climbs into the merkab and takes the rein in her hand thus in a measure directing the camel. Around her are ranged the men of the tribe to serve as escort, all ready to die rather than abandon the utfa, i. e. merkab. When the battle begins, the efforts of the enemy are concentrated upon the utfa; to capture it would be a decisive victory and at the same time would emphasize the defeat of the vanquished, who would lose the right of bringing the utfa into battle. The defence is as energetic as the attack, but if the enemy press too closely round the utfa its defenders hamstring the camel that bears it. Then the battle becomes a desperate hand to hand fight round the merkab and its occupant, who standing up encourages her tribesmen by her cries and gestures. «Every year a camel is sacrificed by the sheikh for the merkab different parts of which must be annointed with the blood of the victim. The Sheikh pronounces the following words: «O Allah, here is the camel for the merkab, may Abou Zohor regard it favourably<sup>(1)</sup>».

Other instances of a litter-standard are found in Arab History. «In the year 66 Hejra al Muktar ibn 'Ulaid Allah ath Uaky went to Al Kufa to avenge the blood of al Hussein. Then al Muktar took himself a throne (kursy) and proclaimed that it contained a mystery, being to them exactly what the ark was to the children of Israel, and when al Muktar sent the

<sup>(1)</sup> P. ANTONIN JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes du pays de Moab*, pp. 173-174.

army to attack Ubaid Allah ibn Zayad he went out with his throne on a mule which carried him (or it) into battle<sup>(1)</sup>. »

The Carmathians also used a litter standard, for it is stated that in a certain battle Abu Tahir at first took no part in the fight, but remained hidden in his litter surrounded by a body of two thousand horsemen. Only when the battle had become serious and many Carmathians had fallen, did he leave his litter and charge. And here Ibn Djauzi adds : « One of the methods that the Carmathians practised to deceive the people, consisted in the use of a litter in which their Emir shut himself surrounded by a body of his followers. When the enemy showed signs of fatigue he attacked them himself with his followers. The Carmathians said that victory descended from the litter. They put a chafing dish inside the litter and some fuel. Immediately before the charge someone went into the litter, lighted the fuel in the chafing dish and dropped a few grains of antimony into it. This (it is alleged) made an enormous explosion without spreading any smoke. At this moment the Emir said : « Let victory descend ». Then they attacked so furiously that nothing could withstand them<sup>(2)</sup>. »

« The Carmathians had taken it (the litter) with them to Syria on the expedition against the Fatimids, for Ibn al Djauzi tells us that this tabernacle was destroyed by the soldiers of Djauhar, the conqueror of Egypt<sup>(3)</sup>. » In the latter half of the III<sup>rd</sup> century and the early part of the IV<sup>th</sup> century of the Hijra, the Carmathians acquired great power. They had gained many adherents in the Bahrain where the doctrines of El Islam had scarcely penetrated. The unorthodox character of their heresy and the relief it offered its followers from ritual attracted the Bedouin of the desert, who always disliked the fasts imposed upon them by the Prophet. It is thus possible that the spread of the Carmathian heresy encouraged the persistence of pagan customs among which the use of the atafa may be counted.

Having cited a number of instances illustrating the use and significance of the atafah, attention may now be directed to the mahmal. This is a

(1) IBN EL WARDY, *History of the Mohammedan Empire*.

(2) M. J. DE GOEGE, *Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales*, IV, I, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides*, pp. 95-96.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

litter covered with a gorgeously decorated canopy and the word simply means a litter from حَمَلٌ «to bear». Two are sent every year from Cairo and Damascus respectively and head the pilgrimages to Mecca. Formerly mahmal were also sent from Bagdad and the Yemen. It seems probable that the invasion of Egypt by the Carmathians may have been responsible for the spread of what seems a pre-Islamic custom, though I am unable to discover any direct continuity between the use of the litter-standard and the despatch of the mahmal to Mecca. Indeed, the first historical record is long after the Carmathians; during the reign of the Sultan Beybars el Zahir, about A. H. 670, who seems to have sent the mahmal to Mecca in order to pose as a protector of the Caliphate, and to acquire preeminence in the Muslim world after Bagdad had been captured by the Mongols under Hulagu A. H. 656. Whether Beybars adapted a local custom and standardised it I have been unable to discover. Mr. G. D. Hornblower, who has kindly looked for mention of the mahmal in Arabic authorities, says, that Ibn Eyyas speaks of it, but takes the despatch of it to Mecca as a matter of course and makes no remark as to its origin. But it is possible that a local mahmal may have been revered, and that Beybars merely added to its pomp and his own importance by despatching it officially to Mecca. The following account of a local mahmal festival strengthens this theory <sup>(1)</sup>.

«In Kharga Oasis there is a very curious fête on 14<sup>th</sup> Shaban, known as the «Aid el Mahmal». This Aid seems to have no connection with the ceremonies of the same date which take place in Egypt or with the festival of the Mahmal held in Cairo; in fact the natives state that their custom is a much older one than the Cairo Mahmal, which they claim . . . . to be taken from theirs. On this day a camel bearing a *shagduf*, i.e. a tent erected on its back covered with a green and red cover, is taken in procession through the village of Kharga, accompanied by a band, flags and a crowd of people from all over the oasis, who perform the usual type of fantasia during the progress. A man sits in the *shagduf* and receives small presents of grain, dates, etc., from the inhabitants.

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<sup>(1)</sup> I also remember when in Qurneh in 1909 seeing a decked up camel bearing a curtained litter being led in procession through the village. I was told it was merely a method of extracting alms and unfortunately made no direct enquiries.

... The man who occupies this position is always a member of the same family in which the privilege is hereditary. The only explanation that I could hear for this was that the members of this family are all *fikis*, but it is possible that they may be the descendants of some petty sultan who ruled in the oasis in the past. The man who at present represents the family is the village schoolmaster — Khalifa Zanati by name<sup>(1)</sup>. »

It is usually stated that the mahmal is sent to Mecca as an emblem of royalty, and the story told by Lane that it was first sent in honour of Shaghr el Durr, a beautiful Turkish slave, who became Queen of Egypt and performed the pilgrimage, and afterwards sent her litter to impersonate her is generally accepted. This is supposed to have happened under the ruler before Beybars.

I am indebted to Mr. Hornblower for information that makes it quite clear that the example of Shaghr el Durr cannot account for the origin of the despatch of the mahmal, as she reigned from Safar 2<sup>nd</sup> to Rabia II 19<sup>th</sup> 648 A.H. according to Ibn Eyyas, the XVI<sup>th</sup> century Arabic annalist, and Mr. Hornblower points out that the pilgrimage did not fall in the few months of her reign. However, popular opinion which associates the mahmal as it does the *utfa* with a woman's litter may have ascribed the despatch of it in honour of a queen, rather than remember that its official despatch was an astute political move on the part of a ruler who was not oversure of his legitimate title to the throne. Although the mahmal is considered the emblem of royalty, yet in 1909 when the Khedive of Egypt performed the pilgrimage in person, the mahmal was also sent.

From the following quotations it is clear that both Burckhardt and Doughty regard the mahmal as a representative of the *utfa*. « I believe the custom (despatch of the mahmal) to have arisen in the battle banner of the Bedouins, called *merkeb* and *otfe*, which I have mentioned in my remarks on the Bedouins, and which resemble the mahmal, inasmuch as they are high wooden frames placed upon camels<sup>(2)</sup>. »

« I might sometimes see heaving and rolling above all heads of men and

<sup>(1)</sup> W. H. HARDING KING, *Customs, Superstitions and Songs of the Western Oases. The Cairo Scientific Journal*, vol. VIII, n° 95 (August 1914).

<sup>(2)</sup> BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II, pp. 49-54 f. n.

cattle in the midst of the journeying caravan, the naked frame and posts of the sacred mahmal camel which resembles a bedstead and is after the fashion of the Beduish woman's camel-litter. It is clothed on high days with a glorious pall of green velvet, the prophet's colour, and the four posts are crowned with glancing knobs of silver. I understand from grave elders of the religion, that this litter is the standard of the Haj, in the antique guise of Arabia, and yet remaining among the Beduw; wherein at any general battle of tribes, there is mounted some beautiful damsel of the sheykh's daughters, whose generous loud Alleluias for her people, in presence of their enemies, inflame her young kinsmen's hearts to leap in the martial dance to a number of deaths<sup>(1)</sup>. »

The idea that the mahmal is a battle standard is further borne out by the statement made by Burckhardt concerning the position of the mahmal at Mount Arafat . . . . . in former times, when the strength of the Syrian and Egyptian caravans happened to be nearly balanced, bloody affrays took place here almost every year between them, each party endeavouring to out-run and to carry its mahmal in advance of the other. The same happened when the mahmals approached the platform at the commencement of the sermon; and two hundred lives have on some occasions been lost in supporting what was thought the honour of the respective caravans<sup>(2)</sup>. »

Lane describes the esteem in which the mahmal is held, how streets of Cairo are crowded to witness its return to the city, and the people consider it a great privilege to be allowed to touch it. He adds « I cannot learn why the mahmal is esteemed so sacred<sup>(3)</sup> ». The esteem in which the mahmal is held may be judged by the fact that in 1814, the year in which Burckhardt performed the pilgrimage, Mohammed Ali, who was preparing a campaign against the Wahabys, commandeered about 12,000 camels from the Syrian caravan after the pilgrimage, and all the horses and camels from the Egyptian caravan, but the camel that had borne the mahmal was sent back to Suez by sea, a circumstance which had never occurred before<sup>(4)</sup>. »

<sup>(1)</sup> DOUGHTY, *Arabia Deserta*, vol. I, p. 61.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II, p. 54.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 444 et seq.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II, p. 78.

It was this very point, the great esteem with which the mahmal is regarded in Cairo, which led Mr. Rogers to doubt that the procession of the mahmal could owe its origin to a Mamluke Queen, and led him to compare the mahmal to the Ark of Israel. The chief points he made apart from the general resemblance between them were :

1. They both bore silver-gilt knobs ;

2. The ark was brought into battle to ensure victory and when lost no attempt was made to build a new one.

The Aneyzeh offer a parallel to this, for their sheikhs say that in the old days each tribe had an atafah which was taken into battle gorgeously decorated and surrounded by a picked body of men; the victors usually destroyed the atafah of the vanquished and a new one could not be made.

3. The mahmal is paraded three times round the open space before the citadel before its departure from Cairo for the Haj : the ark was paraded round the walls of Jericho.

4. Nothing is kept inside the mahmal but the Koran and nothing inside the ark but the testimony (II. *Chron.* V, 10).

5. The sanctity of the ark : Uzzah died because he touched it (II. *Sam.* VI, 7); Lane's friends considered that he had been overbold in holding the fringe of the mahmal <sup>(1)</sup>.

This last comparison must be accepted with some reservation for there is certainly no danger in touching the mahmal with reverence. In 1909 I was

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<sup>(1)</sup> After touching it three times and kissing my hand, I caught hold of the fringe, and walked by its side. The guardian of the sacred object, who walked behind it, looked very hard at me, and induced me to utter a pious ejaculation, which perhaps prevented his displacing me : or possibly my dress influenced him, for he only allowed other persons to approach and touch it one by one, and then drove them back. I continued to walk by its side, holding the fringe, nearly to the entrance to Rumeyleh. On my telling a Muslim friend to-day that I had done this, he expressed great astonishment, and said that he had never heard of anyone having done so before; and that the Prophet had certainly taken a love for me, or I could not have been allowed. He added that I had derived an inestimable blessing, and that it would be prudent in me not to tell any other of my Muslim friends of this fact, as it would make them envy me so great a privilege, and perhaps displease them. (*Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, pp. 447-448.)



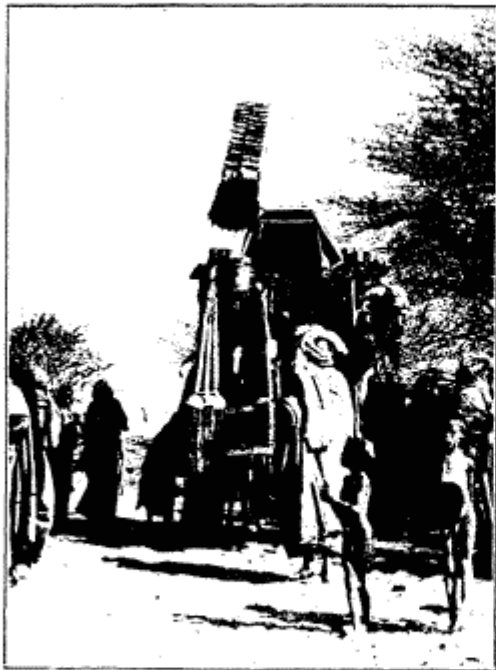


Fig. 1. — *Ufa*, front view.



Fig. 2. — *Ufa*, back view.



Fig. 1. — *Tomb.*



Fig. 2. — *The Mibnal leaving the Citadel, Cairo.*

present at a reception held by the Governor of Cairo in honour of the mahmal and kiswa (holy carpet) before their departure for Mecca, and I noticed that the tent in which the mahmal was exposed was crowded with men who, as far as I could judge by their dress, had come from the country. They touched the fringes and tassels reverently and then kissed their hands to take baraka. The tent which protected the Kiswa was smaller and was also crowded, but the occupants were Cairenes in European clothes who likewise took baraka from the kiswa. I might have considered this grouping of the crowd as accidental, though it certainly gave one the impression that the mahmal was more highly revered by the country folk than by the townsfolk, had not the opinion been endorsed by one who knows Cairo so well as my friend Mr. D. G. Hornblower, who writes to me as follows : « But certainly the mahmal is the important thing (to the populace) one of its tassels is kissed by the Sultan, or his delegate, and other high officials, at the ceremonies both of departure and return, in sign of veneration (probably originally, also, for good luck — to get some of its virtue) ».

Muhammadan traditions give more prominence to the fact that the ark of Israel was taken into battle than does the Bible, and there can be little doubt that to Muhammadans the ark of Israel represents the *utfa*. « Moses was wont to make the ark go on before in battle, and it would steady the Israelites and prevent them from fleeing. After Moses died God took it up to Himself and the angels now brought it down. But others said it remained with the prophets that succeeded Moses, and that they gained victories by means of it until they acted corruptly and the unbelievers took it from them. So it remained in the country of Goliath until God made Saul king. He then brought calamity upon the Philistines and destroyed five cities. Perceiving that this was through the ark, they placed it on two bulls and the angels led it to Saul <sup>(1)</sup>. »

As to the contents of the mahmal, there is a difference of opinion. According to Burckhardt, the Koran is not placed inside it, but a book of prayers is carried in the Cairo mahmal. Lane says : « It contains nothing, but two copies of the Koran one on a small scroll and the other in the usual

<sup>(1)</sup> *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Art. *Ark*.

Cf. HUGUES, *Dictionary of Islam*, Art. *Mahmal*.

form of a book, each enclosed in a case of silver gilt attached externally at the top.\* The common idea that the kiswa is carried in the maḥmal is of course erroneous. The kiswa, or covering for the Kaaba, is made in several pieces which are rolled in bales and form the load of several camels.

Whether a copy of the Koran or a book of prayers is carried in the maḥmal is unimportant and possibly the practice may vary. The sacredness of the maḥmal is due to the character of the litter itself, quite uninfluenced by anything that it may contain. Hence the analogy drawn by Mr. Rogers is misleading.

The contents of the Ark of the Covenant, or the Ark of God, has also been the subject of investigation by biblical scholars and at the same time the question as to whether the great sacredness of the ark was inherent in the ark itself or due to the nature of its contents has been examined. The spiritual idea set forth in *I Kings* (VIII, 27) cannot be regarded as primitive, nor is any such idea suggested by the stories relating to the ark before Jericho, nor by the incidents attending its appearance in battle accompanied by the sons of Eli, its capture by the Philistines and its subsequent return. The Rev. R. H. Kennett, in his article on the subject in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, considers that the account in *Deut. X*, which describes the ark as a receptacle for the Tables of Stone is «merely an inference drawn by the Deuteronomic writer, who supposed reasonably enough, that, an empty box being meaningless, the sacredness of the ark must have been due to the sacred character of its contents. It is not my purpose nor have I the scholarship to discuss the origin of the ark or of the sacred litters of the Arabs, but I have endeavoured to show that the idea underlying the sacredness of the ark and the litter standards of Arabia is the same and that the maḥmal is the ceremonial representative of the latter, moreover while no sacredness attaches to it, the shebriya of the Kababish with its purely ornamental trappings must be regarded as the morphological representative of both ark and litter standard. Yet the lingering memory of some former significance remains, for although no sacrifice is made to the ufa it was clear, as a result of enquiries made for me by Mr. H. MacMichael of the Sheykh Ali Tom, that to him the idea of sacrifice was neither startling nor foreign.

B. Z. SELIGMAN.

# NIKAWNG'S PLACE IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

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The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs, they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief.

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence.

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given.

« We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die. »

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship,

for they occasionally pray to their ancestors in the same way, and also to the dead chief of the village. The chief is looked upon as a father. Infrequently they pray to the spirit of some departed friend. When a person has a pleasant dream about a departed friend, a prayer is frequently addressed to his spirit, as he is well disposed. The mother, brothers and sisters may also be invoked.

When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water, so that the blood remains in the water, and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun (that is thrown out in front of the sun). It is for God so that it will go to him. The sheep becomes the property of the heir of the deceased. The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and to the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as the signs are right. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the offerer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat can not be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. The soup that remains in the gourd is poured out in front of the house. The old men are then called to take the lead in eating the sacrifice. Women of all ages may eat of the sacrifice, but only the boys and old men of the males may eat, as no man of military age may eat of it. When the feast is finished the bones are carefully collected, and thrown into the river, as it would be bad if the bones of a devoted sheep should be gnawed by a dog.

While there is no set form for the prayer, and its length is determined by the sheep, yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example.

"We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth, and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help,

God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours."

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day. The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given, as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: "Nikawng walks in his country". They rejoice because it is an indication that he is actively watching over his people.

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should,

the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of batter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious



devotees. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater part profess to be acting for Nikawng, though Dok has a numerous following. People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is taken near the fire. A bead is put on the forehead of the person to be treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king, and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person, but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

of the working of the servants of Nikawng. The stories have been told by different Shilluks, and while they vary in minor details they have been essentially the same.

In one form of healing they use a plant. The root is taken, and chewed very fine by the healer. He then puts his mouth to the nostrils of the patient and causes the chewed plant to pass from his mouth to the nostril of the sick person. He then puts his mouth over the nose of the other, and blows very hard so that the medicine will be blown into the head of the patient. If the victim should sneeze after the treatment, he will recover. If he does not, he will die.

The servants of the king are especially qualified to cast birds out of people. Often, when a person is asleep, a bird perches on him, and later gains an entrance into his body. When the healer is called, she takes the sufferer to an ant-hill, and compels him to lie on the mound. A chicken is killed, cut open, and thrown out on the plain for the dispossessed birds to enter. Then a lighted torch is passed around the head of the patient in a circle. When they start home the healer follows, and fans the air with her clothes to scare the birds away. Some other woman carries a spear, which she thrusts into the air to kill the birds. When the entrance to the enclosure about the house is reached, a spear is stuck into both sides of it. After the patient enters the house the healer strikes the house and sticks a spear near the door. That spear is to keep the birds away, and is to belong to the healer when the case is cured. However it is usually taken, even when the cure is not effected, as it is to compensate for the lost time of the healer. The fee for such a treatment is a spear, a hoe, a cloth, and two sheep one of which is killed. This treatment is for the birds, which enter children. Adults are afflicted by a different kind of bird, which must be cast out in another way.

Colds which affect children are treated by taking the patient to an ant-hill near the river. A small grass house is constructed, and the child, and its mother placed within. The house is then set on fire, and the servant of the king cries «The house is on fire». The mother rushes out with the child, and hastens to the village. The healer follows fanning the child, with her clothes. The mother and child enter the house. The healer enters the house, and then turns with her face out of the door, and fans outward

to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the relatives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

they made answer. The spirit then said : « I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong ». The people replied : « We know that you are strong ». He continued : « I am sorry for my mother only ». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said « I return ». His brother alone doubted, and said : « My spirit is strong, my brother lives ». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases.

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast.

When a servant of a king begs he says : « The king is begging you », and if his requests are modest they are granted.

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief.

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer.

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people.

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people.

That such a class can not meet the needs of the people is proven by their seeking to the medicine men. The longing in man for knowledge of the Highest which elevates him to the highest good, when directed in the right channels, may also be used by a class seeking power to hold him down in ignorant servitude, and fetter him with superstition's shackles.

D. S. OYLER.

## NOTES.

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### BERBER PROVINCE.

#### *The Rubāṭāb.*

The following does not pretend to be a correct genealogy of the various tribes north of Khartoum, but is a story told me some years ago to explain why the Rubāṭāb occupy the worst land in Berber Province, as stated in the article on Rubāṭāb customs in the second number of *Sudan Notes and Records*.

In the very old days all the country between Khartoum and Dongola belonged to a great Sheikh named Gaali, and when this Sheikh was dying, he sent for his sons and bade them live together in peace after his death, and shortly after he died. Then Robat, the eldest son, called his brethren together, namely Meraf, from whom come the Merfab, and Shaigi, and Gaali the younger, and Anger, who was son of a slave woman, from whom come the Angeriab. And when they were all met, Robat said to his brethren : " Now our father has left us a goodly heritage and bidden us to live together in peace; let us all try to fulfil his wishes, but first we must divide the inheritance. Ye know how often brothers quarrel over the division of their father's property. I am the eldest and I will set you an example that we may all live together in peace as our father wished. I will take first choice and will choose the rocky lands south of Abu Hamed." Then all the brothers marvelled at Robat's self-sacrifice and divided the rest of the inheritance without strife. And this is how it came to pass that the Rubāṭāb occupy the rocky lands of Abu Hamed District.

A. J. C. H.

NOTE : The orthodox but perhaps not much more reliable pedigree of the Ja'lin and their kinsmen will be found in MacMichael, *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*, p. 71.

### DARFUR PROVINCE.

#### *Nubian elements in Darfur.*

In the course of Mr. MacMichael's article on *Nubian elements in Darfur*, one or two points arise to which it may be permissible to draw attention.

Mr. MacMichael admits the wide use of the Wadi el Mugaddam and Wadi

el Melik as lines of approach to Kordofan and Darfur, so that the assumption that the Nubians advanced along them does not seem to demand much explanation. There is little doubt moreover that all the Sahara (which may be said to extend westwards from the Nile on the Dongola reach) has been gradually drying up in the past few centuries, and the encroachment of sand and the drying up of wells have made difficult if not impossible roads that were practicable enough in the past.

To a pioneer going up the Nile the bend between Abu Hamed and Kosti must have presented difficulties that would recommend to him the adoption of the desert roads from the most westerly point of the river. Not only are there many cataracts, but the prevailing winds and the type of craft available make navigation so uncertain that it is hardly to be considered as a practical means of progression.

Moreover, having arrived at Abu Hamed, the pioneer would have gained but little as his objective was presumably the acquisition of slaves, ivory, cattle, etc., which were to be found more readily by going south and still more south-west. It is not unreasonable to assume that steps were taken to fortify positions at the road head, and settlements of slaves would be made near them, and these are now represented by the settlements at Haraza, Katul, Soderi, etc. It is not insignificant that there is a number of so-called Bederia between Kosti and Debba, whose general characteristics seem to be akin to the Nuba of Kaja.

With reference to the Dagu, as far as those of the so-called Meseria Jebels are concerned, they state themselves that they came from the west a few generations ago, and seized the hills and carried their Kingdom to a point about half way to Keilak, but do not seem to have extended east at all; in the circumstances it seems unlikely that this particular lot of Dagu had any direct connection with the Fung of Sennar.

The description given of the Medobi tukl recalls to some degree a division of the "Kozi" of the Meseria, which was observed by the writer, although he cannot say how far it was universal. In the case of the Meseria, however, the division was not made by a right angle, at the centre of the house, but by a piece of matting erected on a curve inside, leaving an outer space and an inner chamber.

Whether the custom common amongst the Baggara for daughters on divorce or separation going into the care of their uncle, and not their parents, may not be really traceable to a matrilineal system, such as holds in the Dagu is a question which might be worth enquiry. In any case it seems probable that



the distinguishing customs of the Baggara (and possibly some of their dialects) comes from contact with tribes in the West rather than the East.

C. A. W.

Khartoum, July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1918.

## KHARTOUM PROVINCE.

### *A local Nile Gauge.*

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of August a yearly ceremony which is known as the Measuring of the Nile or more simply as the *dirā'a* takes place at Khogalab, Tuti and other places in the neighbourhood of Khartoum. Mohammed Ibrahim el Fiki of Khogalab is at the present time the most authoritative measurer, and what follows was gleaned for the most part during a visit which I paid him on the day in question.

The object of the ceremony is to discover for the guidance of cultivators on the river banks how high the Nile flood is likely to rise, and consequently the limits of the land which it is worth making ready for cultivation. For this purpose I found that the people of Khogalab had prepared a piece of 'ushur wood about six feet long : on this they had notched off two *dirā'as* from one end, and the *dirā'as* were divided off into quarter *dirā'as* and some of these quarters again into *qirāts*, both measures of course being taken by the operator off his own person. This post was stuck into the river within a few inches of the bank so that the surface of the water lapped the bottom notch of the two *dirā'as*. The top of the post is then taken to give the height which the flood will in all probability reach within the next 23 days, and each man calculates accordingly so far as his own *sakia* is concerned. The post ought to be fixed at sunrise on the 7<sup>th</sup> of August and to remain there until the 30<sup>th</sup> : if the river rises much on the 7<sup>th</sup> it is regarded as a good omen, and it was a matter of general regret that it had not moved at all by the afternoon on the date of my visit.

I was told by another descendant of Sheikh Khogali of another system of calculation : according to him, the height on the 7<sup>th</sup> was compared with the height 7 days later, and if the river had already reached the two *dirā'as* notch a very high Nile was foretold, if it had reached the 1 *dirā'a* mark a fair Nile,

and a poor one if it had only moved half a dirā'a. I mentioned this to Mohammed Ibrahim, but he declared that these calculations, which seem really rather pointless, had no authority, and that my informant had evidently thought it out by himself, an operation which it was obvious could hardly be condemned too strongly.

The date of this performance, which is of course a very important part of it, corresponds with the 1<sup>st</sup> Misra in the Coptic Calendar, but my learned friends always referred to it as the 4<sup>th</sup> of Ṭarfa, one of the 28 Mansions of the Moon into which the year is divided according to a very ancient system of reckoning that was already well known in the time of the Prophet (*Koran*, x, 3); the 30<sup>th</sup> of August corresponds with the end of Jabha, the Mansion which comes after Ṭarfa, each Mansion having 13 days except Ṭarfa which has 14, according to Mohammed Ibrahim, though Lane gives 14 days instead to Jabha.

None of the people at Khogalab knew at all when this method of measuring the Nile was introduced here, and it would be interesting to know whether it is practised elsewhere along the Nile either in the Sudan or in Egypt and at what dates. So far as this district is concerned, the date seems to have been well chosen.

J. W. CROWFOOT.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### *Elephant transport.*

Is anything known of the use of elephant transport in the southern Sudan? I am moved to ask by having just come across the following in Gessi Pasha's *Seven years in the Sudan*. Writing from Rumbek in October 1878, he says : "Gordon Pasha has had five Indian elephants, and one African from Cairo, brought here. These six elephants render valuable service, and at a single time can transport more than three hundred and seventy five blacks would be able to carry."

WASEY STERRY.

### *Hibernating fish.*

There is a species of Catfish (*Bagrus Bayad*, I believe) which hibernates in soft banks of mud during low Nile. It burrows and moulds a cavity, exuding a gelatinous substance from its body, which dissolves at the return of the water, at its rise, and releases the fish. If disturbed while torpid, the fish grunts with displeasure. It is furnished with long barbels and these, probably, imbibe enough oxygen from the moist earth to keep the fish from asphyxiation during the period of hibernation.

I know of its being found near Sohag, but although it shows many characteristics of the true Egyptian, it also inhabits the Upper Nile. It makes very good eating, but (like sugar in Egypt) it is not very plentiful.

My attention was first called to it by a traveller in the Sudan, who was camping near a dry branch of the Nile and was considerably surprised when his cook furnished him with fish for dinner.

W. G. KEMP.

Cairo, May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

*General.*

A correspondent writes as follows :

I. In Swahili when written with Arabic letters, *ch* is given by Shin, as Major Stigand could tell you.

II. Some investigations of Sudanese Arabic would be interesting. In Uganda we used to call it Nubian, the soldiers having come from Nubia in the first instance. The few words I got were certainly Arabic. Is one dialect in use from Egypt to Uganda for these Sudanese soldiers, or is there some district where Egyptian Arabic may be said to cease (amongst these soldiers) and Sudanese Arabic begin?

III. There is just a possibility that the coming of Nikawng to Shilluk may correspond in point of time with the coming of Kintu to Uganda. The interpretation of these traditions is the arrival of a light-skinned race — to this day in some places in (Bantu) Africa e. g. Usoga, Usukuma (cf. *Zulu tradition about black and white men*) white men are regarded as coming from heaven — just as Kintu is said to have done. In the Uganda story a second version states that Kintu landed at a place called Podi --- a word which more likely represents the country whence he came — Put or Pul. He was a Fula. What can be said of Nikawng? Is it possible to trace him?

IV. The Shilluk language extends up the Nile as far as Kisumu on the Victoria Lake and the people who speak it never live more than a few miles from a big waterway. South of Shilluk and Anuak come a different group -- Dinka with Nuer and Bari. Then Shilluk again now known as Acholi (Sud. Ar. Shuli) then going east a group (Teso -- a language mid-way between Bari and Masai) next a small group of Shilluk people called locally by the Bantu name Ba-Dama; then some Bantu people and then Shilluk again to Kisumu, here called Luo. Also just above the Albert Lake will be found the Aluru or Lur people whose language also is a Shilluk dialect. The migrations of this extensive group would form an intensely interesting study; but so far as I know there is no material available for it at present.